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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JAMES BAY CREE CULTURAL VALUES AND PRACTICES IN SCHOOL COMMITTEE POLICY-MAKING: A DOCUMENTARY STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This documentary study sought to determine the relevance of the James Bay Cree's cultural values and practices to their policy-making process as school committee members. The Cree's formal school system, for which they have full responsibility, is based on the values and practices of non-native society.

Using the historical method, both primary and secondary sources were searched for relevant information concerning Cree culture and its distinguishing characteristics. Evidence of a distinct egalitarian society, practicing consensus, reciprocity and communal land use was found. Sources also indicated the continuing existence and adaptability of Cree values and practices despite prolonged interaction with non-native society.

This thesis proposes that these cultural values and practices predispose the Cree to be effective school committee members. The study provides data for a possible future ethnographic study of Cree school committee participation. Further research could also focus on the policy-making process required of Cree school board members.

RESUME

La présente étude documentaire vise à déterminer si les pratiques et les valeurs culturelles des Cris de la baie James les rendent aptes à participer au processus décisionnel en tant que membres de comité d'école. Le système scolaire des Cris, dont ils ont l'entière responsabilité, est fondé sur les valeurs et pratiques d'une société allogène.

A l'aide de la méthode historique, on a consulté des sources premières et secondaires à la recherche de renseignements pertinents sur la culture crie et ses caractéristiques. Les recherches ont montré une société égalitariste, fondée sur le consensus, la réciprocité et l'utilisation commune du sol. Les sources consultées ont aussi rélévé la persistance et l'adaptabilité des valeurs et des pratiques des Cris en dépit de l'interaction prolongée de leur société et d'une société allogène.

La présente thèse avance que les pratiques et les valeurs culturelles des Cris prédisposent ces derniers à être d'efficaces membres de comité d'école. Les recherches effectuées montrent la possibilité d'une étude ethnographique ultérieure sur la participation des Cris aux comités d'école. D'autre recherches pourraient aussi être axées sur le processus décisionnel auquel doivent participer les Cris qui sont membres de conseils scolaires.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Since the early 1970s, Canadian native people increasingly have been undertaking greater responsibility for the management of their own formal school systems. This is one element within the broader context of expanding comprehensive self-management for native people in North America. In the province of Quebec, the James Bay Cree have had full responsibility for the management of their school board since 1978.

The Cree have a history of contact with non-native society since the mid-seventeenth century. However, their remote geographical situation coupled with their ability to be largely self-sustaining have resulted in isolation from mainstream North America and its institutions. Such isolation permitted the continuance of a distinct Cree culture based on the ideology and practices related to subsistence hunting, the traditional economic base of the Cree.

Because it is legally a provincial school board, the Cree School Board is bound by the regulations governing all school boards in Quebec. One such regulation requires the parent body of each school to elect a parents' committee, officially designated the school committee.

The Cree School Board is also a regional board comprising eight different communities. Each community has an elementary school, while two communities, Chisasibi and Mistassini, have secondary schools as well. The other communities are attempting to increase secondary schooling on an annual basis, so that they, too, will eventually have secondary schools. Pupils from communities currently lacking secondary schools attend school in another community which provides the necessary programs. These pupils live in hostels, residences, or with another family, funded by the school board.

Each of the Cree school committees has five to eleven elected members, and also includes a member of the community's band council, or an appointee of that council. According to Section 16 of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (hereafter JBNQA, 1976), Cree Education, the membership of each school committee does not have to consist exclusively of parents, provided one parent representative is elected to each committee. Each school's entire parent body determines the number of parents on the committee on an

From the time of their initial encounters with members of non-native society until the 1970s, Cree interaction with members of this group depended on a few Cree spokespeople. These people served as brokers between native and non-native society. Although representative spokespeople continue to be significant, interaction with non-native society has recently become more broadly based among the Cree.

With the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975 and the extinguishing of their aboriginal title, the Cree became citizens of the province of Quebec. Simultaneously, their hunting lands became provincial territory. The agreement was predicated on the continuance of subsistence hunting and exclusive land-use rights, yet provided for a functional link between the Cree and contemporary Quebec society.

Their new status gave the Cree administrative control over all aspects of their life and required them to undertake new responsibilities and obligations. For instance, many Cree now are required to participate in consultative and advisory capacities on their school board. The Cree School Board is an institution originating in the cultural, social organizational practices of non-native society.

annual basis. If there are six or more pupils from another community attending a local secondary school, a parent representative from that community must be elected to the local school committee.

One commissioner is elected to the regional Cree School Board by each of the eight communities. School board commissioners must consult with each school committee in specific instances of educational policy-making. For each Cree school committee, policy-making includes making recommendations with regard to the selection of teachers and principals and changes in the curriculum, and determining the school year and calendar. Other school committee responsibilities, required of all Quebec's school committees, are outlined in Chapter Three of this thesis. The school committees constitute one component in the overall policy-making process of the Cree School Board.

Need for the study

The James Bay Cree of Quebec were recently precipitated into a period of accelerated social change. The Cree relationship with non-native society is expanding and becoming more complex. As an example of this complexity, the Cree are increasingly adopting into Cree society institutions which grew out of the social organizational practices of cultures other than their own. At the same

time, the Cree are considering what makes their own culture viable, and how to sustain its viability.

The history of North American native peoples' relationship to non-native society can be seen either as a history of growing dependence, or, alternatively, of growing interdependence. The type and degree of dependence of each native group varies, however, in relation to the group's ability to retain its cultural integrity and reflect that integrity through practice.

For each culturally distinct group, the concept of a formal school system, and the organization and administration of that system, evoke differing visions and differing responses. The Cree have their own vision of a society, the society's goals and how best to achieve those goals. So too, one may expect they will also have a vision of the goals and processes of a formal school system. The Cree vision of the goals and processes of a formal school system, or policy which relates to formal schooling, may differ from the non-native vision of school system policy.

To adopt the non-native institution of formal schooling into native society in such a manner that the formal school system will function effectively, will no doubt require mutual adaptation between the goals and processes of both the native and the non-native visions of a formal school

system. An optimum mode of operation would incorporate Cree social interaction practices with provincially required policy-making practices. The effectiveness of Cree policy-making outcomes is dependent on such a resolution.

The formal school system presents an ideal model for the analysis of the adaptation of policy-making between native and non-native society. Until recently, Canadian native people have been passive recipients of formal schooling. Now native people are in a position to undertake active lay and professional roles within the system, as well as to shape the system itself.

For instance, to an increasing extent native community members not only formulate policy as both school commissioners and school committee members, but also serve as the system's clients. However, within the school system the concepts of administration, delivery of services, pedagogy and curriculum design are the products of non-native ideology. As well, most professional educators are non-native.

School committee policy-making in the communities of the James Bay Cree school board is of particular interest. Not only is the concept of participating in formal education policy-making new to the Cree: the concept of formal education itself is relatively new for a society in which

the majority of the population spent most of the year in the bush until the late 1940s.

The Problem

In defining their own formal school system, the Cree are challenged to create a relevant organization that reflects the social organization and interaction practices of Cree society as well as those of a Quebec school board bureaucracy. Cree community participation in educational policy-making is effective to the degree that provincially designated responsibilities required of them are meaningful and appropriate.

Just as a Quebec School Board is a non-native institution, its policy-making goals and procedures reflect the ideology of non-native society. The Quebec school policy-making process accommodates the social organization and interaction practices of non-native society, and is designed for the participation of that society's members. As they attempt to conform to the provincially required policy-making procedures, the Cree may find those procedures baffling and problematical.

The Cree may be required to make decisions with respect to goals that lack meaning or significance for them. Even if educational goals are acceptable to them, in working towards the goals, the Cree may be required to relate to one

another in ways that are inconsistant with accepted Cree interaction. They may be required to develop committee or advisory structures that result in configurations and roles that are dissimilar from the usual Cree patterns of relationship. In certain instances of educational policy-making, the established provincial policy-making process may inhibit the effectiveness of Cree policy-making. On the other hand, the provincially required procedures may be compatible with Cree practices. Cree specific practices may even enhance the process and contribute to more effective policy-making.

In assuming responsibility for a formal school system, one of the Cree's goals must surely be effective policy-making. A knowledge of the degree to which Cree social interaction practices, a reflection of Cree ideology, constrain or enhance their educational policy-making, would contribute to a more effective process for the Cree.

Undoubtedly, a number of Cree social interaction practices have been modified over time through Cree society members' interaction with both the institutions and individual members of non-native society. Fur traders, as well as church and federal government representatives, provided the initial opportunities for contact. However, despite modifications, the Cree's own culturally specific

social practices will surely continue to influence the Cree perception of and response to their social context.

Purpose of the study

In general, the aim of this thesis was to increase awareness of the process of Cree community participation in educational policy-making at the school committee level through an understanding of Cree cultural values and practices.

Specifically, using the historical method, the purposes were

1) to search relevant literature for data defining specific Cree cultural values and practices as well as the distinguishing characteristics of those values and practices;

2) to trace the continuing existence of such values and practices by reviewing particular instances of Cree interaction with the members and institutions of non-native society;

3) at the same time to record circumstances which contributed to the Cree's modification of their values and practices

4) and in conclusion, to develop an understanding of the manner in which Cree cultural values and practices relate to the Cree's policy-making roles as school committee members.

Assumptions

Research for this thesis was based on certain assumptions. First of all, societies are distinguished from one another by their own cultural values and practices. These distinct values and practices can persist in a society despite prolonged interaction with another larger, dominant society professing different values and practices. Further, if a society is to manage institutions which originated in a society with different values and practices, for the benefit of its own society members, the institutions will function more effectively if they reflect the values and practices of the new host society.

Limitations of the study

This thesis contains no data from live interviews with Cree community members and is therefore restricted to a documentary study. A serious methodological limitation to a study of this nature is that the researcher is restricted to the existing sources, which are the results of the previous research of other authors. Those sources reflect the particular interest of their authors, but may not cover certain details that would be relevant to the study at hand.

Another limitation to this study is that it contains no data indicating the effect on Cree culture of interaction with Christian missionaries. It was decided that interaction with fur traders and the federal government provided sufficient data for the purposes of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter a review of methodological literature substantiates the historical method as appropriate for this thesis. The chapter then describes the manner in which the researcher proceeded to search data using the historical method. The study required both primary and secondary sources; the different data sources are defined and described. Next, the thesis design is outlined and the order and content of chapters is indicated. This chapter concludes with the research questions which this thesis sought to answer.

The Historical Method

As the purpose of this thesis was to substantiate the existence of Cree culture over time, the historical method was the obvious choice for providing the appropriate data. In a discussion of methodological approaches to the study of the interaction between native and non-native society, Dacks (1981) argues that historical data relating to a group's

culture and experiences are effective in giving an explanation of the group's needs and interests. The choice of the historical method was further substantiated by Cohen and Manion's (1980) claim that the historical method provides an "increased understanding of the relationship between education and the culture in which it operates" (p. 33). A review of methodological literature confirmed this decision.

Review of Methodological Literature

The historical method is dependent on the empirical evidence generated by the observations of previous researchers (Cohen & Manion, 1980). As with other methods of inquiry in the social sciences, a primary concern of the historical method is factual objectivity (Cates, 1985; Cook, 1965; Gay, 1976). The method requires the researcher to seek out already existing data. Although an historical study deals with data from the past, a research design employs the historical method when the study seeks to determine the way in which the past conditions present practices and values (Cook; McCarthy, 1973). Or, as articulated by Gay, one of the purposes of historical research is "to arrive at conclusions concerning causes, effects, or trends of past occurrences which may help to explain present events and anticipate future events" (p. 9).

Past events record the circumstances which have resulted in contemporary situations. In studies designed to influence future action, "arguments must lean on the evidence of what has been happening" (Barzun & Graff, 1977, p. 4). Further, the historical method allows the researcher to examine events in the social context in which they occurred (Cook, 1965). In comparing a society's former and current needs, it is possible to determine the way in which change took place while cultural integrity was maintained. A problem can be approached with greater understanding if the researcher is able to develop some perspective on it: the historical method allows contemporary events to be seen in perspective. Cates (1985) advises the researcher to bear in mind that the contemporary pattern of behaviour may represent "a point in a continuum of development" (p. 104).

Historical research in the discipline of education can contribute to improved immediate decision making and planning. In educational research, current social issues, such as needs and changes in society, are frequent topics requiring the historical method (Beach, 1969; Borg and Gall, 1986; McCarthy, 1973). As an understanding of the past is required for the resolution of a contemporary situation, studies concerned with the development of contemporary policy regarding school systems are appropriate to the historical method. As claimed by Cook (1965), "The

perspective of history can serve the educator involved in educational policy making" (p. 15).

Methodological Procedure

Based on the criteria established by educational research methodologists, the historical method used for this thesis involved locating source material, subjecting it to criticism and interpreting and relating the data generated by the selected sources.

As a first step, this researcher consulted studies of the life and culture of North American native people (Crowe, 1974; Handbook of North American Indians: Vol. 6, Subarctic; Jenness, D., 1955; Jenness, E., 1966). The next step involved becoming familiar with the conceptual literature regarding Canadian governmental policy toward native people, and native self-management in Canada (Asch, 1984; Dacks, 1981; Keith & Wright, 1977; Ponting & Gibbons, 1980).

The subsequent step was to search the appropriate selected bibliographies that related to the subject of this study. Bibliographic sources included Krech (1986), Section 5, Northern Algonquians of the Eastern and Central Subarctic and the Great Lakes Region, and Section 15, Education; Zaslow (1982) and Feit (1976). Following a search of the bibliographies, this researcher proceeded to consult specific regional studies of the James Bay Cree and other Northeast

Algonquian societies. This researcher's personal interest, the effect of interaction with non-native society on Cree culture, established the parameters which conditioned the selection of appropriate source material. Sources were searched systematically for evidence of the specific problem under study as well as the necessary contextual data.

These data sources were divided into two categories: primary sources and secondary sources. Primary sources included records of first hand knowledge of the events under study. These were primarily anthropological studies, and included Tanner (1979), Honigmann (1964), Kupferer (1966), Leacock (1954), and Feit (1978). Honigmann also used other primary sources to support his conclusions.

Secondary sources provided second hand information. According to methodologists, a secondary source is based on the observations of another individual who may or may not have been present at the event under study (Borg & Gall, 1986; Cates, 1985). Reliable secondary sources were by authors whose works are included in the selected bibliographies of the scholarly literature in the field (Sugden, 1973). Frequent references by other scholars also contributed to establishing a source's reliability (Borg & Gall, 1986; Jones, 1973). Secondary sources included ethnological and ethnohistorical studies: Francis and Morantz (1983), Leacock (1983), Morantz (1986) and Rogers

(1965). Secondary sources also included comprehensive analyses of Cree society: LaRusic et al. (1979) and Salisbury (1986).

All data sources were subjected to both external and internal criticism. In subjecting historical data sources to external criticism, this researcher tried to establish the source's validity or, in other words, the authenticity of the source. A source's authorship and, if possible, the conditions under which a source was written or recorded were questioned. For instance, the source's author might have been employed to record events in order to represent a specific perspective, or the source might reflect an obvious bias of the author.

Internal criticism questioned the reliability of a source. This researcher subjected the accuracy and worth of a source's content to scrutiny. The probability of the recorded events' existence, as well as the probability of the recorded response to the events, was questioned. Knowledge of the reasons for which the data were collected helped establish a source's reliability for this study. Other reliability considerations included a researcher's institutional affiliation, and the correlation of one researcher's findings with those of another.

Thesis Design

According to Cates (1985), a study which seeks to identify specific characteristics of a designated population is termed a characteristic or descriptive study. Such studies frequently generate data required to test hypotheses or research questions concerning that population. Due to their information-generating quality, characteristic studies are frequently referred to as prestudies or pilot studies. A characteristic study of the nature of this thesis used research questions in order to gather the necessary data.

No standard format exists for historical research studies. Both the particular problem under study and the researcher's approach to that problem determine the presentation of findings (Borg & Gall, 1986). In this thesis, following a discussion in Chapter Three of the conceptual and situational frameworks which guided the research, Chapters Four to Six present an analysis of Cree culture and its adaptation to, as well as its transformation by, non-native culture. These three chapters provide data in response to research questions 1 and 2 (see page 19).

Borg and Gall (1986) further state that historical data can be presented either thematically or chronologically. In this thesis, data are presented both thematically and chronologically. Chapter Four substantiates the existence

of a distinct Cree culture, and outlines traditional Cree cultural practices. In this chapter, data relating to Cree culture are presented thematically, and then, so far as possible, chronologically under each specific heading.

The study then provides examples of the resilience and adaptability of these practices in specific instances of Cree interaction with members of non-native society. In Chapter Five, Cree culture is considered in relation to Cree involvement in the fur trade. Initial fur trade activity chronologically preceded the interaction that provides the theme for Chapter Six: Cree response to the administrative structures imposed by the federal government. Chapter Seven includes findings in response to the three research questions and presents the author's conclusions.

Research Questions

Data sources were searched according to the following research questions:

1) What values and practices distinguish Cree culture?
2) In what ways have the Cree succeeded in maintaining and adapting these values and practices while interacting with the members and institutions of non-native society?
3) How will the Cree's cultural values and practices bear upon their policy-making roles as school committee members?

CHAPTER THREE

FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

This chapter discusses the concepts and relevant historical circumstances that provide a framework for the thesis. The chapter also provides the definitions of terms that are used. Following an elaboration of the concepts that provide the conceptual framework of the thesis, the situational framework provides information relating to past and present Canadian native education, as well as contemporary native self-management and the Quebec school committee. Pertinent facts concerning the James Bay Cree are also provided. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the transformational model which is used for the analysis of Cree culture in this thesis.

Conceptual Framework

Culture

As this study is premised on the existence of cultural difference, and concerned with the culturally specific

practices of the James Bay Cree, an elaboration of the concept of culture is in order. The concept as outlined by Cohen in Man in Adaptation: The Cultural Present (1974), provides a basis for understanding culture. Cohen claims anthropologists agree on seven points concerning culture. First of all, culture refers to the full range of behaviour in a group. Further, all aspects of each group's culture, such as its religion, kinship, aesthetic sense and so on, intermesh in a specific pattern that is unique to the group. That every culture is a set of symbols is a third point of agreement. On a daily basis, people respond to cultural symbols rather than objective reality, these symbols being the ties that bind people to one another. Language itself is a symbol, as are religions and rituals. Ways of dress have symbolic meaning to a culture; changes in dress or adornment symbolize changes in the organization of cultural and social relations.

A fourth point of agreement concerning culture is that all social life takes place in groups; adaptations that have been achieved in a particular culture are maintained by the group. All cultural adaptations including modes of acquiring a living, family organization, settlement patterns and religion, are the result of group relationships even though they are acted out by individuals. As all culturally shared phenomena are made up of socially shared activities,

they are regarded as properties of the group, and not the property of individuals alone. Cultures change as a result of forces within the group, such as technological innovation, changes in the group's ecological or geographical environment, and contact with other groups (Cohen, 1974).

Each culture has its own range of permissible behaviour which allows for ways of expressing affection, rewarding and disciplining children, being cooperative and competitive, and other interactive behaviours. An increase in alternatives in particular spheres of social life does not occur randomly or fortuitously, as, for example, an increase in occupation alternatives. Such increases are important aspects of adaptation and cultural evolution. Social ranking is characteristic of even the simplest societies, and patterns of stratificiation tend to become increasingly complex as societies advance technologically.

A final point of agreement on the part of anthropologists is that every culture is learned by means of specific cultural techniques and procedures. In every society there are patterned means for transmitting culture and shaping the minds of the growing members of the group. A universal feature of transmitting culture is the inculcation of values and motivations; the young are taught to respond to a variety of pressures that are designed to

maintain conformity. The end result of culturalization or socialization is an individual who will function effectively in his culture or society (Cohen, 1974).

This model can be summarized in Kluckhohn's (1965) comprehensive definition:

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups . . . . Culture systems may, on the one hand be considered as products of action, on the other as influences on further action (1965, p. 73).

Asch (1984) claims that even after a long period of contact, cultural features remain in place in native societies that shape those societies in a manner distinct from the mainstream, non-native society. Asch further suggests when subsistence hunting is an essential component of their way of life, native people are able to maintain a significant degree of their distinct cultural practices.

In this study, culture is defined according to Kluckhohn's (1965) definition. The term native pertains to an individual or group of individuals who are indigenous to a specified territory (Asch, 1984). Non-native pertains to an individual or group of individuals who are not indigenous to a specified territory (Asch, 1984).

Policy-Making

Policy can be defined as "a definite course of action adopted for the sake of expediency, facility" (Random House Dictionary of the English Language, 1987, p. 1497). Policy-making is the process of "choosing and evaluating the relevance of available knowledge for the solution of particular problems" (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968, vol. 12, p. 182). It follows that during the policy-making process, as they are "choosing and evaluating", policy makers need to be informed by a vision of that "course of action", or, in other words, a vision of policy in practice. That vision is in turn informed by the known reality or "available knowledge" of the policy-makers. As a result of "choosing and evaluating", policy-makers control and direct policy. Referring to the discussion of culture above, if one thinks of group action, as well as alternatives in group action, as culturally specific social processes, then it makes sense to define policy-making as such a culturally specific process.

Although policy-makers within a given system should have sufficient knowledge of the policy concern in order to assign its various components to the appropriate areas, policy-making cannot be reduced to the merely technical. In his chapter, "The education of policy-makers", Scheffler

(1985) points out that the problems a given policy is required to address do not arise in specific areas designated for study, but rather "in the fullness of everyday life" (p. 100). Further, the understanding that policy makers bring to a problem comes as well from "everyday life". Therefore to attempt to understand the policy-making process of a group requires an understanding of how the members of the group perceive themselves and their environment. A group of policy-makers has a unique vision not only of its policy, but of the field in which the policy is to be implemented.

In this study policy-making is defined as a problem-solving activity which, in "choosing and evaluating the relevance of available knowledge for the solution of particular problems" (see above) involves "five intellectual tasks" at varying levels of insight and understanding: clarification of goals, description of trends, analysis of conditions, projection of future developments, and "invention evaluation and selection of alternatives" (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968, vol. 12, p. 182). This broad definition of policy-making can be applied both to the "problem solving activity" of a Cree hunting group as well as to that of a school committee.

Ideology

Members of distinct cultures are conditioned to view the world in specific ways. Knowledge about the world, and the way that knowledge is valued and organized will be different for different groups, resulting in "collectively preferred ways of thinking about the world" (Stairs, 1985) or collectively preferred ideologies. Different ways of thinking give rise to different ways of acting. Ideology can be interpreted as "thought that effects social action" (Tanner, 1979, p. 206) or "all intellectual activity . . . (that) feeds back, or attempts to feed back, on the level of social action" (Tanner, p.205).

In this study, ideology refers to a comprehensive and unique pattern of cognitive and moral belief about the inhabitants and all elements within a society, the society itself and the surrounding universe, and the way that pattern of belief is seen and acted upon by society members in relation to the society, its inhabitants and the world in general (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968, vol. 7, p. 66).

Traditional Learning

Traditional learning is a cultural educative process; it is education for social survival which recognizes each

society member's ongoing value to the immediate social structure. Young society members progress through the stages of growing awareness and ability required to interact with the physical and social environments, in order that they may contribute to the society's maintenance. In traditional learning, individual differences are valued; they contribute to social cohesion (Armstrong, 1987; Sindell, 1974). The entire society is considered as a single system, in that what is learned in one sphere is reinforced in others (Siegel, 1974).

Canadian native parents are accustomed to encouraging positive attitudes towards learning: it has been the role of parents and all adults in native communities to guide the young as they gain knowledge of their culture. Society members reward children, implicitly and explicitly, for conforming to traditional norms (Armstrong, 1987; Beals, 1973; Spindler, 1974; Wolcott, 1967). Cree children are trained by their close kin to be individually competent and self-reliant. They seldom are punished, but are subtley reprimanded or teased in family or kin gatherings. Stories told in gatherings transmit the values and beliefs of Cree society to its children (Chance, 1968).

In this study traditional learning defines the ongoing learning within the immediate social structure, which prepares an individual to participate fully within that

structure and contribute to its maintenance. Knowledge is gained through observing older society members, and participation increases in proportion to an individual's development.

Formal Schooling

Formal schooling defines the education carried out in a setting removed from the immediate social structure of the family or kin group. This learning requires verbal, literacy and numeracy skills in preparation for a future specialized occupation that could be practised beyond the immediate social structure. Learning is mediated by an individual who may not be from the same society as the learner. In this study, the concept of formal schooling does not refer solely to classroom processes and effects, but also to the formal school system management processes which involve the whole community in which formal schooling is in effect.

Historically, formal schooling placed barriers between native children and parents, between children and their immediate social structure. As formal schools were institutions arriving out of the social organization practices of the non-native system, schools introduced native children to non-native values and practices. In many instances, schooling required that the native child be

physically absent from the family and the familiar setting. The extreme stress for both children and parents resulting from separation, combined with complete submersion in non-native culture for children, resulted in a very high student drop-out rate (Murdoch, 1984; Paquette, 1988).

From the time formal schooling was introduced to native people, the institution represented a situation in which native culture ceased to have validity and non-native culture assumed authority as not only the dominant but controlling system in terms of values and practices. Both native children and parents sensed a lack of cultural viability within the framework of the school and its practices. Viewed from the perspective of the formal education system, native culture was static, with no need to grow, having nothing of value to contribute to the individual's development. Believing that the values and practices of the students' homelife had nothing constructive to offer to the childrens' schooling, professional educators in the formal school system sought no input from the students' community into the immediate school community. Concepts which defined the native view of reality lacked legitimacy in the non-native world (Michel, 1985; Murdoch, 1984).

As Canadian native children increasingly participated in the formal school system of non-native society, native

people increasingly acknowledged the legitimacy of that system. It was still, however, a system based on the values of non-native society. With very few modifications, the usual curriculum was one designed for non-native students, and with few exceptions, teachers were non-native as well. Native people accepted the system insofar as they acknowledged the educational content and practices of that system as necessary for their childrens' future survival.

The term society as used in this study refers to "a relatively independent or self-sufficient population characterized by internal organization, territoriality, cultural distinctiveness and sexual recruitment" (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 14, p. 577). Further, "The society is not the population, but the complex systems of action in which the units of the population participate" (p. 585).

The Broker

According to Paine's (1971) definition in Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic, a broker fulfills a typical middleman role between a patron and a client. The Canadian government, as patron, requested some Hudson Bay Company managers to fulfill a middleman role as broker by acting on the government's behalf as official Indian agents. The federal government was too far removed geographically from

most native communities (the client) to dispense with the services of middlemen.

According to Paine, the patron is "the ostensible source of decisions and favours" and the client is the recipient of the decisions and favours (1971, p. 5). The patron has his values affirmed by the client. The broker, as middleman, "purveys the values of the patron on the patron's behalf" (p. 10). Paine distinguishes between two types of middleman roles: the distinction is based on the manner in which the intermediary function is performed. A "go-between" carries out the straight forward communication between the patron and the client (p. 6). The broker, on the other hand, adapts or "processes" the communication to the broker's own advantage or to that of either the patron or client.

In many Canadian native communities, the former client population has been able to reassert its own sphere of influence. These communities now assign their own representative intermediaries to interact on their behalf with the patron, the federal and/or provincial governments. These governments are still seen in the patron role as they control the source of funds. Contemporary native brokers play vital roles in negotiating the future survival of their societies.

In this study the term broker refers to an individual who fulfills the role of an intermediary between a native community and non-native society in general, or an organization or agency within non-native society (Paine, 1971, p. 5).

The term community is used in this study to define the "social aggregate" comprised of a group of native people, usually members of an administrative band, in a specific locality (Rogers, 1965, p. 276). Members of local communities may often cross community boundaries for the purposes of mating and establishing new residence, while members of societies usually do not cross societal boundaries for these purposes (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 14, p. 585).

Situational Framework

Federal Responsibility for Native Education

The federal government introduced Canadian native people to the non-native formal school system. Section 91, subsection 24 of the 1867 British North America Act (hereafter BNA Act) outlined the government's responsibility for native people. Patterson (1972) summarizes the government's obligations as "protection from exploitation, safeguarding of health, education and training for eventual

citizenship" (p. 27). The word "Indian" was not defined in the BNA Act. The only judicial decision concerning the constitutional definition of Indian, however, determined that the definition includes Inuit, although in its wording the Act consistently uses Indian throughout (Duff, cited in Bezeau, 1984).

Although the government was considered responsible for the education of native people, it was not compelled to provide schooling. However, as many of the treaties between the Crown and native people contained clauses stipulating that formal schooling would be provided by the government, federal provision for native schooling has been based on incidents of this precedent (Bezeau, 1984, Paquette, 1988).

The federal Indian Act of 1867 provided the guidelines for interaction between native people and the federal government. Section 4(3) of the Act restricted those for whom formal schooling is provided to native people who live on a reserve or Crown land (Indian Act, 1978). The Indian Act gives the Minister responsible the authority to educate native people either directly through the provision of schools, or indirectly through agreements with provincial or territorial governments, or other bodies. Immediately following confederation the federal government took initiatives to form alliances with various denominations of the Christian church in order that those bodies assume the

practical responsibility for the formal schooling of native children (Bezeau, 1984; Paquette, 1988; Petersen, 1974).

Native children were educated in their own schools until the mid-twentieth century. At that time, a North American policy of integration of native people into mainstream society coincided with the Canadian government's more conscientious approach toward native schooling. In part, however, native complaints concerning the poor quality of their formal schooling stimulated the government to integrate native children into accessible non-native schools. Native education in integrated schools was financed by the Department of Indian Affairs on a per capita basis. Integrated schools provided higher standards of instruction and a wider range of services, programs and resources to native students. Yet, at the same time, the schools failed to acknowledge the specific cultural needs of native children and their families (Bezeau, 1984; Pauls, 1984; Richardson & Richardson, 1986).

Native Control of Native Education

The policy paper of the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), Indian Control of Indian Education (1972), expressed a consensus in opposition to the Canadian federal government's intent to shift the responsibility for native education to the provinces. The policy paper was a result

of native peoples' fear that they might lose their special constitutionally protected status, and as a consequence, the formal schooling of their children would suffer (Pauls, 1984).

In their policy paper, Canadian native people expressed their own intent to assume responsibility for the formal schooling of their children. Within the statement of the NIB's philosophy of education, the paper states, "We must, therefore, reclaim our right to direct the education of our children based on two educational principles recognized in Canadian society: parental responsibility and local control of education" (p. 3). The policy states that native people aspire towards an education for their children that will allow them to function effectively in both their own cultural setting and in the greater Canadian society. The federal government officially recognized the National Indian Brotherhood's policy in 1973, and committed itself to increasing local native control of education (Paquette, 1987; Pauls, 1984; Ward, 1986). The policy's significance did not reside solely in its subject matter; formulation of the policy itself represented the first instance of unified purpose on the part of Canada's Indian population (Ward, 1986).

Although Pauls (1984) claims that initiatives throughout the country have varied regionally on the part of

both the government and native people themselves, Canadian native people are increasingly managing their own formal education systems (CEA 1984; Isherwood, Sorensen & Colbourne, 1986). "The move is away from territorial or provincial control and towards the establishment of school boards responsive to the diverse local needs of native people for the recognition and preservation of their culture, language and history" (Isherwood et al., p. 10).

This need for greater control over formal schooling felt by Canadian native people was also a need of other indigenous groups. Moreover, literature outlining national development programs of formerly dominated societies stresses the close association of self-managed formal school systems with political autonomy (Churchill, 1983; Faure, 1972; Woods, 1984). As well as seeking to manage their own formal school systems, Canadian native people were simultaneously seeking other forms of self-management.

In this study the term <u>self-management</u> is used to define the administration, and in some instances control, of the mechanisms or institutions that relate to the well-being of native society. Varying degrees of autonomous self-management exist within Canadian native communities.

Native Self-Management

Native people nation-wide began to articulate their legitimate needs in the mid 1960's, indicating "a new consciousness by all Canadian natives of their identity as different people with different values from Canadians of European stock, and their right to respect for those differences" (Robertson, 1987).

At the same time, federal regional development policies increasingly put the emphasis on local control and local human and resource potential (NIB, 1982; Keith & Wright, 1978). Native people realized that it was at the local level that both a need for change and a perspective on how the change could be effected was generated (Paul, 1983).

Through negotiating a comprehensive claim, the concept of aboriginal rights can be articulated in a practical and contemporary sense as native people assume administration of the implementation of the claims settlement, and increased participation in local, provincial and federal government structures. For example, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada emphasized their land claim should not be seen as "a real estate transaction", but rather as a "social and political contract" which enables them to regain effective control over the processes and institutions which constitute Inuit society (Keith & Wright, 1978, p. 255).

A New Vision for the Cree

Contemporary Cree society, a society in flux, is the product of complex environmental influences. Initial adaptation to their own physical surroundings was later modified through the Cree's adaptation to the economic, technological, political and social environments of non-native society (Feit, 1982; Salisbury, 1986). The English monopoly of the fur trade in James Bay established a pattern of adaptation to English socialization practices for most Cree. By contrast, the Cree's neighbours to the east, the Naskapi and Montagnais, interacted with the French traders who followed inland water routes from the St. Lawrence and Saguenay Rivers. In the twentieth century, increased interaction with Quebec has prompted the Cree to adapt to a new language, French, and new socialization practices.

The James Bay Cree did not live on the path of immigration. Further, the Cree inhabit a region that was not valued as land by non-natives until the 1970s. The Cree's traditional subsistence activities, therefore, have continued to be viable to the present time. LaRusic et al. (1979) claim various accounts indicate over 90% of the population were still in the bush for nine to ten months of the year in the late 1940s. It is important to note that most Cree over 50 are unilingual, and Cree is still the society's first language (Salisbury, 1986).

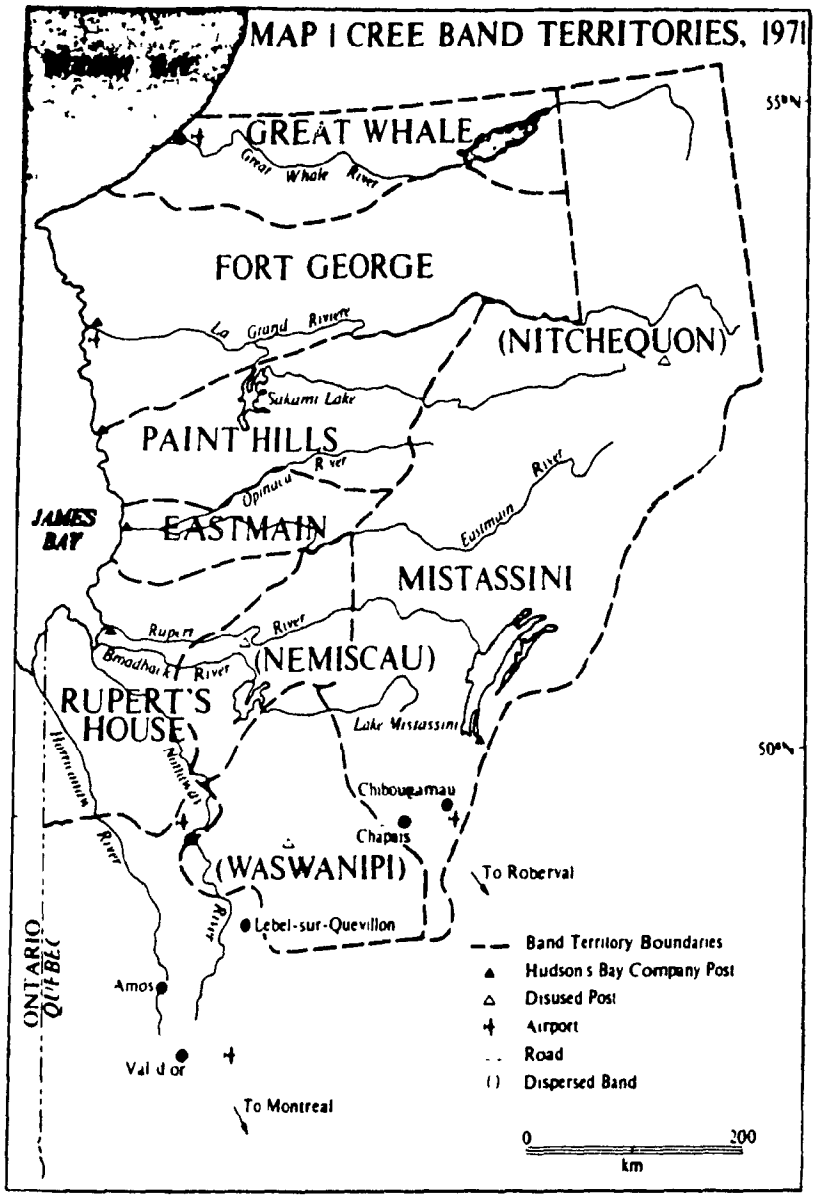

Figure 1. Map of the area inhabited by the James Bay Cree. Salisbury (1986), p.17.

James Bay Cree society is comprised of eight administrative bands: Chisasibi (formerly Fort George), Wemindji (formerly Paint Hills), Waskaganish (formerly Rupert House), Eastmain, Namascau, Waswanipi, Mistassini, and Great Whale River (see map overleaf). Each band has its own distinct village community comprised of numerous hunting groups. The eight communities are distinguished from one another in terms of population size, geographical position -- on the coast or inland, the community's degree of dependence on subsistence hunting, and the degree of interaction with, and dependence on, the surrounding non-native society. There is a gradient of adaptation to non-native society from the inland communities in the south to the more remote coastal communities. Within some communities there are social groups based on resettlement patterns that developed after certain inland trading posts were closed down. The communities are further distinguished from one another by the extent to which community members use either English or French as their second language (Salisbury, 1986).

Due to their geographical isolation, Cree formal schooling followed a slightly different path from that of most Canadian native people. The Cree were introduced to formal schooling under the jurisdiction of the federal government on a limited basis in the late 1940s, when a few

of their communities were allotted elementary schools. A larger school population developed after 1947 when family allowance payments (a federal government subsidy for all Canadian families) were allocated to the Cree, based on the number of children per family attending school (Salisbury, 1986). Families who wished their children to have an extended formal schooling, or who lacked an elementary or secondary school in their community, sent their children to boarding schools in eastern Ontario, and later, southern Quebec (Petersen, 1974; Salisbury). Both children and parents suffered from their deprivation of the traditional learning process during periods of separation (Murdoch, 1984; Sindell, 1974).

Formal schooling decisions with respect to the Cree continued to be the responsibility of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs (now Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, or INAC) until 1975, although shared in part by the Quebec provincial government for some of the inland communities.

In the early 1970s, the Quebec government's James Bay hydro-electric power development precipitated the Cree into an awareness of themselves as a distinct society. The Cree were also precipitated into an abrupt change in the way in which their life was managed (LaRusic et al., 1979; Salisbury, 1986). The eight Cree administrative bands had previously had little reason or opportunity to meet together

as a group. The Cree acceptance of the practicalities of the administration of a regional society necessitated their acceptance of the concept of a regional society (Salisbury). The signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975 propelled the Cree into the transition from a society of scattered village bands to an integrated regional society of 10,000 people.

The conditions of the Agreement are premised on the underlying principle that the cultural validity of the Cree is dependent on the continued legitimacy of subsistence hunting. The allocation of lands and resources, as stipulated in Section 5 of the JBNQA, Land Regime, has been resolved in such a way that the continuance of subsistence hunting is ensured (Feit, 1985; LaRusic et al., 1979; Salisbury, 1986). Moreover, the different sections of the Agreement are interrelated. Section 16, Cree Education, provides for a formal school system based on and connected to other contemporary expressions of Cree life: economic, political and cultural (Diamond, 1987). Cree life was becoming more complex, and as such, required more structure (Salisbury).

In working out the stipulations in the JBNQA governing the Cree's formal school system, the demands of the society's representatives reflected the guidelines of the national Indian policy (NIB, 1972). For the first time,

Cree parents and other local community members were to play a role in defining formal schooling needs, and in seeing that those needs were adequately met.

Further, in accordance with the philosophy of the national policy paper, Cree educational goals reflected the Cree perception of their society's needs. Formal schooling would relate both to the maintenance of traditional Cree society, and to participation in the new, emergent, regional society. Newly elected school committee members prepared to participate in the policy-making processes of the new society while retaining their cultural distinctiveness as Cree.

The Quebec School Committee and Parental Response

In the 1960s all Quebec parents were introduced to the democratic concept of parent participation in the policy-making of the formal school system, following the recommendations of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Education, known as the "Parent Report" (Vol. 4, 1966). For the majority of Quebecers, the school system had effectively been under the jurisdiction of the province's authoritarian Catholic establishment (Henchey & Burgess, 1987; Magnuson, 1980). Before 1961 the only means for a Quebec citizen to influence provincial school policy was the right of property owners to vote for school commissioners. 1961 legislation

had extended that right to all parents in a school commission district (Henchey & Burgess).

To encourage parent awareness of participation roles and responsibilities, the Ministry of Education established the "Service for Parents" (Service des Parents) in 1966 (Henchey and Burgess, 1987; Picard, 1979). In 1967 the Ministry also advocated consultative "Educational Workshops" (Ateliers pedagogiques) intended to guide parents in reaching group consensus in determining the type of school desired by each community (Quebec, 1967).

By 1971, Bill 27 (Bill 71, 1972 for the Island of Montreal) required each school's parent-body to elect a committee of five to twenty-five parents, including a teacher and the principal as non-voting members. The three-fold mandate of this legally sanctioned committee was to encourage an improvement in educational services, to determine measures to make the educational services more personal, and to make recommendations to the principal to ensure the school function "in the most advantageous manner possible" (Picard, 1983, p.88; Quebec, 1971; Quebec, 1972).

Although Bill 27 created the structures for participation in education policy-making, it did not create participation itself. The Ministry's guidelines and regulations for the Bill, Mission 27 (Quebec, 1972), claimed

at this early stage, that school committees were to provide an opportunity for parents to both learn about, and develop a habit of, participating in this new forum. The research undertaken to determine parental response to school committees noted parents' traditional role in the past as an impediment to adopting new practices. Henripin et al. (1974) and Henripin (1978) argued that Quebec parents were seriously challenged in making the transition from a habit or mentality of delegation to one of group action.

In his research concerning parents' own definitions of their roles as school committee members, Picard (1983) noted it was necessary for parents to develop an awareness of the dynamics of belonging to a group, and becoming active group members. In a study of the relationship between parents' values and school committee membership, Primeau (1979) pointed out that as participation expresses a relationship between an individual and a group, parent participants must share in expressing the group's objectives. Nonetheless, Primeau also maintained each parent should have a degree of autonomy in determining the group's objectives, and in the means to achieve those objectives.

Both Primeau (1979) and Chagnon (1980) agreed on certain criteria for effective school committee policy-making: listening, freedom of expression, reciprocal confidence and common interests. In his proposals, Chagnon

suggested that in allowing for the individual expression of each member, the group would become aware of the variety of abilities within it, and develop a sense of assurance and consensus in pursuing common objectives. If participants come together because of a common cause, however, Chagnon argued, they will have already established a basis for consensus; therefore participation in the school committee forum presupposes the idea of consensus.

Analytical Model of the Study

This chapter has outlined the concepts and relevant historical circumstances that provide a framework for this study. Among the concepts, that of "culture" is key to an understanding of the thesis. This last section of the chapter outlines an analytical model for the study of culture change. In this thesis, Cree culture is assessed from the perspective of the transformational model.

Acculturation is the process whereby the practices of a smaller society are eroded and replaced, to a large extent, by those of an encompassing society. This process of social change is referred to as acculturation. As expressed by Siegel (1974), the term refers to "the process of culture change initiated by the continual interaction of individuals from two or more discrete groups and their cultures" (p.43). An acculturation model makes possible the complete cultural

conversion of a society. However, in his study of the relationship between Cree ideology and hunting practices in the 1970s, Tanner (1979) used a transformational model of social change to explore the relationship between native and non-native society. According to this model, the post-contact cultural practices of two separate cultures give rise to changes in cultural practices for both cultures.

Asch (1984) claims that even after a long period of contact, cultural features remain in place in native societies that shape those societies in a manner distinct from the mainstream, non-native society. Asch further suggests when subsistence hunting is an essential component of their way of life, native people are able to maintain their own cultural practices to a significant degree.

In Tanner's (1979) words, the transformational model "analyses the post-contact stage or stages as distinct from either that of the aboriginal society or the dominant group" (p. 66). This transformational model does not predict a gradual process of cultural change within an acculturation framework, but allows for the development of a new operative model, incorporating practices from both cultures. The analysis of Cree culture in this thesis is undertaken within the framework of a transformational model.

CHAPTER FOUR

CREE CULTURE

This chapter introduces the Cree as a distinct cultural group. A description of their natural environment is followed by accounts of the way in which the Cree valued and responded to that environment. The social organization necessary for the Cree's way of life, subsistence hunting, is outlined, and the values and interpersonal relations within the basic subsistence group are described. Non-native observations of Cree leadership forms during the period of initial contact between the two groups are noted.

Cree culture can be described in relation to specific time frames (see table overleaf). Historically, from the non-native perspective, the traditional era of Cree culture lasted until 1821. This year was significant to non-native fur traders in the James Bay area: the Hudson Bay Company established its trading monopoly in the region by buying out its chief rival, the North West Company.

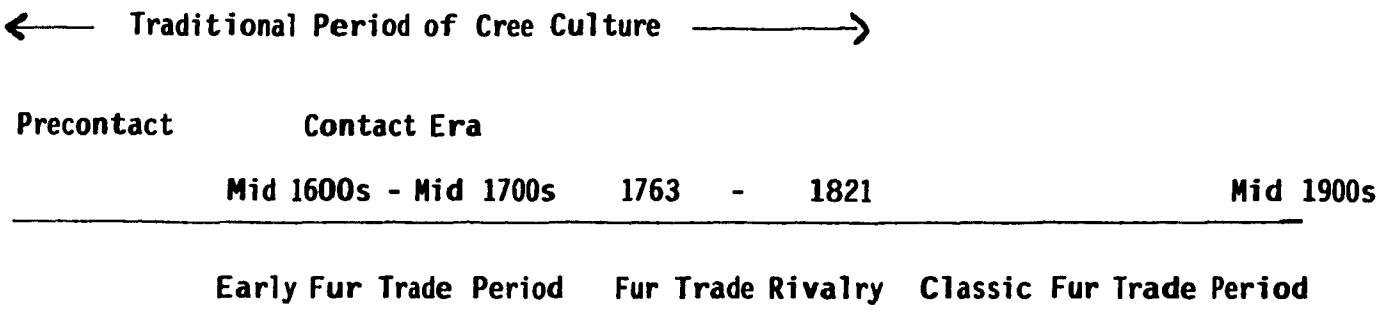

Figure 2. Chronological table for the study of Cree culture. Adapted from Preston (1981), p.200.

The contact era, when non-natives were making initial contact with the native inhabitants of the Eastern Subarctic, lasted from the mid-1600s to the mid-1700s (Preston, 1981). Sufficient data sources exist, such as the written accounts of fur traders and missionaries, for researchers to reconstruct the manner in which the Cree pursued their way of life during the traditional era (Rogers, 1965). The observations of researchers in the twentieth century confirm and amplify the earlier accounts.

Identifying the Cree

Historically, two main groups of Cree evolved: the Woods Cree of western North America, and the East Cree, also known as the Muskegon, or Swampy Cree, of the east. Part of this latter group, the James Bay Cree of Quebec are a distinct group within the Algonquian language speaking peoples, hunter-gatherers connected by related dialects, who inhabit the Eastern Subarctic. These Quebec Cree inhabit an area which includes land fronting on the east shoreline of James Bay, inland to the lakes and headwaters of the rivers which drain into the bay (Honigmann, 1964; Jenness, D., 1955; Jenness, E., 1966; Preston, 1981).

The records of contact-era British fur traders did not refer to the inhabitants of the east coast of James Bay as "Cree". These traders identified groups of natives in association with the Hudson Bay Company post at which they traded, such as the "Rupert House" or "Eastmain Indians" (Salisbury, 1986). The French on the other hand, in particular the Jesuits, who visited the coast intermittently in the seventeenth century, followed the native practice and distinguished groups by means of an ecological or geological term, usually in the native dialect. "Cree" is derived from the French name, Christinaux or Kilistinos, used to designate those who lived around Hudson Bay and James Bay (Francis & Morantz, 1983, p. 12). Missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century were the first to use the designation "Cree" (Francis & Morantz).

The James Bay Cree did not think of themselves as members of a single large group or band, however. They used a variety of terms for self-identification: for example, Wiinibeyk Iiyuu means "the people who live along the coast" and Nuuhcimiihc Iiyuu, "people from the inland areas" (Francis and Morantz, 1983, p. 11). Honigmann (1964) concluded that despite non-native contact, in comparison to other groups, Northeast Algonquian native people have retained many of their traditional cultural practices.

Cultural Response to the Environment

As indicated earlier, a society's cultural expression is in part a response to its geographical and ecological environment. In a study of the environmental relations of the native cultures of North America, Kroeber (1963) concluded that although an environment does not produce a culture, cultures are rooted in nature, and cannot be completely understood without reference to the environment in which they occur. Cultures tend to change slowly once they have fitted themselves into the stabilizing effect of their environment.

Hunting both for animals and game birds, as well as fishing, were the Cree's subsistence activities in their boreal forest environment. The James Bay coast line, consisting of rock and clay, was bordered by a belt of muskeg which ranged up to forty miles in width towards the south of the bay. Inland from the muskeg stretched spruce forests which thinned out towards the north into lichen woodlands, then barren ground. The limited vegetation supplemented the Cree's basic animal food supply with berries, and provided raw materials for habitations, transportation, such as snowshoes, sleds, toboggans and

canoes, aa well as medicines (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Gardner, 1981; Preston, 1981).

Highly developed sensitivity to and knowledge of the physical environment were necessary conditions for subsistence hunting. The Cree organized their lives in response to the way in which they perceived their environment. The Cree world view, or ideology, resulted in specific Cree cultural values and practices (Tanner, 1979).

Within the daily life experience, the Cree did not draw distinctions between spiritual, natural and supernatural existence. Reverence for the spirits of all the components of the natural world, and the ability to be in communication with these spirits, were integral parts of a hunting community's life: each member of Cree society established a personal relationship with the spiritual world. Cree religious beliefs, which conformed to the Cree's unique world view, gave rise to specific religious practices. This same world view also informed and influenced the Cree's spiritually related hunting practices. (Feit, 1978; Tanner, 1979).

Man-Animal Relations

The Cree had great respect for the animals on which their lives depended. In sharing the same territory, the human and animal kingdoms were considered to be joined in kinship and the two groups responded reciprocally towards one another (Barsh, 1986; Tanner, 1979). Among the most important Cree myths are those of human marriage to animals. A human thus married becomes a "species master" who is in a powerful position to help human hunters (Honigmann, 1964; Salisbury, 1986).

Propitiation of the spirits of game animals was part of the hunting ritual. After all other parts of food animals had been used, their bones were placed out of harm in trees. Rituals included singing to animals in thanks for, or in anticipation of, the hunt. The master of fish or "misinakw" (Preston, 1981, p. 202) could be summoned into a conjuring tent with requests to predict future fishing success (Bailey, 1937; Feit, 1978; Preston; Price, 1979; Richardson, 1975; Tanner, 1979). Care was taken not to kill too many of one species, for fear the species in question would be offended and not reproduce or make itself available during the next hunting season (Feit; Preston, 1975). The non-migratory beaver could be carefully farmed when the

stock was sufficient, hunters only trapping the annual increase. The interaction with the spirits of all living and natural forces maintained an ecological balance (Feit; Honigmann, 1964; Tanner).

The animal food supply was limited, and varied according to the seasons and cyclical patterns. The hunters adapted to the animals, and also changed locations seasonally. Following two to three months of summer fishing, the Cree dispersed for their winter hunting. Hunters who stayed near the coast went to their hunting territories on snowshoes; those hunting farther inland used canoes. The beaver trappers who hunted inland in the more southerly part of the region could follow relatively sedentary subsistence practices, as the beaver maintained permanent colonies in the same location. The caribou hunters to the north of the region followed the movement of the animals they were pursuing (Feit, 1978; Francis & Morantz, 1983; Jenness, E., 1966; Tanner, 1979).

Caribou was initially the most valued animal, particularly for the northern Cree, both as meat and as a source of raw material for clothing, tools and utensils. Beaver was the second most preferred food source, and the most important fur-bearing animal during the fur trade

period. The black bear, held in high esteem by the Cree for its religious significance, was also a highly valued, but scarcer, food resource. Snowshoe hare was a very important food source. Fish and game birds, in particular geese, were essential subsistence foods eaten in season and dried or smoked for later use (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Gillespie, 1981; Jenness, E., 1966; Salisbury, 1986; Weinstein, 1976).

Egalitarian Values

As well as generating values and practices with respect to animals, Cree ideology also gave rise to values operating within the human social system. Both the environment and Cree subsistence activity required each hunter to be self reliant and individually competent (Feit, 1978; Tanner, 1979). These qualities of individual autonomy and responsil lity derived from the principle of individualism. This principle reflected the belief, shared with other North American native people, that each human being represents a unique gift from the the spiritual world. Such a belief is characteristic of a society which can be classified as egalitarian. A belief in the uniqueness of each individual negates any hierarchical distinction between individual society members (Barsh, 1986; Boldt & Long, 1984). Commanding another to act is not tolerated in an egalitarian

society, but "each individual is intensely aware of his accountability for others" (Barsh, p. 185). Preston (1981) claimed among the Cree "the value placed on individual autonomy and responsibility for one's decisions and actions was strongly believed to be high" (p. 199).

Twentieth century observers of the Cree noted cultural characteristics indicative of egalitarian societies. Rogers (cited in Honigmann, 1964) discerned mutual respect among the Cree, as well as a lack of individual aggression and competition. Honigmann (1964) recorded the individual Cree appeared to be free of outward authority and social pressure. The same researcher observed no obvious display of anger, and a considerable degree of stoicism, necessary for those who may go two or three days without food. Honigmann concluded, "the ideal person is generous, hard-working, competent, non-agressive, non-competitive, stoical and religious" (p. 354).

Despite their individualistic characteristics, however, the Cree's conditions of geography and subsistence hunting also required them to act interdependently: therefore individuals hunted as members of a group.

Cree Social Organization

The Winter Hunting Group

The most important economic, social and political Cree group was the winter hunting unit based on kinship ties. This group was the major residence unit for nine to ten months of the year. Hunting groups returned yearly to the same hunting territory. The boundaries between hunting territories usually were marked along high ground or wide rivers (Honigmann, 1964; Francis & Morantz, 1983; Rogers, 1963; Tanner, 1979). Archaelogical records confirm the existence of the small winter hunting units since the earliest times of Cree habitation in the region (Francis & Morantz).

The hunting group had little or no formal organization. Honigmann (1964) refers to the group as "the largest aggregate of individuals who cooperate with one another for any annual period of time" (p. 360). Subsistence groups had to be large enough for members to provide assistance to one another, yet small enough to maintain a sufficient balance of animal resources on the territory (Feit, 1978; Francis & Morantz, 1983; Leacock, 1983; Tanner, 1979). The size and activity of the group varied according to both the season and game availability. Different animal species "waxed and

waned" (Preston, 1981, p. 201) periodically and starvation was not uncommon (Francis & Morantz; Morantz, 1986; Preston).

Rogers (1965) claims that although data are meagre concerning the composition of the group during the contact era, "certain generalizations seem permissible" concerning its activities. (p. 267) Cree researchers agree the group traditionally consisted of two to five closely related families headed by the best hunter, who was usually the eldest male member. As the average family had five members, the group was often too large to continuously hunt and trap the same tract of land productively, therefore divisions and reamalgamations of winter hunting units would occur. (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Honigmann, 1964; Rogers, 1965; Salisbury, 1986; Tanner, 1979).

Rogers (1965) referred to the winter hunting group as it existed during the fur trade era as "an extended family" based on the three principles of "patrilineal descent", "the solidarity of brothers" and the senior hunter's responsibility for "all unmarried women and widows" (p. 275). Francis & Morantz (1983) claim that during the nineteenth century, Hudson Bay Company (hereafter HBC) records frequently referred to a group's membership as two,

or less frequently, three, adult males and their families. These writers refer to the winter hunting group as a "coresidential group" (p. 126).

In his assessment of group composition as it existed before the 1940s, Salisbury (1976) refers to "multi-family hunting groups of about twenty people" (p. 18) as the usual winter residential units. Tanner (1979), based on his mid-twentieth century research among the Cree, claims "Many informants spoke of a large hunting group, meaning one with four or five commensal families, as a preferred form, but one which could only rarely be used, because of the resources needed" (p. 45). Tanner observed that two groups might share a main camp for part of the winter, then separate. He observed further that small groups consisting of two families could be more mobile without the necessity of breaking up. Whether the basic subsistence group was composed of two or five families, most Cree researchers would probably concur with Honigmann's (1964) observation that a noteworthy aspect of Cree culture was the "absence among them of large-scale organization" (p. 331).

The Principal Hunter

The principal hunter of a subsistence unit was not only experienced in his knowledge of the most productive hunting

areas and seasons, but also in his ability to provide a surplus for those in need. He sometimes gave advice and counsel, and was also responsible for food distribution. As well, such a hunter was spiritually evolved and able to communicate effectively with the spirits of the animals and elements on whom the group's livelihood depended (Honigmann, 1964; Lips, 1947; Tanner, 1979).

An individual who "exercises a determining effect on the behaviours of group members and on the activities of the group" (Stogdill, 1974, p. 10) may be considered the group leader. This definition is derived from the influence theory of leadership and "implies a reciprocal relationship between leaders and followers, but not one necessarily characterized by domination, control, or induction of compliance on the part of the leader" (Stogdill, p. 10).

Leacock's (1983) research confirmed that in egalitarian societies leaders "have influence but no authority, they are no more than first among equals" (p. 17). Leacock characterized a traditional Cree hunting group leader as an experienced hunter who initiated decisions about local moves in search of game (1983). Although leadership influence was attributed to the most experienced hunter, the Cree also paid deference to an individual's age, spiritual power, and

trustworthiness (Honigmann, 1964; Rogers, 1965). Barsh (1986) and Honigmann (1964) agreed that leadership was an obligation for the most capable hunter in a group. It was the leading hunter's duty to be generous not only to group members, but to other groups in need as well. As with the leaders within many native North American societies, Cree hunting group leaders were powerless to deprive others of access to basic resources (Barsh; Fried, cited in Leacock, 1982).

Rogers (1965) claims there are no available data concerning the principal hunter before 1800 (p.269). Preston (1971) described a hunting group leader in the twentieth century as "an older man whose . . . competence was recognized and respected" and one who "directed the actions of others by example" (p. 169). Salisbury (1986) noted that a surplus of food and a number of dependents in his immediate kin group were indications of a leader's abilities. Acknowledging his superior abilities, other hunters would accept his modestly offered advice.

Based on research among the Cree at Rupert House, Kupferer (1966) observed that small groups of Cree responded to the informal leadership of a "good man", knowledgeable in traditions and a good hunter. An individual with these

attributes would be sought out for advice, but he would neither impose his views nor give orders for others to follow. He did not have the kind of influence empowering or enabling him to impose his views.

The leader of a hunting group gained his influence through example. He maintained his position through the willingness of group members to follow him. If followers withdrew their support, an individual's leadership position ceased to exist (Lips, cited in Rogers, 1965). Rogers (1965) claims that as Cree hunting group leadership was not rigidly formalized, the concept is best considered in relation to the units that possessed leaders.

Characteristics of Hunting Group Activity

Leacock (1983) argues that North American native people were well integrated politically in that they had highly developed principles and practices for effecting group organization and cohesion. The same author stresses that in egalitarian societies, such as the Cree's, political and social activity cannot be separated from one another. Tanner (1979) observed Cree hunting group activity depended on a set of established social relations.

Consensus

Within the hunting group, political power was diffuse and consensual. Although Cree subsistence hunting required a high degree of planning, decisions affecting the group's shared life were arrived at through group discussion. Any communal action required the consent of those affected. No one was forced to agree with the group decision: a group member could either withdraw from the group or ignore the decision (Barsh, 1986; Tanner, 1979).

For the Cree, consensus was a way of avoiding conflict (Barsh, 1986; Leacock, 1983). In their discussion of informal economic systems, of which the Cree hunting unit can be considered an example, Ross & Usher (1986) claim that a justification for consensus lies in the fact that working relations are social relations. In a small unit of activity where all the participants know one another, how things are done and how people relate to each other are as important as what is produced (Ross & Usher). Among the Cree, great care was taken to avoid overt personal hostility. The will and need to survive kept the members of the hunting group together (Leacock, 1982; Leacock, 1983; Tanner, 1979).

Reciprocity

Each group member was directly dependent on the hunting group as a whole, rather than on particular individuals within it (Leacock, 1982). The Cree placed great value on their interpersonal relations, which were characterized by reciprocity (Scott, 1984; Tanner, 1979). The hunting produce was shared equally by all members of a hunting group. In supporting this point, Leacock cites Lee's definition of the hunting group or camp as "a unit of sharing, and if sharing breaks down it ceases to be a camp" (Leacock, 1982, p. 159). Lips (cited in Honigmann, 1964, p. 344) observed among the Cree "the abstract terms 'property'; 'possession'; 'ownership' are not known".

Shared land use

Not only did group members share the hunting produce, the hunting group also exploited its territory in common. Communal land use was (and still is) an accepted characteristic of hunter-gatherers living in groups. Chance (1968) and Sindell (1968) suggest the definition of Cree hunting territories was part of a pattern of social organization that came into being in order to reduce conflicts that would result from competition over available resources in a given area. Nonetheless, when resources were

scarce in a hunting territory, individual hunters and their families were invited to join groups with adequate food resources. At times a whole group would be invited to share a hunting territory with those who usually exploited it. Tanner (1979) claims granting and exchanging the privilege of hunting territory use was, and remains to be, an important aspect of Cree interdependence, both economically and socially.

For the Cree, communal land use was also coterminous with inalienable rights to land (Feit, 1982; Tanner, 1979; Scott, 1984). The precise nature of the Cree concept of land use rights, or land ownership and land use, provides the content for an on-going debate among Northern Algonquian specialists (Bishop & Morantz, 1986; Honigmann, 1964, p. 342). The debate centers on whether the Cree had a system of hunting territory "ownership" before contact with fur traders, or whether the trade imposed a system of territory definition and ownership on them (Rogers, 1986; Tanner, 1986). Further, the debate questions whether the Cree interpretation of ownership correlates with "systems of 'private property' or of 'usufruct'", in other words, the right of property ownership or the right to enjoy the use of property (Tanner, p. 22).

In attempting to understand the Cree notion of ownership, Tanner suggests "What is needed is a description of the form of ownership of hunting territories that would specify the rights enjoyed by all persons involved" (p. 27). Tanner further suggests these rights should be expressed "in terms of actual practice" rather than as "ideological principles" (p. 27). As examples of territorial rights, Tanner lists "the right to use, the right to give or withold permission for its use by another, the right to exchange, and the right to bequeath" (p. 27).

Contributing to the debate, Rogers (1986) observed that "each culture has its own distinctive view of its relationship to the land" (p. 203) and further submitted "we still know very little about the Indian relationship to land and its resources" (p. 204). Preston (1981) summarized his interpretation of the Cree's traditional notion of a group hunting territory as "an ecological range of rivers and trails that were commonly recognized as the hunting locus of a group that was usually led by a particularly competent, knowledgeable man" (p. 198).

Alternate Social Organization: the Macroband

Francis and Morantz (1983) found that early nineteenth century Hudson Bay Company records documented the existence

of large "loosely structured, noneconomic, socio-religious groupings" of around sixteen families. (p. 126) Rogers (1965) claims the groups "ranged in size from 50 to 100 or more persons" (p. 266). In summer several such multi-family groups gathered for fishing at various river sites near the shores of the bay or in-land on lakes. Large groups also gathered along the coast for the biannual goose migration in the spring and fall (Francis & Morantz; Honigmann, 1964; Salisbury, 1986; Speck cited in Rogers, 1965).

Although residence in summer encampments was loosely structured, hunters tended to establish their summer camps in kin group clusters (Honigmann, 1964; Tanner,1979). The grouping of families for the next winter's hunting units took place in the summer. These large gatherings also provided the opportunities for arranging marriages and settling disputes (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Honigmann; Tanner). Again, as with the winter hunting units, archaeological records indicate the past existence of large summer settlements. These records provide proof of the continuity in Cree social organization patterns from the past to the present time (Francis & Morantz).

Honigmann (1964) used the anthropological term, "macroband", to define the large summer gatherings (p. 332).

Salisbury (1986) points out this anthropological terminology should be distinguished from that used to define the federal government's concept of an "administrative band" (p. 9). (See Chapter Six of this thesis.) Although macrobands were the largest units of social organization among the inhabitants of the east coast of James Bay, the subsistence activities of the group as a whole were minimal as the group was in existence for only two to three months of the year. During periods in which the Cree adapted to this form of social organization, their major subsistence activity, fishing, required little economic cooperation (Honigmann; Francis & Morantz, 1983; Salisbury, 1986; Tanner, 1979).

Honigmann (1964) claimed both Speck (1926) and Lips (1947) defined macrobands as dependent on the principle of territoriality rather than kinship. Although the individual hunting units which constituted a macroband each exploited their own distinguishable territories, those territories together constituted a discernible area. The macroband territory was relatively well defined, and its boundaries were respected by other macrobands. Honigmann reports the missionary Le Jeune's observation that as early as 1633 hunters avoided trespassing across territorial boundaries.

Speck (1926) and Lips (1947) agreed that the macroband had some significance politically in that it usually had a

leader. Francis & Morantz (1983) claim one could distinguish macrobands by band members' "common deference to a leader" (p. 126). These Cree researchers sometimes refer to the macroband leader as a patriarch. It can be assumed that age and spiritual power would be recognizable leadership attributes of such an individual, as mentioned above. Lips refers to the leader being assisted by a council of older men. Rogers (1965) suggests, in agreement with Lips, that due to the necessity and importance to Cree survival of the individual winter hunting unit, the principal hunters of these groups held the significant leadership influence. These hunters made up the membership of a council with whom the leader of a macroband would consult when necessary. Rogers further suggests that as the large groups were in existence for only a short time each year, strong leaders were unnecessary for them.

In his study of the Montagnais-Naskapi, native people closely related to, and neighbours to the east of the Cree, Garigue (1957) noted that the concept of leader differed according to social organization patterns. In an area where a large group stayed together for hunting, the leader of the large group would have considerable influence, whereas in areas in which hunters divided into smaller units for most of the year, the larger group leader's influence was minimal

and in effect only during the annual duration of the larger group. The most effective and significant leader, then, Garigue concludes, was the individual who led the hunting group that was the most relevant to group members' basic subsistence needs.

Contact Era Conceptions of Cree Leadership

As non-natives first saw the Cree in their large summer gathering, the individuals to whom they attributed leadership characteristics were no doubt macroband leaders (Leacock, 1983; Rogers, 1965). Rogers lists attributes which distinguished those who non-natives perceived to be native leaders at the time of initial contact. Individuals appearing to fill leadership roles had the abilities to speak well and work hard, be trustworthy, and have superior religious powers. Further, a leader held his position due to "his ingenuity and/or personality . . . not by means of any rigidly defined formulations" (p. 269), and the leadership position was sanctioned by public opinion. The same researcher quotes the seventeenth century Jesuit Le Jeune's definition of a native leader in Montagnais-Naskapi territory as "powerful insofar as he is eloquent" (p. 267). In the next century Oldmixon (cited in Rogers, 1965) recorded that at Rupert House, groups of natives had "an

Okimah, as they called him, or Captain over them", who was "considered only for his Prudence and Experience. He has no Authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain Occasions. He is their Speech-maker to the English; as also in their own grave debates" (p. 267).

In Leacock's (1983) analysis of early seventeenth century accounts of encounters between eastern North American natives and Europeans, reports were found to convey contradictory impressions of native leadership. One group of Europeans was received "by persons who spoke with . . . apparent authority" (p. 19). The Europeans attributed to these leaders the concommitant powers in relation to the members of their groups held by contemporary non-native leaders. Another report complained of people who had "neither political organization, nor offices, nor dignities, nor any authority" (Thwaites, cited in Leacock, 1983). However, as Leacock points out, newcomers who became familiar with native society discerned that native leaders could have considerable influence over their followers, without the authoritative power to insist on certain decisions, or that those decisions be carried out.

Rogers (1965) and Leacock (1983) agreed that public opinion was sufficient sanction to maintain these leadership

positions. The most prominent attribute of these leaders appeared to be their ability to speak well. These spokespeople had the ability to put into words for non-natives the consensus of the hunting group leaders.

Summary

The James Bay Cree, one of several Northeast Algonquian societies, have specific cultural expressions of their own. A distinct Cree ideology and way of life, based on subsistence hunting, evolved in response to their Eastern Subarctic environment. Cree ideology was characterized by a reciprocal kinship relationship with animals and distinct spiritual values and practices. Subsistence activity required each hunter to be self reliant and individually competent. Cree acceptance of and respect for individual autonomy resulted in a society with egalitarian values. Despite individual competence, however, both hunting activity and environmental conditions required subsistence activity to be undertaken in groups.

The small winter hunting group, comprised of closely related families, was the main residential unit for nine to ten months of the year. The group recognized the leadership influence of the best hunter, an individual adept in the survival techniques necessary for Cree life. This type of

leadership implied a reciprocal relationship between this hunter and other group members; group members were dependent on the group as a whole. Cree hunting group activity was characterized by egalitarian social relations: consensus, reciprocity and shared land use. The Cree valued their interaction with the land. It is generally believed the Cree responded to their hunting territories within the context of their own land use rights rather than as "owners" in the non-native sense.

Large, loosely structured macrobands, which gathered for summer fishing, constituted an alternate form of social organization. There was an absence of formal leadership roles in traditional Cree life. In singling out individuals who appeared to have leadership characteristics, contact era non-natives agreed that the ability to speak on behalf of others was a distinguishing leadership characteristic of the Cree.

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE FUR TRADE AND CREE CULTURE

The survival and transformation of Cree culture is related to a long history of interaction with non-native society beginning in the seventeenth century. The introduction of non-native culture into the eastern James Bay area initially depended on the fur trade. This chapter describes the encroachment of the fur trade into the area inhabited by the James Bay Cree. The Cree's interaction with the fur traders as well as their introduction to fur trade goods is outlined. The effect of the fur trade on the Cree's traditional technology, social organization patterns and leadership influence is discussed.

With respect to the fur trade, the contact era, according to Preston (1981, p. 200), is also referred to as the "Early Fur Trade" period (see Table, p. 47a). The period from 1763 to 1821, designated "Fur Trade Rivalry", a period of rivalry between the Hudson Bay Company and

Canadian traders, began when New France became British territory. The "Classic Fur Trade" period extended from 1821, when the Hudson Bay Company established its James Bay monopoly, into the first half of the twentieth century.

The Encroachment of the Fur Trade

The Cree came into contact with English traders representing the Hudson Bay Company (hereafter HBC) in the mid-seventeenth century at the Cree's coastal summer encampments. These traders had found an ice-free passage through Hudson and James Bays in late summer (Innis, 1956). With the establishment of Charles Fort at the mouth of the Rupert River in the south east corner of James Bay in 1668, the English began to infiltrate the French monopoly of territory lying east and south of Hudson Bay (Honigmann, 1964; Innis). French traders had followed inland routes to the area lying south of the height of land draining into James Bay early in the seventeenth century (Bailey, 1937; Francis & Morantz, 1983). Bailey recorded that the Jesuit Relations, the Jesuits' annual reports on the affairs of New France, give evidence that some Cree, in particular the Mistassini hunters, continued to trade inland with the French.

Although Charles Fort was destroyed by fire in 1693, the English fur trade continued to be viable. The HBC opened another post up the coast at the mouth of the Eastmain River in 1719. In the nineteenth century, the Company established six more posts, three on the coast followed by three inland as the fur trade expanded and stabilized (Francis & Morantz, 1983). Some macroband meeting grounds proved to be suitable locations for posts (Honigmann, 1964). For instance, some posts were located at the mouths of the larger rivers: Eastmain, at the mouth of the river of the same name; Rupert House, at the mouth of the Rupert River; and Fort George, at the mouth of the La Grande River (see map p. 38a).

The fur trade began with complete dependence on native technology. For the first hundred years of the trade, HBC employees were unable to penetrate inland as they lacked the necessary skills, equipment, and knowledge of the area. Traders were dependent on the Cree not only for the supply of furs but also as guides, and as the providers of transportation. Further, traders initially relied on the Cree to supply their food at the same time the Cree were providing for their own subsistence needs (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Rogers, 1965; Tanner, 1979).

Cree Interaction with the Fur Trade Economy

As has been noted earlier, the operating rationale for Cree economic activity was social, and their hunting priority was production for their own use. The fur traders intended to establish an economic relationship with the Cree. Their operating rationale was commercial and their priority was production for exchange value (Leacock, 1982; Ross & Usher, 1986; Tanner, 1979). The Cree acknowledged their economic relationship with the traders in so far as they willingly accepted articles they considered to be of fair exchange value for their furs. The Cree had previous experience trading with other native groups and were aware of the variety of non-native trade goods available (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Innis, 1956; Rich, 1960).

Early Fur Trade Activity

Based on their reading of HBC records, Francis & Morantz (1983) claim in the early 1700s the Cree hunters arrived at the Eastmain post in groups of three or four canoes. By the 1780s, the size of the groups had increased to at least thirty canoes (p. 41). As well, Francis & Morantz conclude that in the late 1740s, 90 hunters traded at the Eastmain post; by the early 1780s the number had nearly doubled to 177 hunters (p. 54). Eastmain records

indicated there was no significant increase in the number of furs brought to the post between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. Accordingly, the fur supply stabilized and continued to be constant into the twentieth century (Francis & Morantz).

Incorporating Trade Goods into Cree Life

As the hunters had limited requirements, not to mention transportation difficulties, their trade goods needs were minimal. However the HBC was eager to supply them with food in order that more time could be spent trapping furs (Morantz, 1986). During periods of limited animal food resources, the company gave hunters food and ammunition to enable them to hunt any available fur-bearing animals (Francis & Morantz, 1983). For trading purposes, the company offered such foodstuffs as flour, tea, sugar, salt and lard. An ever-increasing assortment of manufactured goods was also available. This included guns, traps, tools, kettles, cloth, needles and thread, and twine. Brandy became one of the most important trade items by 1720, and remained so for over a century. By 1851, however, the Company forbade its use anywhere in the James Bay area (Francis & Morantz; Honigmann, 1964; Tanner, 1979).

Some non-native food supplies, for instance tea, and flour for bannock, did become staples of the Cree diet. However in many instances the hunters adapted non-native goods, such as twine, metal traps and guns, to their own hunting technology and practices. For each group of Cree, the nature of their local subsistence economy and the distance from a trading post were factors which affected the degree of reliance on non-native trade goods (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Tanner, 1979). For instance, Francis & Morantz suggest the Cree who hunted inland did not become dependent on guns as quickly as the coastal Cree, due to the weight of the ammunition supply as well as the impossibility of repairing broken weapons.

In the early 1800s, the HBC manipulated conditions in order to involve the more nomadic caribou hunters in the fur trade. Although caribou was the staple of their subsistence life, and they were less interested in hunting furs, these northern hunters had become dependent on some trade goods, such as kettles, guns and twine. The company refused to accept caribou hides from these hunters, opened the posts for trade at specific times only, and limited the amount of credit available for each hunter (Morantz, 1986).

The Credit System

The practice of extending credit to hunters began during the first half of the eighteenth century. It was in the interest of the Company to advance certain necessities to hunters who had not brought in enough furs to provide for their next winter's needs. Individual hunters did not require credit each year, and credit amounts varied in accordance with an individual's needs, as well as the Company's expectations of a hunter's potential fur supply (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Tanner, 1979).

Establishing the Trade Balance

Within the fur trade economy, the HBC had control over the extension of credit, determination of prices, types of furs desired, and the commodities they chose to exchange for furs. However, traders could not always count on the Cree to provide the numbers or types of furs for which they asked. With respect to the traders' requests for increased supplies of beaver furs, the Cree honoured their own system whereby they would always leave enough beaver breeding in order to keep the number of animals constant. The HBC adapted its business practices in order to be able to interact with the hunters' mode of supplying furs. Moreover, once the trading relationship had been

established, the company could never discontinue the practice of extending credit as the basis for the hunters' winter necessities (Feit, 1978; Francis & Morantz, 1983; Morantz, 1986; Rogers, 1965; Tanner, 1979).

Cree fur production was based on operating principles which differed from those of the HBC economy. The Cree continued to honour their traditional practices which rerognized their subsistence needs to be of primary importance to them. They adapted these subsistence practices to the trade economy. Although specific trade goods became essential accessories to the Cree and their way of life, their subsistence preferences and requirements had a controlling and balancing influence on the level of their economic involvement with the traders (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Morantz, 1986; Tanner, 1979).

Cree Social Organization and the Fur Trade

In the James Bay region, declining animal resources during the first quarter of the nineteenth century resulted in a changed pattern of HBC interaction with the Cree (Francis & Morantz, 1983). The Company identified groups of hunters with specific posts for trading purposes. This action restricted the traditional movement of some groups of Cree, and, as well, initiated the early stages of

adminstrative control in the region. While such initiatives limited hunting territorially, as has been noted earlier, a Cree system of hunting territory land use rights already existed (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Honigmann, 1964)

Over time, some macrobands were drawn to spend part or all of the summers at trading posts. These summer settlements increased in size with late nineteenth century missionary activity, which attracted more hunters to the posts for brief periods of time. Skinner's 1912 records (cited in Preston, 1981) indicated the hunters only spent two weeks at a post. Some Cree gradually undertook employment on a seasonal or temporary basis with the Company. Part-time work came to require some fluency in English: those who developed this skill became "go-betweens" for others (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Honigmann, 1964; LaRusic, 1968; Leacock, 1982; Petersen, 1974).

Although the fur trade eventually led to more stable bands and greater formal organization, it did not disrupt the basic subsistence way of life of most Cree. Hunters maintained their pattern of alternating residence: large groups gathered for short periods in the summer at a favourable site for fish and game birds, then broke up into small, isolated, closely knit kin groups for nine months of

the year. The winter hunting units continued to be the basic unit of Cree social organization (Francis & Morantz, Rogers, 1965; Tanner, 1979).

Cree Values and the Fur Trade

Their interaction with the fur traders introduced the Cree to the concept of individual ownership. Hunters received goods in exchange for furs on an individual basis. The company extended credit to hunters individually as well (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Honigmann, 1964; Rogers, 1965; Tanner, 1979).

Furs as Individual Property

Honigmann (1964) suggests that in the Cree's communal society based on a belief in shared property, the notion of individually owned furs caused conflict. The introduction of this notion to a group that honoured communal and reciprocal practices resulted in tension. This ensuing tension restricted the maximum size of cooperative winter hunting units, causing a reduction in the size of the group. Honigmann further suggests however, that the cooperative units persisted as a form of social organization, as a nuclear family unit was unable to hunt alone for reasons of mutual survival and security.

Leacock (1954) argues that smaller subsistence units may have resulted from increased trapping activity, as a smaller group required less food and could therefore provide more furs. The same researcher argues a smaller unit could have reinforced the concept of individualized ownership. As the Cree's subsistence needs continued to predominate, however, Leacock concludes their communal and reciprocal patterns and practices continued to be the basis of their way of life.

Rewards for Individual Labour

A major variation in the traditional life of a number of Cree resulted from contact with fur traders. Some members of a kin group undertook labour at a post in exchange for a wage or credit. The recompense for labour was awarded on an individual basis. Well adapted to cooperative and sharing practices, however, it was easy for hunters to accept the principle of providing their kin with subsistence food necessities in the knowledge that any material goods an individual gained through labour would also be shared (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Salisbury,1986; Scott, 1984).

Regularizing Territory Ownership

During the late nineteenth century, the HBC regularized individual hunting rights to hunting territories in an attempt to gain more control over the trade. Specifically designated family hunting territories became more apparent, both to the Cree and the HBC. Rogers (1965) argues that the individual hunting group leaders' positions were strengthened as the HBC looked upon them as owners, in the non-native sense, of their hunting territories. From the Cree perspective, however, their territories were still communally shared (Leacock, 1982).

New Leadership Values

Researchers knowledgeable about Cree interaction with the HBC suggest fairly significant Cree leaders emerged during the fur trade era. The influence of these leaders was based on the nature of their contact with non-natives. They were recognized by the traders for their ability to influence other hunters to come with them to a post. These leaders also had the ability to interact effectively with the traders. Such hunters were designated "trading captains" by the HBC and rewarded according to the number of hunters that accompanied them. They received extra brandy and tobacco, as well as articles of non-native clothing to

indicate their leadership roles (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Morantz, 1982; Preston, 1971; Rogers, 1965).

Morantz (1982) suggests that the trading captain system resulted from a combination of the two cultures' expectations of leadership. The trading captains' leadership abilities were already recognized by the hunters who accompanied them. Further, to leaders of a society that practiced reciprocity, the non-native rewards were no doubt considered fair exchange for furs.

Rogers (1965) claims there is insufficient evidence of how their fellow Cree regarded trading captains or sanctioned their positions. He argues it was essential that a hunter designated a trading captain have influence among his own people in order to attract others to come with him to the post. The abilities to speak and bargain on behalf of groups of hunters, abilities that distinguished a trading captain as useful to the HBC, attracted little influence among his fellow Cree in other circumstances (Francis & Morantz, 1983). Francis & Morantz suggest that during most of the year when the Cree were involved in their subsistence activities, a trading captain's influence was in line with his ability as a subsistence hunter.

It is suggested that some of the trading captains may well have been of mixed ancestry (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Morantz, 1982; Rogers, 1965). A significant number of individuals of mixed blood, descended from non-native fathers and native mothers, were raised in the fur trade environment. Although some accepted employment at the HBC posts, Francis & Morantz concluded many mixed bloods found "full-time employment with the Company . . . less appealing than the traditional life-style of the Indian hunter" (p. 156).

The trading captain system ended early in the nineteenth century. Francis & Morantz (1983) suggest this timing correlates with the termination of a period of intense trading rivalry for the HBC. Cree leaders no longer needed to be enticed to bring additional hunters to the post. Trading captains were again referred to as leading or principal hunters in the Company records.

At some point between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, the Cree acknowledged the fur trader as the most influential individual at a post. The Cree leadership term, "okima", was applied to the manager of a post. Although this term continued to designate Cree leaders, the Cree also used the term "okimaka'n" among

themselves, meaning "leader-like" (Honigmann, 1964; LaRusic, 1968; Rogers, 1965).

Despite Cree involvement with the fur trade economy, the most effective Cree leadership continued to be in the traditional model of social organization, where a hunter guided a group of kin in a winter hunting unit (Rogers, 1965). Even towards the end of the "Classic Fur Trade" era, Francis & Morantz (1983) argue that "their subsistence activities remained substantially unaltered" (p. 157). Once the fur trade was under way, a hunting group leader's heightened spirituality was needed more than ever to protect the territory from harm. The added necessity of strictly observing hunting territory boundaries strengthened the traditional leadership influence (Rogers).

Summary

The fur trade began with the traders' complete dependence on native practices and technology. The Cree were willing partners in the new trade and in turn grew to value and become dependent on many of the goods they received in exchange for their furs. However, their subsistence way of life restricted both the need and practicality of adopting a large proportion of non-native goods. The fur traders' economic activity was premised on

different operating principles than the communal values that characterized Cree subsistence activity. The Hudson Bay Company introduced the Cree to individualized practices; the Company accepted furs and extended credit to hunters on an individual basis.

Despite this type of interaction, the Cree retained their communal values. Although some Cree did adopt the non-native practice of wage or credit labour, the labourers' earnings and the produce of their hunting kin were of mutual benefit to one another. The Company restriction of hunters to specific posts may have inhibited the movement of some hunting groups, yet the Cree already had their own system of territorial rights and boundaries.

The Company recognized some hunters who brought others to the post with them as "Trading Captains". The Company needed these hunters' help to maintain the trade. When their help was no longer needed to the same degree, the Company abandoned both the use of, and rewards for, this leadership role. The Cree acknowledged the significance of the post manager's role and recognized him as an "okima" at the post. However, most Cree spent little time at the post.

The Cree's cultural values and practices were not undermined by the new values and practices the trade

introduced to them. As their subsistence needs always predominated over supplying furs to the traders, the Cree adapted to new practices that were necessary for participation in the trade, without forfeiting the egalitarian and communal practices and values associated with subsistence hunting. For their part, the traders could do very little to control fur productivity, and had to commit themselves to a new economic practice, extending credit to the hunters.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CREE RESPONSE TO ADMINISTRATIVE BANDS

As outlined in the preceding chapter, initial Cree interaction with non-native society was predicated on the traditional Cree way of life. The traders' main interest lay in obtaining furs. The Cree's trading activity did not alter their basic social organization. In the first decades of the twentieth century, towards the end of the "Classic Fur Trade" period, the Cree witnessed the arrival of another non-native agency: the federal government. These newcomers came to James Bay intending to change Cree social organization.

This chapter defines the administrative band structure and system, and records the Cree's initial response to the new administrative form. The new status of chief and its accompanying attributes are compared with traditional Cree leadership influence. A new emphasis on the role of administrative chief is documented.

New Social Organization for Canadian Native People

Federal Responsibility for Native People

The British government's Royal Proclamation of 1763 gave directives for both the native and non-native population of the new British territories in North America. In return for recognizing the sovereignty of the Monarch, native people could continue to occupy their land, preserve their way of life and, further, have the Monarch's "protection" (Asch, 1984; Magnuson, 1980; Salisbury, 1986).

The British North America Act of 1867, (now called the Constitution Act) elaborated on the "Monarch's protection". The Act gave the Government of Canada the exclusive right to make laws for "Indians, and Lands reserved for Indians" (Canadian Constitution, cited in Bezeau, 1984, p.38). The Crown was obliged to treat with native people for their land in return for specific rights and compensations before non-natives could settle on it (Asch, 1984; Morantz, 1986). The Indian Act of the same year provided the guidelines for native interaction with the government. As outlined earlier, the Department of Indian Affairs was established to administer the Indian Act (Asch; Bezeau; Paquette, 1987).

The Administrative Band

As the department intended to deal with the native population in community groupings rather than as individuals, it required organizational structures through which to do so. It was also necessary for each native group to have representative spokespeople with whom the department could communicate. The Indian Act therefore required native people to be organized into administrative bands, headed by elected chiefs and councillors.

A band defined a group of native people who were given the right to use either specified Crown lands or reserves. The band was to manage its affairs according to the laws of the Indian Act, with guidance from the local representative of the Department of Indian Affairs, the Indian agent. A chief and councillors were to be elected in each band for three year terms, in the ratio of one councillor for every hundred natives. Federal legislation authorized the Chief and council to act for the band as a whole. It was the intention of the Indian Act, as part of the government's "protection" towards native people, to do away with traditional leaders in favour of elected ones, in accordance with the democratic practices of Canada (Asch, 1984; Bezeau,

1984; LaRusic, 1968; Leslie & Maguire, 1978; Morantz, 1986; Price, 1979; Salisbury, 1986; Taylor, 1984).

The Cree and the New Administrative Structure

By the 1920's, neither the federal nor provincial governments had yet treated with the east coast Cree due to their geographical isolation. In 1905 the Ontario government signed Treaty 9 with the Moose Factory Cree on the west coast of the Bay. Despite the east coast Cree's lack of treaty, their close association with Moose Factory, the Hudson Bay Company's headquarters for the region, brought them into the new federal administrative structure. Federal agents were well aware of the post settlements in existence across the Bay (Morantz, 1986; Petersen, 1974).

The Department of Indian Affairs grouped together into a single administrative band the many small micro-bands that came to trade at a particular post. Those individual Cree who returned annually to the same Hudson's Bay post for the summer were designated by the federal government as members of specific bands (Honigmann, 1964; Kupferer, 1966; Salisbury, 1986). The political structure and political system the government imposed upon the Cree introduced them to a new form of social organization. Groupings of this nature did not exist in the Cree's world, nor did a word

exist for the government-imposed concept of band in the Cree vocabulary (Honigmann, Kupferer).

The Indian Agent

It was the Indian agent's responsibility to oversee the administration of the Indian Act in the native community or communities under his jurisdiction (Dunning, 1959). As mentioned earlier, in many instances the individual requested to fulfill this position was the local HBC post manager (Paine, 1971). Prior to the introduction of the band council to the Cree communities the HBC manager had performed the functions the government now required of native community members (Dunning; Kupferer, 1966).

The HBC manager was often the only non-native at a post. Even when other non-natives were in residence, missionaries or teachers, for instance, the manager usually retained the most prestige among non-native community members, due to his economic power (Honigmann, 1966). Agents were supposed to act through the chief and councillors, yet they had a considerable degree of autonomy and authority. The native population did not realize the extent to which the agent was linked to an intricate bureaucracy nor the extent to which he was controlled by

outside forces (LaRusic, 1968; Morantz, 1986; Salisbury, 1986).

The Band Council

As prescribed by the Indian Act, a formal chief and councillors were elected or appointed for each band. Accounts of the way in which the early chiefs obtained office vary: Morantz (1986) and LaRusic (1968) suggest Indian affairs agents and HBC managers were involved in the selection of chiefs. Honigmann (1964) concurs with this suggestion, but also observed adult males lining up behind their choice. Kupferer (1966) noted that the Indian agent had enough power to veto a selection made by the Cree that the agent believed to be unsuitable for his own purposes.

It took at least twenty years before bands were instituted at all the Cree trading post sites. The Fort George Cree (Chisasibi) had been designated a band and had a chief by 1920 (Morantz, 1986). However, a chief was not elected at the inland post of Mistassini until the 1940's (Tanner, 1979). At Rupert House (Waskaganish) the third incumbent was in office as chief by the mid 1960's (Kupferer, 1966).

The councillors' role, as part of the new democratic apparatus, was to act as an advisory body to the chief. Initially the Cree band councillors changed frequently. Councillors were usually senior hunters who were unable to convert their knowledge of what the people of the band needed traditionally, into the language and concepts of the federal government. Government information was circulated in English: most councillors were unilingual Cree (Rupferer, 1966; Salisbury, 1986).

Just as the term "band" had no meaning to the Cree, the band council had no significance in the native social system (Honigmann, 1964). Honigmann further argued that the government can only play a role when life depends on needs being met through large scale social interdependence. He concluded there is "little for the government to protect when each hunting unit is self sufficient" (p. 331). The responsibilities of the new council had little to do with the Cree's way of life; for the most part responsibilities were administrative. The council distributed money, government "transfer" payments, and announced federal decisions (Salisbury, 1986).

The council provided little if any opportunity for the Cree to resolve meaningful policy questions between

themselves and the government. The band structure, which was intended to teach the Cree the mechanics of modern political administration, initially taught them little (LaRusic, 1982; Salisbury, 1986).

Cree Response to the New Leadership Role

The Department of Indian Affairs not only introduced a new form of leadership to the Cree, it also introduced the concepts of authority and personal power as attributes of the role of leader. As discussed earlier, these leadership phenomena were largely unknown in the Cree's egalitarian social system (Kupferer, 1966). With reference to Canadian native people in general, Dunning (1959) observed that they neither recognized nor respected the attributes of authority and personal power that characterized this type of leadership. Native people did not value the status accompanying the privileges and duties of these new positions. The system implied political and social relationships which differed from accepted Cree social relations (Honigmann, 1966; Kupferer; Patterson, 1972).

Feit (1985) made the observation that the delegation of decision-making and authority to a single individual did not conform to Cree practices. Kupferer claimed the elected chief experienced role conflict as the native and non-native

expectations of the role of chief differed. To his fellow Cree the chief represented the Indian agent, and therefore was expected to bestow favours and resolve problems. His fellow Cree also expected some congruence between the new leader's ability to provide for them with the ability of their traditional hunting leaders (Kupferer, 1966).

From the non-native perspective, the chief was considered as an agent in indirect rule by the government, and was expected to be the messenger of the Indian agent (or the HBC manager). The Indian agent was unwilling to delegate important matters to the chief since that would strengthen the chief's status while weakening his own. The agent thwarted any influence the chief might have, causing the chief to lose status in the eyes of the community. However, non-natives did perceive the chief as the head of the community for their purposes (Honigmann, 1964; Kupferer, 1966; Morantz, 1986; Tanner, 1979).

Rogers (1965) suggests the development of the local community leadership was inhibited by the outside authority figures, the agent and/or HBC manager, who took over the function of leader. However, this outside authority figure in the new band community contributed towards maintaining the autonomy of the hunting group leaders. Leacock (1954)

noted that once introduced to the new chiefly status, native communities referred to the "government" or "outside" chief as opposed to the "real" or "inside" chiefs, the traditional hunting leaders. (p. 21) In a later study, the same researcher observed that native communities "accepted a modicum of formal leadership to deal with the outside" (1982, p. 168) Morantz (1986) concluded that for non-governmental matters, the Cree maintained their traditional social organization "quite removed from the interference of these outsiders" (p. 134).

As a result of research among the Cree in Rupert's House in the 1960's, Kupferer (1966) maintained that the only source of legitimate leadership continued to be the head of the subsistence group. In the band communities small groups of leading men carried the weight informally in the formation of public opinion on commonly shared issues. Decisions in this group of hunting leaders was reached through very informal discussions. Their attitudes would diffuse to others, but their leadership was never assertive or domineering. Honigmann (1964) observed the process through which a community not only reached concensus, but also expressed the decision as one belonging to the group as a whole: "At Rupert house, a decision reached by the

leaders to which others agree is expressed as 'the people say' and thus it becomes general policy" (p. 357).

In order for the individual holding the new chiefly status to gain prestige among his fellow band members, this new leader had to rely on the same attributes as did the hunting group leaders. Without imposing his will on others, support would eventually come to him as a result of his good example and his persuasive abilities. Further, a chief had to maintain a good relationship with the Indian agent, and learn to keep a balance between both the government's and the band's needs (Salisbury, 1986).

Adapting the Role of Chief to the Needs of the Cree

Elected Cree chiefs learned to use their new administrative skills to the advantage of their communities. For example, by the 1930s illegal hunting by non-natives had depleted the beaver stock and caused the Cree's harvesting system to break down. In the following decade, the Fort George chief used his new administrative knowledge to pressure the provincial government to establish a beaver preserve in order to replenish the limited stock in his band's hunting territories (Morantz, 1986).

Despite eventual beaver preserves in most bands' hunting territories, however, the beaver population almost became extinct. In the 1940s the federal government began distributing limited transfer payments to the Cree hunters because of their inadequate harvests. These payments were distributed through the band council and used to improve hunting efficiency (Feit, 1982).

More opportunities for part time employment for hunters became available after the second World War, due to increased federal government activity relating to health, education and commercial development. Federal government provision of services became the main source of wage employment in the band communities (Dunning, 1959; Salisbury, 1986). In the 1960s, changing world economic conditions, which resulted in higher costs for the Cree's new necessities, forced many Cree to accept more permanent positions in wage labour (Feit, 1982).

An administrative chief gradually gained more prestige through such activities as controlling the allocation of housing, delegating employment in housing construction, and issuing transfer payments (Salisbury, 1986; Tanner, 1979). The corporate integration of bands and the Cree's sense of identity as band members was strengthened by community

enterprises based on loans from the Department of Indian Affairs. Enterprises were such as saw-mills, commercial fishing and canoe manufacturing (LaRusic, 1982; Salisbury, 1986).

However, continuing government financial assistance also helped the Cree to maintain subsistence hunting. Not only did the government occasionally support hunting directly, but other government payments affected hunting as well. The credit system with the HBC evolved to include the use of the distributed welfare, family allowance and pension cheques as backing for credit (Salisbury, 1986; Tanner, 1979).

The Band Chief and the Cree's Future Survival

By the mid 1960s, in keeping with other native communities nationwide, Cree communities began to elect a new breed of chief: the young, bilingual community members who had been sent south for their formal schooling. Their ability to communicate with non-natives was a source of prestige among their fellow Cree. As well as being at ease in the non-native world, in which they had received formal schooling, these Cree had less developed hunting skills. They had foregone the necessary years of traditional

learning that would have enabled them to become full-time hunters.

When, in the early 1970s, Cree hunters became aware of the Quebec government's interest in damming their rivers and flooding their hunting lands, they turned to these chiefs, who were more familiar with the non-native value system, to act as their spokespeople. They were the only members of Cree society able to articulate their native concern over the impending James Bay hydro project to non-native society members (Feit, 1985; LaRusic et al., 1979; Salisbury, 1986).

Realizing a united front was required in order to mount opposition to the proposed hydro project, these young leaders took initiatives to apprise their fellow Cree of the necessity of shared action. Through their discussions with the membership of individual Cree communities, these leaders gained acceptance of the concept of regional representation for the eight Cree bands (Feit, 1985; Salisbury, 1986).

These elected chiefs were a new form of Cree broker (Feit, 1982). Previous Cree spokespeople had represented the economic interests of their fellow Cree: these spokespeople were representing the Cree's political rights. They continued to be the Cree brokers throughout the negotiations leading up to the James Bay Agreement. As

mentioned earlier, the basis of the agreement was the continuing legitimacy of subsistence hunting and trapping, with the necessity of an adequate land base for the pursuit of those activities (Feit; LaRusic et al., 1979; Salisbury, 1976).

In the early 1970s at the time of the hydro project negotiations, 50% of the Cree were full time hunters and nearly all were engaged in part time hunting (Feit). The other 50% were part-time labourers and transfer payment recipients. Cree subsistence activities were formally recognized and financially supported by means of various hunting-related programs stipulated in the JBNQA. One such program, the Income Security Program for Cree Hunters, Trappers and Fishermen (ISP) guaranteed an annual income to all intensive hunters. In order to qualify for the program, hunters must spend a minimum of ninety days in the bush (JBNQA, 1976, p. 437).

The ISP was introduced at a time when the expanding incomes of the Cree wage earners could have led to a break down in their egalitarian reciprocal practices; this might have resulted in permanent stratification in Cree society (Scott, 1984). Scott claims the program can be seen as a "secularization" of traditional land management, while at

the same time maintaining the meaning of hunting and land use practices. As they are able to continue their traditional subsistence activities, the Cree also continue to observe the values associated with those activities. Non-hunting families readily reciprocate for food gifts from the hunters with gifts of cash, or, especially among close kin, articles and equipment needed for hunting (Salisbury, 1986; Scott).

Under their new regional administration, Cree society continues to be egalitarian despite increasing differences in employment, lifestyle and cash income. For example, Cree administrators are not paid at rates equivalent to those paid in non-Cree areas, in order to keep the job status difference at a minimum (Salisbury, 1986). Hunting groups composed of two or three families are disappearing in favour of trapping partnerships, yet as outlined above, hunters continue to grant and exchange the privilege of hunting territory use, while both hunters and wage earners continue to exchange the material results of their activity (Salisbury, 1986; Scott, 1984).

Summary

The Canadian government brought the Cree within the framework of its administrative system through the

imposition of administrative bands. The band structure and the role and responsibilities of an elected chief initially were insignificant to the Cree and their way of life. The Cree did not recognize the new leadership influence and the non-native leadership attributes. Despite the imposition of administrative bands, the Cree continued their subsistence practices, which supported the role of their traditional leaders.

It is suggested that government influence, through the person of the Indian agent, inhibited the effectiveness of local elected chiefs as leaders for the Cree. The Cree continued to make decisions with respect to their communal welfare in their traditional, consensual manner. Over time, increased federal intervention and expenditure strengthened the role of the chief through his responsibilities for issuing funds and assigning jobs. Eventually, individual chiefs developed the skills necessary to understand and interact with the non-native value system while at the same time, maintaining influence among their fellow band members.

By the 1970s, young Cree who were familiar with non-native values due to their formal schooling in the non-native system, adapted their new knowledge to negotiate the continuance of subsistence hunting. These contemporary

brokers represented a new breed of chief who were no longer agents of one way transmission from the government to the Cree. They were able to articulate successfully to non-native agencies the importance to the Cree of preserving their subsistence practices. The James Bay Agreement resulted in a new way of life for the Cree which reflects two value systems. Within their new regional society, the daily activities of Cree society members reflect the values of traditional Cree society and at the same time, the values of contemporary non-native society.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Summary, Discussion and Findings

Using the historical method, this thesis sought to determine the distinguishing values and practices of James Bay Cree culture, and to discover in what ways the Cree succeeded in maintaining and adapting these values and practices despite prolonged interaction with the members and institutions of non-native society. This research was prompted by recent changes in the relationship between Cree society and the surrounding non-native society, one result of which has been Cree participation in the formal school system of the province of Quebec. Among other benefits and obligations, this new involvement has required the members of Cree society to undertake policy-making responsibilities in each community as school committee members.

It is suggested by this researcher that effective policy-making in the Cree's school committees will

accomodate the distinguishing cultural values and practices of Cree society. For the Cree, effective school committee policy-making may require adaptation between their own cultural practices and those practices required for participation in the Quebec school committee. A knowledge of their cultural values and practices and how they have been maintained and adapted by the Cree will contribute to an appreciation of the process of Cree school committee policy-making. As stated above, an awareness of the degree to which Cree social interaction practices, a reflection of Cree ideology, constrain or enhance their educational policy-making, could contribute to a more effective process for the Cree.

In accordance with Gay's (1976) assertion with respect to the historical method, it was hoped historical data would assist this researcher in arriving at conclusions with respect to the past events and circumstances of Cree life which might help to explain contemporary events. It was found that research data illustrated the way in which a distinct Cree culture evolved from both environmental conditions and Cree ideology. Cree ideology was conditioned by, and at the same time, a reflection of, the way in which the Cree perceived and responded to their environment. Their ideology was manifested in distinct cultural spiritual values and practices, which included reciprocal kinship

relationships not only with one another but also with the animals on which their survival depended.

Cree subsistence hunting practices exhibited the society's egalitarian values. Although individual autonomy was respected, both the type of hunting and their environmental conditions necessitated that the Cree's subsistence activity be undertaken in small groups. The winter hunting group of two to five closely related families was the main social organizaton unit. As indicated by documentors of Cree practices, although each group was lead by the best hunter who gained his influence through example, the interdependence of group members was essential to Cree survival. Group interaction was therefore characterized by communal values, exemplified in the practices of consensus, reciprocity and shared land use.

Data from such researchers as Honigmann (1964), Francis and Morantz (1983), and Rogers (1965) indicated that summer subsistence activity resulted in an alternate form of social organization. Loosely structured macrobands gathered for fishing in favourable locations. Contact era non-natives noted certain individuals who appeared to be leaders and who acted as spokespeople on behalf of their fellow Cree.

When the Cree began to trade with non-natives in the seventeenth century, they "produced" their furs for trade

within the context of their traditional activity: they did not differentiate between hunting for their subsistence needs and hunting for trade exchange. Although the produce of their land was valued, it was the Cree themselves who harvested the furs, and as research data have indicated, to a very large extent on their own terms. The traders did not establish large headquarters or communities in Cree territory and many furs could be channelled into the market through a single representative of non-native society. Therefore the land itself, and the values and practices associated with both Cree land use and its accompanying social organization, were not exposed to non-native influences on a large scale, and remained virtually unaltered.

The Cree recognized the significance of the non-native post manager in calling him "okima". This designation did not necessarily indicate they saw this trader as one of their leaders. However, within the trading frame of reference, that is, within the world of the trading post and its non-native value system, he was the leader, the "okima". In so naming the post manager, the Cree acknowledged the existence of another society and its accompanying values.

Although the Cree received non-native articles in trade they adapted them to their customary practices. They augmented their diet with bannock and tea, used kettles

instead of the stomachs of their game animals, twine instead of roots or animal sinews, and guns instead of bows and arrows. Nonetheless, they continued to undertake their subsistence activities in the same manner, within the framework of their traditional practices characterized by communal values.

The Cree and the Hudson Bay Company traders represented two different societies and two different value systems. The fur traders represented a system in which, unlike the Cree's, spheres of human interaction were differentiated from one another. In the traders' value system, although interrelated, economic, political and social activity could be distinguished as separate units of action. When individual members of Cree society began to undertake labour at the posts for wages or credit, they were interacting with the traders' non-native, differentiated value system.

These Cree undertook labour in exchange for produce that was not the actual "fruit" of their labour. The Cree labourers did, however, incorporate their produce or earnings into their way of life: credit or wage was "applied to" goods and supplies that had become integrated into their kin groups' subsistence practices. The two value systems overlapped here: labourers at the posts were operating concurrently within the separate frameworks of two different societies. However, these Cree incorporated a

practice representing the non-native value system, labour in exchange for payment, into their own practices. Cree practices supported the interdependence of group members.

Cree hunters who were designated as trading captains interacted with the non-native value system in a more complex fashion than did the post labourers. Data from Francis and Morantz (1983) illustrated how these roles represented the two different societies' values and concepts of leadership. Trading captains were "rewarded" by the traders with a non-native title as well as non-native articles of clothing. As an illustration of Cohen's (1974) discussion of the distinguishing characteristics of culture, their clothing rewards symbolized a change in social relations for these hunters with both the traders and their fellow Cree: their acknowledgement of these rewards increased the range of possible interpersonal relationships for the captains.

Trading captains were further differentiated from their fellow Cree since the concept of "reward" was not part of the Cree value system, although reciprocal exchange was valued and accepted. The captains received "articles in exchange" or "rewards" for their intangible, or non-material leadership ability in influencing other hunters to accompany them. However, so far as sources indicated, this non-native appointment held little significance in the value system of

the Cree. Nonetheless, the trading captain system was a noteworthy example of the way in which non-natives sought out individual Cree with whom they interacted.

Within the context of their fur trade activity, the Cree did not substitute new values and practices for their own, but accomodated them and adapted them to their way of life. The Cree thereby encompassed more within their cultural frame of reference, yet their own traditional values and practices remained as its basis. Within the Cree world, economic, political and social activity continued to be inseparable. As an example of Siegel's (1974) claim with respect to traditional learning, ongoing traditional practices reinforced the Cree understanding of the relatedness of all activity within the same sphere.

The federal government presented another set of values to the Cree. The government introduced a system of social organization which required them to differentiate among themselves in a new way. As part of their response to the imposition of administrative bands, the Cree were asked to recognize the value of a new leadership role that was quite unrelated to their traditional way of life.

This leadership role and its concommitant form of social organization, however, could only be in effect when the individual Cree constituting an administrative band were

assembled together at their assigned trading post, the administrative band headquarters. As they were dispersed in their hunting groups for most of the year, the new form of social organization and its accompanying leadership initially had little effect on traditional Cree organization and practices. The administrative band structure was visible to the federal government and its agents for their purposes, but to the Cree, it was invisible. It was only by the late 1940s, when economic conditions forced more Cree to undertake employment at the post in government services, that the band structure began to have some recognizable significance in the lives of the Cree.

As the non-native administrative system began to play a role in their survival, the Cree increasingly acknowledged it. Elected chiefs, who were initially ineffective in their new roles, both in their own and in their fellow Cree's assessment, learned the skills necessary to interact effectively with both the Indian agent and band members concurrently. As with the trading captains, these elected chiefs were fulfilling roles in both the native and non-native value systems. Yet unlike the trading captains, these chiefs could no longer be full-time hunters. Their new duties encompassed activities that were unrelated to the activity required for traditional Cree survival, subsistence hunting. They were performing an important function for

their fellow Cree, however, as connecting links between native and non-native society.

Through their formal schooling in non-native society, a few young Cree began to gain first-hand knowledge of the non-native value system. These Cree applied their new knowledge in negotiating the continuing existence of the Cree's traditional subsistence activity with members of non-native society. Their knowledge of the non-native value system was used by these brokers to ensure the way of life that constituted the basis for the Cree's cultural values and practices.

The necessity to continuing Cree survival of ongoing interaction with the outside world has legitimized a new way of life for some Cree, that of full time brokers between their own and non-native society. As data from Rogers (1965) and Leacock (1983) indicated, initial Cree interaction with the non-native world was carried out by those spokespeople recognized by contact era visitors. Trading captains and elected chiefs continued to act as intermediaries between the two societies. Despite increased and multiple responsibilities, however, the fundamental role of the broker has remained the same: to articulate the consensus of their fellow Cree to others.

As this thesis has shown, the traditional cultural values and practices of Cree society continue to define a way of life that remains uniquely theirs. Cree cultural survival depends on the Cree's ability to accomodate non-native society through adapting its values and practices to their own. Data illustrating Cree interaction with both the fur trade economy and the administrative system of the federal government have exemplified the Cree's ability to accomodate new practices and values within the framework of their own culture. Continuing their subsistence activities permitted the Cree to maintain their traditional social cohesion. Despite their adaptations, as Feit (1982), Salisbury (1986) and Scott (1984) have illustrated, the social relations and values of the traditional Cree way of life remained, allowing for cultural continuity at both the material and social levels of their society. Based on the evidence of these findings, it is proposed, in accordance with Barzun and Graff's (1977) claim, that Cree culture will continue to survive as society members accomodate and adapt in the same way.

Their contemporary society reflects the Cree vision: a society that expresses the values of a distinct Cree culture through the practices related both to their traditional activities and to those of their contemporary regional structure. As their means of survival become more complex,

Cree society members are, at the same time, presented with new opportunities to further and strengthen their community interdependence. Their formal school system offers them such an opportunity.

The discussion of the Quebec school committee illustrated the necessity for committee members not only to develop a sense of a "common cause", but to learn to resolve policy issues in a consensual manner. The Ministry of Education felt obliged to set up workshops for Quebec parents to teach them the mechanics of small group participation, including how to reach group consensus. As data have indicated, educational researchers such as Henripin (1978) and Picard (1983) were concerned that their customary acceptance of delegated decisions would inhibit parents' abilities to adapt to their new policy-making responsibilities. Primeau (1979) and Chagnon (1980) agreed the existence of common interests was essential to reciprocal confidence and group consensus.

As the data presented in this thesis have indicated, these fundamentals of school committee policy-making are essential components in the traditional survival practices of the Cree. In requiring them to come together in small groups and make decisions about their survival, the school committee format offers the Cree additional opportunities for furthering their traditional comminity interdependence.

Small group policy-making, reflecting the communal values of reciprocity, consensus and shared "ownership", is a culturally specific social process for the Cree. They are well used to "choosing and evaluating the relevance of available knowledge" in order to follow "a definite course of action" (p. 23, above).

As suggested earlier, effective school committee policy-making for the Cree would incorporate their own practices with those required by the committee format. Research data have indicated that school committee policy-making will undoubtedly be relevant to the Cree as the process reflects both their own social interaction practices as well as those required by the Quebec formal school system. Based on the evidence presented in this thesis, it is suggested that Cree community members are very well suited, perhaps more so than other Quebec citizens, to undertake the responsibilities of school committee policy-making.

This thesis is intended to contribute to a better understanding of Cree educational policy-making, by both the native and non-native participants in the Cree formal school system. It is hoped the thesis has substantiated Cohen and Manion's (1980) claim with respect to the historical method, and provided an "increased understanding of the relationship between education and the culture in which it operates".

Moreover, if members of non-native society become increasingly aware of the role played by native cultural practices in native society members' policy-making, the insights gained from this awareness can be applied in instances of mutual policy-making shared by natives and non-natives in both educational and non-educational spheres.

Recommendations for Future Research

The data provided by this thesis could provide the basis for an ethnographic study of Cree community participation in school committee policy-making. The school committee process would be observed in several communities in order to record the role played by the Cree's communal cultural values and practices in their policy-making. Analysis of the resultant research data would provide an understanding of the realities of Cree participation in this process. Such an understanding could give rise to a theory concerning Cree school committee policy-making.

Further research could also focus on the policy-making of Cree school board members. The data presented in response to Research Questions 2 and 3 of this thesis could be applied to an analysis of the provincially required school board policy-making process. If the required provincial procedures appear to be incompatible with Cree cultural values and practices, both the provincial and Cree

procedures could be modified and adapted to bring about a more effective process for the Cree. An ethnographic study of school board policy-making might also be undertaken, which could result in a theory concerning that process. The educational policy-making of other societies may ultimately become more effective through applying similar research procedures in their own communities.

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