THE CHILDREN OF OPASQUIA: A STUDY OF SOCIALIZATION AND SOCIETY ON A CONTEMPORARY INDIAN RESERVE

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to define the patterns of socialization on a contemporary Indian Reserve and to show how these patterns relate to other aspects of the society in which they operate. In particular, our aim was to assess whether the patterns of child rearing could be expected to produce individuals prepared to fulfil adult role requirements, or whether discontinuities existed between child-rearing practices and adult role expectations. In order to fulfil this aim, two categories of data were collected, one pertaining to the many facets of adult life, and the other to the training of children. These data are presented in the form of a fairly extensive ethnography with a focus on child-rearing practices.

The most significant, and the most extensively employed method of investigation was participant observation. Both adults and children were observed in as many situations as possible. Interviewing took the form of informal conversation. Only two aspects of data collection assumed any degree of formality. These were the recording of genealogies and of general census information such as the sex, age, education, and employment of household members. During census interviews, mental notes were taken of the physical surroundings.
In particular, the number, size, and functions of rooms, and the amount, condition, and functions of furniture and appliances were noted.

An analytical tool was devised to assist in the organization and analysis of the ethnographic data, according to the research aims presented above. This theoretical framework was based on those presented in works by J.W.M. Whiting and B.B. Whiting. Essentially, the data were categorized into manageable segments labelled Ecology, Maintenance Systems (including Economy, Social Structure, and Political Structure), Adult Personality, Adult Behavior, Projective Systems (including Religion and the Supernatural, and Medical Practices), Child-Rearing Practices, Child Personality, and Child Behavior. The data were presented under these headings and then the relationships between the categories of data were analyzed, the continuities and discontinuities between child-rearing practices and each of the other data categories being particularly noted.

The conclusions were briefly as follows: In the Maintenance System—Economy, Child-Rearing Practices were found to be consistent with traditional economic practices. Inconsistencies and discontinuities were evident, however, between child-rearing practices and modern economic role expectations. These present-day expectations included the roles of wage-earner and of Band administrator. The patterns of formal education were also found to be discontinuous with the roles which children would be required to fulfil as adults.
Although changes were found to be occurring in education patterns, they appeared to emanate from the children themselves, manifesting in adolescence; new educational goals were not seen to be stressed in child training.

In the Social Structure, it was found that child training was not adequately preparing the young for meeting and relating to non-kin; here again there were inconsistencies between child-rearing practices and adult role requirements. It was found, however, that consistent changes were occurring in kinship terminology in response to changing ideas and attitudes regarding courtship and marriage customs; these changing attitudes were being incorporated into patterns of child rearing.

In the Political Structure, it was found that child-rearing practices in no way prepare children for future roles as Band leaders. However, the adult leaders appear to cope admirably and perhaps no special preparation is necessary. Only independence training appeared to present problems in the political sphere, where teamwork is essential.

One aspect of child training, discipline, was examined in detail; its interrelationships with each category of data were discussed.
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To the Indians of Opasquia, my debt is twofold. One Indian, when asked how he felt about outsiders "hanging around" answered, "Oh we don't mind helping you people get degrees". Aside from this tangible offering, however, the Indians contributed something far more precious. They opened their doors and welcomed me with warmth, openness, friendliness, and generosity, leaving me with memories which will be cherished always.

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PHONETIC KEY

The starting point for this key has been Mandelbaum's two lists of native terms which are reproduced on pp.132 and 247. The spelling on these two lists has been copied as it appears. From the lists, the following phonetic key has been compiled.

- i - lit
- aw - plough
- u - rule
- e - set (long)
- € - set (short)
- a - charm (approximately)
- 0 - so
- ' - glottal stop
- c - see
- tc - church
- s - zoo (approximately)

There is not always absolute accord between the sounds the writer recorded and those found on Mandelbaum's lists. For example, Mandelbaum does not record a glottal stop; he writes "ntawemaw" where I had originally written "n'tawe'emaw". The glottal stops have been retained in words which I recorded but which do not appear in Mandelbaum's monograph. Otherwise, our spellings have been altered to conform to his. The differences are relatively minimal and the above key should make the words sufficiently pronounceable; differences may possibly be due to dissimilarities in dialect between Plains and Swampy Cree.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to define the patterns of socialization extant on The Pas Indian Reserve, Manitoba, to present them in the context of the child's environment, and to show how they relate to that environment. This approach was adopted as it was felt that understanding the adult world surrounding the child was an essential prerequisite to full appreciation of the actual details of child rearing. The study, therefore, takes the form of a fairly extensive ethnography with a specific focus on child rearing.

Part I is devoted to a description of the general ethnographic background against which child-rearing practices are projected. The chapters within Part I fall into three major groupings. Firstly, there are those chapters which are concerned with Ecology and with the Maintenance Systems of Economics, Social Structure, and Political Structure. These systems are juxtaposed with Projective Systems such as theories of disease, medical practice, supernatural belief, and recreational activity. Projective Systems reflect the third data grouping which makes up Part I— that is, the aspect of Adult Personality, the psychological climate within which the child is raised. This climate can be assessed by examining the values, attitudes, and cognitive processes of the adults.
Part II describes the socialization of the child from infancy to adolescence. Attempts are made throughout the text and in the Conclusions to indicate where the parameters for child rearing presented in Part I are consistent with extant practices, and where the two are inconsistent. Discontinuities are discussed and may be particularly clear where patterns of behavior following traditional lines are juxtaposed with new demands, which have arisen as a result of social change.

The scope of the research was necessarily quite general. With limited time in the field and a desire to provide a broad ethnographic base, in itself a time-consuming effort, the investigator was unable to deal with each specific aspect of child rearing in depth, or to include far-reaching behavioral and psychological ramifications; psychological testing was not employed. It was felt more advisable to include a wide coverage of many aspects of child rearing, in an attempt to give a more complete overall impression of child rearing as it relates to the total cultural milieu. The scope of research was limited to one specific area of The Pas Reserve, (see p.11) that area which has been called "Opasquia West". Although

1"Opasquia" is the Cree word from which the name "The Pas" has been derived. Its use throughout the text is prompted by the fact that the Indians themselves prefer the Cree name. This preference is attested to by a Band Council Resolution passed on May 2, 1966 which resolves: "That, on behalf of all members of The Pas Band of Indians we wish to have the name of our Band changed from 'The Pas' Band to 'Opasquia' Band, that the reason for requesting this change is because the majority of our members call The Pas Reserve 'Opasquia' and the Cree word 'Opasquia' has meaning for us whereas 'The Pas' does not." Henceforth, therefore, The Pas Reserve will be referred to as "Opasquia".
there is no doubt that a comparative study of the child-rearing practices of two or more different areas of the Reserve would be a fruitful project, the time limitation simply did not allow for so extensive a survey.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual scheme which has been used as an organizational tool is, basically, that presented by Beatrice B. Whiting in *Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing*. The same basic framework is also used by John W.M. Whiting in his article *Socialization Process and Personality*. Firstly, we will review the scheme as presented in these works; we will then present our own framework, as derived from the above, pointing out differences and the reasons for these differences.

The aim of the Beatrice B. Whiting study was as follows:

In its broadest conception, the research was aimed at exploring cross-culturally the relation between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality.  

(B.B. Whiting 1963:1)

Specific areas of behavior were singled out for consideration.

The research design, . . . , was set up to measure as accurately as possible the child-training practices and the hypothesized individual and cultural differences in personality, particularly in the areas of aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control.  

(B.B. Whiting 1963:3)

The research was not limited to defining cultural differences in personality.
In designing the research ..., an attempt has been made to assess individual as well as cultural differences. ... The hope was to test hypotheses concerning the relations of child-rearing practices and consequent personality, both intraculturally and cross-culturally.

(B.B. Whiting 1963:4)

The diagram reproduced below was conceived as a simple illustration of the conceptual scheme; it is followed by a summary explanation.

To summarize the conceptual background in another way, the researchers viewed ecology, economics, and social and political organizations as setting the parameters for the behavior of the agents of child rearing. They viewed child behavior as an index of child personality and adult behavior and beliefs and values as indices of adult personality. The causal relationships implied in this scheme are open to discussion, and such discussions, with present available knowledge, ultimately end with a problem similar to that of the priority of the chicken or the egg.

(B.B. Whiting 1963:5)

The six monographs were organized according to the above-quoted conceptual scheme, each being divided into two
sections, one dealing with the parameters for child training and the other with the actual child-rearing practices. The child training sections were organized on the basis of nine behavioral systems in order to standardize the material obtained from the six communities studied, and to facilitate cross-cultural comparisons.

The article by John W.M. Whiting reproduces the following simplified diagram, which originally appeared in Child Training and Personality by himself and Irvin L. Child.

Maintenance — Child Training — Personality — Projective
Systems Practices Variables Systems

(J.W.M. Whiting 1961:356)

Whiting elucidates the hypothesis summarized in this diagram saying,

Maintenance systems were defined as "the economic, political, and social organizations of a society—the basic customs surrounding the nourishment, sheltering, and protection of its members." Personality was defined as "a set of hypothetical intervening variables." Projective systems include customs which are for the most part magical and unrealistic. . . . In sum, the hypothesis implies that personality is an intervening hypothetical variable determined by child rearing which is in turn determined by maintenance systems and which finally is reflected in projective systems.

(J.W.M. Whiting 1961:356)

Unlike the Whiting studies, our own research does not have a Cultural and Personality focus; nor is it concerned with cross-cultural comparisons. Rather, it attempts to relate the parameters for child training, that is, the ethnographic background which sets the stage for socialization, to the actual practices of child rearing. Parameters are here regarded as the broad factors which set the limits within
which variations in child-rearing practices occur. John W.M. Whiting points out that within Maintenance System categories there may be both determining and nondetermining factors with respect to child training.

... where a certain aspect of the maintenance system may be classed into discreet categories, such as household, marriage form, residence, basic subsistence economy, and so forth, some of these categories may be determining with respect to child rearing, whereas other categories in the same maintenance system may be nondetermining. (J.W.M. Whiting 1961:375)

For example, his article indicates that extended and polygynous family households determine high infant indulgence, whereas nuclear households are nondetermining with respect to indulgence. Mother-child households appear to be almost- determining of low indulgence.

The description of Maintenance System parameters in Part I provides us with a picture of the adult world; we see what will be expected and required of the child when he grows up. What is the relationship between these expectations and requirements and the methods applied to the rearing of children? Can the child-rearing practices which are exercised be expected to produce the necessary individuals to fulfill the adult roles? As ours has not been a cross-cultural survey, it was unnecessary to limit the child-training data to any specific topics. We have deliberately allowed the data collected on both parameters and child training to cover as broad an area as possible, in order to maximize the number of comparisons between details of child rearing and of adult responsibilities and accepted behavior patterns.
The accompanying diagram (Figure 1, p.10) is based on the two Whiting illustrations, but has been revised in accordance with our own research aims. The focus of Culture and Personality, which is a feature of both Whiting studies, has been excluded, and the emphasis shifted to the relationship of child-rearing practices to the "parameters which set the stage for child rearing". (B.B. Whiting 1963:6) As illustrated in our diagram, child-rearing practices have become the centre of focus. The diagram is a concise statement of our theoretical framework. The data in the ring surrounding Child-Rearing Practices (i.e. those data presented in Part I) provide the parameters for socialization practices; arrows indicate the main causal relationships, although they do not cover all eventualities.

In neither of the Whiting diagrams is the relationship between Adult Personality and Child-Rearing Practices presented as a primary one. Recall that J.W.M. Whiting referred to personality as "a set of hypothetical intervening variables". (1961:356) He also refers to personality as "a mediator between the maintenance and projective systems of a culture". (1961:374) Maintenance Systems alone are shown to have a direct relationship with child-rearing practices. The Maintenance Systems set the limits within which the agents of child training operate; the agents, all those people involved in child training, are merely the pawns who apply the rules set by the Maintenance Systems. These systems, therefore, harbour the primary determinants of child-rearing practices. Recall that, according to J.W.M. Whiting, aspects of the
Maintenance Systems may be divided into discreet categories, some of which may be determining, while others are nondetermining. Nevertheless, according to this view, it is within the limits set by the Maintenance System parameters that the determinants of child-rearing practices are to be found. Although we do not entirely disagree with this conceptual scheme, it is felt that the role of the agents of child rearing is also a primary one. In most situations, limits set by the Maintenance Systems are filtered through adult consciousness before affecting the children, though at times the systems do affect the children directly. Also, adult personality and behavior can be seen to exert a primary influence on Maintenance Systems; the relationship is two-way. Although the parameters are, in some sense, supra-cultural and supra-individual, they do not exist in isolation and are affected and altered by the very personalities and behavior patterns they have created. For example, as we will see in the text, Political Structure is greatly affected by Adult Personality in the method of raising a new chief. (See p.170) The Beatrice B. Whiting diagram (p.4) pictures Cultural Products as standing alone, and does not indicate their relationship to other aspects of culture. Our data indicate that Cultural Products (Projective Systems) have a role which significantly affects child-rearing practices. (See p.213) This relationship has been indicated by an arrow on our diagram. (Figure 1, p.10) We have attempted in our revised diagram to indicate some of the two-way relationships
which are in operation, and thus to avoid the impression that there are single-line causal relationships.

The system is presented in diagrammatic form as a neat circle with only Ecology slightly outside the ring; even Ecology, however, has its place within the scheme in that it sets gross parameters for the establishing of Maintenance Systems, especially Economy. This portrait of a smoothly functioning system is perhaps misleading. Outside influences have not been included in the diagram, and these bombard the system at every point, causing a quickening of movement along the arrows. Outside influences will be discussed in the text and an attempt will be made to show how the system, as presented in the diagram, copes with stresses imposed from without.

It is hoped that this conceptual scheme will be useful in indicating where the system is consistent and where it is not. For example, does a change which is occurring in one of the Maintenance Systems, say the Economic System, perhaps as a result of an outside stress, produce a consistent adjustment in the training of children for the role they will be required to play in the economy? Do adult attitudes and behavior patterns change in accordance with the economic change and do adults pass these new attitudes to their children, or is there a lag or a discontinuity in the pattern? The children must be raised in such a way as to maintain a certain amount of stability in the parameters if the community is to maintain its identity. There must also be flexibility, however, so that changes and adjustments are transmitted along the arrows,
Figure 1

Theoretical Framework
or discontinuity, disharmony, and social disorganization will occur. We hope to indicate in the following chapters just what the relationship is on Opasquia between the parameters for socialization and the actual practices which were observed.

METHODOLOGY

Six weeks were spent on Opasquia between August 26 and October 15, 1966; the field work was broken into two 3-week periods by a 10-day interval, which was spent in Winnipeg. After approximately two weeks in the field, it was decided to concentrate on one area of the Reserve; for several reasons Opasquia West was chosen. Two of the main reasons for that choice were as follows: firstly, the language barrier was minimal in that area; secondly, because of their high degree of acculturation, the residents of Opasquia West were less hesitant in their acceptance of an outsider than were people in other areas of the Reserve. Also advantageous was the fact that Opasquia West is fairly compact, and visiting could be accomplished on foot.

The barriers mentioned above, which resulted in excluding from the study other areas of the Reserve, could all have been overcome with time. Six weeks, however, is very little time indeed to acquaint oneself with even a few of the patterns of an unfamiliar way of life; Opasquia West, with its cohesiveness and relatively high degree of acculturation, presented the best opportunity for breeding familiarity and understanding.
Participant Observation

Participant observation, in conjunction with informal conversation, was the method most extensively used in data collection. Meetings of the Band Council, the Handicraft Guild, the Women's Auxiliary (Anglican Church), and the Sports Committee were attended. Sporting events, which are largely community activities, including Little and Pony League baseball games between the Reserve and the town of The Pas, adult soccer games between a Big Eddy team and one from Opasquia East and West, and the Annual Sports Day were observed. The investigator was taken moose-hunting, and observed people duck-hunting. Several weddings took place during the six weeks; a ceremony, two wedding feasts, and several wedding dances were attended. The weekly Bingo, sponsored by the Health Committee, provided an opportunity to observe one form of adult entertainment. Church services and Sunday School classes were observed. It was possible to watch children playing both out-of-doors and in their homes, to attend birthday parties, kindergarten classes, and to drive the route with the children on the school bus. The process of smoking moose meat was recorded and several of the many steps involved in the tanning of moosehide were photographed. Mothers and grandmothers were accompanied on shopping excursions to town. In addition to chatting informally with people in these situations, many were visited in their homes. A number of these visits were reciprocated; both children and adults enjoyed the novelty of visiting in a tent. Many
hours were spent talking to people in the Friendship Centre who hold key political positions on the Reserve.

In addition to the Reserve Indians, two other groups of people were interviewed. In Winnipeg, discussions were held with a number of Indian and non-Indian people concerning the Indians of Manitoba, and specifically of Opasquia. Various questions were also reviewed with White people in The Pas who are directly connected with the Indians; these people included the Anglican Minister who resides on the Reserve, the Bishop's Messenger, a former kindergarten teacher who lived and taught on the Reserve, and the Probation Officer for northern Manitoba.

Mapping

To facilitate the study of residence patterns, a large map was drawn of Opasquia West; an attempt was made to estimate the distances between houses and service buildings, so that the map would approximate a scaled representation. Kin relationships were entered on the map and served to verify the impression that the spatial distribution of houses is significant in terms of social organization.

A professionally drawn map, based on aerial photography, was later obtained from an architectural firm which is involved in a community planning project on Opasquia. The professional map is the one reproduced in this report. (See Figure 6, p.135) The value of personally drawing a map, however, should not be underestimated. It is felt that the extensive interlocking of residence pattern and kinship
network would not have been revealed with the same degree of clarity had not the investigator personally walked from house to house noting both the proximity and placement of each house with respect to its neighbours, and the kin relationship of the inhabitants of each house to the inhabitants of neighbouring houses.

**Genealogies**

Genealogies were collected from several members of major families in Opasquia West and serve to further clarify the complex kin network. In addition, peripheral information such as the origin of spouses, and the whereabouts of siblings and children was noted. A list of Cree kinship terms for both male and female speakers was drawn up so that an analysis of the kinship system could be attempted. (See Figures 4 and 5, pp.130 and 131)

**Census**

Apart from the collection of genealogies, the only formal interviewing took the form of a door-to-door census survey. The purpose of the census was twofold: the first aim of the survey was to collect demographic information.

The following demographic information was recorded for almost every household: number of persons living in the house, their ages, sex, education, occupation, and relationship to one another. In most cases, the age, sex, education, and occupation of children away from home was also requested; the place of residence of these children was noted. The
following information was also recorded: length of residence in present home, previous residence and length of time there, number of children who died in infancy and the causes of their deaths, and the origin of spouses.

The second aim of the survey was to collect information concerning material living standards. Detailed floor plans were drawn of most homes; included in these diagrams are the approximate dimensions of the rooms, the furnishings, facilities and appliances, and the general condition of the houses, furnishings, and yards. The census data proved invaluable in assessing both the physical and the social environment of the children.

Rejected Methods of Data Collection

Two methods of data collection were tested, proved unsatisfactory, and were, therefore, abandoned. They will be briefly described. Firstly, an attempt was made to organize a group of young mothers to help observe and record the physical activities of children; these informants were paid. The investigator intended to spend considerable time at this project initially, carefully explaining interests and reviewing notes with the women after short observation periods. It was hoped that after a couple of weeks the group of about ten women could meet and discuss various topics of interest to all concerned.

This method was intended to provide insights into the feelings and frustrations of the women as regards child rearing,
as well as to provide more examples of the physical activities of children than one person could possibly collect unaided. Undoubtedly, this scheme could be highly successful if a researcher had unlimited time to train the women in observation. In the initial stages, each woman would have to be visited at least once every couple of days. I could not, however, confine myself to this one aspect of the study. Several women were quite shy and reticent about this procedure, and after a few misplaced their notebooks, an unsuccessful meeting attended by only two women, and a notebook which seemed to have been filled with anything that came to mind, possibly with the intention of pleasing the investigator, it was decided to abandon this line of research. Nevertheless, one or two interesting comments were offered by the mothers.

Also abandoned was an attempt to follow a somewhat formal, standardized interview schedule during mother-interviews. At no time were written questionnaires or notebooks used during these interviews, however, (pen and notebook in the presence of the interviewee, were utilized throughout the field season for recording genealogies and census data only). Rather, an attempt was made to direct the conversation during each interview along specific, predetermined lines. Invariably, this conversation became stilted and unspontaneous; communication became minimal and I began to feel I was dealing with trivia. This course of action was rejected, and in its place the investigator was content to sit back and observe the events of the day take their natural course; questions were asked according to the
situation at hand. This procedure was found to be very satisfactory and productive. Interviews turned into casual visits and the information exchanged became a natural part of any day's socializing.

The Census Sample

Fifty-six households were included in the census survey. Of these, two households from which census data were collected are located in Opasquia East. These two homes belong to a group of three which is set apart from the other homes in Opasquia East, and which is immediately adjacent to the highway. Both the kinship ties and the political ties of these families are west of the highway; in fact, the Chief resided in this enclave. The residents of one of the group of three homes were not available for census interviewing. Because of their close affinities with Opasquia West, these three households have been included in the main body of the study.

During the summer of 1966, there were sixty-four houses in Opasquia West; the three houses from Opasquia East which were included in the study bring the total number of houses to sixty-seven. Of these, six were unoccupied (three were in the last stages of construction). One of the three families from Opasquia East was also in the process of constructing a new home; this unfinished shell brings the total number of houses to sixty-eight.

Two of the families who were to occupy new houses are included in the census. One family was residing with the
husband's parents and is included as part of that household. The other family, though about to move, was still living in its old house, and was interviewed at that location. The third new house belonged to a family in Opasquia West who were renovating the shack with the intention of renting it to a young, newly-married couple from another part of the Reserve.

Three of the remaining houses were boarded up. The family belonging to one of them was residing, at the time, with his parents, and is included in the census as a part of that household. The second house which was boarded up is owned by a bachelor whose whereabouts were not discovered. The sixth unoccupied dwelling belonged to a family who had abandoned it for a new home; the old log structure, though boarded up, was still used for storage.

Of the remaining sixty-one households, five were not included in census interviewing for a number of reasons. It was decided that the Mission House should be excluded from the sample. In one home, the language barrier prohibited communication; in two cases, visits either found no-one at home, or were not conveniently timed for census interviewing. The members of one household refused to cooperate. Therefore, the total number of households included in the census is fifty-six. The sections of the text which are concerned with demography, or with the physical environment in and around the homes, are based on this census sample.
Visits and Interviews

The total number of home visits (including reciprocated visits and visits for the purpose of census interviewing) was 120. In addition, interviews with non-Indians, Winnipeg Indians, and interviews which took place not in homes, but in places such as the playing field or the Friendship Centre, total 62. This is a low estimate as a couple of hours at the Friendship Centre, or a two-hour ball game, during which several brief conversations may have taken place, are, for the sake of convenience, counted as one interview. The total number of home visits and other interviews then is 182, or an average of 4.33 per day.
PART I

PARAMETERS FOR
CHILD-REARING
PRACTICES
The Swampy Cree have occupied the area around The Pas only since the beginning of the nineteenth century. There are slight discrepancies in the literature regarding their former locus of habitation. Prior to contact with Europeans, according to Mandelbaum, ancestors of the Plains Cree lived in a forest environment between Hudson Bay and Lake Superior. (Mandelbaum 1940:187) This delineation of the pre-contact habitation area of the Cree has been shifted slightly westward by Hallowell who states:

There is no doubt that up until the eighteenth century the Woods and Swampy Cree were the predominant people surrounding not only Hudson Bay but also Lake Winnipeg. (Hallowell 1955:114-115)

Accordingly, there are differences in the stated direction of the shift which occurred; Mandelbaum poses a westward movement (1940:187), while Hallowell says:

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, a decided change had taken place. The Cree were no longer to be found to the east, south, and west of Lake Winnipeg. Bands of Ojibwa had displaced them and the locus of the Cree had shifted to the north. (Hallowell 1955:115)

Nevertheless, the two reports are not altogether dissimilar and, as Mandelbaum deals almost exclusively with the Cree, while Hallowell focuses on the Ojibwa, let us follow Mandelbaum's
historical outline.

Prior to contact with Europeans, the culture of the Cree was wholly Woodlands in character. Summers were spent on the shores of the large bodies of water; winters were spent inland. With the coming of Europeans and the establishing of trading posts, the Indians devoted their energies increasingly to trapping fur-bearing animals and soon became dependent on the trade goods which they received in exchange for pelts. Although trading posts and the expansion of the fur trade precipitated changes in the lives of the Indians, they also had the effect of intensifying and underlining extant cultural patterns. Hallowell stresses this point with regard to the Ojibwa, but his comments are equally applicable to the Swampy and Wood Cree; he offers the following as an explanation for their high degree of cultural conservatism.

While fur-trading posts were the original focal points for the mediation of changes in the technology of these Indians through their acquisition of firearms, kettles, awls, traps, etc., and in their consumptive habits by the introduction of flour, tea, tobacco, and liquor in the early days, nevertheless the demand for furs supported and encouraged the perpetuation of their aboriginal ecological adaptation—hunting. In consequence, not only was their subsistence economy retained, but the seasonal movements, institutions, attitudes, and beliefs that were closely integrated with it.

(Hallowell 1955:119)

As intensive trapping exhausted the supply of game, the Cree were forced northward and westward to exploit fresh territory. They invaded the northern edge of the Great Plains about the beginning of the nineteenth century, inhabiting the Park Belt, the transitional area between the forests and plains.
The eastern part of this territory had been formerly occupied by the Assiniboin and Gros Ventre and the western section by the Blackfoot. At this point in time, the Plains Cree begin to emerge as an entity, distinct from the Swampy and Wood Cree. The northern limits of the Park Belt marked the boundary between the Plains Cree and their relatives, the Wood Cree. According to Mandelbaum, there was relatively little contact between the two groups.

The Plains Cree mocked them for their lack of martial fervour but also feared them for their magical prowess. (Mandelbaum 1940:165)

Early contact literature refers to the Cree some 150 years before these migrations began. They are first mentioned in the Jesuit Relations of 1640 where the Cree are referred to as Kiristinon; some accounts of the time refer to them as Nayhathaway. At this point, however, the priests had only learned of the Cree from other Indians. First-hand contact is not reported until 1666-1667. Early contact literature depicts the Cree as a nomadic, powerful, war-like tribe. The tribal division of the Cree known as the Swampy Cree was identified in the early 1700's by Kellogg. (Mandelbaum 1940:173-174) Mandelbaum refers to the section of David Thompson's Narrative which covers the period 1784-1812.

The Narrative reports a small group of Nayhathaway and Swampy Ground Assiniboin living somewhere above the North Saskatchewan River, who still preferred their ancient mode of life to living in the plains. The Cree of the west were now becoming socially disconnected from their eastern tribesmen, but still shared much of the eastern culture with them. (Mandelbaum 1940:181)
Though this reference probably relates to a group farther west than the Swampy Cree, the same conservatism seems to apply to both groups and is, no doubt, related to the continuity of their woodlands environment, and to their relative isolation from the main aggressive body of Plains Cree. Mandelbaum writes of the difference between the war-like Plains Cree and their more peaceful relatives as follows:

The dichotomy between those Cree who hunted buffalo and their eastern relatives became more and more sharply marked. So great was the separation that Hind warned against sending any of the Christianized Swampy Cree to preach among the Plains Cree, for the haughty and independent children of the prairies would never acknowledge or respect their docile tribesmen as teachers.

(Mandelbaum 1940:185)

From the mid 1700's to the early 1800's the Cree were expanding to their widest limits. Some bands were out on the plains but had not yet completely severed themselves from the forest. By the end of this period, the Plains Cree had largely ceased wandering between the two environments and excursions into the woodlands were being abandoned. Finally, the invaders became established in the plains as a true Plains tribe.

The first of a series of treaties made by the Dominion Government with the Cree was signed in 1871. In 1875, all the Swampy Cree came under the terms of a treaty drawn up at Lake Winnipeg. As illustrated on Mandelbaum's map, the Swampy Cree were to be found in the area of The Pas, Manitoba. (Mandelbaum 1940: Figure 1)
Figure 2

Some Major Lakes, Rivers, and Northern Communities in Manitoba

Original Scale: 1 in. = 50 mi.

Size of original map: 8 in. x 13 in.
PLATE I
LAKE AND SWAMP

PLATE II
BUSH COUNTRY
GEOGRAPHIC SETTING

The Pas, a town of 4,952, is located in the Province of Manitoba, some 465 miles northwest of Winnipeg, and twenty-one miles from the eastern boundary of the Province of Saskatchewan. Though considered northern Manitoba, the town is, in fact, situated in the southern half of the province, sixty-four miles north of the 53rd parallel of latitude and six miles south of the 54th parallel. (See Figure 2, p. 25) In comparison to lovely Riding Mountain National Park, 250 miles to the south, the vicinity of The Pas is scenically unspectacular. The relatively flat countryside, dotted with lakes, is characterized by bush and swamp which supports a teeming wildlife, including big game such as moose and deer. (See PLATES I and II).

The strategic nature of the present townsite, at the junction of the Saskatchewan and Carrot Rivers, was historically recognized by explorers such as Kelsey and La Verendrye; these men were cognisant of the position's positive attributes for use as a distributing centre. The wisdom of their insight is attested to by the fact that The Pas is now a railhead for the north as well as a centre for trade and communication. As such, the town services a large body of transients and migrants, miners and labourers; this fact profoundly affects the activity and atmosphere of The Pas.

The town is situated on the south side of the Saskatchewan River; Opasquia, on the river's north bank is reached by crossing an old railway bridge which has a narrow lane on each side of the tracks for automobile and pedestrian
traffic. By following the meandering course of the Saskatchewan and Carrot Rivers for several miles, the habitation areas of the Reserve describe a wide semi-circle. Thus they avoid a large central area of shallow muskeg and swamp. At one time covered by the immense Glacial Lake Agassiz, the terrain to this day bears signs of wave erosion; glacial remains, in the form of boulders and glacial till, are also to be seen. To the trained eye, ancient beach ridges reveal information regarding the existence and gradual recession of the glacier, and the lake which formed as the glacier melted. These ridges today provide the Indians with the important resources of gravel and sand.

CLIMATIC SETTING

The severity of the climate in central Canada is clearly illustrated by The Pas. Four seasons are sharply differentiated. Winter begins between the middle and the end of October, and lasts until the middle or the end of April. A final snowstorm can be expected at the end of April, or the beginning of May. One is assured five to six months of bitter cold with no relief from below zero temperatures, and no winter passes without three or more weeks when the thermometer indicates thirty degrees below zero Fahrenheit, or lower. Cold is increased by even the slightest wind, and howling gales are not at all uncommon; these pile the snow into deep drifts and make daily shovelling a necessity.

Spring is a welcome relief from the long, bitter winter. In an average year, melting is complete by the beginning or the
middle of May, but the countryside does not bloom or turn green until June. The warmest months of the year are July and August. During a particularly hot summer, temperatures may rise to between eighty and ninety-five degrees Fahrenheit for a period of two or more weeks. September brings autumn; leaves begin to change colour by the middle of the month. Usually, the end of September or the beginning of October bring a week or two of "Indian summer".¹ This is perhaps the loveliest time of year. The air is warmed by latent heat which, absorbed by the earth during the heat of summer, is now given off as the air cools in anticipation of winter. Temperatures are in the sixty to sixty-five degree range and the countryside is covered with a blanket of colour. This lovely time ends abruptly; the leaves fall within a week, and the country again lies barren; with October comes frost.

RESERVE LAYOUT AND FACILITIES

Though the research for this study was confined mainly to that area of the Reserve which is here called "Opasquia West", this section will not be confined to a description of that area alone. In order that Opasquia West may be viewed in its proper perspective, it is advisable to present a brief description of the rest of the Reserve as well. It is hoped

¹An old Indian woman could not explain the origin of this phrase; she was sure that this time of year could just as easily be called "White summer", but said, "When the air is filled with cobwebs, you know 'Indian summer' is here".
This plan is based on a sketchmap of soil and groundwater conditions on The Pas Indian Reserve by J. D. Mollard and Associates, Regina, Sask. The delineation of areas 21E and 21A follows Schwimmer's report; his map is based on a survey by W. A. Austin (Feb., 1883) and S. Bray (Oct., 1894). They divide the Reserve into The Pas No. 21A, B, C, D, E, F, G, I, J, and K, 1894. The whole of The Pas Borough plus a strip of land running south appear as 21A; part of this area is still in Indian hands, surrendered but not sold; the Reserve derives some income from leases of this land. (Schwimmer, n.d.)

Size of original map: 1 ft x 1 ft.
that a feeling of the total Reserve environment will be transmitted, thus allowing a more complete understanding of the part played by Opasquia West in the total setting.

Opasquia is divided into six clearly defined habitation areas, the total Reserve population being approximately 1000. Highway 10 which continues north to Flin Flon, and the railway which continues north to Lynn Lake and to Churchill divide the area of the Reserve which is first arrived at into two segments, east and west. Initially, the gravel Reserve road west of Highway 10 follows the course of the river; half-way along its seven mile length, however, it curves slightly north and east, away from the river, and returns to the main highway, thus completing the wide semi-circle along which the houses are situated. (See Figure 3)

By following the Reserve road west of the highway, one passes through Opasquia West. A couple of miles further, one comes to the Carrot River Area; it is at this point that the Carrot River joins the Saskatchewan. This section of the Reserve is called Half-Way House by the Indians as it is located half-way between the two main habitation areas. Farthest from town is the large habitation area known as Big Eddy. Like the Carrot River Area, Big Eddy was named in accordance with the character of the river at that particular point.

The Reserve road to the east of Highway 10 passes through the section of the Reserve known as Opasquia East, and arrives a couple of miles later at the non-treaty Umfreville
Settlement. A smaller non-treaty habitation area is also to be found within Big Eddy.

Opasquia West

To some extent, the clear-cut areal divisions represent differing degrees of acculturation; the different acculturational levels, in turn, seem to coincide with status divisions within the community. Opasquia West has undergone a greater degree of acculturation than any other section of the Reserve. Without a doubt, the proximity of this area to town has been a major contributing factor; the centre of The Pas is an easy fifteen to twenty-five minute walk away. Of all Reserve members, residents of Opasquia West are the least reticent in their dealings with Whites, a fact which attests to the influence of close contact. Another indication of the higher degree of acculturation in Opasquia West is that the leadership core of the community, including seven out of nine Band Councillors, is housed here. A factor which is highly significant with respect to the high status nature of Opasquia West is that it houses a large percentage of the Reserve's non-drinkers.

The physical facilities of Opasquia West are as follows: there are sixty-eight houses (see p.17), of which twenty-five are new (three were not yet occupied at time of census interviewing). An attempt is being made in this area to institute

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1. This name probably derives from that of Edward Umfreville, a Northwest Company man who, in 1790, published a book in which he says that his knowledge of the Nehethawa (Cree) is more perfect than that concerning any other tribe. He characterizes them as both a Woodlands and a Plains people, illustrating their ambivalence between the two environments at the time. (Mandelbaum 1940:180)
town planning, in preparation for the future installation of sewer and waterworks systems. For this reason, some of the new homes have been placed in neat, suburban-looking rows; they are evenly spaced according to standard lot sizes, and each sits only a few yards from an access road. (See pp.163-164)

The area houses an Anglican Church, a Mission House, and a Community Hall. A large building served as The Pas Indian Day School until school integration in 1963; it was being converted into an office building for the Indian Affairs Branch and, when complete, was intended to serve as the Branch's administrative centre for all of northern Manitoba. The building was also to house an office for use by the Band in Band administration. When the school was in operation, a teacherage was also located in the area. A Handicraft Centre was under construction; this building will provide working space for the members of the Handicraft Guild and, in addition, will serve as a display and distributing centre. The area also boasts a large playing field and a store which is owned and operated by an Indian proprietor; another tiny store by the playing field sells candy and pop during sporting events.

Everyone in Opasquia West has water delivery service; water barrels are filled twice a week by a water truck from town; the charge is one dollar per barrel, regardless of barrel size. It is important to note here that a number of homes (albeit a small number) in the town of The Pas have water delivery as well; the lack of running water is not confined
exclusively to the Reserve. Each family in Opasquia West has one or two water barrels. This water supply is supplemented with rain water, well water, and river water. Electricity came to the Reserve in 1959; now, only four homes in this area are not wired.

**Big Eddy**

Big Eddy, the other large habitation area for treaty Indians of Opasquia, has undergone less acculturation than Opasquia West. It has often been said that Big Eddy is a lower status area; as the investigator did not spend a great deal of time in Big Eddy, it is difficult to assess obvious acculturational differences in terms of status. Big Eddy is at least an hour's walk from town; therefore, people from this area frequently use taxi service. Despite the fact that taxis are used extensively, however, town is simply not as accessible to Big Eddy residents as it is to those from Opasquia West. Some Big Eddy people view the situation as advantageous, and claim to live in Big Eddy partly for this reason; they do not approve of their children's running to town "at the drop of a hat". The people who express this point of view feel their conservative values superior to those held by people in Opasquia West. On the other hand, some residents of Opasquia West lump almost all Big Eddy residents together as drinkers, and consider themselves to be superior.

In comparing the differing degrees of acculturation in the two areas, one interesting example stands out. The kindergarten class is divided so that children from Opasquia East and
West attend in the morning, and those from Big Eddy attend in the afternoon. The kindergarten teacher, herself an Indian woman from Saskatchewan, remarked several times that her Big Eddy class was much easier to handle than her morning class. Children from Opasquia West presented disciplinary problems; they were rambunctious, and kept her constantly busy. The Big Eddy children, on the other hand, were quiet, obedient, and easy to manage. This difference can be interpreted as acculturational. Children from Opasquia West are more aggressive; their parents are the community leaders and have had to deal with Whites; most of the children are familiar with English and are not shy or withdrawn at the age of five. Children from Big Eddy are less acculturated, and this becomes obvious in their behavior at kindergarten. They are less familiar with English, have had less contact with Whites and with town, and are shy and unaggressive; they are, therefore, quiet, obedient, and a pleasure for the teacher to handle after her rambunctious morning class.

The proportion of new to old homes is smaller in Big Eddy than in Opasquia West. Unlike the situation in Opasquia West, no attempt has been made, as new houses are built, to reorganize the Big Eddy community with the intention of facilitating the future installation of sewer and waterworks systems. Community planning is, at present, unnecessary in Big Eddy for the following reasons: sewer and water facilities, once installed, will be expensive to maintain; they can most efficiently be supported if people who are interested in
partaking of the services congregate in one area; as these facilities will initially be installed only in Opasquia West, interested people from Big Eddy will be required to move.

There is no water delivery in Big Eddy. Residents must haul water from the well and river, and collect rain water. In the winter, melted snow and ice can be used for some purposes. Though exact figures were not recorded, the percentage of homes without electricity is undoubtedly higher in Big Eddy than in Opasquia West. Until about 1960, the Reserve road through Big Eddy was not cleared of snow in the winter. An informant expressed her feelings, and perhaps those of other Big Eddy residents, by saying, "We were forgotten people".

Most of the service buildings found in Opasquia West are duplicated in Big Eddy, though in most cases the buildings in Big Eddy are smaller; to some extent they fulfil functions secondary to those in Opasquia West. There is an Anglican Church in Big Eddy and Sunday School classes are held here as well as in Opasquia West. In addition, Big Eddy boasts a school-house, a Community Hall, and a playing field. Kindergarten classes for all Reserve children are held in the Big Eddy school. Soccer games between teams from Big Eddy and from Opasquia East and West are often held on the Big Eddy field, while league games between Reserve and town teams are always played on the other field (when not played in town). The Big Eddy Community Hall is considerably smaller than that in Opasquia West.
The Carrot River Area

The Carrot River Area, located half-way between Opasquia West and Big Eddy, seems to fulfill a half-way position in living standard and in status, as well as in location. Several new homes in Opasquia West are occupied by former Carrot River people.

Opasquia East

The living standard in Opasquia East is less favourable still. The proportion of new to old homes is the lowest of the four treaty areas. Most of the homes here have no electricity. No information was recorded regarding the water delivery situation; while those near to the highway (four homes) may be included in the delivery service, it is probable that those further east are not. Several homes which were visited in this area were of the one-room log type. They were very small with a large population of inhabitants; these homes were relatively clean.

Non-Treaty Settlements

The two non-treaty settlements are, for the most part, treated as integral parts of the Reserve. Lack of time made it impossible to deal with these areas in any but cursory fashion. Hence the investigator does not feel qualified to discuss them extensively, either in terms of material facilities or of status. Both areas have a smaller proportion of new to old homes than any other part of the Reserve. Neither of the non-treaty settlements has water delivery. A high
percentage of homes in the Umfreville Settlement (I do not know about the one in Big Eddy) have no electricity. The Umfreville Settlement is approximately two miles east of Highway 10. The gravel road which services the area was built only a couple of years ago.

POPULATION

Population statistics pertaining to Opasquia West are here presented in two forms. Firstly, the results of our own census-taking are presented. (See TABLE I, p.43) Secondly, these statistics are compared with those sections of the 1966 Census of Canada which refer to the family. (See TABLES II, III, and IV, pp. 46-47)

In our own census, the principal unit of analysis is the household. All persons living in a single dwelling are considered to comprise one household. This definition, therefore, includes a number of extended family situations as well as situations in which the occupants of a dwelling can not be considered as a family; for example, one household consisted of two elderly women, another of two young men in their mid-twenties, and the third of the kindergarten teacher, whose husband and children (with the exception of a married daughter in Opasquia West) are residents of Saskatchewan.

The section of the 1966 Census of Canada which we have used for comparison with our own data uses the family, rather than the household, as its basic unit of analysis. According to their definition (see TABLE II, p.44), our households which
consist of extended families are counted as two, and in one case three families; on the other hand, the three households referred to above are excluded from the sample. For purposes of comparison, however, our data which appear in TABLES II, III, and IV conform to the definitions of the 1966 Census of Canada. We have confined our comparison of Opasquia West and the Official Census to the composition of families and have not compared age and sex across the entire population as we felt that a comparison of family composition would be the most rewarding for purposes of our study.

The rationale for the age-group divisions which appear on TABLE I is as follows: the legal age of attaining majority (that is twenty-one) was accepted as the dividing line between adults and children. Children were then grouped in five-year categories; these groupings were convenient and, in addition, have some social relevance. Six is the age of school entrance; sixteen is the legal school-leaving age. The first age-grouping of adults conforms to the five-year division as this is a transition period in which a number of young adults are still living in their parents' homes. The remaining adult groupings are arbitrarily tabulated in ten-year divisions. All of these age-groupings are of the investigator's own choosing and do not necessarily reflect divisions in the minds of the Indians concerned. The age-groupings which appear on TABLE IV are those defined in the 1966 Census of Canada.

As with most North American Indian communities, the population of Opasquia West is a very young one. Almost 40
percent of the children are five years of age and under. (See TABLE I, p.43) TABLE IV presents children who are under twenty-four years of age and at home, grouped according to four age-categories; figures are given for urban and rural Manitoba, for the town of The Pas, and for Opasquia West. In addition, the percentage of the total number of children under twenty-four and at home which each figure represents has been calculated. These statistics indicate that there are at least 5 percent more, and up to almost 9 percent more, children under six years of age in Opasquia West than in the other parts of Manitoba listed on the table. This point is most strikingly emphasized by the figures on TABLE II, comparing family sizes around Manitoba.

It is instructive to note the percentages implicit in the figures in the 9+ column (that is, the column indicating the number of families made up of 9 or more persons in each section of Manitoba's population). In urban Manitoba, 1.0 percent of families are made up of 9 or more persons; in rural Manitoba, .05 percent; in the town of The Pas, 2.8 percent; and in Opasquia West, 29.5 percent.

Our own census indicates that the adult population is also a young one; 50 percent of adults fall between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five years. (See TABLE I, p.43) This figure, however, has not been compared with Official Census statistics.

To appreciate the significance of these figures, they must be translated from a numerical to a social frame of reference. This large body of young people must be educated,
and subsequently employed. The need for education is urgent and immediate, and yet a program of education which is not in some way traumatic or even damaging to a large number of children has yet to be developed. Are integrated schools an improvement over older methods, or do reserve and residential schools produce better results? What results does the Government consider "better"? The Indian? What of the use of different systems in different areas? While most of these questions remain unanswered, and others cause disagreements which produce contradictory solutions, children are being subjected to one system or other. Some children are coping admirably, standing firmly on the bridge, one foot in the White world and the other on the Reserve; many others are not. As indicated in the section on education, the majority of children are in the group that is not coping. (See TABLES XXIV and XXV, pp.190 and 191) Improvements are being made, but progress is slow.

Can the population be employed once educated and trained? Can jobs be found in the area where training is given, or must employment be sought elsewhere? If the latter is the case, what preparation have the young people received for the problems they will face in the city? The long-term problems involved in educating and employing this young Indian population must be carefully scrutinized so that past mistakes are not repeated or perpetuated.

In the terms of our theoretical diagram: (Figure 1, p.10) do the Child-Rearing Practices, including socialization in the home as well as formal education, provide the child with
adequate tools to perpetuate the Maintenance System—Economy, or to cause it to change favourably according to the needs of the community which result from the demands placed upon it by a particular ecological and demographic environment?
### TABLE I
POPULATION STATISTICS--OPASQUIA WEST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Age Distribution of Children (in years)</th>
<th>Age Distribution of Adults (in years)</th>
<th>Approximate Ages of Adults Whose Exact Ages are Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>11-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximate Ages of Adults Whose Exact Ages are Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-35</td>
<td>36-55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE II
FAMILIES BY SIZE--A COMPARISON OF OPASQUIA WEST AND MANITOBA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Total no. of families</th>
<th>Families&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt; by number of persons</th>
<th>Persons in families&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Average no. of persons per family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba--urban&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>153,834</td>
<td>49,925</td>
<td>31,370</td>
<td>32,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba--rural&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>68,901</td>
<td>19,045</td>
<td>12,447</td>
<td>12,317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pas--town&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1,049</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opasquia West--reserve</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>The 1966 Census of Canada defines its terms as follows:

"A family, as defined in the Census, may consist either (a) of a husband and wife (with or without children who have never married), or (b) of a parent, with one or more children who have never married. In either case, all persons who constitute a family must be living in the same dwelling.

The term never married is significant in the census family definition. Once a child marries, he ceases to be a member of the parents' family, even if he continues to live in the same dwelling. To illustrate: a married daughter and son-in-
law form a separate family, even if sharing the same dwelling with the wife's parents. A married daughter by herself (i.e., without her husband or children), living with her parents is classified as a non-family person.

The classification persons in families includes all persons who constitute a family in the sense defined above. Unmarried children (including own children, adopted children and stepchildren) are, regardless of age, members of the family and are classified together with parents as persons in families."

(Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1968:Vol.II (2-9), Introduction)

b The terms "urban" and "rural" are not specifically defined in the 1966 Census of Canada. Incorporated cities, towns, and villages of 1,000 population and over are listed individually, however; perhaps we are meant to assume, therefore, that any centre below this level of population is considered "rural".

c If the column headed "Persons in families" were expanded to its actual number; that is, if families with more than 9 persons were considered by their true size, rather than being placed in a 9+ category and counted as 9 persons, then the final two columns would read as follows for Opasquia West: "Persons in families"—391, "Average number of persons per family"—6.4.
### TABLE III

**FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN (24 YEARS AND UNDER) AT HOME--A COMPARISON OF OPASQUIA WEST AND MANITOBA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Families by number of children</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manitoba-- urban</td>
<td>Manitoba-- rural</td>
<td>The Pas-- town</td>
<td>Opasquia West-- reserve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>49,096</td>
<td>20,264</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>30,712</td>
<td>11,496</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>33,332</td>
<td>12,116</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>21,550</td>
<td>9,363</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10,963</td>
<td>6,393</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4,566</td>
<td>3,727</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1,973</td>
<td>2,248</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>863</td>
<td>1,351</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9+</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total no. of families**  
153,834  
68,901  
1,049  
61

**Total no. of children in families**  
253,465  
148,853  
2,234  
268<sup>b</sup>

**Average no. of children per family**  
1.6  
2.2  
2.1  
4.1

---

<sup>a</sup>Following the 1966 Census of Canada, "children" are here defined as persons 24 years of age and under.

<sup>b</sup>This figure is 5 less than that given in TABLE IV under the column "Total no. of children at home". The reason for this discrepancy is as follows: by placing all families with 9 or more children in a single column, and counting them as having 9 children, 5 children in Opasquia West are not counted. These children are from two families, one with 11 children and the other with 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Total no. of children at home</th>
<th>Under 6 years</th>
<th>6 - 14 years</th>
<th>15 - 18 years</th>
<th>19 - 24 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba—urban</td>
<td>253,465</td>
<td>77,680 (30.7%)</td>
<td>111,678 (44.1%)</td>
<td>39,829 (15.7%)</td>
<td>24,278 (9.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba—rural</td>
<td>148,858</td>
<td>44,411 (29.1%)</td>
<td>68,908 (46.2%)</td>
<td>24,389 (16.4%)</td>
<td>11,150 (7.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pas-town</td>
<td>2,234</td>
<td>738 (33.0%)</td>
<td>1,029 (46.1%)</td>
<td>342 (15.3%)</td>
<td>125 (5.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opasquia West—reserve</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>103 (37.7%)</td>
<td>121 (44.4%)</td>
<td>30 (11.0%)</td>
<td>19 (7.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Following the 1966 Census of Canada, "children" in this analysis are defined as persons 24 years of age and under.

*The figures given in brackets, are the percentages which the corresponding unbracketed numbers represent of the total number of children at home.*
Traditionally, the Cree Indians of northern Manitoba were semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers, living in bands whose numbers increased and decreased according to the season. This way of life has greatly altered over the past century, though traditional economic activities have by no means disappeared; they are not only present in the culture of today, but also retain a vital role. Informants' accounts provide a record of the changes these economic activities have undergone over the past one or two generations.

Informants recalled autumn berrying camps. A twenty-eight-year-old woman described how her family would leave the Reserve to hunt in early fall, returning in mid-October. In the spring they were gone again from March until May, "trapping rats". The past is remembered nostalgically, and is seen perhaps through rose-coloured glasses. An old woman stated,

In the old days food was plentiful--ducks, geese, moose. Now people buy everything at the store; food is not as plentiful as it was.¹

¹All indented paragraphs, unless otherwise stated, are extracts from field notes.
External pressure, partly governmental, has forced traditional economic activities to evolve at a greatly accelerated rate. Family allowance checks may be withdrawn if a child misses more than ten days of school. This practice is obviously meant to encourage regular school attendance but, at the same time, it discourages the perpetuation of traditional food gathering activities, without necessarily providing alternatives. Where these activities are continued, prolonged family separations may result.

**Male Activity**

Today, traditional economic activities involving the male population are as follows: an informant stated that twelve or thirteen men on the Reserve live by trapping in the winter and spring, and by fishing in the summer. Those who trap in the winter do so to earn a basic living; others, however, may join in the spring trapping to supplement their incomes.

Trapping areas go beyond the boundaries of the Reserve. Each trapper has his own territory; he knows and respects the territorial "ownership" of other trappers. Animals trapped in this area include muskrat, weasel, mink, and squirrel.

According to the same informant, twenty-six men from Opasquia West act as hunting guides during the season; each must purchase a guiding license. During the fall season, this area, rich in wildlife, attracts hunters from the United
States; their need for experienced guides, intimately acquainted with the terrain, provides the Indians with lucrative employment.

At least ninety percent of the men hunt moose, deer, ducks, and geese to supplement their food supply, and it would not be inaccurate to say that all of those who are able, hunt, fish, guide, or trap at some time during the year.

Several of the men also cultivate large potato plots to augment their food supply. One man and his wife earn their living solely by making and selling mukluks.

Female Activity

The women too have retained traditional skills which allow them to supplement family earnings. At least half of the women sew hide moccasins, mukluks, mitts, and jackets; these are usually decorated with beadwork. A few women occasionally do their own tanning. The finished hide goods are sold to handicraft shops in town, when not specially made to fill private orders; and some distribution is handled by the Handicraft Guild.

Another not quite so lucrative employment for the women is cleaning ducks and geese for hunters in the area. This time-consuming labour brings them twenty-five cents per duck and seventy-five cents per goose. The eiderdown is used to make comforters for home consumption. It seems strange that despite the presence of sewing ability, and a fair number of sewing machines, garments were never seen to be
made for the use of family members (apart from skin clothing, which is only occasionally made for the family). Everyday clothing, and Sunday clothing as well, seem all to be store-bought.

BAND ECONOMY

Opasquia Band is considered relatively well-to-do in comparison to other Indian bands in the area. The Band's Revenue Account is largely made up of interest on capital, and of monies paid to the Band for land leases, land resources, and land rental on the Reserve.

Lease money is received for Band-owned land in the town of The Pas, and for Reserve land which the Government uses in situations such as the erection of power and telephone lines. In addition, a piece of land on the Reserve is rented and farmed by a non-Indian tenant.

Gravel and timber are the two major resources which add to the Band's Revenue Account. Several years ago, a group of Indians from Opasquia Band cut and peeled wood to fill a large pulpwood order; this operation has not been repeated since, but an informant felt the venture could be organized at any time.

People wishing to live on the Reserve, who are not Band members, pay a nominal fee to the Band for land rental; most people in this category are Métis.

Administration of the Revenue Account is handled by the Indian Affairs Branch. Recently, the Government suggested
that the Band take over this responsibility. Understandably, the Indians refused, feeling unqualified to handle the detailed bookkeeping involved. The Indians who are closely involved in Band administration are not being actively trained to accept responsibility of this kind. When they do ultimately feel confident to administer the Revenue Account, they will have learned the necessary skills by trial, error, and osmosis. It is difficult to understand why the Government would make an offer such as the above, knowing that the Band is in a position of having to refuse; such hollow gestures can only foster hard feelings.

**WAGE-EMPLOYMENT**

**Males, Twenty-one and Over**

Wage-employment, the non-traditional aspect of economic activity, presents a complex and somewhat confusing picture; perhaps this lack of clarity is indicative of an unstable situation. On the other hand, employment patterns were explored in cursory fashion during census interviewing, a fact which undoubtedly accounts for some of the confusion. At first glance, one is struck by the large number of unemployed; nearly a third of the male population twenty-one years of age and over were not engaged in full-time employment at the time of interviewing. Upon closer inspection, however, it becomes evident that very few of the men who are capable of full-time employment are, in fact, chronically unemployed.

Of the twenty-two men who were not working at the time
of interview, four were over sixty-five years of age, two were physically disabled, and one was psychologically incapable of sticking to a job (further interviewing would perhaps have revealed others in the latter category). The remaining fifteen, as far as could be determined, were not opposed to working; rather, their situation of unemployment appears to indicate tremendous job mobility. For various reasons, these men were between jobs. They were unemployed in one sense, but most were not inactive. As TABLE VI indicates, several were constructing or repairing their own homes—tasks which required completion before winter and which, therefore, took precedence over wage-employment. Virtually all of these men had been employed at some time and, with the exception of the retired and disabled, had every intention of working again. Presumably, the number of men who are in limbo between jobs remains approximately the same throughout the year, though the actual list of names changes from month to month, and from season to season.

Unemployment does not seem to bear the same negative connotation on the Reserve as it does off the Reserve, where the majority pay lip service to the Protestant Ethic. It is tempting to generalize and say that wage-employment is made to conform to a way of life. One works when it is convenient, or when funds are short. When a job interferes with the other things he wants to do, or needs to do, one merely quits his job and takes it, or another, on again when the need arises. This state of affairs is undoubtedly true for a
certain group of men. On the other hand, mobility and job changing reflect, to some extent, the availability of jobs. For example, a number of men were involved in the construction of a nearby technical school; their jobs would last only until the building had been completed. It is quite possible that a statistical analysis of the extensive pattern of job mobility would prove it to be consistent with that of the general population at the same socio-economic level.

To leave the topic of wage-employment at this point would be to convey a somewhat inaccurate impression. There is a group of fifteen or twenty men who are relatively acculturated; they have incorporated the ideals of "responsibility", "stability", and the innate value of holding and "sticking to" a steady job. These men have held the same job for anywhere from two to twelve years. It is interesting, though not surprising, that the community leaders and the non-drinkers fall within this group.

Cursory investigation revealed that 17.6 percent of the male population over the age of twenty-one either is working for, or has worked for, the Canadian National Railway (henceforth C.N.R.); it is very likely that closer investigation would require the percentage to be more than doubled. The fact that, of fifteen boys who are under twenty-one and no longer in school, at least eight have worked for, or are presently working for the C.N.R., confirms this suspicion. As the railroad plays such a significant role in the lives of so many Reserve inhabitants, it is in order to present here
one C.N.R. employee's case history. It is inevitable that the life he leads on the line, and his attitude toward his job, must in some way influence the total environment in which his children are being raised.

The man in question is forty years old, and has worked as a C.N.R. section hand for eight years. He works thirty-seven miles from home and lives alone most of the time in a bunkhouse which is not insulated, and which has no electricity; he comes home only on weekends.

Grant\(^1\) works a forty-hour week and earns $1.88 per hour (approximately $75.00 per week). He is responsible for the maintenance of ten miles of track. With increasing mechanization, fewer men are required, and some may be laid off. He may escape this because of seniority, but if not, the C.N.R. will perhaps re-train him. Grant did not take the exams which might have qualified him as a foreman, for passing these exams would have meant losing his seniority; he would have had to work at Churchill, and would not have been able to get home on weekends. He would again have had to work his way down the line to The Pas, by way of seniority. Grant is, therefore, not interested in becoming a foreman. His present position offers no prospects of a raise, and his only ambition seems to be to increase his seniority, thereby enabling himself to work closer to home.

\(^1\)All personal names in field-note extracts are fictitious; however, one name is used consistently throughout to refer to one person.

Males Under Twenty-one

For the sake of convenience, the employment patterns of those under the age of twenty-one are dealt with separately. Of twenty-three males between the ages of fifteen and twenty in Opasquia West, fourteen had quit school. In addition, one thirteen-year-old "quit school two years ago"; the mother of
this boy stated that "He helps his father", who is employed on
the Reserve building crew.

Contact with this sector of the population was minimal, and it is difficult to assess their attitudes toward employment and education, and their general feelings about their life situation. The impression created by the boys in this group is that they suffer from mass depression. They seem generally to be idle, and to have no purpose or goals. The Protestant Ethic has been absorbed to the point where they are not content with their state of idle being; rather, an air of unrest and discontent prevails.

It is possible to divide the boys in their late teens into two sharply defined groups according to the manner in which they related to the investigator. One group was characterized by its striking inability to communicate. On several occasions, an approach to one house initiated the hurried exodus of four or five youths. At another home, a knock on the door elicited a "There's no-one home".

During interviews with mothers in two homes, teen-age boys participated by answering questions and commenting through holes in partitions, or from behind a door. These situations made it obvious that the boys were alert, and sensitive to what was going on; they were interested enough to participate, as long as they could not be seen. It seems very important that we discover how this overwhelming feeling of inadequacy and lack of confidence comes into being. Is the inferiority complex programmed in by parents and other socializing agents,
or does it arise only through contact with the "outside world"?

Another group, of the same age, had no difficulty relating to the investigator; notably, this small group had remained in school; they were a great deal more acculturated and self-confident. Two or three would periodically drop in to visit and chat. One nineteen-year-old, who was in Grade 12 at residential school, had served on many committees, and was actively involved (when at home) in community organizations and politics. Another nineteen-year-old, the only boy mentioned among the fifteen out of school as having had technical training, had recently been to British Columbia for a National Indian Youth Conference. Unfortunately, data dealing with this age-group is not extensive enough to determine whether the differences are due to personality, education, methods of socialization, home environment, or whatever.

There is mention made elsewhere of the number of young people who are leaving the Reserve. (See p. 142) From the point of view of employment, a statement by an informant who is closely associated with the distribution of Reserve jobs is illuminating. He said,

It is very difficult to involve young people in the jobs that must be done on the Reserve, because paying jobs must be given to people with families first; therefore, the young people go elsewhere for work.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government (Provincial and Federal)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.N.R. (foremen, section men, extra gang)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve crew</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside company</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic (trained)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter (training unknown)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumbering</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm labour</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town store</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing (employed by one of two fishing companies)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship Centre</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve (school-bus driver, Indian Constable)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional (guiding, hunting, fishing, trapping, selling mukluks--self-employed)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE VI

**ACTIVITIES OF THE UNEMPLOYED MALE POPULATION**

**21 YEARS AND OVER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constructing or repairing their own homes</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To begin technical training or upgrading in the fall</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injury preventing employment</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness preventing employment (including one mentally ill and one alcoholic)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just released from jail</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes employed as hunting guides</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired but active in National and Provincial Indian politics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE VII

MALE POPULATION 21 YEARS AND OVER—
FORMER EMPLOYMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Former employment</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.N.R.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve crew</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside company</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odd jobs</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw mill</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing (employed by a company)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meter man for The Pas</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery-store stock man</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayer's helper</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total\textsuperscript{b}</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}Some of those listed were employed, and some unemployed, at the time of census interviewing.

\textsuperscript{b}Where two former jobs are known for one person, both have been entered.
TABLE VIII
MALE POPULATION UNDER 21 WHO HAVE LEFT SCHOOL--EMPLOYMENT AT TIME OF CENSUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.N.R.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Folks' Home</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE IX

**ACTIVITIES OF THE UNEMPLOYED MALE POPULATION UNDER 21 WHO HAVE LEFT SCHOOL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In jail</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To begin upgrading classes in the fall</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has completed technical training</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps father (Reserve building crew)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No special activity could be ascertained</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
###TABLE X

**MALE POPULATION UNDER 21 WHO HAVE LEFT SCHOOL--FORMER EMPLOYMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Former employment</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.N.R.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ducks Unlimited&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Ducks Unlimited is a private, non-profit organization, dedicated to perpetuating and increasing the North American waterfowl resources by preserving and developing their breeding habitat on the prairies of western Canada. It receives financial support mainly from U.S. sportsmen. Canada's Provincial and Federal Governments, as well as private ranchers, landowners, communities, and industries have provided use of land, water rights, and other elements of conservation cooperation. Construction of a large water control project—the 512,000 acre Mawdsley Wildlife Development, called the Del-Mar Project, is underway in the vicinity of The Pas.
PLATE III
PART OF THE RESERVE
BUILDING CREW IN ACTION

PLATE IV
COFFEE BREAK AT THE
FRIENDSHIP CENTRE
Females, Twenty-one and Over

Fourteen of the fifty-eight women in Opasquia West who are twenty-one years of age and over are engaged in full or part-time wage-employment; three of the fifty-eight women are over sixty-five. Only two of the fifty-eight, both twenty-one years of age, are unmarried; both are employed on a full-time basis. Three of the fifty-eight women, none of whom are wage-employed, are widows.

The most popular places of employment for the women are the hospital and the women's jail; of the two, the hospital is preferred. Without exception, informants who had worked in the jail felt they had received discriminatory treatment, and most were upset by inmates' threats.

In 1963, one woman applied to the hospital and to the jail for a job. She was accepted at the hospital, worked there for a few months, and was then accepted at the jail, where the pay is sixty dollars per month higher. She changed to the jail job but soon felt that the other women at work disliked her. The situation gradually deteriorated and came to a head when she was severely reprimanded for speaking Cree to the Indian inmates. She said, "I knew I had to get out of there". Taking the large pay cut, she returned to the hospital.

A second woman was involved in a similar situation. Having formerly worked in the hospital, she was now working in the women's jail. She too was very unhappy with the situation and was hoping to return to the hospital where "I learn something new every day".
No specific community feeling or attitude toward working women was detected; they do not seem to acquire added prestige or status on the Reserve. Only one woman, the Indian Health Services employee, appears to demand, and to receive a certain degree of added respect; this respect is perhaps extended to the former caretaker of The Pas Indian Day School as well.

Most of the working women, however, have been noticeably broadened by their experiences across the bridge in the White world. They are more capable of coping with the White man's aggressive personality and are willing to be more aggressive themselves and to "stand up for their rights". A significant demonstration of this tendency occurred when one of the working mothers, dissatisfied with her son's school achievement, went to speak to the boy's teacher in an attempt to solve the problem.

Females Under Twenty-one

TABLE XIII, which presents the employment patterns of girls under twenty-one years of age who are no longer in school, makes it obvious that there is no pressure brought to bear on these young girls to seek wage-employment. It is consistent with the generally high degree of permissiveness in the culture that, at least where employment is concerned, they are allowed to do as they please; this is not to say that no controls are imposed on their lives. In fact, in several homes the girls are more valued for the work they do at home than they would be were they salaried employees elsewhere. One working mother said of her eighteen-year-old daughter, "I don't know what I'd
do without her—she does all the housework”.

Money Handling

The subject of money handling was not thoroughly investigated. Nevertheless, several observations were made and, though they may not be statistically representative, they are indicative of some of the monetary situations that arise and the ways in which they are handled. It appears that the local banks are used infrequently, if at all, by the Reserve Indians; no doubt the Indians are inhibited, and perhaps frightened, by the impersonal atmosphere which prevails in banks. Instead, the "grocery-store system" of buying and of cashing cheques was seen to be in operation.

The investigator was present when two old-age pensioners took their Government cheques into a grocery store; after the cheques were endorsed, the store-owner slipped them into the till. The old women did their grocery shopping exclusively at this store. Other services were offered as well; for example, the pensioners might order paint from the grocer; he would fill their order at the local hardware store and the women would collect it, or hire a taxi to collect it, at the grocery store. Pocket money was doled out as requested, with a ten percent charge on each cash request. Undoubtedly, what remained of the cheques at the end of the month was also pocketed by the store-owner. Informants stated that several local grocery stores are willing to act as bank substitutes in this manner for their Indian customers.
TABLE XI

FEMALE POPULATION 21 YEARS AND OVER—
EMPLOYMENT AT TIME OF CENSUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital, Jail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full-time</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part-time</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Health Services</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve kindergarten teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdresser (trained)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store clerk</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic help (part-time)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runs Reserve store owned by husband (secondary source of income) ...</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes mukluks with husband (primary source of income)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE XII

**FEMALE POPULATION 21 YEARS AND OVER**  
**FORMER EMPLOYMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Former Employment</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospital, Jail</td>
<td>4(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stenographer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caretaker (The Pas Indian Day School)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Two of these women appear on TABLE XI as being presently employed at either the hospital or the jail; that is, one who is now at the hospital was formerly at the jail, and one who is now at the jail was formerly at the hospital.
### TABLE XIII

**FEMALE POPULATION UNDER 21 WHO HAVE LEFT SCHOOL--EMPLOYMENT AT TIME OF CENSUS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed but help at home</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed (to begin technical training or upgrading in the fall)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>One of these girls occasionally works in town; a second has upgrading.
The above arrangement would, no doubt, be highly unsatisfactory to a non-Indian population. Nevertheless, any suggestion to the Indians who use the "grocery-store system" that it is neither as safe nor as profitable as dealing with a bank would probably meet with disagreement, or at least with unwillingness to change. Warm, personal contact is more real and more comfortable to the Indian than abstract banking systems with no apparent services except vague incomprehensible interest rates. In fact, the "grocery-store system" has advantages for both the store manager and his Indian customer. The Indian needs the secondary services which are provided, including short term credit; it is likely that this is the crucial factor in the system's perpetuation. The store manager, on the other hand, benefits by the exclusive custom of his clients, and by the interest which he receives for providing secondary services.

Reasons for the apprehension connected with banks and money matters were apparent in the following incidents. The investigator was asked, on one occasion, to cash a cheque for an Indian woman. This, it was soon discovered, was no easy task; the cheque, signed by the Handicraft Guild, was viewed with a great deal of suspicion and it was felt that an Indian in the same situation would have been faced with an even more negative reception.

An informant told of a young Indian girl who went into a bank to open an account. She was brusquely asked for identification. A sympathetic gentleman in the queue said to the
teller, "Look, she wants to put money in, not take it out". Faced with this kind of reception, the Indian is not encouraged to increase his facility in handling money.

Saving is a concept which has little root in tradition. Some methods of food preservation were known and practiced in this area but, for the most part, when there was plenty, one ate, and when there wasn't, one went hungry. There is evidence that this attitude still exists. A twenty-six-year-old informant, with a family of five, described what he had done with a 450-dollar pay cheque.

He bought a television set, a second-hand chesterfield, a carriage, and seven dollars worth of beer, which he and a cousin drank. A propos of this *carpe deum* philosophy, Nelson told of a hunting trip where four men shot and ate nine ducks; in the same meal they consumed a yard long garlic sausage and other food they had brought along. He added, "The next day they shot nothing, and lived on bread and bannock".

On the other hand, it is unlikely that opportunities to save money arise often. In the majority of cases, salaries allow families to live at little more than subsistence level. This is especially true for those who are employed by the Band. The two school-bus drivers and the Indian constable receive 225 dollars per month each; the bus drivers' salaries were raised from 200 dollars during the summer of 1966. One of these men has a family of five, and one a family of seven. Needless to say, Family Allowance Cheques are of great assistance. The salaries of those employed off the Reserve are unknown though probably, on the whole, they are higher than those quoted above.
Children are not actively encouraged to save money, nor is any effort made to direct them in the handling of money. I am not aware of any family's allotting a weekly allowance to children. A child who asks for money is either given a small sum, or told there is none. How the children spend their money is quite obvious; during the summer, one can stand in the Reserve store at any time of day and observe children of all ages buying candy. One little girl, however, when asked what she would do with the prize money she had won at the Sports Day stated, "I'm going to save my money and have lots".

HOUSING

House Types

Lagasse, in his 1959 report on the people of Indian ancestry in Manitoba, discusses five types of houses occupied by Indians and Métis throughout rural areas of the province. The distribution of these categories in Opasquia West is indicated on TABLE XIV (p.79); only one of Lagasse's house types, the tent, is not represented.

Six log houses in Opasquia West range in size from a one-room structure nine feet by twelve feet to one and one-half or two-storey dwellings twenty to twenty-five feet square. Generally, the latter type is crudely divided into several rooms by means of partitions. Two log houses had been enlarged by the addition of a small room of frame construction; the additions were used either as kitchens or as storage space for water barrels, sacks of potatoes, and other bulky odds and
ends. In all cases, wallboard or cardboard was used for lining; the inside of one log house had been freshly whitewashed. (See PLATE V, p.82) Another, in a very poor state of repair, was about to be vacated; the family was moving into a new frame dwelling. About half of the log houses appeared never to have been whitewashed on the outside; the others have not been whitewashed for many years. (See PLATE VIII, p.85)

The one dwelling in the census sample which fits Lagasse's description of a "shack" (Lagasse 1959:Vol. III, p.27) is a nine foot by twelve foot plywood construction, the inner walls of which were being lined with plywood sheeting for purposes of insulation. This shack was inhabited by two adults and their two small children.

Lagasse has described the third house type as "frame construction other than shacks". (Lagasse 1959:Vol. III, p.26) The houses in Opasquia West which fall into this category may be subdivided according to vintage. The first of these subdivisions contains those old frame dwellings in which two or more generations have raised their families (log houses may be of the same vintage; usually, however, they predate the old frame buildings). In this category are included some of the largest homes in Opasquia West. (See PLATES VI and VII, pp. 83 and 84) Houses range in size from a fifteen by eighteen foot two-storey building, with an added single-storied room nine feet by nine feet which serves as a kitchen, to a twenty-six by twenty-six foot single-storey structure, with a sixteen by twenty-six foot addition containing the kitchen and two
bedrooms. In all, five of the nine homes in this group are two-storied. To quote Lagasse’s description,

They have rough floors, ceilings, walls plastered or finished with wallboard, chimneys and dugouts or more extensive cellars.

(Lagasse 1959:Vol. III, p.28)

As far as could be ascertained, only one home in the census sample, the old teacherage, has a cellar; the rest have crawl spaces only. The outside of these homes may be covered with a wallpaper-like sheeting of simulated brick or stucco. (See PLATE VII, p.84) Where appearance is concerned, such coverings preclude the necessity of painting; though they provide some protection against weathering, it is doubtful whether they are as effective a preservative as paint.

"Many of these homes could be redecorated and become attractive dwellings if their owners possessed sufficient financial resources." (Lagasse 1959:Vol. III, p.28) Three renovated homes in the group described above (renovations had just begun on a fourth) illustrate how much can be done with old frame houses. Thinking one home to be of the new Indian Affairs Branch type; the question was asked why this particular family, not an exceptionally large one, had qualified for such a spacious dwelling. The explanation was that the house was an old one, (it had formerly been owned by the wife's parents) and that renovations and additions had been executed by the family itself.

The second group of old frame houses is more recent than the above-mentioned variety; dwellings range in age from
seven to fifteen years, their average size being nineteen feet by twenty feet; four of the twelve have additions averaging sixteen by twelve feet in size. Though newer, the houses of this vintage are far smaller, and in far worse condition than the frame dwellings which are ten to twenty years older. These homes are less spacious than their senior counterparts and yet they often house very large, young families. Poor construction has made them look singularly old and decrepit, despite their relatively short existence. Most of the seven to fifteen-year-old frame houses are covered with a drab, grey, simulated-brick sheeting, which has a rough texture.

Though finished internally in much the same manner as the older frame houses, (floors are rough, or covered with a poor quality linoleum, walls are finished with wallboard) these homes are, as previously mentioned, in a generally poor state of repair. For example, linoleum, where it exists at all, has in many cases worn through to the rough wooden flooring beneath; its former existence can be detected only around the edges of rooms. Dwellings of this type are the most difficult to heat in winter; one informant stated that his home was insulated with shavings; he added, "It would burn down in ten minutes if it caught fire". There seems to be no thought of renovating or repairing the homes in this category; families inhabiting them look forward to the day they will move to new quarters.

Finally, we arrive at the new Indian Affairs Branch homes, the homes which Lagasse has called "modern and semi-
modern bungalows". (Lagasse 1959:Vol. III, p.26) In size, these dwellings range from one-storey eighteen by twenty foot structures to one and one-half-storey constructions twenty-six feet square. These, too, are frame, and most have gaily painted exteriors (the favorite colors are green, yellow, and blue; houses are usually painted a two-color or a two-tone combination). (See PLATE VIII, p.85) The Reserve building crew, responsible for the construction of new homes, builds the shell only; finishing, including the lining of walls with plywood, the building of cupboards and closets, floor tiling, and painting, both interior and exterior, is left to the incoming family. A stoop and stairs must also be added after the building crew has left. This situation has resulted in rickety, dangerous, constructions. Some are simply wooden platforms half-way between the doorway and the ground; often there is a gap between the platform and the house which is difficult for small children to negotiate. (See PLATE IX, p.86) Only one home had a cement stoop and stairs.

New homes are the most prestigious and the most highly desired by the Indians. They have ample window space and are, therefore, bright and cheery. The interior plywood lining is usually painted light colors, thus adding to the overall brightness. Floor tiles are of fair quality; they are frequently marked and discolored, but broken tiles revealing the floor underneath are the exception rather than the rule. Insulation is good and new homes are not difficult to heat. Care is taken to build safety features into the chimney area
for fire prevention. A few new houses (and some renovated old frame ones as well) have built-in, stainless steel kitchen sinks, anticipating the acquisition of running water; the sparse distribution of sinks indicates that this is a matter for which the family itself is responsible.

Though far superior to the recent frame dwellings described above, the advantages of new homes over some of the old frame dwellings is less striking. In fact, many old homes are roomier than the new ones. One family added a room which serves as a kitchen to their new home. The woman of the house expressed her feelings concerning the size of Indian Affairs Branch houses as follows: "I told them (the Indian Affairs Branch) to put big doors on it, and I'd use it for a garage". The new homes are divided into two or three bedrooms, a living room, and a kitchen, the bedrooms having just enough room for a bed and a dresser.

Another unfortunate feature of the new Indian Affairs Branch structures is that they all look alike. Though families have a choice of three or four types, these types differ in size, rather than design. The Chief stated that the Council had sent a letter of protest to the Government. "We don't want our Reserve to look like an army camp," he said. The Council was assured that the following year, families would be allowed to choose from several completely individualistic designs.
### TABLE XIV

**HOUSES IN THE CENSUS SAMPLE—THEIR TYPE, SIZE, AND NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House type</th>
<th>No. in sample</th>
<th>Average area</th>
<th>Average no. of rooms</th>
<th>Average no. of occupants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Log</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>335 sq.ft.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2 are two-storey, 1 has a lge. wind shelter)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shacks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>108 sq.ft.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame construction other than shacks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old (two or more generations)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>554.2 sq.ft.</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5 are two-storey)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent (6-16 yrs.)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>382.2 sq.ft.</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1 has a lge. wind shelter)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Either log or old frame construction</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>323.4 sq.ft.</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2 are two-storey, 2 have lge. wind shelters)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>517.4 sq.ft.</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3 are two-storey, 4 have wind shelters built into the house, 2 have lge. wind shelters)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former teacherage (frame with porch and basement)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>576 sq.ft. (not including the porch)</td>
<td>4(?) (only partly seen)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*Additions are included in the areal measurement where they are used as extra rooms (usually kitchens), but not where they are used for storage. The areal measurements refer to ground floors only. Areas are based on eye measurement alone; they are approximate rather than absolute.*
TABLE XIV (continued)

- Partitioned areas are counted as rooms.
- The term "two-storey" includes those houses which are actually one and one-half stories. In no case was the second storey seen; therefore, the "Average no. of rooms" column refers only to the ground floor.
- A "large wind shelter" is a small room, 75-100 ft. square, which serves as a storage area, and as a wind shelter.
- One home in this category is divided, half the area serving as a store; only the living quarters have been included in the measurements.
- The lack of certainty here is due to an oversight in note-taking. The size of these homes, however, suggests that they are log.
TABLE XV

HOUSES NOT IN THE CENSUS SAMPLE--
THEIR TYPE AND NUMBER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Log</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shacks</td>
<td>1 ... (this shack has been renovated and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enlarged by a Reserve family who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>let it to a young, newly-married couple)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame construction</td>
<td>4 ... (all of these belong in the older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other than shacks</td>
<td>vintage group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New</td>
<td>3 ... (these homes were unfinished at the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>time of census interviewing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission house</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PLATE V

THE WHITEWASHED INTERIOR OF A LOG DWELLING
PLATE VI

AN OLD FRAME DWELLING, ONE AND ONE-HALF STORIES WITH TWO ADDITIONS
PLATE VII

AN OLD FRAME DWELLING FACED
WITH SIMULATED BRICK SHEETING
PLATE VIII

NEW IAB DWELLING (LT.),
THREE LOG DWELLINGS IN A ROW (RT.)
PLATE IX

A MAKESHIFT WOODEN STOOP
New Houses--Financial Considerations and Methods of Distribution

A family wanting a new house submits an application to the Band Council, which administers a yearly housing grant from the Indian Affairs Branch. The amount of the grant varies from year to year; each year, therefore, the Council must decide how many large and how many small houses can be built. For example, for the year 1965-66 the Band received a housing grant of twenty-five thousand dollars; with this amount, seven small houses, or a smaller number of "large" houses, or a combination, could be built. It was decided that seven small houses should be constructed; the Council then looked for seven small families to occupy the homes. Ideally, the most needy families are the first to be given houses. In actuality, however, the Band Council decides who will best look after a new home; these are the people who are offered new quarters, and often they are not the most needy. An informant justified the situation with, "Eventually, everyone will have a new house". Each family is required to pay a percentage of the price of materials and labour. Size of payments is scaled to wages earned. Repairs and renovations are paid from the same building fund.

It is obvious that some people must wait three or four years for a new home. Their only alternative is to build a house independently. This course of action invariably requires a loan, and has been followed by only one family in Opasquia West. When payments cannot be met due to illness or other adverse circumstances, the Indian Affairs Branch will step in
and help. Those who build a new home independently, pay more than others for the dwelling, as they must personally bear the full cost of building; officially, the Indian Affairs Branch provides no subsidy in these cases. In the end, however, these people own their own homes and may do with them as they please.

**Population Density of Living Quarters**

If we calculate the average number of square feet of living space per person, according to the average areas given on TABLE XIV (p.79), we find that the population density for our census sample is approximately sixty-four square feet per person, or a space 8 feet by 8 feet. Averages, of course, disguise the extremes. In the case of one family of ten living in an area 18 feet by 15 feet, the population density would be twenty-seven square feet per person; each person would occupy an area approximately 5.2 feet by 5.2 feet. (See PLATE X, p.93) At the other extreme, the least densely populated dwelling in our sample, a home 30 feet by 22 feet occupied by a family of three, would provide 220 square feet of living space for each family member, or a room 15 feet by 15 feet.

It is difficult to assess the attitudes of the Indians themselves to the conditions under which they live. It is true to say that nearly all aspire to living in new Indian Affairs Branch houses. The exceptions to this statement would be those families who have renovated large, old frame dwellings, and perhaps single, old people or couples living in small log houses. Indian Affairs Branch houses, however, carry with them
a certain amount of prestige value, and it is probably this fact, rather than practical considerations alone, which constitute the appeal of these new houses.

Summer is not the best season during which to assess the psychological ramifications of the population density of living quarters. During the summer, the entire household is indoors only to sleep, and on cold evenings and rainy days. Children are outside for the major part of the day and evening, rushing in periodically, perhaps to grab a piece of bread and jam, and then rushing out again. I do not know how much greater is the pressure on living space in the winter. Of course, the older children are at school during the week. On weekends and holidays, however, it is likely that space is at a premium, as the children could not possibly spend as much time out of doors in the extreme winter temperatures as they do in summer.

One cultural pattern which seemed to be related to living conditions, and the density of population in living quarters was the women's passion for playing Bingo. Bingo games were organized for almost every evening, and the impression was that when the clutter of the day reached saturation point, mother fled, almost in despair, to the release which Bingo offered. One could often enter a home in the evening to find a terrific jumble of dirty dishes and littered clothing; the children would either be outside, or scrambling amongst the chaos, while mother would be at the Hall, playing Bingo.
With the exception of the inhabitants of perhaps two or three very densely populated dwellings, people did not express dissatisfaction with the size of their living quarters. They did, however, express their dislike of outdoor lavatories in winter, and seemed dissatisfied with homes which were difficult to heat.

Lagasse, in his study of the people of Indian ancestry in Manitoba, presents an arbitrary scale for measuring acceptable density levels of dwellings. We will reproduce Lagasse's Table and then compare Opasquia West with the other Indian and Métis communities in Manitoba, according to the given scale. With reference to this arbitrary analytical tool Lagasse states:

An arbitrary standard was established to determine the degree of overcrowding in Indian and Metis homes. It was felt that under normal conditions the standards listed . . . would represent the maximum number who could live comfortably in a particular sized home.

(Lagasse 1959: Vol. III, p. 36)

It should be noted that the basic unit of measurement on Lagasse's scale is the number of rooms, rather than the absolute amount of floor space. This means that a one-room house, twelve feet by sixteen feet, with four inhabitants, would be considered above the accepted maximum density level, whereas the same amount of space, with the same number of occupants, and a partition, would fall below this level. In a sample which covers almost the total population of the area under study, however, (in this case Opasquia West) it is likely that these inequities will balance out. The advantage
and purpose of this present analysis is that each individual dwelling can be considered separately. It should be noted, however, that on TABLE XIV (p.79), which merges all dwellings in Opasquia West into five main categories, presenting for each category one average figure for the spatial area, one average figure for the number of rooms, and one average figure for the number of occupants, all five categories of dwellings fall above Lagasse's suggested norm for maximum occupancy. Lagasse's table is as follows:

Suggested Norm for Maximum Occupancy of Dwellings by Number of Rooms in a Dwelling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Rooms</th>
<th>Maximum Occupancy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>3-4 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 and over</td>
<td>1.5 persons per room</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Lagasse 1959: Vol. III, p.36)

Following the above table, population density in Opasquia West may be analyzed as shown on TABLE XVI (p.92).

This analysis indicates that a total of thirty-four out of fifty-five (61.8 percent) homes in the census sample exceed the suggested norm for maximum occupancy. Lagasse's figures for Manitoba were,

Approximately 80 percent of the one room houses were overcrowded as were 75 percent of the two and three room houses and 27 percent of the four and more room dwellings.

(Lagasse 1959: Vol. III, p.36)

In Opasquia West, 33.3 percent of the one-room houses exceeded the suggested norm for maximum occupancy, as did 69.5 percent
### TABLE XVI

**POPULATION DENSITY OF LIVING QUARTERS IN OPASQUIA WEST, RELATIVE TO LAGASSE’S SCALE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Density relative to Lagasse's scale</th>
<th>Number of rooms&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houses above suggested norm for maximum occupancy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houses below suggested norm for maximum occupancy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Second stories were counted as one room, although in most cases they are not used at all in winter as they cannot be heated without great difficulty and expense.
PLATE X

A DENSELY POPULATED BED-LIVING ROOM
of the two and three-room houses and 58.6 percent of the four and more room dwellings. Since homes with four or more rooms fall almost entirely within the category of "new homes" in Opasquia West, (see TABLE XIV, p.79) we can say that the new homes which are being built are, according to Lagasse, spatially inadequate for the families they shelter. Where one-room houses are concerned, Opasquia West is far better off than the rest of the province. Over half the homes in our sample, however, were in the four-room and over group, and 58.6 percent of these, as compared with 27 percent for the rest of the province, exceed Lagasse's suggested norm for maximum occupancy. The new homes have advantages, but adequate space does not appear to be one of them.

Heating

On Opasquia, temperatures are likely to fall below zero Farenheit for the better part of six months of the year. Adequately heated homes, in this hostile climate, are essential for survival. Because of its importance in the lives of the Indians, heating is discussed as a separate topic.

Late in the fall, several houses were surrounded at their base with a sloping, tightly-packed, bank of earth. It was noted that this procedure was being followed where log and frame houses (both groups) were concerned; as far as could be determined, no new houses were being banked; presumably their superior concrete foundations preclude the necessity of insulating the bases with earth.
For added protection against the severe winter, most homes have a covered, frame, wind shelter around the most frequently used entrance (usually the back door). This shelter prevents the wind from blowing directly into the house, and provides added insulation around the door. Several new homes have the wind shelter built into the total design of the house, presumably to improve the appearance; in this way, the "tacked on" look of most wind shelters is avoided. From the outside, built-in shelters appear as an integral part of the house. Usually the full length of the house, and five to six feet wide, they provide ample storage space for washing machines, water barrels, freezers, and sacks of potatoes. Unfortunately, however, the gain in storage space necessitates an equal loss of living space. It is likely that built-in shelters are insulated in the same manner as the rest of the structure, thus providing more effective protection against the cold which penetrates by way of the entrance, than do the smaller, more hurriedly constructed shelters.

According to informants, log houses are easily heated; their moss and clay chinking afford ample protection against the elements. New, well-insulated homes are warm in winter, when properly heated. The older frame dwellings were usually quite comfortable; the frame homes of more recent vintage seemed always to be cold in the late autumn. Though the reason for it is not altogether clear, it is likely that the old homes which have been repaired and added to, have been reinsulated as well. Apart from insulation and other building techniques, economic
means play the most important role in determining which homes will be adequately heated in winter and which will not.

Fuel may be either wood or oil, with wood being by far the most widely used. In twenty-four homes, only a wood-burning cookstove was to be seen. Perhaps in some cases an additional heater is brought in before winter; in most, however, it is likely that the one stove is used for both cooking and heating. This arrangement would seem most inadequate for heating the larger homes, even those with good insulation. Fifteen homes were heated with a wood-burning space heater, in addition to the cookstove (the space heater being located in the living room), and three homes, (possibly five), contained an oil heater, in addition to the wood-burning cookstove in the kitchen. The method of heating could not be determined for twelve homes which were not seen in their entirety.

No more than three or four families were preparing a supply of wood for winter. These few families bought wood by the cord, rented power saws, and sawed the wood into logs; an informant said it is much less expensive to prepare the entire winter's supply in the fall, than to buy according to daily or weekly requirements in the winter. The large majority of families, however, take the latter course of action, simply because they cannot afford to pay out a large bulk sum at any one time. Less fortunate families fill their fuel needs by making frequent trips into the wooded areas to collect firewood. Often, a group of three or four young children could be seen following an older teenager, or an adult, each of them dragging
several large, leafy or dead branches along the road to be chopped into firewood. For these people, fuel is difficult to obtain in winter. Lagasse cited this example,

On The Pas Reserve, one home near the highway has a rail and picket fence which is used as stovewood each winter and is rebuilt the following spring.

(Lagasse 1959: Vol. III, p. 38)

It is obvious, then, that the standard of heating varies from good to poor. In a number of homes, on many different occasions, the investigator was barely comfortable in a warm jacket and two sweaters, while children played on the floor, wearing light cotton garments; usually their arms and legs, and often their feet, were bare.

It seemed to the investigator's husband, a graduate doctor who has spent several months as a resident in a paediatric hospital and several months in general practice, that a high percentage of the children had upper respiratory infection. He examined the children as closely as was possible by observation and by playing with them. The Indians were not aware that he is a qualified doctor, however, and no medical equipment was used. It is not possible, therefore, to give an accurate figure for the frequency of infection; nor can Opasquia West be compared with other communities in this matter. If the frequency is in fact higher than in the general population, this would dispell the validity of suggestions that these children are so hardy as to be immune to such adverse conditions, and would render meaningless comments from White people and Indians alike that "they get used to it".
MATERIAL POSSESSIONS

The fifty-six households in the census sample have been divided into three groups, according to the material possessions contained in each. Electrical appliances have not been taken into account in this initial assessment, but will be discussed at the end of this section. The lines dividing the three groups are fine ones, and are sometimes blurred, so that in one or two cases absolute objectivity was not possible and a subjective choice had to be made as to which grouping a household most closely approximated. In all cases, however, the choice was made solely on the basis of the material furnishings to be seen in the home in question; occupations and wages earned were not considered in the assessment, though they are naturally reflected in the divisions. It is hoped that this analysis will provide a picture of the range of living standards enjoyed by residents of Opasquia West. We will firstly define each of the three groups, and will then provide a more complete description of the homes in each category, illustrating each with a field-note excerpt.

Group 1 homes contain only the very basic necessities of living. All items of furniture are strictly utilitarian and most are multi-purpose; that is, furniture is not specialized—one item is used in a variety of situations. There are no items of furniture which are non-essential; for example, chesterfields and arm chairs are not present in Group 1. The only items of furniture in this group which could perhaps be regarded as specialized, in that they serve only one purpose, would be chests
of drawers and kitchen cupboards.

Group 2 homes contain a selection of specialized furniture; that is, one piece of furniture generally serves only one purpose. In this group, specialized pieces of furniture which are non-essential, such as chesterfields, though present, are usually in very poor condition. In the main, non-utilitarian objects are not present, though there may be an occasional scatter rug or a picture on the wall.

Group 3 homes contain furnishings which can be considered luxury items, such as coffee tables and arborite kitchen sets, in addition to furniture which is essentially utilitarian. Almost all of the furniture in this third group is specialized; it is usually in quite good condition. Some homes in Group 3 contain items which are purely decorative and non-utilitarian, such as bric-a-brac and wall plaques.

Group 1 homes may be characterized by the following description. The basic furniture requirements of a household in Opasquia West include a cookstove, a kitchen table with seating, beds, and a wash-stand and basin. As Lagasse points out, (1959:Vol. III, pp.38-39) one piece of furniture may have several functions. A bed may be used for sleeping at night, and for casual seating during the day; it may also be pulled up to the table at meal-time. The kitchen table provides a work surface for carrying out many activities. Here homework may be done, ducks cleaned, bannock kneaded, mukluks sewn, beads strung, and laundry scrubbed on wash-boards set in large tubs. There may be several kitchen chairs, but homemade benches and empty
oil cans serve the same purpose. Clothing may be stored in cardboard boxes. The stove may be used for both cooking and heating; in one home, a tin heater of the "air-tight", wood-burning variety served both purposes. These, then, are the basic necessities; however, even the most sparsely furnished homes often have, in addition, a dresser or two, with drawer space for clothing, and shelves or a cupboard in the kitchen, for stacking dishes and storing groceries. There are usually plastic curtains on the windows. Fifteen homes in the census sample can be characterized by the above description. Items of furniture are strictly utilitarian; they are plain and undecorated, and each item is multi-purpose. The following field-note excerpt describes a typical Group 1 home:

The house is tiny; it smells and is dirty. There was one bare light bulb in the ceiling of the kitchen, and I could see one in the bedroom. The kitchen contained a rough table with two benches, a home-made baby's crib, a covered, five-gallon, slop-pail, with a pail sitting on it, a woodstove, and a wash-stand. An electric kettle sat on the table. A colander, and a rack of hanging utensils, such as a cooking fork, etc., stood by the stove. Looking through the kitchen doorway to the bedroom, I could see a double-bed-size cot, folded up, and a dresser. The house was bare of any excess furniture, or decoration of any kind.

Group 2 differs only slightly from the above. As an intermediate group, it possesses a greater quantity of specialized furniture than does Group 1. Specialized furniture, though present in this group, is sparse, consisting perhaps of a badly worn wicker chesterfield, or an arm chair in poor condition. A few other embellishments, such as a scatter rug or a picture (the motif is almost always religious), may be present. In Group 2 there is an increase in the amount of furniture
specifically designed for storing clothing. Inexplicably, this group possesses fewer electrical appliances than does Group 1. (See TABLE XVII, p.104) A possible explanation is that fewer homes in this group were seen in their entirety. Twelve households are included in Group 2. The following is a description of a not atypical home placed in Group 2:

The kitchen, a room about fifteen feet by fifteen feet had two windows, with glass panes intact. The furniture consisted of a woodstove, a large, white, cabinet, a smaller cupboard, a small, grey, arborite table, a rough, wooden bench, and a few chairs. The floor had onion skins on it, an empty milk carton, and an open box of garbage. The room was warm—the walls dirty, badly worn, and in need of painting and repair. A clothesline hung over the stove with various articles of clothing, including a baby's shoe, hanging from it. A large water barrel sat in a corner, covered with a wooden panel, and a dipper hung on the wall beside it. Through the kitchen doorway, in the adjacent room, an old sofa in poor condition could be seen.

Group 3, containing twenty-six households, is broad. At one end it includes those homes in which specialized furniture is only slightly more plentiful, or in slightly better condition than that of Group 2; homes at the other end of the Group 3 scale contain a comprehensive selection of specialized furniture, including such pieces as chesterfields, armchairs, lamps, coffee tables, arborite kitchen sets, kitchen counters, and glass-fronted china cabinets. These homes also contain bric-a-brac, and wall decorations such as pictures (again motifs are usually religious), and family photographs. Quoted below is the description from a field notebook of a house which was included in Group 3.

The house is new, and quite nice; oddly, the woodstove is in the wind shelter area, off the kitchen. The house
has usually been fairly neat and clean any time visited. The walls are well decorated with landscapes, ornaments, family photographs, and bric-a-brac shelves. One shelf displayed a spray tin of lavender deodorant. The yard is fairly clean and free of junk, but is covered with long grass and bushes, except for the cleared path. The kitchen-living room (no partition) contains a nice china cabinet, but with the glass broken, an arborite table and two chairs, a wood furnace, an electric refrigerator, a chesterfield, an armchair, and a television set. There is a picture window behind the chesterfield.

The furnishings of three homes were not observed extensively enough to warrant grouping.

The three groups described above reflect what appeared to be three real divisions in the material well-being of the households concerned; each group was marked by a different standard of living. Those in Group 1 were barely managing to cope. Money was obviously very scarce, and life not very secure, financially; in fact, one wondered, in these households, if the means were on hand to provide the next meal. Group 2 households appeared to be slightly better off. Although there were no frills, one felt they were managing to keep their heads above water. Group 3 was made up of about half the households in Opasquia West. These families appeared to be managing quite well. There was some security here, and people were not concerned with the source of their next meal. The financial situation of Group 3 families enabled them to add the little extras to their homes which make each one personal and unique. Considering the fairly generalized instability of employment patterns, however, it would not be true to say that Group 3 households enjoy complete freedom from financial worry at all times.
**Electrical Appliances**

The distribution of electrical appliances provides a somewhat crude measuring rod for estimating the extent of people's furnishings and material possessions, as well as the extent of their acculturation and integration. Electrical appliances pave the way to an easier, more convenient way of life; they are highly desirable for this reason. When finances are available, appliances are among the first things to be purchased, after the basic food, clothing, shelter, and furniture needs have been filled. By noting which appliances are purchased, and the frequency of their occurrence, we construct a somewhat clearer picture of the material world in which the child is raised. We realize how difficult it must be for some families to cope with the purely mechanical aspects of living, such as washing clothes for a family of five, or seven, or more, with a tub and board. TABLE XVII records the distribution of electrical appliances, according to the three groups described above.

**Automobiles**

Automobiles, as well as electrical appliances, are highly desired items. They erase the difficulties of going to town for shopping and entertainment. Few families can afford this luxury, however. In the autumn of 1966, the majority of automobiles in use in Opasquia West were second-hand vehicles, in fair to poor condition; only one is known to have been purchased new. Keeping an automobile running throughout a northern winter is
TABLE XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Group 1&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Group 2&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Group 3&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(15 homes&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>(12 homes&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>(26 homes&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No electricity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No appliances</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appliance</th>
<th>Group 1&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Group 2&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Group 3&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wringer washer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refrigerator</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio, record player, or combination</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric stove</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothes drier</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kettle</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freezer</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toaster</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juke box</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar amplifier</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total no. of appliances per Group | 20<sup>d</sup> | 2 | 71 |
| Av. no. of appliances per household | 1.3 | 0.2 | 2.7 |

<sup>a</sup>Group 1 homes contain basic necessities only. All items are utilitarian, and most are multi-purpose. Group 2 homes contain some specialized furniture; that is, one item is used for one purpose only, but, where present, it is often in poor condition. There may be an occasional scatter rug, or a picture on the wall, but, in general, there are very few non-utilitarian objects in this group. Group 3 homes contain luxury items, generally in a fairly good state of repair; for example, there may be coffee tables and glass-fronted china cabinets. In this group, almost all utilitarian furniture is specialized.
b Three homes in the census sample, whose furnishings were not extensively seen, have been omitted from this table.

c Several families own sewing machines; since these are treadle, rather than electric machines, they have not been included in this analysis. The list of appliances is limited in its completeness; it is possible that a number of kettles, toasters, irons, and even frying pans were missed because they were out of sight in cupboards. Also, many bedrooms were not seen in their entirety; these may have contained appliances such as radios and shavers.

d In Group 1, the telephone, juke box, and freezer were owned by the store-keeper, who used them for business purposes; therefore, they are not counted in the Group total. This family owned a total of 9 of the 20 appliances listed here and would be included in Group 3 except that the store so impinged on the family's living space that furniture was necessarily sparse, to allow for movement in the tiny area that remained.
a difficult enough task when the vehicle is in top condition; it is doubtful whether many of the cars mentioned here still survive. Nine motor vehicles were owned by residents of Opasquia West; two of these were trucks, seven were automobiles. Six owners fall within the Group 3 category, and one within Group 2. The storekeeper owned one of the trucks; his household has been listed as Group 1, with the reservation indicated in a Footnote to TABLE XVII. The ninth vehicle was owned by a family which, because of insufficient data, could not be grouped according to material possessions.

SUMMARY

A general picture has now been presented of the ecological environment in which children are raised, and also of the Maintenance System—Economy. How do these parameters for child-rearing practices relate to the children themselves? This summary, which will briefly sketch in the position of children relative to the preceding chapters, serves to draw together the data presented in Chapters 2 and 3 and to indicate how they form a backdrop for data which will be further developed in Part II.

Geographically, the child is isolated from large urban centres; it is unlikely that he will see the nearest, Winnipeg, before he is an adult. Contact with non-Indians is largely restricted to school-mates, whom he seldom if ever sees in after-school hours, and to contacts which his parents have made through trading in town; children who study at residential
schools have even fewer non-Indian associates. For the most part, the life of the pre-school child is confined to the Reserve side of the river, with not infrequent excursions to town, under the watchful eye of a parent or an older sibling. Unaccompanied trips across the river are not sanctioned until the early teen years, and even then approval is not unequivocal. But geographic confinement is not relaxed on the Reserve side of the river. The young child is certainly not allowed to cross the highway to Opasquia East and he does not wander west along the Reserve road toward the Carrot River Area and Big Eddy unless he is accompanied, and unless a task such as berrying or gathering wood is at hand. In fact, freedom of movement for a young child from Opasquia West does not extend beyond Opasquia West and, as we shall see later, even this freedom has its limitations.

There is no area of Opasquia West which is being maintained as a children's playground. The former play area adjacent to The Pas Indian Day School has not been cared for since the school was abandoned, and it now contains only a couple of rough seesaws and a broken slide. A road passes close by and the former playground is strewn with gravel; high, uncut, grass and weeds surround all but the smallest area, which the children still use on occasion.

The yards around the houses make poor playgrounds; only one home can be said to have a lawn; it is surrounded by a fence. In general, the yards are filled with broken glass, washing machines, incinerators, which are often turned over by the dogs, leaving garbage littered for several feet in all
directions, backhouses, light wooden tripods for smoking meat and hides, (see PLATES XII and XVIII, pp. 324 and 330) dogs, dog houses, and sheds for holding wood, saws, axes, and other tools; unlike many Indian Reserves, there are only one or two car skeletons to be seen in Opasquia West. A number of yards contain crude swings and sandy areas where the children play; one yard displays a seesaw, consisting of a wooden horse and a board. Though these yards and their contents are not designed for children's play, the children utilize any object that is handy in their games; far from feeling confined because of taboos on crossing the river and the highway, they amuse themselves by climbing the sheds and tripods, rolling tyres, and stalking birds with slingshots. Children are not discouraged from handling the often dangerous contents of yards, and it is not unusual to see a five-year-old child wielding an axe; at five he may not be completely proficient, but by age twelve he is likely in charge of much of the family's wood-chopping.

As a resident of Opasquia West, the child probably belongs to a family (immediate or extended) of which one or more members is involved in the political organization and administration of Opasquia Band. As a resident of Opasquia West, he is associated with the highest status area of the Reserve. Nevertheless, his father, brothers, uncles, and cousins are mostly unskilled workers. His older brothers and cousins have quit school, and there are one or more adult males in his close family circle who are unemployed. The salaries of those who are employed do not permit the luxury of freedom from financial
worry and, what is more, there is little job security, even with steady jobs. Despite the difficult financial situation, the desires of the child are not denied when there is money available; he knows that when the means are at hand, his circle of adult kin will acquiesce to his requests, but when pockets are empty, there is no point in asking.

Households with only one or two children are of three types: they may be made up of an older couple, most of whose family have married and left home, of grandparents who are raising one or two grandchildren, or of a young couple just starting a family. Most children, however, are one of from four to eleven youngsters in a household. Statistically, the average household in Opasquia West consists of 2.4 adults and 4.7 children. The houses are small, and the quarters crowded. Very young children (up to about one year of age, or until the birth of a sibling) may sleep in the same bed as their parents. As they grow older, children are moved into beds with other siblings. In some cases, one or two bedrooms suffice for eleven people. For example, in one home, nine people lived in two tiny rooms plus a larger kitchen. The one real bedroom (ten feet by fifteen feet) contained two double beds; the mother slept in one with the nursing infant, and the father in the other with the next youngest. In the eight foot by fifteen foot bed-living room, a bunk bed slept two children on top and two on the bottom; an adopted twenty-one-year-old slept in the same room on a narrow couch. This room also contained a television set, sewing machine, and boxes of clothing; from a
coiled wire spring, nailed across a corner, hung an assortment of clothing. (See PLATE X, p.93)

There is little room indoors for children to play during the long winter months. When questioned about fantasy play, one mother said, "There's not enough room for children to play imaginative games; they are constantly being interrupted by people walking in and out". Quiet study is virtually impossible; no secluded corners encourage those who might be inclined to do homework. Another, more basic, disadvantage of densely populated living quarters is that children in such an environment do not get the sleep they require. The following excerpt from a field notebook is instructive:

I arrived at Ballard's at about 8:30 P.M. The three little girls (ages four, three, and two) were in bed (the chesterfield opened out) in the living room. They were all fully clothed, and had only a thin cover over them. Two were facing in one direction, and the third in the opposite direction. The room was fully lit, and Mr. and Mrs. Ballard were watching television; the set was on full blast. The little girls were fussing about, not sleeping, of course, and Mrs. Ballard kept at them to lie down, go to sleep, etc. The one-year-old boy, in his crib across the room, began to cry.

Despite geographic confinement, a hostile winter climate (and, in some cases, little relief inside from the cold), financial insecurity, and a minimum of personal possessions, densely populated homes, and the absence of facilities specifically designed for the amusement of children, youngsters lead happy, and even carefree lives. They are, for the most part, well-fed, and much loved. They are unaware of what we might label physical and intellectual deprivation, and are more than content (up to a certain age) with the many compensations to be discussed in following chapters.
Chapter 4

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Ethnographies of native groups the world over stress
the significance of kinship in social organization. The Cree
Indian community of Opasquia admits no exception; sensitive
treatment of its social environment must underline kinship.
This chapter will, therefore, be laced with the importance of
kinship in the lives of the inhabitants of Opasquia West. It
will deal, in part, with the ways in which the intricate net­
work of kin relationship is woven into the fabric of every
aspect of the social world. An analysis of day-to-day life
reveals that kinship must be taken into account when discus­
sing residence patterns, visiting patterns, people's obliga­
tions and responsibilities to one another, and even children's
play areas and choice of playmates. In addition, kinship plays
a decisive role in the political structure of the Reserve. In
this chapter on social structure and the social world of the
child, kinship sets the tone; it is the background against
which details of social organization must be seen; it is the
key to understanding the total social environment.

To begin with, we must somehow demonstrate the extent
of the kin network in Opasquia West. Suffice it to say that,
of the fifty-six census sample households, there were only five
in which neither husband nor wife had "primary relatives"\(^1\) comprising another household in Opasquia West. Even this low figure must be qualified as follows: in one of these five households lived a widow whose mother-in-law resides in Opasquia West. In another of the five lived a widow whose husband had been a cousin of the next-door neighbour's deceased husband. These households, then, were not completely lacking kin ties with other members of Opasquia West: it is likely that further investigation would have linked the remaining three households into the kin network as well. Another, more tenuous, though not completely inapplicable indication, was that fifty-six households were represented by only seventeen surnames, an average of one name per 3.3 households. Opasquia West can be divided into four or five major extended families, each encompassing four or more households; the largest of these is made up of four brothers and their married sons and daughters, a total of thirteen households. A further three or four minor extended families were each made up of three or fewer households.

\(^{1}\)The kin group which is here included in the term "primary relative" or "primary kin" conforms to Murdock's definition. That is,

"The term primary relatives is applied to those who belong to the same nuclear family as a particular person—his father, mother, sisters, and brothers in his family of orientation, and his husband or wife, his sons, and his daughters in his family of procreation." (Murdock 1949:94)
THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

An exhaustive analysis of the kinship system was not attempted. Perhaps the topic should have been entirely omitted, rather than subjected to the cursory treatment which inevitably resulted in a collection of frustratingly inadequate data. Genealogies were collected from each major family; these shed light on subjects such as residence and visiting patterns, providing, in fact, a "who's who" guide. Unfortunately, when it comes to analyzing the type of kinship system, genealogies are almost valueless, unless accompanied by corresponding lists of the native language terminology used by speakers of both sexes and a wide range of ages. Such lists were obtained from one male and one female speaker only; both informants are in their twenties. These two lists were not analyzed in the field, a fact which resulted in a number of gaps due to oversight. Nevertheless, the very inconsistencies which are so frustrating, and which make any far-reaching analysis of the system impossible, are interesting in other ways. The data will be presented as given, in the form of two kinship diagrams. (See Figures 4 and 5, pp.130 and 131) These will be analyzed, not with a view to deciphering the kinship system, but rather to uncovering facts which are relevant to the state of the social system as a whole. In addition, we will reproduce Mandelbaum's list of kinship terms for purposes of comparison. The spelling of Cree terms on our kinship diagrams conforms, as far as possible, to that given by Mandelbaum. (See p.132)
There are internal inconsistencies in the terminology given by both male and female speakers; also, the two lists differ significantly one from the other. They do, however, have several basic factors in common: both present a bilateral system, in which terminology is essentially similar on paternal and maternal sides; descent is thus traced through both sexes. Secondly, lineal relatives are distinguished from collateral relatives. That is, in each generation, direct descendents (F, FF, FM, M, MF, MM, S, D, SS, SD, DS, DD), or lineal relations, are given terms quite separate from those given to other consanguineal or collateral relatives. The terms designating lineal kin are the same for both male and female speakers. We can conclude that the system is not generational or classificatory; rather it is descriptive. This conclusion is not, however, borne out by Mandelbaum's analysis of the Plains Cree kinship system. He points out that the terms for S and D may be extended to the children of male parallel cousins and that the terms for M and F may be extended to FB and MZ (Z is used for sister) when the terms are used vocatively. (Mandelbaum 1940:232) This extension of terms used for lineal relatives to collateral relatives was not evident on either of our male-speaking or our female-speaking terminological list, however. These differences must be due either to changes occurring within the system or to insufficient data.
Let us now go on to discuss the terminology presented by the male speaker. Cousin terminology appears to be of the Iroquois type.

In the Iroquois system the parallel cousins are usually equated with siblings; cross-cousins are called by the same term but are always differentiated from parallel cousins. (Schusky 1965:44)

In the terminology given by the male speaker, cross-cousins are clearly differentiated from parallel cousins: female cross-cousins are nutim and male cross-cousins nictaw; female parallel cousins are ntawemaw and male parallel cousins nitciwam. Whether or not siblings are equated with parallel cousins is not quite so clear. One of the three alternate terms given for Z equates her with female parallel cousins. To conclude from this insubstantial evidence alone that parallel cousins and siblings are, in fact, equated would be foolhardy; however, support for this conclusion came in unexpected form: an old "granny" in her eighties introduced the ninety-one-year-old woman with whom she was living as her sister. Genealogies show that the two women are parallel cousins. A young daughter-in-law explained, "When someone tells you they are sisters like that--they are really cousins". Unfortunately, no alternate terms were obtained for B; the one term given him seems to be a sibling term, as it can refer to Z as well; in view of the fact that Z can be equated with parallel cousins, however, it is fairly safe to assume that the same applies to B. Our deductions are verified
by Mandelbaum who says: "Parallel cousins may be called by the terms for sibling or by a special term for this relationship." (Mandelbaum 1940:232)

In the first ascending generation, parallel aunts and uncles are differentiated from cross-aunts and uncles. But, parent terms are not extended to MZ and FB (parallel aunt and uncle); it is possible that alternate terms exist either for M and F, or for parallel aunt and uncle, which were not obtained by the investigator. On the other hand, alternate terms were given for no lineal relatives; recall that the fact of exclusive terms for lineal relatives led to the previous suggestion that the system is descriptive (separates lineal from collateral relations). Clearly then, the first ascending generation does not follow the Iroquois system of the bifurcate merging type, where MZ becomes M while FZ does not; rather, it is of the bifurcate collateral type, where different terms are given to M, MZ, FZ, and to F, FB, MB; both forks of Ego's ancestry are stressed, and lineal relatives are separated from collateral relatives. As indicated above, however, Mandelbaum's terminological list does indicate bifurcate merging; it is interesting that the terminology given by our informant does not support this conclusion. Further analysis of this point is offered below.

What marriage rules are indicated by the kinship terminology obtained from the male informant? To state the main finding concisely, the pattern indicated is double cross-cousin marriage. Close scrutiny of the terminology shows that
Ego's W can be his MBD or his FZD (one of his female cross-cousins); though the chart designates Ego's W by a special term, her Z is called by the cross-cousin term; Ego's W before marriage would have been known by the same term as her Z. An interesting point is that the word *nulcimus*, which was not given by my informant as a kinship term, is used to mean "sweetheart". A glance at Mandelbaum's terminological list (p.132) shows that this word is given as an alternate term for female cross-cousin. Ego's parents-in-law, then, are his FZ and his MB. Structurally, cousin marriage is associated with sister exchange, and indeed that association is borne out to some extent, in this instance. Four cases of biological sister exchange were recorded on the genealogies, and in census interviews.

Schusky states: "Kinship systems, unless undergoing change, are consistent". (Schusky 1965:18) Consistent kinship systems, which are not undergoing change, remain viable in a specific form generation after generation, and exhibit certain nearly universal traits; these traits, because of their near universality, have been called "rules". When we see these rules violated extensively, we can suspect, with good reason, that the system under study is undergoing change. The following two of the twelve rules listed by Sol Tax are violated time and time again by the given terminology.

The rule of uniform descent: If someone whom ego calls A has children whom ego calls B, then the children of everybody whom ego calls A are called B.
The rule of uniform reciprocals: If A and B are terms used between a pair of relatives, then the reciprocal of every A must be B.

(In Schusky 1965:31)

For the moment, we will postpone any discussion of the change Schusky suggests, and will deal with the inconsistencies indicated on the male speaker's terminological list. If the system is consistent, the marriage rule should apply for any ego. The H of Ego's MBD is given as nictaw. This term applies to WB as well. Since MBD is a prospective W for Ego, this implies that her H is called by the same term as her B. Thus the given terminology violates incest taboos. It is possible that further investigation would have revealed the above as a simple error, perhaps a result of misunderstanding.

The first descending generation has not been previously mentioned, as it sheds little light on the system as a whole. Unfortunately, the number of terms collected for this generation is highly inadequate; in addition, those which were obtained include inconsistencies which render impossible the task of filling in blanks by deduction. The problems lie with the terms ntahkwatim and nictim; the former, as given, refers to the sons of two different women (ntawemaw and nictim), thus violating the above-quoted rules. This inconsistency introduces an impossible situation which prevents the system from maintaining itself by the rules which applied to the two preceding generations. What has happened, in effect, is that all males in Ego's S's generation are called by the same term. If the rule of double cross-cousin marriage is still to apply, half of the population in this generation would be required
to disobey incest taboos in order to marry.

Nictim, the one female term given in the first descending generation (aside from D and one alternate term) is also inconsistently applied. It refers to SW and is also given as an alternate for MZBD. The M of the latter girl is nútim; if the system were consistent we would, therefore, presume nútim to be the M of SW as well. However, the term nútim also refers to Ego's WZ and, presumably, to Ego's W before marriage. Logically, then, D would have to be nictim (D of nútim) or, as the system is lineal, she would have the same status as nictim; but this term has already been applied to SW. Obviously SW cannot enjoy the same status as D as this would be tantamount to having S marry D. Perhaps the B and Z nthtkwatim and nictim have simply been misplaced and rightfully belong as the S and D of ntawemaw and nictaw; this simple manoeuvre would partially restore the balance of the system. In fact, the suggested change would bring the terminology given by our male informant in line with that presented by Mandelabum who says,

> Children of male parallel cousins are called son and daughter. Children of female parallel cousins are called sister's son and sister's daughter. (Mandelbaum 1940:232)

As it stands, however, and assuming that our informant did not make an accidental error, we are forced to turn to Schusky's statement for an explanation.

**Kinship Terminology—**

**Woman Speaking**

Let us now consider the terminology given by the female speaker. The most striking point is the use of Eskimo cousin
terminology. "In the Eskimo system all cousins are equated and differentiated from siblings." (Schusky 1965:20) This is the system common to our own culture. Bs and Zs are, according to the female informant, differentiated by age, and it now becomes obvious that niswim is a term not for siblings in general, but rather for younger siblings. This is verified by Mandelbaum's list.

In the first ascending generation, the Eskimo terminology has only partially manifested; one cross-aunt and uncle are separated out, while the remaining three pairs of aunts and uncles are equated. That is, terminology is identical to that given by the male speaker except that FZ and FZH (cross-aunt and uncle) are given parallel aunt and uncle terms. Note that Ego's parents-in-law are called cross-aunt and uncle; though, in general, the terminology obtained from the female speaker shows that changes are occurring, she has, nevertheless, retained the terms which marry her to a cross-cousin. The disharmony created by the use of Eskimo cousin terminology is evident if we juxtapose it with the partial change which has occurred in the first ascending generation. MB and FB are called by two different terms (one is a cross-uncle and the other a parallel uncle) but MBS and FBS are both, along with the other cross and parallel cousins, referred to as ntawemaw. This violates the above-quoted rules of uniform descent and of uniform reciprocals.

It is interesting that the term ntim is used by Ego to refer to her HB; as previously mentioned, the male speaker used the same term to refer to his WZ; this term then, providing
no error is involved, refers to cross-cousins of the opposite sex or potential mates. The inconsistent manner in which the term ntcakos is used (a term found neither on the male speaker's list nor on Mandelbaum's list) is another indication of partial retention of traditional kinship terminology by the female speaker. The term refers to HZ, and examination of Figure 5 shows that she is given two possible marriage mates; one is a male cross-cousin, the other a parallel cousin.

The first descending generation again indicates the merging of two systems. S marries ncticim; this girl should be FZD (S as Ego) or the D of ntcakos. We can see that this is not consistently the case; recall also that use of the term ntcakos in Ego's generation is not consistent, a fact which further confuses the terminology of the first descending generation. Terminology for the first descending and the second ascending generations illustrates the separation of lineal from collateral kin.

One final matter concerning terminology should be mentioned. Five instances were recorded in ordinary conversation of a person's being referred to either as a grandparent or a grandchild. In two of these cases it is possible that there was some kin connection; in the remaining three, no connection could be determined. This terminological usage was not substantiated on genealogies nor on the lists of terminology; unfortunately, the lists were inadequate for illuminating this point both in the second ascending and the second descending generations. A young Indian girl with a
university education, including some training in Anthropology, said she called many people "grandma" and "grandpa", and that these terms were considered respectful. In fact, she explained this usage as an aspect of sharing and cooperation saying, "even people are shared". Perhaps there is a generational designation whereby all persons of the second ascending generation are given grandparent terms, and all those in the second descending generation, grandchild terms. Further investigation would be required to clarify this point.

Mandelbaum states that generational terminology is used for the two generations referred to above. He says,

Each member of the second descending generation from ego is called nosisim, grandchild. All in the second ascending generation from ego are nohkum, grandmother, or nimisum, grandfather. (Mandelbaum 1940:232)

Terminological Inconsistencies and Culture Change

Clearly, the inconsistencies apparent on the terminological lists are, as Schusky suggests, indicative of change. However, they indicate not only the rapid transformation of traditional culture, but also the direction of that transformation. In the area of kinship, cousin terminology affords us the clearest, most concise indication of the direction of culture change. The two speakers, both of the same generation, have given, on the one hand, a purely traditional configuration of cousin terminology and, on the other hand, a configuration identical with that of the surrounding, dominant, White culture. All other inconsistencies demonstrate the blend of
these two; they merely add weight to the hypothesis which cousin terminology makes inevitable. We have so far laid bare each inconsistency in order to show how much of the traditional system remains and how much of the surrounding system has crept in. Henceforth, however, this analysis will concentrate on the one example of cousin terminology, as it most explicitly typifies the transition which is occurring. Traditionally, cousins were separated into two categories, cross-cousins and parallel cousins, with cross-cousins being proscribed marriage partners; they are, at present, being gradually lumped together, in the manner of the surrounding White culture, and called by one cousin term.

Research in kinship has shown that changes in kinship terminology are preceded by changes in attitudes and behavior patterns. Eggan says of the changes which occurred in the Choctaw system, "It is this change in behavior patterns and attitudes which seems to be the medium through which the kinship patterns were modified". (Eggan 1937:50) Murdock makes the following general statement,

The rule of residence is normally the first aspect of a social system to undergo modification in the process of change from one relatively stable equilibrium to another, the last aspect to change being kinship terminology. (Murdock 1949:183)

Changes in terminology, therefore, indicate that changes have occurred in behavior patterns. As my research was not focussed specifically on this problem, behavioral changes which have preceded and precipitated changes in terminology can only be hinted at. Some information was recorded regarding the choice
of marriage partners; these data document role changes which have occurred, and describe corresponding changes in behavioral patterns. Juxtaposing this information with the terminological changes indicated above will perhaps provide further clarification.

Before discussing the choice of marriage partners, we must underline the marital union as the pivotal core of society. It is instructive that unmarried women are set apart from the community and are viewed almost as deviants. The following comments are illuminating: one informant spoke of a girl who tans moosehide; she added, "She's fifty, but we call her a 'girl' because she's not married". Another informant, after listing her children during a census interview said, "Oh, I forgot Sally--she's not married--we always forget about her". There does not seem to be quite the same stigma attached to bachelorhood, although bachelors, too, are not considered integral members of the community. Three bachelors owned two houses in Opasquia West, but they were never around, and their very existence seemed nebulous (two were in jail for part of the summer).

We have alluded to the extensive influence and importance of the kin network; this influence is generally seen from an overall perspective in which the extended family is the influential unit. We add here that extended families are made up of smaller conjugal units, each based upon the union of two people. What follows will be better understood if we recognize that the vast kin network, with its varying degrees of influence
exerted by different extended families, is dependent upon the successful unions of many sets of two individuals. Though, as we shall see, this pattern is breaking down to some extent, traditionally, at least, the marriage of two individuals, and the choice of spouses, was very much the concern of the larger kin group. Because of the degree of interdependence between the conjugal units of an extended family, stability in the whole structure rested upon stability in each union. It is obvious, therefore, why bachelors and spinsters are, to this day, considered somewhat odd and separate. They are, in fact, only partially involved (through their families of orientation) in the community's most solid foundation—kinship. By shirking involvement in a conjugal unit, they are undermining this kinship base, and are thus negating the very heart of their culture.

How are marriage partners chosen? It seems that traditionally, marriages were arranged. Two informants stated that their own marriages had been "forced", and indicated that this was common practise in the past. A slightly modified version of arranged marriage is evident in a legend which was recorded; the age of this legend is debatable, but more important is its content, which is both interesting and topical. Matsikanu'usis was raised by his Grandmother. One day, when he was about eighteen, she said to him, "Well son, pretty soon you'll have to get a woman; you should have a wife, a home of your own, and raise a family." As the story continues, the grandmother urges the youth concerning one young Indian girl
in particular, despite the fact that many other men are interested in her. (See Appendix, pp. 319-322) It seems that, in some cases, such legendary family pressure (which directs a young person's attention to one specific prospective partner) coincides with present-day reality. A twenty-seven-year-old male informant said that his parents had several years ago voiced their opinion that it was time for him to marry; they had suggested a specific girl, a nice girl, from a good and respected family, and he had complied with their wishes. Now, however, he blamed any unhappiness in the marriage on the fact that it had been "forced". This situation points to a change in attitude and in practise.

Arranged marriages are no longer acceptable to young adults. Mass communication has put youth in touch with Hollywood ideals of love and romance; they want to choose their own mates, and it seems that they are not limiting their sphere of prospective partners to cross-cousins, or to those persons favoured by their parents. Nevertheless, parents have by no means ceased to influence their children's selection of marriage partners. Rather than exert positive pressure by actually selecting mates for their offspring, however, parents now exert the negative pressure of disapproval when they feel it is warranted. One informant stated that some parents are very strict about who they allow their children to go out with. She told of a sister who was "strapped" for persisting in a relationship which was unacceptable to her parents. The informant also stated that parents may express their disapproval by refusing
to attend the wedding ceremony, or by refusing to provide a wedding feast (usually, though not always, the responsibility of the bride's kin). In fact, during the autumn of 1966, a twenty-three-year-old married brother, who disapproved of his sister's choice of spouse, created much unpleasantness during the wedding feast and the dance which followed. His actions, harshly spoken words, and especially the times and places he chose to utter his opinion, were considered in poor taste by the majority of the community.

Finally, there is a small group of parents at the opposite end of the spectrum from those who still attempt to "force" marriages, or at least influence choice; this small group feel they should not interfere with their children's selection in any way. One woman, whose husband beats her, says she knows now that her parents disapproved of the match. She wishes her Mother had voiced her opinion that the prospective husband was "mean"; the pending marriage would have been given second thought, and probably would not have occurred at all. The same informant said her parents disapproved of a twenty-one-year-old son's girl-friend; when asked if they had said anything, she replied, "Oh no, they wouldn't do that". Another mother, when questioned about her feelings regarding her daughter's marriage to a White man said, with unmistakably disapproving undertones, "She was twenty-eight--she knew her own mind".

When we stand back and subject these data to objective analysis, the picture which emerges is that of a continuum.
The role of parents regarding their offspring's prospective marriage partners ranges, at present, from selecting the mate and the appropriate time for marriage (closest to their traditional role) to paying lip service to complete impartiality (closest to the ideal parental role, as seen by the surrounding White culture). In fact, the majority of cases probably fall somewhere in between. If changes in terminology follow changes in behavior patterns, we would expect the most conservative families to have retained both the use of differential cross and parallel cousin terminology and the practice of arranged marriages; on the other hand, we would expect the most acculturated families to be using one cousin term and to be allowing their children freedom in choosing spouses. This hypothesis is supported by our data. The male speaker who gave a traditional terminological configuration had had the time of his marriage and the choice of partner arranged, while the female speaker who called all cousins by one term is the same woman whose parents disapproved of her choice, but said nothing.

Murdock suggests, in the passage quoted on p.123, that rule of residence is the first aspect of a social system to be modified in the process of change. It is difficult for us to test this hypothesis, as few data were collected relating to the traditional residence patterns of this particular Band. Current residence patterns, however, were well-documented and perhaps contain clues of former patterns. A number of dwellings housed extended families. (See p.136) In addition, a high
percentage of nuclear families lived immediately adjacent to
"primary relatives" (see Footnote, p.112). In both situations,
the tendency was for fathers and married sons to live either
under the same roof or in adjacent dwellings. Certainly, the
favored residence pattern is neolocal residence. In fact,
according to Mandelbaum, neolocal residence was the pattern
favored traditionally as well, with the same tendency for the
new dwelling to be erected adjacent to the husband's parents.

Commonly enough, it was the man's father who initiated
the proposal. If the parents agreed to the marriage, the
bride's people made a new tipi . . . . The two then moved
into a new tipi furnished with the necessary equipment by
the bride's family. The newly married couple usually lived
near the husband's parents although this was not an
inflexible rule.

(Mandelbaum 1940:245)

So it appears that residence patterns have not greatly altered.
The most striking change seems to be that extended families,
living under one roof, are now not uncommon. These situations
are, however, regarded as temporary, and usually come into
being because of modern conditions; that is, a young couple
may be waiting to acquire a new Indian Affairs Branch house, or
a daughter and her children may live with parents so that the
children can attend school, when the husband's employment takes
him away from centres where schooling is available. In Opasquia
West, then, changes in residence patterns shed less light on
changes in kinship terminology than do changes in marriage
customs.

The direction of the documented change in the kinship
system appears to be related mainly to acculturational factors.
Figure 4
Kinship Terminology—Man Speaking
Figure 5

Kinship Terminology--Woman Speaking
MANDELBAM'S TERMINOLOGICAL LIST

nimis\(^1\) ................. elder sister
nictaw ........................ male cross-cousin (also, nictcac)
nicitm ........................ female cross-cousin (also, nictcimus)
nisit .......................... mother's brother
nisikos ........................ father's sister
nohtcawus ...................... father's brother
nikawus ........................ mother's sister
ntawemaw ...................... female parallel cousin
nitchwam ........................ male parallel cousin
nisim .......................... younger brother; younger sister
(nyster sister is also his mis [Sig])
ntehkwatim ..................... sister's son
nictim ........................ sister's daughter
ntosim ........................ sister's daughter's husband
(logo niskosis)
nikosis ........................ son
nosisim ........................ grandchild
ntanis ........................ daughter
ntosimiskwem ................... sister's son's wife (also ntitawis)
nistes .......................... elder brother
nohkum ........................ grandmother (paternal or maternal)
nimusum ........................ grandfather (paternal or maternal)
ntehkwawaw ..................... parents (male and female) of child's
(male or female) spouse
ninahakicim ................... brother's daughter's husband (also
ntehkwatim)
ninahakaniskwem ............... son's wife (also nictim)
ntaniskotapan ................. great grandchild (also nosisim)
nictcac ........................ male cross-cousin (also nictaw)
niva .............................. wife (also nivakimagun; (ninapem,
husband)
nimanatcimahakan ............. wife's parent (male and female)
(also nisis, nisikos)
waitim ........................ female cross-cousin (also nisim)
nohtcawu ........................ father
nikawu ........................ mother

(Mandelbaum 1940:233)

\(^1\)The personal pronoun prefix "ni" or "n", means "my".
Perhaps the single most important factor is the shift from an economy based on small, kin-centred, hunting bands, which were seasonally nomadic, to an economy based on wage-employment, which favors a sedentary living pattern. This change would partially explain the fact that lineal relatives are now distinguished from collateral relatives. Recall that this is not so on Mandelbaum's terminological list. (p. 132) There would be a greater interdependence among collateral relatives in a hunting-gathering economy than in an economy based on wage-employment. The direction of acculturational changes toward White-western culture patterns can be seen in the modifications of marriage customs and in the economy; the direction of these acculturational changes foreshadows the shift from Iroquois to Eskimo cousin terminology.

RESIDENCE PATTERNS

Spatial Placement of Dwellings

When discussing the spatial relationships of houses, it is difficult to suspend preconceived notions and remain objective. For example, there is a temptation to use descriptive terms such as "residence cluster" with reference to a number of closely associated houses in which close kin reside; another group which bears the same spatial relationship as the first, but in which no two people are closely related, may go unnoticed if our minds are tuned to a combination of spatial and kin association. For this reason, we must take precautions to insure scientific objectivity. When each house in the census
sample was examined with respect to its two closest neighbours (distances being measured on a scaled map based on aerial photographs), it was learned that in twenty-five cases, neither of the two closest neighbours were "primary relatives" (see Footnote, p.112) of the husband or wife; recall that five of these households had no "primary relatives" in Opasquia West. Stating the case positively: 91.1 percent of the fifty-six households had "primary kin" connections with at least one other household; of these, 60.8 percent lived immediately adjacent to "primary relatives".

The accompanying map (Figure 6, p.135) records the placement of houses in Opasquia West and outlines the major spatial kin groupings which exist. Examination of the map reveals that the outlines we have drawn do not enclose obvious clusters of houses. That is, if it weren't for the fact that kinship is the criterion being used for encircling groups of homes, other equally valid lines could be drawn to demonstrate spatial clustering. There is no question, however, that given the fact of kinship as the organizing criterion, the indicated spatial kin clusters do exist in a very real sense.

Each major family confines itself in the main to one, or perhaps two, specific areas of Opasquia West. The roads, and especially the main Reserve road, appear to play a significant role in this areal division. One man who had moved across the Reserve road from his parents and brothers (a two-minute walk away) said he had done so because, "I wanted to lead my own life". It is interesting that he was, nevertheless, living next
Figure 6

The Spatial Distribution of Houses and Kin Groups in Opaqua West

*These are: unfinished construction (4), temporarily boarded up (3), mission house (1), not interviewed because of language barrier, refusal to cooperate, failure to catch residents at home (4).

*These are: church, former Reserve school, community hall, school-bus garage, storage bldg. for construction material.

*Only those primary kin groups which are spatially associated are circumscribed.

*Size of original map: 12 in. x 17 in.
door to a sister who, presumably, presented no threat to his privacy. When we subject this areal issue to numerical analysis, we find that of the fifty-one households with "primary relatives" in Opasquia West, 52.9 percent do not have "primary relatives" on the other side of the Reserve road. If the placement of families were purely random, we would expect that, in a population where the kin network is so extensive, a very high percentage of households would have "primary kin" in almost every part of Opasquia West. By examining kin connections on the two sides of the Reserve road, we can see that this is not so. Though the network of roads in Opasquia West presents no physical barrier whatsoever, it does appear to present a psychological and a social barrier.

Composition of Households

Eleven of the dwellings in the census sample (19.6 percent of the total) were inhabited by extended families. In seven of these lived parents, children, and one or two married sons and/or daughters and their offspring; in at least two of these cases, daughter's husband worked away from the Reserve, either on the railway line or fishing, returning home infrequently. In three other households, either an elderly parent or one or more siblings lived with the couple and their children. The remaining household was inhabited by a middle-aged couple and their children, plus a young couple and their children; the relationship, if any, between the two families was not determined. An eighteen-year-old girl who attended school in town boarded with a family in Opasquia West. In addition, two households
were hosting visiting relatives; in both cases, the visits lasted several weeks.

Ten households supported eighteen "adopted" children; (see below) eight of these children were living with grandparents. Five more children were living, temporarily, with grandparents or with married siblings; for example, one teen-aged boy stayed with his sister and her family because he liked it there; the boy's mother commented that he would remain there as long as he pleased. An eleven-year-old girl, from a large family, resided with her grandparents for the purpose of assisting them.

From the examples above it is obvious that a variety of situations is covered by the term "adoption". As far as could be ascertained, none of the "adoptions" are legalized in White courts. One type of adoptive arrangement does exist, however, which involves social workers, at least. Several women stated that children might be "adopted" through the Welfare Department, and that Family Allowance Cheques were subsequently received for the care of these children. In these instances, the adoptive parents know the identity of the child's biological mother. My impression was that a decision may be reached before a child is born to request care of the child; in most cases the child is illegitimate. The Indian community knows that the young mother will give the baby up to the Welfare Department and, where a child is desired, a couple may make their request when they hear that the baby has been born. I do not know what the legal position is in these cases but, as Family Allowance Cheques are
received, it is probable that the adoptive parents are considered legal guardians. The Indians, however, make no distinction between these "adopted" children and their own, other than the fact that they do refer to them as "adopted". It is probable that the biological parents retain a legal claim to these children; the Indians are either unaware of these implications or are unconcerned by them, though they would undoubtedly be quite upset were these children to be removed from their care. These, then, are the "adoptions" which involve Government Agencies.

In addition, there exists a variety of "Indian adoptions", as the above examples indicate. These arrangements arise due to adverse circumstances, or are arrangements of convenience. For example, three children were being raised by grandparents because their parents were alcoholics and were incapable of providing a home for the children. In another case, a six-year-old was living with her widowed Grandmother so that she could attend school in The Pas; her parents made their living by fishing down river where school facilities were not available. We have referred above to the young girl who lived with her grandparents in order to help them. Some of these situations are considered as "adoptions" by the Indians and some are not; the deciding factor appears to be whether the arrangement is seen as permanent or temporary. In either case, the children enjoy no special privileges; they are treated exactly as other children in the family. Those children living under temporary arrangements see their biological parents frequently.
One further child-care arrangement which is not con-
sidered an "adoption" and which involves a Government Agency
was mentioned by one woman.

Esther said that when she was eight months pregnant
with Ivan, a woman had come to her from the Welfare
Department and asked if she would take care of an Eskimo
child whose mother was in the sanitorium. Esther said
she would have to ask her husband. He agreed and they
had the child for several months. The woman returned
with another child, but Esther asked her to try to find
another home for him. If she couldn't find one, Esther
said, she would reconsider. When she took the child,
she didn't realize she would be paid fifty dollars per
month. She said at first they couldn't find homes for
those babies, but when people learned about the subsidy,
everyone was applying for babies.

Changes of Residence

The building program, which has resulted in many new
homes in Opasquia West, has, at the same time, caused many shifts
in residence. Thirty families, eighteen of whom are now living
in new Indian Affairs Branch homes, were questioned regarding
their former places of residence. TABLE XVIII records the
results of this inquiry. Expressed as percentages, the results
are as follows: 16.7 percent were formerly living in an extended
family arrangement, with either the husband's or the wife's
parents; 60 percent of these are now living next door to that
parental residence. Another 30 percent were formerly living
next door to parents, in a house which had belonged to parents,
or else the house in which they previously lived has now passed
to "primary kin". More succinctly stated: 46.7 percent of the
thirty households questioned demonstrate a pattern of close
association between kinship and residence either in the former
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Former residence</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Town of The Pas</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere on Opasquia (Big Eddy, Carrot River Area, and Umfreville Settlement)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the railway line</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With husband's parents</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With wife's parents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next door to wife's parents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a house which had belonged to wife's parents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a house presently inhabited by B, S, HB (H deceased), FB</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In an old house next door to present dwelling</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In an old house some distance from present dwelling</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Three are presently living next door to parental home; one is some distance from parents but very close to siblings. All are in new Indian Affairs Branch houses.

<sup>b</sup>At present one is uninhabited, one inhabited by non-relatives and one by son's wife's mother.

<sup>c</sup>This house is presently inhabited by a non-relative.
place of residence or in the succession of inhabitants in a particular dwelling.

People who had moved to Opasquia West from other parts of Opasquia were not questioned regarding their former neighbours, the present residents in their previous dwellings, or former extended family living arrangements. It is felt that such questioning would have strengthened the case for a close association, both past and present, between kinship and residence patterns. A highly significant point is that of the five households with no "primary kin" in Opasquia West, three, at least, had recently moved from Big Eddy or the Carrot River Area. There is a strong possibility that the origin of a fourth is also Big Eddy.

The succession of houses presents an interesting picture. Though informants were not specifically questioned on this subject, field notes reveal that five families, at least, are living in houses formerly inhabited by "primary relatives": parents in three cases and brothers in two cases. Two further families are in dwellings formerly inhabited by sister's husband's parents and daughter's husband's parents.

Children Away from Home--Their Places of Residence

An analysis of TABLE XIX reveals that 56.7 percent of those children who are living away from home (i.e., not residing with parents) have remained on Opasquia. The age distribution of this population is as follows:
Of those who have left the Reserve, 37.2 percent have remained in Manitoba. This percentage is represented by sixteen people, only five of whom are in Winnipeg. Eleven have remained much closer to home, either in towns such as The Pas, Thompson, and Dauphin, or are fishing down river, or working on the railway line.

In the case of Opasquia West, at least, the popular concept that Indians, and especially young Indians, are leaving the Reserve in droves for the large cities is simply not true. According to our sample, more than half are, in fact, remaining on the Reserve. In addition, almost 40 percent of those who do leave go not to the large cities, but rather to the small towns close to home. Of course, one cannot claim that this situation is stable and that people leave at the same rate from one year to the next. The situation is very changeable, and is profoundly affected by such items as integrated schooling and the availability of jobs. Predictions cannot be made with any degree of certainty. If we combine the importance of kinship with the suggestions evident in our data, however, we would be inclined to say that the Reserve system is not dying a fast death; rather, our data indicate that it will be viable for many years to come, as it is significantly supported by youth.
TABLE XIX

CHILDREN, 21 YEARS AND UNDER, AWAY FROM HOME--THEIR PLACES OF RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of residence</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married, living on the Reserve</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married, living off the Reserve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Manitoba</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Saskatchewan or Alberta</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the United States</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>residence unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single, living on the Reserve</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single, living off the Reserve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Manitoba</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Saskatchewan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>residence unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children living off the Reserve with other parent or with grandparents</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutionalized (Brandon Mental Home, Manitoba Home for Girls)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential school</td>
<td>18(^a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)These children have also been included in TABLE I; (Population Statistics) as they are absent from home only part of the year, they are treated in the text as regular members of their respective households.
VISITING PATTERNS AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Adults

Casual day-to-day visiting follows an almost totally kin-based pattern. Seventy instances were recorded of one individual visiting the home of another; twenty-four visits (34.3 percent) were by males and forty-six (65.7 percent) by females. Fifty-seven of these visits (81.4 percent) were between "primary relatives". Four other visits were between "secondary relatives". The remaining nine visits involved people who were, in all likelihood, unrelated, though this was unverified. This evidence overwhelmingly supports the

1 The kin-group included in the term "secondary relatives" conforms to Murdock's definition. Each of Ego's relatives will have his own set of primary relatives, many of whom will not be primary relatives of Ego.

From the point of view of the latter these may be called secondary relatives. Potentially, a person can have 33 distinct kinds of secondary relatives, namely: FaFa (Paternal grandfather), FaMo (paternal grandmother), FaBr (paternal uncle), FaSi (paternal aunt), FaWi (stepmother), FaSo (half brother), FaDa (half sister), MoFa, MoMo, MoBr, MoSi, MoHu, MoSo, MoDa, BrWi, BrSo, BrDa, SiHu, SiSo, SiDa, WiFa (or HuFa), WiMo (or HuMo), WiBr (or HuBr), WiSi (or HuSi), WiHu (or HuWi, i.e., co-spouse), WiSo (or HuSo), WiDa (or HuDa), SoWi, SoSo, SoDa, DaHu, DaSo, and DaDa." (Murdock 1949:94-95)

Essentially, it is this group of primary and secondary relatives which the Indians of Opasquia West consider their kin-group. The group could, however, be expanded to include "tertiary relatives" such as great-grandparents, spouses of uncles, aunts, nephews and nieces, etc. We will, however, limit our consideration to primary and secondary relatives only.
contention that casual visiting patterns are bound to kinship. One young woman said, regretfully, that since she moved east of the highway, she no longer sees a friend with whom she formerly visited frequently; it is true that the friend lives west of the highway, but so do a brother and sister who are not only visited often, but who also live very close to the friend (one sister lives next door).

Though casual, at-home visits between non-kin are minimal, this does not deny the existence of extra-kin contact. In fact a number of activities provide opportunities for visiting with non-kin. Several secular and religious organizations serve a pan-kin function in that they encourage interpersonal cooperation, regardless of kin-group affiliation. For example, the Health Committee sponsors a weekly Bingo game to raise funds for items such as eye-glasses, dentures, and transportation to and from clinics and hospital. The organization of this activity requires that a number of people work together in close and harmonious association.

The weekly Bingo is a highly popular form of recreation for the women. They may visit mainly with relatives for the rest of the week but at the Bingo game they can visit with almost every other woman in the community. One woman described Bingo as, "a disease, like drinking", and, indeed, it seems to

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1 The time span of these observations was a six-week period during the late summer and autumn of 1966. It is probable that visits are fewer in winter, when weather conditions restrict movement.
fulfil a distinct psychological need. For many women, the weekly game in Opasquia West is their only night out, and the only time during the week when a cluttered and noisy home environment can be escaped. (See p. 89) There are Bingo games in town on different nights and, apparently, some women play four to six times a week—a very expensive proposition. Aside from the obvious attractions of "getting out of the house" and seeing one's friends, Bingo adds an element of excitement to the women's lives. The possibility of winning a large sum of money is an attractive one and provides the ingredient of suspense which elicits such an overwhelming response.

Apart from informal visiting, it was evident that one or two male recreational activities were specifically kin-centred. These were hunting (which is not purely recreational, although that element is present), and small social gatherings of three to five men at which the group drinks beer and "chews the fat"; these gatherings may take place either in homes or at the beer parlour and are undoubtedly most popular in areas of Opasquia other than Opasquia West. In addition, two music bands involving eight to ten men were kin-based.

Pan-kin activities for adult males centre around various community organizations; they also include sporting events such as soccer matches. Band politics are largely in the hands of the male population. Several men are active members of Alcoholics Anonymous, which is centred in town rather than on the Reserve. One or two war veterans occasionally spend an evening at the local Legion. A few of the men frequent the town billiards hall.
Apart from these group-oriented activities, there are a few individuals who paint for pleasure; it is interesting that this is a purely male activity. Traditionally, men painted scenes of the hunt, etc., on the outer surface of the tipis; women did not paint, but rather did beadwork and basketry; this traditional sex differentiation in handicrafts has survived. Also, the men who paint, invariably choose subject matter whose theme is traditional Indian life and legends; they paint Indians in canoes, the heads of chiefs and warriors, or scenes from legendary tales; traditional dress is always depicted.

A number of recreational activities are enjoyed by the community as a whole. The main item in this category is probably sporting events. Men, women, and children watch league baseball games and soccer matches; the Annual Sports Day encourages total community participation. In addition, the Trapper's Festival, which is held in mid-winter and which attracts many visitors to northern Manitoba, undoubtedly invites the participation of the Indian community and produces inter-kin cooperation.

The celebration surrounding a wedding is widely enjoyed. The actual organization of wedding feasts is handled by the two kin groups concerned, though often cooperation is requested of non-kin. For example, a woman who is not a relative may be asked to bake several pies, or to loan a set of dishes, cutlery, or chairs. The overall organization, however, and the bulk of the cooking, which is done in the home where the feast is to be held, are kin-based. Written invitations are not sent out and,
apparently, anyone who wishes to attend is welcome. It seems that some form of verbal invitation is becoming customary. According to an informant,

"Kids come to birthday parties now only when invited; it used to be that when there was a party, everyone came—the same for wedding feasts."

The actual form which this said invitation takes remained a mystery; I often heard by word of mouth of an invitation to a feast; occasionally, however, the message did not arrive and I was later asked why I had not attended the function. The concept of invitation, then, is one which is slowly diffusing into the culture from outside; however, it has not yet reached the point where it is unacceptable to attend a feast without a specific invitation. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that in the past, wedding feasts were more open affairs than they are today. Wedding dances are still completely open, and are enjoyed by young and old alike. Music is provided by one of the two kin-centred bands and, interestingly, most dances require group participation—square dances, bunny hops, and butterflies. Dances are entirely devoid of the sexual component which is so basic to equivalent affairs in our own culture. Homosexual couples, both male and female, are as common as heterosexual, and it is not unusual to see people dancing alone.

Children

Let us now examine the question of visiting patterns and recreational activities with respect to children. Who does the child play with, what adults is he in contact with during
an ordinary day, and in what activities is he involved?

In the sphere of close inter-personal contact, the preschool child is almost totally confined to a world of kinship. Time and time again mothers stated that their children, "go to their Granny's next door," or that they, "play mostly with their cousins next door". When older children are at school and no caretaker is available, mothers like their children to remain within watching distance. One woman disapproved of her children visiting their Grandmother because, "It's too far--I can't watch them". Generally, however, grandmothers are heavily relied upon to help with young children. A post-partem mother sent her two, and four-year-old sons next door to their "granny" all day, every day until she regained her strength. A five-year-old slept at her Grandmother's home every school night; the Grandmother was the Reserve kindergarten teacher, and the two would go to school together in the morning. Other children also slept with their "Granny" on different occasions. Grandmothers are frequently babysitters. Aside from specific child-minding situations, however, children could very often be found visiting "granny". Caretakers from age six and up also play an important role in the lives of pre-schoolers; these child-minders are, invariably, siblings or other close relatives; their specific duties and responsibilities will be discussed more fully in Part II.

There is no question that young children play more with kin than with non-kin. An informant said that her children play
with her sister's children or with her husband's brother's children, even though other children live nearer. The same woman expressed her disapproval of the children of a neighbouring family; "they like to play by the river, and go to town on their own—I don't like my children playing with them". Another mother, however, stated that there was no-one with whom she would not let her children play. In fact, the only kin of her children's ages lived across the Reserve road, and there is general disapproval of young children making the crossing alone. This woman's children were, therefore, required to play either among themselves, or with non-kin.

Pre-schoolers have almost no contact with children from other areas of the Reserve. Even those of kindergarten age are divided into a Big Eddy class and a class from Opasquia East and West. Children are removed from their kin-centred environment on occasions such as shopping excursions to town, but perhaps their only opportunities for relating to non-kin are during community events such as Sports Day, wedding dances, and at birthday parties to which several non-related children are usually invited.

Though children generally accompany their parents to wedding feasts, these celebrations cater only to adults. Youngsters are not fed at the feast table; usually, they hang around their mothers' skirts and are given cake and other goodies. For the most part, children do not participate in wedding dances either; they are present on the sidelines as
spectators and, occasionally, several young girls between the ages of nine and fourteen will dance; they are inclined to join in when modern pop songs are played and to ignore square dances, which the adults thoroughly enjoy. The older teen-agers fall into two groups: one remains in the hall and takes part in the festivities, while the second remains on the fringe, congregating around the door, both inside and outside.

Birthday parties for children are probably, like invitations, diffusing into the culture from outside. They are interesting for the combination of foreign and indigenous cultural traits displayed. At one party, there were approximately thirty children present, including many Reserve-kin and three cousins from town; they ranged in age from infants to thirteen-year-olds. The party was to celebrate the birthdays of two brothers; interestingly, so little fuss was made over the birthday boys that only one could be discerned—and only because he blew out the candles. At another party, however, the birthday boy was placed in the centre of the room, in his high chair. A sensible cultural adaptation is that gifts are not a part of the proceedings (on one occasion the mother gave the child a gift). Before the party began, I asked when the children were expected. Only indefinite, vague replies were offered but, miraculously, they all began to arrive at the same time; however, three little cousins from next door did not attend, because they were still napping.

When they first arrived, the children crowded into a small room; the Mother of the birthday boys asked, "Do you know
any songs or games?" There was a loud "yes" chorus and it was quite obvious that they were more than willing to sing songs, or to be organized into playing games, but no direction was given. The children feebly sang "Happy Birthday," and that was that. Food was brought out and a feast on sandwiches, two kinds of cake, freshie, ice cream, and candy ensued. Then outside for a "peanut scramble" (peanuts and candy are thrown into the air and everyone scrambles)—and the party was over, approximately one hour after it had begun.

The Annual Sports Day is attended by most of the community. Events, designed to encourage everyone's participation, include a softball game for the women, (who are also in charge of the refreshment booth, specializing in mooseburgers), and for the men—a canoe race, and an archery contest. In fact, many come only as spectators. Children compete in track and field events, according to age (beginning with four-year-olds) and sex. The Sports Day, then, is a community activity which depends for its success on the cooperation of a number of people, under the direction of a special committee. It is a pan-kin-group affair, at which both children and adults mingle with people other than relatives. For the children, at least, a community spirit and sense of cohesion is produced which offsets their basically kin-centred environment.

No discussion of recreational activity would be complete without mentioning television. Both children and adults spend a good deal of time glued to the set. At least twenty-five of the fifty-six census sample homes had television sets. One
informant commented that for the first year or so after they bought their set, the whole family (including seven young children) would stay up every night until the end of programming—about 1:30 A.M. Despite this kind of undesirable situation, there is a positive side to television in Reserve homes. Firstly, it increases the children's proficiency in English and secondly, it broadens their horizons, exposing them to new ideas and values and perhaps thereby easing the jolt which comes with school entry.

As children get older, they are exposed more and more to non-kin. School brings them into contact not only with White children, but also with Indian children from other parts of the Reserve. They are allowed more freedom of movement in Opasquia West and their sphere of playmates grows to include a larger proportion of non-kin. This trend increases in the teen and young adult years, when trips to town become frequent and unaccompanied; unrelated friends take on a greater importance in these years. At this stage in life, there is probably a balance between the amounts of time spent with kin and with non-kin.

After marriage there is a sharp division. Women revert to a life which is largely kin-centred. Visits with non-relatives are all (except for wedding feasts) centred away from the home; they take the form of community organization meetings, in which only a very few women are actively involved, community activities, shopping excursions to town, and brief trips to the Reserve store. Those women who do take part in organizational
meetings are not always happy with the amount of time they are expected to devote to these activities. One informant said, "When I go to meetings I just sit there and don't say anything; I'd rather spend the time with my family".

The discontinuity in the balance of kin and non-kin relationships between the years before and after marriage is not as great for men as for women. Men's jobs keep them in close contact with non-kin. In addition, a larger number of men than women are actively involved in the political organization of the Reserve.

To summarize, it appears that very young children are cushioned by a close circle of kin. This circle widens to include greater numbers of non-kin as the children grow older. The apex of this trend is reached pre-maritally when a balance exists between kin and non-kin contacts. Men remain at approximately this same level after marriage, but women revert to a kin-centred existence. Throughout life, community activities, and celebrations such as weddings and birthdays, promote inter-kin relationships.

**Kin Obligations and Responsibilities**

From the point of view of survival, the interdependence of kin is no longer a necessity to the extent that it was traditionally; nevertheless, close cooperation and sharing among kin are as real today as they were formerly. We have already mentioned instances of shared services. Grandmother serves regularly as child-minder; field notes reveal that the
following services are rendered in return: male relatives chop her wood and whitewash her log house; female relatives do her laundry, cash her old-age pension cheque in town, do her shopping, and give her water when her barrel is dry. Female kin were also seen coming to the aid of a post-partem mother; one woman baked bannock for her children, while another cleaned her house. The spoils of a hunt are divided amongst the kin group. "A moose doesn't last long," commented one woman, "I give some to my sons, and it's gone in no time".

The system of "Indian adoption" (see pp.137-139) clearly demonstrates that the community as a whole assumes responsibility for its children and, more particularly, that kin assumes responsibility for kin. It was noted that 44.4 percent of "adoptions" were within the kinship group. This percentage represents eight children, five of whom were illegitimate; three had been abandoned by their biological parents. The children lived with grandparents and were divided among three households. None had been legally adopted. Another five children (in four households) were living for extended periods either with grandparents or with married siblings. Ten more children had been "adopted" into seven homes of non-kin. It appears, therefore, that while in almost half the cases the immediate kin group takes charge of illegitimate and neglected children, an equal number of children are taken in by non-kin.

It is probable that the number of "adopted" children living with "primary kin" is significantly higher than in the general White population. Our data would seem to indicate that immediate responsibility for children falls on the shoulders of
the kin group. Beyond this, the Indian community as a whole cooperates to share responsibility for its children.

Countless isolated incidents of sharing and cooperation within kin groups could be recounted. One man regularly chops wood for a brother who is asthmatic. On one occasion, a woman was seen to run from a coffee shop in town to ask a younger brother who was passing by the window if he needed money. The young children of one working mother are cared for during the day by her husband's father's sister. Part of a pay cheque bought a feast of hamburgers, french fried potatoes, and beer for a young man, his parallel cousin, and their wives.

Though we are discussing kin obligation and responsibility, to create the impression that extra-kin cooperation does not exist would not be entirely accurate. People are usually quite generous and helpful to one another. A birthday party was held for two old women at the Anglican Mission; one of the women shared her small cake with twenty-five people. Another woman said that, on pay day, her Mother, who had worked at the jail, would give nickels and dimes to all the children. On many occasions, people offered to pay for gas after having been driven to town, or some equally short distance. In general, people are cooperative, generous, and thoughtful. Selfishness appears to be a rare phenomenon and, in fact, most individuals could be described as being almost selfless. At Sunday School one morning, a class of eight to ten-year-olds was told the story of the shepherd and the lost sheep; the children were then asked to draw a picture from the story. One little girl was having great difficulty getting started
and was prodded several times by the teacher. Quietly, and unselfconsciously, a second child took the paper from the first, drew a picture on it, handed the paper back, and proceeded to complete her own drawing.

A tight kin structure in a culture which is gradually assimilating values and ideas from a second, dominant, culture, in which kin ties are less binding, is likely, at some point, to result in accusations of nepotism. In fact, this situation has transpired in Opasquia West. One family in particular has been accused, and perhaps justifiably, of nepotism with regard to the hiring of workers for specific Reserve jobs. The person in charge of hiring defends himself by stating that he hires the best man for the job, and by commenting,

There's a lot of interfamily jealousy; it's always the Birts against the Connors, or Big Eddy against The Pas.

Gossip is perhaps the best social control against nepotism, though it does not seem to have curbed inclinations in the case mentioned above. Perhaps members of other kin groups have not yet found themselves in positions which could result in nepotic hiring practices. Whatever the reason for its not having spread further, nepotism does exist in the case of one kin group at least, and would probably manifest in others under specific conditions. Nepotism would seem to follow logically from a closely-knit kin structure which is accepting ideas from a culture where "getting ahead" is dependent on individual merit.
Chapter 5

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The Pas Reserve is often referred to as a "progressive" Indian community by persons who are familiar with many Indian communities across Canada; the Reserve is considered "progressive" in comparison with other Manitoba Reserves and especially in comparison with other northern Reserves.

"Progressive" is a tricky word, and it often appears to be used as an indication of the degree of approximation to somewhat nebulous and ill-defined models in the minds of officials and other persons concerned with the Indian. Acceptance of the standards implicit in such models is encouraged by positive and negative sanctions which are built into Government programs; there may be, in some cases, no alternative to compliance and conformity. The ideal model is based on standards set by the White middle-class; the situation can, therefore, be summed up by saying that a Reserve is classified as "progressive" according to the extent of its willingness to accept and assimilate White middle-class values and attitudes.

What specific factors have caused Opasquia to be included in the "progressive" category? The key point is that a core group of young adults has begun to concern itself with administering the affairs of the Indian community. With advice
and direction from outsiders, a number of service committees and organizations have been formed. Excluding religious organizations, these fall into three categories, the boundaries of which fade one into the other. Firstly, there are those committees which fall wholly within the jurisdiction of the main governing body, the Band Council; in fact these committees are arms of the Council, having been formed to ease the administrative load of the Council and to create a broader base of administrative responsibility by spreading duties more thinly. This category includes such groups as the Housing Committee and the Hall Committee. At the opposite end of the scale are those organizations which, theoretically at least, are completely autonomous; in theory, they do not function as limbs of the Band Council, and there is no overlap between their duties and those of the Council. Committees and organizations in this group include the administrative bodies of the Friendship Centre and the Handicraft Guild. In practice, however, there is, necessarily, a good deal of communication between these groups and the Council. For example, a Handicraft Advisory Committee was formed by the Council when the question of erecting a building to serve as a Handicraft Centre arose. The main reason for this intervention was that the Council administers and allocates building funds, but this example, nevertheless, illustrates the practical impossibility of any body remaining truly autonomous; lines of communication are necessary for growth, expansion, and, in fact, for survival. Between these two extreme categories, that is, between the group
of communities which function as arms of the Council and those
which are, nominally at least, autonomous, we find such groups
as the Health Committee and the Sports Committee, which began
independently of the Council, but which have, in the process
of development, become answerable to, and administered by the
Council.

Though the formation of committees and organizations
is often stimulated by outsiders, their administration and
management is gradually being handed over to the Indians.
Outsiders are still involved, however, and their services are
still utilized. For this reason, the aura of self-administ-
ration is to some extent superficial, though its significance
is undeniably deepening. It is deceptive to cover a segmented
population such as that of Opasquia with a blanket term like
"progressive". One's awareness of this deception increases
as he becomes conscious of the gap which exists between the
leadership and the "people". This gap is especially evident
in comparisons between the values, attitudes, and way of life
of the leadership core, and of the people living in the more
remote areas of the Reserve. As one would expect, the most
"progressive" area of the Reserve is the one from which the
leadership core is mainly drawn, the one which is closest to
the White community in the town of The Pas, namely Opasquia
West.

The central and most powerful organization on the
Reserve is the Band Council, whose members are elected for a
specific term of office. Much of the administration of
Opasquia has passed almost completely from the Indian Affairs Branch to the Band Council. Nevertheless, the Indian Agent attends Council meetings and his presence is anything but passive. Advice and information are often requested of him; they are offered and, in some cases, are accepted without question. The Band Council is essentially its own "boss" where minor issues are concerned. Interference by the Indian Affairs Branch is great, however, when a major issue arises. Programs which the Indian Affairs Branch feels are important may be "rammed down the Council's throat" before all ramifications of the program's acceptance are investigated, either by the Government or the Band Council.

THE COMMUNITY PLANNING PROPOSAL

The Community Planning Proposal is a striking example of the implementation of a program without thorough recognition and understanding of the possible consequences, and without a healthy respect for those consequences. The issue of community planning will be discussed in some detail because it provides a significant illustration of programming which carries with it a mixed blessing.

The Government is making a sincere and honest effort to improve the living conditions of the Indian on Reserve. It is not difficult to get the Band Council to agree to what are obviously physical improvements. What are not dwelt upon, nor even mentioned for that matter, are the social consequences of extensively shifting the residence of many people who are living
where they are living for very specific, though covert reasons. The long-term results of what superficially appears to be a neat and admirable program could conceivably be much unhappiness and costly internal disorder.

At present, houses in Opasquia West, and throughout the Reserve, are scattered in a seemingly insignificant pattern of disarray. However, the outward appearance of disorder is very deceptive. The importance of residence patterns in the social organization of Opasquia West has been discussed in the preceding chapter; we have noted that the arrangement of houses and nuclear families is highly significant in terms of kin ties. (See Figure 6, p.135) Furthermore, we suggest that the link between kinship and residence pattern must not be viewed in isolation. Its full importance can only be appreciated if we consider the ramifications of the link in the context of the social environment; we must, for example, consider its role in the observed patterns of visiting, sharing and cooperation, and in children’s choice of playmates and play areas. The observed pattern of housing is one component of the large web of social organization; it exerts its influence on other components and is itself influenced in turn.

The Community Planning Proposal has been pushed through and accepted with an eye to the future. Plans have been drawn up by a Winnipeg company, at the request of the Indian Affairs Branch, to direct the positioning of new homes in Opasquia West, in anticipation of the eventual installation of sewers and waterworks. In order to make the installation of these
facilities economically feasible, new criteria must be applied in the choice of building sites. Earlier, (p. 35) we pointed out that initially, planning has been confined to Opasquia West. People in other areas of the Reserve who are interested in partaking of sewer and waterworks facilities will be required to move; in addition, families already living in Opasquia West may be required to shift the location of their homes. One informant (in a new home which was being paid for by the couple themselves, without the help of the Indian Affairs Branch) presented her predicament,

Isabelle said that when the waterworks and sewers come in, they will have to move their house in order to partake of the facilities. She doesn't want her house moved, because she and Grant planted trees recently. They were going to plant a flower garden during the summer, but put it off when Grant became ill.

These rearrangements appear to be necessary so that expensive services can be supported and maintained. What are the results of these manoeuvres to date?

In the plan presented, Opasquia West has been cut into carefully measured lots, each lot being adjacent to at least one access road of the extensive road network. A planner in Winnipeg indicated that an attempt had been made to superimpose the plan on the existing pattern of houses, in order to minimize disorganization which would result from extensive shifting. The investigator appreciates this well-directed concern and offers the following information which emerges from the data collected.

There were twenty-one new houses in Opasquia West in the summer of 1966; these had been constructed in the preceding four years under the recent Indian Affairs Branch housing scheme.
In addition, one family had taken a private loan to build a new home; three more new houses were in the process of being built during that summer. Of these twenty-five homes, one group of five stood out as having been aligned in a suburban-looking row, with each house set more or less squarely at the front of its measured lot. Four of these families had moved to their new homes from either Big Eddy or the Carrot River Area; the fifth had formerly lived in a completely different area of Opasquia West, across the Reserve road. It is curious that although the old house belonging to the fifth family had been given to a married son and his young family, this son was, at the time of census interviewing, living with his Father and siblings in the new home; the old house at the other end of Opasquia West was boarded up. From the point of view of physical position and, in at least four of the five cases, of social relationships as well, these households had been disrupted.

The families who had moved to Opasquia West from other areas of the Reserve in order to take advantage of the new facilities becoming available, are the leaders of a movement which will surely gain an ever-increasing following. It would be a delusion to think that this internal integration will be very much easier than integration between the White and Indian communities. We have previously stated that only five households did not have immediate kin in Opasquia West. Significantly, four of these are in new homes, and three are lined up in the suburban-looking row referred to above. Indian outsiders
are not easily accepted and made comfortable in the closely-knit community. One informant stated that this applies even to women marrying into Opasquia West from other Reserves. Certainly, feelings expressed toward people in other parts of Opasquia are often less than warm and friendly, as the following field-note entry reveals:

Kindergarten this year will be held only at Big Eddy, as the old school is to be converted into offices. Mrs. Linton said, "I hate to send them to Big Eddy". When asked, "Why," she said, "Because of the people there; we visit a couple of families and that's all". —I was unaware of any visits made to Big Eddy during my stay. —When asked if the children ever get together to play, or for birthday parties, from the different areas of the Reserve, she answered, "No".

TABLE XX gives some indication of the movement which has occurred to date. About half of the families who have moved into new homes have received a severe blow to their kinship-residence pattern link. We might add that 24 percent of the families in new homes in the area are "strangers" to Opasquia West; their kin ties in Opasquia West are confined to individuals who have also moved in from other parts of the Reserve. Many more relatives have undoubtedly been left behind. The percentage of "strangers" in Opasquia West, from other parts of the Reserve, is bound to increase as more people choose to partake of the services which will be available there. So it seems likely that repercussions will be felt both from the internal movements of long-established residents of Opasquia West, and from the movement into Opasquia West of "strangers" to the area. Just what these repercussions will be, remains to be seen.
The situation which has arisen is as follows: A Community Planning Proposal was prepared at the instigation of the Indian Affairs Branch, but with the approval of the Band Council. The plan was presented. It had the appearance of an idealized White middle-class suburban community. Houses, placed on measured lots were accessible by a network of roads; the plans looked very pretty with brown roads, blue houses and a transparent overlay of sewer and waterworks systems. The economic advantages were dwelt upon and, not surprisingly, no opposition was voiced. No thought was given, nor word spoken regarding the social disorganization and the change in character of the community which will inevitably be consequences of the program's implementation.

If self-administration were a reality, and if it were allowed to evolve more naturally, perhaps the Band Council would have concluded that sewers and running water were not worth the resultant social disorganization, or perhaps a way could have been found to install the services while maintaining the traditional residential configuration. In any case, though self-administration is in some situations a reality, the term "progressive", which is used to describe Opasquia, includes those situations in which the rule is compliance and conformity, rather than creative self-administration.
TABLE XX

LOCATION OF NEW HOMES RELATIVE TO SPECIFIED LOTS
ON THE COMMUNITY PLANNING PROPOSAL--FORMER
RESIDENCE OF THESE HOUSEHOLDS, AND AN
ASSESSMENT OF DISRUPTION* OF
RESIDENCE PATTERN-KINSHIP LINKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New homes, within lot boundaries on the plan</th>
<th>Former place of residence</th>
<th>Disruption* of residence pattern-kinship link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Big Eddy</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Big Eddy</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Big Eddy</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Carrot River Area</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Carrot River Area</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Next door, with husband's parents</td>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Next door, with husband's parents who were about to move to a new home, across the Reserve road*</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 In an old house next door—now used for storage</td>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 In an old house next door—now inhabited by non-kin</td>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 In an old house next door—now inhabited by a son and his young family</td>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 With husband's parents who live across the Reserve road</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 In an old house across the Reserve road—next door to one son, and not far from a second</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 In an old house across the Reserve road—near a married son.—The old house was given to a second son who, at the time of the interview, was living with his wife and family in his parents new house</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XX (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New homes, not within lot boundaries on the plan</th>
<th>Former place of residence</th>
<th>Disruption of residence pattern-kinship link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Unknown—but his parents and her Mother live directly opposite, across the Reserve road</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>In an old house next door</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>On the C.N.R. line—now next door to husband's parents</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New homes in O.E. across Hwy. 10—off the plan</th>
<th>Former place of residence</th>
<th>Disruption of residence pattern-kinship link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>In O.W., c near wife's family, now adjacent to husband's family</td>
<td>yes and no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>In an old house next door</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Straddling two lots on the plan</th>
<th>Former place of residence</th>
<th>Disruption of residence pattern-kinship link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>With husband's parents in another part of O.W.—now has siblings nearby, however</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>In an old house next door—now near husband's brother</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Unknown—now very near husband's mother and brother</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>In an old house, now lived in by husband's father's brother— not far from uncles, and adjacent to husband's mother</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XX (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New homes, within the plan, but not on a lot—in an open area</th>
<th>Former place of residence</th>
<th>Disruption of residence pattern-kin-ship link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 Carrot River Area</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aThe term "disruption" is being used simply to indicate whether or not the family has been separated from kin by their move to a new IAB house. It should be pointed out that houses which are not now situated within lot boundaries on the plan may have to be moved when the sewer and waterworks facilities, which are a part of the Community Planning Proposal, are introduced.

bFamilies about to move into houses which were in the last stages of construction have been treated as though they had already moved.

cO.W. is used as an abbreviation for Opasquia West, O.E.,—Opasquia East.
The Band Council and its Sub-Committees

Apart from major issues such as community planning, however, day-to-day decision-making is quite firmly—and practically as well as nominally—in the hands of the Band Council. There are nine Councillors, including the Chief and a Chairman; all nine are male. An election for a new Chief and Councillors is held every two years. Apparently, the election for Chief is largely a popularity contest. There is no election platform, and no speech-making. The university student expressed her feelings about the recent election for Chief; she was rather surprised at the choice but said,

He comes from the people. There is no such thing as a natural leader. There is, rather, silent consent by the community; a leader is raised by the people.

This analysis seemed particularly appropriate with regard to the current Chief. He was a very neutral person; one never heard him expressing strong opinions. He was in no sense a dynamic leader, but rather a go-between, the kind of person who could represent the Council, without allowing his personal feelings to become involved. He was also one of the older members of the Council. (The present Chief is one of the younger members and, although he is likely to be more opinionated than his predecessor, he is, nevertheless, not associated with any single faction, and could also be termed a neutral figurehead.) The job of Chief is essentially the same as that of the other Councillors; he generally does not vote at Council
meetings, however. The chairmanship of the Band Council had been given over to the Indians by the Indian Affairs Branch in 1963. In 1966, the Indian Affairs Branch had offered to hand over administration of the Revenue Account to the Band. The Band had declined the offer as they had no qualified bookkeeper or accountant to handle the account. The Council has no written constitution or duties. There were essentially five committees under the jurisdiction of the Band Council.

The Health Committee has four or five members (there was a discrepancy in the information given by different informants). It seems that the Health Committee's main function is to raise funds to pay for glasses, teeth, occasional drugs, and trips into town to see the doctor. Funds are raised by holding a weekly Bingo at the Hall. The Committee also sponsors a prize for the best kept sanitation facilities.

The Housing Committee has a membership of four. When a family wants a new house, it makes application to the Band Council. Each year, the Band receives a housing grant from the Federal Government; the amount may vary greatly from year to year. The Council decides how to allot the money, that is, how many large and how many small houses to build, and chooses the families who will receive new homes. (See pp.87-88)

In the summer of 1966, a Handicraft Advisory Council was in existence. The Council had originally been administered by the Indian Affairs Branch and was later taken over by the Friendship Centre; responsibility then passed to the Band
Council. The function of this Council was to look after the planning and building of a Handicraft Centre. The Advisory Council was to disband when this goal had been accomplished. The Handicraft Guild itself is not run by the Band Council. It is an autonomous federation of artisans who have banded together mainly to facilitate the distribution of merchandise. The Guild also serves to maintain the art of handicraft production. When the organization was formed, the merchants in town who deal in handicrafts were unhappy, because they regarded the Guild as competition. Several women who had already established business relationships with these merchants have maintained their former ties, and have not joined the Guild. Informants stated that women who joined the Handicraft Guild did so because they get more work that way. Also, the Guild has the advantage of being able to buy beads and other supplies in bulk, thereby lowering the prices of these materials.

The Hall Committee has four members. The Committee is in charge of renting the Hall for Bingo, dances, and meetings. It is also responsible for keeping the Hall in good repair.

The Sports Committee has a membership of five and is responsible for sporting events on the Reserve. This includes any games involving the following teams: Little League, Pony League, Women's Softball, Men's Soccer, and Men's Hardball. The Sports Committee sponsors the Annual Sports Day. A Recreation Commission had been formed in 1965 which involved the town of The Pas, the Local Government District, and The
Pas Indian Band. It received support from the Fitness and Amateur Sports Branch of the Provincial Government. The Sports Committee had been mainly responsible for liaison with the Commission since its formation although, of the four representatives on the Commission from the Reserve, only one member was also on the Sports Committee. Other Reserve residents on the Commission included the Minister, and two young boys in their early twenties who were not often around (both were at boarding school). During the summer of 1965, the Band had hired a Recreation Director. In 1966, a Director had been hired by the Commission, and a Swimming Instructor had been hired by the Lions Club. These individuals had provided a service for the Town and the District, as well as for the Band. The Recreation Director had instigated a Summer Day Camp Program and a Pioneer Club for old people. These programs appear to have had a limited success on the Reserve. It seems that the Day Camp was not terribly successful, and reasons such as the following were given:

The children wanted to go swimming and the Day Camp had not made provision for taking them to the pool in town. They would not comply with the children's requests to be taken to the pool. If they had agreed, they would have been more successful in organizing other activities.

These, then, are the Committees which function as arms of the Band Council, and which run the affairs of the Band. There are other organizations, however, which are an integral part of the political life of the Reserve, although they are not directly administered by the Band. The most important organization in this group is the Indian-Métis Friendship Centre.
Other Organizations

The Friendship Centre is run by an executive body of six; three of these people, the President, Secretary, and Treasurer are from Town. The Vice President, Director, and Program Chairman are from the Reserve. The two permanent, paid, staff members of the Friendship Centre are the Director and another male who does not hold an official titled position and whose status in the Centre could not, apparently, be defined, but who does a mammoth job at the Centre. He is Caretaker, Public Relations Officer, and generally sees that things run smoothly. The Centre is supported by a Provincial Government grant and a Federal Government grant. Some years it receives a grant from the Band Council as well. Money is also raised by the Fund-raising Committee. The Director had, in 1966, held his position for a year, and stated that he was still

"Feeling my way." He sees the ultimate job of the Centre as a means of integrating the Indian and White communities. "But", he says, "It can't be done all at once. You must go in steps. Integration is a very delicate thing".

The Friendship Centre is run by four committees. The Fund-raising Committee has ten members, five from the Reserve and five from Town. The funds raised are used for programming. Fund-raising activities include an Annual Fall Raffle, the co-sponsoring of a queen candidate for the Trapper's Festival, and in some years, a variety show; there are other minor activities as well.

Members of the Program Committee included nine Indians
and four Town residents. The programs seemed, at that time, to be few and far between. The only one mentioned by the Director, when specifically questioned on this point, was the raffle-drawing party, though it is known that he had also just started an Alcohol Education Program. On another occasion, he mentioned that he was especially pleased that pre-kindergarten classes had been organized by the woman President from Town, using the Centre as its base; classes were attended by White and Métis children.

The third Committee is Building and Finance. This Committee had a membership of four, with the Reserve Minister as Chairman, and three other members from Town. This Committee was in charge of administering the Centre's funds, keeping the building in good repair, and looking into the possibilities of acquiring a new building. They were considering the purchase of an old house which could be converted to suit their needs.

The Public Relations Committee was made up of one Reserve resident and three people from Town. Its main function was to put out the Friendship Centre newspaper, *The Birchbark Mail*. The Director of the Centre was occasionally called upon to speak at meetings of organizations such as the Lions Club, the School Board, and the Parent-Teachers' Association. It is possible that these speaking engagements were arranged by the Public Relations Committee.

The Friendship Centre plays a major role in the political life of the Band. The building itself was constantly in use for meetings, including all Band Council meetings. Sporting
activities, though they were nominally organized by the Band, appeared always to emanate from the Friendship Centre. In fact, the boys' baseball teams were coached by the second staff member of the Centre; Band activities and Friendship Centre Programs are inextricably interwoven. The second storey of the building had provided accommodation during the summer for the Swimming Instructor and the Recreation Director. All community activities, and especially the political administration of the Band, then, appeared to be based in the Friendship Centre. It could, however, have been utilized to a much greater extent for children's activities. No doubt the situation, as described, has changed to some degree by now, as a new building was required to house the Friendship Centre. Also, the conversion of The Pas Indian Day School, the Reserve School which had been abandoned when school integration was enforced, was to include an office for Band administration. The Indians, however, were not happy with the tiny space in the basement which had been allotted to them on the plans. It is possible, therefore, that, at present, there is greater separation between Band and Friendship Centre administration, a questionable achievement as lines of communication will undoubtedly be broken to some degree. As we shall see, however, the administrative core of both is drawn from the same small pool, so that the disruption of lines of communication would be minimal.

To complete a picture of the political organization of the Reserve, we must briefly describe the religious organizations in Opasquia West, as their political influence
is not inconsiderable. The most active group is the Women's Auxiliary, with an executive of eight. A second organization, known as the Willing Workers, has an executive of four. The Vestry is administered by a group of seven men, and is in charge of looking after the affairs of the Church. The Anglican Young People's Association is for young people up to the age of nineteen or twenty. I am not certain of the size of its executive, but do know that the two young boys previously mentioned in connection with the Sports Commission were both members.

The last association to be dealt with is the Guiding Association, which is in some ways a male counterpart to the Handicraft Guild, though it was not nearly so successful. The Association was formed, essentially, to standardize fees. There was little cohesion in the group, and it seemed to be slowly falling apart. One informant felt that its members should be given a course. Apparently, one of the reasons for the breakup was that some members were charging lower fees than others in the Association. The men did not, however, appear to have any difficulty getting clients, a factor which, if the situation had been less favorable, might have kept the Association together. In fact, their guiding reputation must be a good one, as one of the men spent several days as a hunting guide to Werner von Braun during the autumn.
An analysis of the composition of committees (excluding religious) is quite informative. The fourteen executive committees outlined above are composed of a total of twenty-seven Band members. Nine people appear on three or more committees; of these, seven are from Opasquia West, one is from Big Eddy, and one from Opasquia East. The member from Opasquia East was the Chief, who lived in the group of houses immediately adjacent to the highway. Four people appeared on two committees; three were from Opasquia West and one, I think from Opasquia East, though I am not certain. In addition, the Minister served on two committees. Fourteen people served on one committee only; eleven of these were residents of Opasquia West, two were from Big Eddy, and one from Carrot River. Approximately ten people from the Town of The Pas were involved on committees having to do with the Friendship Centre and the Recreation Commission.

It is evident that the leadership core of the Band is drawn from Opasquia West. In fact, 85.1 percent of committee members are from Opasquia West. The Community Development Officer felt that one or two people at the very core of the political structure were becoming obsessed with their own importance. He criticised one leader for wanting to do everything himself and for not involving the people, saying,

This is how they become with too much power. One of the big social problems here is that the leadership is progressing faster than the people. They are not taking the people along with them, and this they must do both for general progress, and to maintain their own positions as leaders.
This analysis is possibly a little harsh, though it is true that the leadership core is more sophisticated than the "masses". It is, however, impossible to establish which is the cause and which the effect.

Meetings are run quite religiously on Parliamentary Procedure. A Winnipeg Indian, whose wife is from Opasquia, in a discussion on political and legal matters said this of democracy,

Traditionally, band councils required 100 percent agreement on an issue before action would be taken. If one person disagreed, the others would try to convince him of their point of view. Now they are required to use Parliamentary Procedure, the majority rules, but they are not happy doing it that way.

This statement of a change from Traditional to Parliamentary Democracy was substantiated by the Bishop's Messenger. She spoke of the Women's Auxiliary elections, which she had attended the day before our conversation took place.

Apparently, the elections took all afternoon. The women were very meticulous about sticking to Parliamentary Procedure. There were enough positions so that everyone had some job to do.

Then she related the very charming procedure which had been formerly adhered to.

Elections are now carried out by secret ballot; in the past, however, the women would just have a list of the candidates running, and each woman would write her own name under that of the candidate of her choice. As the paper came round, people would tally up the number of votes for each candidate. They all knew which of the women would gain each position, and who they wanted, but in order to insure that the other women running had a respectable number of votes, some names were always placed under each candidates name. In this way no-one's feelings were hurt, and no-one was insulted.
To conclude, the percentage of the population who are actively involved, or at least interested in Band politics, can perhaps be indicated by presenting a tally of the number of people who voted in the last election for Chief and Band Council. Of 351 voters, 134 people voted, and 217 did not. Of those who voted, at least eighty-two, or 61.2 percent of the total, were residents of Opasquia West. We could not absolutely fix the place of residence of each voter, so that the 61.2 percent represents a minimum figure.
Chapter 6

FORMAL EDUCATION

The importance of education is increasingly being recognized by the Indians of Opasquia West and educational opportunities are beginning to be taken advantage of. This is partly due to the positive effort being made by the Government to sell education to the Indian; in order to make technical training a realistic and practical proposition, within the reach of every individual, the Government offers grants of seventy-five to eighty-five dollars per week, depending on the student's circumstances, for those embarking on technical training courses. To qualify for entrance to a Vocational Training Institute, a student must have attained a Grade 10-11 High School education. As many students initially leave school at about age sixteen, or with approximately a Grade 8 level of education, upgrading courses have been instituted to bridge the gap. Students receive grants of about seventy-one dollars per week, when they enroll in an upgrading course. TABLE XXI, which presents the educational level achieved by the adult population, illustrates that young adults are staying in school longer than did their parents. We see that the 21-25 age-group have completed an
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Average number of Grades completed</th>
<th>Number of individuals on which calculations were based(^a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-45</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-65</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)The formal educational level is unknown for a third of the adult population.
average of 8.2 Grades while the 56-65 age-group completed an average of 4.6 Grades. It is important to realize that figures showing the number of Grades completed are not to be equated with the number of years at school. When we look at the record of the younger children, we see that many are behind in school and have repeated Grades; we can assume that the same applied to the adult population referred to above.

Let us first look at the upgrading and technical training situation of adults and young adults who have quit school. From this vantage point we can look back to see whether the children are following the pattern set by the adults.

UPGRADING AND TECHNICAL TRAINING

It was established that eleven people had taken upgrading, or were in the process of taking, or at least considering, an upgrading course. Five, three males and two females, were between the ages of 17 and 21, four, three males and one female, were 22-29, and two males, aged 33 and 41 respectively. (See TABLE XXII) These figures are possibly not complete but, in any case, they indicate that a number of young people are interested in acquiring technical training, presumably with a secure and well-paid job as the ultimate goal.

Six males, between the ages of 23 and 33, had completed, or were about to begin technical training. In addition, a 23-year-old married man, with three children, was in Winnipeg taking technical training; one 26-year-old male had taken a painting course in Winnipeg; one
19-year-old male had completed technical training. Five girls, between the ages of 18 and 21, had taken, or were considering technical training. One of these girls had begun a hairdressing course in Winnipeg, but had not completed the course. Four women between the ages of 22-50 had had some form of technical training (one had taken secretarial training as part of her High School studies), or were considering the possibility of taking technical training. This brings the total number of people involved in upgrading or technical training, or at least considering the possibility of embarking on such programs to twenty-nine. (See TABLE XXIII)

In addition, one very unusual family had two children at university. A 26-year-old married son, with two children, had been to Teacher's College, and was now at the University of Saskatchewan, in second-year Arts. A 24-year-old daughter was a Registered Nurse and was also at the University of Saskatchewan, in second-year Science. She had practiced as a Public Health Nurse for a year. A 23-year-old son was living at home, on the Reserve; he had taken a one-year course in Winnipeg after Grade 11 and was a qualified Health Inspector, working for the Indian Health Services in The Pas. It is difficult to assess the reasons for this family's exceptional educational achievement. The Father was a handyman with the Northern Health Services and the Mother had taken a three-month course, and was working as a Community Health Worker, going from door-to-door, checking on newborn infants, and seeing that old people were taking their prescribed medications.
TABLE XXII

UPGRADING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Grade completed</th>
<th>Taking upgrading</th>
<th>Has taken upgrading</th>
<th>Considering upgrading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XXIII

TECHNICAL TRAINING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Grade completed</th>
<th>Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Has completed technical training (area of training unknown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mechanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Completed a one-year course in Winnipeg--is now a qualified Health Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>In Winnipeg taking technical training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>To take a machine operator's course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>To take technical training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mechanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Went to Teacher's Training College--presently at the Univ. of Sask. in 2nd year Arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Took a painting course in Winnipeg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mechanic, also went to a Theological College for one year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Going to Winnipeg to take a course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Was supposed to take a waitressing course at the new local Vocational Training College; had not yet received money to buy books, and was too shy to return to classes without them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Had been taking a hairdressing course in Winnipeg, but returned home without completing the course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Had completed a hairdressing course in Winnipeg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>10 or 12</td>
<td>Thinking of taking nurse's training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Grade completed</td>
<td>Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Is a Registered Nurse (trained in Winnipeg—presently at the Univ. of Sask. in 2nd year Science)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Took secretarial training at High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Has worked as a Nurse's Aide (? qualified)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Taking a course in the women's jail where she works,—would like to train as a Practical Nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Took a three-month training course in 1962 at Norway House,—is now a Community Health Worker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
She appeared to be the driving force in the family, and it was obvious that her expectations were high when she said one day, "That will be Dr. Warren," pointing to her 15-month-old granddaughter,—the illegitimate child of a 20-year-old daughter; Mrs. Warren had assumed care of the baby. It is illuminating that Mrs. Warren was the only woman seen to talk constantly to a small child.

The thirty-one people mentioned above represent only a small percentage of the total adult and young-adult population. The majority of adults are without technical training, and have achieved only a low level of education, generally not beyond Junior High School. The figures presented above, however, do indicate an encouraging beginning. A more general survey of the educational level achieved by the adult population, based on eighty-seven individuals, appears on TABLE XXI.

SCHOOL CHILDREN

Let us now assess the situation of 157 school children. This figure includes nineteen kindergarten children, not all of whom attend with any regularity. Eighteen children are at boarding school and the remaining 120 are in the integrated schools in The Pas. How are the latter children faring at school? The child's Grade was unknown in seven cases. Of the remaining 104 children, thirty were in the correct Grade for their age—assuming that they begin Grade 1 at age 6, and spend one year in each Grade thereafter; nine of these children were
6-year-olds in Grade 1. Eighty children were behind, or ungraded. More than half of these children (forty-seven) were one year behind. A further twenty-nine were two to three years behind. TABLE XXV gives the distribution of the remaining seven children. Of the eighteen children in boarding school, the grading of only nine was established. Of these, only one child was in the correct Grade for his age. The distribution of the remaining eight children is shown on TABLE XXV; the number of years failed ranges from one to four.

The very high percentage of failed school years is, no doubt, a factor in causing children to leave school at an early age; their self-confidence dwindles with repeated failure, school is associated with failure and loss of self-respect; they are unhappy and disillusioned, and so leave school to return home where, as young children, they were nurtured, loved, valued, and happy. The subject of school-leaving deserves closer attention. When do children leave school and what percentage of them do leave as soon as they possibly can?

The age of 13 is the earliest recorded age of school-leaving. We will, therefore, discuss the educational position of the population in the 13-20 age-group. This group included thirty-three males and thirty-one females. Of the thirty-

---

1 The entire population which falls within this age-group is counted, including those away at boarding school or elsewhere, and those who are married and on the Reserve.
TABLE XXIV

GENERAL SURVEY OF SCHOLASTIC STANDING
OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholastic standing</th>
<th>Number of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>19&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential and Integrated Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Correct Grade</td>
<td>31&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Incorrect Grade</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ahead</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ungraded</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Grade Unknown</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>This number represents those children whose age makes them eligible for kindergarten; not all attend, however.

<sup>b</sup>This figure includes nine 6-year-olds who are in Grade 1.
TABLE XXV

GRADING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Number of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boarding School</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correct</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Behind</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Behind</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Behind</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Behind</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Integrated Schools in The Pas</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Correct</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahead</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Behind</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Behind</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two to Three Behind</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Behind</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Behind</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Behind</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungraded</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In placing a child in the "Correct Grade" category, we are assuming that he begins Grade 1 at age 6, and spends one school-year in each Grade thereafter.

This figure includes nine children who are 6 years old and in Grade 1.

This figure represents a 9-year-old in Grade 5, a 10-year-old in Grade 6, and a 6-year-old in Grade 2.

Because of the lack of information regarding birth dates, it is difficult to assess the absolute accuracy of this figure. For example, an 8-year-old in Grade 2 may or may not be behind, depending on his age at the beginning of the school-year. As these data were collected within the first two weeks of the new school-year, however, it is probable that a child who was said to be 8 years old and in Grade 2 was, in fact, behind. The information has, therefore, been presented from that point of view.
three males, fifteen were definitely no longer in school; the position of a sixteenth, age 13, is uncertain. This group of fifteen included two 13-year-olds, one of whom was said to have "quit school two years ago", and two 15-year-olds. It also included one 19-year-old who, having quit school at age 14, was now taking upgrading, a 17-year-old with Grade 7 education who was to take upgrading, and a 19-year-old who had completed technical training. The remaining seventeen were still in school; of these, fifteen were between the ages of 13-16, that is, under the legal school-leaving age. Only two, a 19 and a 20-year-old were still in school over the legal school-leaving age. (See TABLE XXVI)

Of the thirty-one females in the 13-20 age-group, thirteen had left school; this figure includes one 14-year-old, and a 15-year-old who was in the Manitoba Home for Girls; one 18-year-old was taking upgrading and another had completed upgrading. An 18-year-old was to take a course in Winnipeg; one 20-year-old was to take a waitressing course but had not yet received funds for books, and had been too shy to return to classes without them; another 20-year-old had begun a hairdressing course in Winnipeg, but had not stayed to complete the course. Of the seventeen girls still at school, fourteen were in the 14-16 age-group, two were 18, and one 20. The educational position of one 17-year-old is not known. (See TABLE XXVI)

To summarize, we find that beyond the legal school-leaving age (between the ages of 16-20 here), there were only five individuals still in school, two males out of twelve, and
TABLE XXVI

SCHOLASTIC POSITION OF 13-20-YEAR OLDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Total population in age-group</th>
<th>No longer in school</th>
<th>Still in school—under legal school-leaving age</th>
<th>Still in school—beyond legal school-leaving age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>The position of one 13-year-old is not known; it is possible that he had left school in which case this figure should read 16.
one female out of thirteen. This does not include three males and five females who were, or had been, in some way involved in either upgrading classes or technical training. The majority, then, leave school as soon as they are legally able to do so, and a handful leave before; several years after leaving school, however, it appears that a number of young people regret this decision and resume their formal education, enrolling in upgrading classes, and perhaps going on to technical training. The pattern, then, is to quit school as soon as possible, and perhaps to attempt to make up for lost time at a later date, rather than to stay in school through Grade 10 or 11 to prepare for entry into a technical training course. It is difficult to assess the motives of those who do eventually decide to take upgrading or technical training. Home, at this stage in life, is not quite the same as it appeared to a young child. Support is not withdrawn, but the youngsters want material commodities which they see advertised in the shops, and on the television screen and, although immediate family may have nickels and dimes for candy, money for cars, stylish clothing, electric guitars, and entertainment is simply not available. They must, therefore, go out to work. A job with the C.N.R. Extra Gang is hard physical labour and, no doubt, they soon become disillusioned with this way of life as well. The grants which are offered for enrolling in upgrading classes and technical training courses are comparable to the money which can be earned in wage-employment. It may be this fact, rather than the goal of security at the end of an arduous stretch of
studying, which induces young people to further their education.

PARENTS' EXPECTATIONS

What are parents' expectations regarding their children's formal education? Two mothers stated that they wanted all their children, sons and daughters, to have an education. One of the mothers said this included university. It is likely, however, that these statements were for the investigator's benefit, as there was little indication of children being directed toward these ends. Aside from the incident cited earlier of a mother pointing to an infant and saying that she would be a doctor, (see p.188) there was only one other incident recorded where the value of education was sanctioned.

Esther's thirteen-year-old son was playing with some red fishing weights. Esther and Marion told him, jokingly, "If you quit school you'll have to be a fisherman". They teased him about this for a good five minutes.

Parents are not overly concerned about their children's failures at school. Generally, failures are dismissed casually, with a blanket excuse.

It does not really concern Isabelle at all that one of her daughters, in Grade 5, has already failed twice. Isabelle said she failed, "because she was working hard at home".

In Part II, we cite the example of a boy whose failure in Grade 2 was attributed to the acquisition of a television set. (See p.265) It is likely that the causes stated are, in fact, contributory. Parents seem to feel, however, that by pinning down the cause of failure the situation becomes acceptable. This is not a surprising attitude, as parents have themselves received less education than their children, and see little value in
education in any case. However, even those parents who do have intellectual interests, do not seem capable of imparting any like desire or enthusiasm in their children. One mother had worked at both the hospital and the women's jail.

Esther said she would really like to be a Practical Nurse. This would not pay more than her present job (in the women's jail) and would require two years of upgrading, and a nine month Practical Nursing course. The reason she would like to do this is that, "At the hospital I learn something new every day, but at the jail I learn nothing new". Esther's intellectual curiosity is considerable. She brought out several sheets of foolscap on which she had typed many psychiatric terms such as, pedophilia, malingering voyerism, psychosis, neurosis, etc. She said she was taking a course at the jail, and asked if we would help her to understand the meaning of the words. Despite her own interest in furthering her education and expanding her fund of knowledge, Esther seems to be incapable of transmitting this to her children, or of desiring to do so. She said that her fourteen-year-old boy had been doing well in Grade 7, but had quit. She said they could not get him to go back, and one had the feeling that the pressure exerted must have been minimal.

Parents, not infrequently, run down their own intellectual abilities, inferring that they are incapable of being educated. This attitude cannot be expected to encourage children to pursue intellectual goals.

Isabelle had been ill with tuberculosis and was in the sanitorium at Ninette for nine months. She studied Mathematics while there and had brought a book home but, "I haven't studied it much", she said. She runs herself down by saying she is too slow, too dumb, etc. This attitude is echoed by the children and is not discouraged.

While collecting census material from Marion Linton, I asked what Grade she had completed. She said, "Six". Her son Glenn, age ten, said, "She must be stupid". Marion and Beula thought this was terribly funny.

Despite the lack of direction and encouragement toward education, parents are duly proud when their children do well. An interview with one mother revealed the following:
Her twenty-year-old son went to school at Clearwater Lake for eight years and then to Camperville for Grade 9. He then went to the Assiniboine Residential School in Winnipeg for Grades 10 and 11 and has now started at the Manitoba Institute of Technology. The Indian Affairs Branch will pay his room and board in a private home until he has finished school. Mrs. E. Jakes was very proud of the fact that he earns his own pocket money, and never asks them for money. She was also very proud of her fifteen-year-old son who is at Cranberry Portage and who, she says, is very bright and always comes first in class.

Mrs. J. Jakes was very proud of her adopted daughter's having taken a hairdressing course, and had her two diplomas on the wall.

Mrs. Warren had three diplomas on the wall. One was Jody's Nursing Certificate.

There appears, then, to be some psychological reward for scholastic achievement, though there is little stress placed upon it as being a particularly desirable goal when the child is actually in school. Scholastic success is something the child, himself, must come to see as desirable, as its value is not presented to him at home in the process of socialization. Very little is expected of him scholastically, but if he chooses to pursue an educational goal, his parents will be proud.
Chapter 7

PROJECTIVE SYSTEMS

RELIGION AND THE SUPERNATURAL

Christianity

Religion is an important part of life for inhabitants of Opasquia West. The area boasts an Anglican church, and a resident Minister who also presides over the Big Eddy church. A handful of Catholics worship at the Catholic church across the river. In a number of homes, wall decorations and pictures with religious motifs are to be seen; (see pp.100 and 101 some homes proudly display Bibles as well. Four religious organizations associated with the Anglican Church are operative in Opasquia West, although active membership is not extensive. (See p.177) Sunday School is divided into four classes, in order to accommodate children of different age-groups; classes are taught by community members. Approximately one-third of the Anglican children attend regularly. Religious activities and organizations are run mainly by a core group of twenty or so individuals. The rest of the population remains peripheral to some extent, and participates with varying degrees of intensity. An ardent churchgoer lamented:
People don't go to church anymore. In the old days, they used to come from Big Eddy and Umfreville by river, in birchbark canoes, and gather at the Reserve church. After a morning service, they made dinner on fires along the river and returned to church in the afternoon. Now people complain that they don't understand--so we conduct the services in Cree--but still they don't come.

However, religious attitudes and convictions were expressed on a number of occasions, and often by those who were not regular church attenders. One woman, remembering a dead child of whom she had been particularly fond, said, "I know he is in a better place than I am". Expressions of disapproval regarding hunting on Sunday were not uncommon; a mother exclaimed to a young son who was heading out the door, slingshot in hand, to shoot ptarmigan, "On Sunday, are you out of your mind!" Several men contributed their evenings to insulate the church; the activity was a labour of love and pride. Three women explained that they could not use contraceptive pills because, "I go by the Bible," or "I'm Catholic". Mothers said that, when a child is seriously ill, Mrs. J. Jakes is asked to pray.

The following incidents, to do with conversion, are also instructive. A young man converted to Catholicism, not out of conviction, but simply because his fiancée was Catholic, and felt it would be better for the children. A mother who had seen three successive babies die of pneumonia, decided to give her next child away at birth. After the baby was born, however, her husband wanted to keep the child and so they decided, instead, to change the baby's religion, in the hope of thereby saving her life. The child lived, the only Anglican in a family of Catholics.
It is hoped that these examples demonstrate that, although a number of core people in Opasquia West feel that many community members are apathetic in their attitudes toward religion, and that too few people attend church and are deeply involved in religious matters, there is, in fact, generalized religiosity and emotional commitment to Christianity.

Traditional Religious Belief

Surviving traditional beliefs, which in their earlier forms were woven into a fabric of tribal religion, are now relegated to a folklore, legendary status; they are no longer invested with religious meaning. A city Indian, not originally from Opasquia, expressed his feelings about the general conversion of the Indian people from traditional beliefs to Christianity.

The missionaries came, intending to extinguish heathen beliefs. We used to talk to the birds—they acted as intermediaries between us and Kče Manito;¹ now we pray to the Virgin Mary, or to Jesus—they act as intermediaries between us and God. What's the difference?

This, perhaps romanticized, view would not be supported by the majority of people in Opasquia West. Religiously, they are Christians, and they associate themselves with no other body of religious belief. Nevertheless, traces of former practices and beliefs involving the supernatural are not difficult to detect. Shortly after arriving, the investigator was warned that

¹Mandelbaum's spelling (1940:251)
There are people capable of casting spells. You don't realize a thing has happened for six months or a year, and then your face may become paralyzed, or your eye half closed; they do it with roots and herbs.

An inquiry as to whether the art of witchcraft is being passed to the next generation received the reply,

An old man taught my brother Indian medicine, but wouldn't tell him about those things.

Then there are tales of supernatural beings such as Wughtiko,¹ whose name is called up as a disciplinary agent in child-rearing. (See p. 260) An informant gave this account,

Wughtiko is a frozen being, with no lips, who flies in the spring. In Moose Lake (a town), there is an area shaped like a wide-spread heart, where nothing grows; it is said that Wughtiko landed there. I've seen it myself— I didn't believe it before, but now I'm not sure.

Wughtiko appeared as a large, black, monster in a painting by an inhabitant of Opasquia West. The artist explained,

Wughtiko is a legendary monster. Any normal person can become a Wughtiko; an evil spirit enters the person's body, he leaves his camp and his people, and begins eating ice and snow. He becomes a cannibal.

With regard to this definition, the following incident is of interest. A recent graduate of The University of Manitoba, who was working as a reporter for a Winnipeg newspaper, had apparently been commissioned to write a definitive book on Canadian Indians for that newspaper. She had, consequently, been to a number of Reserves collecting data. My impression was that the Indians shied away from her approach which must, therefore, have been somewhat coarse and insensitive. When

¹Mandelbaum's spelling (1940:274)
contacted and asked if she would care to study the investigator's bibliography and field notes (the offer was made with the intention of providing an anthropological point of view), she showed not the slightest interest. During a discussion in Winnipeg with a quite sophisticated Indian artist, who is married to a White woman, an opinion was requested concerning the above journalistic approach. "Oh her," he said, "She's a Wihtiko".

Mandelbaum provides the following historic note about this folklore character.

The Wihtikokancmuwin, "Wihtiko-like dance" was a masked performance often given during the Sun dance period. The Wihtiko was a cannibalistic character in the folklore of the Wood Cree. Tales concerning this spirit power were sometimes told among the Plains Cree, but the spirit was never seen in the prairie country and imbued only the forest inhabitants with man-eating desires. (Mandelbaum 1940:274)

Perhaps the retention of specific legends as part of the cultural heritage indicates that these are still functional in the context of the present-day culture. Some, like the Wuhtiko explanation for the patch of infertile ground, are attempts to explain natural phenomena. One legend describes, at great length, how the foam on lakes and fast-moving streams came to be. (See Appendix, pp.315-317) The same legend contains a sequence involving the familiar folk-hero Wusahketcak, who is made to look like a fool. With regard to this character, Mandelbaum says,

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1We have conformed to Mandelbaum's spelling here (1940:251); however, according to our informant's pronunciation, and following our Phonetic Key (p.xiii), this word should be written, Wusahketcak.
The intermediaries between the creator and man were the spirit powers atayoh-kanak. Their number was legion, for example, there was a bear spirit power, a horse spirit power, a hummingbird spirit power, a spirit power of the maple tree. In addition, there were folkloristic characters such as the trickster, wisa'hkeceak, who were also spirit powers.

(Mandelbaum 1940:251)

Many elements in the legends recorded (see Appendix, pp.314-322) have a ring of traditional authenticity; others, however, contain what are likely modern embellishments. Approaching the conclusion of a legend, on two occasions, my informant said, "But that's another story--they go on and on". He indicated, for example, that the child of the wife of Matsikanu'usis (see Appendix, p.322) becomes the core figure in another series of legends. So it seems that there is a rich oral tradition which, as it perpetuates, is simultaneously molded by time.

Traditional Indian religion did not conform to the pattern of the world's great religions. There was no clearly delineated doctrine or dogma, and no written liturgy. The supernatural elements in the culture were more pervasive, and perhaps more nebulous, than the clearly defined beliefs of the organized religions with which we are familiar; because the supernatural was present in all aspects of life, it was the constant concern of the people, not being confined to one physical structure, or to one specific time of week. For these reasons, it is difficult to point to the surviving remnants of traditional belief and say that this or that specific feature belonged to a former body of religious belief; many roles were ascribed to the supernatural, and all of these would have
to be included in a comprehensive analysis of traditional Cree religion. As there was no written tradition, religious beliefs, and, in fact, any culture traits which involved ideas, attitudes, and values rather than more concrete items, are difficult to uncover and reconstruct in coherent fashion. It is likely that the supernatural played a significant role in ritual surrounding the hunt, and in life crisis situations. No doubt, as with other North American Indian tribes, the supernatural figured significantly in the treatment of illness. A description follows of the treatment of disease and associated attitudes and of their evolution from a base centred in traditional medical practice, to one which embodies the practices and attitudes contained in the phrase, "White-man's medicine".

DISEASE, MEDICAL PRACTICE, AND DEATH

In all North American Indian tribes, the supernatural played an important role in medical treatment. Though, in Opasquia West, supernatural elements no longer figure prominently in the treatment of the sick, remedies which were, no doubt, formerly associated with the supernatural aspects of curing are still in use. These cures, which have been handed down through the years, make up a body of Indian medicine credited with the knowledge to treat colds, diarrhea, scarlet fever, whooping cough, sores, abscess, leg cramps, back ache, chest pain, rashes, and even tuberculosis, if caught early enough. Examples of some of these native cures are as follows: for scarlet fever and whooping cough
Take a quart of water and the sac from a skunk. Dip a straw into the sac and then into the water, twice. Drink the water.

For colds,

Bite off a piece of wëkes (translated as "wild ginger"—a root) and hold it in your mouth.

For rashes and sores,

When Stephen was an infant, he had an awful, raw, red rash, all over his face. My husband went out and got some spruce gum. We boiled it, added some lard to make it smooth and easy to spread, and then strained it. We put the ointment on Stephen's face, and the rash went away.

A second mother agreed that the same treatment had been successful when one of her children had sores on his face. In one home, a newborn infant had a terrible-looking rash on her face. When asked if she would use spruce gum, the young mother replied, "No, because it leaves scars, and she is a girl".

Spruce gum was an ingredient of the following treatment as well:

My brother had a deep sore on his leg from a barbed wire fence. My Mother put melted spruce gum over a big leaf, to draw out the pus, and then warm salty water to heal it.

The Indians have a great deal of faith in native remedies and, as a corollary, they have not completely accepted "White-man's medicine". Emergencies, such as car accidents and serious cuts, are taken to the nearby hospital immediately, and without question. Chronic problems, and ones which do not carry a sense of urgency, are often treated with careless abandon as the following examples illustrate:

Mrs. Yates had been to the doctor with her son Lorne, who cut his leg very severely a few days ago. In the afternoon, she said she had a sore breast. When the comment was made that she should have told the doctor while
she was there, Mrs. Yates said she didn't want to, because he would tell her she had cancer.

While visiting at Birt's, it was noted that the two-year-old had a huge, swollen cheek, which was inflamed and sore-looking. Mrs. Birt said it was from a boil that he'd had for awhile. The child was not eating properly, but had not been taken to a doctor. A second child had fever and diarrhea; he, too, had not seen a doctor, and his diet had not been altered.

Mrs. Ballard said she has been bleeding heavily for eight days; it is the wrong time of month for her menstrual period. Her sister told her she is having a miscarriage, but she doesn't think so because she has spoken to women who have had miscarriages, and they say it's worse than having a baby. The other day she was dizzy and had stomach cramps and back pain. She took three aspirins and went to bed. Mrs. Ballard said she woke in the middle of the night and passed two large blood clots; she held out her hand and indicated that the clots were as big as from her wrist to her fingertips. When asked if she had seen a doctor, Mrs. Ballard said she felt better after that, so she didn't go, but she is still having back pain; she was supposed to see the doctor this morning but didn't go. When asked if she had an appointment, Mrs. Ballard said she usually just goes, and tells them she has no telephone (her sister next door has a telephone) and sometimes she gets in. She added, "I'm glad I feel better now, because there's no-one else to do my housework".

Jack Reeve is a fifty-eight-year-old man who plays the piano, accordion, organ, and rings the church bells on Sundays. He has not worked for two years because of a sore leg. He was advised to have surgery, but never went back to the doctor; he laughed when he related this. Jack has been blind in his right eye for the past year and has done nothing about this. He says his sight is getting worse in his good eye.

Ardis Yates talked of her mother-in-law's bizarre behavior. Once she drowned a cat in the water barrel. Mrs. Yates Sr. carries her beadwork in her purse, and has been found sitting and sewing under the bridge. Ardis says Mrs. Yates knocks on the walls to frighten Ardis and the children, when her husband is away. She is very strong, and once picked up a full, five-gallon slop pail and threw it. Apparently, this strange behavior has come to pass only in the last few years. Helen lived with Mrs. Yates as a child. She says she liked living there, and she liked Mrs. Yates who, she claims, was a wonderful cook. Helen liked it because
it was always so clean in her house and it smelled so
good; also, Mrs. Yates was very nice, and so quiet. The
younger women blame the drastic personality change on the
fact that Mrs. Yates Sr. lost a brother during the war,
or on the fact that she had so many children (sixteen),
or on menopause. Ardis said she'd never been to a
psychiatrist, and that maybe he'd know what was wrong.
The women also said that the senior Mrs. Yates had at
one point been advised to have surgery, but that the
doctors refused to operate until she lost some weight--
she is a very large woman.

So we see that illness, and often what to us would be
serious illness, is not uncommonly ignored, or simply tolerated.
When possible, ailments are treated with native remedies. In
addition, the culture continues to produce its own home cures.
The current treatment for warts appears to be the application
of nail polish, which several people claimed is a quick and
effective cure. The nail polish method did not appeal to one
woman who, nevertheless, would not resort to a doctor.

Mrs. Flynn pointed out the warts on her son Ronald’s
hands. She said she doesn't know what to do about them.
She knows you can buy some preparation at the drug store,
but it burns for twenty-four hours. When a doctor was
suggested, she said, "he does the same thing".

Professional medical aid, when it is sought, may be abused or,
as a result of misunderstanding, it may be incorrectly applied.
When this happens, and no improvement results, the people
quickly become disenchanted and distrustful, and will be even
more reluctant to see a doctor the next time medical attention
is indicated. One common abuse is the sharing of medications
prescribed for one specific person. When drugs are left over,
after having been medically prescribed for one illness, it is
not unusual to see them utilized at a later date, by other
family members, for ailments which may or may not be similar
to the first.

Patsy (seven months old) had the inside of her mouth painted with gentian violet. Mrs. Linton said she had blisters in her mouth. The gentian violet had not been prescribed by a doctor, and had probably been lying around the house for some time.

On another occasion, a one-year-old child was taken to the hospital with the same complaint of blisters in the mouth (?thrush ?canker sores).

Mr. Crawford suffered from atopic dermititis (a skin allergy). He developed a secondary pyoderma (pus in the skin) which was generalized over face, neck, hands, and forearms. The condition caused him considerable discomfort and resulted in his having to miss work. Though he could easily and effectively have been treated with an antibiotic ointment, Mr. Crawford preferred to use a medication which had been prescribed by a doctor, for a friend. Thinking his skin was improving, he returned to work, and the condition promptly degenerated. Eventually, Mr. Crawford was forced by his discomfort to see a doctor, and spent a week in the hospital, clearing up an ailment which could, several weeks earlier, have been easily treated at home. Interestingly, Mr. Crawford commented that one good thing about his rash was that it was not "catching" but that he, nevertheless, tried to use his own towel.

The following incident is a clear example of the kind of misunderstanding which can result in loss of faith: a twenty-eight-year-old woman, with four children, wanted to limit the size of her family.

Ardis said she had been on "the pill," but it hadn't worked for her. She had asked the nurse for some when her last child was born, six months ago. The nurse got them for her from the doctor. When it was suggested that she must have neglected to take one every day, Ardis said the nurse hadn't told her she must take one every day; she thought it wouldn't matter if she didn't take one once in awhile. Ardis said she might have tried to remember if the nurse had told her. In any case, she lost faith in the pill when she became pregnant for a fifth time, and would not use them again.

Stoicism, and reluctance to consult a doctor, are attitudes which are especially prevalent when adults are
themselves ill; parents are less reluctant to take sick children to the clinic than they are to resort to "White-man's medicine" to cure their own ills. As stated above, infections, even serious ones, rashes, and diarrhea are the kinds of ailments which parents may ignore in children, especially if the child is not feverish or unhappy; alternately, they may use a traditional remedy for treatment. However, it was noted that a child was taken to the hospital for "blisters in the mouth", and that one mother was carrying out a course of treatment, prescribed by a doctor, for her child's ear infection. A newborn baby, with a bad rash, was taken to a doctor, after the mother had unsuccessfully treated the child with vaseline for several days; the baby was very cranky and unhappy, and Mrs. Reeve said she knew the child had a fever, because there was a dent in her anterior fontanel. Some mothers in Opasquia West are quite conscientious when it comes to administering treatment to their children, which has been professionally prescribed. The investigator heard of children being taken to a doctor for colic, and for auditory deficiencies (though probably these deficiencies had resulted from untreated otitis media). One child was taken to a specialist (psychiatrist, psychologist), because he "gets scared in school".

Ernest is having a hard time in school. He is in Grade 1 for the third time. His Mother has spoken to the teacher, who says he gets scared in school. When the teacher talks softly to him, and is right beside him, he is fine. "He does everything what she tells him." But when she raises her voice to quiet the others, Ernest gets scared, and he won't talk or do anything for the rest of the day. His Mother attributes this to one event in Ernest's life. When he was in kindergarten, he played
"hookey" one day; the school principal yelled at him, pushed him, and told him to go home, and not come back. Ernest was very frightened and, understandably, he didn't want to return, but his Mother made him go back. She says that he has been to see a specialist. He's fine at home, she says, and doesn't get scared.

In another instance, a child's behavior was interpreted as indicating mental deficiency.

Mrs. Linton said she had once taken Jeannie to the doctor because "she acts so stupid". Mrs. Linton thought something might be wrong because once, as a child, Jeannie fell, and hit her head on the floor. The doctor told her that Jeannie was probably more intelligent than the others, and that she was "working off steam" by acting as she does (I wholeheartedly endorse this diagnosis). Jeannie is a very active child, and is constantly on the move doing things which annoy her Mother. It is interesting that Mrs. Linton should interpret this behavior as retardation.

So it seems that adults will tolerate or ignore their own maladies, whereas they may show concern when children are ill. They will always take children to the hospital in cases of obvious emergency, and are most likely to consult a doctor when something is seriously affecting a child's behavior, or is infringing on the stability of the rest of the family. If, on the other hand, the child has a serious infection, but is behaving normally and is not complaining, the ailment will, as likely as not, be ignored; this is true even when a child's appetite suffers, or when his ability to eat normally is impaired.

Teeth are poorly cared for. Sweets are consumed in great quantity and, though mothers often tell children to wash faces and hands, and to comb hair, they seem unconcerned about brushing teeth. It is impossible to say what condition young children's teeth are actually in. However, field notes indicate
that at least five people between the ages of nineteen and forty-five were missing most or all of their upper teeth. In addition, many old people are edentulous.

In general, people have little concept or understanding of causes of death. Death is indiscriminately attributed to factors such as old age, and tuberculosis. In some cases, specific incidents may be blamed for causing death, though it seems quite unlikely that the given causes could, in fact, have proved fatal.

A nineteen-year-old boy, we were told, died after carrying a canoe. Granny Crawford said, "he died because he was too young to carry such a heavy weight and he hurt his back".

The infant mortality rate appears to be quite high, and here again mothers are unaware of the causes of their babies' deaths. Twenty-nine women in the census sample were asked if they had lost children and, if so, at what ages the children had died, and the causes of their deaths. Twelve women had lost no children, while the remaining seventeen women questioned had lost a total of forty-nine children. (See TABLE XXVII)

From the information presented above concerning attitudes toward illness, death, and medical treatment, a composite picture can be suggested. Inhabitants of Opasquia West display a calm, almost phlegmatic acceptance of some of life's unpleasant realities. There is no false hope regarding serious illness. One woman's statement sums up this characteristic attitude. She was discussing her twenty-three-year-old son, who had spent some time in one of Manitoba's mental
institutions; the boy had returned home, though his Mother said, "He still acts queer sometimes". When asked what the trouble had been, she stated very matter-of-factly, "He was mentally ill, I guess". People do not become excessively worried and upset over illness and disease. No cases of obvious hypochondriasis or neurosis were recorded; it is likely that the incidence of ulcers is also low. Most women who had lost children did not know why their children had died. (See TABLE XXIX) Determining the cause of death is simply unimportant; the fact of death alone is significant.

Perhaps the most notable item is the discontinuity between adults' attitudes towards illness in themselves and in their children. Whereas parents are likely to stoically ignore, tolerate, or seek native cures, where their own maladies are concerned, they are slightly more inclined to seek professional advice for their children. Whether the present generation of parents is merely repeating a pattern set by the previous generation, or whether there is actually a trend toward greater acceptance of "White-man's medicine", cannot be assessed.

Let us return briefly to our theoretical framework. We have indicated on Figure 1 (p.10) that Projective Systems directly affect Child-Rearing Practices. In this chapter we have alluded to the role which supernatural beings play as disciplinary agents in child rearing. This subject will be discussed more fully in Part II. (p.260) We have also shown that traditional medical cures may sometimes be used to treat
children's ailments, especially minor ones. So it seems that Projective Systems do have a part to play in child rearing. This point of view differs from that of both B.B. Whiting and J.W.M. Whiting who, on their diagrams, (see pp. 4 and 5) indicate a direct relationship between Child Personality and Cultural Products (Projective Systems) but not between Cultural Products and Child-Rearing Practices. In view of our data, however, it would seem that a statement of direct relationship between Projective Systems and Child-Rearing Practices is justified.
TABLE XXVII

AGES OF MOTHERS QUESTIONED ABOUT MORTALITY IN INFANTS AND YOUNG CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of mothers</th>
<th>Number of mothers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nineteen</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenties</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirties</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forties</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifties</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixties</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mothers who had lost no children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of mothers</th>
<th>Number of mothers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nineteen</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenties</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirties</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forties</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifties</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixties</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of children</td>
<td>Number of children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5 years</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)The mothers were not questioned regarding miscarriages.
### TABLE XXIX.

**CAUSES OF DEATH IN INFANTS AND YOUNG CHILDREN, ACCORDING TO MOTHERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause of death</th>
<th>Number of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diarrhea</td>
<td>3 (all three at 1 year)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whooping Cough</td>
<td>1 (at 8 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart attack(^a)</td>
<td>3 (at 2 yrs., 3 yrs., 5 yrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pneumonia</td>
<td>4 (newborn to 3 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidents</td>
<td>2 (ages unknown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers did not know</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)The possibility of coronary being the actual cause of death in this age-group is extremely unlikely.
Chapter 8

ADULT PERSONALITY

Hallowell extensively reviews the psychological characteristics of the Northeastern Indians in his book *Culture and Experience*. He stresses the point that contemporary conservative Indian communities retain many of the psychological characteristics of their ancestors. (Hallowell 1955:126) Spindler endorses Hallowell's view when he states,

That the bio-emotional and cognitive-perceptual organization shared by a group of people, and often referred to as "basic personality structure," is quite stable over time and through different levels of manifest culture change is one of the better documented generalizations of significance to our topic. (Spindler 1957:151)

Between them, Hallowell and Spindler give the following general account of the psychological characteristics of Indians. They are not an intellectual people insofar as abstract concepts are concerned; rather, their intelligence functions on a practical, concrete, common-sense level. They may be characterized by a multifaceted pattern of emotional restraint and inhibition. This fact provides the familiar stereotype of the Indian as a stoical human being, enduring with great fortitude and patience,
pain, hunger, and hardship of all kinds. He exhibits amiability and mildness in all face-to-face relationships as a corollary to emotional inhibition; that is, he must avoid arousing strong emotions in others. The result of this restraint and endurance is an underlying cultural anxiety. How is one to cope with strong emotions if they cannot be spontaneously expressed? One institutionalized outlet is mirth. A more indirect outlet of resentment is witchcraft; impulses kept in check may also be revealed through alcohol consumption.

From the assumption of a basic psychological continuity stretching from the aboriginal Swampy Cree to the Indians of Opasquia West today, and from the above thumbnail sketch of the psychological characteristics of Indians, let us proceed by describing some of the common psychological characteristics which were recorded.

COGNITIVE PROCESSES

Laughter and Amusement

Firstly, let us examine what Hallowell defines as an important outlet for pent-up anxieties, namely laughter. What situations or verbalizations are considered humourous and what reactions do they evoke? A field-note entry states that the sense of humour in evidence has a simple, almost child-like quality. Humourous comments in Cree could not, of course, be assessed. If something in English strikes people as funny, however, it may be repeated, perhaps with
slight variations, three or four times in succession, each time the response will be hilarity. Hallowell quotes Gilfillan's observations on the Minnesota Ojibwa of the nineteenth century. These are in complete accord with the investigator's observations.

The laughter and droll remarks pass from one to the other, a continual fusillade all around. The old woman says something funny; the children take it up, and laugh at it; all the others repeat it, each with some embellishment, or adding some ludicrous feature, and thus there is continual merriment all day and all evening long. (Hallowell 1955:145)

At times the humour is anal and sexual. Puns are a source of great amusement, and considerable inventiveness and humour is shown in the choice of nicknames. Sometimes people appear to laugh during conversation, merely for the sake of laughing, when no obvious source of humour is perceived by the observer. Gentle teasing often causes prolonged gaiety. Both children and adults may be teased affectionately as the following incidents indicate.

Bob, Sam's brother, has very long hair; they joked at great length, remembering how he had cut his hair before his wedding; he had had a shave as well. They teased Bob that everyone he had walked up to exclaimed, "Who's that?" or "What's that guy's name?"

On one occasion, a man, his wife, and two sisters visited together. He is rather a hefty fellow.

They all kidded Lester (he has an English nickname which is always used in place of his Christian name). They have a second nickname for him in Cree, which means "the bag". They referred to him by this name and laughed about it for quite awhile.

Three young cousins from town had come to the Reserve to attend a birthday party.
Marion and Beula chatted away at the girls in Cree. They were teasing and explained, "They don't understand a word". The girls needed a ride home and there was no transport available. Marion said, "I know a man in town who has some horses". There was considerable hilarity and joking back and forth over this remark.

Good-natured teasing, then, is one source of amusement, and is taken in good humour by the receiving party. The type of pun which would be considered terribly funny, and which would be repeated time and time again in the course of an afternoon, can be exemplified by one recounted by a Winnipeg Indian. He said, "I am a White man who got browned off". This is perhaps a more sophisticated variety than the ones heard on the Reserve, but the tone is rather similar.

Hallowell stresses the point that laughter is an institutionalized outlet, counterbalancing the general restraint expected with regard to other emotions.

So far as interpersonal relations go, there is a great deal of restraint among the Saulteaux upon the expression in public of all categories of emotion—joy, irritation, anger, etc. The most outstanding exception is laughter. In fact, the very positive emphasis upon the expression of amusement, in contrast to the inhibitions imposed upon the expression of other forms of emotion is highly characteristic.

(Hallowell 1955:145)

The Checking of Pride

Teasing appears in another context, that is, not with the intention of producing laughter, but rather, with the intention of checking pride. This was one of the most interesting cognitive processes to emerge from our data. Individual excellence appears to be tolerated only to a certain level, at which point it is checked by social pressure, which may take
the form of teasing. The pride of one man, who had shot a moose on a hunting expedition was kept in check by his hunting companion, who said, "That moose was standing right in front of your gun".

Josh Reeve and Jim Preston can often be heard teasing each other. Josh Reeve tells Jim Preston that he wouldn't know where to hunt if someone weren't with him.

The university student felt that the sin of pride was non-existent, that it was not allowed to come to the surface.

Jody said she becomes embarrassed and withdraws in White society, when she is complimented for something she has done. She would rather have an Indian say, "You are a fink," than have a White person say, "You are a fine person".

People tend to be kept on an equal footing by this mechanism. Praise is never given. Parents may be proud of a child's accomplishment, and this feeling of pride will be intuitively transmitted, but verbal praise will not be offered.

While we were conversing, Peter's son came up with a dead ptarmigan he had shot, with a slingshot, in the bush. The boy was quite excited, and Peter was pleased; he didn't speak, but looked the bird over with interest.

Spindler lists "not 'showing off'" (Spindler 1957:150) as one of the traits which is stressed in the Northeast. He says that among the Pueblo there is also a stress on "avoiding the spotlight and not boasting, on conformity". (Spindler 1957:151)

The Indirect Approach

Although teasing is a more common form of interpersonal conversation than praise, one does not hear insults which are
intended to hurt. Teasing is tactful and gentle, rather than barbed and hurtful. A lovely example of the tact which is evident, even in the relationships of young children, occurred in my tent one afternoon.

Gary Linton, age five, was inside with me, and Kevin, age eighteen months, was playing outside the door. I erroneously called Gary, "Kevin". No doubt, had it been my own brother in the same situation, he would immediately have corrected the error with something like, "My name is Gary", but Gary said nothing. This state of affairs continued for about fifteen minutes during which time the error was repeated. Finally, at an opportune moment, Gary made a reference to "My brother Kevin".

This incident seemed to typify the Indian's unaggressive, indirect approach to a problem. Gary had informed me of my error in no uncertain terms, and yet the manoeuvre had been executed in a beautifully tactful and uninsulting manner. This indirect approach was evident on a number of occasions. We have previously referred to party invitations which are sent by such indirect methods that they never arrive. (See p.148) One afternoon,

Lester and Lorna walked in. It appeared that they had come to visit. After awhile, Lester casually let it be known that he wanted a ride to Mile 12 to hunt.

One must be acutely sensitive to these unaggressive and round-about approaches in order to appreciate their full significance.

At half past eleven one night a young boy knocked on the door to say his Father wanted me to come over and get some moose meat.

Lester had used my car to go hunting, and this must have entitled me to a share of the kill. I was already in my pyjamas, and told the boy to tell his Father I would collect the meat in the morning. He left with the message. Upon reflection, however, the situation seemed
odd; I felt there must be a reason for a summons at that late hour, so I dressed and went over. Lorna and her daughter were plucking ducks and geese. There were feathers all over, and a dead moose lying on the kitchen floor. Lester led a guided tour of the moose, showing where the bullet had entered and exited. The moment was his; he was king, and very proud. The carcass was to be quartered early the next day and the moment would have been lost by morning.

Verbalization

The above example also illustrates the way in which Indians express themselves. Often much is left unsaid; one must fill in the gaps intuitively. "Small talk" is a non-existent phenomenon. People do not talk for the sake of talking. While visiting the Bishop's Messenger one day, she received several telephone calls. The last one went on for about fifteen minutes.

When she returned, Miss Warner said, "That's why the Indian calls the White man "silver-tongued". An Indian could have said the same thing in one-third the time. They don't waste words.

This seemed to be a very accurate analysis. There are many silences in the course of conversation, though never uncomfortable ones. It is probable that thoughts which are crystallized and expressed in English have a different meaning and tone when expressed in Cree. No doubt, much richness of descriptive detail is lost when thoughts are translated from Cree to English. This was demonstrated when an attempt was made to obtain a translation for "Opasquia", the Cree word from which the name "The Pas" has been derived. The explanation given was quite lengthy and very vague, --"You know when you're approaching the area, and you look ahead, the trees and bush
appear to be suspended in the air". I didn't exactly, and so never received a simple translation which I could grasp; obviously, the Cree word has no corresponding word or phrase in English; it appears to encompass a whole mood, which is evoked when one reaches "Opasquia". That this word and mood have a very special meaning for the Indians is verified by the Band Council resolution which was passed on May 2, 1966. (See Footnote, p. 2) Most people from Opasquia West, nevertheless, are bilingual; they think in English when they are speaking English.

**Practicality**

A down-to-earth point of view appears to be one of the most characteristic personality traits. Euphemisms are not commonly used. Many examples have already been cited in the text which could illustrate this outlook. Children's descriptions of events provide further examples. One evening, a two-and-a-half-year-old was slightly injured in a driveway by a reversing truck. The little boy's eight-year-old sister was extremely upset and weepy all evening, but when asked to describe the accident, did so in a calm, lucid, and straightforward manner. She added, "There's no blood on Gilbert's clothes, I checked". While on the subject of accidents, the same child described an accident in which a friend had been involved.

She was with her Father; the car rolled over several times. Dorothy, age eight, and Jeannie, age seven, said, "Her meat was showing". Gary, age five, added, "Her Father was drunk".
While visiting one home, two of father's sister's children wandered in.

Mrs. Flynn asked the little boy, about three years old, "Where is your Daddy?" He said, "In jail". Anna laughed.

Spindler describes this trait, which he claims is widely exhibited among North American Indians as

...; attention to the concrete realities of the present--...--practicality, in contrast to abstract integration in terms of long-range goals.

(Spindler 1957:148)

Stoicism and Emotional Restraint

Stoicism and the acceptance of adversity as a normal part of life is a very obvious trait where illness is concerned. Hallowell confirms this for the Saulteaux.

Illness among the present-day Saulteaux is also met with great patience, and this thoroughly coincides with what is reported for the Indians of earlier centuries.

(Hallowell 1955:145)

We have referred to the man who accepted the onset of blindness without a fight, (p.207) the mother who was quite satisfied to accept that her daughter was mentally retarded because the child "acted silly", even after the doctor had said she was probably brighter than the others, (p.211) and the woman who said of her son, "He's mentally ill, I guess". (p.213) This characteristic stoical acceptance of the status quo appears to be a widespread personality trait. Hallowell describes another facet of emotional inhibition when he refers to a pattern of restraint observed by Peter Grant over a century ago.
Their manner of salutation is almost ridiculous: when strangers or long absent friends meet, they remain like statues for a considerable time, with their faces hid or inclined to one side and without exchanging one word.

(Hallowell 1955:146)

This pattern of behavior was observed in the case of one couple in particular. The husband's job kept him away from home all week and, when he returned home on Friday evenings, no display of emotion or affection passed between himself and his wife; the younger children were not so restrained at seeing their Father again, however.

As Hallowell points out, there are two aspects to the pattern of restraint.

For the pattern of emotional restraint not only implies that the individual restrain his own anger, it also requires that he suppress open criticism of his fellows in face-to-face relations and avoid disputation of a personal kind in order to avoid arousing their anger.

(Hallowell 1955:134)

This avoidance and bottling up of emotions causes anxieties which Hallowell sees as a crucial factor in the treatment of children. There is a generalized suppression of any impulse to tell someone else what to do. This pattern could account for the lack of restraint exercised by parents upon their children.

What is psychologically significant is the anxiety-laden attitude of parents toward severe disciplinary measures and its persistence down to the present day.

(Hallowell 1955:136)

The necessity of avoiding open conflict with others produces a mildness and amiability in face-to-face relations. Strict compliance with accepted standards of mildness and
amiability is an expected behavior pattern; this expectation regarding the behavior of others was made obvious by the following. One Indian, in a position of some political importance on the Reserve, tended to assert his opinions on occasion, though he could by no means be considered aggressive by White standards. It was surprising to hear another Indian refer to him as a "hot-head".

Another facet of this basic pattern is the reluctance of the Indians to refuse a favor outright; they will always agree to a request, though they may have no intention of carrying it out. Both Hallowell and Spindler refer to this psychological trait. (Hallowell 1955:136) Spindler says,

Here there is great stress on . . . doing favors whenever you are asked for fear you might displease someone if you refused.

(Spindler 1957:150)

Situations exemplifying this trait arose on two notable occasions. An elderly Indian, who was adept at making snowshoes was asked if he would make the investigator a pair. A second Indian, who made lovely powder horns with hinged lids, out of cow horn, was also asked if he would oblige. On both occasions, the men answered in the affirmative and seemed genuine and sincere in their intention. Neither promise was carried out. The Handicraft Guild, however, was more business-like.
Another characteristic of personality is the unaggressive attitude toward "getting ahead" in the "outside world". This is illustrated by the story of the man who did not want to become a foreman as this would entail loss of seniority, with the result that he would see less of his family. (p.55) There is no obvious status-seeking, and little desire to "better oneself", although a number of exceptions have been mentioned which may be related to the improvement in the level of education. The prevalent philosophy of carpe deum has been cited, and is exemplified by the hunters who gorged themselves one day after a successful hunt, and had little to eat the next day. (p.72) In this regard, Spindler sees the psychological structure as a perceptual screen. He feels that there is an absence of clearcut and meaningful rewards for psychological adaptation and that the basic psychological structure blocks out whole areas of the new culture so that it is possible for the Indian to learn only limited techniques of White culture; he assimilates only those techniques which are necessary accessories to getting along in today's world. (Spindler 1957:152) More specifically, he says of the Tuscarora,

The Tuscarora refuse to become "anal-reactive" whites. That is, they do not save money, keep appointments punctually, or compulsively tend to the maintenance of their possessions—fields, cars, homes, and equipment—despite one hundred and fifty years of attempts (by whites) by persuasion, example, and punishment, to make them do so. (Spindler 1957:153)
Hallowell underlines a further psychological characteristic which prevents the Indian from competing in the aggressive Western culture which surrounds him.

There was nothing in the aboriginal culture to stimulate abstract thinking and the very elementary schooling some individuals have received is not directed toward this end. Furthermore, there is nothing in the culture to call forth any imaginative powers of a highly creative sort. Myths and tales are recounted, not invented, and the same situation holds true for most of their music. The only art that seems to call out any inventiveness is beadwork. It is not strange to find, then, that the results of the Rorschach technique indicate that the intelligence of the Saulteaux functions at a concrete, practical, common-sense level and that their characteristic intellectual approach to things is very cautious and precise. Many of them add to this a capacity for observing acutely fine details that might escape other observers, but they show little interest in organizing such details into wholes with a significant meaning. The details are of interest for their own sake rather than as part of some larger pattern. (Hallowell 1955:131-132)

In short, they are not an intellectual people. Abstract concepts, essential tools in the development of Western culture, are lacking for the development of the Indian's theoretical or artistic thinking.

The realization that they are not living up to White expectations has led to a generalized cultural inferiority complex. This complex is evident in comments such as "I'm too stupid to do such and such", and in the willingness to accept that one is not capable of carrying out a certain task. These attitudes indicate a generalized lack of confidence in capabilities.
Generosity and Selflessness

The atmosphere of sharing, cooperation, generosity, and selflessness appears to emanate from a generalized personality trait. Previous comments about democracy and methods of electing officers are apropos in this context. (See p. 179) The following act of organized communal generosity, though based in the Church, seemed to have a traditional flavor.

On Thanksgiving, everyone brings fruit, vegetables, and bread to the Church. The altar is decorated with these foodstuffs, and then they are distributed to the old people.

The general atmosphere of generosity is interpreted by Hallowell and Spindler as being motivated by anxiety and a fear of causing disharmony, and also by an underlying fear of witchcraft or retaliation by covert means. It must be admitted that the investigator did not sense any undercurrent of anxiety and insincerity in the generosity displayed, though references were made to witchcraft. (See p. 202)

ORIGINS AND PRESENT-DAY MANIFESTATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAITS

It is interesting to speculate on the circumstances which may have led to the development of the particular psychological pattern outlined above. Although all the characteristics described appear to be interrelated, let us extract one trait and attempt to reconstruct its path of development and show how it operates in a modern context.

We have shown that the community is kin-based.
Traditionally, in a hunting and gathering economy, close-knit interdependence would have been necessary for survival; teamwork was essential. Specialized talents and individual excellence would have been acceptable only insofar as they were directed along lines which were productive for the community. An individual who set himself apart by his talents would have been of no use to the community as a whole, and might even have been a detriment, if his talent required him to be a parasite. For this reason, controls were built in to prevent people from becoming too proficient at any one thing, and thereby setting themselves apart.

This braking mechanism continues to be a part of the present-day psychology of the Indian. One exceptional example of its continuation in a modern context comes to mind.

Granny Crawford said that her son Grant used to play the violin; he was getting very good at it. He used to hang his violin on the wall. They told him that if he got any better, Satan would keep playing it as it hung on the wall, even when Grant was not touching the strings. "Grant never played again," she said.

So, being very good at something is considered a sin, supported by the Devil himself. Individual merit is kept at a minimum by the lack of competitiveness, and by teasing when an individual has done something well. People are kept down by their relatives and friends and internalize this pressure to the point of keeping themselves in check by understating their own abilities and those of their children. This conditioning, not to excel and surpass others, comes up against an opposing view when face-to-face with Western culture, where one is pushed to do well and "beat" everyone else, whether it be at
sports or school work. It becomes a simple matter for the Indian child, when up against this unfamiliar approach, to slip into his "don't excel" training and accept the theory that he is "too stupid". This attitude obviously would not upset a mother who would just as soon believe her child retarded, as accept a doctor's verdict that the reason for the child's different behavior is a high level of intelligence.

Let us now return briefly to our theoretical diagram. (Figure 1, p.10) It was stated that one of the ways in which our own framework differed from those of B.B. Whiting and J.W.M. Whiting was that we viewed the role of the agents of child rearing as a primary one in determining the practices of child rearing. The view expressed was that psychological characteristics, and the personality of the adult have a primary role to play in the way children are raised. Neither of the Whiting articles stress this angle of approach. The above chapter on Adult Personality has indicated that the psychological characteristics of adults do, indeed, direct the behavior of adults in the rearing of children. We have noted the emphasis placed on not arousing displeasure in others; this leads to stringent emotional restraint and inhibition, which in turn creates anxiety. It is this anxiety, and the fear of causing displeasure in their children, which motivates parents in the lack of restraint which they exercise upon their offspring. Hallowell quotes Zeizberger as saying,
They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain. . . . In short, no one was in a position to order anyone else around.

(Hallowell 1955:135)

Of course, as pointed out above, Adult Personality has developed because of a specific combination of Historical, Ecological, and Maintenance System factors. Nevertheless, the resultant personality exerts a primary influence on the rearing of children, apart from the conditions imposed by current Ecological and Maintenance System factors.
PART II

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES
INTRODUCTION

Part I has described the physical, social, and psychological environment within which the child is raised. Part II will be concerned more specifically with the child himself; here the actual child-rearing practices and the attitudes expressed with regard to the raising of children will be presented. This description of activities and attitudes which are specifically directed toward the child will provide a picture of the emotional and psychological climate surrounding the growing child.

This section will contain a minimum of analysis. Its purpose is to present child-rearing practices in the terms of the informants themselves. What did they say about their handling of the children's upbringing, and what were they actually seen to be doing? In an attempt to fulfil the purpose of presenting the data in this light, we have liberally quoted from field-note entries; these represent on-the-spot quotations and commentary and are likely to present the closest possible picture of child-rearing practices as seen by the Indians themselves.
Chapter 9

INFANCY

DESIRE FOR CHILDREN

Let us first look briefly at people's attitudes toward having children. Are children a desirable addition to one's life? Only one woman, mother of five boys, stated that she did not want any more children. Despite this statement, however, she had recently been negotiating to take in two little girls, the daughters of her husband's cousin, and had been ready to sign the papers when the girls' Mother decided not to part with them.

Children, and especially babies and small children, are very much loved; the fact that they are desired can best be illustrated by the following two incidents.

The Carters have had twelve children. Three died in infancy or early childhood. Both parents joined in to say that they had brought up their nine children properly. It seemed incredible but very touching when Mrs. Carter said she very much wants another baby in three or four years, when some of the others have left home. She said, "I want to bring that child up properly and spend a lot of time with him".

The following incident has been cited in the chapter on religion but is equally relevant here. (See p.200)

Mr. and Mrs. Linton have one Anglican daughter. Eleven other children are Catholic. Mrs. Linton was
going to give the child away when she was born because three previous daughters had all died at three months and she didn't want this one to die. However, her husband wanted to keep the child, and so they decided to change the baby's religion in the hope that she wouldn't die as the others had.

There was no obvious preference stated for male or female children, except where there were already several children of one sex in the family. For example, the father of four girls and one boy stated that he wished he had more sons. A mother of five boys and one girl said she was very happy when her baby daughter was born; she had been waiting for one for five years. One informant said she wanted a son 'first, while another said she didn't care as long as they were healthy.

The desirability of children can readily be seen in adoption practices. Types and frequencies of "adoption" have been discussed in a previous chapter. (See pp.137-139). "Adoptions" are often handled within the kin group. Grandparents or other relatives take illegitimate children. According to the Indian Health Worker employed by the Indian Health Services, it is very difficult for unmarried mothers to keep their babies when they wish to do so; no Government aid is given until the child has been adopted out.

Children may be taken in for a number of reasons. One woman who had lost a three-day-old baby immediately adopted a ten-day-old child as a replacement.

Mrs. Carter said one of her daughters has been staying with the McGraths since she was five days old. Isabelle gave the baby away because she was separated from her husband at the time the baby was born and the McGraths had
none of their own (they have three now, all adopted). The baby was never legally adopted and when Isabelle and her husband were reconciliated she would have liked to take the baby back. She said, however, that she didn't have the heart to take the child away from the McGraths, and besides they could offer the baby more than she could at the time, since she already had many other children to care for. She said also that the baby saved the McGrath marriage because Mrs. McGrath had been drinking quite heavily and when she received the baby, she quit.

The comments of the young Indian girl who was studying Nursing at the University of Saskatchewan are interesting and instructive.

Adoption is another case of sharing people. There is no stigma attached to illegitimate babies; they are taken in by grandparents and treated as their own. Jody complained that the Welfare Department, Indian Health, etc. want to take these children away, but the Indians try to keep them. Jody's sister has an illegitimate child and her Mother has taken the baby in. Jody said, "Rhoda has brought so much love to this family; she has brought us together; we are glad to have her".

Finally, the desirability of children and the lack of stigma attached to illegitimacy is illustrated by the legend of Matsikanu'usis.

Matsikanu'usis was raised by his Grandmother. When he was about eighteen years old she said to him, "Well son, pretty soon you will have to get a woman for yourself and have a home of your own". There was a nice-looking young Indian girl who had a baby. The elders decided to find out whose baby it was so they would know who could marry her.

The legend continues with all the eligible men in the community vying for the young girl's hand in marriage. (See Appendix, pp.318-321 ) The fact that she has an illegitimate child appears to make her all the more desirable.
**INFANT TRAINING**

**Naming of Children**

No particular pattern could be discerned in the process of naming children. The resident Minister claimed that many names were Biblical but this claim was not verified. Children seem to be named after relatives, a few first sons being given the father's name. More often, however, people choose names that appeal to them; these are sometimes selected from books which the women are given to look at in hospital. One child was given a middle name because the nurse said she needed one. In the first few years of life, children may be given very expressive nicknames which are derived from their character or personality, or from some specific event. Often these nicknames are in Cree. It is interesting that many adults have nicknames as well, though only the male ones are used with any regularity; it seems, therefore, that childhood nicknames have some tenacity. These pet names give much pleasure and when one is used which people perhaps have not heard for awhile, its use causes a great deal of hilarity and remains a lingering joke. (See p.220)

**Attention to Infants' Needs**

Infants are generally well cared for and their needs attended to quite promptly. A few examples of the manner in which infants needs are attended to are as follows:
We were sitting on the ground, leaning against the house, watching a Little League baseball game. The woman beside me had a young child sleeping in the house. She got up a couple of times to look in the window, or she had an older child do this for her. When her daughter said, "The baby is crying", she jumped up and immediately went into the house.

One woman visited my tent one evening. After awhile, her seven-year-old daughter peeked her head in the entrance. Her Mother inquired if the baby were crying. The same woman, the store-owner's wife, says she lets the customers wait when she is feeding the baby. On one occasion, a one-year-old child played quietly by himself on a cot, but when he moved close to the edge, his Mother quickly got up and moved him.

Diaper-changing is the one need which is casually attended to. The women are in no hurry to change diapers and a number of instances were recorded of young children and babies going with wet or dirty diapers for several hours.

In most cases, babies sleep with parents, although one or two cribs were in evidence. One mother said that if she had more room, she would spread the children out more, but would always keep the little one with her.

Feeding and Weaning

Newborn infants are breast-fed, except in cases where the mother is not producing sufficient milk. The length of time before weaning varies from one month to three years. The three-year-old in question stopped breast-feeding of her own accord, when the other children started teasing her. A long nursing period is considered ideal by some women.
Carol, who has a new baby, finds that she can nurse for only a month or so. She is envious that her sister Marion is still nursing Patsy at seven months. Marion explained, "As soon as I came home from hospital I drank hot tea, as hot as I could stand it". I asked, "Does that help?" Marion answered, "The old people say it does". Carol said she had drunk hot tea and hot cocoa but it made no difference.

In general, the time of weaning seems to fall into two rough periods, one between one and three months, and the other at seven to nine months. To summarize, it would appear that it is exceptional for a woman not to nurse her baby at all: this situation would arise only as a result of unfavorable circumstances. Most women nurse for at least three months and, if they continue past that time, they are likely to breast-feed until at least seven months, although a few do nurse for a longer period.

On several occasions, demand-feeding was in evidence. One child was fed twice in four hours. The second time, the child cried while her Mother was washing dishes; the mother let the baby cry until the washing was finished and then went to her. Another informant said her baby is fed when she is hungry, about four times a day. She feels that when you bottle-feed you must keep a strict schedule, and control the amount, but with breast-feeding you don't. Over a period of approximately two hours, the baby fussed and cried several times and was given the breast each time.
Swaddling

It was noted that three newborn babies were swaddled.

Three diapers are used inside a larger blanket. Some women apparently use a rubber sheet as well (Mrs. Connor used what looked like a large piece of cellophane). The bottom two corners of the first diaper are wrapped separately, one around each of the child's legs. With the next diaper, the legs are pulled firmly together, and the bottom of the diaper is turned tightly under the feet. The third diaper repeats the arrangement of the second. The arms are bound down with the larger blanket. A couple of pins hold this compact bundle of baby together. Mrs. Reeve said they have to tie them like this to keep them warm in the winter. Her baby doesn't like having her arms bound in and became fussy when that stage was reached. Mrs. Reeve continued, however, saying that she had to get used to it now, before winter came.

There was some indication, however, that not all babies are swaddled. On newborn-baby rounds, with the Indian Health Services Worker, one two-week-old baby in Big Eddy was lying on a rough, coarse blanket, dressed not very warmly, and covered with a rag cover. An informant presented this approach as follows:

Esther talked about illnesses the children had had as infants. She said her Mother used to tell her what to do. She would say, "Wrap the baby up warmly, keep the fire going". "Actually," said Esther, "That was the worst thing she could do for them because they sweat, and when you unwrap them they get cold". With the younger children, she refused to listen to her Mother. She left them just in shirts and booties and did not warm the house excessively. "Like now", she said. The house was freezing and I was very warmly dressed. The four-year-old was wearing a cotton, short-sleeved shirt, and a cotton, sleeveless shift, with bare legs and feet. Esther said her method was better than her Mother's and the last children didn't get sick.
Nurturance

Babies and small children receive much nurturance in the form of frequent and warm physical contact. They are constantly held and quite often played with. This warm physical contact is not usually accompanied by talking to the child, or even by cooing noises. There were only two exceptions noted of people who did talk to their babies while playing with them or attending to their needs; significantly, one of these exceptions was the Mother who had two children at university. (pp.184,188) Physical contact is not confined to the mother. While sitting next to a baby at the Annual Sports Day, the investigator noted that everyone who passed either commented on the child, or came over to play with her. On a limited number of occasions, fathers were seen to play with their small children, and on one occasion, a twenty-year-old boy played with his small cousin. During an interview, one small boy proudly brought his baby sister into the room for viewing.

Toilet Training

Toilet training appears to be relatively lacking in trauma for both mother and child. Training is begun, usually, between a year and eighteen months. One mother said she begins training when the child is old enough to understand, and another, when the child is old enough to sit. The target date for completion of training is about two years. A mother who had started training her eighteen-month-old child said she felt he was still too young to really understand, but she was unaggressively persisting, so that he would slowly get
used to the idea. Only one woman was seen to reprimand her child for wetting his pants.

The two-year-old (training was begun before he was a year old) came in with dirty pants. He was sent outside to wait, while Mrs. Birt got a basin and washcloth. He was told several times that he was a "bad boy" and when two little girls passed by Mrs. Birt said, "Now these little girls will laugh at you".

On another occasion, the same child was reprimanded, verbally, for wetting; he was changed and sent outside again, after being told not to wet his pants. Most women, however, change the child without comment, and no active form of training was in evidence. Potties were seen, but these seemed to be as much for the older children, to preclude the necessity for going outside at night in the cold, as for training the little ones.

Two interesting notes were recorded with regard to traditional attitudes and practices insofar as children in diapers are concerned.

Granny Crawford stated that she used only moss diapers on her children. She said she had recently cured a bad diaper rash on a child by using moss.

Isabelle never used rubber pants on her children.

She said she dislikes rubber pants because her Mother told her they, "keep the water in the skin and it is unhealthy".

Learning to Walk

Infants are not usually put on the floor to crawl around. This is probably because of the lack of space and the amount of traffic in the homes. As a result, they do not have the same opportunities for learning to walk as children
in our own culture. To compensate for this, they are put into walkers. This is a seat, set on a frame which rolls on wheels. The baby's feet just touch the ground in a standing position, so that he can move himself around the room with no danger of falling. Some women said their children never crawled, and that they learned to walk with walkers, just by themselves. One woman stated that she didn't like her children to crawl. Another informant said her children learned to walk by pushing a chair. I asked a mother, whose thirteen-month-old baby was crawling around, if he were learning to walk. She said, he was just starting. When asked how she teaches them, she said, "I'll show you." She placed Jamie by the wall, sat on a bench in the middle of the kitchen, held up a nail, and told him to come and get it. He walked over very well. I definitely think she understated his ability in saying he couldn't walk well yet.

This child was not completely ambulatory, however; he still moved around mostly by crawling and, though he could walk, he would do so mainly when encouraged, rather than of his own volition. A glance at Mandelbaum's list of growth stages (reproduced below) will attest to the inaccuracy of the interpretation which was placed on this incident. In fact, the mother in question was not understating the ability of her child. She considered him as being in the "takes a step" growth stage, rather than in the "walker" stage. The situation was initially interpreted from the point of view of our own culture, which considers that a child is walking when he takes his first step.

One little girl of fourteen months is not even
attempting to walk yet. Her Mother says, "She's slow", in an unconcerned tone of voice. The fact that parents are not terribly worried when their children do not show normal development for a given age was verified by another incident.

One of Mrs. Yates's boys did not talk until he was four. Esther said, "We wondered when he would start talking".

Growth Stages

Mandelbaum provides a list of Cree terms for the various growth stages. This list is reproduced below.

- oskawasis: infant
- tcachkopitcawaconic: child in cradleboard
- pamtactimu: crawler
- nu-pawew: stander
- otcctlw: takes a step
- pmuhtew: walker
- pmpuhtaw: runner
- mapecic: boy
- iskwecic: girl
- oskinikwgin: boy of ten or eleven
- oskiniks: girl of ten or eleven
- k-capewa: boy at puberty
- k-clickwekt: girl at puberty
- oskinikw: boy about fourteen
- oskinikis: girl about fourteen
- kehteoskinikw: youth of about twenty
- kehteoskiniskew: unmarried young woman
- kehteyatak: young married man
- kehteyak: young married woman
- keceyi: elderly man
- notokwea: elderly woman
- kawikehkaw: very old person
- nipahikehkan: already dead, senile

(Mandelbaum 1940:243)

The divisions which are used in Part II are a combination of those indicated on Mandelbaum's list and those imposed by the White educational system. The division which we have called "infancy" would include the first six stages presented by Mandelbaum. That is, up until the time the child is considered
a "walker" by the Indians, or until the age of two, or two and one-half.
Chapter 10

EARLY CHILDHOOD

We have considered "early childhood" as beginning when
the child is, in the terminology of Mandelbaum's list, a
"walker". (p.247) At this stage, children have been toilet
trained, and are toddling about quite happily on their own.
The end of this period has been defined according to a division
imposed by the White educational system, that is, until the
end of the kindergarten year, or until the child is six years
old. This would take us at least to Mandelbaum's "runner"
stage.

EARLY TRAINING

The transition from infancy to early childhood is
fairly smooth and devoid of trauma. There may be one or two
important changes in the child's life. If a new baby has
arrived, the child will find he has left his parents' bed and
is now sleeping with older siblings. He spends not nearly so
much time in his Mother's arms, and his care is largely
entrusted to young caretakers. The atmosphere of nurturance
and security is not, however, withdrawn. Rather, its main-
tenance is partially transferred to the hands of young care-
takers.
Caretaking

The young caretakers take up their duties at about age six and are very loving and attentive to their tiny charges. The investigator never ceased to be amazed at the patience and willingness of these youngsters. The following entry, concerning two little girls, approximately eight years old, in charge of two toddlers at a baseball game, is typical.

The two girls were unbelievably attentive. They played with the boys, kissed them, cuddled them, and held them up so they could see the game better. The two boys wandered on their own, trying to climb up on the stumpy posts for a better view. They were never gone for more than a minute before one of their two caretakers was there, loving them and taking care of them. The boys were extremely active and the girls were constantly going to get them from somewhere. The girls never seemed to tire of their task and, in fact, seemed to be enjoying it.

On another occasion, I accompanied a number of children to the old school playground. Several two and three-year-olds were in the group; they were carried, or came under the watchful eye of older siblings. The older children did not at all mind having them along.

Caretakers not only watch that their charges don't get into mischief, but also attend to any other needs which might arise. One girl told her charge to put his shirt back on, or he would get sunburned. Another asked if anyone had seen her brother's shirt. During one home visit, two toddlers simultaneously headed in the direction of the front door; their four-year-old sister ran ahead of them and locked the door, without a suggestion from anyone. Youngsters who are hurt, or who are crying for any reason, will be soothed by
older children. One little boy approached his Mother in tears, was pushed away, and then turned to an older sister, who put her arms around him and talked, softly and soothingly.

Grandmothers, too, take a more active role in child-care at this stage in a youngster's life. Babysitting is the main duty they are called upon to perform. More active child-minding is left to the more energetic young caretakers. Grandmothers not infrequently have their own "adopted" children to care for, and are, therefore, not always available as daytime caretakers or baby-minders.

**Autonomy and Permissiveness**

Much has been written about the permissive atmosphere in which Indian children are raised, and about the autonomy of the Indian child. Let us examine the question with regard to young children in Opasquia West.

There is no question of the child existing in a world with absolutely no controls. This is simply not the case. Controls appear to be imposed on young children mainly in the limiting of boundaries within which they are allowed to wander. Almost every mother stated that she liked her child to be where she could watch him. The main fears are the highway, the river, and the town. These are stated, ideally, to be out-of-bounds. One mother said she spanks her child for going to the river, or across the bridge to the town playground. Another said she doesn't like her children playing with those next door, as the neighbour's children wander; even the four-year-old wanders around town, it was said. An informant who
lives east of the highway said that last time her six-year-old crossed the highway to visit friends--(her family is in Opasquia West, her husband's in Opasquia East) he "really got it". The ideal of not allowing children near the river, the highway, or the town, appears to be approached where the young children are concerned, at least. However, there were several recorded incidents, similar to the one quoted above, of children age six and over going to town, or to the river. One mother said it is difficult to keep the older children away from the river in the summer. The only recorded breach of these rules by a young child was as follows:

Two girls, twelve or thirteen years old, asked for a ride to town, to look for their little sister. The child in question is four. She was wandering in town with another little girl of her own age, and a ten-year-old. Jane, the sister who had requested help, was quite concerned that her Mother would be worried. Apart from this one incident, and even here the child was not unaccompanied, the controls which prevent small children from wandering too near the river, highway, and town appear to be effective. What are these controls? We have indicated that mothers claim to spank their children for overstepping the imposed boundaries. In fact, there was no opportunity to verify this claim. The main control seems to be that mothers do keep a watchful eye on their youngsters, or know that a young caretaker is in attendance. Two mothers who were quite friendly, though not related, did not like their children to play together because, as one of the mothers said, "When they go somewhere to play you can't watch them". During one interview, two children were in and out of the house constantly.
When the little one strayed farther from the house than his Mother liked, she asked the older one to go and get him. Mrs. Ballard stated that she doesn't like her children to go to her Mother's house, because she can't keep her eye on them. However, two of her young children were seen at a house which was out of her range of vision, indicating that her stated rule is not absolutely adhered to. One informant said that her children play around the house outside. She doesn't let them go away; they play with other children only when others come to her house.

Other restrictions placed on young children were not as generally applicable as the play-boundary ones, and the actual method of enforcing these restrictions was not always ascertained. Several control situations were, nevertheless, observed or discussed. Children appear to have been trained not to go near the stove; they seem to avoid playing around the stove. One mother was seen to move her toddler away from the kitchen stove; nothing was said to the child as his position was shifted. In the same home, matches were kept out of the children's reach, high up on the wall, in a container. The mother in the home where I stayed for two weeks locked my bedroom door to keep the children out.

Mrs. Reeve's two boys were at their Grandmothers. Mrs. Reeve said she was too weak to watch them now—she had just come home from hospital with a new baby—so they go over there every day. They come home for meals. The two boys are allowed to play only where Mrs. Reeve can watch them. She said they have learned not to mess up the house; they don't touch the television set, etc. She said other children come in and go into the china cabinet, but she really got after hers, and they don't do that now.
One mother keeps her children's good toys upstairs, and does not allow the children to bring them down. Another informant claimed that when her children are playing in the house, she confines them to one room. Mrs. Birt puts a board across the open front door to keep the children either in, or out, or separated. So we see that there are some restrictions imposed on a young child, the chief ones being his play-boundaries. Within these boundaries, however, the growing child is allowed a great deal of freedom to discover and experience the world on his own.

Many examples were noted of children in situations which, in our own culture, would elicit parental action, or at least comment. In Opasquia West, however, the child is relatively unhindered in his activities. Several examples will serve to illustrate this point. The first observation was made at a baseball game.

Mrs. Connor came over, bringing her two boys, aged three and four, with her. Though she was in reach of the two boys, she never interfered with their play. One of them slid down a gravelly, sandy, hill, on his belly. The other filled his pop bottle with sand, rolled it down the hill, and then made hitting motions at the car with it.

At the same game:

One toddler was allowed out of the car, while her Mother watched from inside. She walked around, and fell a couple of times, once in a downhill direction; there were gasps from adult bystanders, but she recovered her balance, and no-one moved to help her.

One mother, in a two-storey house, says she allows her children to go upstairs by themselves as soon as they can crawl, because they might go up when she isn't there and they must learn to
look after themselves.

Evan, age two, complained of being hungry. His Mother gave him a piece of moose meat, but he didn't want it and threw it aside. He got a box of Corn Flakes from the cabinet and Rebecca gave him a bowl of cereal and a spoon. He sat at the table and ate it himself. Later, he took a piece of moose meat, put it on a plate, salted it himself, and tried to cut it with a knife and fork. Rebecca watched from afar, but made no effort to help him.

By the time the child is four, he is considered to be a fairly responsible individual, with a mind of his own, and the ability to think for himself. During a meeting at the Friendship Centre, convened to plan the sporting events for the Annual Sports Day, the following was noted:

Josh Reeve suggested that the races begin with the three and four-year-olds. Larry Wheeler, Director of the Friendship Centre, said, "Will they know?", which I understood to mean, "Will these small children understand what they are expected to do?" Josh Reeve said, confidently, "They'll know".

Other indications of the confidence placed in four-year-olds were recorded.

Marilyn, age four, likes to play outside most of the time, even in winter. Mrs. Yates said that when Marilyn goes to visit her Grandparents in winter, her Grandfather doesn't like her to go outside. He is afraid she'll freeze. "But," says Mrs. Yates, "She knows when to come in".

Even if the child manifests a quite unique, and perhaps eccentric, individuality, he is "given his head" and not pressed into conformity.

While Isabelle and I were sitting in the living-room, four-year-old Barbara came in, went to a drawer in the bureau, took out a dress, and put it on in the bedroom. Isabelle says she likes to change two or three times a day.

And the following day,
Isabelle and Grant were going to town. Barbara quietly got herself ready. Isabelle said, "See how she dresses herself; no-one invited her to come". Barbara was taken along, while Granny Crawford babysat for the others.

**Discipline**

Disciplinary control is exercised in some situations and takes several different forms. At least six mothers said they spank their children or "give them a licking" for fighting, as well as for overstepping play-boundaries. However, physical punishment was actually observed on only five occasions; four of these incidents involved kindergarten or school-age children. The one incident involving a four-year-old was as follows:

Isabelle said that Barbara is just learning English. Isabelle said a few things to her and Barbara repeated, "Shut up, shut up". This was not discouraged. Later in the day, the incident recurred, and this time Barbara received a slap. Isabelle was later heard telling the child that she doesn't like to hear her talking that way.

More often, however, when a young child does something which is not approved of, he is physically prevented from repeating the act, simply by being moved, or by having a destructive object removed from his grasp. For example, at the baseball game,

The two little boys began picking up the baseball bats. These were quickly and silently removed from their grasp.

On another occasion, a two-year-old, sitting on the living-room floor, began to bang a nail into the floor with a hammer. Her Mother allowed this to go on for a few minutes, and then went over and removed the hammer. During one interview, two little girls, age five and two, tumbled on the floor. The younger one began crying; the girls were separated by their Mother and the little one put outside. This method of physically
separating the children was repeated on another occasion.

One of the children pushed the little two-year-old girl over and she started screaming. Her brother, age six, picked her up. A couple of minutes passed, Ardis bent over and took the little girl from her brother and put the two older children outside.

On four occasions, children were threatened with physical punishment by having a stick, belt, or broom brandished at them. One of these incidents took place during the kindergarten class, the child being threatened with a yardstick. Twice, threats of physical punishment were directed at pre-schoolers and, on one of these occasions, a one-year-old was threatened with a stick by his Father. One other example of threatened physical punishment was observed, though no weapon was brandished. A two-year-old was told by his Mother, "Come here, or your Father will hit you".

By far the most common form of discipline is verbal. The manner in which this form of discipline is administered makes it extremely interesting. It is not unusual for a negative verbal admonishment to be accompanied by a positive expression or gesture. Very frequently, a verbal command, usually telling a child not to do something, is ignored by the child, and is then not followed up with either action or further words by the disciplinary agent. In these ways, verbal discipline is rendered totally ineffective. Many situations were recorded which exemplify verbal discipline rendered ineffective by the lack of follow-up, or by the fact that they are accompanied by positive sanction. At the baseball game:
There was a smallish dog nearby, which one of the toddlers began pelting with stones. One of the caretakers came over, and smilingly scolded the little boy. The punishment was very unconvincing and later, the two boys were seen taking turns patting the dog; with each successive turn, the pats became increasingly vicious.

In one home,

Victor, age eighteen months, threw something at me. His Mother said, laughingly, "Victor!"

On another occasion,

We were sitting in the tent, with the door tied open, when Gary, age five, threw a stone in from outside. Mrs. Linton laughingly told him not to. No negative action was taken in this case, nor when another stone was thrown while he was inside.

Denise Ballard, age fourteen months, hit Jamie Birt, age thirteen months, over the head with a tin can. Her Mother said something like "Denise, don't", or "Denise, stop", but Denise didn't. Her Mother didn't move toward the little girl. Jamie went crying to his Mother, who consoled him.

We stood outside by the car, and watched the children throwing stones at each other in the driveway. A couple of children were hit. Marion told them, unconvincingly, to stop, once or twice. No action was taken. Her words were almost reflex, rather than meaningful.

Evan, a two-year-old, was throwing papers into the fire outside. His Father's sister told him to stop, but at the same time she turned to me and said, "He never listens". The aunt was babysitting, and had been told by the child's Mother to spank him if necessary. She told this to Evan.

Another day,

Evan was awake, but the three other little boys were napping. His mother told him not to wake the other children, one of whom was sleeping on the floor. Evan went over and kicked the little boy, waking him up. Rebecca saw the end of this performance, but said nothing.

The children have a new puppy, which they played with constantly. At one point, they began swinging the puppy by his front legs. Their Mother cautioned the little girls against being too rough with their pet but they said, "We aren't," and continued as before.
The disciplinary approach described in the above examples was by far the most common and, as the examples indicate, the method carries little if any weight behind it. As stated in one field-note excerpt, parents issue their commands, or express their disapproval, almost reflexively, with little or no conviction. It was as if merely acknowledging the existence of a situation, which perhaps warranted their attention, was enough to absolve them of responsibility in the matter. It seemed that this form of discipline was essentially foreign to them, and the expectation that children be disciplined had been imposed from outside. In fact, there were a number of indications that family authority and disciplinary controls are inadequate in preparing the child for the world he will have to face. This will be discussed more fully with reference to adolescents. (See pp. 292-294) One incident, however, illustrates the inadequacy that exists, and that parents feel, when it comes to disciplining and setting rules, even for their smallest children.

Harriet said that the Chief had been talking to her husband, who is a Band Councillor. They are concerned about the fact that young children are wandering around late at night at dances, wedding feasts, and just generally. She said they were talking about imposing a curfew. They will ask the District Police to enforce it. After the children are used to it, she said, they will let the Indian Constable take over.

So outside agents, the police, are called in to do a job that parents feel inadequate to cope with.

One other form of discipline is commonly used; this method is one which seems to come most naturally to the parents, although it is difficult to know what effect it has on the children. The method in question is that of shaming, and of
using projected agents to frighten the children into obedience. Shaming was noted repeatedly. At about midnight on the night that Mrs. Linton was visiting my tent, when the little boys had been unhindered in throwing stones both inside and out, Mr. Linton entered. His wife said to him, "They are really showing what they are". The following incident has previously been cited, but is equally relevant here. (See p.245) Evan had dirtied his pants and Mrs. Birt had sent him outside and then followed with a basin of water and a washcloth.

Evan was told several times that he was a "bad boy". While she was cleaning him, Beth and Kathy Ballard walked up. Mrs. Birt said, "Now these little girls will laugh at you".

On another occasion, when Evan came in with wet pants, his Mother's sister asked facetiously, "Did you step in a puddle?"

Children may be told that they are "bad boys" or "bad girls", or they may be compared to a baby sister or brother and told that they are worse than so-and-so. A two-year-old, who was crying in front of his thirteen-month-old brother, was told, "See, Jamie isn't crying." A four-year-old, who was playing in bed, was told to go to sleep, and that she was a bad girl, and that no-one likes a bad girl.

Perhaps the most interesting form of reproach is the use of a projected agent. A two-year-old was crying bitterly when

Old Granny Crawford passed by the open door and stopped to say "Hello". When she had gone, Mrs. Birt said to the child, "If you don't stop crying that old lady will take you away". She later told him, "Kukuguhu (owl) will put you in his ear".
During another visit when Evan was crying, (his nickname was "Crying Sam"), he was told

"That man (the investigator's husband) will laugh at you." Rebecca later told him that the mouse in the wall would get him.

One interesting sequence occurred which seemed to indicate that these rather frightening ideas are internalized by the children. During one visit

Beth, age three, came in without her shoes on. Mrs. Ballard told her to get them. She said, "You'll cut your feet". When Beth didn't obey she said, "A dog will bite your toes".

A couple of weeks later, the same home was visited in the evening; the television was on.

Kathy, age two, took off her shoes, and was walking around in her socks. Beula, her Mother, made a comment about me getting her toes. A picture of Charles Darwin with long white beard came on the television screen. Beula said he'd bite her toes. When I was leaving, Kathy made motions of walking out the door and Beula told her the bogey man would get her.

Another two weeks passed,

Beula was cleaning ducks; several unplucked ducks were lying on the table. Beth was playing around them. Kim, age four, told her the ducks would bite her fingers.

So it seems that this form of control does make some impression on the children. This is possibly because of the actual nature of the admonishment, which must be quite frightening to a small child, and also because it is delivered with much more conviction than the casual, reflex, verbal discipline previously referred to. Also, the projected agent comment, in all cases, was delivered seriously, accompanied by no positive gesture or expression.
Eating Habits

The eating habits of young children are worth some consideration. Ideally, children are eating the same food as adults, at table by the age of eighteen months, and probably earlier, although eighteen months is the earliest that can be absolutely verified by field notes. One mother said her children began eating with the family, and eating the same food as the rest of the family, when they cut their teeth. Many mothers claimed they like their children to sit still at the table, and to remain seated until they are finished eating. This claim was not seen to be acted upon. In fact, children were rarely seen to be eating with their parents. The following entry is more typical.

At supper, the children were generally nowhere to be seen; they would come in periodically to grab another sandwich. At one point, Mrs. Linton sat Patsy, the baby, on the table. She got into the butter, tea, etc., but was not taken off the table; things were moved slightly out of her reach.

At lunchtime on the day the investigator's tent was pitched, some of the children who were watching and helping disappeared, and returned eating sandwiches. Upon entering one home,

The table looked as though the family had just finished a meal, but Dorothy, age eight, was still eating. It seems she was not there when the family was eating, and came in when she was hungry. She was sitting at the table, eating alone.

Children are not pushed to eat this or that. They are allowed to eat what they are in the mood for.

At supper tonight, neither Barbara, age four, nor Mark, age three, were interested in eating. The food was not forced upon them. Mark went into the living-
room and promptly fell asleep. Barbara was told, "When the dishes are done, there will be no more food".

On only three occasions were families noted to be sitting and eating together. Generally, then, it appears that children eat when they are hungry. Their meals take the form of snacking.

Fresh meat was rarely seen to be bought from a butcher, or from the Reserve store, which did sell mince meat. The fresh meat in evidence had been killed on hunting expeditions. Most other meat was tinned. On two occasions it was noted that a family bought a quarter from a neighbour's kill; strictly speaking, this practice is illegal. As it was hunting season, moose meat and duck were plentiful. Several notebook entries recorded a main meal consisting of freshly killed meat, bannock, and potatoes. The families with freezers presumably freeze their hunted meat for winter, while others must soon resort to tinned foods.

Fresh fruit and vegetables were not seen at a regular meal in any home. Fresh vegetables are served at feasts. Whether or not children are given cod liver oil, or vitamin pills, to compensate for this lack was not noted, but rickets was not in evidence. At kindergarten, children are given milk, a biscuit, and a vitamin pill, each day.

Children consume a great deal of candy, potato chips, and soft drinks. Though a few parents professed not to allow this, there were, in fact, no objections recorded. Rather, situations such as the following were noted.
Jamie had been sleeping. When he woke, Rebecca gave him candy. Arnold came in and was given candy as well. Rebecca's Mother sat him on the floor and poured half a bag of candy onto the floor in front of him. Evan took a couple, and Rebecca told him to give Jamie one.

In the same home, on another day:

While chatting, she prepared some potatoes. First she wiped the table, then peeled and sliced the potatoes on it. Evan was not discouraged from picking up one of the dirty peelings and eating it.

The birthday party described in an earlier chapter was, essentially, an hour of organized eating of goodies for the children. (See p.152) Wedding feasts provide a parallel ceremonial gorging for adults; on these occasions, the menu will be something like, moose-meat soup, moose meat prepared with onions, salad, potatoes, cakes, and tea. People arrive, eat, and leave, the table being set up in shifts, with perhaps ten people at a sitting. Children are not fed at table during wedding feasts, but usually hang about their mother's skirts, and are given cake. At all community activities such as dances, ball games, and Bingo, soft drinks, candy, and chocolate are sold, and the stand is always busy. Mooseburgers and hot dogs were also for sale at the Annual Sports Day. One mother said her children get sick from Coke and Pepsi; she gives them Orange Crush instead. Marion Linton said she doesn't allow the children to drink tea or coffee because, "It's bad for their kidneys, and so is the sugar they use in tea or coffee".
Sleeping Habits

Children's sleeping habits are in many ways similar to their eating habits. Schedules are not imposed, and they are allowed to sleep when, where, and as long as they please. When asked at what age, in her opinion, a child could safely be trusted with caretaking duties, Mrs. Linton's view was,

Girls are old enough to look after little ones at age six. Before that they may get tired somewhere, lie down, and fall asleep.

Very young children, and, in fact, children of all ages, were always to be seen at evening baseball games, dances, and wedding feasts. It was noted that three and four-year-olds were still present at a dance at one o'clock in the morning. The concern of some parents regarding the hours that young children keep has been referred to earlier in this chapter; a curfew, to be enforced by the District Police, was being considered by the Council. (See p.259) The Lintons used to live at Hemming Lake. At that time, their oldest son, now ten, was supposed to be in Grade 1; they received correspondence material from Winnipeg, and Marion taught Glen herself. When they moved back to Opasquia, he went into Grade 2, and failed. The Lintons attribute this failure to their acquisition of television.

Glen Sr. said they used to watch everything. The whole family would stay up until at least midnight, every night. Children are to be seen sleeping almost anywhere, and at any time. The following took place after dinner, in the afternoon.
Victor, age eighteen months, sat in a high chair. He was tired, and ate his bannock with his eyes closed. Later, he lay down on the kitchen floor. After awhile, he was taken to bed, but when I left, he had not been sleeping, and was in the kitchen again. His Mother said it was because his face wasn't washed; he always has his face washed before he goes to bed.

At the Sports Day, a young child spent part of the afternoon sleeping on the grass. On another occasion,

In the evening, at Reeve's, the youngest boy, age two, was sitting on his Father's lap. He soon fell asleep. He slept there for about a half-hour and then Josh put him in bed, with his clothes on.

It was noted on other occasions that children were in bed, dressed in the clothing they had been wearing during the day. In fact, on no occasion were they seen to be changed. One evening, at about ten o'clock,

Barbara, age four, was sleepy at the table, and left to put herself to bed. She went to sleep with the light on; Isabelle turned it off about a half-hour later.

Afternoon naps are also left to the child's own discretion.

Rebecca Birt said that Evan, age two, suddenly decided he didn't want to sleep in the afternoon, and that was that. She says he goes to bed early, at about 7:30 or 8:00 P.M. The little one, thirteen months, still naps in the afternoon.

Mrs. Linton said Kevin, age eighteen months, has an afternoon nap for a couple of hours, or he gets restless. She puts him to sleep, in the afternoon, in a homemade, hammock-like swing, which has been rigged up in the bedroom. (See PLATE XI) Two ropes are strung across the room, or across a corner and are firmly attached to the wall at each end. A flannel sheet is slung underneath the two ropes, and each side of the sheet is folded over one of the ropes, to overlap in the middle. Sometimes, additional padding is put in the hollow. This forms a
PLATE XI

A BABY HAMMOCK
A hammock, in which the child is laid for his nap. A few hammocks were seen, and the young children seemed to enjoy using them.

**Father's Responsibility in Child-Rearing**

Traditionally, it was said, fathers played no part whatsoever in raising their children, until the children were pubertal. Now, one father said, he feels that he, personally, should be more involved in raising his young children than he actually is. The pattern, then, or attitudes at least, appear to be changing slightly, although father's major role still appears to be taking his son hunting when the boy is about age ten. Three women stated that their husbands do help with the children, when assistance is required. A fourth woman said her husband takes no part in disciplinary measures. Several situations required that father do more than would normally have been expected of him. In these situations, the father appeared to adjust fairly readily and do what was necessary. In one home, the woman had left her husband several years previously (at least six); since that time, father had played a large part in raising his children; three, ranging in age from eleven to fifteen, were at home, a fourth was at boarding school, and two younger children lived with their Mother. A man whose wife had been in the sanitorium for three months, was himself looking after seven children, ranging in age from two to fourteen, and his wife's ninety-two-year-old Father. He was not, at the time, holding a job and, in fact, had not been working for five years because of a foot injury. The
family had at one time lived in town, but were now renting a house on the Reserve. The house had no electricity and, when visited, Mr. Flynn was drawing water from the filthy river to use for washing; he seemed to be only barely coping with his responsibilities.

A thirty-two-year-old man, who was married to a fourteen-year-old girl, seemed to take much of the responsibility for raising their thirteen-month-old daughter on his own shoulders, possibly because of his wife's immaturity; she did not seem a very capable person. During one visit, he spent the greater part of the evening holding the baby and keeping his eye on her; only after the child began crying for the third time did he call his wife, who had been in the kitchen with a friend throughout the visit, to come and take the baby.

Fathers were seen playing with their young children, or with babies, on three or four occasions. These cases seem to be the exception, rather than the rule. Nevertheless, father's interest in his child's upbringing appears to be a growing one, and he is increasingly willing to be involved. Father really comes into his own when his son reaches hunting age. This topic will be discussed in the following chapter. (See pp.285-286)
A kindergarten class is held five days a week for preschool children five years of age. There is a morning class for children from Opasquia East and West; Big Eddy children attend in the afternoon. Both sessions are held at the Big Eddy school. The kindergarten teacher is herself an Indian woman, from Prince Albert; she is the Mother of a resident of Opasquia West.

Boys toys, trucks, cars, building materials, etc., are on shelves on one side of the room and the girls toys, such as dolls, carriages, and dishes are on the other. The only other indication of sex differentiation was noted when the children were leaving.

Mrs. Bird told the boys to let the girls go first. She said this is the one thing she is trying to teach them. "In the beginning, the boys practically trampled the girls trying to get out", she said.

The children were each given a small, individual puzzle to work. Mrs. Bird moved around, giving assistance where needed. Murray Connor was having trouble, and Mrs. Bird did the entire puzzle for him. He was very proud of the completed puzzle and carried it around, showing it to the other children. He came back to his chair, took the puzzle apart, and tried it himself.

One little girl slithered on her belly along the table where the children were working. She did this for awhile before being stopped.

The children are given milk, a biscuit, and a vitamin pill. Before this, they all wash their hands and faces. They soap themselves, and dry with paper towels, without rinsing;
their hands and faces are not checked. When they were drinking their milk, however, Mrs. Bird did comment to a couple of boys that their hands were still dirty. There is a short rest period, during which time the children are expected to lie quietly on the floor, on mats. They were not at all interested in resting, and probably did not need the rest break; the time was spent sliding around the floor on the mats, which served only to aggravate Mrs. Bird.

Later, there was a rhythmic period, during which time the children played at being crows, waving their arms up and down, and cawing.

Mrs. Bird had them touch body parts and say, "I touch my nose, I touch my toes," etc. She said this is to get them speaking English in sentences.

Two boys were put in the corner for being a bit too hyperactive during rhythmics. They appeared not to realize they were being punished, however, and so the action had a minimal effect. Mrs. Bird, at one point, threatened the children with a yardstick. She also slapped a couple of bottoms and said, "You have to act nice for Mrs. Robinson".

A film strip was shown, entitled The Earth. It was far too sophisticated for these five-year-olds and would, perhaps, have been suitable for children twice their age. The children took turns going to the bathroom during the film.

No particular emphasis was placed on tidiness. By the end of the morning, the room was in a shambles. There were kleenex tissues, toys, and crumbs on the floor, milk on the table, puzzles, and scattered pieces of puzzle on another table.
Mrs. Bird would say to the children, "Okay, put the toys away", and if they didn't, no action was taken.

The kindergarten experience gives the children one of their first opportunities to participate in organized activity. Previously, there have been birthday parties and the Annual Sports Days, at which the very young children have little to do. The children really do not comprehend what is expected of them; the routine is absolutely foreign. One of Mrs. Bird's greatest difficulties appeared to be getting the children to switch from one activity to the next. She was quite concerned to get all the activities covered that she is "supposed to". Kindergarten, or some form of pre-school preparation, is absolutely necessary, if the children are to adjust to the integrated schools across the river. Kindergarten, however, in preparing the children for their school years, confronts them abruptly with many experiences which are discontinuous with the previous four years of their lives. They must lie down, eat, play games, sit, and listen, all at specific times, and not just when they please. On the other hand, some situations were continuous with their previous experience and perpetuated extant values; these presented no discontinuity at this stage, but would certainly do so when the child entered Grade 1. Situations which exemplify this were the untidiness which was willingly tolerated, and the lack of follow-up when the children did not obey a command.
Chapter 11

LATE CHILDHOOD

This chapter will be concerned with the child from the time he enters school at six years of age until the time of adolescence, that is, until the age of thirteen to fifteen. Although this age-group division is prompted by conditions imposed by the White educational system (the child enters Grade 1 at age six, and many children leave school at age sixteen), it also accords quite closely with the growth stages presented by Mandelbaum. (See p.247) The age-group division which we have called "late childhood" takes us approximately to the "girl and boy about fourteen" stage on Mandelbaum's list.

LATE TRAINING

Children's Playthings

Toys are generally of the type that promote physical activity. Boys play with plastic tractors (the kind they can sit on), scooters, and tricycles; home-made bows and arrows, rubber balls, and boxing gloves were also seen. The favorite equipment of young boys, however, is old car tyres and sling-shots. The latter are made from forked sticks, to which are attached strips of rubber from abandoned automobile tyres;
these simple devices are, in fact, deadly weapons, which serve a very important function in the lives of young boys. Sling-shots are used by the boys in their early and mid-teens to kill birds, including prairie chickens, grouse and ptarmigan, to hurl stones at dogs, and for such sport as knocking a piece of paper from an overhead wire. Young boys begin to sharpen their aim from the time they are five or six, invaluable training for their later hunting years. When asked what he intends to do with the handful of sparrows he has shot, a young boy will say, "make soup," or, "feed them to the dogs". The deadly accuracy which a child acquires by the time he is twelve was demonstrated by a twelve-year-old who sat in the back seat of the car and casually picked off all the flies on the front windshield.

The play equipment of young girls is not nearly so interesting, consisting, as in our own culture, mainly of dolls, doll carriages, toy irons, rubber balls, and the like.

Perhaps the most significant fact about children's possessions and toys is the complete absence of such items as colouring books, crayons, pencils, cut-out books, educational games and toys, story-books, and picture-books. In fact, there is absolutely no equipment in the child's environment which would encourage him to sit and think, or to begin to learn the basic principles of reading and writing. Such activity for all children from Opasquia West begins when they enter kindergarten at age five; until this time, their minds are totally undisciplined with respect to sedentary intellectual pursuits. After entering kindergarten, a child who is inclined toward book-
learning must pursue this interest against formidable odds; his home contains no books, and probably no magazines or newspapers (at best there may be a few beaten comic books lying around); his Mother does not read to him from children's story-books, nor does his Father read the comics to him from the newspaper, while he follows along with his finger from square to square. He must fight for a spot to do his homework, literally pushing other people aside.

Several incidents illustrated the difficulties encountered by a child who manifests intellectual leanings. One evening, a seven-year-old girl was emphatically told to turn off the light and go to sleep. She was crouched on the top bunk of a double-decker bed, her eight-year-old sister lying beside her, deeply involved in writing something on a piece of paper; it is just possible that she was attempting to do her homework. One exceptionally bright seven-year-old was very skilled at cutting out various paper objects; he was the only child seen to engage in this kind of activity; he would sit on the floor for long periods of time, making paper animals, airplanes with moving parts, and cut-out patterns which could be pulled into the form of a lantern. He was observed, one afternoon, systematically tearing pages to be used for his cut-outs from an old school reader, when his Mother asked whose book it was, he answered, "It's not mine, it's someone else's"; that was the end of the matter. Although the boy was utilizing the old reader to good advantage insofar as his talent was concerned, situations such as this do little to instil in children a
respect for books.

The lack of emphasis on intellectual pursuits is exemplified by the fact that there is at the Friendship Centre a small table which is piled high with old books suitable for children of all ages; during many visits to the Friendship Centre, not a single child was ever seen reading a book or even browsing through the stack.

Children's toys, then, are ones which encourage physical activity. Educational toys, books, and sit-down games, such as "Snakes and Ladders", "Monopoly", "Clue", and "Scrabble", are not a part of the child's environment. There is, in fact, nothing in his environment which would encourage intellectual forms of mental activity. Intelligence is directed toward common-sense and practical matters, rather than toward abstract intellectual achievement (see p.226) and, therefore, children are not encouraged to discipline their minds along intellectual lines. The childlike curiosity which in other cultures may be tapped and channelled along intellectual lines is most certainly present in children from Opasquia West. Though they ask fewer questions than youngsters from our own culture, children from Opasquia West observe and examine with the same absorbing curiosity and interest.

**Household Responsibilities**

We have previously discussed the fact that a child finds himself shouldered with caretaking responsibilities by the time he is six years old. During late childhood, children
take on many other household responsibilities as well. There is some sexual division of labour, though one or two mothers claimed that their sons and daughters do the same chores.

Marion said she remembers some boys who never had to help at home when they were young, and now they don't help their wives; therefore, she makes her boys do chores that might be considered women's work.

Generally, girls do the bulk of caretaking, dish-washing, and bed-making. Occasionally, they also help their mothers pluck ducks and geese. Young girls were seen working very diligently to serve, clear tables, and wash dishes at wedding feasts. In one home, the Mother had apparently left her family about a week previously and was said to be on a drinking spree in Big Eddy. The two little girls in this home, one barely over six, and the other under five, were doing all the housework, including caring for a small baby. The house was very messy and dirty when visited, and the two youngsters were busy sweeping and tidying up. An older woman was seen helping out one day.

Boys do the wood-chopping and water-carrying. According to the resident Minister,

The men take little part in household activities. This is the traditional pattern. You don't see men splitting wood for the fire, or carrying water. The young boys do these chores.

In some cases, however, adult males were seen to assist young boys with the heavy work, such as emptying slop pails and hauling water. A twenty-one-year-old boy, who had been taken in by a family, was seen to make dinner for the children one afternoon. On two occasions, it was recorded that young boys made fires in the stove; one was a seven-year-old and the other fourteen. On
neither occasion was this action prompted by a request from an adult. Both boys and girls carry wood into the house from the wood-pile; children of both sexes go to the Reserve store for bread, milk, and other small items. Two children have moved from their own homes and were living with relatives, in order to be of assistance. One thirteen-year-old boy had moved in with his married sister; she and her husband had two little boys, aged two and four, and a newborn baby. A twelve-year-old girl had moved to her Father's parents home. Children are very cooperative, and helpful at all times. They are sensitive to jobs that need doing, and do them without being asked.

Sex Differentiation, Intentional Sex-Typing, and Sex Identification

Some data were collected which shed light on the subject of sex differentiation, intentional sex-typing, and sex identification. Let us first cite one or two examples of adult manifestations of sex identification. Perhaps the most illuminating single fact, and one which have previously been referred to (see p.143), is that at dances, homosexual partners are as frequent as heterosexual. In fact, it is not unusual to see people dancing with no partner at all. Two further incidents seemed particularly significant. One evening, in a town bar,

Mrs. Josh Connor took the bow from a birthday present her husband had bought her and put it on Josh Reeve's lapel. He didn't object, and left it there all evening, the bow attached with a bobby pin.
One sunny afternoon,

Walking from the Indian Affairs Branch Office to the Friendship Centre, Josh Reeve and Larry Wheeler picked hollyhocks and carried them back in their hands.

These examples appear to indicate that the adult male ego is more secure than its counterpart in White middle-class society. Because their masculine image is not threatened, Cree men are relaxed in their masculinity and are quite comfortable doing things which would be considered effeminate, or odd by White middle-class males. This trait has its roots in childhood as the following examples indicate.

At the Little League game, after the wedding on Friday, several players had kleenex flowers from the wedding tied onto their baseball caps or gloves.

A little boy, about ten, came to the tent today, wearing long false red fingernails, which he had bought at the store.

On the way to the playground one day, a little boy found an old skirt lying on the road and put it on. On this occasion, the child was teased slightly by the little girls. In one other observed instance, a child was teased in a like situation. We were visiting Marion Linton's sister in town,

Kevin Linton was wearing eyebrow pencil; apparently, one of the other children had put it on him. They joked about it briefly, but nobody wiped it off.

It appears, then, that there is a quite casual approach to what could be considered effeminate behavior, at least female identification, in young boys. Though an action may be accompanied by some teasing, the reaction of observers is minimal; it is not forcefully negative. It is possible that the
boundaries of the concept of effeminateness are differently defined by the Indian, than they are in our own culture. Alternately, the concept may be non-existent in Cree culture.

In most situations, boys and girls are treated alike. Occasionally, however, some differentiation was manifested. An interesting sequence occurred one afternoon.

Little Henry, age one, became quite cranky, and Beula said to him several times, "Bad boy, bad boy". At one point she said, "You have to be disciplined, even if you are a boy".

A number of women seemed to feel that boys were more difficult to raise than girls. One mother stated that boys are very stubborn; another, that they don't learn as quickly as girls. A third mother stated that little boys are rougher than little girls; she said her boys like to wrestle, and that they climb all over their Father when wrestling with him; she doesn't like this. Another mother didn't mind at all when her boys wrestled on the floor.

One of the boys got up from wrestling and brought out two pairs of boxing gloves. Mr. Flynn tied them on for the boys and asked who they were going to box. Trevor, age five, said, "I'm going to box Whhtiko".

At one point, this mother, who has five boys, stated that her boys don't like girls. One mother spoke of her plans to have a birthday party for her six-year-old son. She said Warren wanted only boys at the party, but she thought she would invite some girls too. "I don't want him to become a girl-hater", she said.

Intentional sex-typing, directed at girls, was clearly manifested on two occasions. Mrs. Reeve's newborn daughter had a terrible-looking rash on her face, and was cranky and unhappy.
When asked if she would use spruce gum on the rash, Mrs. Reeve said, "No, because it leaves scars, and she is a girl".

On another occasion, a father commented to his seven-year-old daughter, as she walked past him in the kitchen, "Jeannie, you have a nice figure".

**Discipline**

Discipline in late childhood is, perhaps, slightly harsher than in the early years, although even at this stage it could not be termed severe. Physical punishment of children in this age-group was observed on three occasions,

A few children were running in and out of the kitchen. Their Mother yelled at them and gave one a light smack on the behind with a broom handle.

While visiting with Esther and Steven Yates,

Steven went into the bedroom and yelled at the boys to stop fighting; he gave them a couple of wallops as well. I must admit I had heard no particular disturbance in the bedroom.

One afternoon while sitting with Marion as she ironed,

A couple of the children were playing in the bedroom. Suddenly, one of the little ones started crying, and Glenn, age ten, came out of the bedroom and headed for the front door. Marion intercepted him and gave him a couple of good wallops saying, "Did you do that?"

One interesting example of threatened punishment in this age-group was noted. We visited Marion Linton's sister Carol, who is married to a Métis and lives in town.

Carol told us that the night before, her Father had visited them. One of her sons, who is about five or six, had approached his Grandfather and said, "You're not a White man, you're a black man". Everyone laughed. Then Carol said to the little boy, "Don't you ever say anything like that again, or you'll get this". She slapped her hand with the belt she was holding.
Verbal discipline is more often accompanied by a serious tone of voice in this age-group.

Glenn came in with a tin of lighter fluid that someone had been playing with by the fire outside—the fire had been lit to heat water in the tubs for doing laundry—Glenn Sr. said to Jeannie, age seven, "Did you take that out? Own up". She nodded her head, "yes", and the conversation moved on to something else.

On another evening,

Jeannie was watching television. She turned up the volume and her Father snapped at her, "You're only three feet away from it".

We arrived at one home at a rather inopportune time, as the father had been drinking and was quite belligerent at first. This was the only example of such a situation recorded.

A couple of the boys came in. Mr. Connor yelled at them to go outside and play. One of the children got a very frightened look on his face. I wondered why. Maybe they don't hear that tone very often, or perhaps Mr. Connor beats them when he is drunk.

The tone of voice used in these three examples was never heard to be levelled at a young child. On the other hand, positive sanctions accompanying verbal discipline, as well as lack of follow-up, were also in evidence in the six to fifteen age-group. The following information was told to the investigator in the presence of the youngster concerned.

Mrs. Flynn said one of her boys brought a tricycle home from beside Joe Yates' one day. She asked where he got it. He said, "I stole it". She laughed when she recounted this, and said she made him take it back.

Repetition of the following incident is apropos in this context. A seven-year-old sat on the floor, cutting paper airplanes, animals, and lanterns from the pages torn out of a school-book.
His mother asked whose book it was. He said, "It's not mine, it's someone else's". Nothing more was said.

Discipline by shaming, in this age-group, often takes the form of comparing the child in an unfavorable light with a younger sibling. While talking about babies one evening,

Jeannie, age seven, came in, and Mrs. Linton said, "She's still a baby, she hasn't washed her face for two days".

Marion, commenting on the dirty dress of her daughter Dorothy, age eight, said, "You're dirtier than Patsy, the baby, age eight months". It is not unusual for Marion Linton to comment on Jeannie's silliness for giggling, in the child's presence, or to say to her while combing her hair, "All the other girls your age comb their own hair". It is quite unusual for children in this age-group to be told they are bad and so when Marion told Jeannie one day that she was a bad girl, the child said, rather pathetically, "I'm a good girl".

Teaching

Children are rarely actively taught the skills they require to perpetuate the culture in which they have been raised. That is, parents are never seen to sit down with a child and demonstrate a skill. The knowledge and skills acquired by the parent and grandparent generation are transmitted to the child in a passive manner. The child learns by watching, experimenting, and, it seems, by osmosis. When he errs, the child is seldom shown the correct way to accomplish a task, though an instructive remark may occasionally be offered, especially when he does some-
thing which could be dangerous.

Glenn Sr. had just returned from hunting. He had taken his son, Glenn Jr., age ten, with him. Glenn said his Father began to take him out at about that age. The ten-year-old is not yet allowed to handle the gun. Glenn said he doesn't explain the parts of the gun to his son.

One evening, while watching the duck hunting on the dike,

A few teen-age boys were playing around with rifles, practising. None of the older men were showing them what to do; they were left completely on their own.

Later, Saul Carter pointed to the boys and said they were playing with his 150-dollar gun, but he said he didn't mind.

Mrs. Jakes is very proud of her daughters' handicraft abilities. Lynn won a prize one year at the Trapper's Festival for a jacket she had made. When asked whether she had taught Mary, age eleven, to do beadwork, she said, "No", Mary, and all her other daughters had learned just by watching.

This seems to be the case generally. One does not often hear a parent say, "No, you do it this way". One informant commented that his wife's sister's daughter, a little girl who was in the room at the time, says "sh" instead of "s". "Of course," said Paul, "we don't correct her, and I guess that doesn't help any". Instructive comments may be offered in some situations such as,

The girls were throwing their dolls around, holding them by the legs. Beula said, "I don't hold my baby like that. You don't see me carrying Henry (age one) by the legs. You should hold the baby nicely". Kathy complied and began rocking the doll in her arms.

Another day,

I stopped at Beula's, on the way to Marion's. Kathy said, "Are you going bisiting?" Beula corrected her, "Visiting, not bisiting". Kathy repeated the word correctly.

On another occasion, a mother told her little boy not to wrestle
with scissors in his hand. A little girl was told not to play with a polythene bag. Her Mother said, "It's dangerous". There are only two field-note entries of a parent or adult actually demonstrating to a child how something should be done.

It was 11:30 P.M. Lorna Connor and her daughter Elizabeth, age nine, were plucking geese and ducks. Elizabeth was getting tired. She got up, as if to say, "I'm quitting and going to bed". Lester, her Father, asked if she had another duck to do, and she said, "Yes". He said it would only take her a few more minutes; she sat down again. Elizabeth put the duck on her lap, with the head away from her, and Lester said, "That's not how you do it". He proceeded to turn the duck around and show her how to remove the feathers properly. He reprimanded his wife for making the same error, pulling the feathers against the grain, rather than with it.

The second incident involved a baby, age thirteen months.

She played with a roll of toilet paper, on the bed. After awhile, she tried to get down; she got herself about half-way down and then started crying. Larry, her Father, went into the bedroom and slowly let her down the rest of the way. He gently slid her down on her stomach until her feet reached the floor, so she could get the feeling of doing it herself.

Father's Responsibility

Father's main responsibility toward his children in this age-group appears to be taking his sons hunting. Lester was taking his twelve-year-old son Daniel to Mile 12 to hunt.

Lester has taken Daniel out before, but hasn't let him shoot. He said he should have started letting Daniel shoot at age eleven. Lester says he started himself at age nine.

Glenn had taken his ten-year-old son hunting. The boy has been out once before. Glenn says he takes him out to let him get the feel of it, but he's not yet allowed to handle a gun. He seemed to have enjoyed having his son along, and was very interested to learn that Lester Connor and Steven Yates had taken their sons out that day also.
There is a deep-felt camaraderie surrounding the hunt, and this feeling is intensified when father and son become hunting partners. Glenn described some of the events of their hunt together.

They went to Mile 8, crossed the Carrot River in a small boat, and then waded through the swamp. The men had hip-waders on but Glenn Jr. didn't, and so his Father packed him through the swamp—he is a solid kid, at least 100 pounds. Glenn said that once he almost fell into the swamp with the boy on his back. At this point in the narrative, Glenn Jr. poked his Father to relate another incident that had occurred. Glenn complied. He said that he had needed a rest and had left his son sitting on a "rat house" (probably muskrat). When he returned, he bent down and told the boy to climb on his back. "The little bastard leaped on me, and I almost fell forward." Glenn laughed when he told this story.

Hunting, then, is father's main area of authority. Otherwise, general family authority does not seem to rest in either parent alone. This point was illustrated by the following incident. During a visit with Beula one evening, the little girls were in bed, but were not sleeping.

At one point, when Henry was in the kitchen, Beula told Kathy to go to sleep. Kathy said, "No," and Henry called from the kitchen, "Kathy, you don't say 'no' when your Mother tells you to do something".

ENTERING SCHOOL

Entering the integrated schools in town can be a very traumatic experience for a Reserve child. He leaves his nurturant, kin-centred environment, within which he has been allowed a great deal of freedom, and enters a world for which he is ill-prepared. His freedom is curtailed, and much is expected of him that is discontinuous with his family's expec-
tations. The school atmosphere is a competitive one, but so far in his life a competitive spirit has not been fostered in him. After five years in a nurturant and loving environment, he may suddenly find that he is a second-class citizen. He is not considered quite "up to snuff" by his White class-mates, and perhaps his teacher feels the same way. He may begin to lose his self-confidence and self-esteem, which may result in an identity crisis when he reaches adolescence. Let us look at some of the problem situations which were actually observed involving school-age children.

Dorothy Linton was very unhappy when she first entered an integrated school in The Pas,

Mrs. Linton says she cried every day for a week. Just when she began liking it, she was transferred to another school, and was unhappy again for another week.

The question of the child's appearance at school is an issue which came up several times. Many mothers were busy buying new clothes for their children on the day before school began for the autumn term. It was obviously hard on their budgets, and the mothers seemed far less concerned about the situation than did the children. There is a relief clothing fund available, the purpose of which is to supply clothing, or money, to school children whose families cannot afford to outfit them for school; the money may be paid back by the family at any time. Trapping appears to be one of the ways people earn money to repay what they owe for children's relief clothing. It is not known how many families actually
take advantage of this fund. Clothing people of all ages, but
especially children, is largely dependent on the "hand-me-down"
system. Each year, in the autumn, some new clothing is
purchased for school children; the clothing needs of younger
children are also seen to at this time, to whatever extent the
budget will allow. When clothes are outgrown by one child, they
are handed down to the next smallest. By this system, ownership
of clothing is, at best, a fleeting matter; in addition, two
children of the same sex who are close in age and/or size may
share many items of clothing. Further distribution of clothing
takes place at the many rummage sales, which are held both in
town and on the Reserve. In this way, clothing needs are
filled most economically. The following observations illustrate
some of the problems which arise in keeping current with
children's clothing needs.

In one home,

An eight-year-old girl was tearfully trying to get her
clothing in order for school the next day. Nothing was
good enough or clean enough. Her Mother said the children
get marked for their clothing.

This remark was taken to mean that they are given a general
category rating, such as, "good", "satisfactory", or "unsatis­
factory", for cleanliness and general appearance. The Indian
children, apparently, always get poor marks. This is under­
standable, as mothers are washing for very large families,
without running water. Many wash in tubs with washboards. A
few have wringer machines. In summer, these are hauled out
into the yard; water is heated on an open fire, in tubs and
then baled into the machine with a bucket. Clothing is usually not ironed, and is often stored in cardboard boxes. The "hand-me-downs" which children wear are often ill-fitting, well-worn, and, generally, not mended. During one visit,

Dorothy, age eight, came out of the bedroom, excitedly displaying a pair of red and white knee-socks. She said, "Look at this nice pair of socks I found. I'm going to wear them to school tomorrow".

Reserve children entering school are at a great disadvantage in never having had crayons, paints, picture books, and educational toys. The scope of this disadvantage was made painfully obvious one evening at about 10:00 P.M. An eight-year-old girl had been asked by her teacher to bring an autumn picture to school; she had searched the house, but had found nothing appropriate and was quite concerned. There were no magazines or newspapers of any description about.

Marion took out a battered old scrap-book with Anniversary and Christmas cards in it. She asked if I thought several different ones would do for autumn pictures, if we cut this or that off. Finally, she took down a calendar decorated with hunting scenes, which had been hanging on the wall.

This situation illustrated how easy it must be for children to become quickly discouraged at school. They are so unprepared when they begin, and situations such as the above make it so very difficult for them to keep up, even if they are enthusiastic at first.

There is no organized transport to bring the children home for lunch, and so they mostly take lunches to school. One mother commented that she hated school days, because she has to make lunches. When asked what she gives the children for lunch,
she said, "Bread and bologna".

I asked if she gives them bannock. Esther said that the children don't like to take bannock. When it was suggested that perhaps the other children tease them, she said, "It's not the White children that tease them, but the Métis children".

During an afternoon visit, Mrs. Flynn was asked why Ronald, age seven, was not at school. She said, "I had nothing to give him for lunch".

The late hours which children keep are not conducive to their being bright and clear-headed in the morning. At about ten o'clock one evening, a ten-year-old boy was playing in the kitchen with his younger brother. A little later, his Mother began to help him make book covers out of brown paper bags, for his school-books. This home was the one attached to the store and, at this point, two young school children came in; they had been sent to the store by their Mothers for bread and hamburger.

In another home, also after 10:00 P.M. on a school night, a twelve-year-old girl was still up, and playing with the younger children; this girl was a niece (brother's daughter) of the woman of the house and was sleeping over the night. The case has already been cited of the nine-year-old girl who was helping her Mother pluck ducks at 11:30 P.M. on a school night. One woman told of her nine-year-old son's being out late a few nights previously; she had not known where he was. She had phoned her brother's home looking for him. Bob came home at 11:30 P.M. His Mother said, "He was the last one home". The results of children keeping these late hours on school nights were obvious on one occasion. A mother was asked why her two
school-age children were at home one morning. She said they had missed the school bus, because they had slept in.

The above examples indicate that children go to school and stay there against tremendous odds. After an inadequate night's sleep they must, in many cases, get themselves up and ready in time for the school bus. If they don't succeed, they miss the bus, and simply don't go to school that day. In most cases, they go off without a proper breakfast, though this is not invariably the case. Mothers are not terribly keen or proficient when it comes to making bag lunches and these, consisting of cold meat and bread, are generally inadequate, considering that the child has probably had little breakfast, that he has had nothing hot to eat since waking, and that the climate in winter is very severe. Apart from these formidable hurdles, there are very few, if any, educational aids in the homes. Parents are themselves poorly educated, and are not much help in solving homework problems. There are no books or encyclopedias to turn to, and no space to do homework. It is no wonder that children soon become discouraged, and leave school as soon as they possibly can.
Chapter 12

ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence, or young adulthood, here includes the group ranging in age from fifteen to twenty-one. This age-group category reflects the legal system of the surrounding White culture. That is, it is the period beginning with the age at which a child can legally leave school, and ending with the age at which he is legally considered a full-fledged adult, with voting privileges. As far as the Indians are concerned, however, the period of adolescence ends with marriage. This fact is reflected in Mandelbaum's list of age categories. (See p. 247)

We have previously referred to this group in the section on wage-employment. (See pp. 56-57) It is the group about which the least was learned, perhaps because, on the whole, it was the most shy and introverted group, and the one which was least comfortable relating to an outside observer. The reaction caused by an approach to one home has previously been recorded; several young boys would hurriedly exit \textit{en masse}. At another home, a knock on the door was answered by a voice which stated, "There's no-one home". During two interviews, young boys participated, but remained hidden behind protective partitions or doors.

It is this stage of life which reveals whether a child has managed to overcome the emotional stress which discontinuities
in his life have placed upon him, or whether the discontinuities have got the upper hand and have caused the child to become a disgruntled and disillusioned adolescent, who sees no hope for his future. When the latter is the case, parental discipline, never very severe or demanding, breaks down completely; parents can no longer cope at all and, in desperation, transfer their authority. The discipline imposed to this point has been adequate in covering situations which the child has encountered on the Reserve, and even those encountered during his early school years. But as he moves into adolescence, more and more pressure is put on the young adult, more is expected of him; there are more and stricter rules to follow in the "outside world". The guidelines internalized at home are not enough to see him through in the world in which he finds himself competing.

Situations like the following arise:

Isabelle said her children do not go to town. One night, however, one of her daughters did not get home until 4:00 A.M. To discipline her, Isabelle took her straight to the R.C.M.P. She doesn't know what the Officer said to the girl, "But", says Isabelle, "He really scared her, and she never did it again".

Isabelle was not the only mother who turned to the Law, hoping that it could exercise the control she was no longer capable of exercising,

One of Mrs. Linton's sons, age eighteen, is in jail on an illegal drinking charge. He sent a message to his Mother, asking her to cash his pay cheque and bail him out of jail. She refused, saying that she wants to punish him.

Another mother said that her girls do not help her very much. They leave home at about age thirteen. Two of them had gone to Winnipeg, and at least one was in the Manitoba Home for Girls.
The identity crisis which befalls many young Indians was put as follows by the young Indian university student visiting her family on the Reserve.

"People wonder why Reserve kids who go to the city come home. It's obvious. The only people who accept us in town are the low-class Whites. At home we're on top, we're first-class citizens; out there, suddenly we're inferior, second-class. They say, 'Indians, they're drunks, they don't work'. So you go out and show them you're an Indian. You get drunk".

The path is not easy, even for those young people who decide to take upgrading, or to acquire vocational training. Extreme shyness and lack of self-confidence give rise to situations which are so fragile that the slightest set-back causes the structure to tumble down in a heap. The young, West Indian, Home-Economics graduate, who was teaching waitressing at the newly opened vocational school recounted the following story.

She said that Margaret Linton, age twenty, was taking her course, but did not have money to buy books. Students receive a stipend of seventy-one dollars per month for taking courses, but Margaret had not received payment yet. She was extremely shy, and because she did not have money for books, she had left the course and had not returned.

What happens to these young people? They are disgruntled, depressed, and ill-fitted to meet the "world outside" on its own terms. They have lost the self-confidence and the self-respect which they so charmingly displayed as children. According to our sample, more than half of these young people choose to stay on the Reserve. Our sample also indicates that those who do leave do not go far.'(See pp.142-143)
To conclude, we will analyze the given data according to the conceptual scheme presented in the Introduction, as summarized in the diagrammatic illustration of that scheme. (See Figure 1, p.10) Our approach will be to discuss the Maintenance Systems as they relate to child-rearing practices in an attempt to show where the two are consistent and where they are not. Other aspects of culture represented on the diagram, Adult Personality, Adult Behavior, and Projective Systems will be brought in where they illuminate the particular point being discussed.

The first Maintenance System to be scrutinized is the Economy. Child training appears to be consistent with traditional economic practices, although the method of transmitting experience and knowledge is not altogether clear. Hunting is a very important activity. It is known that fathers take their sons hunting at about the time they reach puberty, or perhaps slightly before. As hunting techniques do not seem to be actively taught, however, the boys must learn by watching and experimenting. The experience they gain by playing with home-made slingshots, and by actually bringing down small birds and even ptarmigan, is invaluable for their future hunting years. Likewise, the
traditional activities carried out by the women do not appear to
be actively transmitted. The investigator is aware of only one
family whose young teen-age girls did beadwork. Nevertheless,
virtually all the young married women were engaged in some form
of handicraft production. It seems, therefore, that there is no
discontinuity between the adult role children will be required
to fulfil and the training they receive as children. The watching
and experimenting method appears to be an adequate form of
training. Both sexes are encouraged to take part in these
activities as they come of age merely by the fact that they see
the adults engaged in hunting or in handicraft production, and
they feel the pleasure and practical benefit which these
activities afford their parents and adult kin. If the young
adults are any indication, we can assume that the younger
children will be capable of fulfilling role expectations as far
as traditional economic activities are concerned.

Wage-employment presents a different picture. As we
have seen, there is a great deal of job mobility and unemploy­
ment; many, though not all, the men, appear to have a casual
attitude toward a stable, long-term, wage-earning pattern. This
attitude is transmitted to the children in that no emphasis is
placed on acquiring a trade. Pride may be evident after the
event, but the child is not directed toward this goal. In this
way, the products of child training are copies of their parents.
But, children will have to work to earn a living at some stage;
they will not be able to maintain themselves and families
satisfactorily within the traditional economy, and they are ill-
prepared for the necessity of working for a living. It seems evident, also, that they are not satisfied with the jobs they can acquire without technical training, as the pattern appears to suggest that they quit school at age sixteen, get a job, perhaps with the C.N.R., and four to six years later, return to upgrading classes. There must, then, be an element of dissatisfaction in the area of wage-employment. There is continuity in the pattern displayed by the adults and the training which the children receive. But, if living standards are to be improved, and it seems that an improvement is generally desired, at least in Opasquia West, (if the program of building new houses and the concern with sewer and waterworks at the cost of possible social disorganization is an indication) then there is discontinuity here. Parents are not effectively transferring new expectations and requirements into child-training adjustments which would produce the individuals prepared to fill the new economic roles.

Child-rearing practices are completely devoid of any training in money handling. Adults are required to handle money as wage-earners and consumers; the political core group has a good deal of responsibility in the allocating and investing of Band funds. We have seen that adults are ill-prepared to fill these roles. For example, they do not feel capable of completely taking over administration of the Band's Revenue Account. The lack of emphasis on saving is illustrated by the description of how one man spent a 450-dollar pay cheque. (See p.72) It is not surprising, therefore, that children have no concept of a
money-based economy. They receive no weekly allowance to manage, and are not encouraged to save. The only banking they are at all familiar with is that handled by the local grocer. It appears that in the handling of money there is gross inconsistency between the requirements and expectations inherent in the adult role of wage-earner and Band administrator, and the training which the child receives; his training will not prepare him to fulfil these roles. The situation is the same as that which exists in wage-employment. Parents are not translating requirements which even they themselves must fulfil into adjustments in child-rearing practices.

The question of education can be most appropriately discussed here; although Formal Education has not been considered as one of the Maintenance Systems, it bears a close relationship to these systems. We cannot say that in the field of Formal Education children are following in their parents' footsteps because, as we have indicated, they are receiving a higher level of education than did their parents; a few are either continuing after High School until they have acquired a trade, or are returning several years after leaving school to acquire specialized training. The latter pattern is the most common among those who do take technical training. It is, in fact, more often the case that no further education is sought after leaving school at age sixteen, with approximately a Grade 8 level of education. Both of these patterns, that is, returning to school at about age twenty to take upgrading and technical training, and leaving school forever at age sixteen, are
inconsistent with the requirements and expectations of the adult role. The requirements would appear to dictate that one stay in school continuously until one has acquired a skill enabling him to support a family. The adult male, especially, is faced with the responsibility for supporting a large family. The education which he receives does not equip him for this task. He has internalized no feeling for the value of education and, as the process is a painful one to him, he does not persist, and encounters no resistance when he decides to curtail his education at age sixteen. There is clearly a gaping discontinuity in child-rearing practices and the realities of adult role expectation. A child is not prepared to accept the concept of education; he is not prepared to cope with the discontinuities of entering a classroom and of facing a roomful of strange people and strange practices. He is not prepared to approach the basic concepts of the three "Rs", reading, writing, and arithmetic. He is not physically prepared when he arrives at school in the morning, tired, and very likely hungry. The responsibilities which are placed on the adult as breadwinner are not translated into adjustments in child training which would produce the necessary outlook. A person who returns to upgrading classes at age twenty does so of his own accord. He has not internalized the value of taking this path during his childhood. He has come to the realization by passing through, as one Indian said when asked what school he had attended, "the school of hard knocks". Even though the pattern of education does appear to be changing in that more people are continuing or returning to take technical
training, the pattern is still not reflected in child-training practices. The change is a result of pressures felt when one reaches young adulthood. It has not yet filtered through to the child-rearing system.

The second Maintenance System to be considered is the Social Structure. The kinship system is the primary factor in determining a young child's contacts. From the time he is born until the time he enters school, he is surrounded by kin. His extra-kin contacts are confined mainly to those encountered in the course of community activities, and in occasional excursions to town. This pattern alters when he enters school, although social contacts remain essentially the same, broadening slightly to include peers who may be classmates but not necessarily kin. The increase in relationships which begins with school entrance continues into late adolescence and early adulthood. Upon marriage, women tend to revert to a kin-based environment, coming into contact with non-kin only when shopping and at meetings and other community activities. Men continue to have a greater number of non-kin relationships because of wage-employment. Their Reserve contacts and hunting companions, however, remain kin-based, with community activities and meetings again providing the opportunity for maintaining non-kin relationships.

As the contacts of pre-school children are narrowly limited, school entrance with its mass of new and strange faces, must be a frightening experience; suddenly, kin support is no longer present, and the child is on his own. This experience causes a sudden and acute discontinuity. The child has seldom
been required to relate to non-kin, and never to contemporary non-Indian children. The narrowness of previous contacts becomes a disadvantage here. Child-rearing practices do not hold the child in good stead at this point; he is suddenly up against an unexpected problem for which he is not prepared. Whether or not he can cope is essentially dependent on his own character. The cultural personality trait of stoicism and down-to-earth acceptance of the world as it presents itself will probably be a help to him in confronting the problem, if he can overcome initial shyness. The nepotism which has been described in relation to the hiring of Reserve crews seems to indicate that although adults do have broadened contacts, they are still most comfortable with kin and, if given the choice, will surround themselves with relatives. So it seems that children are prepared for life on the Reserve, but not for contacts with people in the "outside world". Their training is not broad enough to supply them with all the tools necessary for meeting and relating to non-kin, and it is certainly inadequate in preparing them for contacts with outsiders.

In the choice of marriage partners, our data indicate that adjustments have been made in child-rearing practices which are now being reflected in changes within the kinship system itself. Sister exchange and "forced" marriages are no longer the rule. Individuals are allowed to choose their own mates, although parents may apply pressure if they disapprove of the choice. In some cases, parents have internalized the value of romantic love to such an extent that they will not voice
disapproval when it is felt. It is evident that changes in attitudes toward courtship and marriage customs are being transmitted to the children in that they are being incorporated into the child-training system and are producing consistent changes there.

How is the Political Structure reflected in child-rearing practices? It is likely that children being raised in Opasquia West will, when their turn comes, be running the political affairs of the Band. Child training does not in any way reflect this future role. Children receive no specific training which would prepare them to fulfil this expectation. Although they are raised to be helpful and cooperative, these attitudes are kin-based and enculturation does not promote an outlook of responsibility for the entire community; it appears, as we shall see, that the trait of selflessness is merely redirected when the time comes. It is probable that in times of common crisis the Band pulls together, but when problems are individual, it is the kin group which comes to the rescue; a general social consciousness is not evident in individuals. The Band Council does, however, take responsibility for the community and for individual needs within the community, but this social conscience appears to reside exclusively with the Council. To some extent, it is also evident in religious organizations and activities. It is not evident in private homes; for example, unrelated neighbours were not seen to aid the two small girls caring for a home and siblings, including a tiny baby, when their Mother had left. We must assume, then,
that social consciousness is an attribute of the ruling body; one internalizes a feeling of responsibility for the community as a whole upon election to the Council. We can only speculate regarding the origins of training for this role, however. It must be acquired within the confines of the Council, as it is not evident in the homes. The Band Council does a reasonably good job of looking after the community; perhaps, therefore, social consciousness need not be built into child-training practices. The basic concepts of sharing and cooperation have been learned with respect to kin and, if the Council is an indication, it is not difficult to extend the concept to include the entire community. It appears that the feeling of responsibility, which is internalized in childhood, toward siblings and the immediate kin circle is merely redirected, when one assumes a position of political importance, to include the entire community.

The Political Structure provides an illustration of the two-way relationship between Adult Personality, as derived from Child Personality, and the Maintenance Systems. As a result of child-rearing practices, children acquire an aspect of independence in their personalities. They have been allowed a great deal of freedom as children, having seldom been told not to do this or that; the restrictions placed upon them have not been terribly confining, and have not greatly limited their activities. In addition, much responsibility has been placed upon their shoulders at an early age, and they have been expected and required to be contributing members of the family ever since. This combination of "giving them their head" and requiring them
to be responsible individuals at age six produces an independent spirit which manifests in practical rather than emotional terms. If a child decides he wants to quit school at age thirteen, he quits. If he decides he wants to go to Winnipeg to seek employment, he goes. Emotionally, however, he remains dependent on his family. Let us now see how this independent side of personality manifests in the adult political leader. Here we must go back to the statements made by the Community Development Officer. (See p.178) People do tend to act independently when in office; they have difficulty delegating authority. If someone has a job to do, he does it, and, whenever possible, he does it unassisted. This is stating the case in its most extreme form; there is obviously communication between the leaders, and an aura of teamwork. Nevertheless, within the team, there are individuals who carry on independently, regardless. These are the people the Community Development Officer referred to as "power happy". The exclusiveness of the political core group, and its difficulty in working with the "masses" and bringing them up to an equivalent level of sophistication, can be seen as a function of the accepted degree of autonomy and independence which is built into the system of child training.

Let us now look at one pattern of child training and examine its interrelationships with the various aspects of culture represented on Figure 1 (p.10). The topic we will examine is Discipline. The two most common forms of discipline noted were verbal, and the use of shaming and projected agents. Verbal discipline manifests as an almost reflex reaction to
a situation, often accompanied by a smile, a laugh, or some other positive sanction, and when not obeyed, no further action is taken. The fact that the actual pattern of this discipline contains internal inconsistencies leads one to suspect that only one aspect of a complex has been assimilated. The actual verbal reprimand has become a part of the child-rearing pattern, but without its accoutrements. As the complex of verbal discipline is only effective when delivered as a whole, the assimilation of a part of this pattern serves no purpose whatsoever, except perhaps to delude the parent into thinking he has acted positively to end an undesirable situation. A more effective and more natural form of discipline is that of shaming and of using projected agents. Here we see that a Projective System, in the form of supernatural beings and anthropomorphic animals, exerts an influence and has some bearing on child training. The supernatural is brought in to act as a disciplinary aid, Whtiko being a favorite agent. Animals, who play a large part in legends, also have their part to play; ducks, geese, mice, dogs, and owls will bite fingers and toes and otherwise harm children when parents aren't obeyed. Old people also serve as agents; perhaps parents, who themselves associate old people with witchcraft, feel that old people are frightening to children; the reason for using them as disciplinary agents was not entirely clear. In any case, supernatural beings and animals are internalized by children as agents of discipline; they are incorporated into the child's psychological makeup and are used by children against children. In this way, the supernatural agents of discipline are carried into adulthood and used to
discipline subsequent generations.

This form of discipline appears to be adequate in coping with situations on the Reserve. Problems arise, however, when the child reaches adolescence and begins to find night-life in the town attractive. At this point, disciplinary control breaks down, and parents are at a loss what to do. The one form of discipline which they were comfortable in using no longer has any effect whatever; in desperation, they transfer their authority to the local police or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. This fact points to another inconsistency and lack of adjustment in child-rearing practices to the realities of adulthood. The small child is kept away from the town as much as possible. This is one of the principal restrictions placed upon him. He is only superficially introduced to the way of life of the town, but is not taught to cope with it; rather, he is sheltered. When he grows up and discovers the pleasurable aspects of town-life, he may "go wild". When this happens, parents crumble in a heap. They wash their hands of the problem and either hand the adolescent over to the police for reprimand, or sit back and hope the child will come through on his own. Child-rearing practices, then, prove inadequate in preparing the child for his adolescent encounter with the town. He has been taught avoidance and apprehension, and is unprepared to handle the stimuli which tempt him when he reaches adolescence. Once again, we see that child-rearing practices have not been adjusted to the realities which face the growing child. Disciplinary measures which depend heavily on cultural products with
a traditional flavor are not adequate to meet present-day needs.

The foregoing analysis uncovers a repetitive pattern. Essentially, the parents of Opasquia raise their children to be copies of themselves. Although their statements do not support this, they say they want all their children to be educated, including university education, their actions do point to this conclusion. The changes in the pattern of life, changes to which they must adjust, are largely imposed from outside; the new guidelines are internalized by the Indians, but often the rest of the complex is left behind. They see and desire a better standard of living, sewers and running water, and enough buying power to afford material commodities. But the value of the means of attainment, that is, the value of well-paid, steady jobs, which require technical skills based upon education, is not recognized or internalized to the same degree. This pattern we have seen repeated over and over again. Outside pressures create new demands, but child-rearing practices change slowly, and in most behavioral complexes the child is raised to follow the route his parents have travelled. Children are faced with changes on the Reserve itself, changes which have perhaps resulted from outside pressure; in addition, they are forced into positions of direct contact with the "outside word", and for these encounters they are ill-prepared. A few changes are visible in child training and these will, no doubt, broaden. In addition, advances in the level of education, though not stimulated by changes in child-rearing practices, but rather by the discontent which festers when young adults reach an impasse, will also grow.
Hopefully, education will provide the route to a higher living standard and will carry with it the sophistication needed to cope with present-day demands.
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APPENDIX A

The first Appendix is the documentation of four legends. These were recounted by a twenty-seven-year-old male informant, and were recorded on tape. They are reproduced here verbatim, with the qualification that a number of "you knows" and "you sees" have been omitted to increase fluidity.

LEGEND I

When a little boy is born, they say amongst the Indian people that a little squirrel cries. And then this Whiskey Jack came upon this little squirrel when he was crying and he asked him why was he crying. "Well," this little squirrel said, "Well a little boy was born today and I don't like them when they are born." So the Whiskey Jack says, "Why?" "Well," he says, "because the little boys, you know, they shoot me with sling-shots, and when they catch me they torture me, and," he says, "I don't like this, and that's why I'm sad". So this Whiskey Jack says, "Well I like it when he's born", and the squirrel asks him, "Why?" "Well", he says, "because he's a good hunter and when he kills something then I can have a real big feast, you know. When he kills a moose, well he leaves all the waste, and then this is when I have a feast,—or else when he kills a jumper, like

1 A Whiskey Jack is a magpie.

2 A jumper is a deer.
animals or fish", he says, "I can eat from there." so that's
the story of the squirrel and the little boy.

LEGEND II

Well this Wsahketcak, he's a legend amongst the Indians
and he's a big hero. He can talk to animals, to the birds. He
can talk to the trees. Well anyway, he was walking one day along
the creek and he meets this jumper, but they're at a safe
distance. So he's getting a little hungry at this time. So he's
going to try and fool this jumper and he's going to tell him how
graceful he looks and it's a wonder to see him run around and
jump around so gracefully. So he calls him and the jumper lis­
tens to him and he says to him, "Well", he butters him up, how
graceful he is and it's a wonder to see him, you know, he can
look at him all day. So he says he likes to see him run around
for him, give him a display, sort of. So he runs around, I mean
this jumper naturally, you know, he's all buttered up. So he
runs around and he watches him. So Wsahketcak calls him to come
a little closer because he likes to see him better. So this
jumper naturally comes a little closer and Wsahketcak has his
bow ready, you know, his bow and arrow, and this jumper kept
coming closer and closer. So when he was close enough this
Wsahketcak shoots him. The jumper rolls over. So he killed
him. So he fixed it up, skin him. So after he finished skinning
him he lays it on the ground. So he figures he's going to work
up an appetite. There's two poplars standing close by there and
he's going to ask them to lift him up, up in the trees there and
sleep there for a little while so he'll get up hungry. So he tells them, "Hey Brothers, I want you to take me up. I want to work up an appetite and have a little snooze." So these trees they sway down and pick him up, you see. So he has a little snooze. Then he wakes up and he hears all these little birds, wolves, coyotes, squirrels. Well he wakes up right away and he says, "Well, let me down", you know, to these poplars. So the poplar says, "Well, let our little Brothers eat first". So he was struggling and struggling but he couldn't get out, they had him pinned. Oh well, they finally let him down after everything is all eaten up—like the meat, so the only thing that was left was the bones. So after that they let him down and he was very angry at these trees. He says, "Someday", he says, "I'll put a mark on your trees". But he goes, you know, it's another story and it comes later on. So he's not beat yet so he says, "Well, I'm still going to get something out of this moose **sic**." So he makes himself a pot, out of clay and he hardens this, you know, he puts it in the fire and he makes a pot for himself. And after he makes a pot, well, he gathers all the bones up, breaks them in half, and he puts them into this pot and he gets them boiling and this marrow comes up on top. So he keeps putting these bones in and then there's enough marrow there so he gathers it up right from the top. Well it's pretty hot to eat, so he throws the water out, you know, where he was boiling those bones, so he's going to cool it off in the creek. So he goes to this creek and he tries to cool it off but it was still too hot, so he looks around and he sees
this rat swimming around, this muskrat swimming around. So he says, well, he was kind of lazy too, you see, so he says, "I think I'll call him over to cool this thing off for me." So he calls his little Brother over. Naturally this rat comes over. "Will you help me out?" he asks him, and he says, "Sure I'll help you". So he told him he wanted this marrow cooled off. (We call it pemmican; but it's another word for this fat. Pemmican is another word used for this meat that dries up and you mix this fat in there.) So, anyway, this rat goes back and forth and Wsahketcak wakes up, and this rat is going up the river and then down again and cooling this thing off. So he says, "I wonder what he'll do if I scared him", he says. Oh he was stupid too, you know. So this time this rat is coming down the river with the current. So he's going to scare him. This rat comes closer and closer and he jumps up and he yells and waves his arms around and then this rat, naturally, just lets his tail go down and away he dives under the water, and this marrow is flying all over the place. So Wsahketcak is right near the shore trying to scoop up this marrow, trying to eat it. Well, you still see this marrow coming down the river, any river you see, but it's what you people call "foam". And you still see Wsahketcak's stupidity,—it goes on and on—he goes off to another place.
LEGEND III

I'll tell you about the dance. These dogs went to the dance. I don't know, some people might take it as dirty but it's really, you know, I mean this is the way our legends go. Well he was walking down the path and he meets this dog, and he greets him, "Hello, Brother," and all this. So, "What are you doing tonight?" this dog asks him. "What are you doing tonight my Brother?" "Well", Wsahkcetcak says, "well nothing". "Well why don't you come to the dance" he says, "you can call for us". I mean, you know, they have calls for the dances. So this Wsahkcetcak says, "Well, sure, okay, I'll go". So the dog says, "Well, we'll be expecting you".

So, on he goes, butters himself up, makes himself look nice and puts on his best buckskin. So he goes to the dance. He went to this dance and he sat down. So he was watching the dogs come in. The dogs come in, well they hang up their balls, you know, same as a White man, when he goes to a dance they hang up their coats, you know, hats. So these dogs when they come in they hang up their balls and, you know, the other kind. And he was watching this, and he had an idea what he's going to do after, right away. So the dance goes on and everybody's all set. "Well Wsahkcetcak, we'd like you to call." So he starts calling these dances, you know, he dances pretty good himself. So this dance finally keeps going and going. So he says, "Well, it's time now to have a new dance", you know, he was thinking to himself. Until he says, "I'm going to ask them to close your
eyes and dance", you know, you close your eyes and you dance around, and then there's going to be a call. So he tells the orchestra, well he uses a drum, you see, and he's singing, calling at the same time. So they dance,—these dogs naturally say, "Well, oh boy, we'll dance". So they dance around, dance around. So when they stop, of course the singer has to stop, you know, it's very hard. So well, they started again, the people wanted some more of this, it was a lot of fun. So, okay, so W'sahkëtcak says, "Well, now's the time," he said, to do what he's going to do. So he finally, while they were dancing to beat hell, he yells, "Fire, fire, fire". So, boy, everybody rushed to the door and while they were going, they grabbed their little balls, you know, and the other kind, and they rushed out. W'sahkëtcak, he walks calmly to the door and he says, "Well", he comes out, he says, "boy my Brothers are stupid," he says, "the only way you can start a fire is a flint". He had a flint himself. So there was no fire. "To this day", he says, "you still see the dogs sniffing around for their, you know, they got mixed up there someplace, somebody mixed their balls up," he says, "with the other kind". So they're still smelling, you know, looking for their own.

LEVEND IV

Well, we got another guy too. They call him Matsikanu'usis. Well this Matsikanu'usis he was raised by his Grandmother. His parents died when he was very young. Well he was a teen-ager, he was a very young guy. So, well he started
growing and he was maybe about eighteen years old. So he helped his Grandmother. He used to go and hunt, bring in the wood, and finally his Grandmother says, "Well son", son he used to call, "pretty soon," he says, "you have to get a woman for yourself, you have to raise children," he says, "for yourself; your life won't be complete," he said, "without having some affection, love and all that jazz". So, well this guy started thinking and, well there was a very nice-looking Indian girl around there and he got herself into trouble, you know, going to have a baby. So they didn't find out who the baby was, whose baby it was, I mean which guy. So when the child is born, they going to find out then. So by this time Matsikanu'usis, he turned nineteen, when this day came around that the child was born. So, finally they called a meeting, all the single men and all the old men, you know, married and not married. So they got into a circle, like this, you know--big circle--and what they were going to do is they were going to pass this baby around, you know, like a guy would hold it for a few minutes, well say what--a minute or two minutes and then pass it on to the next guy, to your right. So the old woman heard about this. So he told his grandchild, he says, "I want you to go to that meeting today," he says, "and maybe you can get this woman". So, he was a pretty good-looking guy too, you know. "Well", he says, you know, he was kind of shy, "I don't want to go", but the old lady finally persuaded him to go. So he went, you know, just to satisfy his Grandmother. So he went over and sat in the circle. So there was an old guy in there too. So they started going, they started passing this
little child around, this little boy,—it was a little boy—
nice-looking baby. So they passed him around, you know, oh
passing, passing. If the baby wets his pants, if somebody gets
wet on the pants, well it was going to be his child. So they
pass it around and Matsikanu'usis was there too, he was sitting
way at the back there, well not nearly at the back but, you know,
close to the back, to the last guy. So they passed it around.
There was this old man there, you know, sitting there. So he's
going to be ready for this child. So he gathers all his spit
up, you know, gathers it all and puts it in his hands and rubs
this all over his legs here so that everybody would think that
this baby peed on him, but another guy was watching him. So
this baby finally came around and he got him in his arms, right
away he yells, "Hey, he pissed on me". So he was standing up,
you know, dancing around and this other guy that saw him, on his
right there, he said, "He didn't piss on him," he said, "he
gathered all his spit up and spread it all over his legs so that
he'd make everybody think that the baby peed on him". So, well
the Chief says, "Well you're cheating so you have to keep going".
So they keep going, passing and passing. The baby wouldn't wet,
you know. Then finally when it came up to this Matsikanu'usis.
He was sitting there, you know. He takes the baby and as soon
as he takes the baby, well naturally the baby just started
peeing and it was all over and everybody yelled, "Hey", you
know. So they gave him a wedding ceremony that night, but he
had to make a test. He had to go out for three months, take
out this woman and the child. So, well anyway, they got married
that night and the next day they took off. Three months, let's see if he could look after this woman, you know. So within three months time he came back and, you know, he had everything, tipi, horses, you know, he roped his own horses. So he got his wife, you know, from that. And this little boy, there's another legend that starts from this little boy, how he grew up, you know to become a great man, and all this, something like Wsahketcak. And then he has another little boy too and he raises him, you know, and he becomes a man again, and keeps right on and on and on, you know, and keeps going for about two or three days, you know. This is how our legends go.
APPENDIX B

THE PREPARATION OF MOOSE MEAT

Moose meat is prepared as follows:

The meat is cut in strips and hung over poles which are lashed to a frame. (See PLATE XII) The lashing is done, usually, by stripping down the bark on the cross poles and using the bark strips as twine to lash the poles to the frame. In this case, most of the lashing was done with commercial twine, but Mrs. Birt demonstrated the other method and said that is how she does it in the spring. The meat is left smoking all day long. She said she likes to fry it after it has been smoked. (Rebecca previously said they fry the kidneys. When asked if they ever boil kidneys like they do the other meat, she said, "No"; her Mother told her you never boil the kidneys.) Mrs. Charles Birt prefers her meat smoked. There were a few large bones smoking; these will be used to make soup. To a comment that the meat would probably last a long time,--it looked like a lot of meat--Mrs. Birt replied that she gives some to each of her sons and it's gone in no time.

Not everyone smokes their meat; sometimes it is simply boiled.
PLATE XII

A FRAME WITH CROSS-POLES, USED FOR SMOKING MOOSE MEAT
APPENDIX C

TANNING MOOSEHIDE

An informant listed the following steps as comprising the tanning process adhered to in Opasquia West.

1. The hide is lashed to a stretcher and left to dry. (PLATE XIII)

2. Lard is smeared on the flesh; the women say this penetrates and makes the flesh softer.

3. The flesh is removed with a bone tool. (PLATE XIV)

4. The frame is turned over and the hair is removed with an axehead which has been hafted to a bent wooden stave. (PLATES XV and XVI)

5. The hide is smoked; the women say this causes the remaining lard to penetrate and soften the hide. (PLATES XVII and XVIII)

6. The hide is soaped with a laundry soap (Sunlight) and soaked in water overnight. Alternately, the soap may be placed in the soaking water.

7. The water is wrung from the hide by the following method: the hide is wrapped around a long pole and over the cross-bar of a crude saw-horse (this consists of a bar which is nailed at each end to a pole firmly dug into the ground). One then holds on to the end of the long pole and walks around the stationary cross-bar, thus wringing the moisture from the hide. (PLATE XIX)

8. The hide is dried. It must be continuously pulled while drying to prevent shrinkage and to ensure pliability. Four women pull the hide over a fire. This drying process may take a whole afternoon or even the better part of a day.

9. The hide may now be cleaned with a scraper which is like a vegetable grater.

10. The hide is smoked in a smoke-house or outside over a fire. This smoking gives the hide its golden brown colour. (PLATE XIII)
PLATE XIII

A HIDE LASHED TO A STRETCHER;
ON THE EXTREME RIGHT IS A
SMOKE-HOUSE
PLATE XIV

FLESH IS REMOVED FROM THE HIDE WITH A BONE TOOL
PLATE XV

THE HAIR IS REMOVED FROM THE HIDE

PLATE XVI

A TOOL FOR REMOVING HAIR FROM THE HIDE
PLATE XVII

THE HIDE IS SMOKED
PLATE XVIII

A TRIPOD FRAME, USED FOR SMOKING HIDES
PLATE XIX

A POLE AND CROSS-BAR,
USED FOR WRINKING WATER
FROM THE HIDE