W8banakiak Guides, Intergenerational Transmission, and Cultural Resilience: Experiencing Land and Knowledge in Odanak

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This is to certify that the thesis

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Abstract

W8banakiak guides, Intergenerational Transmission and Cultural Resilience: Experiencing Land and Knowledge in Odanak

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This dissertation stems from collaborative research between the W8banaki Nation and me, presenting the relationship between land and knowledge through the guiding experiences of W8banakiak elders.

The thesis draws on oral history interviews that invited W8banaki narrators to share their memories and thoughts on fishing, hunting, their relationship to their elders, their relationship to the land, their experiences of guiding in private clubs, their relationships with club members, and the ways knowledge of the land and Indigenous culture was transmitted to them. At the heart of this study lie ten solo interviews and two group interviews conducted between 2021 and 2024. The Ndakina Office generously gave me access to seven oral history solo interviews with W8banakiak elders they had recorded in 2021. To this, I conducted and recorded 3 solo interviews and two groups interviews. The interviews I recorded were with W8banakiak elders, their relatives, Ndakina Land Guardians and members of the Ndakina Office, where we spoke about guiding history and its meaning for the W8banaki Nation.

Adopting decolonial paradigms and collaborative research methodologies, this project illustrates the continuation of W8banaki knowledge and wisdom of the land through the intergenerational transmission of knowledge that demonstrates cultural resilience against colonial and capitalistic pressures. Oral history interviews, collaboration and sharing authority is embedded into this project's throughout its various steps, where narrators and collaborators were invited and welcomed to reflect on its content and methodology from start to finish. Although guiding is no longer practiced in Odanak's community, the elders and their relatives interviewed detail the fond memories of times spent in the woods while connecting to the land. This research leads me to affirm that the perpetuation of intergenerational knowledge transmission of the land, transcending colonial pressures and imperial territorial administrations, contributed to a sense of community, belonging and cultural resilience amongst the W8banaki Nation.

Note from the GNWA

« Le Conseil tribal W8banaki tient à mentionner que le contenu de ce mémoire ne représente en rien le point de vue de la Nation W8banaki ni de ses membres, mais uniquement celui de son auteur. »

Acknowledgement and Dedication

I would like to thank the trust of the W8banaki Nation and the Ndakina Office, specifically David Bernard and Edgar Blanchet, who both contributed valuable insights for this research. As well, this research would have not been possible without the elders, sharing stories with such enthusiasm and passion. I hope that our relationships will surpass the end of this thesis and our paths cross again!

The ongoing support of my supervisors, Dr Barbara Lorenzkowski and Dr Gavin Taylor, was also of great help. Both encouraged me to go further in my understanding and analysis of the knowledge shared by the narrators of this project. Specifically, the presented result of this research is due to Dr Lorenzkowski's thorough revision and guidance.

Lastly, I would like to thank my partner, with whom I was able to reflect on my own process as a researcher and my place in academia, way before this project started.

My research and the following thesis were shared with the W8banaki Nation's Research and Ethics Committee prior to the thesis defense and submission for a graduate degree. In the months following the formal submission of this thesis, I will transmit to the Ndakina Office and the W8abanki First Nation a French version, to favour dissemination of our findings. As for future communications, the Ndakina Office, interviewees and the W8banaki Nation will be informed beforehand and invited to participate in the publication of articles or conference presentation if they so wish. This research and all related acts of communication seek not only to bring forward the stories of the elders and the importance of intergenerational transmission of knowledge and culture, but also to actively perpetuate its transmission to future generations.

I would like to thank my collaborators and narrators once more; this research would not have been possible without their generosity and warm welcome. This thesis is dedicated to them, their families, and the Odanak community.

Kchi Wilwni.

We would like to begin by acknowledging that Concordia University is located on unceded Indigenous lands. The Kanien'kehá:ka Nation is recognized as the custodians of the lands and waters on which we gather today. Tiohtià:ke/Montréal is historically known as a gathering place for many First Nations. Today, it is home to a diverse population of Indigenous and other peoples. We respect the continued connections with the past, present and future in our ongoing relationships with Indigenous and other peoples within the Montreal community.[1]

Concordia University, Territorial Acknowledgment.

I study, work and live in Molian/Tiohtià:ke/Montréal. I recognize the destructive impact of colonization, its persistent systemic injustices and work actively to deconstruct and understand its modern impacts. This project forms part of these efforts, as it demonstrates the essential relationships between Indigenous communities, the Indigenous wealth of knowledge, and connection to the land, ultimately advocating for decolonized ways of knowing.

Zachary Corbeil, Territorial Acknowledgement.

When listeners know where the storyteller is coming from and how the story fits into the storyteller's life, it makes the absorption of the knowledge that much easier.[2]

Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony* (2008).

[1] Concordia land acknowledgment, https://www.concordia.ca/indigenous/resources/territorial-acknowledgement.html.
[2] Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony* (Halifax, Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2008).: 32.

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Introduction & Methodology

I am a non-Indigenous researcher, born and raised in southern Quebec. Both of my parents are of European descent, with Belgian ancestors on my mother's side and French on my father's. I came to work on this project by serendipity and consider myself immensely fortunate to have been offered this opportunity. While doing my B.A. in history, I took a seminar titled *Introduction to Indigenous Law* at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQÀM). One of the readings was authored by Aimée Craft, an Indigenous scholar and law professor at the University of Ottawa. In her article, she theorized a potential methodology to reinterpret the Numbered Treaties between the Indigenous Peoples and the Canadian Government.[1] To do so, Craft explained how historical studies should be conducted to indigenize the centuries-old documents, based on First Nations' understanding at the time of the negotiations, according to Indigenous historical legal systems. The project was meant to advocate for land claims and reparations from the Canadian government for centuries of genocidal policies. It was Craft's intervention that taught me the importance of historical research in aiding contemporary social justice activists and Indigenous communities. I have since wanted to work on multi-legal systems, territoriality, treaties, land, and cultural claims. Inspired by her work, I started to envision an M.A. research project. When I reached out to potential supervisors, I was referred to David Bernard, of the W8banaki Nation, then acting as the Ndakina Office's research coordinator. At the time, he was looking for a history graduate student to work on a research project that touched on many of the questions I had hoped

[1] Aimée Craft, "Living Treaties, Breathing Research," *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 26 (2014): 1-22, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/543906.

to explore. It needs to be mentioned that this project is a first for me in many ways. This was my first independent, original research project in academia; the first time I engaged in collaborative research; the first time I worked in partnership with Indigenous Peoples; and the first time I navigated the centrality of research relationships in my work.

According to the W8banaki Nation's official internet page, entitled "History of the Nation," the "W8banakiak occupied vast forested areas in what is now southern Quebec, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, as well as parts of Massachusetts and New Brunswick. This vast area forms the Ndakina, . . . the ancestral territory of the W8banaki Nation."[2] Historical studies, as well, describe the ancestral homeland of the W8banaki as stretching from "the geographical sector of the Atlantic coastline, from North Carolina to Acadia."[3] The Nation's official website adds that "in keeping with their semi-nomadic lifestyle, many people gathered along lakes or rivers in the spring and summer before dispersing inland in the fall and winter, where they hunted in small family groups."[4] The Nation counted around "32 000 people in Maine and New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia [in 1600 A.D.]"[5] Like many other Indigenous Peoples, "the [W8banakiak] were part of a centuries-old trade network."[6] They had multiple relations with other Indigenous nations and colonial forces, of both a diplomatic and economic nature. As the W8banaki Curriculum Committee held in 1989, the Nation's "real wealth

[2] GCNWA, "History of the Nation," 2024, https://gcnwa.com/en/history-of-the-nation/. [consulted in April 2024]
[3] Paul-André Sevigny, *Les Abénaquis: Habitats et migrations (17 et 18 siècle)* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1976)., p.23.
[4] GCNWA, "History of the Nation." [consulted in April 2024]
[5] Ibid.
[6] Curriculum Commitee W8banaki, "The Wabanakis of Maine and the Maritimes: A Resource Book about Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Micmac and Abenaki Indians," (American Friends Service Commitee, 1989). https://archive.org/details/ERIC_ED393621., p.23.

. . . was not in things but in spiritual wealth, as well as in relationships of trust."[7] Today, the W8banaki Nation of the province of Quebec is divided into two main reserves: Odanak and Wôlinak. According to the 2021 Canadian census, 481 W8banakiak are living in Odanak[8] while 194 live in Wôlinak.[9] Provincial statistics further indicate that over 3,000 W8banakiak are living in Quebec.[10]

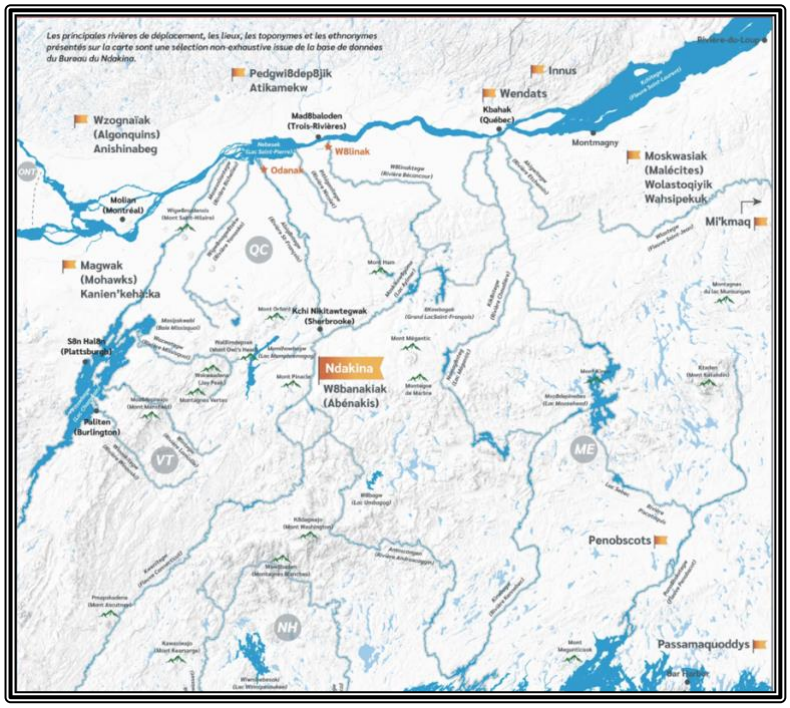

Fig. 1 : Map of the Ndakina, ancestral territory of the W8banaki Nation – situating Odanak and Wôlinak. GCNWA, "History of the Nation", https://gcnwa.com/en/history-of-the-nation/.

In keeping with the collaborative research ethos of this project, I asked the W8banaki Nation for guidance as to the kind of research that would benefit their nation.

[7] Ibid, p.24.
[8] "Focus on Geography Series, 2021 Census of Population - Odanak, Indian reserve," 2021, accessed August 2024, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/as-sa/fogs-spg/Page.cfm?lang=F&topic=1&dguid=2021A00052450802. [consulted in September 2024]
[9] "Focus on Geography Series, 2021 Census of Population - Wôlinak, Indian reserve," 2021, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/as-sa/fogs-spg/page.cfm?Lang=E&topic=1&dguid=2021A00052438802. [consulted in September 2024]
[10] "La Nation Abénaquise," updated 15 novembre 2024, https://www.quebec.ca/gouvernement/portrait-quebec/premieres-nations-inuits/profil-des-nations/abenaquis. [consulted in September 2024]

The topic proposed by David Bernard on around the hunting grounds and hunting practices of the W8banakiak. The Ndakina Office was already in the process of reaching out to the few hunting guides still living in Odanak. Indeed, researchers of the Ndakina Office, David Bernard and Edgar Blanchet, had video-recorded solo interviews with W8banakiak elders in their respective living rooms in 2021. The intent here was to gain a better understanding of the cultural impact of private non-Indigenous fishing and hunting on w8banaki lands as well as the relationships between W8banakiak guides and white sport fishers and hunters in the mid-twentieth century, who had arranged their expeditions on w8banaki lands through private fishing and hunting clubs.

By drawing on this collection of seven video-taped oral history interviews with guides from the W8banaki Nation, complemented by the field notes anthropologist Alfred I. Hallowell produced in the 1920s and 1930s as part of his research into Indigenous land distribution and community systems, this study seeks to investigate the intergenerational transmission of land knowledge and hunting practices among the W8banakiak. Through their testimonies, elders expressed the significance of the land teachings they had received as young children and teenagers, their relationship to non-Indigenous club members and guiding experiences, and the knowledge they sought to impart to younger generations. The following pages seek to establish the importance of the intergenerational transmission of knowledge and cultural practices as pillar concepts of this research, followed by a statement on my own research paradigms and epistemological approach; the methodology adopted in this work that is anchored in oral history; a word on collaborators and narrators, and, finally, the centrality of weaving relationships in both past and present.

Transmission of Knowledge and Relationships: A Narrative Thread

Indigenous writer Shawn Wilson has underlined the importance of relationships in Indigenous research and Indigenous epistemologies. As Wilson holds, "identity for Indigenous peoples is grounded in their relationships with the land, with their ancestors who have returned to the land and with future generations who will come into being on the land."[11] Wilson and other Indigenous scholars define relationships as a crucial pillar of Indigenous realities and paradigms – whether those relationships are with the land, with non-human or human beings, with the living or the non-living. Relationships will therefore be the pillar of the analysis in this study. In a very similar vein, Piita Irniq writes of the Inuit of Nunavut for whom hunting and gathering form part of their cultural identity, as they "are observers of land and waters looking for animals and fish."[12] As a cultural practice, hunting is entwined with seasonal rituals and traditions, communal experiences of nature, the wealth of natural resources, and celebrations of animal migrations.[13] The Inuit, too, were sharing their knowledge of the land through families and generations according to their own cultural codes and practices: the building of Inuksuit ("rocks piled on top of each other to imitate an Inuit"[14]) for example, "tell the story of where [they] have been."[15] Similar to the Inuit peoples, the W8banakiak hunters were transmitting their knowledge and culture of the land through generations, as interviews with the hunting guides illustrates. Echoing Isabelle Bouchard's contribution to *Family and Justice in the Archives: Historical Perspectives on Intimacy and the Law*,

[11] Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*., p.80.
[12] Piita Irniq, "The staying force of Inuit Knowledge," in *Being Indigenous - Perspectives on Activism, Culture, Language and Identity* (New York, London: Routledge, 2019)., p.57.
[13] Ibid., p.58.
[14]Irniq, "The staying force of Inuit Knowledge.", p.61.
[15] Ibid.

we seek to understand how intergenerational transmission strategies adopted by the W8banakiak guides favored cultural resilience and land knowledge to future generations.[16]

In his study *Home is the Hunter*, historian Hans Carlson examines the reshaping of the landscape in James Bay, describing both the environmental and cultural impacts for the Indigenous peoples of the region between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries. His work seeks to uncover how Indigenous and European/colonial cultures evolved in relation to the land, analyzing "its entire multidimensional web of beings . . . : peoples, animals, plants, earth."[17] He describes territories as "narrative spaces"[18] in and from which Indigenous peoples take, create, and nurture stories. Indigenous hunters, according to Carlson, were "cultivating" both the land and these "narrative spaces" that were rich in relationships with non-human beings.[19] Such lands and ancestral practices therefore are important vectors of cultural identity in Indigenous communities. Throughout this study, we will trace the W8banakiak's relationships with transmitted knowledge, the land, and their ancestral hunting grounds.

This study stands on the shoulders of multiple Indigenous and decolonial thinkers who have demonstrated how imperialism and colonialism are embedded in western historical studies, greatly affecting its narrated content. The writing of early western scholars was infused with oppressive prejudice and ideologies of White supremacy that reduced non-White people to archetypes – a dynamic that Edward Said theorized as the

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[16] Isabelle Bouchard, "Land Ownership and Inheritance among the Abenaki of Odanak: the Process of Family Reproduction in the Gill Household," in *Family and justice in the archives : historical perspectives on intimacy and the law*, ed. Peter Gossage and Lisa Moore (Montreal: Concordia University Press, 2024).
[17] Hans M. Carlson, *Home is the hunter: The James Bay Cree and Their Land.* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008)., p.11.
[18] Ibid., p.17
[19] Carlson, *Home is the hunter: The James Bay Cree and Their Land.*, p.17.

process of othering.[20] In her groundbreaking work *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith reminds us that the people who "wrote history . . . were all men from a certain class and race, [creating what was considered to be the norm]."[21] The author posits that the discipline of history has been theorized on nine false premises :

1. The idea that history is a totalizing discourse.
2. The idea that there is universal history.
3. The idea that history is one large chronology.
4. The idea that history is about development.
5. The idea that history is about a self-actualizing human subject.
6. The idea that the story of history can be told in one coherent narrative.
7. The idea that history as a discipline is innocent.
8. The idea that history is constructed around binary categories.
9. The idea that history is patriarchal. [22]

Challenged by Indigenous, intersectional, and decolonial scholars, these premises have been revealed to be both flawed and oppressive. Yet, these premises continue to inform western epistemologies, to the benefit of dominant western society: "in this way, scientific knowledge, combined with superior economic and military power, granted the global North the imperial domination of the world in the modern era."[23] Tuhiwai Smith's study demonstrates that colonial methodologies, as tools, are a source of power and control. Inspired by poet and activist Audre Lorde, the author wrote: "the master's tools

[20] Edward Said, *L'Orientalism - l'Orient créé par l'Occident.* , trans. Catherine Malamoud, 3 ed., ed. Éditions du Seuil (Penguin Books, 2005, 1978).
[21] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 3 ed. (Great Britain: ZED, 2021, 1999)., p.36.
[22] Ibid., p.33-34.
[23] Boaventura Sousa Santos, *The end of the cognitive empire: the coming of age of the epistemologies of the South* (Duke University Press, 2018)., p.6.

of colonization will not work to decolonize what the master built."[24] It is crucial that historians analyze every aspect of the research process to distance themselves from oppressive epistemologies that contribute to social injustice. Historian David B. MacDonald concurs: "Dominant narratives can exert a severe toll on Indigenous peoples, whose own experiences often stand at odds with how the settler governments wishes itself to be seen. Conflicts over meaning and memory often develop when those promoting a conservative view of the nation, and its founding denounce new narratives as disloyal and distorted portrayals of the past."[25] Viewing the founding myths of western societies through a decolonial lens aims to reestablish a narrative and epistemological frame meant to promote reparation, justice, and liberation from centuries of oppression.

Contested and decolonial histories are bringing light to the imperial past of genocidal states by valorizing alternate narratives and adopting sensitive methodologies and epistemologies. Tuhiwai Smith wrote that holding such knowledge has "pedagogical implications . . . transforming our colonized views of our own history."[26] Indigenous and decolonial scholars are challenging the ways academic disciplines established a singular and narrow pathway to valid knowledge. They are motivated by recreating histories, decentralizing ways of knowing, and bringing to the forefront alternative interpretations. As Tuhiwai Smith has suggested, pushing back against hierarchical classification of knowledge deconstructs the control over marginalized communities' perspectives, granting them the power to reclaim their narratives.

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[24] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*., p.22.
[25] Andrew Woolford, *Canada and Colonial Genocide* (New York: Routledge, 2016)., p.93.
[26] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*., p.38.

To this end, scholars can take various paths, including community-based research, collaborative research, community-action research, transdisciplinary research, and public scholarship. These alternative methodologies are bringing the voices and needs of marginalized populations to the centre of critical inquiry. As Isabel Araiza, sociologist and public scholar, asserts in the *Oxford Handbook of Methods for Public Scholarship*, "public scholars seek to illuminate structural forces that produce issues that communities face . . . in such a way that our work becomes part of a solution – creating a more just society."[27] Ethics, accountability, and epistemic justice are central to their approach – as they are to this project.

Paul Wattez has reflected at length on decolonizing and collaborative approaches to research and acknowledged the multiplicity of voices, opinions, ideas, and methodological approaches that underpin the very ethos of collaborative work. Such work is not free of tensions or conflict, on the contrary. As Wattez holds, this discomfort, brought out by "la confrontation des perspectives [n'est pas] un inconvénient, mais une opportunité d'éprouver l'inter-subjectivité en tant que processus d'interaction entre sujet et objet, égo et alter selon une dynamique de construction, destruction et reconstruction imprégnée de paradoxes et d'ambigüités."[28] Wattez speaks of collaboration in three ways: "1) s'impliquer, 2) entrer en relation et 3) se laisser affecter."[29] In his view, these three axes can act as guidelines throughout a collaborative research journey. They should be

[27] Isabel Araiza, "Chapter 5: Ethical Issues Working with Vulnerable Populations," in *The Oxford Handbook of Methods for Public Scholarship* (Oxford Academic, 2019)., p.79.
[28] Paul Wattez, "Chapitre 1 – S'impliquer, entrer en relation et se laisser affecter. Trois postures collaboratives d'une ethnographie en voie de radicalisation et de décolonisation avec les Iyiniwch de Waswanipi," in *Kasalokada ta lagwosada - Réalités et enjeux de la recherche collaborative en milieux autochtones* (Sherbrook: 2021)., p.53-54.
[29] Ibid, p.54.

constantly re-examined and revised as researchers will be "dans un système épistémologique, cosmologique et ontologique différent du sien."[30]

As Elizabeth Carlson-Manathara – supported by Indigenous collaborators Aimée Craft, Dawnis Kennedy, Leona Star, and Chickadee Richard – holds in a collective work on Indigenous sovereignty, decolonizing research and collaborative work are always imperfect and fraught with tensions. Drawing on Craft's work, she explains: "This is why relational accountability is so important. The story evolves, the person evolves, the context evolves . . . We are accountable for our contributions to what has been placed into the circle that represents that relationship, as well as to its ripple effects onto other relationships."[31] Latinx scholars, intellectuals, and activists had a major impact in advancing research in this vein. A 1969 manifesto, for instance, entitled "El plan de Santa Barbara" advocated for the bridging of higher education and communities, traditionally marginalized by western disciplines, to assert the cultural survival and self-determination of Chicanx people. In *Cultura y Corazón*, a joint publication on decolonial methodology and community-engaged research in Latinx contexts, the authors describe "the importance of developing research methods that respected and honoured the culture of the participants; their ethnicity and race; and the impact of institutionalized racism on educational disparities, their physical well-being, and their emotional well-being."[32]

These research methodologies are standing on the shoulders of generations of activists and intellectuals across the globe who have fought and advocated for their

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Gladys Rowe Elisabeth Carslon-Manathara, *Living in Indigenous Sovereignty* (Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2021)., p.84.
[32] Rosa D Manzo, Hector Rivera-Lopez, Yvette Gisele Flores, Lisceth Brazil-Cruz, *Cultura y Corazón A Decolonial Methodology for Community Engaged Research* (Tucson: Universrity of Arizona Press, 2020). https://muse.jhu.edu/book/78108., p.6.

Peoples. As stated in *The End of the Cognitive Empire*, these experiential epistemologies are challenging dominant western epistemologies by "identify[ing] and discuss[ing] the validity of knowledge and ways of knowing."[33] By doing so, "subjects that are redeemed or disclosed, or brought to presence, are often collective subjects, which completely changes the question of knowledge authorship."[34] Decolonial research, methodologies, and epistemologies are needed to give space to a plurality of knowledge, to marginalized communities, and to cultural diversity; not only to enrich our ways of knowing, but also to liberate peoples from oppressive dominant structures.

The W8banaki Nation's history has been studied extensively. Scholars have examined their patterns of migration, social organizations, and relationships with colonial forces. Indeed, the following thesis is written on the important prior work of modern historians but seeks to bring the W8banakiak closer to the narrative presented through oral history interviews. As an allied researcher of non-Indigenous roots, I would like to acknowledge my debt to oral history methodologies, the ethos of sharing authority that has guided my work, and the community-driven nature of this project. The context and identities at play in this project need to be engaged with care and self-reflexivity.[35]

At every step of this process, collaborators were invited to evaluate and validate the knowledge unearthed from this research, as well as its interpretations.[36] As will become apparent, multiple voices are integrated and considered at every step of the research – from the conceptual beginnings of this project to the concluding comments

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[33] Santos, *The end of the cognitive empire: the coming of age of the epistemologies of the South*., p.2.
[34] Ibid, p.3.
[35] Dafina Lazarus Stewart, "Researcher as Instrument: Understanding "Shifting" Findings in Constructivist Research," *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice* 47, no. 3 (2010), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2202/1949-6605.6130., p.294.
[36] Egon G. Guba Yvonna S. Lincoln, *The constructivist credo* (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 2014)., p.12.

offered. The research interest was initiated by the Ndakina Office: my expertise and time were merely used as tools to enhance and structure the project. It was Edgar Blanchet, research coordinator, who granted me access to a privileged oral history archive – containing, amongst other sources, oral history interviews with elders – and helping me in the conception, organization, and validation of interviews. Their engagement was not only helpful and beneficial to expand the sources analyzed but also provided valuable insights that were integrated into the research. Together, we shared authority on the knowledge woven in various steps of this project, following leads and looking for answers to our research focus. It is through these discussions that we navigated the research to enrich the W8banaki Nation's historical knowledge.

Oral histories and oral tradition are at the core of this project. In 2021, the Ndakina Office audio-and-video recorded seven life-story interviews with elders on their past experiences as guides. Most of them were conducted in the elders' homes, often picturing them comfortably sitting in their rocking chair, as if they would share their stories directly with the public. All of them smiled and laughed while remembering their guiding days. These interviews were conducted by members of the Ndakina Office, amongst them David Bernard and Edgard Blanchet, the two research coordinators with whom I consulted extensively on the structure and analysis of the project. In these interviews, the guides remembered their youth and shared various memories revolving around hunting and fishing practices as well as their relationship with elders, the land, and club members.

The common thread in these rich life-memories were the teachings of the land, which the narrators had received from their own elders. This intergenerational transfer of

knowledge – ways of knowing about, and learning with, the land – was embedded in intricate webs of relationships. Most of the narrators began their account by detailing their first experiences on the land and of hunting, as taught by their fathers, uncles or grandfathers. In an attempt to build on this prior research, Edgar Blanchet, Charlotte Gauthier-Nolett, an intern from the Ndakina Office who has close relationships with the community's elders, and I organized and video-recorded a group interview with former guides. This group interview was held at Odanak on March 11, 2024. The following chapters analyze the content of these conversations.

Oral history is therefore at the center of this research. This project is not about recounting a Rankean history,[37] although a chronological frame is going to help readers follow along. Rather, I seek to uncover the meanings inherent in these events, a cultural texture of sorts. Oral histories allow us to reveal the elders' and community's interpretations of the events discussed. By listening deeply to their memories, stories, and teachings, narrative nuances of "what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing and what they now think they did,"[38] provide insights into the cultural history of the Nation. As the renowned Alessandro Portelli describes oral history: *"*The importance of oral testimony may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism and desire emerge. Therefore, there are no false oral sources."[39]

The oral history approach adopted in this project created space for the project collaborators to nurture and deepen relationships. At the group interview mentioned

[37] Leopold von Ranke was a German historian known for defending an objective and scientific approach to history, having famously formulated: "lch will nur sagen wie es eigentlich gewesen ist" – "I only want to say how it actually happened."
[38] Alessandro Portelli, "What makes Oral History different," in *The death of Luigi Trastulli and other stories - Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York: State University of New York, 1979)., p.49.
[39] Ibid, p.50.

above, elders, members of the Ndakina Office, guardians of the territory, and relatives were all present to exchange knowledge and memories. In keeping with the collaborative ethos of this project, the elders will be anonymized to respect the Ndakina Office's protocol. They will therefore be referred as: Aln8ba(1), Aln8ba(2), Aln8ba(3), Aln8ba(4), Aln8ba(5), Aln8baskwa(6), Aln8baskwa(7), Aln8ba(8) – Aln8ba means "man" and Aln8baskwa means "women" in W8banaki. Only the collaborators form the Ndakina Office will not be anonymized.

Furthermore, to deepen the analysis of this project, Aln8ba(3), Aln8baskwa(6), Aln8baskwa(7), Edgar Blanchet, Charlotte Gauthier-Nolett, Tedesso Lachapelle, were invited to comment and engage with my research findings. Their observations were of great help in my understanding and analysis throughout this research.

Another compelling aspect of oral history for this project is its investment in the sharing of authority, binding together interviewers and narrators. Indeed, "interviewers must make a deliberate decision to give up some control over the product of historical inquiry, sharing power with their interviewees when it comes to the research, interpretation and presentation phases of their projects." [40] According to Bernadette T. Lynch and Samuel J.M.M. Alberti, "sharing authority is more effective at creating and guiding culture than institutional control."[41] Historian Michael Frish, who coined the term "shared authority" in 1990, defined it as "a kind of guerilla war against this notion of professional scholarly authority . . . generating from within [communities] the authority

[40] Stacey Zembrzycki, "Saring authority with Baba," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 43, no. 1 (2009)., p.221.
[41] Bernadette T. Lynch, Alberti, Samuel J.M.M., "Legacies of Prejudice: Racism, Co-Production and Radical Trust in the Museum," *Museum Management and Curatorship* 25, no. 1 (1990), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/09647770903529061., p.15.

to explore and interpret their own experience."[42] Steven High, a contemporary oral historian, re-framed the concept as *sharing* authority, insisting on continuous experiences and practices between the interviewer and interviewee : "it requires the cultivation of trust, the development of collaborative relationships, and shared decision-making."[43] Echoing the work of Wattez, sharing authority therefore seeks to dislodge the researcher from their position of interpretive (lone) authority, while emphasizing the critical insights garnered through truly collaborative research.

Such work is inherently time-consuming; for it takes time to build relationships and nurture trust. This project evolved over several years in close exchange and consultation with the W8banaki Nation. After David Bernard had suggested a study of hunting practices and conflicts over land use, I developed a research proposal and proposed a research methodology, which was first approved by the W8banaki Nation and then submitted to Concordia University's Research Ethics Board. Throughout the research process, I provided updates on research findings to the Ndakina Office, reflecting and validating together research conclusions, thereby shifting the intellectual authority of this project back to Nation. As such, sharing authority is not only a concept adopted in the oral history interviews conducted, but also acts as the backbone of the approach to knowledge displayed in these chapters.

Inspired by the writings of anthropologist Keith H. Basso, this project understands territoriality as embodying Indigenous identities and histories. The concept of "place making" and its role in the Apache communities shows just how closely linked are

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[42] Micheal Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on teh Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public Hisotry.* (Albany: University of New York Press, 1990)., p.xxi.
[43] Steven High, "Sharing Authority: An introduction," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 43, no. 1 (2009)., p.13.

territoriality and the act of remembering. According to Basso, for his narrators, "the past lies embedded in features of the earth . . . knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of the self."[44] In this project, too, the collective remembering of the elders is testimony to their construction of "social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities."[45] As this research will demonstrate, narrators' passion and excitement demonstrated that "[they] are, in a sense, the place-worlds [they imagine],"[46] both individually and collectively.

In correlation, historian Julie Cuikshank has detailed how oral histories and traditions are intrinsically related to landscapes; "places of remembrance" hold narratives and cultures.[47] Wilton Goodstriker, an Indigenous elder, wrote how Indigenous "memory goes back to the beginning of time and in some respect, beyond . . . One must keep in mind history of a people when attempting to understand their perspective, their spirit and intent . . . "[48] Speaking to Indigenous culture and teachings, he continues: "A requirement among our people is for young children to spend much time with grandparents. It is the responsibility of grandparents to teach legends and stories and the ways of our people. In this way, closeness develops between the very young and the old."[49] These authors, amongst others, are showing how Indigenous cultural identity, oral

[44] Keith Basso, "Quoting the ancestors," in *Wisdom sits in Places: Landscape and language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996)., p.34.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid, p.7
[47] Julie Cuikshank, *Do glaciers listen? : local knowledge, colonial encounters, and social imagination.* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005)., p.11.
[48] Walter.; First Rider Hildebrandt, Dorothy.; Carter, Sarah., *The true spirit and original intent of Treaty 7* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996)., p.5.
[49] Ibid, p.11.

histories/traditions, intergenerational transmission and landscapes are deeply connected. It is to this body of scholarship that I wish to contribute.

Just as Western research methodologies need to be re-evaluated in Indigenous contexts, so does the role of oral history. As the authors of *The Indigenous Oral History Manual* hold, Indigenous oral histories need to be approached with special care. The authors – oral historians and long-term advocates for Indigenous rights, some of whom are Indigenous themselves – emphasize how "anyone working with Indigenous oral histories needs to comprehend and work within the cultural framework of the narrators."[50] In particular, they question the alleged dichotomy of oral history and oral tradition. As Indigenous historian Nēpia Mahuika posits: "Oral traditions are essentially recollections from another person's lifetime rather than that of the informant, while oral histories are recordings with interviewees."[51] Mahuika then proceeds to question those very categories, arguing that – from an Indigenous perspective – the practices of oral tradition and oral history are intimately intertwined. When examining Māori's relationships to oral transmissions, Mahuika considers "oral tradition as history, and oral history as much more than just interviews."[52] As Mahuika holds, by insisting on oral history as distinct from oral tradition, Western scholars "make it hard to align Indigenous practice and perceptions" with their work[53] Indigenous scholars Georgina Martin and Elder Jean William also state unequivocally that "First Nations and Indigenous scholars recognize orally based communal knowledges as organized epistemic systems that do

[50] Barbara W. Sommer, author.; Quinlan, Mary Kay, author.; Wheeler, Winona, author.; Trimble, Charles E., *The indigenous oral history manual : Canada and the United States*, Second edition ed. (New York: Routledge, 2023)., p.3.
[51] Nēpia Mahuika, *Rethinking oral history and tradition : an indigenous perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019)., p.30.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Mahuika, *Rethinking oral history and tradition : an indigenous perspective*., p.30.

exist … though they may not be legitimized by academia."[54] According to Shawn Wilson, oral history and oral tradition are crafting and conveying ways of knowing and being. In this study, too, oral tradition is intimately interwoven with oral history as the elders shared intergenerational knowledge and wisdom of the land, while depicting life stories and experiences of their own.

As Mahuika observes for the Māori, historically, colonization has served to suppress oral cultures: "for natives who come from communities where oral history is crucial to cultural survival, this absence is a reminder of how our knowledge has been displaced not simply by the usual colonizing suspects but by the rise of global intellectual imperialism."[55] In the eyes of imperial and western governments, writing was to be the predominant vehicle of knowledge rather than spoken words, songs or ceremonies. Furthermore, western researchers working with Indigenous oral histories risk to produce accounts that "lose their shape when refashioned in paradigms foreign to native worldviews."[56] Indigenous scholars and narrators are sometimes torn between writing and orality, as this duality can be framed as a "spiral between purity and contamination."[57]

Oral transmission is something that has been greatly affected by the violence of assimilation. As multiple research projects have shown, various systemic oppressions were at play to supress Indigenous ways of being and communicating and attacking their cultural identities. For example, Indigenous children kidnapped and placed at residential

[54] Jo-Ann Archibald; Jason De Santolo; Jenny Lee-Morgan, *Decolonizing research : indigenous storywork as methodology* (London, UK: ZED Books, 2019)., p.60.
[55] Mahuika, *Rethinking oral history and tradition : an indigenous perspective*., p.16.
[56] Ibid, p.64.
[57] Ibid.

schools were not allowed to speak their native language, as the government sought "to kill the Indian in the child."[58] This colonial tactic proved to be successful, as many children returned to their families having forgotten their mother tongue, thus crushing the chain of Indigenous knowledge transmission. As my collaborators Edgar Blanchet mentioned, in the W8banaki Nation as well the pressures of colonization greatly affected oral cultures and tradition. As he added: "On innove en ce moment au bureau, et puis on essaye de diversifier la transmission pour s'assurer que les savoirs ce partagent."[59] This project forms a part of these initiatives; it seeks to underline the importance of oral transmission and the role of intergenerational knowledge.

The colonization of knowledge also had its effect on the "[displacements of oral histories] by those who redefined Indigenous oral history without consulting the natives"[60], thereby disregarding Indigenous practices. Māori oral historian Nepia Mahuika writes that "oral history is important to the revitalization and validation of native knowledge and history [as well as] providing new ways to think about the discipline."[61] The affirmation of W8banaki culture, through the recordings of the elders narrating the past, is exactly what this research seeks to accomplish. Oral history practices can be used as a source of power, an affirmation of Indigenous communities. Indeed, one the most important and transformative aspect of this project are the interviews at the heart of this work as well as the research process: the acts of gathering

[58] Tamara Starblanket; Irene Watson, "Kill the Indian in the child": genocide in international law," in *Indigenous Peoples as Subjects of International Law* (Routledge, 2018)., p.175.
[59] Edgar Blanchet, Tedesso Lachapelle, and Charlotte Gauthier-Nolett, "Interview Confirmation- Blanchet / Gauthier-Nolett / Lachapelle - 06/06/2024," interview by Zachary Corbeil, 2024.
[60] Mahuika, *Rethinking oral history and tradition : an indigenous perspective*., p.17.
[61] Ibid, p.1.

the elders' memories and stories, sharing of histories, listening and learning, and experiencing an Indigenous cultural collectivity.

The individual narratives were rich in anecdotes and information on the elders' lives as young guides. Yet, what interests me in this project was the collective, the communal experience of remembering and weaving history of a cultural community. In an attempt to complement what had been recorded by the Ndakina Office in 2021, I proposed to my collaborators to organize a group interview, inspired by Indigenous talking circles, where the elders could come together and, collectively, share their experiences.

The notion of collective and social theory of memory was, in part, developed by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in the twentieth century. His work understands "memory as social constructs,"[62] whereby the act of remembering "has a dual intentionality . . . one that is related to our personal continuity, and another one that relates to group membership. Our memories are social to the extent that recall and access to them are mediated by group belongingness."[63] Contemporary scholars, such as Bethan Coupland, Chris Wickham and James Fentress, Graham Smith have been drawing on Halbwachs' theories. The group interview for this research was meant to provide a space for the sharing of experiences and a means to bring to foreground the meaning that these shared experiences hold in W8banaki culture. Coupland suggests that "group interviews [in oral history research] clearly illustrate a more nuanced, multilayered process of remembering which occurs in small social groups, a process which is largely obscured by

[62] C. Pleh., "Remembering the collective memory of Maurice Halbwachs " *Semiotica* 128, no. 3-4 (2000)., p.435
[63] Ibid.

the ongoing focus on the exchange between individual and collective positions."[64] Such social memories are distinct from personal and individual experiences mainly because they are shared, "always in interactions and recalled in social circumstances."[65] As Stéphane Martelly reflected on his research with women from the "Maison d'Haïti": "The echo of their mingled voices reflected the chorus of the many interviews we had done before, while also propelling them to the most radical form of their possibilities, where the subject, the destination, and the very form of the narrative, were profoundly transformed . . . The narration itself ceased to be linear, as it was characterized by the fragmentation and overlapping of voices."[66] Though challenging for traditional oral history methodology, these "less structured interviews . . . [are] especially useful in exploratory research."[67] Their flexibility and fluidity allows for an inter-weaving of narratives encapsulating cultural history and Indigenous community identity in a collaborative process. As Martelly concludes: "Reflections were not just isolated academic interpretations; they also became a continuous story where selves and voices interwoven, permeable, were never standing still. And another history, one that was never definitive, suddenly became possible."[68]

The format of group interviews resembles what is known "Talking Circles" in many Indigenous communities. According to Jane Vera Martin, "a talking circle allows individual voices to be heard as equal members within the whole and therefore it avoids

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[64] Bethan Coupland, "Remembering Blaenavon: What Can Group Interviews Tell Us about 'Collective Memory'? ," *The Oral hisotry review* 42, no. 2 (2015)., p.278
[65] Ibid, p.281.
[66] Stephane Martelly, "This thing we are doing here" - Listening and writing in the "Montréal Life Stories" project," in *Beyond Women's Words* (Routledge, 2018)., p.173.
[67] Ibid, p.12.
[68] Martelly, "This thing we are doing here" - Listening and writing in the "Montréal Life Stories" project.", p.174.

competitive struggle."[69] Echoing the concept of shared authority explained above, this implies "reciprocal responsibility [from each member of the circle, including the researcher]"[70] demanding respect and acknowledgement from listeners. Martin also notes that talking circles cannot be dominated by one member or few members but, rather, constitute a communal experience where people "speak their truth from the heart."[71]

In the group interview I helped facilitating, the elders were the ones formulating and redirecting the open questions that we – Edgar Blanchet and I – had prepared. The W8banakiak elders discussed amongst themselves some of the questions and themes that motivated this research. The free-flowing group conversation unearthed a wealth of collective and cultural memories associated with hunting, guiding, and generational transmission. The group interview was video recorded on March 11, 2024 and proved to be an interesting and lively event that lasted approximately three hours. We gathered at the Aln8baïwi centre, in Odanak, a familiar gathering place to the elders. Many more participants showed up than anticipated – we were eleven, included me. In such a big group, discussions were hard to navigate. The elders, very jovial and happy to be gathered, quickly took control as multiple conservations were unfolding simultaneously, overwhelming the recordings and my listening capacities and making it difficult to trace individual voices. Memories; names and places; fishing, hunting, and trapping stories: all were being shared in subgroups. Narrators were laughing as they were recalling stories while photographs passed from hand to hand. This interview dynamic had to be

[69] Jane Vera Martin, "Voices from the heart of the circle: eight aboriginal women reflect on their experiences at university" (Doctor of Philosophy in First Nations education University of Alberta, 2001)., p.52
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.

honoured; it could not possibly be contained within a structured interviewing frame. It was an experience that defied my expectations and provided an initiation into collaborative research. The vitality of the elders' participating had a clear impact on the orientation of this research. Additionally, it was an opportunity to meet for a first time with the elders and presents the purpose of the project, building relationships with collaborators. The Ndakina Office also took the opportunity to present adjacent initiatives, further discussed in Chapter 3.

While oral history and oral tradition lie at the core of my research methodology, the field notes of Alfred Irving Hallowell constitute an important complementary body of primary source materials. Hallowell (1872-1974) was a scholar from the United States. He was "trained to study business at the University of Pennsylvania . . . where he met Professor Frank Speck" and then took a turn to anthropology. [72] Hallowell's work is preserved in "The Alfred Irving Hallowell Papers" held at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Entitled *The Hunting Grounds and Hunting Customs of the St. Francis Abenaki*, the first archival folder consulted for this research holds multiple versions of chapters, hand-written drafts and a machine-typed (unfinished) final manuscript version. The document is quite long and showcase traces of the thought process that went into Hallowell's writing. It also includes detailed field notes he drew upon in his studies. The materials seem to constitute the first pages of what seems to have been intended as a future book or perhaps an article-length publication. This collection of notes constitutes a hybrid between a diary and an academic publication. The date of this document is not specified, but it was likely written in 1931; the author mentions the age

[72] Margareth Noori, "Contributions to Ojibwe Studies: Essays, 1934-1972 (review)," *Studies in American Indian Literatues* 24, no. 1 (2012), https://muse.jhu.edu/article/472638., p.82.

of Nicholas Panadis at the time of the writing, which helps us situate the period where Hallowell worked on his paper. We do not know whether these notes and drafts were shared with colleagues, students, or members of the W8banaki Nation.

I also consulted a second archival folder from Hallowell's paper for the purpose of this project that bore the title *Hunting territories and family names.* Assembling disorganized hand-written drafts, it contains information about family trees and genealogy, hunting grounds and fishing lakes, as well as the meaning of W8banaki's family and place names. According to the American Philosophical Society, these pages are from the 1920s. Contrary to the first archival folder studied for this research, *Hunting territories and family names* contains notes that were most likely only consulted by Hallowell and meant to serve as pillars for future publications.[73]

Hallowell's field notes will put into conversation with the narrators' interviews, connecting their life-stories to older archives and studies of the W8banaki family system of hunting grounds. This will ground my research even deeper in the hunting stories, territories, and relationships key to understand the importance intergenerational transmission and kinship in the W8banaki culture.

Collaborators and Building Relationships

In the past decades, more and more Indigenous Nations and Peoples have been reflecting on their relationship with academia, building safeguards to ensure that future research would involve meaningful partnerships and answer to the needs of community members. The W8banaki Nation is included in this movement. Following the principles

[73] A supposition made from the hand-written / messiness / disorganized / drafts aspect of the papers.

of the *Assembly of First Nations Quebec-Labrador* (AFNQL), their partnerships are now established on four key concepts: "propriété, contrôle, accès, possession (PCAP)."[74] The institutional body with which I have been working, the Ndakina Office, is focused on various fields : "que ce soit au niveau historique, anthropologique, archéologique ou environnemental, notamment en vue d'acquérir les connaissances nécessaires à une gestion durable et responsable du territoire ancestral : le Ndakina."[75] Created in 2013, the Office has put into place a committee that helps coordinate projects and connect researchers and members the W8banaki Nation. The committee acts as a "plateforme de réseautage et de diffusion des projets entrepris à l'interne."[76] They are also the ones keeping track of the evolution of projects, following up if needed with researchers to ensure that the original research agreements are being honoured.

Throughout my research, I have been working in close consultation with David Bernard and Edgar Blanchet from the Ndakina Office, who acted successively as research coordinator, to discuss research methodologies and ethics protocols. Various steps were taken to make sure that every aspect of the research was coordinated with the W8banaki Nation's needs and ethical guidelines. First, multiple calls and emails were exchanged between the Ndakina Office research coordinators in which I updated them on the evolution of my research evolution and findings. Then, I presented the project and exchanged ideas with a small scholarly committee suggested by the Ndakina Office, composed of scholars specialized in research topics adjacent to the project. The Office

[74] David Bernard, "Chapitre 4 – La création du Comité w8banaki de coordination de la recherche," in *Kasalokada ta lagwosada - Réalités et enjeux de la recherche collaborative en milieux autochtones* (Peisaj, 2021)., p.123.
[75] Ibid, p.124.
[76] Ibid, p.132.

also invited me to present my work to the ethics board of the Grand Council of the W8banaki Nation, composed of members of the community with diverse backgrounds – after which the project received an Ethics Certificate from the Grand Council. Throughout these emails, calls, and presentations, we discussed methodologies, approaches, community benefits of the research, primary sources, and studies that could enhance the project. Furthermore, I signed a research agreement with the W8banaki Nation to clarify the nature of the partnership and research access, which is included in the appendix of this study.

I also had exchanges with historian Jean-Nicholas Plourde and archeologist Louis-Vincent Lapernière-Désorcy, who work for the Ndakina Office, in relation to historical sources and potential research findings to contribute to the W8banaki Nation historical knowledge. Charlotte Gauthier-Nolet, intern and research assistant at the time of the group interview, also contributed to the project, as she recruited elders for our group and validation interviews. These validation interviews were key to enact the concept of shared authority as described above. These interviews consisted of exchanges between collaborators/narrators and myself, whereby I presented my research findings, giving space to comments and reflections, and ensuring a validation of my interpretation of the stories entrusted to me. Without their help, the whole research and interviews would most likely not have been as fruitful. Concepts of radical trust and shared authority allowed the project to grow beyond my narrative control, creating spaces for dialogue and contact zones that enriched the research at its core. They are part of a process by which we are building meaningful collaboration. Wliwni[77] to everyone!

[77] Thank you in W8banaki.

Thesis Plan

The thesis will be presented in three chapters, organized by themes. The knowledge shared by the elders in their individual and group interviews inspired the organization of the following pages that seek to immerse readers in their life stories and teachings. The first chapter will focus on the elders' learning experiences: their first hunt, their first relationship with knowledge of the land, their relationship with their elders and teachers. It will be followed by a chapter dedicated to their guiding experience on the land, their relationship with club members and the professionalization of their expertise: fishing, hunting, and land knowledge. The last chapter will address their relationship with such knowledge in modern days. How are elders transmitting their knowledge to younger generations and what meanings does this knowledge hold for the Nation's cultural identity? All chapters will be anchored in the interview that acts as a compass to the archival research.

This project seeks to underline the continuous intergenerational transmission of land knowledge amongst W8banakiak. As we shall see, family, kinship and experiences of the land are closely related. The colonial pressures and growing presence of investors in their fishing and hunting territories forced the W8banakiak to adapt but never extinguished their knowledge. Through this project, I demonstrate how relationships – intergenerational transmission of knowledge and experiences of the land – are important aspects of the cultural resilience of the W8banakiak hunters, the W8banaki community of Odanak, and the W8banaki Nation.

Chapter 1 – Knowledge Transmission : Hunting with the Elders

To be in touch with their elders and steeped in ancestral knowledge were core values that collaborators foregrounded during the oral interviews. This chapter will explore the ways in which narrators received teachings from their fathers, uncles and grandfathers in the woods; how they remembered their first time hunting and guiding, going out on *runs* with their role models, as well as the relationships they entertained with this greater lineage of knowledge they were connecting to. As the recorded interviews reveal, these are cherished memories. In the interviews, the narrators relayed memories of their childhood and youth as they learned fishing and hunting skills from their elders. This chapter then turns to Hallowell's papers as they relate to narrators' lineage and oral tradition. Lastly, this chapter will turn to ways in which knowledge of the land was transmitted through generations by drawing on Hallowell's field notes.

The history of the W8banaki Nation is inseparably interwoven with their relationship to their territories, the land and its teachings – and the Nation's resistance to continuous colonial pressures. The presence of W8banakiak hunters on the North Shore of the Saint Lawrence River can be traced back to the 17th century. As Sylvie Savoie and Jean Tanguay hold, "la présence des Abénakis [deviendra] l'objet de contestation, principalement de la part des autorités coloniales."[1] As early as 1637, the French exerted

[1] Sylvie Savoie and Jean Tanguay, "Le noeud de l'ancienne amitié : la présence abénaquise sur la rive nord du Saint-Laurent aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 33, no. 2 (2003), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.7202/1082587ar , p.31.

"leurs alliés Montagnais de [fermer leur porte aux Abénakis]"[2] as they thought that the W8banakiak were coming to trade and destabilize the local economy.

The French did not grasp the web of alliances that extended across the region. As historians Sylvie Savoie and Jean Tanguay have observed,

> Les relations basées sur l'amitié et sur l'alliance de religion [existant depuis le début des années 1640] entre les néophytes de Sillery et les Abénakis de la rivière Kennebec, ont mené à l'accès et au partage de terres de chasse; les unions mixtes entre Abénakis, Montagnais et Algonquins de Sillery, de Trois-Rivières et de Tadoussac, ont permis à des individus d'accéder à ces terres de chasse.[3]

The W8banaki Nation were involved in the negotiations that culminated in the Great Peace of 1701 though growing numbers of W8banakiak started to move to the North. With the Utrecht Treaty of 1713, "les [W8banakiak] se verront dépossédés de leurs terres et alors commencera la deuxième étape de leur pérégrination, au cours de laquelle une très grand nombre d'entre eux consentiront à émigrer vers les réductions [W8banaki] déjà installées le long du Saint-Laurent."[4] The hunting activities of the W8banakiak, motivated both by their own needs and the demands of the fur trade, led them to become respected experts of these lands. As early as the 1820s, some W8banakiak were being hired "auprès des compagnies de traite . . . comme journalier pour mettre rapidement la main sur les fourrures des chasseurs algonquins et Atikamekw"[5] as the Hudson Bay Company and the Royal Post Company were competing for resources. In 1825, "environ le tiers des employés de [cette dernière]

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[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid, p.33.
[4] Sevigny, *Les Abénaquis: Habitats et migrations (17 et 18 siècle)*., p.127.
[5] Claude Gélinas, "La Mauricie des Abénaquis au XIXe siècle " *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 33, no. 2 (2003), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.7202/1082588ar., p.49.

étaient des W8banakiak."[6] As the historian François Antaya has demonstrated in his analysis of notarial deeds, "336 [engagements liés] à la traite des fourrures dans le bassin de la rivière Saint-Maurice [between 1798 and 1831]."[7] Of these numbers, "40% seraient autochtones, principalement des Abénakis de Saint-François-du-Lac et de Bécancour (74%)."[8]

Although the fur-trade activities eventually collapsed as the scarcity of game forced rural communities to find other means of subsistence, their knowledge of the land was established, known and respected. Archival research demonstrates that hunting and land knowledge was held in W8banaki's families, transmitted from one generation to the next and enacted in intimate W8banaki relationships.

From Man to Hunter

According to the narrators interviewed in the early 2020s, becoming a hunter was an important and determining moment in their lives. Akin to a rite of passage, the older generation transmitted knowledge and wisdom of, and from, the land to younger generations. Aln8ba(1)'s teacher was his grandfather[9], who was also Aln8ba(2)'s teacher.[10] Aln8ba(3) received his teachings from both his father and grandfather as did Aln8ba(4).[11] For Aln8ba(5), it was his father who taught him to learn from, and with, the

[6] Ibid.
[7]François Antaya, "Chasser en échange d'un salaire: Les engagés amérindiens dans la traite des fourryres du Saint-Maurice, 1798-1831," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique Française* 63, no. 1 (2009), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.7202/039885ar. , p.9.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Aln8ba(1), "Cam-1-2 Verbatim – 2021," interview by Ndakina Office, 2021.
[10] Aln8ba(2), "Cam-1-2 Verbatim – 2021," interview by Ndakina Office, 2021.
[11] Aln8ba(3), "Cam-1-1 Verbatim – 2021," interview by Ndakina Office, 2021.

land.[12] Learning how to be a guide was a moment when young W8banakiak would learn important life lessons from their elders with whom they would spend much time far in the woods. Most of them were already well familiar with these environments. Indeed, Aln8ba(1) had witnessed the prowess of his father when he was only a young child:

> Mon père m'emmenait à la chasse quand j'avais 5 ans. Il me mettait sur ses épaules, et on faisait un petit bout … À 6 ans je savais arranger un lièvre. Un moment donné j'avais surpris un de mes oncles qui était aller à la chasse. Lui, il restait à Montréal … Et puis il était là, avec son lièvre, et il m'a demandé si je savais comment arranger son lièvre … Moi je me suis dit : « Il s'est pas comment arranger un lièvre? Comment il va faire pour vivre? »[13]

Similarly, when asked about his experiences in the woods prior to being a guide, Aln8ba(5) responded : *"*On a toujours fait la pêche, depuis que je me souvienne. Je faisais du canot avec mon père, pis on faisait de la pêche à la traine, troller comme ils disent. Puis, là il nous a montré comment faire. Notre père c'était notre professeur. Il n'était pas instruit, mais il savait pêcher et chasser."[14]

From a young age, the narrators spent time in the woods with their fathers and close male relatives, tracking animals and going fishing while learning from their elders. As Aln8ba(1) holds, it was a way of life. Outsiders could understand neither the need to become a hunter nor the intricacies of the relationships that were at play as young boys acquired this knowledge. As Aln8ba(1) suggests, someone from the city, even if they were Indigenous, would have found it difficult to relate to such practices, possessing a different frame of cultural references.

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[12] Aln8ba(5), "Cam-1-1 Verbatim – 2021," interview by Ndakina Office, 2021.; See also: Aln8ba(4), "Cam-1-1 Verbatim – 2021," interview by Ndakina Office, 2021.
[13] Aln8ba(1), interview.
[14] Aln8ba(5), interview.

What these young W8banakiak experienced reflects the findings of historian Jean L. Manore. Her studies helped me to frame hunting as a "social activity."[15] As Manore explains: "It is often done in groups of family or friends; it is a shared activity and consequently helps to support or build communities. It also transmits culture through stories and repetitive, if not ritualized, behaviors. To many, hunting is a tradition; to some, it is a religion. Given the social nature of hunting, points of inquiry are innumerable."[16] This research, very much like her co-edited anthology *The Culture of Hunting in Canada*, seeks to shed light on the cultural importance and meaning of hunting for the W8abanaki hunters. In it, Robert Sopuck, a former Canadian politician who had worked in conservation, shared hunting traditions in his family and community as he followed the shadow of his father into the woods: "Our hunts were but one expression of a collective experience since the dawn of humans."[17] As Sopuck observed elsewhere, "hunting and fishing are an integral part of a way of life that has been passed down through the generations. [Hunting places are] where rites of passage from adolescence to adulthood occur, where people of modest means and humble dreams commune with nature and nurture their spiritual selves."[18] Although Sopuck is not Indigenous, his words resonate with the experience described by the narrators. Generations of hunters were at play when Aln8ba(1), Aln8ba(2), Aln8ba(3), Aln8ba(4), Aln8ba(5), and Aln8ba(8) followed the steps of their paternal figures.[19] Hunting became a

[15] Jean Manore and Dale G. Miner, *The culture of hunting in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007)., p.1.
[16] Ibid, p.2.
[17] Ibid, p.22.
[18] Manore and Miner, *The culture of hunting in Canada*., p.23.
[19] The gendered nature of this research will be further explored in Chapter 3.

vehicle for an inter-generational transmission of knowledge that was rooted in the experience of the land.

Knowing about the woods, its flora and fauna, understanding the behaviour of deer, moose and trout, learning about the properties of medicinal plants is not knowledge acquired overnight. The W8banaki culture of hunting is embedded in their traditional ways of knowing. Aln8ba(4) paints a scene where he and his grandfather and him crouched by the lake: "Il me dit : « Regarde au loin. Tu vois là-bas? Il y a un fosset avec un écoulement de la montagne. Ça, c'est le meilleur spot pour pêcher . . . Il m'a montré vraiment tout plein d'affaires de même."[20] Later in the interview, Aln8ba(4) evokes memories of hunting that are both vivid and sensory:

> C'était mon grand-père qui me montrait des affaires. On tuait des perdrix, et mon grand-père les accrochaient, sans les plumer. Accrochées à une corde, 25 pieds dans les airs … On revient dans six jours. Quand il a descendu la perdrix, il l'a pogné par le collet, et d'un coup, tous les poils sont sortis! Juste la viande restait! Rien de pourri! Il a coupé le cou, les pattes, et on est revenu. C'était tendre! On en a mangé six comme ça! Les lièvres c'étaient pareil! Mon grand-père c'était un homme … Son père devait être brillant en cibole![21]

The smile, tone, and joy Aln8ba(4) shared when recounting those memories were palpable; it was as if he were still this young man, seeing his grandfather's precise gestures all over again. These moments are bringing to the fore the admiration that Aln8ba(4) still has for his teachers, as well as for the knowledge they imparted, as he was situating himself into a long lineage of skilled hunters and woodsmen. Aln8ba(4) was well aware of such intergenerational transmission of knowledge, counting himself lucky to have been part of it. It just so happens that Aln8ba(4)'s teacher was a well-known and

[20] Aln8ba(4), interview.
[21] Ibid.

respected hunter in the community: Théophile Panadis, who was also Hallowell's informant.

> Théophile Panadis est né à Odanak, au Québec, le 28 février 1889. Il était le sixième enfant de Nicolas Panadis et de Monique Wawanolett. Jeune homme, il se rendait souvent chasser avec son père, son oncle Stanislas Panadis et d'autres hommes qui possédaient encore le savoir-faire nécessaire pour vivre de ce qu'offraient les territoires de l'intérieur Ils passaient des semaines, voire des mois, au nord du fleuve Saint-Laurent, loin de leurs familles, pour y pratiquer la chasse et le piégeage.[22]

This portrait, provided in an article by historian Alice Nash, illustrates how teaching the younger generation was embedded in family traditions. For Théophile, much as it would be for his grandson's generation, guiding was a way to continue family community and maintain ancestral traditions. Similarly, Aln8ba(3) remembers fondly the time an elder and him "se roulaient dans une couverture en laine, pas trop épaisse, et de l'époque. Avec notre linge, le chapeau sur la tête. Donc, c'était ça, ce que j'ai aimé c'est qu'on est couché tous les deux, et il se met à parloter. Il me raconte sa vie . . . Il me racontait des affaires de chasses … Il en connaissait des affaires. Moi, j'avais les yeux grand ouverts de même … Donc ç'a été un apprentissage assez spécial pour moi. J'ai appris un paquet de connaissance grâce à lui."[23] Readers will note that Aln8ba(3) and the elder in question were not related by blood lines. Teaching the young about life in the woods was not exclusive to nuclear family members, but rather a task taken on by several members of the community. As listeners, it can only be imagined what a special setting it must have been to be surrounded by the forest, lying under the stars, to listen to old tales and life lessons from trusted elders.

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[22] Alice Nash and Réjean Obomsawin, "Théophile Panadis (1889-1966), un guide abénaquis " *Histoire Québec* 25, no. 4 (2003), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.7202/1082591ar., p.76.
[23] Ibid.

Théophile, Alfred and Family Hunting Grounds

Théophile was not only a skilled hunter but also an important figure in the W8banaki community. He is considered to have been an influential actor in the preservation the W8banaki culture, language, and customs by virtue of being involved within his community and collaborating with academic researchers Alfred I. Hallowell and Gordon M. Day: “Pour les anthropologues A. Irving Hallowell et Gordon M. Day, qui ont travaillé à Odanak durant les années 1920 et les années 1950 et 1960 respectivement, [Théophile] Panadis s’est avéré un informateur hors pair « sur la tradition et le langage des mythes, de la cosmologie, des cérémonies et de la technologie » des [W8banakiak].”[24] In 2011, Théophile was “designated a national historic person”[25] by the Government of Canada, on account of his lifelong engagement on behalf of Indigenous culture. The following section will explore the relationship between hunting territories, intergenerational knowledge of the land, and kinship ties by drawing on the field notes taken during the collaboration between Théophile Panadis and Alfred I. Hallowell in the 1930s. During this collaborative research, anthropologist Hallowell was able to gather crucial information on the W8banaki culture and ways of living in the 1930s, thereby leaving written traces in the archives for later generations of W8banakiak and academic researchers to consult.

According to Margaret Noori, who reviewed some of Hallowell’s published work, Hallowell “[acknowledged] that Speck engaged in salvage anthropology and thought of

[24] Nash and Obomsawin, "Théophile Panadis (1889-1966), un guide abénaquis "., p.75.
[25] Gouvernment du Canada, "Personnage historique national de Théophile Panadis (1889–1966)," 2024, https://parcs.canada.ca/culture/designation/personnage-person/theophile-panadis.

the aboriginal people as his pets."[26] Hallowell himself adopted a different stance in his work, demonstrating a thoughtful awareness of how "humans write and think about one another."[27] Although he was a White scholar in an era where extractive and racist research perpetuated on Indigenous communities was the norm, Hallowell seemingly avoided such oppressive methods in his studies. The long-lasting relationship he entertained with W8banakiak collaborators, such as Théophile, leads me to believe that he was trusted by the W8banaki community. Indeed, Alice Nash writes:

> On dit que Théophile Panadis pouvait parler avec n'importe qui, peu importe son âge, sa classe sociale ou son niveau d'éducation. En ce sens, il n'est pas étonnant qu'il soit devenu ami avec A. Irving Hallowell (1892-1974), un étudiant de vingt-neuf ans, gradué en anthropologie de l'université de Pennsylvanie et venu à Odanak à l'été de 1921 pour recueillir des informations ethnographiques et des éléments de la culture matérielle des Abénaquis pour un collectionneur privé de New York. À ce moment, Panadis était âgé de trente-deux ans, marié, et à la tête d'une famille qui grandissait . . . Beaucoup de gens peuvent raconter une histoire ou traduire des mots dans leur propre langue, mais peu sont en mesure d'offrir la sorte d'information systématique et d'analyse introspective qui font d'un individu un informateur-consultant de grande valeur pour l'anthropologue. Panadis a joué un rôle actif dans leur collaboration, rédigeant des lettres détaillées et préparant des croquis en réponse aux questions d'Hallowell sur la manière de fabriquer des collets pour différentes espèces d'animaux, sur les noms abénaquis pour diverses plantes et sur la signification de mots particuliers.[28]

In Hallowell's papers, it is noted that "the [W8banaki] territory was distributed in 22 districts"[29] in the early twentieth century. By reading Hallowell's papers, we see that the districts he is referring to "represent the traditional limits within which certain

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[26] Frank Speck was Alfred I. Hallowell's mentor; Margaret Noori, "Contributions to Ojibwe Studies: Essays, 1934-1972 (Review)." Review, *Studies in American Indian Literatures.* 24, no. 1 (2012), Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press., p.83.
[27] Ibid, p.84.
[28] Alice Nash, "Odanak durant les années 1920, un prisme reflétant l'histoire des Abénaquis," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 32, no. 1 (2002); Nash and Obomsawin, "Théophile Panadis (1889-1966), un guide abénaquis "., p.79.
[29] Alfred Irving Hallowell, "The Hunting Grounds and Hunting Customs of the St. Francis Abenaki," (nd)., p.19.

men were accustomed to trap."[30] The family system divided hunting grounds between families, wherein everyone from the same lineage – "fathers and sons, uncles and nephews, brothers and other related individuals"[31] – hunted for their needs "from generation to generation."[32] Hallowell specified that "because we do not have documentary evidence from earlier periods, . . . we can only affirm that the boundaries outlined by his collaborators were those recognized in the generation of Nicholas Panadis"[33] (1850-1947). Already, we are witnessing echoes of the relationships between hunting, land, and kinship. The W8banaki family system described in Hallowell's notes and by contemporary historians displays the passing down of intergenerational knowledge and male relationships – Hallowell's assessment of the family hunting system acts as a clear example of this phenomenon, since it came from the "patient and never-failing cooperation of Nicholas Panadis (District II) and his son, Théophile."[34]

As Hallowell held, even though documentation was scarce, "a limited amount of genealogical data . . . enables us to assign the same districts to individuals of the same family for one or even two generations earlier."[35] The anthropologist's research pushed him to conclude that the boundaries outlined by his W8banakiak consultants had been established for at least a few decades prior, possibly more. According to Hallowell, the family system described functioned as follows:

[30] Hallowell, "The Hunting Grounds and Hunting Customs of the St. Francis Abenaki.", p.19.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid, p.18.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Hallowell, "The Hunting Grounds and Hunting Customs of the St. Francis Abenaki.", p.20.

- The land [of a band] is found to be subdivided into districts over which certain individuals exercise exclusive hunting, trapping, or fishing privileges. Less frequently these tracts are named and the boundaries artificially marked in some way.
- Boundaries are respected. Trespass is followed by reprisals.
- Individuals utilizing each tract are related by blood or marriage.
- Title to the districts is transferred from generation to generation through males.
- One or more methods of game conservation are practiced.[36]

Tableau 1

Liste des territoires de chasse familiaux des Abénaquis vers 1880-1900*

Territoires	Secteurs	Propriétaires
I	Lac et rivière Flamand	Nagazoa
II	Lac et haute rivière Batiscan	Claude
III	Rivière Wessoneau	Paquette
IV	Rivière-aux-Rats	Hannis (changer Cesar pour Antoine)
V	Lacs et riv. Wayagamak, Bostonnais et Édouard	Paul Dennis
VI	Rivière-du-Loup, lac Sorcier	Dennis
VII	Lacs Clear, Potherie, Brehauts, Savanne	Panadis
VIII	Lac et branche ouest de la riv. Mattawin	Benedict (Solomon B., plus tard aussi au lac Benedict)
IX	Rivière Windigo	Annance (maintenant oublié)
X	Lac et rivière Broster	Emet (a plus tard été divisé entre Lazar et Peter; voir XXVI)
XI	Rivière Indian	DeGonzague
XII	Rivière Senelles, etc.	Sadoques (plus le territoire d'Islal près de I, XIIIa)
XIII	Rivières Joli et Pierriche, etc.	Sadoques, Tom
XIV	Rivière du Milieu	Sadoques
XV	Lac et rivière Livernois	Obomsawin, Pierre Louis
XVI	Lacs Mondonak, Salone, Simon, Sable	Obomsawin, Simon (Mondonak seulement pour pêcher, étant un territoire tête-de-boule)
XVII	Lacs Long, Island, Murray, Legaré	Obomsawin, L. Nap.
XVIII	Rivière Post, lac et riv. Bottle	Wawanolet, Tom (connu pour avoir déjà été un partenaire de Sowagan)
XIX	Lac et rivière Boullé	Tahamont
XX	Rivière Cyprès, etc.	Laurent
XXI	Branches médiane et nord de la riv. Wessoneau	Pagikan
XXII	Riv. Ouareau, lacs Brulé et Long, riv. L'Assomption	Magwaôndo
XXIII	Maskinongé	Sowagan, suivi par le vieux Ed Hannis
XXIV	Wapazagonke	Pierre Lolo (Bécancour, parfois)
XXV	Ouest de Shawinigan	Cesar Hannis
XXVI	Véritablement partie de X	Dan Emet
XXVII	Basse-Vermillion, adjacente au St-Maurice	Dauphinais
Les familles suivantes n'ont jamais eu de territoires au nord du Saint-Laurent :		
	Portneuf	(chassait dans le secteur du lac Champlain à l'époque de Joseph Portneuf)
	Taksos	(chassait dans le secteur du lac Champlain à l'époque de Joseph Portneuf)
	Capino	(chassait dans le secteur du lac Champlain à l'époque de Joseph Portneuf)
	Alômkasset	
	Môlôdakw	
	Watso	(a été plus tard un partenaire de Sam Sadoques; au lac Champlain auparavant)
	LaGrave	(patronyme français, a marié une femme abénaquise dans les Adirondacks et vivait principalement dans cette région ; n'a pas hérité d'un territoire au sein de la bande)
	Gill	(n'avait pas de territoire ; allait comme partenaire ici et là)

* [Titre original] D'après une grande carte faite par Hallowell pour montrer « les caractéristiques temporelles des territoires de chasse abénaquis » sur une période d'environ sept générations (trois générations par siècle) de résidence abénaquise au Canada (Hallowell et Day 1932b).

© Canadian Museum of Civilization Archives, Gordon Day Collection (Acq. E2001), « St. Francis Territories ».

Fig. 2: Map of the hunting districts of the W8banaki Nation.
Nash, "Odanak durant les années 1920, un prime reflétant l'histoire des Abénaquis.", p.24.
Fig. 3 : Names associated with specific districts illustrated in Fig.1.
Nash, "Odanak durant les années 1920, un prime reflétant l'histoire des Abénaquis.", p.25.

Although the organization of the territories appeared to be well defined, it seems that the infringement of these territories "apparaissaient . . . plus tolérables à la

[36] Ibid, p.41.

nouvelle génération [probablement associé] au déclin de la chasse . . . et à condition que ce soit à des fins de subsistance et non commerciales."[37] Even so, nuances should be clear to readers : the family hunting territories, even if shared through generations, were not transferred by what settler society sees as legal inheritance. As Hallowell notes, claims to hunting territories were not considered property per se. Rather "possession depended on use . . . as long as a male hunted in a district, it is recognized as his."[38] Nicholas Panadis[39] is an example of such, as he is also mentioned in Hallowell's second archival folder studied for this research, *Hunting Territories and Family Names*. The author briefly mentioned that "Nicholas Panadis did not get ground from anyone – went to hunt – was there for 30 years."[40] As long as Panadis was hunting on the land, he and his kin were considered to be its beneficiaries, according to the family system described by Hallowell.

Although the family system prevailed, various factors instigated change in the composition and perception of kinship such as movement and migrations of Indigenous Peoples' and intermarriage between Nations. Hallowell's notes showed how these new families were changing the structures of the hunting grounds: "The same hunting tract, originally occupied perhaps by a Tete de Boule hunter, was transferred through marriage to an Algonkin son-in-law, whose son (or grandson), in turn, became a naturalized [W8banaki]."[41] Hunting territories were also acquired through Indigenous band migration. When free, for instance, due to the migration of the primary custodians, the

[37] Gélinas, "La Mauricie des Abénaquis au XIXe siècle "., p.52.
[38] Alfred Irving Hallowell, "Hunting Territories and Family Names," (nd)., p.130.
[39] Nicholas Panadis was the father of Théophile Panadis, and great-grandfather of Claude Panadis, one of the narrators.
[40] Hallowell, "Hunting Territories and Family Names.", p.31.
[41] Hallowell, "The Hunting Grounds and Hunting Customs of the St. Francis Abenaki.", p.31.

empty district would welcome other bands.[42] Indeed, "the disintegration of the Kokokack sub-band of Tete de Boule may have been the occasion for [W8banaki] activities in this direction."[43] Migrations, demographic movements, and intermarriages had a direct impact on the uses of hunting grounds, underlining the need to understand W8banakiak hunters' genealogies.

Oral Histories to Archival Sources; Archival Sources to Oral Histories

The Indigenous family system observed by Hallowell does not only show that Indigenous Peoples had a structured way to organize their territories but also demonstrates that each hunting family had a specific relationship with the land. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the land was a space where family relationships were enacted. Cultivating and transmitting fishing and hunting knowledge was part of the ways territories were experienced and understood.

As shown in their testimonies, the elders interviewed often learned from fathers, uncles, grandfathers or other hunters in the community. With the help of Nash's map of the twenty-two hunting districts[44] and Hallowell's field notes, it is possible to cross-reference information from various sources and reconstruct the narrators' genealogy. Names mentioned in the interview recordings are also found in Hallowell's notes, allowing us to retrace hunting activities and relationship to the land, through the eyes of the W8banaki family system – as some of them referred directly to the interviewees' ancestors. These connections shed lights on the wealth of intergenerational connections, as they evoke a stream of knowledge about and connection to the land. What follows is a

[42] Ibid, p.33.
[43] Ibid, p.32.
[44] See Fig. 1 and Fig. 2.

display of these actors – either mentioned in interviews or Hallowell's notes – as well as their associated hunting district. The relationship between the people mentioned in Hallowell's notes and the narrators' will be anonymized, to respect the narrators' anonymity.

- Nagazoa & Nolet – District 1.
    - Pierre Nagazoa, according to Hallowell's notes, was "a full-blooded Algonquin and married a [wabanaki] woman."[45] The fact that he was still considered as w8banaki hunter exemplifies the notion of intermarriage detailed above.
        - Pierre Nagazoa, district 1, hunted with his grandfather Louis; while his father Jonh Baptiste did not hunt over 50 years.[46]
    - Marie Nagazoa, daughter of Pierre Nagazoa, married Eli Nolet.
        - They had three children: Guillaume, Edmond and Jean-Louis Nolet.
    - Guillaume Nolet married Flore Sadoques.
        - They had three children: Annette, Georgette and Diane Nolet.
            - Relatives were present on the March 11, 2024 group interview, sharing guiding stories of Guillaume Nolett. Unfortunately, a male narrator belonging to this family did not learn from his father, as he died young. But he still learned to hunt with other family members, found in Hallowell's archives.

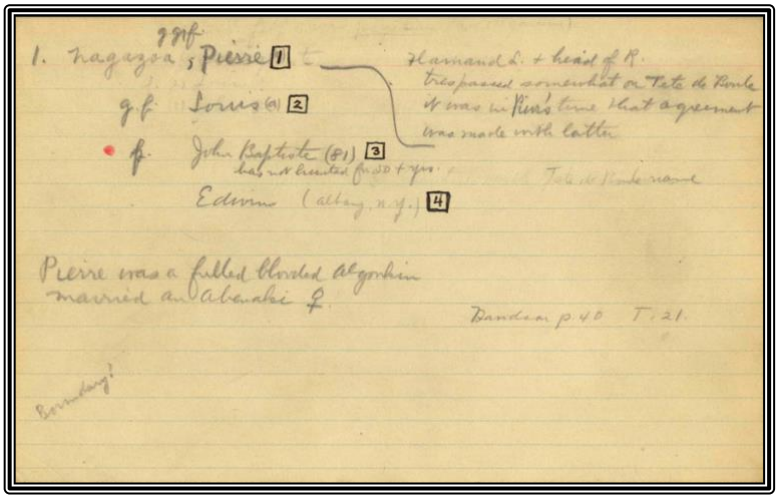

Fig. 3: District 1, Nagazoa & Nolett – Field notes from Hallowell.
Hallowell, "Hunting Territories and Family Names.", p.93

[45] Hallowell, "Hunting Territories and Family Names.", p.93.
[46] Ibid.

- Panadis – District 7.
    - Nicholas Panadis hunted with his four brothers : Louis, Basil, Stanislas and Theo Panadis, mentioned in Hallowell's notes.[47]
        - Nicholas Panadis was Théophile Panadis's father.
        - These two are related to one of our narrators.
            - Théophile and Nicholas Panadis are both mentioned in the narrator's interview as knowledgeable and skilled hunters.

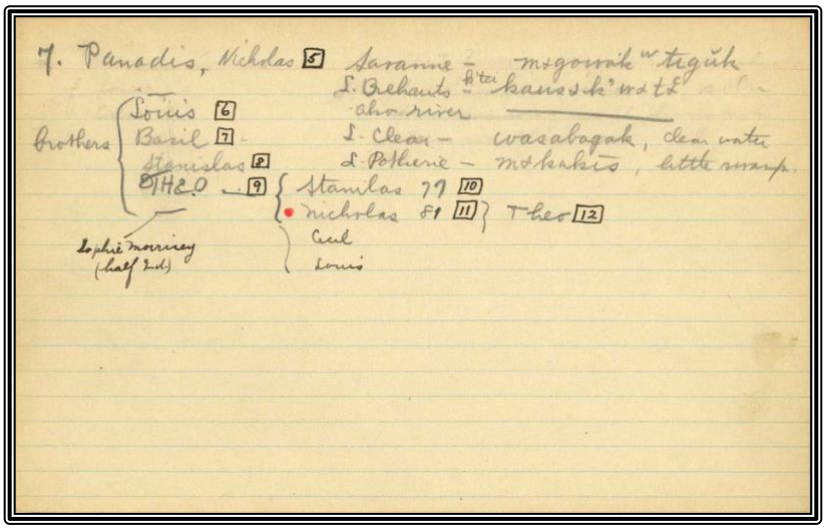

Fig. 4 : District 7, Panadis – Field Notes from Hallowell.
Hallowell, "Hunting Territories and Family Names.", p.115.

- Obomsawin – District 15/16/17.
    - Obomsawin was from a big family that was hunting in multiple districts. According to Hallowell's notes, Obomsawin meant "he who makes and keeps the fire."[48]
    - District 17: Hallowell writes that "all hunted with their grandfather and uncle."[49]
        - In the group of elders interviewed, one of them belongs to the Obomsawin's family tree.
            - Indeed, the narrator shared in his interview that he learned to hunt from Paul-Andry Lamirande and Oliver Obomsawin.
                - Unfortunately, it does not seem that either is mentioned in Hallowell's notes. Still, their family names relate them to Hallowell's understanding of the family system and Nash's districts.

[47] Ibid, p.100.
[48] Ibid, p.124.
[49] Ibid, p.115.

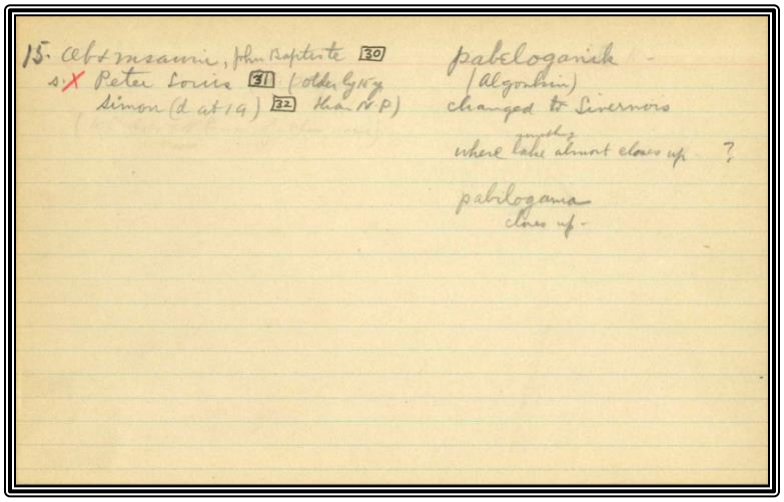

Fig. 5 : District 15, Obomsawin – Field notes from Hallowell.
Hallowell, “Hunting Territories and Family Names.”, p.115.

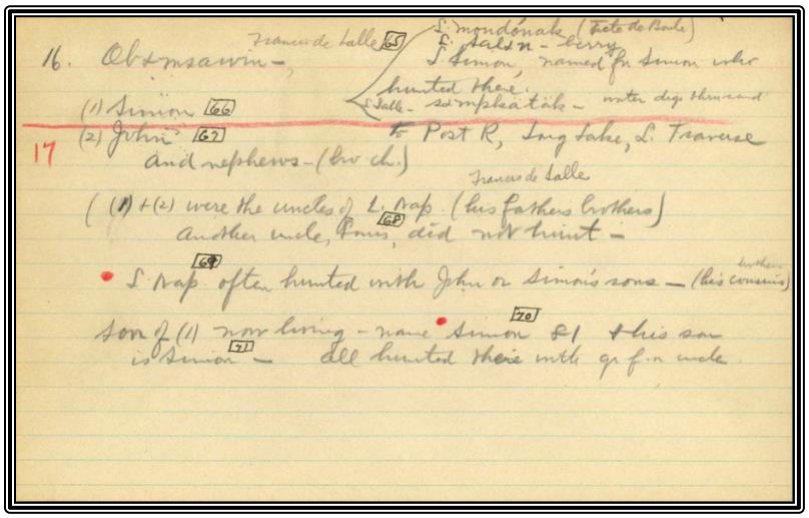

Fig. 6 : District 15, Obomsawin – Field notes from Hallowell.
Hallowell, “Hunting Territories and Family Names.”, p.115.

- Nolet – District 18.
  - Thomas Nolet[50] hunted with Philip, Conrad, Adrien, and Albert.[51]
  - Thomas Nolet was related to narrators present in our group interview.

[50] Most probably not the same Thomas Nolet that hunted with Jean-Claude Nolet, mentioned above, as they do not seem to be from the same generation.
[51] Hallowell, "Hunting Territories and Family Names.", p.116.

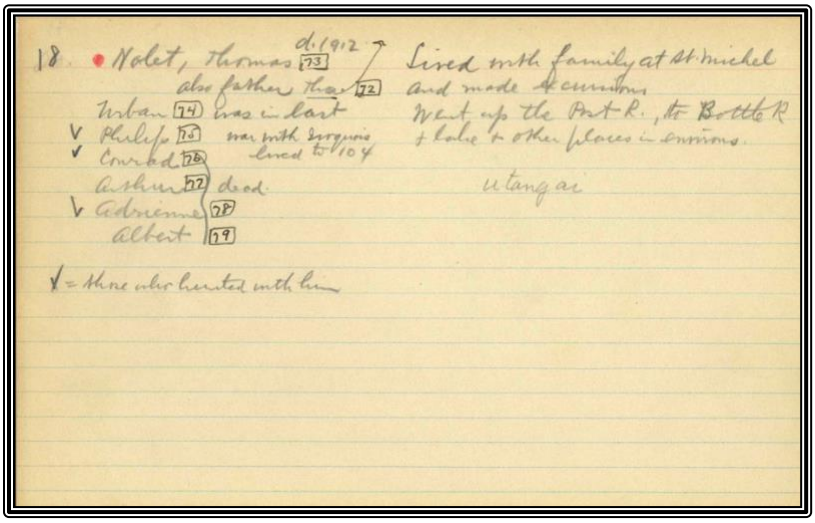

Fig. 7 : District 18, Nolet – Field notes from Hallowell.
Hallowell, “Hunting Territories and Family Names.”, p.116.

Just as the archival record highlights the significance of family lineage and family relationships, so, too, did the narrators speak to knowledge transmission about hunting practices and family relationships. The information shared in the interviews, cross-referenced with Hallowell’s notes, evokes the multiple webs of relationships at play; W8banakiak hunters experienced the land through kinship. Indeed, Hallowell’s notes echoed the memories that were shared in the interviews with the elders. Writing about the Panadis family, he stated that : “From early boyhood he accompanied his father and uncle on their hunting trips.”[52] Later on, listing his multiple collaborators, he wrote about Thomas Sadoques, who “although never a hunter himself, made several trips to his father’s hunting grounds when a very young man.”[53] Furthermore, many lakes that are shown in Hallowell’s and Nash’s accounts were mentioned by the narrators. These places – Lac Long, Lac Claire, Lac Édouard – frequented by their great-grandfathers, were still the environment in which modern elders kept and practiced their knowledge of the land

[52] Hallowell, "The Hunting Grounds and Hunting Customs of the St. Francis Abenaki." p.18.
[53] Ibid, p.19.

that had trickled down to them, displaying again the deep relationship between knowledge, family, and territories.

Conclusion

The generational transmission of knowledge is the key concept to highlighted in this chapter, emanating as it did from both oral interviews and archival sources. As has been shown, the land on which W8banakiak learned their first hunting skills was one that was known and understood by their close family and community members. Elders forged their relationship with the land through the experiences of being and hunting on the land with their male kin, who taught them about ancestral traditions and the knowledge imparted by the land itself. The narrators interviewed in the past decade still recall those days as joyful times of their youth. To learn how to trap, to hunt and to fish early in life was part of the education received by many young men received within the community. Multiple testimonies demonstrate how by the age five, six, or seven, narrators had acquired knowledge and skills that adults outside the community did not possess. This knowledge was central to their cultural identity and relationships.

This first chapter has highlighted how W8banakiak had rooted relationships with the land, fish, and animals from times immemorial. These relationships were deeply affected by the systems imposed by settler-colonists: colonialism and capitalism. Even so, the following chapter will demonstrate how Indigenous Peoples and the W8banaki Nation played a key role in private clubs and witnessed the early attempts of wildlife regulations. Hallowell, for one, showed how his collaborators had

practiced “methods of game conservation”[54] long before colonial conservation legislation. Having established the crucial role of family relationships, Chapter 2 will turn to the establishment of gaming laws, the emergence of fishing and hunting clubs, and just what it meant for the narrators to be guides in their youth.

[54] Hallowell, "The Hunting Grounds and Hunting Customs of the St. Francis Abenaki.", p.41.

Chapter 2 – Colonization: Hunting with the Non-Indigenous

The narrators, interviewed by the Ndakina Office and me, demonstrated through their hunting stories how they had a strong bond with their elders and the land. In the following pages, I will follow their journey into the woods, this time focusing on their experiences as hunting and fishing guides. This chapter will provide a brief overview of the emergence of hunting and fishing regulations and the rise of hunting clubs and private outfitters in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, thereby establishing the colonial context in which the narrators' lives unfolded. I will then demonstrate how capitalist and colonial interests framed wildlife as a new industry, seeking to establish control over territories and resources and make profits. Sportsmen – urbanites venturing into the forest – constituted a new group of actors, affluent enough to indulge in this expensive hobby and disturbing Indigenous relationships with the land. Having drawn this portrait, I then seek to analyze how these actors relied heavily on Indigenous knowledge. I will also examine the consequences such developments had on Indigenous and rural communities. Lastly, I will turn to narrators' memories, describing their daily work and the relationship they entertained with these moments of their youth. Guiding was difficult and physically taxing work. By embodying the teachings of their elders, narrators were able to adapt to changing times. Such intergenerational knowledge helped the W8banaki Nation to financially support their community and resist to colonial pressures.

In northern North America, settlers' relationship with nature and wildlife came to be governed by a new set of public narratives in the mid-nineteenth century. As environmental historian Tina Loo has argued, the concept of wildlife itself did not

exist prior to the colonial era. The wild was simply life. The word eventually came to designate "game and vermin"[1], connotations that would persist into the following decades. One was to be hunted, the other to be controlled or suppressed – the wild had to be under society's control; it has to be tamed. According to Loo's understanding:

> Wildlife management was directed largely towards the conservation of species . . . designed to safeguard the long-term survival and health of animals in order to ensure their continued use by humans. Conservation strategies might involve preservationist measures, . . . but these restrictions were temporary . . . and were meant . . . [to sustain] a return to hunting or trapping.[2]

Wildlife management was an environmental ideology that understood the fauna as a limited resource. The transition from survival hunting to hunting for recreational purposes brought forth another vision of the land. In the mid-nineteenth century, the colonial state came to regard the "wilderness" as a new and lucrative touristic attraction and looked to expand its revenues through the new industry. [3] By the end of the century, recreational fishing and hunting received more and more attention and investments, motivated by the fast development of urban centers and the need to capitalize on another frontier.[4]

The governmental regulation of hunting activities began in the 1840s.[5] At the time, overhunting and the decline of game, paired with population growth, had become a problem. Multiple regulations were adopted, including the 1843 laws to protect deer so as to "better manage stocks for subsistence and commercial

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[1] Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wilflife in the twentieth century* (Toronto, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006). p.4.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid, p.5.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Darcy Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914* (Vancouver Toronto UBC Press, 2013)., p.36.

purposes" in both Lower and Upper Canada.[6] As Loo asserts, "the main conservation strategy they pursued centered on controlling predation. Laws encouraged the destruction of some animals and limited or prohibited killing of others by setting seasons and bag limits."[7]

The 1860s did not only see the establishment of hunting and fishing legal structures but also the rise of leisure hunting and fishing in the province. In Montreal, the *Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club* brought together its members in "an associational framework for civic participation in wildlife protection."[8] Members lobbied for wildlife preservation by organizing "public lectures on fish and game protection and related subjects, distributing copies of the fish and game laws, and petitioning."[9] These new clubs helped shape new laws and narratives, sometimes going as far as lobbying against other industries.[10] Club members were well organized and knew how to navigate the field of politics. The *Club des Chasseurs de Québec*, founded on February 1st 1870, was governed by a detailed set of rules and formulated its purpose as follows: "Le but du Club des Chasseurs de Québec est d'unir au moyen d'une organisation régulière et permanente, . . . et coopérer, en tout temps, dans les réformes nécessaires pour harmoniser les lois de chasse, avec les besoins et circonstances du district de Québec."[11] These were the conditions by which state and

[6] Ibid.
[7] Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wilflife in the twentieth century*., p.1.
[8] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.39.
[9] Ibid, p.63.
[10] Fish and Game Protection Club, "Fifth Annual Report," (Montreal: Herald Steam Press, 1864). https://archive.org/details/fifthannualrepor00fish/page/4/mode/1up., p.5.
[11] Club des chasseurs de Québec, "Règlement du Club des chasseurs de Québec [microforme]: fondé le 1er février, 1870," (1870). https://archive.org/details/cihm_26983 ., p.3.

private investors started to work together to accelerate the exploitation of Quebec's game, setting the scene for the rise of fishing and hunting clubs in the 1870s.

Colonial Assimilation, Indigenous Resistance

The following section will focus on the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and settler-colonists in the early regulation period of wildlife management, illustrating that although assimilationist strategies were employed, Indigenous hunters resisted and did not always comply with colonial pressures. In regulating hunting and fishing, the colonial state sought to assimilate Indigenous Peoples by targeting "Indigenous hunting and fishing techniques"[12] and granting exceptions for Indigenous hunters only if they were not perceived as a threat to settlers. Take, for example, the history of salmon fishing. Between late summer and late spring, only fishing by angling was allowed.[13] Indigenous fishermen were granted exceptions in 1857, but "were forbidden to sell, barter or give away their catch."[14] As David Calverley argues, the "Game Acts contained specific clauses exempting First Nations in [Ontario] . . . Because wildlife was not a subsistence activity for [most] settlers by the mid-nineteenth century."[15] Quebec wildlife and game laws and regulations exhibited a similar asymmetry whereby the government sought to both control and suppress Indigenous communities' ways of living, while offering occasional exceptions to undermine protest.

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[12] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.84.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] David Calverley, *Who Controls the Hunt? First Nations, Treaty Rights, and Wildlife Conservation in Ontario, 1783–1939* (Vancoucer: UBC Press, 2018)., p.30.

These exceptions eventually became the source of tensions. Conservation advocates voiced their concerns to the state, capitalizing on association memberships and advocated directly to the public. Darcy Ingram's research shows that "in the first statement [of] the Quebec City protection club . . . followers [described] a detailed and sustained attack on Indigenous hunting practices."[16] A year after the exceptions afforded to Indigenous hunters and fishermen, the government caved under the influence of conservation advocates and signed the "Game Act" that limited hunting and fishing techniques deemed to be "primitive and barbaric."[17] The terms 'game' and 'vermin' took a different meaning when Indigenous hunters and practices were targeted by these new associations. The consequences of such laws and measures were severe, often leading to "impoverishment and hardship."[18] Indigenous life was threatened, as "[their] reliance on wildlife had been interwoven with North American economy, politics and society for centuries."[19] As Calverley points out, "commission reports listed hawks, owls, weasels, coyotes, and foxes as vermin, but the most destructive of all was the wolf. Vying for the infamous distinction of chief destroyer of wild- life were First Nations."[20] Vermin had to be controlled or eliminated to ensure the propagation of the game. His research demonstrates that First Nations' hunters were recast as the problem; for they allegedly killed the hunters' game and affected the industry.[21]

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[16] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.85.
[17] Ibid, p.86.
[18] Ibid, p.170.
[19] Ibid, p.80.
[20] Calverley, *Who Controls the Hunt? First Nations, Treaty Rights, and Wildlife Conservation in Ontario, 1783–1939*., p.35.
[21] Ibid.

In 1859, for example, some club members complained to authorities about "two notorious [Indigenous] spearers"[22] that "should be punished and the dignity of the law upheld, as also to show others that the 'Game Act' was a reality."[23] Furthermore, the decline of wildlife in general was welcomed by the Indian Department as it furthered its interest to "civilize" Indigenous communities.[24] Restraining Indigenous hunting and fishing activities meant pressuring Indigenous Peoples to adopt "agricultural production and wage labor"[25], as sedentary lines of work were to manage and control by colonial states.

First Nations and Indigenous hunters protested these laws and argued for their rights, "[basing] their claims on traditional practices."[26] In Ingram's research, a testimonial from a non-Indigenous game warden illustrates the matter:

> So far, great difficulty has been experienced in preventing Indians from spearing, and in making them observe the fishery laws. Owing to their aversion to the cultivation of the soil, their former habits, their proverbial laziness, and their daily wants, they have been found always difficult to deal with.[27]

These words from 1869 are an example of the confrontations between the paternalism of governmental fish and game regulations and Indigenous resistance to colonial laws.

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[22] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.89.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.94.
[26] Ibid, p.95.
[27] Ibid, p.96.

The government did create some exceptions for Indigenous hunters in the law, allowing them to hunt large game "on condition that their poverty had been established."[28] Napoleon Comeau's autobiography of 1909, titled *Life and Sport*, shares tales of journeys into the wild and mentions Indigenous peoples who were greatly suffering from hunger, although the Indian Department claimed that they were "almost self-supporting."[29] For instance, Comeau described the case of an "old Indian widow that was left behind by her relatives when they left for their winter hunt."[30] The widow, without any resources, was helped by some charitable members of the community, while the Indian agent only sent "about four dollars' worth of provisions to keep her and her child through the whole winter."[31] The author detailed how struggling Indigenous peoples were a "burden . . . to the settlers and others on the coast"[32] as they had to be taken care of by the surrounding community with little help from state agencies. Comeau's empathy towards Indigenous Peoples might stem from the fact that he was a man of the bush and had learned much from Indigenous hunters. Even though legislatures technically adopted exceptions in favor of Indigenous hunters, government agencies kept finding ways to ostracize members of First Nations. In the case illustrated by the author, it is worthwhile to note that he proposed to exploit fish and game resources to share the revenues in rural and local communities. As he stated, salmon rivers could be exploited by "some wealthy and

[28] Ibid, p.170.
[29] Napoleon A. Comeau, "Life and sport on the north shore of the lower St. Lawrence and Gulf, containing chapters on salmon fishing, trapping, the folk-lore of the Montagnais Indians and tales of adventure on the fringe of the Labrador peninsula," (1909). https://archive.org/details/lifesportonnorth00comerich., p.367.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.

influential angler,"[33] coming to an arrangement with the Indigenous communities as they would benefit from the river's rental,"[34] employing them as "anglers, as guides and canoemen, at which all of them are experts."[35] Comeau's evocation of an affluent individual, rescuing a rural community in need through club investments, foreshadows how embedded the fish and game industries would become in local economies. Stéphane Castonguay's research reminds us that "subsistence farmers, commercial fishers, and Indigenous People had to grapple with a new cultural order as the government deemed hunting and fishing exclusively sporting activities and declared all other methods of capture illegal"[36] and, in the process, marginalized Indigenous cultures, identities and relationship with the land and its wildlife.

Tourism and Leisure Hunting: A Privilege of the Wealthy

The following section will explore various impacts of the new regulations and laws detailed above, more specifically how wildlife became a profitable industry that targeted an elite clientele. The *Winchester Club*, created in 1801, was the first of its kind in Quebec. Gathering and defending sportsmen's interests, it was founded by two upper-class man: "William H. Parker, [un riche citoyen des États-Unis], et Louis-Alphonse Boyer, propriétaire d'un moulin à scie et ex-député de Maskinongé."[37] The club leased a "territoire vaste et exclusif"[38] granted by the province of Quebec in Lower-Mauricie and

[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid, p.366.
[35] Comeau, "Life and sport on the north shore of the lower St. Lawrence and Gulf, containing chapters on salmon fishing, trapping, the folk-lore of the Montagnais Indians and tales of adventure on the fringe of the Labrador peninsula.", p.367
[36] Stéphane Castonguay, *The Government of Natural Resources*, trans. Käthe Roth (Vancouver Toronto: UBC Press, 2021)., p.109.
[37] Paul-Louis Martin, "L'histoire de la pêche sportive au Québec," *Rabaska* 18 (2020), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.7202/1072901ar., p.64.
[38] Ibid.

quickly attracted “une cinquantaine d’autres sportifs financièrement aisés . . . qui débourse des centaines de dollars à titre de frais d’adhésion.”[39] As reflected in the nationality of the founders-owners, Quebec’s game was “not only [appealing] to sportsmen from Quebec but also [to] growing numbers from elsewhere, particularly the eastern United States.”[40]

The *Winchester* and the *Laurentian Club*, created shortly thereafter, was the most popular amongst leisure hunters and fishermen. They constituted significant capital investments. The *Winchester Club* had “no less than 55 different buildings upon its limits . . . the camp buildings with their equipment [were] valued at over 25 000$”[41], and counted “243 memberships in 1900 [as well as a total of] hunting leases of 481 square miles in Champlain’s country and another 356 square miles in St Maurice country.”[42] As for the second club, an advertising brochure of the Laurentian Club was published by the well-known magazine *Sportsman’s Paradise* in 1909, describing “The Sportsman’s paradise: Laurentide House, cottages and camps, fish & game reserves”. The club did “cover about 700 square miles . . . upon which [were] built numerous camps for the convenience of . . . guests.”[43] At the turn of the twentieth century, these two clubs owned wide swaths of land in the Mauricie region.

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[39] Ibid.
[40] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.104.
[41] Ibid, p.133.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Quebec) Laurentide House (Lake Edward, "The Sportsman's paradise [microform]: Laurentide House, cottages and camps, fish & game reserves, Lake Edward, P.Q., Canada," (1909). https://archive.org/details/cihm_78141/page/n21/mode/2up., p.2

The success of these first clubs attracted other investors who sought to profit from the province's fish and game resources. In response, the government created administrative bodies to manage and transform the fishing and hunting territories into leases, whereby individuals would rent land. The archives studied by Ingram showed that the "leasing of twenty-eight salmon rivers in 1873 [generated] 2 722$"[44], and that the median pricing of leases was of "20$ or less"[45]. These leases were created by the government to cater specifically to the needs of this new industry. An issue of the *Sportsman's Paradise* from 1895, entitled "Our Rivers and lakes: fish and game", praised the abundance of fish and game in the province and the rapid growth in revenue from the leased territories. As stated, the "revenue derived from the leasing of our lakes and rivers amounted to only 2 167.50$ [in 1883], while it reached 9 886.40$ [in 1892], 17 547.31$ [in 1893], 19 047.25$ [in 1894] and over 20 000$ [in 1895]."[46] The data listed in this brochure illustrates the profits made from the exploitation of the system; revenues soared tenfold in little over a decade.

According to Ingram, the emergence of the fishing and hunting industry in Quebec in the 1880s marked the beginning of a "new alliance of francophone politicians, colonization proponents, and Anglo-American businessmen who identified in Quebec's wilderness regions incredible economic opportunities."[47] As Paul-Louis Martin has noted, "la nouvelle de la création d'une telle réserve de pêche et de chasse se répandit rapidement parmi les élites montréalaises . . . qui

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[44] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.74.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Eugène Rouillard, "Our rivers and lakes: fish and game," (Quebec, 1895). https://archive.org/details/cihm_12975/page/n11/mode/1up., p.4.
[47] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.104.

frappèrent à leur tour à la porte du Commissaire des terres pour former d'autres clubs sur ce même modèle."[48] This is not surprising, as the late nineteenth-century leisure hunters and fishers hailed from similar social and economic classes as the conservation advocates of the mid-nineteenth century. The early 1880s also marked the beginnings of the province's acquisition of legislative powers over its rivers and streams. Seeking to exploit the economic potential, the government "passed [in 1883] legislation to grant angling leases on all its rivers and lakes,"[49] a moment that was characterized by Ingram as "a major step toward privatization of all of Quebec's water."[50] Indeed, as Martin held, "1885 [à 1914] les concessions de territoire [aux clubs privés] passent de trois à trois-cents."[51] Leisure hunting and fishing had become a growth industry.

Being member of a club was a privilege that few could enjoy. According to Ingram's research, "the social dynamics behind the protection movement changed"[52], making way for an "Anglo-American network comprised of urban professionals and smaller-scale capitalists seeking to emulate the upper social ranks."[53] Membership was regarded as a "status marker"[54] and admission to the exclusive clubs carefully regulated."[55] Ingram explains that "typically, the membership process entailed recommendations and nominations by existing

[48] Martin, "L'histoire de la pêche sportive au Québec.", p.64.
[49] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.106.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Martin, "L'histoire de la pêche sportive au Québec.", p.51.
[52] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*. p.134.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid, p.135.
[55] Ibid.

members."[56] The studies consulted clearly demonstrate how leisure hunting and fishing had become synonymous with wealth, social status, and connections.

Club members were affluent, mostly anglophone, and members of elite circles. These wannabe woodsmen were in search of an all-inclusive experience of the wild. Even decades later, in the 1950s to 1970s, leisure hunters and fishers would high social status. In the interview recordings, all narrators referred to club members as *messieurs*. This distinguished titled symbolizes the difference in social status between the guides and the guided.[57] Most of the club members, as the narrators agreed, were from the higher class of society: "Ah oui! Du monde riche! Nous, on était tous pauvres! Les messieurs qui avait là, oh boy … « On ne fait pas rien nous, vous faites tout pour nous autres! »"[58]

These men of power and capital carried the clubbing phenomenon further. Allied with the conservation lobby, the government eventually adopted a bill in 1885 "specifying leases' modalities regarding territory transfers."[59] This new legislation was entitled the *Act to facilitate the creation of fish and game protection clubs in the province of Quebec*. It sought to structure and manage the "les limites précises [des territoires], les obligations du locataire, le respect des règles de capture, la tenue d'un registre, la présence d'un gardien et le loyer annuel."[60] The act led to the incorporation of clubs, modelled on 1850s to 1870s conservation

[56] Ibid.
[57] A topic that will be further detailed in the following sections.
[58] Aln8ba(2), interview.
[59] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.106.
[60] Martin, "L'histoire de la pêche sportive au Québec.", p.64.

clubs and associations. Conscious of the clubs' financial powers, the government hoped that they would "promote fish and game protection and pursue private prosecution [of regulation violation] through courts . . . and encourage investment of capital [into the industry];"[61] whether it was by publications and advertisement in local papers, or the distribution of "copies of the fish and game laws in nearly every town . . . and offering rewards for the conviction of persons infringing these laws."[62] The government was thus encouraging the privatization of the industry, entrusting investors to develop the requisite infrastructure and administration.

In Montreal, the *Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club* was "at the forefront"[63] of lobbying efforts in the 1880s. It even hired some guardians who were to be sent into rural regions[64] to enforce state laws, proceed "with the help of its lawyers to prosecution,"[65] and "meet with provincial ministers to discuss protection strategies."[66] This clearly shows the influence the conservation movement wielded among fishing and hunting clubs and within government walls. As other historians have noted, there is a clear correlation between conservationist advocates' economic visions and the nature of the laws adopted with the intent of "improving fish and game resources" as a "means of realizing the productivity of lands with little or no agricultural value."[67] The language of conservation is inseparably entwined with capital and investments rather than preservation and

[61] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.108.
[62] Ibid, p.45.
[63] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.125.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid, p.111.

conservation of fauna. Indeed, it would generate impressive profits from the commercialization of the First Nations hunting territories and fishing waters.

Sportsmen from the financial elite "spread out quickly across the province"[68], as did the new clubs that "took control of the province's best sporting ground."[69] But this phenomenon also became a source of tension between legislators. In 1895, Quebec's government decided to transpose its fishing lease system "to establish private hunting leases"[70], opening the door to entrepreneurs that did not have "wildlife conservation . . . at the forefront of these organizations."[71] A parliamentary debate in 1895 brought to the fore the tensions surrounding the new legislation. Islet's deputy M.F.G.M. Dechêne was deeply concerned about the consequences such legislation would have on settlers who were kept from fishing and hunting on the province's best territories because "ces prétendus millionnaires se sont emparés de nos meilleurs lacs à l'exclusion des colons du voisinage."[72] To this, Terrebonne's deputy G. A. Nantel responded that "rien n'a plus aidé à la colonisation que les clubs de pêche dans la région du Saint-Maurice."[73] which brought money into rural areas and helped stimulate the economy. The issue at play between the two deputies was one of class privilege, but it nevertheless illustrates the tensions arising from the growing popularity of fishing and hunting clubs. The answer from Terrebonne's deputy speaks to the relationship

[68] Ibid, p.46.
[69] Ibid, p.112.
[70] Ibid, p.110.
[71] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.110.
[72] Jean Boucher, "Assemblée Nationale du Québec, Débats de l'Assemblée Législative - 8e législature, 4e session," (1895)., p.251.
[73] Ibid.

between fish and game laws and the state's perpetual need for colonization, to always control and capitalize on new resources while disregarding the Indigenous Peoples (and rural communities) of the land.

The lease system initiated by the government and the incorporation of clubs led to "[entrench] more firmly some aspects of the patrician approach to conservation"[74] that were motivated by colonial and capitalist morals. These conservation policies would have a major impact on colonial society's relationship with fish and game as well as rural and Indigenous communities. The alliance of public and private powers to capitalize on game and wildlife promoted a new narrative and lore that was popularized through its advertisement, as shown in the following section.

The new industry needed clients – sportsmen and tourists who would spend considerable amounts of money to experience the wild. Martin specifies that "au fil des annonces de nouvelles voies ferrées, les demandes de concession de territoire et d'incorporation de clubs ne cessent de parvenir au gouvernement."[75] These were followed by the increase of memberships demands. Venturing capitalists – such as club founders – sought to turn a profit from "sport-based travel"[76], facilitated by the development of transportation means such as railroads into more remote territory. Multiple pamphlets and guidebooks were published at the end of the 19th century and distributed in both Canada and the United States, advertising the game

[74] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.134.
[75] Martin, "L'histoire de la pêche sportive au Québec.", p.66.
[76] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.118.

abundance and lush forests of the province including the popular *Canadian Sportsman and Naturalist, Road and Gun in Canada*, and *The Canadian Guidebook: The Tourist's and Sportsman's Guide to Eastern Canada and Newfoundland.*

The *Canadian Pacific Railway* (CPR) played an important role in the promotion of Canada's wild territories, including the province of Quebec. In 1900 the CPR published a pamphlet detailing the fishing lakes and hunting lands that tourists and sportsman could reach by the means of its service. In the very first page of this document, the debt to "N. E. Cormier, Provincial Game Warden and Fishery Overseer for the Province of Quebec"[77] in compiling this wealth of information was gratefully acknowledged, thereby clearly illustrating the relationships between the privatization of the game, the ongoing colonial conquest of territories through railroads, and government institutions. This document represented an idyllic and untouched territory, ready to be explored by the modern sportsmen: "The Canadian Pacific Railway traverses the country of all kinds and has opened up to sportsmen vast tracts hitherto practically inaccessible and, while reaching shooting and fishing grounds hitherto unworked, conveys its passengers to the field of their operations in more than ordinary comfort and luxury."[78] The correlation between colonization and sportsmen is also discussed in Ingram's work that details how "groups like the

[77] Canadian Pacific Railway Company, "Fishing and shooting along the lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway: in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, the Maritime Provinces, the prairies and mountains of western Canada, and in the state of Maine / issued by the Passenger Traffic Department, Canadian Pacific Railway," (1895). https://archive.org/details/fishingshootinga00cana/page/n1/mode/2up., p.1.
[78] Ibid, p.3.

"Montreal Colonization Society" promoted fish and game [as means of] drawing potential immigrants."[79]

What attracted these newcomers was built on appealing narratives and lore, cultivated through extraordinary storytelling and the recounting of intense journeys in the bush. Historian Tina Loo specifies that "managing wildlife . . . was not simply about protection: it also involved deploying wild animals to enhance and indeed create a generalized wilderness experience for tourists – even if that means sacrificing the animals' lives or, in other cases, their wildness."[80] Selling the experience and appreciation of the wild was becoming part of the work of state agencies, both at the provincial and federal levels.

Hunting was presented as a new way to attain manhood, aimed at urbanites who sought affirmation through adventure – while at the same time being advertised as a luxurious experience. A guidebook titled *Fishing and Shooting*, published in 1895 by the CPR, detailing fishing and hunting information in the provinces of "Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, the Maritime Provinces, the prairies and mountains of western Canada, and in the state of Maine."[81] In this edition, the authors drew the public's attention to an abundance of game and the life-long memories sportsmen could bring back from their journeys. As the author warned hunters in language that was deeply gendered and steeped in racial

[79] Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflit in Quebec, 1840-1914*., p.117.
[80] Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wilflife in the twentieth century*., p.27.
[81] Company, "Fishing and shooting along the lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway: in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, the Maritime Provinces, the prairies and mountains of western Canada, and in the state of Maine / issued by the Passenger Traffic Department, Canadian Pacific Railway.", p.1.

stereotypes: “Right well did the Indian hunter know what tested manhood, when first he wrenched the great scimitar-shaped claws from the broad forepaw of the dead grizzly and strung them around his neck as a token to prove a man.”[82] Big game meant big man. The equation was simple enough: the deadlier the prey, the manlier the sportsmen, as long as they could share their story and showcase their trophy. As historian Gillian Poulter notes in her studies of images and pictures of sport hunting in the late nineteenth century:

> In terms of the cultural meaning produced, the images reinforce the proper roles and spheres of male and female. Sport historians Donald Wetherell and Irene Kmet aver that "the photograph, the hunting story, and the trophy became the primary means of communicating and establishing a permanent record of the gender exclusivity and male bonding characteristic of hunting." Tina Loo refers to big-game hunting as "an occasion in which male sexuality was on display for other men." In competing for trophies, size did matter - as witness the popularity of record books such as Rowland Ward's Records of big game with the distribution, characteristics, dimensions, weights, and horn and tusk measurements other different species, published in London in 1896.[83]

The readers will also note the dual narrative spun by capitalists and colonial actors regarding Indigenous hunters, who were represented as barbaric on the one hand and brave and manly on the other. Poulter commented on the phenomenon of Indigenous men hired as guides while also performing “female tasks”[84] such as setting camp and cooking dinner. According to the author, “since Indigenous peoples and nature itself were customarily identified as feminine, this separation and contrast underscores the dominance and masculinity of the white hunters –

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[82] Ibid, p.61.
[83] Gillian Poulter, *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land. Sport, Visual Culture, and Identity in Montreal, 1840-85* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009)., p.111..
[84] Ibid.

besides, of course, being a marker of racial difference."[85] As the authors of the 1895 CPR guidebook noted in their conclusion:

> And when your holiday is done, and you are speeding homeward by the royal road, with your muscles strong after glorious work, and your skin tanned by the mountain air, you will think over every moment of your outing; of the splendor of the sunrise, the magnificence of the scenery; the glaciers, the torrents, and the thousand and one marvels of the wonderland you have left; of your beautiful trophies, and as you take your last backward glance, and your straining eyes catch the last glint of the snow-clad peaks, you will say, "my heart's in the mountains", unless, indeed it should happen to have been left elsewhere.[86]

This romantic narration, filled with nostalgia, pictured the victorious sportsmen after having killed game from his blood, sweat and tears. Yet nowhere does it acknowledge the labour of his Indigenous guides who carried the equipment, cooked the meals, and told the sportsmen where to go and when to shoot. Furthermore, the experience advertised by the clubs were ones of luxury and comfort. The Laurentian Club advertising brochure claimed to have "excellent accommodations for those who do not wish to go into camps or tents or rent a cottage."[87] They offered an all-inclusive journey into the wild, with "guides that [carried] equipment, [prepared] lunches and dinners"[88] – promising life-changing expeditions and connection to nature that would dazzle all modern sportsmen with its beauty. Such publicity rather tempered the image of hyper-masculinity and rough woodsmen and hunters.

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[85] Ibid.
[86] Company, "Fishing and shooting along the lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway: in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, the Maritime Provinces, the prairies and mountains of western Canada, and in the state of Maine / issued by the Passenger Traffic Department, Canadian Pacific Railway.", p.2.
[87] Laurentide House (Lake Edward, "The Sportsman's paradise [microform]: Laurentide House, cottages and camps, fish & game reserves, Lake Edward, P.Q., Canada.", p.14.
[88] Ibid.

At the turn of the twentieth century, rural economies were undergoing rapid changes. Many clubs were established in proximity to Indigenous communities and started to hire Indigenous guides. According to Martin, some influential personalities, like "Gros-Louis et des Sioui parmi les guides des clubs établis le long du chemin de fer du Lac-Saint-Jean."[89] These guides were employed to "guide fishermen . . . gather the equipment, accessories and necessary food . . . prepare the captured game" and paddle the canoes.[90] By 1908, "more than 90 guides were hired to go into the woods with a number of members" every year.[91] According to Stephane Castonguay, this marked a moment when the clubs were not only shaping the territories they were leasing, but also "became agents of cultural change, as their members hired Indigenous and Euro-Canadian local residents as guides, in order to liberate them from their subsistence activities."[92] Underpinning these economic opportunities, in other words, was an ideology that sought to assimilate and "elevate" Indigenous peoples and bring them into the age of modernity.

By the late nineteenth century, Indigenous guiding expertise had become part of sportsman's lore. Covering multiple Canadian provinces and territories, the 1895 guidebook *Fishing and Shooting* noted that Indigenous guides were found in almost every region of the country, available for hire by visiting sportsmen. In places like Sault-Saint Marie, Michigan, and Wisconsin, the pamphlet proclaimed: "an exciting amusement is running the wild rapids in a canoe manned by Indians, it being an

[89] Martin, "L'histoire de la pêche sportive au Québec.", p.66.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Castonguay, *The Government of Natural Resources*., p.98.

experience that the visitor will neither regret nor forget."[93] The authors even informed the sportsmen what they should expect to pay if they decided to hire Indigenous guides at Red Rock, Nipigon, Ontario : "The rates for two Indians and a canoe being from 2$ to 4$ per day."[94] The W8bankiak hunters were also mentioned in the promotion of territories in New Brunswick: "At the confluence of the rivers is situated a village of Abenaquis Indians, who make reliable guides, and will show the way to camp sites, salmon pools and the haunts of trout."[95] Indigenous guides were understood to be essential to the experience of the wild.

The knowledge of the land by Indigenous hunters was something that the fishing and hunting industry, the tourists and the modern sportsmen were well aware of and relied on. Hunting publicity cast Indigenous guides as skilled and manly and in thoroughly stereotypical fashion. In essentialist prose, pamphlets proclaimed: "The Indians, it must be remembered, are greatly your superiors, both in the approach of, or retract from dangerous game; they steal noiselessly and patiently upon their victim and never fire until they are at close range and sure of dropping it in its tracks."[96] Gillian Poulter, for one, has argued that "hunting . . . enacted mastery over, and enabled colonists to step into the place of, its Aboriginal peoples. [….] As [the white hunters] learned woodcraft skills from [their] guides, [the white hunters] footsteps literally and symbolically traced over and erased theirs."[97] In her studies on Canadian sport

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[93] Company, "Fishing and shooting along the lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway: in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, the Maritime Provinces, the prairies and mountains of western Canada, and in the state of Maine / issued by the Passenger Traffic Department, Canadian Pacific Railway.", p.47.
[94] Ibid, p.43.
[95] Ibid, p.13.
[96] Ibid, p.62.
[97] Poulter, *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land. Sport, Visual Culture, and Identity in Montreal, 1840-85*., p.114.

hunting, she analyzed images from the mid 19th century and concluded that they were "a carefully constructed public that legitimizes regulated, 'Canadian' sport hunting and subordinates . . . the First Nations and French-Canadian hunters."[98] This tension between settler-Indigenous relationships led to the capitalization and usurpation of Indigenous knowledge by white hunters.

As our narrators recounted, this tension was still at play in their guiding days, as they experienced subordination from some club members, while being praised for their expertise of the land. On that matter, Nash and Obomsawin have observed that "la majeure partie des [territoires de chasses familiaux revendiqués par les Abénakis furent en majeur parti] fini par être acquise par le Laurentian Club"[99] where most of the guides interviewed worked and learned to hunt. If club members often had a demeaning attitude towards Indigenous guides, they nonetheless sometimes had their favorites, as the interviewees' testimonies demonstrated. This was common knowledge amongst the club members and Indigenous guides. Some Indigenous guides – often from the same family – were automatically paired with specific club members. As Aln8ba(3) remembers: "tout le monde savait que la famille Clark, c'était Adrien Panadis qu'elle voulait."[100] Aln8ba(4) confirmed it: "Oui! Les préférés c'étaient [les Panadis]. Les trois [générations]. Le meilleur c'était, le plus vieux."[101] Aln8ba(4) shares this with great pride. Being a good guide meant that you were a good hunter, and that your

[98] Ibid, p.87.
[99] Nash and Obomsawin, "Théophile Panadis (1889-1966), un guide abénaquis "., p.78.
[100] Aln8ba(3), interview.
[101] Aln8ba(4), interview.

knowledge and relationships with the land were acknowledged by others. Indigenous guides were perceived to be the best of the best, the ones that tourists wanted to hire first in fishing and hunting clubs, to emulate their skills.

From Hunters to Guides

Having described the emergence of the first clubs and the luxury experience they advertised, the following section will focus on the perspective of the W8banakiak guides in the 1950s and 1960s. Every narrator and collaborator agreed: guiding was hard work. Most of the elders interviewed started young. Aln8ba(4) was only 15 years old on his first run.[102] Aln8ba(8), like most of the others, was 17 or 18 years old.[103] Aln8ba(5) was the oldest to start when he was approaching his mid-20s.[104] The work was physically challenging. They worked for long hours and carried heavy loads in harsh conditions, putting on their shoulders canoes up to 18 feet long, sometimes in aluminum, held by their foreheads with what they called a necklace, leather straps that kept the canoe in balance. Aln8ba(3) remembers the pain of his neck and sore back following their runs, carrying loads of luggage.[105] Aln8ba(2) adds, still shocked, that their clients were not even carrying the books they had brought for entertainment.[106] Once they arrived at their destination, physically exhausted from bearing heavy loads, guides had to switch gears. They would canoe on the lake and row the club members to the perfect fishing spot, set camp, light a fire, prepare the catches, and cook dinner.[107] The guides were not always the

[102] Aln8ba(4), interview.
[103] Aln8ba(8), "Cam1-1 Verbatim – 2021," interview by Ndakina Office, 2021.
[104] Aln8ba(5), interview.
[105] Aln8ba(3), interview.
[106] Aln8ba(2), interview.
[107] Aln8ba(3), interview.

ones deciding where to go hunting and fishing. Aln8ba(3) remembers that on one of his first runs, he was guiding a club member and his son:

> J'étais avec un monsieur pis son fils d'environ vingt ans, et il décide qu'il veut aller à un lac en haut qu'il veut essayer, mais y'a pas de portage. Tu comprends? Ça veut dire que tu fous ton canot sur tes épaules, et tu t'en vas au lac avec une boussole. Eille. Pas de portage là … C'est effrayant. De peine et de misère avec les branches dans forêt … C'est difficile à imaginer, mais imagine être dans les Saint-Michel jusqu'au cou, 1h30 de temps, tu arrives au lac brûlé, les épaules en feux. Tu les embarques, ils pêchent, maximum 30 minutes. Et ils décident de retourner en bas. Eille. J'étais jeune, donc je parle pas.[108]

The pay was modest. In the 1960s, Aln8ba(8) was receiving 5 dollars per day of work[109] – numbers that were confirmed by Aln8ba(4)[110] and Aln8ba(2).[111] If they were popular among club members, guides might receive tips at the end of their runs: "On se faisait donner de l'argent des fois si la pêche avait été bonne. Surtout par les Américains."[112] On that matter Aln8ba(2) added : "Des fois, ils laissaient 20$ de tips, on était fou dans ce temps-là, on ne connaissait pas ça, l'argent!" [113] The guides relied heavily on the good graces of the club members to enhance their earnings. Still, at the time, it was of one of the few lines of work available to them. When asked why hunters of the community would go back guiding every year, Aln8ba(3) responded: "Parce qu'ils n'avaient pas le choix! Ici, dans la réserve, à part faire ça, des canots, des vanneries … Seulement quelques-uns étaient engagés, mais il n'y avait pas d'emplois. Donc pour

[108] Aln8ba(3), interview.
[109] Aln8ba(8), interview.
[110] Aln8ba(4), interview.
[111] Aln8ba(2), interview.
[112] Aln8ba(5), interview.
[113] Aln8ba(2), interview.

survivre, pour gagner ta vie, c'était la seule opportunité à l'époque. C'était difficile, mais ça faisait partie de la vie."[114]

The young guides had to navigate complex relationships of class, culture, and race. The narrators were employed by a clientele that was unaware of their cultural practices. When asked what their relationship with them was, the answers varied. For Aln8ba(1), "les autres, on trouvait qu'ils étaient corrects"[115]; similarly, Aln8ba(2) said that " [on était avec eux], dans les canots, quand on les guidait … À part de ça on les voyait pas. Quand ça faisait leur affaire il laissait un bon tips."[116] By contrast, Aln8ba(3) recalls relationships that were often fraught. To him, the first word that came to mind when thinking of the club members was condescension: "L'ambiance qu'il y avait au camp, et aux alentours, c'était beaucoup de condescendance. Je peux pas dire qu'ils nous traitaient comme des esclaves, mais c'était pas fort . . . heureusement que mon père était là pour tempérer les choses."[117] Aln8ba(3) was particularly troubled to see how his elders were being treated, and how they needed to perform and behave to get the most out of the job:

> Avec du recul j'ai vu comment on était traité, j'ai vu comment mon père, mon grand-père, pouvaient être traités dans les années 1930. Ça m'a tellement fait quelque chose. Tans les années 1960, on commençait déjà à brassé la cabane. Eux ils avaient été habitués. Pour te donner un exemple, la deuxième journée : Je fumais à l'époque. Mon père me dit : « Ti-gars, range ça! » Je lui demande pourquoi, il me dit de prendre un paquet de tabac, mais pas de cigarettes, parce que ils t'en donneront pas. Le matin c'était la distribution du paquet de Winston qui nous coutait environ 55 cennes. C'était dans leur mentalité de faire pitié … C'était pas méchant non plus, parce que déjà là les gains étaient pas majeurs. Tout ce que tu pouvais ramasser pour faciliter la vie

[114] Aln8ba(3), interview.
[115] Aln8ba(1), interview.
[116] Aln8ba(2), interview.
[117] Aln8ba(3), interview.

> tu le faisais. Moi j'étais pas dans ces mentalités là, mais pour pas faire de problème je suivais.[118]

Aln8ba(4) also had his fair share of difficulties, recounting multiple misadventures with uncollaborative club members. One that marked him was with a club member named *Wakoff*[119], who arrived in the morning already drunk but insisted on going fishing:

> J'ai dit : « Non! Tu tiens pas debout! Tu vas tomber à l'eau! » Il a insisté, pis awaye! Mais là le lac avait au-dessus 2 miles de large, pis 4 miles de long. Ça, c'était le Lac des Hauteurs, sur le top d'une montagne … Fallait y aller en avion. On passait le mois-là avec eux autres. Là je lui ai dit : « Tu fermes ta gueule pis tu m'écoutes! M'en criss de retourner moi, je sais comment revenir. Mon grand-père me l'a montré … » Pis là on est parti à la pêche, la houle était haute . . . Faut que tu coupes les vagues . . . Mais le sans-dessin était assis sur le bord … On arrivait au coin, il y avait une île pas loin. Là je lui ai dit : « Tu t'assis. Dans le fond! » . . . Et le canot à viré … J'ai eu le temps de dire mon Notre Père … On a tout perdu. Tout ce qu'on avait dedans. J'ai perdu mon chapeau, peinturer avec des poissons … Mais, on s'en est sorti . . . J'ai dit : « Mon sacrement, j'aurais pu te laisser te noyer, parce que c'est ta faute si on est passé proche de mourir. »[120]

Many narrators commented on the amount of alcohol consumed during hunting trips. Aln8ba(1) and Aln8ba(2) remembered how they had to carry club members' drinks, on top of everything else[121], and that their "packsacks eux autres c'étaient des 40 onces [d'alcool] et de la bière."[122]

Aln8ba(4), although not always happy with the people he guided, remembered how club members were often ecstatic after their journey. "La journée que j'ai passé icitte, j'en passerai jamais d'autres comme ça!"[123] But they did not always honor or

[118] Ibid.
[119] The spelling of this name is unclear.
[120] Aln8ba(4), interview.
[121] Aln8ba(2), interview.
[122] Aln8ba(1), interview.
[123] Aln8ba(4), interview.

understood the privilege of being in nature, or the respect W8banakiak guides had for the land. Aln8ba(4) shared another story where the people he guided did not respect his instructions:

> Il a pas voulu attendre, et il a tiré l'orignal. Comme un pigeon, l'orignal a sauté dans l'eau. Ça a pris une journée à le sortir de là . . . Il a fallu que l'autre guide retourne au camp, chercher des câbles, et on a plongé … Dans l'eau c'était moins pesant. Mais quand on l'a sorti, là ce n'était pas pareil. La pesanteur est venue. Donc à 4-5, on est venu à bout. Après, eux autres ont pogné une hache … Eux, ils avaient appelé un avion, on pouvait pas toujours les [surveiller] … Ils voulaient seulement la tête. À coup de hache, ils ont coupé la tête, l'ont mis dans des poches, et sont parti en avion. J'ai pogné la carabine à mon grand-père, et j'ai tiré. J'ai frappé le ski … Mon grand-père a crié : « Arrête!! Criss tu vas les tuer!! » Esti, ils m'héritent de mourir, à faire ce qu'ils ont fait. C'était des Américains … Venir ici, tuer le plus bel orignal de leur vie pis partir de même …[124]

The ethics of hunting – making use of the entire animal to honor the land and its wealth – was rooted in the narrators' history. As shown in Chapter 1, they had been taught from a very young age how to trap, to fish, and to hunt, guided by knowledge that had been transmitted from one generation to the next. This knowledge was deeply related to cultural identity and represented a distinct connection to the land and their families' lineage. Aln8ba(4)'s anger towards the unthoughtful and entitled behavior of club members' actions – still powerfully present when sharing this story – illustrates how these teachings, even in colonial settings, were still central to him and other W8banakiak guides. The guiding experience described by the elders echoes the colonial approach to wildlife management by the state and the conservationist movement of the early twentieth century detailed above. Decades later, capitalists'

[124] Ibid.

investments and legislative powers still acted together to exploit profits from these territories, benefiting from the Indigenous knowledge of the land.

Conclusion

At the heart of narrators' stories lies a central paradox: the colonial state conquered the land to support its growth and oppressed Indigenous peoples who were considered obstacles to colonization but still relied on their knowledge and expertise in mastering and exploiting the land. The rapid growth of the fish and game industry, reflected in the exponentially growing number of leases, had an undeniable impact on Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous Peoples and the W8banaki Nation adapted to these changing times, understanding that their knowledge had value. W8banakiak hunters monetized their intergenerational knowledge to guarantee survival and were hired by clubs, where they could keep nourishing a relationship with the land. Some, like Aln8ba(4), took great pride in the valorization of their knowledge. Although in a colonial and capitalist contexts, the actualization of their hunting knowledge ensured a continuation of their intergenerational transmission as well as keeping W8banaki's cultural relationships with the land active, facilitating their adaptation to changing times.

Chapter 3 – Stories, Land and Knowledge Transmission in Modern Days

This last chapter will explore contemporary narratives the W8banaki Nation have created regarding histories of guiding and the generational transmission of knowledge about the land. Based on oral history interviews, it will give voice to elders and contemporary members of the community – young adults, researchers, relatives and museum curators – who interacted with the stories shared in the previous pages. The interviews were conducted by me in 2024, in a life-story/open-ended format and video-recorded via Zoom. I would like to acknowledge the contributions of Edgar Blanchet who helped in the preparation of some of the interviews. This chapter seeks to establish the meaning of the stories told about guiding through the lens of kinship, illuminating the connection between the stories shared by the elders and today's youth. First, I will present current initiatives by the W8banaki Nation to nurture and honor the knowledge of the guides, as modern elders. Then, we will turn to the younger generation who are walking in the guides' footsteps and living with the land. Lastly, I will address the gendered aspect of the stories presented in this thesis by asking how women and daughters perceived the guiding experience of the W8banaki Nation.

This chapter is based solely on oral interviews. On June 6, 2024, I met with Edgar Blanchet, Charlotte Gauthier-Nollet and Tedesso Lachapelle in a group interview that was video-recorded on Zoom. Together, we discussed how they, as members of the younger generation, perceived the memories of guiding, shared by the elders, and the wealth of knowledge about the land these oral histories conveyed. Aln8ba(3) whom we encountered as a narrator in previous chapters, appears in a solo-interview (video-recorded on Zoom

on June 20, 2024) where we further discussed his work as a guide and his experiences on the land. Lastly, I met over Zoom with both Aln8baskwa(6) (July 16, 2024) and Aln8baskwa(7) (August 22, 2024), a daughter and granddaughter of former guides, who had grown up with their father's and grandfather's stories. In these interviews, we reflected on the transmission of knowing with, and about, the land as well the gendered aspect of the guiding experience. These interviews also served as a means to share my findings with various members of the W8abnaki First Nation, whose suggestions and comments added much nuance to this project.

The intergenerational transmission of knowledge and the central role of relationships, key aspects of the oral histories shared by the guides, also held space in the narration of their relatives. Indeed, this project is only one of many contemporary initiatives by which the W8banaki Nation seek to secure their cultural heritage related to this history, as other projects are currently in the works. For instance, a comic book titled *Guides W8banakiak de chasse et pêche : fragments de mémoire* was recently published by Lachapelle and Isaak Lachapelle-Gill, two young w8banaki, picturing the guides' stories from the 1950s to 1970s. His collaborators, several of whom also figure prominently on the pages of this thesis, wanted their experiences as guides to reach a younger public through the medium of the graphic novel. Additionally, Lachapelle produced a podcast series, entitled *Wlipogwat : Ça goûte bon !*, which invited elders to share their knowledge on plants and herbs foraged on the land used in traditional cooking. Gauthier-Nollet, who worked as an intern in the Ndakina Office, wove a basket to represent the conclusion of a report made by the Ndakina Office. These innovative pedagogical and public history initiatives seek to spread culturally significant knowledge

and techniques, attesting to its value for the First Nation. The multiplicity and variety of communications strategies speak to a collective will to keep and nurture the elders' knowledge and their teachings from the land. I should like to emphasize the significance of the involvement of young people in these projects. Even though the guiding era is no more, and even though hunting and fishing no longer form a central part of the community's cultural practices, the intergenerational transmission of knowledge still unfolds. During our interview, Lachapelle explained how he got invested in these stories: "Je savais de quel nation je venais, mes droits … Mais je connaissais pas vraiment l'histoire de ma nation. Ça m'a permis de m'ouvrir sur la nation, de peut-être avoir un impact. C'est vraiment intéressant de savoir que du monde d'Odanak ont été guidé au parc national de la Mauricie."[125] Gauthier-Nolett, having close family members who worked as guides in their youth, remarked: "On voit que les aînés.es partent tranquillement, ils avaient des choses à dire, et je pense qu'au Bureau, on voulait garder leurs paroles, la conserver le plus possible – de faire prendre conscience aux gens d'aujourd'hui que c'est important de préserver cette histoire-là."[126] Similarly to what their elders experienced at a young age in the mid-twentieth century, Gauthier-Nolett and Lachapelle are gathering stories and knowledge about the land from their uncles, grandfathers, aunts, and grandmothers. The land still serves as an intergenerational gathering place where knowledge, stories and wisdom are transmitted.

[125] Blanchet, Lachapelle, and Gauthier-Nolett, interview.
[126] Ibid.

Modern Relationships with the Land

It is apparent that the W8banakiak's relationship with the land has drastically changed over the centuries. The use of the land was adapted to modern needs, and survival hunting eventually became a line of work – guiding – in which W8abanakiak excelled. It proved to be an important vector of Odanak's economy, ensuring its survival. Indeed, according to Gauthier, guiding activities brought income and financial stability to the community, while other neighboring communities struggled to make ends meet.[127] As shown in these interviews, contemporary W8banakiak are experiencing the territories in new ways, always trying to honour their ancestral lineage that is closely related to the land. The Ndakina Office instigated various initiatives to this end to connect youth with the First Nation's history and territories. A 2019 research project on weaving baskets, titled *Abaznodali8wdi*, is a great example whereby the Office brought twelve young W8banakiak on a field trip to Maine to experience teachings from weavers:

> Le voyage se voulait donc être un retour sur une portion du territoire ancestral de la Nation peu ou pas connue des participants au voyage. À la fois géographique et culturel, notre itinéraire a suivi les grandes rivières de l'histoire w8banaki, dont la rivière Kennebec et le fleuve Penobscot, et nous a permis de remonter l'histoire à travers les traces des W8banakiak qui ont sillonné ces rivières. Par les rencontres avec des vanniers et vannières, et les visites aux divers lieux d'importance culturelles, nous voulions montrer comment la pratique de la vannerie a perduré de part et d'autre de la frontière canado-américaine et de quelle manière les histoires et les cultures W8banakiak sont intimement liées par des réseaux millénaires.[128]

[127] Aln8ba(3), "Validation – Aln8ba(3) – Verbatim – 2024," interview by Zachary Corbeil, 2024.
[128] Edgar Blanchet et David Bernard Projet Niona, "Chapitre 5 – Abaznodali8wdi : Un voyage culturel avec les jeunes du projet Niona," in *Kasalokada ta lagwosada - Réalités et enjeux de la recherche collaborative en milieux autochtones* (Sherbrook: 2021)., p.143.

In 2023, in relation to the history of guiding, the Ndakina Office organized another field trip with some young W8banakiak, accompanied by their elders on the land on which they used to hunt and guide. Both Lachapelle and Gauthier-Nollet reflected on this experience in our interviews. As Lachapelle recounted: “On a refait un visite du parc l’an dernier, en septembre, c’était vraiment un moment mémorable. Voir tout ce qui a changé … Il y a beaucoup d’arbre qui ont poussé, les bâtisse ont changé … [Les aînés] nous racontaient des histoires, ça permettait de reconstruire, d’imaginer …”[129] Blanchet, who took part in our discussion, added : “Même aujourd’hui, [un des gardien du territoire] raconte que c’est une des plus belle journée depuis qu’il a commencé à travailler au Bureau. Il avait un lien émotif avec le territoire cette journée-là.”[130] The participants of this event are describing the deep connection felt when they were accompanied – guided – on the land by elders of the community. To learn on and from the land with elders of the community was a moving experience, as other studies, too, have shown. An Inuit initiative, for example, drew on “[e]lders-guided land-based experiences with preschool children and educators”[131] to help generations bond over the knowledge transmitted. As Thibault Martin has suggested, the land is akin to a cultural matrix that holds knowledge and participates in the transmission of knowledge by nurturing kinship and growth.[132] In my own work, the fact that both generations of

[129] Blanchet, Lachapelle, and Gauthier-Nolett, interview.
[130] Blanchet, Lachapelle, and Gauthier-Nolett, interview.
[131] Mary Caroline Rowan, "Chapter 25 - Relating with Land/Engaging with Elders: Accessing Indigenous Knowledges in Early Childhood Education through Outdoor Encounters," in *The SAGE Handbook of Outdoor Play and Learning* (City Road, London: SAGE Publication Ltd, 2017)., p.399.
[132] Amélie Girard Thibault Martin, "Le territoire, « matrice » de culture : Analyse des mémoires déposés à la commission coulombe par les premières nations du Québec," *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec* 39, no. 1 (2009)., p.64. See also : Thibault Martin, Amelie Girard, Carole Levesque, Veronique Landry, and Hugo Asselin for example, in: Thibault Martin, "Le territoire, « matrice » de culture : Analyse des mémoires déposés à la commission coulombe par les premières nations du Québec."; Hugo Asselinb

narrators – Lachapelle and Jean-Guy – remember these events as a memorable moment accentuates the important work the Ndakina Office has been doing to nurture the W8banaki Nation's culture, community, and place-making. Although the context in which the land is being experienced by the W8banakiak is changing, and drastically so, memories and cultural transmission are as active and relevant as ever. When sharing his experiences of the last expedition, elder Aln8ba(3) remembers: "J'ai reconnu des coins, où on prenait une gorgée d'eau … J'ai eu plein d'émotions, où on passait, je regardais avidement par la fenêtre, je me revoyais [plus jeune] …"[133] To go back to the land, decades later, and to experience it again with his comrades meant a lot to the elders who participated in this journey. As a final example, another initiative was proposed by the Guardians of the Ndakina to nurture intergenerational relationships through the land. As they consulted the elders on the trails and runs they had travelled as guides, they retraced their footsteps with a group of teenagers in the summer of 2024. At the end of the youth's journey, the elders waited for them to celebrate. In Aln8ba(3)'s words : "faire le liens entre [nous], il y a plusieurs années, et eux, maintenant."[134] There is something deeply special in the images of today's youth, canoes on their back, engaging with the stories and lives of their elders on the land. Although Aln8ba(3) spoke of periods during which Odanak's community relationship with the land was not as vibrant – due to families' exodus, economic pressures, and the growing access to education and careers opportunities – it is obvious that the W8banaki Nation is today reinvesting in the land, consciously turning to their history to secure culturally significative memories.

Véronique Landrya, Carole Lévesquec, "Lien au territoire selon les générations chez les Anicinapek et les Cris," *Revue Organisations & Territoires* 29 no. 1 (2020).

[133] Aln8ba(3), interview.

[134] Ibid.

This trend has been going for more than a decade. A virtual exhibition was curated by artist Aln8baskwa(6) and Odanak's Museum in 2009. Entitled *Follow the guide!*, she "fait une recherche de photos et interviewé des gens"[135] preserving these stories. Aln8baskwa(6) never went hunting or fishing herself, but her grandfather used to be a guide. In an interview I conducted with her in Summer 2024 over Zoom, I asked what it meant for her to travel in the footsteps of her elders. As she said : "Moi j'étais bien contente! J'aime bien ce genre de projet, j'étais contente d'apprendre des choses nouvelles, parce qu'enfant nous n'en savions pas beaucoup. Nous savions que notre grand-père parlait abénakis, il devait être content de se trouver sur le territoire avec d'autres guides de chasse et pêche qui parlaient aussi abénakis, comme Théophile Panadis par exemple. C'était leur vie, nous ne sommes jamais allé là-bas … ma grand-mère non plus …"[136]

Gendered Transmission of Land Knowledge

There is a clear gendered divide in the oral stories I consulted for this study. The narrators were exclusively men who had learned hunting, fishing, and guiding from their male kin – their fathers, grandfathers and uncles. It is interesting to note that Aln8baskwa(6), although not being a hunter as her male elders, still related to the land through them:

> Moi, ma relation avec le territoire ici c'est Odanak, mais (ma vision territoriale) est plus grande. Elle s'étend jusqu'en Nouvelle-Angleterre. Ma grand-mère était vannière, et faisait partie d'une famille de vannières . . . C'était l'ancien territoire des Abénakis, la Nouvelle-Angleterre. Donc, c'est pour ça que je dis que j'ai des liens sentimentaux et historiques . . . C'est certain que mon grand-père y était très attaché.[137]

[135] Aln8baskwa(6), "Validation – Aln8baskwa(6) – Verbatim – 2024," interview by Zachary Corbeil, 2024.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.

Her comments bring to light something that has not yet been addressed in this study: the relationship between gender, hunting, and intergenerational ways of knowing. The guides' cultural relationship to the land and to their elders was privileged and influenced by a gendered education and upbringing. Aln8baskwa(6) echoes this when relaying: "Surtout les fils [guidaient], les filles je n'en ai pas connu beaucoup … J'ai déjà entendu dire qu'il y avait des cuisinières … J'ai déjà entendu l'histoire d'une guide abénakise, dans le coin de Lac-Mégantic …"[138] Although Aln8baskwa(6) had not been steeped in the hunting and fishing teachings of her male elders – unlike the male counterparts of her youth – she learned about these stories decades later when she conducted the interviews for her exhibition: "Le bonheur de partager son histoire, le bonheur de raconter des choses qui sont encore très présentes dans leurs esprits … Je me souviens de Aln8ba(1)… C'était important pour lui de me montrer comment il faisait pour boire (avec une rame), c'était une forme de transmission. Il n'y a pas eu d'enfant à qui il aurait aimé transmettre tout ça!"[139]

Aln8baskwa(6)'s example demonstrates how knowledge about the land can be transmitted both inter-generationally and between members of the same generation. Aln8baskwa(6) memories of Aln8ba(1)'s excitement illustrated how important and significant these teachings were to him. In many ways, Aln8baskwa(6) became a student to his land knowledge, preserving it for future generations.

In Fall 2024, I also conducted an interview with her cousin, Aln8baskwa(7), over Zoom. Similarly to Aln8baskwa(6), Aln8baskwa(7) did not experience the land with her

[138] Aln8baskwa(6), interview.
[139] Ibid.

elders as the male guides had. Her father was gone from May to November[140], leaving her with her mother to take care of the family's convenience store. Decades later, she asked herself why she was not brought along; she assumed that it was because she was a girl. "J'aurais donc aimé, si c'était à refaire aujourd'hui, qu'il m'amène et passé quelque temps dans le bois avec lui."[141] Later in the interview, she mentioned that although her dad left her home, he loved it so much that it gave her the passion as well.[142] She went on: "Je pense que oui, [il a contribué a m'on attachement au territoire], vraiment. Des fois je pense à lui, quand j'y vais. Parce que moi j'ai été adopté à l'âge des sept mois. On a des gênes et tout ça … Mais ce n'est pas de ma famille biologique que j'aurais reçu ça … c'est vraiment mon père qui m'a transmis ce gout, cette sécurité-là d'être dans le bois."[143]

Although not related to land-based teaching from hunting and fishing experiences, the Ndakina Office recently published a study, detailing how the "dissociation des femmes au territoire semble avoir été au centre du projet colonial."[144] The research explained how basket weaving was "an impressive mean of cultural resistance in the face of sedentarization efforts of the state."[145] Indeed, even if hunting, fishing and guiding were predominantly a male activities, aln8baskwak were also nurturing a deep connection to the land, as "weavers' life-style meant they had to seasonally migrate to make and sell their baskets . . . standing on the shoulders of a wealth of environmental knowledge and techniques transmitted within the community."[146] The interviews conducted for this

[140] Aln8baskwa(7), "Validation – Aln8baskwa(7) – Verbatim – 2024," interview by Zachary Corbeil, 2024.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Aln8baskwa(7), interview.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Edgar Blanchet Megan Hébert-Lefebvre, "Femmes et territoire : démarche d'intégration des savoirs des femmes w8banakiiak dans les travaux du Bureau du Ndakina," *Les cahiers du CIERA* 22 (2023)., p.46.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid, p.47-48.

research affirm that "aln8baskwak clearly used the land just as much as their male counterparts."[147]

Neither Aln8baskwa(6) nor Aln8baskwa(7) shared memories related to basket weaving – but as I have suggested earlier, it is a cultural practice that seems to be revitalized by the youth, as demonstrated by Gauthier-Nollet's basket. When it comes to hunting, fishing and guiding, I noted that even for W8abankiak who were not directly involved in the guiding experiences, seeing their loved ones being in contact with the land and connecting with their elders was cherished memory. As girls, neither Aln8baskwa(6) nor Aln8baskwa(7) had been brought out into the woods by their fathers and uncles. Still, they had witnessed and taken part in an intergenerational transmission of passion for and knowledge about the land.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the impact of guiding history on the W8banaki Nation, reflecting on individuals that experienced this history second-hand through storytelling. The interviews with today's younger generation as well as some of the guides' relatives vividly speak to the centrality and significance of these memories among members of Odanak's community. Just as the guides received intergenerational land teachings from their elders, so, too, did contemporary W8banakiak who were in close contact with the community's elders. These interactions may have been more self-consciously cultivated but carried a significant emotional and cultural charge. This observation leads me to conclude that these teachings and generational moments were of great cultural

[147] Ibid, p.51.

significance and acted as an important vector of transmission of w8banaki identity. Guiding was not only a seasonal job or a line of work for the W8banakiak; it was a way to build community and meaning.

Conclusion

This collaborative research project has sought to unearth the voices of W8banakiak elders, as well as younger members of Odanak's community, who shared their experiences of the intergenerational transmission of knowledge of the land. First, we followed the elders into their early memories of the woods, where they went fishing, hunting, and trapping with their fathers, grandfathers and uncles for the first time. Listening to the recordings, and witnessing as our group interview unfolded, the joy, smiles, and care that emanated from recalling these stories was a sign that this research was striking a chord with the community. I am honoured to have been involved in this project and been entrusted with those stories. As my work with Alfred Irving Hallowell's archived field notes has demonstrated, among the W8banaki, knowledge of the land was rooted in family systems and kinship. Family hunting territories were passed down to future generations, thereby cultivating and perpetuating an intimate knowledge of the land. The land served as the foundation for deep family and community bonding.

Then, I presented the systemic changes in legislation, politics and management of the forests in Quebec in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an era in which the perception of wildlife changed. Conservation societies, made up of elite circles of society, where they advocated for "good sportsmanship" and framed Indigenous hunters and fishermen as nuisance, comparable to vermin.

So successful were their lobbying efforts that year after year, the fishing and hunting industries grew exponentially. Though openly critically of Indigenous peoples, whom they represented in harsh and stereotypical fashion, the conservation and hunting lobby did acknowledge the depth of expertise of Indigenous hunters and fishers. As

fishing and hunting clubs spread across the territories, Indigenous hunters were being hired as guides and caretakers of wealthy, non-Indigenous leisure hunters who sought an all-inclusive experience of the wild. W8banaki Nation hunters enjoyed a reputation as outstanding hunters and guides, as knowledge of the land was embedded in Odanak's culture.

The interviews conducted with family relatives and W8banakiak youth showed how the guiding history still holds value within Odanak's community. Today, even if time has changed, there are multiple initiatives to commemorate W8banakiak guides. These initiatives are going further than a duty of remembrance, as they embody the experiences of guides, nurturing the relationship between elders, land and youth; therefore, actively incarnating the intergenerational transmission of land knowledge. Furthermore, Chapter 3 also presented a gendered analysis of the said transmission. Indeed, w8banaki women were not included in guiding activities, but interviews with some of them still portrayed a form of knowledge that was imparted by their elders.

By shedding light on the webs of relationships, this thesis has illustrated how the W8banaki Nation nourished tradition and cultural practices despite colonial pressures through intergenerational transmission of land knowledge. The wealth of knowledge stemming from the interviews, enriched by archival research, shows how this phenomenon reinforced cultural resilience; it is now inscribing itself in the W8banaki Nation's cultural resurgence. As my supervisors and examiners noted, further research and studies should be conducted to elucidate further a gendered analysis of Odanak's guiding history. Furthermore, this project has potentials to open doors Indigenous labour studies, adopting a Marxist / historical materialism approach. These two promising

avenues of research show the depth of Odanak's guiding history, and I look forward to exploring them with the W8banaki Nation. I am eager to follow the crucial work of the Ndakina Office in the future, as they are actively nurturing W8abanki identity, history, and tradition.

This study was shared with the W8banaki Nation's Research and Ethics Committee prior to my thesis defense on July 18, 2025. In the following months, I will transmit to the Ndakina Office and the W8abanki First Nation a French-language version of this thesis to make my research findings more easily accessible. As for future communications, the Ndakina Office, interviewees and the W8banaki Nation will be noticed beforehand, invited to participate in the redaction of articles or conference presentation if they so wish for. This research and all of its related communications seeks not only to bring forward the stories of the elders' and the importance of intergenerational transmission, but also to actively perpetuate its nature.

In conclusion, I would like to thank again my collaborators and narrators once more; this project would not have been possible without their generosity and warm welcome. This thesis is dedicated to them, their families, and Odanak's community.

Kchi Wilwni.

Appendix 1 – W8banaki Nation Ethics Approval

Grand Conseil
de la Nation
WABAN-AKI

10175 rue Kolipaïo
Wôlinak (Québec) G0X 1B0
Téléphone : (819) 294-1686
Télécopieur : (819) 294-1689
www.gcnwa.com

Wôlinak, le 12 janvier 2023

Zachary Corbeil
Candidat à la maîtrise en histoire
Université de Concordia
zachary.corbeil@hotmail.com

Par courriel seulement

Objet : Approbation de votre projet de recherche par la Comité w8banaki de coordination de la recherche

Kwaï Zachary Corbeil

La présente atteste que le projet de maîtrise en histoire dirigé par Dr Pucan et Dr Taylor a fait l'objet d'une évaluation en matière d'éthique par le Comité w8banaki de coordination de la recherche et qu'il satisfait aux exigences du Comité en la matière. David Bernard du Bureau du Ndakina sera responsable de l'encadrement du projet en ce qui concerne la Nation W8banaki.

Une entente de recherche entre le CCR et vous devra être signée avant le début des travaux et avant le dépôt du projet au comité d'éthique de votre université.

--

La Nation W8banaki est composée de deux communautés, Odanak et Wôlinak, qui regroupent plus de 3000 membres et qui sont situées respectivement aux embouchures des rivières Saint-François et Bécancour, à proximité du fleuve Saint-Laurent. Le Comité w8banaki de coordination de la recherche du Grand Conseil de la Nation Waban-Aki a le mandat d'évaluer, d'approuver et d'assurer le suivi des partenariats de recherche avec la Nation W8banaki.

Pour tous commentaires ou questions, veuillez me contacter au davidbernard@gcnwa.com ou au (819) 294-1686.

Veuillez agréer, Zachary Corbeil, nos salutations distinguées.

David Bernard
Responsable du Comité w8banaki de coordination de la recherche
Grand Conseil de la Nation Waban-Aki

Appendix 2 – Concordia Ethics Certificate

CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY
FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

Name of Applicant:	Zachary Corbeil
Department:	Faculty of Arts and Science\History
Agency:	N/A
Title of Project:	Private outfitters and Waban-Aki hunting lands: privatization of the forests and its resources in the province of Quebec, XIX-XX century
Certification Number:	30018970

Valid From: January 19, 2024 To: January 18, 2025

The members of the University Human Research Ethics Committee have examined the application for a grant to support the above-named project, and consider the experimental procedures, as outlined by the applicant, to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

Dr. Richard DeMont, Chair, University Human Research Ethics Committee

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