

Would you like to hear a story? Mohawk Youth Narratives on the Role of the
History of Quebec and Canada on Indigenous Identity and Marginality.

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ABSTRACT

Would you like to hear a story? Mohawk Youth Narratives on the Role of the History of Quebec and Canada on Indigenous Identity and Marginality.

Katsitsenhawe Linda David Cree

This study examined how Onkwehón:we (Original Peoples), Kanien'kehà:ka (People of the Flint) young people living in Kanehsatà:ke perceived Quebec and Canadian history and Indigenous histories. It presents an analysis of the teaching of the history of Quebec and Canada, a compulsory course to graduate in Quebec. It is my position that past and present teachings have marginalized and silenced the Indigenous voice and identity.

The course that is presently taught will be analyzed with a major glance back in time to earlier such courses; it will build from that to tell the stories of those who have been and perhaps still are being marginalized and silenced through an inaccurate and inadequate retelling of history. That is, I will present the perspectives of Kanien'kehà:ka Peoples themselves on the course. I will then draw the past and present narratives together while looking forward, with hope to better times.

Dedication

With love and respect, I dedicate these words to my husband Onawario John Cree, who has been my one true love, who encouraged me, supported me, protected me, balanced me, always reminding me to stay connected with my heart and head. To my children Kanerahtentha, Kanawaienton, Tehotenion and Teharahkoken for your strength, kindness, pride in your Nation, for listening, learning and sharing the old stories, for becoming true Onkwehón:we, real human beings. To my parents, Watsenniiostha Thelma Nicholas and Tehotenion Walter David, for teaching me so much, to love the stories passed down from their generation and beyond; that their gifts of words were actually history, past and present. They taught me to think outside the box, to understand my history, the colonizers' history and the repetitive nature of those histories in other colonized countries like the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Central and South America, South Africa, Hawaii and others too numerous to list. Although my parents have completed their work on earth, I continually strive to honour their memory and their teachings.

To my grandparents, Lena Tewateronhiakotha Gabriel and Kaheroton Daniel Nicholas who shared stories of Shingwauk Industrial Home, a residential school they and many others from Kanehsatà:ke were sent to, stories told to a young teen who didn't understand the significance of your tears.

To my brothers and sisters: Walter, Dan, Denise, Nick, Marie, Valerie, you are all bright, articulate, compassionate Onkwehón:we and who also carry the responsibility of being storytellers to the children, nephews and nieces and

grandchildren. I've always been proud of you. And to my brother Joe, who has left us much too soon.

To my cousin, my dearest life long friend Lynda Nicholas who is a kind, generous soul. I cherish you.

And, to my thesis supervisor, Professor Ailie Cleghorn, who knew of my personal hurdles. I thank you for your guidance. You believed in me and never gave up.

You are a good friend.

To the many people who have walked with me. To all my ancestors.

Niawen. Thank you.

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History is not only about the past. It is also about how we understand ourselves, now, as peoples and nations, how we interpret who we are and where we came from, and how we value our successes and explain our failures in relation to present morality. Even as we are in the process of making history by our actions, the shape our choices take is influenced in countless ways by our sense of what has gone before.

Integrated Research Plan, January 1994
In Historical Perspectives: For Seven Generations, RCAP, 1997

Chapter 1 – Do you want to hear a story?

Wa'tkwenohnwera:ton: Greetings and Introduction

This study examined how Onkwehón:we (Original Peoples), Kanien'kehà:ka (People of the Flint) young people living in Kanehsatà:ke perceived Quebec and Canadian history and Indigenous histories. It presents an analysis of the teaching of the history of Quebec and Canada, a compulsory course to graduate in Quebec. It is my position that past and present teachings have marginalized and silenced the Indigenous voice and identity.

The course that is presently taught will be analyzed with a major glance back in time to earlier such courses; it will build from that to tell the stories of those who have been and perhaps still are being marginalized and silenced through an inaccurate and inadequate retelling of history. That is, I will present the perspectives of Kanien'kehà:ka Peoples themselves on the course. I will

then draw the past and present narratives together while looking forward, with hope to better times.

Kanehsatà:ke: Personal and historical

Kanehsatà:ke is a small Kanien'kehà:ka (People of the Flint) community situated approximately 35 miles west of Montreal, Quebec. It is a beautiful area of tall pine trees, rolling hills and sand dunes, with the Ottawa River separating Kanehsatà:ke from Hudson. Kanehsatà:ke has a fascinating history that belies its "sleepy" look—an ancient village that immigrants refer to as Oka. In the late 1690s, Count Frontenac came to Kanehsatà:ke to ask the Christian Mohawk, brought there by the priests from Sault aux Recollets, to aid the French and raise the tomahawk against the English and their own traditional Mohawk brethren. Traditional Kanien'kehà:ka already occupied this territory in the Lake of Two Mountains area (Gabriel-Doxtater & Van Den Hende, 1995).

It is a village that had many leaders, including Chief Joseph O'nahsakenrat Swan, educated and trained by the Seminary of Ste. Sulpice, yet chosen by the people to lead; an honorable man who attended the Seminaire de Montreal with Louis Riel. In July, 1868, Chief O'nahsakenrat and Louis Riel were both chosen leaders of their people—Riel would lead the protest for recognition of Métis land rights at the Red River settlement in Saskatchewan, O'nahsakenrat would fight for Mohawk land rights in Quebec (Gabriel-Doxtater & Van Den Hende, p. 103).

Elders say Kanehsatà:ke was once an old palisade village located at the Great Bay at an area now known as Kahnehtà:ke. It is a village mentioned in the

very ancient Condolence Rite, a sacred ceremony to install Rotiianehr and Ioti'tarakéhte (Chiefs and Clan Mothers) of the Five Nations Iroquois Confederacy. My Tota (grandmother) told my family that this large village was burned down by the French in the 1600s because of the presence of "enemy Iroquois."

There is archeological evidence of ancient Iroquoian occupation but academics, historians and the Quebec and Canadian governments have systematically ignored the area, stolen artifacts or created a fictitious group, such as the St. Lawrence Iroquois, and have them disappear into the mist, possibly joining the Cahokia Mound Builders. Then, "official history" concludes that we are not descendents of the Ancient Iroquoians, simplistically based on differing patterns on pottery shards. These slick words are meant to disinherit Original Peoples with words of dismissal or their existence by omission. This Euro-perspective is disputed.

There are pre-historic fire pits in the Kanehsatà:ke area, one large one along Route 344 West near the LaTrappe monastery, flint points and pottery shards washing up on the shores at the area known to Kanehsata'kehró:non as Kahnehtà:ke (the place of the pine gum); Quebec falsely claims as this area as their own. It is a historically cherished place. This special place is where Elders today still remember how Kanehsata'kehró:non (people of Kanehsatà:ke) would go by foot, buggy or wagon and collect blueberries, raspberries, blackberries, strawberries, and medicines, an entire community spending the whole day with their families, babies in cradleboards, packed lunches and sharing stories.

Kahnehtà:ke, a place where the people of Kanehsatà:ke once lived, collected medicines and picked berries and quite possibly, the very site where Tekanawita, the Peacemaker visited the Kanien'kehà:ka to bring the message of Kaianerenhsera'kó:wa, the Great Law (the founding of this great Iroquois Confederacy is August 31, 1142, as estimated by Barbara Mann and Jerry L. Fields (1997), using Indigenous oral history and written, scientific European documents).

Our Peoples, the Onkwehón:we, were noted travelers, known to the Hopi in Arizona as the "Wind-row People" because of Iroquoian men's distinctive haircut and from the many visits to their territory. To presuppose that Indigenous Peoples did not travel and trade extensively, exchange ideas, whether creatively, politically, and spiritually is extremely biased and assumes that Indigenous Peoples in the Americas were stagnant. As with the oral history of the late Joe Mike Augustine of the Mi'kmaq Peoples in Red Bank, New Brunswick, he remembered an ancient mound his father had told him was a sacred site where the Ancient Ones danced.

In the 1970s, the site was protected as a National Historic Site for Canada after the mound unearthed 3000 year old artifacts; copper from the Lake Superior area, a quartz crystal embedded in a ceremonial knife, stones from Indiana, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware and elsewhere. Patricia M. Allen (interview in *The Village of Thirty Centuries: The Story of Metepenagiag*, n.d.), an archeologist from New Brunswick noted that the Mi'kmaq were also avid traders

and that changes in decoration came from contact with cultures and linked the Mi'kmaq to the prehistoric mound building society in the Ohio Valley.

The Mohawks of Kanehsatà:ke continue to weather many assaults, to their homelands and to their children; during the residential school era, many children from Kanehsatà:ke, some as young as four years old, were sent to the Shingwauk Industrial School in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario and many, though not all, returned in their late teens. (Gabriel-Doxtater & Van Den Hende, pp. 188-201). My Tota Kahero:ton lost a brother to drowning and is buried in the many unmarked graves with other children who died at Shingwauk. His death was not included in any "official records."

Challenges to the ownership of our homelands against the 1721 mythical claims of the Seminary of Ste. Sulpice have been ongoing since that time. The most recent battle for the lands began on March 10, 1990, when a fishing shack was dragged into an area known to Kanehsataka'kehró:ron as Onen'tò:kon (under the Pines) to begin a vigil to protect the area from an 18-hole golf course expansion and housing development. A 78-day standoff began on July 11, 1990. Fourteen years after the "Oka Crisis," the residents of Kanehsatà:ke still feel and live with the after effects of that summer and land ownership is still hotly contested, including the area known as Kahnehtà:ke (the place of the [pine] gums), known to immigrants as Oka Park. Within the last few years, while Kanehsatà:ke was politically and emotionally destabilized, the National Assembly in Quebec quietly passed legislation and turned Kahnehtà:ke into a "Parc

Nationale.” And, as is the case with most historical areas throughout Canada, White people are interpreting archeological evidence to park visitors.

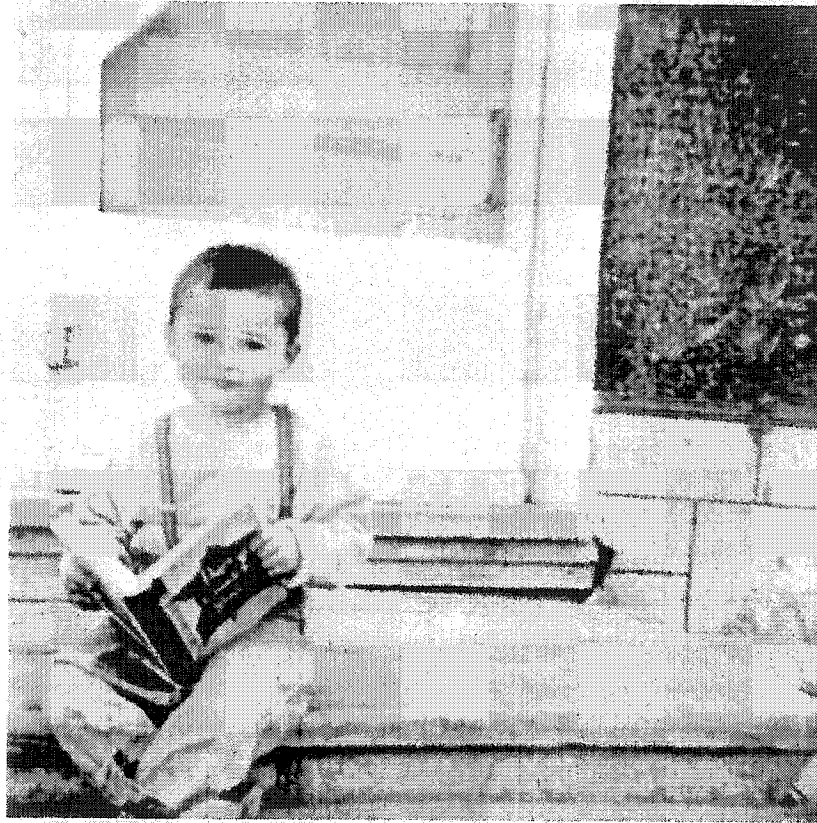


Figure 1: Thihaweron Joseph David, deceased brother of author, circa 1960. “Reading” the infamous history book, *Pages from Canada’s Story* (Dickie and Palk, 1951).

This is just a glimpse of the Kanehsatà:ke I know. I began my education by attending an Indian Day School run by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in Kanehsatà:ke, a one-room schoolhouse to grade three. A book could be written just about the Day School experiences of many Kanehsatà:keró:non. All children were then bused twelve miles away to attend a provincial elementary school in St. Eustache and I still have the “history” book I was required to use in Grade Five. Entitled *“Pages from Canada’s Story”* by Dickie and Palk (1951) (first published in 1928).

The foreword states, "The young readers are lured along the adventurous road blazed by the early discoverers, explorers, and hardy pioneer settlers, to the present period of their country's spectacular development" (p.1), and "The little volume will have achieved its purpose if the student of its pages develops a worthy pride in his country's progress; if he is led to feel sympathy for his fellow-Canadians in their past and present struggles and triumphs; and if his love of historical study is stimulated" (p.2).

From this text, I developed neither pride in my fellow Iroquois nor a connection with discoverers, explorers or hardy pioneer settlers. I still recall the glare and the mutterings from white students every time the "Iroquois" were mentioned. A play was included, entitled "*The Voyageurs*" in which the French and their Indian ally are attacked by the Iroquois along the Ottawa River. When the French hunter asks his ally how many, the response is:

"Three, four, not many."

"How do you know that, brother?" (sniffing)

"Four?" (grinning)

"Can you smell them, Telas?"

"I smell them. There are four."

I keep it as a reminder of my early education. My thesis asks if things have changed. I then attended provincial school at the Lake of Two Mountains High School, Two Mountains, Quebec. My parents encouraged me to contest the history I was taught in school by providing me with contrary *proof* the teacher demanded. Although I was extremely shy and hated doing this, I presented an

alternative world view to the "official" history. This small action led me to question things and not to accept blindly; it was my parents who stimulated my love of discovering my People's history and the histories of other Indigenous Peoples.

Mohawk children and youth have been denied or have limited access to learning their history, culture or language; during and after the residential school experience, many Onkwehón:we parents wanted to make life easier for their children and many refused to teach them to speak Kanien'kéha so they too wouldn't experience the abuse they had endured. In addition, many residential students returned to their communities after years of family and community separation, hating their traditional culture, ceremonies, language and histories (Miller, 1996; York, 1989). Today, many children and youth do not learn basic conversational Kanien'kéha or their culture and history, but instead, are immersed in the British and French colonizer's versions of history, unable to speak out against the oppression.

Stated Objectives of the History Course

The curriculum in all schools can be looked upon in terms of stated or manifest goals and objectives as well as unstated or latent goals and objectives. The Secondary IV History of Quebec and Canada, 585-414 course, which Grade 10 students living in Quebec must take to graduate, is no different. All private and provincial schools offer this Ministry of Education of Quebec (M.E.Q.) history, including some Indigenous community band schools that choose to write provincial exams. We thus need to look at what its aims are.

The adult program (HST-4016-2, HST-4017-2, Nov. 1996, MEQ) introduces History as "*the collective memory of a people,*" and in 1988, the representatives of the MEQ toured the province to consult with teachers about the history course; some of their observations were: "*The study of history is essential to complete personal development and to a person's ability to fulfill the role of citizen*" (p.2). Another observation was "*It is through history that we become aware of our collective past, understand the events of the present and foresee our future as a people*" (MEQ Program History of Quebec and Canada, p.2-3).

The Secondary IV History of Quebec and Canada (MEQ, 1983), Modification-Unit 7.3) added an Indigenous Peoples module. Module 7.3 covers Quebec from 1960 to the present. The only reference to Indigenous Peoples is found under: Political Domain- Demands by native peoples, and students are required to be "familiar with the general demands of the native peoples" (7.3.3). When compared with the condensed, incomplete background of Mohawk history provided, this is a mere footnoted reference to Indigenous Peoples. The History of Quebec and Canada does not provide Mohawk or the other ten Indigenous Nations an opportunity to share their "collective memory of their people," or to "foresee our future as a people." What additional issues will arise when the MEQ introduces their new curriculum based on competencies that will include hybrid courses: history will be combined with citizenship and geography.

In the present text used in all Quebec schools, *Diverse Pasts: A History of Quebec and Canada* (1995), the authors, Dickinson and Young explain bias.

"The historian chooses not only what we will see of the past, but how we will see it. This is called bias" (p.xi). The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood and Cultural Education Centre (1974) adapted criteria for identifying bias and included: *bias by obliteration* (ignoring significant aspects of the history of a cultural or minority group in Canada; *bias by disparagement* (denying or belittling the contributions of an identifiable group of people); *bias by cumulative implication* (constantly creating the impression that only one group is responsible for positive development). In addition to bias, Sunnari and Kuorikoski (n.d.) state that the hidden curriculum is the unwritten purpose and goals of school curriculum that have the potential of producing otherness. On a broad scale, is the hidden curriculum of producing and maintaining special hierarchies in educational institutions at play, by ignoring otherness? (p.5).

There are several questions that undergrid my study. What role has history, both told and experienced, had on the Mohawk national identity? Does the curriculum contribute to marginality of Mohawk youth at a time when identity formation is at its peak? What other areas of concern will surface during this study? These are some of the specific areas that are explored in this study of Mohawk perspectives on History of Quebec and Canada as currently being taught in most high schools throughout the province of Quebec.

Just how did we become invisible?

To explore the source of distorted historical and archeological "pictures" of

Indigenous Peoples, we need to define and understand that source. Edward Said (1993) provides the definition of such distortions by saying,

“imperialism” means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory; “colonialism,” which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory...It can be achieved by force, by political collaboration, by economic, social, or cultural dependence. Imperialism is simply the process or policy of establishing or maintaining an empire. Imperialism and colonialism are “both supported and perhaps even impelled by ideology that... “certain territories and people *require* and beseech domination, infusing “knowledge” ...with imperial... “words and concepts like “inferior” or “subject races,” “subordinate peoples,” “dependency,” “expansion,” and “authority” (p.9).

Adding to this discourse, John Mohawk (1989) described the Aryan model of history in which Caucasians saw themselves to be the “superior race of the world” who brought a mindset to the Americas that Indigenous Peoples were in a “stage of social evolution,” who would eventually evolve into civilized human beings (p.110). According to Mohawk (1989), Western anthropologists believed the Peoples of the Americas would eventually just die off. They would lead the charge to study and document these dying civilizations and in the process, sustain their imagined superiority (pp.110-111). In doing so, young people today think “to be Indian is to be nothing,”

When they did this, they wiped out from history all of the Indian stuff.

Everything that Indians ever did was wiped out. The Indians were whited out, and are still being whited out. Their history has been distorted. Their philosophies have been demeaned. Their reality has been denied. We are as much the victims of pernicious history as we are the victims of colonialism (Mohawk, 1989, pp.110-111).

Epstein (1993) reviewed two historians' perspectives on the historical texts they have written about the same actors and events, to show to students and others the process of becoming historically literate. Stated, it is less a declaration of facts or recital of explanations than it is a series of contemporary human judgments rendered on past human actions reconstructed from selected shreds of evidence (emphasis mine). The historian's philosophical or ideological perspective colors the written narrative. Developing historical literacy in students' means they develop an ability to recognize the relationship between the historian's perspective and their shaping of historical narratives (Epstein, p.280).

The ability to judge the evidence and develop historical literacy demands "critical knowledge of reality" (Freire, 1994, p. 30). Paulo Freire's (1970) work on the culture of silence brought to light the fact that ideology shapes people's perceptions of reality, which are defined by dominant classes who control educational access, processes, and content. The oppressed are passive and thus, their passivity sustains an "absence of doubt" (Freire, 1970, p. 21), unaware of their inalienable right to question inequity, injustice and inhumanity. In schools, what teaching and knowledge they receive ensures that they will remain passive,

robbed of the possibilities of developing a critical consciousness (Barakett & Cleghorn, 2000, pp.72-73). Freire called this the *culture of silence* (Freire, 1970, p. 12).

In answer to the culture of silence, Freire (1970) developed a *theory of liberation*. Once marginalized and silenced Peoples are aware of the historical, political, social and economic forces of oppression, a process of liberation can occur through the achievement of praxis, a "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (Freire, 1970, p. 33). He advocated that researchers must question the selection and organization of knowledge and treat this knowledge as socially constructed. Researchers needed to explore how and why certain dominant categories of knowledge persist and how they link with certain interests and occupational groups, and lastly, to make accepted knowledge accessible to working classes (Barakett & Cleghorn, p.72).

Almeida (1996) stated that non-native educators, when and if they teach about Indigenous Peoples, tend to develop lessons using a "dead-and-buried culture approach", teaching in the past tense, as though Indigenous Peoples are extinct or by using the "tourist approach" where students visit, learning only the "exotic or unusual parts of those cultures. Almeida (1996) describes both as simplistic generalization that lead to stereotyping rather than to understanding (p.1). No one is liberated.

In the United States, Indigenous Peoples make up less than one percent of the total population but represent half the number of languages and cultures in the nation. Indigenous Peoples include over 500 different groups and great

diversity of geographic location, language, socioeconomic conditions, school experience, retention of traditional spiritual and cultural practices. Yet, commercially prepared teaching materials offer only generalized, pan-Indigenous images with little or no regard for differences that exist from tribe to tribe (Reese, 1996, p.1).

In 1982, Rosemarie Kuptana compared the effects of the wholesale introduction of non-Inuit culture into her people's communities to the destructive power of a neutron bomb:

We might liken the onslaught of Southern television, and the absence of Native television, to the Neutron bomb. This is a bomb that kills the people but leaves the building standing. Neutron-bomb television is the kind of television that destroys the soul of a people but leaves the shell of a people walking around. This is television in which the traditions, the skills, the culture, the language, --count for nothing. The pressure, especially on our children, to join the invading culture and language and leave behind the language and culture that count for nothing is explosively powerful (Kuptana, 1982, p. 6; also see: RCAP, Vol. 3, Ch. 6, 2.5).

There are several existing studies of racial diversity and identity, marginality and relevant curricula issues but few, if any studies are directly linked to history and national identity specific to Aboriginal peoples. Non-natives in North America generally assume that Indigenous Peoples automatically claim Canadian or American citizenship. This is an unexplored area of research and

could provide information about Indigenous students, their marginality, and the misinformation or missing vernacular and “official” histories that contribute to or destroy Indigenous national identities, dignity, and self-worth.

The work of Emile Durkheim is particularly apt in its application to the situation of concern here, now, over 100 years after Durkheim’s work was first published. Durkheim saw schools as key institutions that provide moral unity through forging a sense of nationhood and a commitment to common values and beliefs, and creating cohesion or social integration. He was also the first to note that personal difficulties such as depression and school failure can be linked to economic conditions and other societal processes. In light of Durkheim’s social theory, the scope of this study finds theoretical justification. In particular we can ask what might be the consequences for our young people if Canada and Quebec continue:

- to dismiss and devalue Indigenous Peoples contributions;
- to rename mountains, rivers, and towns after their heroes and existing cities and towns in Europe and rubber-stamped through the Commission de Toponymie du Quebec;
- to persist in the myth that it has only “two founding peoples”, the English and the French;
- if future teachers of Quebec must take a course on immigrants to earn their brevet (permission to teach), but maintain that the study of Indigenous Peoples of Quebec is optional?

Bias in historical and contemporary world views impacts the spirit, the “internal fire” of human beings. When peoples are marginalized to the point of invisibility, rendering their voices silent – who will hear, who will see?

CHAPTER 2 -- Identity, Marginalization, Silence

Identity

Indigenous Peoples in North America struggle with the notion of identity. Do they identify with their ancestors, their histories, cultures, languages, spirituality and homelands? Do they maintain their kinship ties to clan? When I say struggle, I mean the multiple identities that Indigenous Peoples must live with on a daily basis. Your family and community define who you are-- who your parents are, who are their parents, if you are Protestant, Catholic, Traditional or other. The Indian Act regulates you further by defining your status as an “Indian,” a generic term used to identify whether you are status, non-status or C-31 (Canadian legislation enacted in 1985 was intended to remove discrimination between Indigenous males and females). Indigenous Peoples are assigned status numbers, as are their homelands; Kanehsàtà:ke and our territory are reduced to a simple number, 069.

Prior to 1985, discrimination of Indigenous women removed their identity as Onkwehón:we and that of their children, while the Indigenous male could marry non-Indigenous women and the Indian Act would bestow “Indian status” on them and their children. Interestingly enough, there are many non-Indigenous women who have status, considered full bloods, even though they’re not.

Prior to this act of discrimination, an 1880 amendment to the Indian Act allowed for automatic enfranchisement of any Indian who obtained:

- a university degree
- became a lawyer, clergyman or joined the military (King, 2003).

Making simple career choices resulted in dire consequences not faced by non-Indigenous Peoples. Once declared enfranchised, an Indigenous person could no longer live on the reserve, no longer own property there, and could not be buried with their ancestors. Any marriage to Indigenous status or non-Indigenous people resulted in their children's' enfranchisement as well.

King (2003) raises an interesting point: why does the federal government concern itself with legally defining who is or is not an Indian? Since the French in Quebec define themselves as having a distinct language and society, why is there no French Act? Or Italian Act, Greek Act? No matter who they marry and with the French language protected by federal and provincial legislation, they never lose their status and are never legislated out of existence (p.148-9).

In addition to the legal, cultural, spiritual or biological definitions of Indigenous identity, Gale Encyclopedia of Psychology (2001) defines identity as including a sense of personal continuity and uniqueness from other people but also needing a social identity to connect with other groups, such as family, ethnic, age, and others. Identity formation has been most extensively described by Erik Erikson (1968) who described identity formation in developmental stages that occur from birth to adulthood. Identity is formed in childhood then accelerates during adolescence due to physical growth and maturity as they look

forward to planning for the future. On the other hand, identity crisis describes the “temporary instability and confusion adolescents experience as they struggle [with]... uncertainties of this stage (Gage, 2001).

Erikson is noted for identifying that successful resolution of this crisis depends on successfully achieving trust, autonomy, and initiative. “By the age of 21, about half of all adolescents are thought to have resolved their identity crises and are ready to move on to the adult challenges of love and work” (Gage, 2001). Erikson (1968) stated that identity achievement bestows self-assurance and confidence owing to the integration of a sense of self with purpose to a future chosen path compared to identity confusion and self-consciousness. Identity achievement enables social leadership versus conformity, flexibility or resiliency should a crisis arise, and the intimacy that derives from a confident self-image that permits personal disclosure. In social situations, identity-achieved adolescents are more likely to stay true to their personal values, morals and beliefs (p.128-135).

In his review of the field of personality theory, Ewen (1998) cites research results that “strongly support Erikson’s belief that trust, mistrust, hope, and autonomy play an important role...some indication that a firm sense of identity increases the likelihood of developing intimate relationships, and is related to the successful resolution of previous developmental crises (p.267).

Social identity theory hypothesizes that “group identity is an important part of the self-concept; people generally attribute value to the group to which they

belong and to derive self-esteem from their sense of belonging to that group” (Roberts et al., 1999).

Ethnic identity is one type of group identity that is central to the self-concept of members of ethnic minority groups. Roberts et al. (1999) concluded that both social identity theory and developmental theory indicate that a stronger or more committed ethnic identity would be associated positively with psychological well-being.

For an Indigenous person, additional considerations for group identity include legal, biological and cultural definitions. Garrouste (2003) posits identity founded on traditional notions of kinship based on compassion and reciprocity of both the individual and community that could be inclusive of individuals denied belonging based on legal, biological or cultural dictum (p.135).

Language and Culture

Native American languages in North America were no exception to the obliteration of Indigenous voice. Indigenous languages have been,

“negatively affected by the sense of “worthlessness” since the onslaught of European people. The spread of Europeans into Native American territories forced the relocation of indigenous populations to unfamiliar regions, often uninhabitable by European standards. Different Native American groups, who were all autonomous sovereign nations, were sometimes forced to live in the same region. This would sometimes cause languages to shift with the new contacts, or, more radically, one language

would be subsumed by dominance or by intermarriages within a larger group" (Linn et al., 2002, p.105).

The authors noted that language choice and identity crises, among others, resulted from an unbalanced, prolonged (permanent in the Americas) contact with the more powerful European colonists. Issues of language choice, of majority and minority conflicts, of identity crises, and of numerous other concerns resulted when two or more cultures came into contact. (Linn, et al., 2002). They quote J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885-1888:

The instruction of the Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization and no school will be permitted on the reservation in which the English language is not exclusively taught (1887: p. xxi-xxiii).

Identity relies so heavily on the significance of a combination of linguistically transmitted histories . . . somewhat precarious and subject to the intrusion or influence of other histories, other identities . . .that unless individuals act to retain their personal and cultural histories, as they perceive them, they can face insignificance that presages their very extinction . . .(Vickers, 1998, p.2).

Research conducted on the effects of excluding Indigenous languages and culture found,

the weakening of Native cultures and languages, marginalized Native identities, alienating students from the goals of schooling, and producing high rates of school leaving. Leaving local knowledge and language at the schoolhouse door was resulting in *subtractive bilingualism*, that is, many

students were failing to attain academic competence in English while at the same time losing knowledge of their Indigenous languages and cultures (Deyhle & Swisher, 1997, quoted in Lipka, 2002).

Another study looked into competing perspectives, that of incorporating historical experiences of racial groups into traditional narratives of U.S. history. The researcher, Terrie Epstein, interviewed ten Grade 11 students who had taken the same history class; five were African American, five were European American. Her results showed that the adolescents' racialized identities significantly influenced their concepts of the historical experiences of racial groups, the role of government in shaping those experiences, and the existence or lack of a common national history or identity (Epstein, 2000, p.185).

Daniel Francis (1997) described myths of Canadian history and the "Textbook Indian," as an accumulation of positive and negative stereotypes throughout European colonization, Peoples without humanity, history or culture. Francis (1997) defined myths that *idealize* by elevating "particular events and institutions...to the status of legend and myths that *demonize* by "vilify[ing], or at least marginaliz[ing], anyone who seems to be frustrating the main cultural project" (p.72).

In *Images of Aboriginal Peoples in Canadian Literature* (n.d., (www.schoolnet.ca/aboriginal/issues/lit-imag-e.html)), the document described Indigenous images as,

- the "Indian" is a conventional figure in non-aboriginal Canadian literature, but not a voice. If aboriginal characters spoke, it was most often in monosyllables like "ugh" or "how" or in the false eloquence of flowery romance;
- If aboriginal characters moved, they moved according to Euro-Canadian concepts of plot, either as faithful friends or savage foes, or as marginal figures the white protagonist could afford to ignore. Non-aboriginal authors simplistically portrayed Indians as displaying either "good" traits (harmony with nature, simplicity, hospitality, nobility of character, an acceptance of the white domination) or "bad" traits (violence, cruelty, following instinct rather than reason, active opposition to white control);
- Or Indians were treated with ambivalence, objects of pity who formed part of a landless dying race, who lived in poverty, or whose drunkenness was the result of corruption by whites. Even historical individuals turned from persons into symbols. Shanawdithit, the last of the Beothuks, became a tragic figure of curiosity. Pontiac and Tecumseh became noble heroes of National Causes; Big Bear was cast as a suspect foe;
- Native myths were re-written as European fairy tales, minimizing the social context of the stories in favour of Christian morality and a linear form of "realistic" representation.

This Industry Canada website (www.schoolnet.ca) notes that Canadian literature "actively denied [A]boriginal [P]eople respect for their own history but this is slowly being addressed by the growth of Aboriginal writers in the last ten

years and with the emergence of Aboriginal publishers, bookstores, educators and writers.

Many Indigenous communities are fighting back, struggling to preserve, protect and promote their languages, histories, cultures and maintaining an emotional, physical, mental and spiritual connection to their ancestral roots. As well, many Indigenous Peoples of all ages believe that a positive view of their ethnicity and a strong identification with other Indigenous Peoples who share similar histories and experiences serve as building blocks to self-esteem and self-worth.

For many adolescents, high school may serve as a pivotal moment that makes them begin to think about who they are and what it means to be a Mohawk, or Ute, Navaho, Cree, Inuit, Blackfoot, Innu, ... for this is also the time that History and Social Studies are introduced.

Marginalization

If Kanien'kehà:ka students are lucky, they will have knowledgeable History, Social Studies and language teachers; in the case of Kanehsatà:ke, students will discover Kanien'kehà:ka history, past and present, discover who are the five founding nations of Kaianerenhsera'kó:wa (Five Nations Confederacy) and how their government functions; followed by a discussion of the Indian Act and the numerous legislative acts that still impact on their present; they will discuss who is an "Indian" as defined by the Canadian government, and who is not; what is C-31, who is C-31 and why some "Indians" are defined as a 6 (1) or

a 6 (2), and hopefully understand why the British and Canadian governments legally legislated the definition of a race of Indigenous Peoples and further, what does an extinguishment clause have to do with land rights?

They could learn about the history of the Six Nations Trust Fund, millions of dollars from extracted resources from our ancient territories, now stolen, inaccessible and hidden from the Onkwehón:we by the Canadian government in the Consolidated Revenue Fund. Oral history says that this fund was a sharing of resources between the Federal government and the Five Nations Confederacy and that colonists had limited rights to six feet below the surface (to bury their dead). They would learn about residential schools, who ran them, who conceived them, who supported them and how many of their family members were sometimes forcibly sent there (Miller, 1996, Blackstock, et al., 2004). They will learn the real Onkwehón:we place names of their lands and why it is called so. They will learn legends, songs and dances, some brought back from travels and visits with our relatives, like the Alligator dance. The past mingled with contemporary issues of other Indigenous Peoples, as Elders and other knowledgeable Kanien'kehà:ka are invited into the classrooms to share their knowledge with students. They will learn about the other races of human kind. They will be able to compare and contrast *vernacular* history to the *official* history. Or, they can learn from the textbook *Diverse Pasts: A History of Quebec and Canada* (1995).

O'Connor (2001) wrote of historical portrayals of Aboriginal Peoples in English Canadian high school history textbooks, 1970-2000 and stated that

Dickinson and Young's "popular Quebec history textbook that continues to be used despite its perceptible racial bias and generally inadequate treatment of Aboriginal Peoples." Noting both authors' own ethnocentrism, O'Connor provides an excellent example of bias by obliteration in the Population of Canada, 1632-1760 (1995: p.61) with Aboriginal Peoples completely excluded from the population table and as O'Connor states, "a student may believe that the population of the region known as Canada in 1632 numbered only 68 persons.

O'Connor (2001) also notes that it is often typical of most high school history textbooks to give scant mention of Aboriginal Peoples from the Riel Rebellion to the present but *Diverse Pasts* (1995) also show bias by *obliteration*, *disparagement* and by *cumulative implication* as was previously defined (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, 1974) by blatantly omitting Indigenous histories, in particular during the French regime and the War of 1812. O'Connor comments on the continued controversy surrounding the teaching of national history in Quebec and concludes that "the very nature of the Quebec history course itself...[with an] emphasis...upon the history of the Quebecois people over practically anything else. It is a nationalistic history in the truest sense. It may be difficult for authors to fit Aboriginal peoples into this paradigm..." (p.51).

Francis (1997) also points out that history is contested terrain, the core myth belonging to the elite who need to reinforce the status quo and retain privilege and that prior to the 1960s, the Catholic Church operated schools in Quebec and priests wrote the textbooks. To the majority of Quebecers, "New

France represented a triumph of Christianity over the dark forces of paganism. This was the meaning of Quebec's early history" (Francis, p.76). For Britain, "it was in the history classroom, and the history textbook, that young Canadians received explicit instruction in the ideology of imperialism (Francis, p.53).

In summing up past history texts for Aboriginal Peoples content, Francis (1997) states that,

"No matter how familiar one is with the sad history of Aboriginal-white relations in Canada, one is not prepared for the sorry stew of smug, racist propaganda which, until quite recently, passed for informed opinion about Indians" (p.71).

In one study of history and national identity in the United States (Barton & Levstik, 1998), the researchers conducted open-ended interviews with forty-eight students in grades five through eight. Their findings were that students identified rights and opportunities as the central theme in U. S. history but had difficulty incorporating historical patterns and events, suggesting that students need experience with the past to provide a framework to make sense out of both legitimating stories and vernacular histories (Barton & Levstik, p.478). The authors described "*Vernacular*" culture in contrast to "*official*" versions of history. Vernacular histories derive from lived experience in specific and generally small-scale communities. Often, perceptions of community members believe that their values and first-hand experiences are ignored or discounted. In the "official" culture, patriotic and nationalistic views of history are promoted. This produced

students' understanding of and identification with vernacular history in conflict with the history presented in the school curriculum (Barton & Levstik, p.491).

The researchers in this study raised interesting questions: What happens when "official" history and personal experience offer conflicting perspectives; what happens when students perceive the historical record to be ambiguous—when people resist learning from the past or cannot figure out what the past means (Barton & Levstik, p.491)?

Such internal clashes can result in confusion, doubting where you belong and if your humanity is recognized. Jimmie Durham, a Cherokee quoted in Jamies (1992) on his views of how education has fuelled this confusion, he stated:

They just pound enough bogus information into you to get you seriously confused about who you are, who your friends are, how the world really works, and what you can or should do about it. As long as you're confused in those ways, you can never pose a threat to those who wield power over you, your people, your land, your future generations... *That's* the purpose of the Indian education system in this country, and it always has been. Hell, those who run it have never cared whether Indians even finish the process, just as long as they're sufficiently confused about everything that's fundamental—and are therefore effectively useless to themselves and everybody else—before they leave (p.388).

The impacts of oppressive cognitive imperialism on students in the classroom are profound. Marie Battiste (2000) states that cognitive imperialism

“denies people their language and cultural integrity by maintaining the legitimacy of only one language, one culture, and one frame of reference.” She quotes Adrienne Rich, (*Invisibility in Academe*, 1989) “When someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium as if you looked into a mirror and you saw nothing (p. 198).

On the other hand, students who have a secure sense of self and a connection to their cultural roots can navigate between two worlds successfully. Reyhner (2003) cited a series of studies of American Indian college students by Terry Huffman (2002) that found that students' collective identity is critical to their academic success. “Indian students going to college often find little there with which to relate and suffer feelings of alienation. “ Some become quickly “disillusioned, seeing schooling as assimilation to White culture and dropping out. Others persist, drawing personal strength from their Native heritage and learning to relate to White culture, using their traditional culture as an anchor” (Reyhner, 2003).

Cultural competency and safety also have a role to play in the success or failure of students. Cultural safe care empowers people because it reinforces the idea that each person's knowledge and reality is valid and valuable. Cultural safety moves beyond notions of cultural sensitivity to an analysis of the power imbalances, institutional discrimination, colonization and relationship with colonizers... (NAHO Draft, 2004, p.1).

Dehyle (1992) researched American Indian dropouts and the findings show how secondary students gave up on school because they perceive teachers as uncaring and that what they are learning is irrelevant to their lives.

Deyhle (1992) quotes an American Indian student:

The way I see it seems like the whites don't want to get involved with the Indians. They think we're bad. We drink. Our families drink. Dirty. Ugly. And the teachers don't want to help us. They say, "Oh, no, there is another Indian asking a question" because they don't understand. So we stop asking questions (p.24).

She quotes another student:

It was just like they [teachers] want to put us aside, us Indians. They didn't tell us nothing about careers or things to do after high school. They didn't encourage us to go to college. They just took care of the white students. They just wanted to get rid of the Indians (pp.24-25).

David Rider (n.d.) writes that where ethnic minorities have historically been victims of persecution, oppression, slavery, or genocide, the dominant culture typically invokes prejudicial attitudes toward the minority group. Rider quotes Phinney (1989) from his study of identity formation, that African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanics, and American Indians all suffer from negative stereotypes imposed by the dominant American culture, which

denigrates precisely those aspects of ethnic culture that minorities take pride in, that lead to adverse outcomes (Rider, n.d., p.1). He states that mascots and Indian names of sport teams proliferate in the American educational system, which includes government-funded public schools, as helping to promote and perpetuate the dehumanizing stereotypes that developed among European colonizers centuries ago. For example, in the United States, Ohio ranks number one in "Indian" token usage (122 schools) and number one for its use of "Redskins" nickname (approximately 21 schools); California ranks second, with schools using "Warriors" (85 schools), "Indian" (55 schools), "Braves" (26 schools), "Chief" (11 schools). Oklahoma has the dubious distinction of placing number one in the use of "Savages" (9) and second in the use of the term "Redskins" (15) (American Indian Sports Team Mascots, n.d.).

The Alliance Against Racial Mascots (ALLARM, 2000) in California, sought "the elimination of American Indian mascots, logos, team names and nicknames in all California schools and educational institutions...In March 2001, ALLARM participated in a letter writing campaign to the United States Commission on Civil Rights asking for support on the issue." On April 13, 2001, the USCCR made a formal statement denouncing the use of Indian mascots in schools,

...It is particularly disturbing that Native American references are still to be found in educational institutions, whether elementary, secondary or post-secondary. Schools are places where diverse groups of people come together to learn not only the "Three Rs," but also how to interact

respectfully with people from different cultures. The use of stereotypical images of Native Americans by educational institutions has the potential to create a racially hostile educational environment that may be intimidating to Indian students. American Indians have the lowest high school graduation rates in the nation and even lower college attendance and graduation rates. The perpetuation of harmful stereotypes may exacerbate these problems (USCCR, 2001).

Despite the formal statement of USCCR (2001), Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger vetoed Bill 858, the *California Racial Mascots Act* in the California State Assembly on September 21, 2004, stating in part that "...adding another non-academic state administrative requirement for schools to comply with takes more focus away from getting kids to learn at the highest levels" (American Indian Sports Team Mascots, Schwarzenegger, 2004).

In Canada, the Media Awareness Network based in Ottawa, (<http://www.media-awareness.ca>) noted that "...some of the most common stereotyping traps are various forms of romanticization; historical inaccuracies; stereotyping by omission; and simplistic characterizations. The latter is identified as perhaps "[the] most destructive to the image of Aboriginal people (Media Awareness Network, Common Portrayals of Aboriginal People, n.d.). Mounting concern of the impact of stereotyping on Indigenous children and young people and the "skewed" visions of their Peoples in the media have lead the Media Awareness Network to state that if their impressions come from films and TV programs, "they'll learn to think of Aboriginal people as inferior (passive,

aggressive or drunk) or simply as non-entities, obliterated by omission (Media Awareness Network, *The Impact of Stereotyping on Young People*, n.d.).

Reese (1996) agrees and promotes several positive strategies for classrooms that can include among others, "providing knowledge about contemporary Native Americans to balance historical information and preparing units about specific tribes/nations" (p. 3-4).

Indigenous Peoples suffer enduring psychological damage seeing cartoon-like caricatures of themselves; it is the ultimate in dehumanization. Rider says that non-natives are also harmed, in that stereotyping impairs students from learning accurate American history—and the cycle continues needlessly (Rider, 2).

This needless continuing cycle can be halted. Using resources found in *Images of Aboriginal People in Contemporary Media*, as an example, can provide the teacher and students with questions and resources to critically discuss and analyze stereotyping of Indigenous Peoples in movies, newspapers and television that often reduce contemporary Indigenous issues as "problems" (www.schoolnet.ca/aboriginal/issues/media-e.html).

Mental, physical, emotional and spiritual wounding has devastating effects. French (1994) contends that Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS), recognized in 1973 and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), recognized in 1980, are accounted for by the "culture of poverty," "marginality," and "alcohol escapism" symbiosis. Specifically, the more confused the cultural identity of the Indian group, the greater the probability of FAS/PTSD (p.216). Indian Health Service

data provided by French (1994) indicate that the Plains Indians may have the highest FAS rate of any ethnic group in the world (p.217). American Indian-Alaska Native adolescents reported high rates of health-compromising behaviors and risk factors related to unintentional injury, substance use, poor self-assessed health status, emotional distress, and suicide as being clear indicators of PTSD. Recommended interventions "must be culturally sensitive . . .be grounded in cultural traditions . . . (p.219).

Indian Health Services (IHS, 1992) in the clinical periodical, *Hospital and Community Psychiatry* states that Native Americans are at higher risk for mental disorders . . . including poverty, inadequate employment, minimal educational opportunities, and lack of other meaningful activities . . . in addition to facing . . . racial discrimination, geographic isolation, and cultural identity conflicts brought on by the rapid encroachment of a dominant technological society (French, p. 221). In other words, *cultural ambiguity*—a result of poor self-image, or more to the point, who am I, where do I belong, who should have my loyalty? You may ask what does this have to do with history and FASD or PTSD? Everything. Every nation, every ethnic and racial group needs to know their roots, their truths, their heroes, and their histories. It is only Indigenous Peoples who are colonized, have had their homelands "discovered", occupied and renamed for the colonizer, are then told to stop harping on past injustices. Society keeps on treating the symptoms and never seeks the underlying cause(s) of the disease. Henry Zoe, Dogrib Treaty 11 Council, presented his views on holistic well-being. He stated to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples,

The Aboriginal concept goes beyond the conventional wisdom of biomedicine, which focuses on the human organism and its symptoms of dysfunction.

For a person to be healthy, [he or she] must be adequately fed, be educated, have access to medical facilities, have access to spiritual comfort, live in a warm and comfortable house with clean water and safe sewage disposal, be secure in their cultural identity, have an opportunity to excel in a meaningful endeavour, and so on. These are not separate needs; they are all aspects of a whole (RCAP, 1996, Vol.3, Gathering Strength).

In his review of several history books, Francis (1997) notes that scant mention was made in early textbooks, with one, *A History of Canada*, prefaced with "The Teacher can omit this chapter at his discretion." He thoughtfully notes that the word "contact" means an exchange between two civilizations and that Europeans in the Americas was "discovery and conquest", not contact (p. 73). War was described as the favourite, "almost exclusive pastime of the stereotypical Textbook Indians." Terms still heard today in referring to Indigenous Peoples are: *savages, demons, filthy animals, drunks, squaws, thieves, violent, uncivilized*. This illustrates what Francis noted, that Canadians are afflicted by "perseveration of memory," occurring when "we insist on "remembering" the details of an event even after we have been informed that the event did not happen or did not happen in the way that we remember. The

“memory” is so basic, so ingrained, or so comforting, that it overrides any attempt to correct it” (p.173).

If the Textbook Indian was a warmonger, Europeans always presented themselves as peaceful and never as an aggressor; the theft of Indigenous homelands is never raised as an issue for critical discourse. Absent from this historical myth, were the Indigenous voices. As Francis (1997) states, Indigenous contributions, distinct cultures, treaties, history, contemporary land rights, spirituality are marginalized and silenced (p.78) to “rationalize the assimilationist policies being carried out by our government” since “assimilation was the only alternative to extinction. We were taught that we were doing them a favour” (p. 79).

Perhaps the most telling example of Indigenous marginalization is found in the installation speech of Her Excellency the Right Honourable Adrienne Clarkson, Governor-General of Canada (October, 1999). Inuit are mentioned at the end of her speech, given credit for a word, *isuma* that she defines as “an intelligence that includes knowledge of one’s responsibility towards society” and reference to an invitation by Grand Chief John Kelly (1970) that extended the circle of the Ojibway Peoples. Other than that, Indigenous Peoples are notably absent in contributing anything other than words and land. Extolling the virtues of French, British and other colonizers, her own *bias by obliteration* excluded Indigenous educators, writers, film makers, historians, poets, architects, actors and leaders held in high esteem by the Original Peoples. This was a lost opportunity to pay tribute to the resiliency and gifts of the Original Peoples,

bringing their contributions to the attention of the 21st century; instead, Clarkson chose to leave Indigenous Peoples in the accumulated historical dust (Her Excellency's Installation Speech, 1999).

Silence

Franke Wilmer (1993) writes that Indigenous activists are fighting to "end five centuries of exclusion" and have appealed directly to international organizations. He provides the following quote:

What sets worlds in motion is the interplay of differences, their attractions and repulsions. Life is plurality, death is uniformity. By suppressing differences and peculiarities, by eliminating different civilizations and cultures, progress weakens life and favors death. The idea of a single civilization for everyone, implicit in the cult of progress and technique, impoverishes and mutilates us. Every view of the world that becomes extinct, every culture that disappears diminishes a possibility of life (Octavio Paz, 1967; quoted in Highwater, 1981, p.1).

Silence can take many forms. We are most familiar with the written silence, not acknowledging an Indigenous presence progress from the past to the present. The invisibility serves the silence. The disproportionate number of suicides among Indigenous Peoples serves the silence. We will never fully understand why a gift of birth has chosen to remain silent by choosing death and may speak to the words of Paz.

Simon Robinson (2003), Executive Director of the First Peoples' Cultural Foundation, wrote a background paper for the United Nations "Global Forum on Indigenous People and the Information Society" on the importance of protecting, preserving and promoting Indigenous languages. He quotes experts that estimate that 90% of the estimated 6,000 languages on earth will be silenced by the end of the century,

Every view of the world that fades away, every culture that disappears, diminishes a possibility of life and reduces the human repertoire of adaptive responses to the common problems that confront us all. Knowledge is lost, not only of the natural world but also of realms of the spirit, intuitions about the meaning of the cosmos, insights into the very nature of existence... At risk is a vast archive of knowledge and expertise, a catalogue of the imagination, composed of the memories of countless elders and healers, warriors, farmers, fishermen, midwives, poets, and saints. In short, the artistic, intellectual, and spiritual expression of the full complexity and diversity of the human experience (Wade Davis, interview with Alex Chadwick, in Robinson, 2003, p.2).

To counter the silence and honour Indigenous voice, Swisher (1996) stated that "Indian People should be the Ones to Write about Indian Education" given the long history of flawed research from non-Native academics who have not understood the deeper sensibilities of First Nations communities. Another Indigenous writer states,

...whoever controls your definition controls your sense of self. And so the more writers we have and the more readers we have and the more audience we have, the more Native American people are going to be able to claim themselves, and take it back from Hollywood, take it back from the anthropologists (Paula Gunn Allen in *Winged Words: American Indian writers Speak*, quoted in Bataille, 2001, p.99).

It is difficult to dismantle systemic racism, to be heard, when the federal government of Canada colludes to silence Indigenous voice, as stated by the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (October, 2000),

By treating Aboriginal peoples as if they are the same as non-Aboriginal Canadians, Canada engages in systemic discrimination. For example, although the Haudenosaunee are the only non-state people to be recognized by the United Nations as independent agents, rather than NGOs, Canada denies they have a distinct identity as a people and denies their nationhood, or even that they have a distinct worldview" (CRRF, p.3).

Flawed research perpetuates prejudice but how can educators counter prejudice? Almeida (1996) writes that prejudice can be fought through antibias curriculum and instruction. She identifies three obstacles to providing better instruction about American Indians and Alaska Natives: (1) lack of training provided by teacher-training programs, (2) ongoing racist portrayals of Native

Americans in the larger society; and (3) difficulties in locating sources of trustworthy materials.

While Almeida (1996) pinpoints obstacles, Banks (2001) notes the powerful political structure as a determinant factor; in order for empowerment, action and change to occur, students require specific knowledge that “describe events, concepts, and situations from the perspectives of the diverse cultural, racial, gender, and social-class groups within a society, including those that are politically and culturally dominant as well as those that are structurally excluded from full societal participation” (p.201). Banks goes on to say those powerful groups’ perspectives “tends to justify the status quo, rationalize racial and gender inequality, and make students content with the status quo” (p.92). Therefore, change is not warranted and students, with unquestioned obedience, will accept the myths that Columbus and others “discovered” the Americas and that colonizers, invaders or immigrants are quaintly referred to as “settlers in the New World” (Banks, 2001, pp. 201-202).

According to Banks (2001), as ethnic revitalization occurs, a *cultural pluralism paradigm* emerges with the main goal of the school being to “develop commitments and attachments to their ethnic groups so they can participate in the liberation of those groups.” *Assimilationists* argue that the primary goal of the school should...socialize students so that they attain the knowledge, attitudes, and skills to become effective citizens of their nation-states (Appiah, 1996, quoted in Banks, p.103). The major assumption is that ethnic minority youths should be freed of ethnic identifications and commitments so they can become

full participants in the national culture. As ethnic revitalization gains momentum, the cultural pluralism paradigm struggles against those favouring assimilationism, with the group with the most political clout emerging as the winner. Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) concur, stating that it is naïve to believe that school curriculum is neutral knowledge:

...what counts as legitimate knowledge is the result of complex power relations and struggles among identifiable class, race, gender/sex, and religious groups. Thus, education and power are terms of indissoluble couplet (p.2).

To elucidate this point further, the French in Quebec have enjoyed protection by the British for their religion, language and Napoleonic Code since Capitulation. Quebec, whose large population equates to political clout, can emerge the winner in the assimilation game against cultural pluralism. It is ironic and perhaps fitting that the esteemed writer, Ronald Wright (1991, p.334) chose a quote from René Levesque when he wrote of Indigenous resistance, in this instance, in Kanehsatà:ke,

To be unable to live as ourselves...in our own language and according to our own ways, would be like living without an arm or a leg – or perhaps a heart (Premier of Quebec, 1968).

Maintaining a place in a predominately English-speaking continent has been a French fight for survival. Yet, worldwide, there are more than 40 million French speakers compared to, in many cases, less than 100 Indigenous speakers left, not counting the many Indigenous Peoples who have become

extinct. Indigenous Peoples, as the Onkwehón:we, are no less deserving of such sentiments or aspirations as spoken by Mr. Levesque. The source of our voice, our languages and our ways is found in what remains of our vast homelands, so succinctly described by Brian Maracle (1996). He stressed that the home of Aboriginal culture is the reserve. He described his reserve in Ohsweken, Ontario as meaning many things to the Onkwehón:we:

On one level, these postage-stamp remnants of our original territories are nagging reminders of the echoing vastness of what we have lost. On another, they are the legacy and bastion of our being. They are a refuge, a prison, a madhouse, a fortress, a birthplace, a Mecca, a resting-place, Home-Sweet-Home, Fatherland and Motherland rolled into one (Maracle, 1996).

Indigenous Peoples are finding their talk and they are recording their histories and languages. They are remembering their origins and legends and preparing to deconstruct the colonized mind and reconstruct an Indigenous epistemology. Twenty-five years ago, John Mohawk (Ottawa, 1989) posed questions at a youth conference that have relevance to this study and beyond; What is your imagined community? What is your Indian Nation? What does it stand for? What is it about? What are you about? What is real in your life? And how do you connect to reality? (p.109). What are we when we are being the best that we can be? (p. 110). Mohawk (1989) told the youth that they had been living in an imagined community of Western thought intended to separate and disconnect their spirit from the land and much had been brainwashed from our

consciousness that left us in a condition he described as “extreme distress.” Twenty-five years ago, he too, was concerned for a reconstructed Indigenous identity that would use “our imaginations to make our world a better place for us and for the future generations of our people” (p.110).

CHAPTER 3 – How the story came to be

The Study Population

This study involved interviewing Mohawk young people who are taking or have taken history in either a Band or Provincial school and who reside in Kanehsatà:ke.

The purpose of this study was to examine the roles that Mohawk, Canadian, and Quebec history and/or governments have in shaping how the young people view the world and themselves, if they feel that all racial groups are accurately portrayed or included in history, and if there exists a common national history or identity within the study group.

Putting our heads together

I contacted the principal and the History and Native Studies teachers of Ratihente High School for a face-to-face meeting at the high school. I spoke with them about my research project and gave them a copy of my proposal and answered any questions they had. I also asked them to recommend any young people they felt may be willing to participate and provide the richest information, since this was a qualitative study to understand a phenomenon in depth

(McMillan, 2004, p.121). Youth participants would have taken or were taking senior level history, living in Kanehsatake and were attending or had attended a community Band school and/or provincial school. This was a typical case sampling to investigate a person, group, or site that is "typical" of many, since I had sufficient knowledge about the important characteristics of the community of Kanehsatake (McMillan, 2004, p. 114). To follow up, I requested Ratihente High School to send youth in Secondary IV and V with Parent/Youth Consent Forms to inform parents of the study. I also personally called a majority of the parents by telephone to further inform them of my research proposal. I spoke to a majority of Secondary IV and V youth to personally request their participation. Of the original fifteen participants, I eventually received ten (10) parental or youth signed consent forms consisting of five females and five males. Written permission was required from the young people and/or their parents, and school administrators were provided with a summary of the study and full disclosure of the study's intent. Permission from the supervising professor was obtained to comply with the university's ethical guidelines.

The ten young people's school profile were as follows: five had attended only schools in Kanehsatà:ke, while three attended elementary school in Kanehsatà:ke and high school in Kahnawake. One young person had attended elementary school in Kanehsatà:ke, transferred to a provincial school and returned to high school in Kanehsatà:ke. One young person attended provincial elementary and secondary school to grade 9, then transferred to Kahnawake.

Exploring the interview queries

I received verbal consent from a young Mohawk male in his twenty's to participate in an exploratory interview. I asked him to remember his high school history and to answer the questions that would later be posed to Mohawk youth. His impression was that history was one-sided and didn't include other worldviews. This young man felt that Europeans were takers, Aboriginals were givers and that his family discussed history, community, nation, and confederacy history and European history. He stated that his people are free people and he identified with being first and only, a Mohawk. Lastly, he expressed his belief that Onkwehón:we history was downplayed; there was contempt for his culture and his rights and freedoms while non-aboriginal governments have consistently shown injustice to him and his nation. This exploratory interview provided an elaboration on the responses and informed the questions posed to the ten young people who consented to be interviewed (Appendix 1: Interview in Kanehsatà:ke, April 9, 2001).

Honouring the Sacred

All clan responses that were collected are strictly confidential. To respect and honour confidentiality, each individual is identified by one of the three clans of the Kanien'kehà:ka; Bear, Wolf and Turtle. Thus, they will be Bear 1, Wolf 1, Turtle 1; Bear 2, Wolf 2, Turtle 2; etc.

Sharing Stories: How it is all interrelated

My interviews are thematic interviews with a past and present history perspective. The main themes in the interviews were: individual beliefs in the accuracy of history being taught in schools; individual perspectives on relationships between Kanien'kehà:ka (Mohawk) Peoples and the French and British Peoples; if history is spoken about in the home; individual perceptions of the role that Kanien'kehà:ka (Mohawk) history and government in shaping their identity and world view; and individual perceptions of the role that Quebec and Canadian history and/or government play in shaping their identity and world view.

Clans were asked individually and separately, five non-invasive open-ended questions that took about thirty minutes to complete. It was important that the clan members be comfortable before, during and at the end of the interviews. Any discomfort was noted and further probative questions were discontinued. Respect for different beliefs and values and personal interpretations permitted multiple voices to be heard. Some of the interviews were tape recorded while others preferred to write down their responses. Clans were also shown ten (10) picture cards showing historical actors or events from the 16th century to the present. Clans were asked to reject two (2) picture cards from the ten as having the least meaning for them. Of the remaining eight (8) picture cards, they were then asked to retain three (3) as having the most meaning. The clans then verbally explained their choices and rejections. This portion of the interview took between 20-30 minutes to complete. I tried to keep my questions as open-ended as possible and encouraged each young clan person to tell as much as possible

in their own words about the questions and picture cards they had felt to be important.

All written and recorded responses to both activities were later transcribed. Field notes were recorded during four classroom observations at Ratihente High School to provide thick description, including an interview with the history teacher at Ratihente. Multiple sources were used to establish a chain of evidence. Documents such as letters, administrative documents, newspaper articles, web searches, and oral history, including a content analysis of the history curricula added to this narrative.

I will deposit all research material amassed with the Kanehsatà:ke Education Centre, except for personal interview materials or those returned to those participants who requested their return. I am the caretaker of the transcribed interview materials and field notes but audio recordings have been destroyed.

Risks and Benefits

There are no known risks associated with young Kanien'kehà:ka participation in this study. There was cultural gifting for sharing their words for participating in the project.

It is hoped that this research will provide benefits to the educational system in Kanehsatà:ke and to present and future History and Social Studies teachers.

Limitations of the narratives

There was a reluctance of some of the students to be taped recorded during interviews and it resulted in note taking for more than half of the students interviewed. This may have resulted in missing the nuances in oral responses and missing key statements. On the other hand, during some of the taped interviews, class changes and noise rendered some parts of the interviews inaudible.

Working out of province posed another problem. Shortly after beginning my thesis, I left Kanehsatà:ke to work in Ottawa. Interviews were set up, time taken from work and some students changed their minds, resulting in many rescheduled appointments.

Braiding the Corn: How the stories were gathered

This is an ethnographic qualitative study intended to provide an in-depth description and interpretation of data collected through classroom observations, individual semi-structured student interviews, an unstructured key informant interview and document analysis that consisted of history exams, textbooks, review notes, curriculum outlines and videotape recordings. One of my many helpers is a history teacher who is also a committee member for the Ministry of Education's History and Geography Task Force. Rapport was easily achieved since I had worked in the education field in Kanehsatà:ke for many years, working with and for the staff as the Assistant Director of Education (2 years) and

I knew most of the students by name while working as the Student Services Coordinator (13 years).

In the classroom, I was a moderate participant observer, in that I was identified as a researcher but did not take on the role of the participants (McMillan, 2004, p.262). I used a subjective approach to integrate my personal knowledge and experiences and that of the participants since I am a lifelong community member and know the school system, community, families, children and youth of Kanehsatake (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 41-46).

Analysis occurred during and after data collection by reading through and organizing the data into smaller units while searching for categories, concepts and themes. Computer generated tables included all open-ended and picture questions and responses. Using a highlight feature, I searched for categories and prepared a summary of emergent themes from the young people's own words (emic data) and my interpretation of the data (etic data) using a computer by developing tables (McMillan, 2004, p.267). Relating the data to the general research questions and field notes that were generated throughout the study developed coding.

As data were collected and categories developed and summarized, I then looked for relationships among these categories to existing data to integrate the patterns that emerged and to draw inferences from these findings. To protect the validity of this study, triangulating this data from several sources protects the accuracy of my conclusions. Ethnography is "eclectic," (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993, p. 48) in that many kinds of data collection techniques can be used to

compare emerging patterns from the interviews and written documents. If results of several methods of data collection reach the same conclusions, the finding is judged ...credible (McMillan, 2004, p. 278). Two teachers, one a history teacher, the other a Special Needs resource/substitute teacher provided invaluable comments in triangulating this data. This provided an objective process, one in which there was a search for negative or discrepant data that would not support the pattern (MacMillan, p.270). The two teachers were the primary sources that validated the findings.

Those who have a primary vested interest are students, parents, teachers, educational administrators of Kanehsatà:ke, and the community at large. The Kanehsatà:ke Education Centre was given a copy of the results since they are tasked with ensuring academic success, curriculum and training that provides for the inclusion of history, culture, and language.

Chapter 4 Gather now, for I have a story to tell

Now, I will tell you stories of what happened long ago. There was a world before this. The things that I am going to tell about happened in that world. Some of you will remember every word I say, some will remember a part of the words, and some will forget them all—I think this will be the way, but each man must do the best he can. Hereafter, you must tell these stories to one another—now listen (The Origins of Stories, Seneca legend told by Henry Jacob, n.d., www.sacred-texts.com).

The story, or the study if you wish, is about how young Kanien'kehà:ka see their world, at this time, this moment in their lives. Undoubtedly, there will be other adventures, new knowledge, other significant people they will meet on their path but this is their memories committed to paper and unfortunately, narrowly defined by the questions posed. It is a picture of who they are now, how they feel about their individual and collective identity, how they see themselves in the national narrative. By no means is this who they will become, for their personal histories are still being written.

Identity is a dynamic process, developing over time in interaction between individuals and the environment, while society, culture and way of life also contribute to who we become. Narratives lie within the individual based on accumulated "history" of experience and knowledge and are expressions of the self. Since each student is a unique individual, different meanings to their subjective experiences emerged.

While the Ministry of Education in Quebec is implementing a new Social Sciences curriculum that includes the teaching of History, Geography and Citizenship, more Indigenous educators posit for protecting, preserving and promoting Indigenous identity, history, language and culture. How do we, as Indigenous Peoples ensure our survival in the midst of compulsory provincial curriculum that marginalizes and silences Indigenous voice? More importantly, do Indigenous youth value their distinct identities, languages, histories and cultures. Can their beliefs and values provide guidance to an older generation and offer a different path to follow for a younger generation? The findings will

begin with a content review of the history text *Diverse Pasts: A History of Quebec and Canada* (1995). The text was reviewed and noted for every reference to Aboriginal Peoples, with a specific focus on every reference to “Mohawk” or “Iroquois.” Following this review, particular attention was noted to errors of fact and bias by obliteration, disparagement and/or cumulative implication, as previously defined. The review follows, as well as being interspersed throughout the document. It will be followed by the young people’s reflections to the questions and pictures presented in this study.

Diverse Pasts: The good, the bad, the ugly

A content review of the history text, *Diverse Pasts: A History of Quebec and Canada* (1995) revealed that errors of fact continue to plague the newest edition (1995), as in the case of Iroquoian women watching the crops, with a teepee in the background (p. 21), or referring to the social structure of the Iroquois as “matriarchal” instead of the more correct term “matrilineal.” There are totally misleading and false statements about Iroquois women’s role in stating “While clan mothers chose the chiefs, the councils were made up of men, and women do not seem to have had a direct say in political decisions” (p. 23). While European women had to fight long and hard for equality rights, Onkwehón:we females enjoyed this as a birthright.

Barbara Mann (2000) writes of the Iroquoian women, the Gantowisas and the extent of influence they had in Iroquoian society. In addition to educating the young, they chose male and female leaders, could take their nation to war or

declare peace, held title to the land and the soil, determined citizenship, adoption and naming of children, were faithkeepers, medicine people and famed agriculturalists. In 1724, the Jesuit Lafitau, commented on Iroquoian women:

Nothing, however, is more real than this superiority of the women. It is of them that the nation really consists; and it is through them that the nobility of the blood, the genealogical tree and the families are perpetuated. All real authority is vested in them. The land, the fields and their harvest all belong to them...the children are their domain and it is through their blood that the order of succession is transmitted" (quoted in Jamieson, 1978, pp. 9-10).

While *Diverse Pasts* (1995) presents pretty pictures (Fig. 9.3, pp.122-123) of the carving up of Indigenous homelands, this text like many others, avoids the issue of the Doctrine of Discovery (Fleras & Elliott, 1992, pp.131-132), fails to mention that the Five Nations Confederacy entered into treaties with Britain and the United States and had territories on both sides of the colonizers "boundaries." One of the most disturbing imperialist references was found in the section "Demographic Changes,"

...recent immigrants from Britain; members of religious and ethnic minorities, including nearly 3000 ex-slaves; and Native peoples, including most of the members of the Iroquois League (p.124).

The Canadian Oxford Dictionary (1998) defines to immigrate as: "come as a permanent resident to a country other than one's native land." Since this is not the case for Kanien'kehà:ka and other Indigenous Peoples whose homelands

span both sides of this colonial-imposed border, this choice of terminology skews the historical record; the authors definition of bias as “the historian chooses not only what we will see of the past, but how we will see it” (xi) has serious implications. This has led both the United States and Canadian governments to possessively proclaim “our Canadian or our U.S. Indians” while many Indigenous Peoples assert they are North American citizens.

The authors also determined the significance of wampum as found under “Artistic and Cultural Life” (pp.26-27) and described it as “...another important artistic form. Wampum was a belt or necklace made of different-coloured shells sewn together that was exchanged by parties to every treaty” (Fig. 2.11, pp.26-27). This denigration obliterates from memory that wampum are Indigenous legal, political, economic, spiritual and social records.

Throughout *Diverse Pasts* (1995), Kanien'kehà:ka are portrayed as traders, travellers and guides for fur traders, joining warring expeditions for and against the British and French, praised for their crafts, provided thrilling rides down the rapids and sang a little, danced a little for American tourists who were nostalgic for “the disappearing wilderness (p.275). The text depreciates and marginalizes contributions of Indigenous Peoples, without challenging students to really learn about the original inhabitants; this is evidenced by exam questions (MEQ, 1999, 2000) that center only on social and cultural constructs. *Chapter 24 – subheading: Native Peoples* (p.371) finally begins to address real issues; land rights, socio-economic problems that plague Indigenous communities, the Indian Act, discrimination and racism but none of the end of chapter questions and

projects ask students to address these issues; thus, students are never challenged to deeper understanding (p.374).

Chapter 25-subheading: Native Peoples, (p.396) the reader is taken back to repeating a historical question in "Relations with Native peoples are a *recurring* challenge in Quebec." One of the most pertinent contemporary statements found in the book is made in reference to the Oka Crisis of 1990, the hydro-electric project on Cree territories and a proposed dam on Innu lands, "Most Quebecers failed to grasp that Native peoples had *legitimate* grievances" [emphasis mine] (p.397). At the end of the chapter, students are then asked what studies are stressed at the Kahnawake Survival School and a choice of doing a project on researching conflicts between Native peoples and government in Canada (p. 398). Now, it is to convince history teachers/historians that this is perhaps a better starting point to begin teaching Indigenous People's history.

Diverse Pasts, as with almost every history and archeology textbook, begins with the "Bering Strait *Theory*" that posits an Asian to North America migration. Excluding any other theories, such as a South-North migration, this text does include Huron and Mohawk Creation "myths" (pp.8-9) and a short lead sentence on origins,

Many Native peoples believe that they originated in North America where the Creator placed them at the beginning of time, just as some Christians accept the biblical creation described in the book of Genesis (p.7).

Recent evidence was unearthed in a gravel pit near Edmonton, Alberta where archeologists found a grizzly jaw estimated at 25,000 years old, forcing a

rewriting of the natural history of North America (Boswell, *The Gazette*, Montreal, 2004). In another find in South Carolina, archeologists have radiocarbon tests date the first human settlement in North America to 50,000 years ago (Walton & Coren, 2004).

Commenting on this find and the Bering Strait theory, Dennis Stanford, curator of archeology at the Smithsonian Institution is quoted, "That had been repeated so many times in textbooks and lectures it became part of the common lore. People forgot it was only an unproven hypothesis" (p.2). This unproven hypothesis should therefore posit a South to North migration of human kind, the corn migration to the Americas and contemporaneous human development (i.e. Mayan and Aztec and Egyptian civilizations). It is my position that the history of the Americas will be repeatedly rewritten as European colonizers find their "Western scientific proof" to knowledge Indigenous Peoples have always possessed.

Painting prejudiced pictures in the mind is evident when English and French colonialists are described in *Diverse Pasts* as "traders" whereas, Iroquois are depicted as "war parties" *ravaging* settlements near Montreal (p.51).

The issue of torture is treated with reference to European torture, yet erroneously describes Iroquoian torture as a "duty" to avenge a killing; there is no mention there is ample historical evidence that many captives were adopted (p. 24). If students are ignorant of European torture practices, then they are primarily left with early colonists accounts of torture at the hands of "savages" who created martyrs "at the hands of the Iroquois in 1648-49" (p. 81). As an

aside, Kanien'kehà:ka oral history tells us that these men of the cloth were also explorers and provided logistical information for the colonial governments.

What appears to be a benign statement regarding fur traders "Although some men stayed on in the West and lived with Native women...(p.153), it has the potential to bias the reader. Obliterated narratives of Indigenous marriage ceremonies lead the reader to the conclusion that these unions were casual liaisons, when most were legal custom marriages.

Quebec and Canadian history in *Diverse Pasts* text is not the only province that suppresses Indigenous history. The Canadian Race Relations Foundation (2000) posits that suppression of cultural identity extends even to the provinces and territories. They state that " in Ontario, the Aboriginal view of history and Aboriginal languages may not be taught as part of the school curriculum without first being vetted by the provincial government to determine whether these would be "valuable" or not."

CRRF (2000) state that this infringement on rights occurs "despite the provisions of Article 27 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* which require that minorities not be denied the right to enjoy their culture or to use their own language, and Article 30 of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* " with similar to similar rights and with... "specific reference to persons of [I]ndigenous origin" (p.3).

An incident of a proposed curriculum of [N]ative studies, which would have included information on the residential schools "was recently rejected by Ontario on the basis that it was 'too negative.' Thus, Aboriginal cultural views continue to

be screened out of educational processes, and subjected to the views of a foreign power, thereby perpetuating a process of institutional assimilation and enabling the dominant culture to control how history is viewed" (CRRF, 2000, p.3).

These provincially sanctioned omissions of Indigenous Peoples' history continue, despite the Statement of Reconciliation (January 8, 1998) read by then Minister of Indian Affairs Jane Stewart on behalf of the Government of Canada. It reads in part,

Sadly, our history with respect to the treatment of Aboriginal people is not something in which we can take pride. Attitudes of racial and cultural superiority led to a suppression of Aboriginal culture and values. As a country, we are burdened by past actions that resulted in weakening the identity of Aboriginal peoples, suppressing their languages and cultures, and outlawing spiritual practices. We must recognize the impact of these actions on the once self-sustaining nations that were disaggregated, disrupted, limited or even destroyed by the dispossession of traditional territory, by the relocation of Aboriginal people, and by some provisions of the Indian Act. We must acknowledge that the result of these actions was the erosion of the political, economic and social systems of Aboriginal people and nations (INAC, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/gs/rec_e.html).

Much more is required to improve *Diverse Pasts* to include Indigenous Peoples' histories in the text. Adding more contemporary Indigenous history,

more essay/research questions and including Indigenous educators on their Task Force would provide alternative epistemologies that are presently lacking.

The Clans Speak to the pictures

Many times, symbols have a deep intrinsic meaning in our lives. The use of ten pictures evoked very strong memories, such as the picture of 1990 and the Canadian Army.

All the young people could recall personal lived experiences since the crisis of 1990 occurred in Kanehsatà:ke. They recalled it as "This is a big part of my history, my life (Wolf 1)," "I still remember it, it's a part of my life and will always be there (Turtle 1)" and "This picture brings back memories of our fight to keep what little land we have (Turtle 3)." Bear 3 chose this picture, saying, "I was about three years old when this all happened, the crisis of 1990, a connection because it happened where I live." Turtle 2 was also very young but said, "I was little but I still remember the crisis."

Wolf 3 just left it at "Personal. It happened in my community," while Bear 4 remembered "This picture is meaningful to me because it shows the time in 1990 when we showed Canada that we are still here and we aren't going to be pushed around so easily."

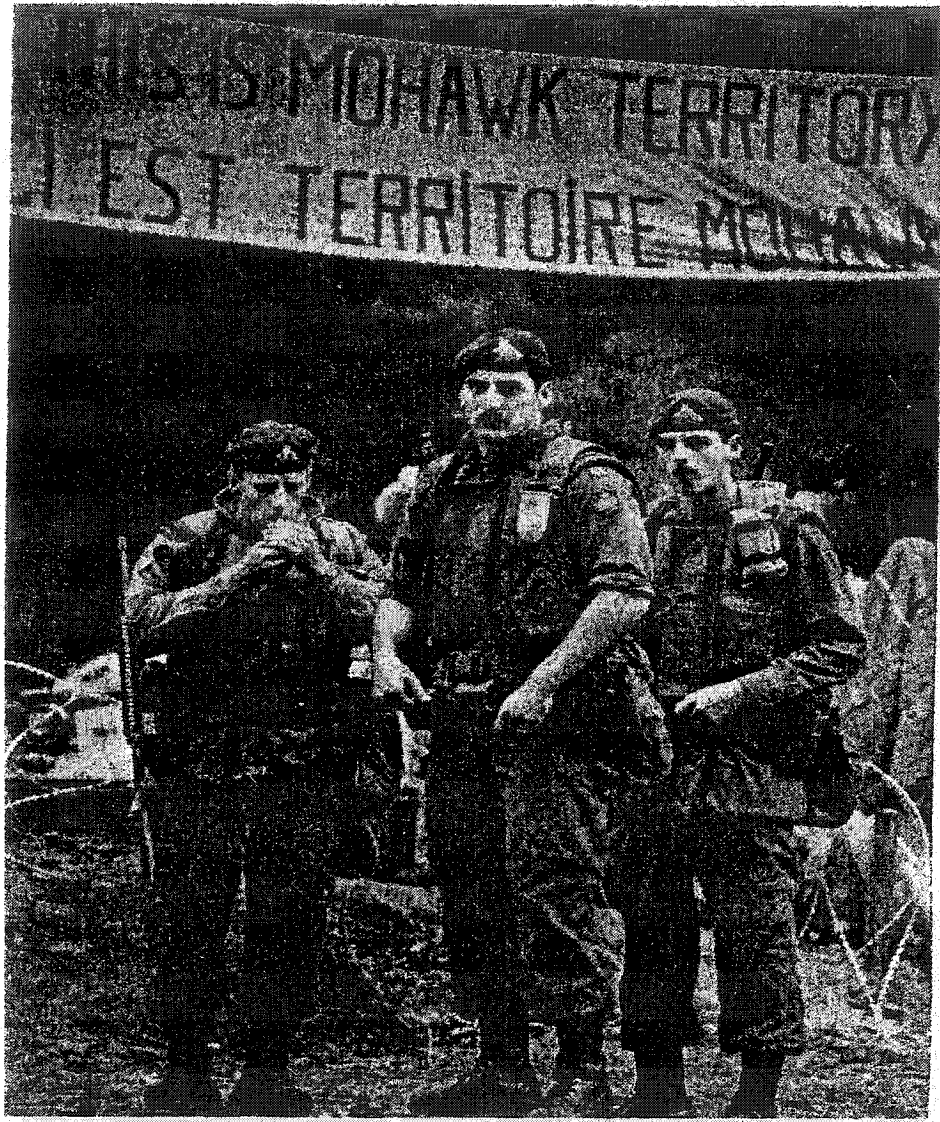


Figure 2

1990

Canadian Soldiers stand at the original barricade in the Pines, Kanehsatà:ke, Quebec. In *People of the Pines: The Warriors and the Legacy of Oka*, by Geoffrey York & Loreen Pindera, 1991. Photo credit: John Kenney, Montreal Gazette.

Bear 2 recalled, "I chose this one because I was around for the stuff that happened in 1990 and I can relate to seeing the Army standing around doing nothing." Wolf 2 said, "I remember I was like five years old when the crisis

happened and actually remember a lot of it. And the stress they had for a lot of the people and it was a turning point, I guess for a lot of the people.”

The picture of 1990 and the Army placed the students in a “historical moment” in their young lives. The researcher acknowledged that there was deeper emotions attached to this picture but respectfully did not pursue a thicker description.

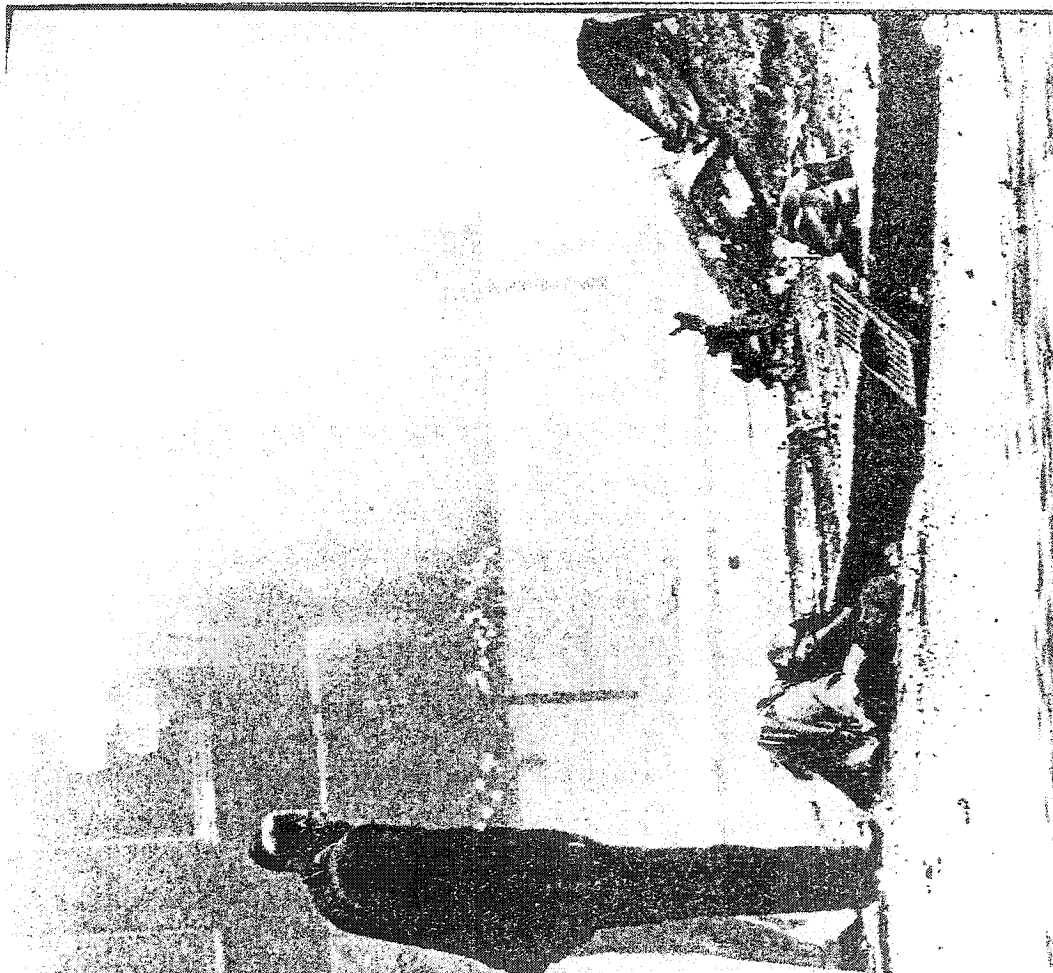


Figure 3

1963

Figure 23.8 FLQ mailbox bombing in Westmount, May 17, 1963, called Black Friday. Sergeant-Major Walter Leja, army engineer lies injured. In *Diverse Pasts: A History of Quebec and Canada*, 2d ed., 1995, p.358.

Many clans rejected the FLQ mailbox bombing picture. Clans simply stated they weren't familiar with the picture and its history. Bear 3 said, "I don't really connect with it, I really don't know what it means" and "I don't know about it at all (Turtle 1)." Wolf 1 said "This is just not important to me, don't really know about it." Bear 2, instead of rejecting this picture, chose the FLQ mailbox bombing to keep, saying,

"I chose this one because we were taught in school about what happened in Quebec in the 60s and it interests me because it was like people always talk about Canada as being this nice polite society, but they're like anybody else with the violence and killing."

Wolf 2 rejected the picture because "I just couldn't see a connection in my history with that, basically. The importance to me, even though it may be important, but not really to me."

It is significant that students do not connect with the October Crisis of 1970 and the War Measures Act; the Canadian government sent in the Army to Montreal when the FLQ turned to violence (*Diverse Pasts*, 1995, p.357). *Diverse Pasts* includes a picture of the "Standoff at Oka" and the text states that then "Premier Robert Bourassa asked Ottawa to send in the army, and a stalemate lasted throughout the summer" (Figure 26.8 and text, p.397). It is also a missed opportunity for all secondary students, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, in Quebec to compare and contrast competing interests of the French and Kanien'kehà:ka. The authors of *Diverse Pasts* offer instead a research question:

Research conflicts between Native peoples and government of Canada.

What are the common factors in such disputes? Propose some solutions to these conflicts (p.398).

A much more meaningful discourse would occur if students were asked to research conflicts between Indigenous Peoples and the colonizing peoples, discuss the Doctrine of Terra Nullius, Manifest Destiny and subsequent legislation passed in Canada. These topics should not be put on a back burner; all it does is sustain ignorance and denies open and honest dialogue.

The second most chosen picture was the Aionwatha (Hiawatha) Belt. Bear 1 described the Belt as “the Confederacy Belt is our belt” and Wolf 2 said “It symbolizes the unity between the people,” sharing this response with Wolf 3 who simply stated “Unifying the people.” Bear 4 said “I chose this as the most meaningful to me because it represents the unity of our nations and a time of peace.” Bear 3 was adamant saying “It’s a very important symbol of the Five Nations Confederacy” and proceeded to name all Confederacy Nations and their positions on the wampum and of the Tuscaroras who were offered to join.

Turtle 1 said “I see it and I know it’s important, a part of who we are, goes with everything that happened, represents who we are.” Wolf 1 said, “It means a lot to me and the people.” Turtle 3 proudly referred to the overwhelming Indigenous support in 1990 and said “It reminds me of how other Nations [Indigenous] supported us, how we stuck together. We were never alone, it showed how communities and Nations were willing to help us.”

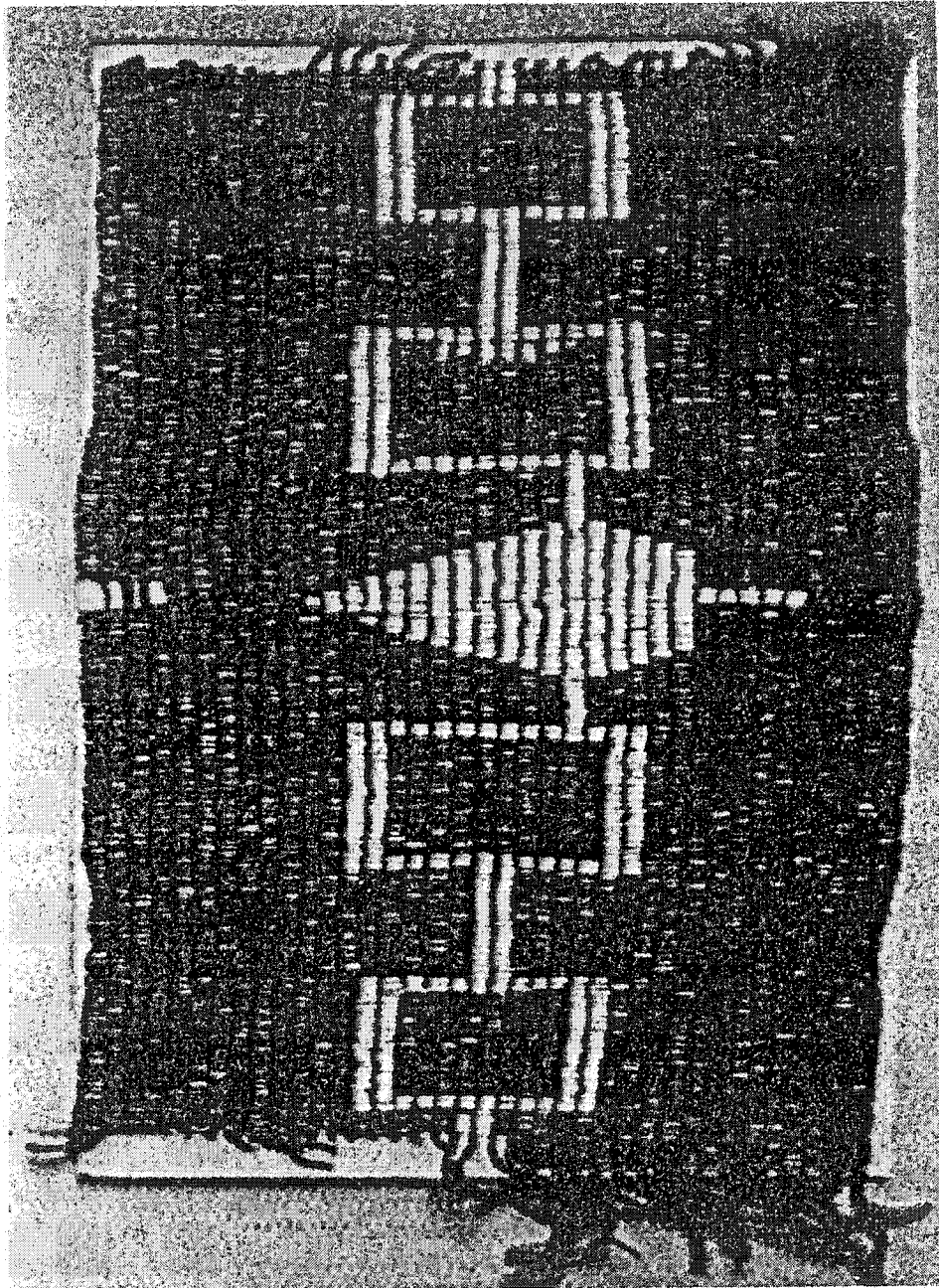


Figure 4

1142

Aionwatha or Hiawatha Belt, documenting the founding of the Confederacy of the Great Law of Peace and depicts the original Five Nations: Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga, Seneca, with Onondaga representing the central fire or government. Picture of belt in *Indians of North America: The Iroquois* by Graymont. Dating the Confederacy or League: See Mann & Fields.

The Aionwatha (Hiawatha) Belt is flown prominently throughout the homelands of many Iroquois Confederacy communities. Some display the flag on their cars, on flagpoles in much the same way that Quebecers fly the Fleur de Lys or Canadians fly the Maple leaf flag. To all, there is a nationalistic connection to the flags they fly. Many Mohawk students can describe the Aionwatha Belt and indicate the location of each of the Five Founding Peoples and how the symbol came from original wampum and Kaianerenhsera'kó:wa.

In stark contrast, Parliament was chosen for rejection. Turtle 3 said, "I chose [to reject] parliament, just because it's parliament." Wolf 1 said that "Parliament is just not important to me, it just reminds me how governments don't want to deal with our people" while Bear 4 stated that "This picture has no meaning to me, I couldn't care less about Canada's parliament."

Echoing these thoughts, Bear 2 said, "I rejected this picture because it is boring and I could care less about the Canadian government." Bear 3 rejected the parliament picture because "I chose [to reject] this because it has nothing to do with our culture, no point to our history, it's Christian history" and Bear 1 stated "I don't have any relation to this picture, no connection to this one." Wolf 3 said, "It stands for oppression, pure and simple, it's just not a good picture to include in our history."

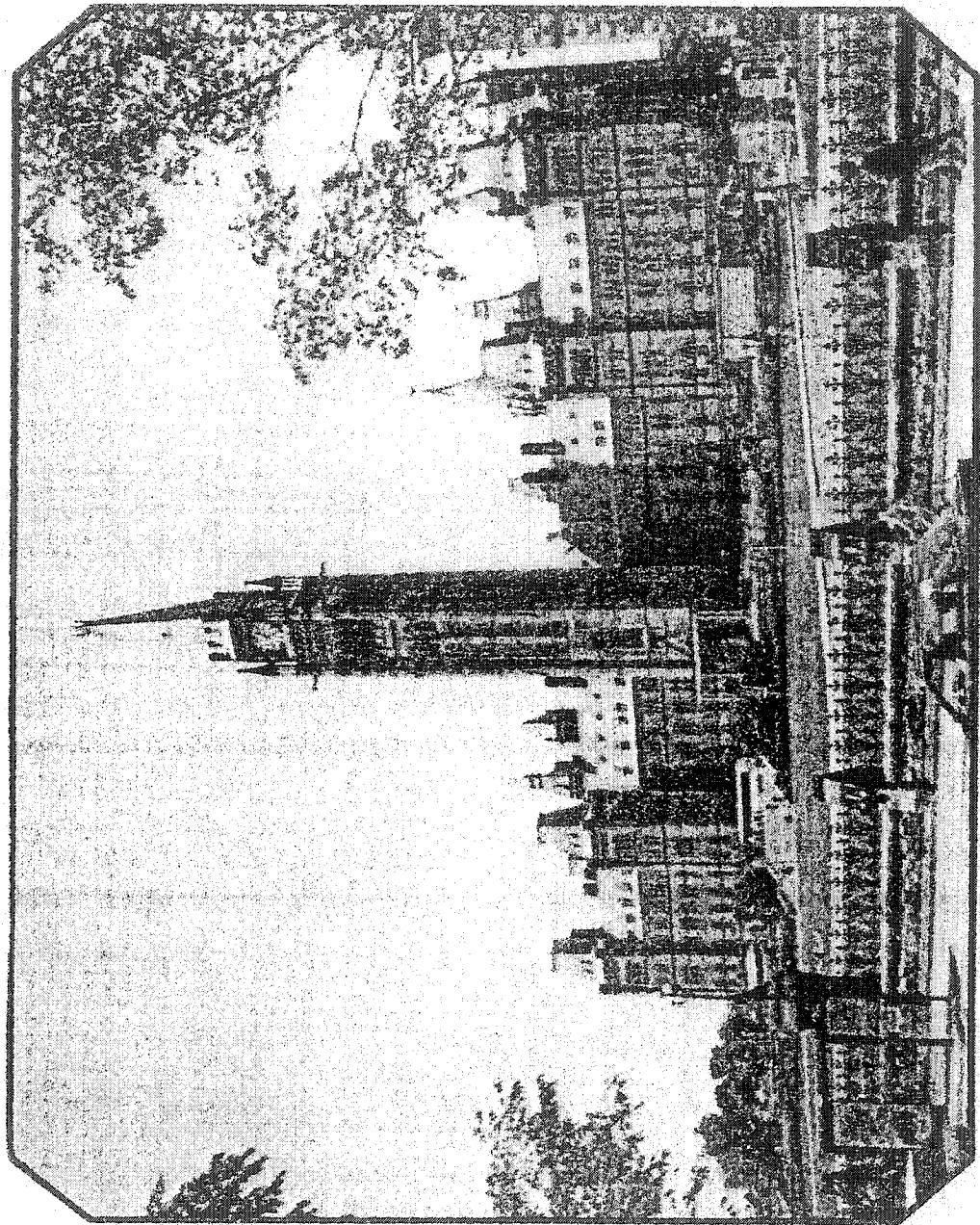


Figure 5

1850-1900 Figure 16.14. The Parliament of Canada. Completed in 1866; rebuilt after a fire in 1916. In *Diverse Pasts: A History of Quebec and Canada*, 2nd ed., 1995, p.247.

The Two-Dog Wampum Belt, the third choice of many clans was viewed as being tied to the land of Kanehsatà:ke and related to unity of the people as well. Many clans spoke with pride concerning this picture but acknowledged that

they needed/wanted to know more about the history of the Two-Dog Wampum, as expressed by Turtle 2 and Wolf 1. Turtle 3 recalled that it is also called the Kanehsatà:ke Belt, "...it belongs to us" and Wolf 3 said "I learned that this wampum belt belongs to Kanehsatà:ke and it's now at McCord Museum (Montreal). They should return it." Bear 1 mentioned "It was a treaty belt for Kanehsatà:ke. I've seen it in the Native Studies room before."

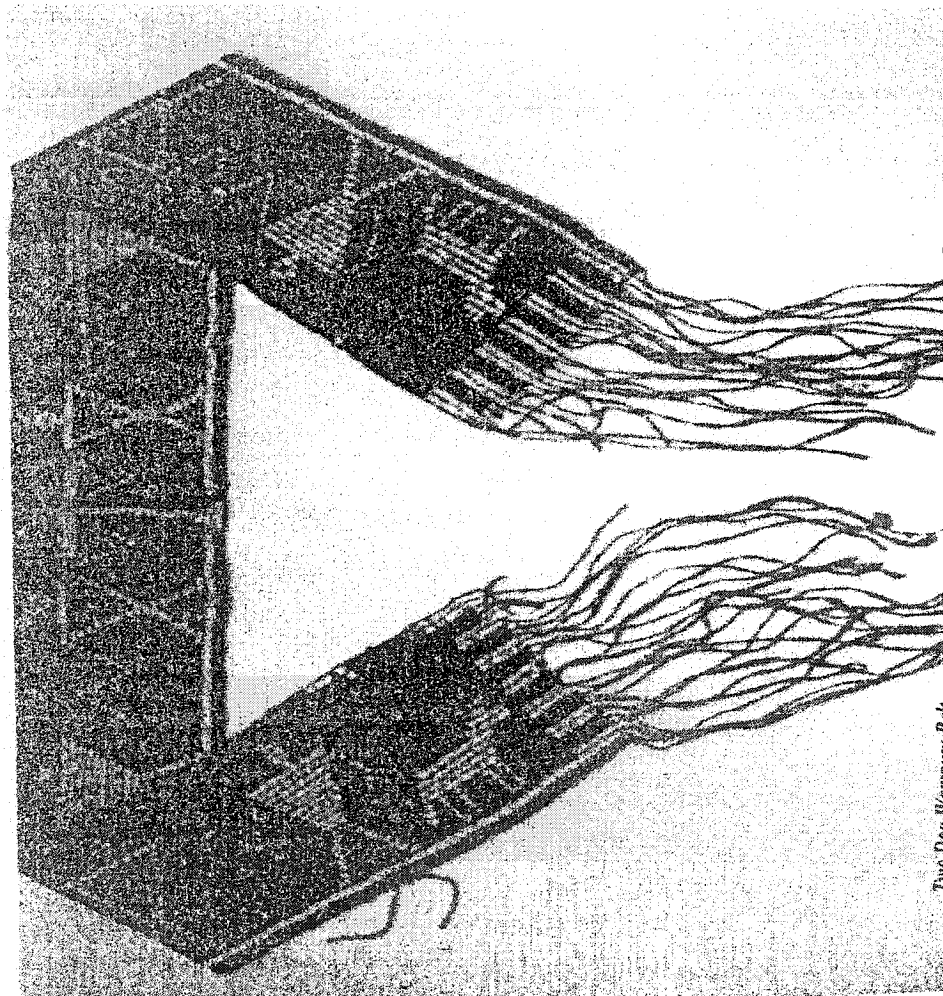


Figure 6

1787

Two Dog Wampum Belt. Chief Aghneetha explained the wampum as a deed of title to Sir John Johnson, a condition for their removal from Sault-aux-Recollets to join their traditional brethren at Kanehsatà:ke. Speech delivered February 8, 1787. In *At The Woods Edge: An Anthology of the History of the People of Kanehsatà:ke*, 1995, p.48.

The Trade Goods Map was also cited for rejection. Wolf 2 was hesitant and said “Not sure. Again, it’s not really pertaining to me. I definitely don’t see the connection,” with Turtle 2 sharing similar sentiments. Turtle 3 and Bear 4 rejected the Trade Goods map picture as it being “just a map, it has less meaning for me” and “...it just doesn’t relate to me in any way.” Only Wolf 3 chose to keep this picture citing “I see this map as colonialization and all of our collective resources extracted and benefiting Europeans.”

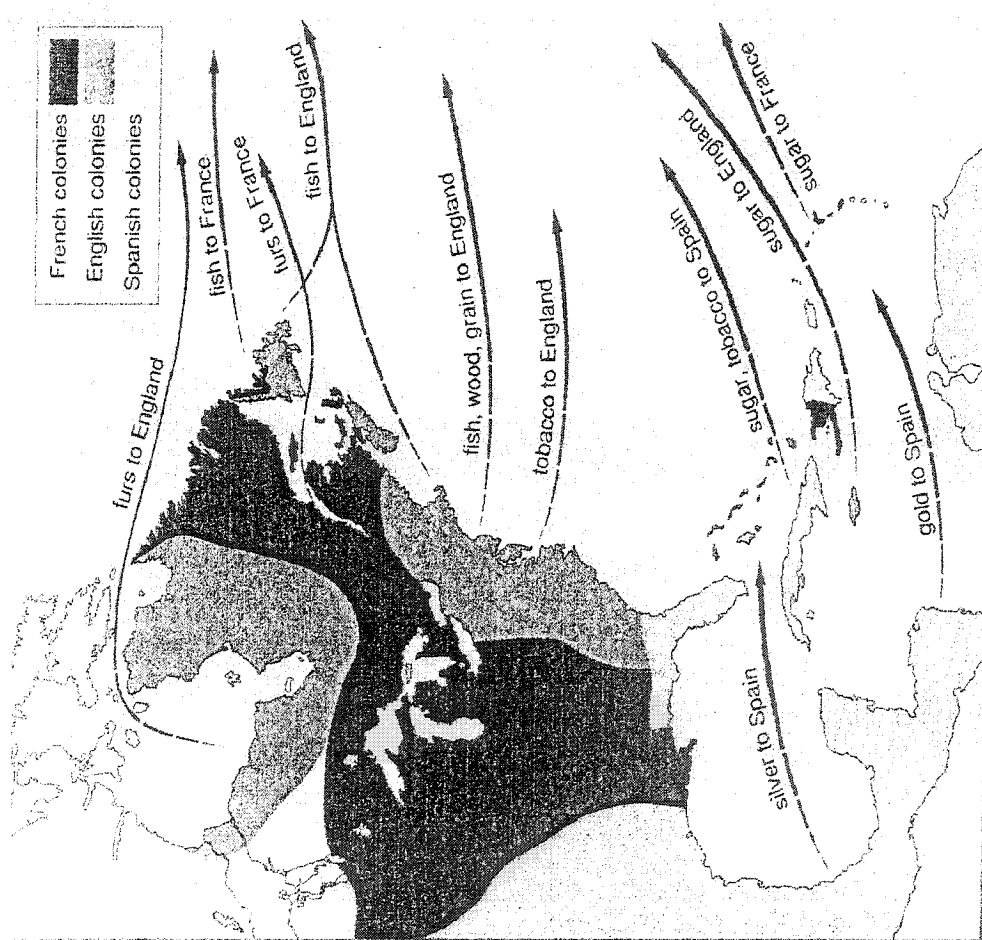


Figure 7

1700s

Figure 5.4 Map of resources extracted from the Americas to European mother countries. In *Diverse Pasts: A History of Quebec and Canada*, 2d ed., 1995, p.65.

The clans were not asked for a third picture that they would choose to reject but from the responses, it indicated that the picture of Elijah Harper would be the third choice. A couple of clans rejected Elijah Harper picture because they didn't know anything about him (Turtle 1 and Turtle 2); Wolf 3 stated he rejected the Harper picture because "I just think he was misguided."



Figure 8

1990

Figure 26.1, Elijah Harper, June 22, 1990, after stopping Meech Lake accord in Manitoba Legislature. In *Diverse Pasts: A History Of Quebec and Canada*, 2d ed., 1995, p.389.

Bear 2 rejected the Swan picture because "I rejected this second picture because I don't know anything about him or what he has done." Whereas, Turtle 1 referred to Swan as a great leader; Turtle 2 said he fought for the people and was educated and Bear 1 recalled that " he wrote the first translation of the Bible and he was the only one who spoke out for the people and was eventually thrown in jail."



Figure 9

1868 Joseph O'nahsakenrat Swan. Chosen Chief by the people of Kanehsatà:ke after graduating from the Seminaire de Montreal with Louis Riel. Both men died in their prime. In *At The Woods Edge: An Anthology of the History of the People of Kanehsatà:ke*, 1995, p.104.

Bear 4 said "I chose this picture [Joseph K. Gabriel] because it means a lot to me cause it represents a great 20th century leader of my home, Kanehsatà:ke" and Bear 3 said "He tried to fight for our rights in Kanehsatà:ke, he didn't stop trying."



Figure 10

1911

Joseph Kanatase Gabriel. Tireless fighter on behalf of his people in Kanehsatà:ke. In 1911, he and others successfully stopped the Central Railway Co. from running a line through Kanehsatà:ke. In *At The Woods Edge: An Anthology of the History of the People of Kanehsatà:ke*, 1995, p.179.

Although the Dieppe Raid picture was specifically rejected by only one clan member (Bear 1), Bear 2 and 3 struggled with keeping this picture because of personal interest in World War II and because of special memories of a grandfather, a veteran who had passed away (Bear 3).



Figure 11

1942

Figure 21.5. The Dieppe Raid—World War II. Dieppe, France. Canadians fighting: 5000 sent, over 900 killed, over 500 wounded, and 1900 taken prisoner. In *Diverse Pasts: A History of Quebec and Canada*, 2d ed., 1995, p.322.

Emergent Themes: The Pictures

Three Pictures to Keep

1. 1990 and the Army
2. Aionwatha (Hiawatha) Belt
3. Two-Dog Wampum Belt

Three Pictures to Reject

1. FLQ mailbox bombing
2. Parliament & Trade Good Map (tied)
3. Elijah Harper

While many of the students regarded Parliament as having no meaning and having nothing to do with their identity as Mohawk Peoples, one saw Parliament as oppression, another as neglectful. The fact that Euro-Canadian and Quebec governments cling to the myth that they alone “found” Canada is encapsulated in the description in the text. Not only does Parliament marginalize Original Peoples in North America, but obliterates Indigenous Peoples’ presence by stating in *Diverse Pasts* (1995) that Parliament,

in these buildings we have as a people, both French and British...epics in stone, revealing to us not only universal beauty and inspiration, but emblematic of our common ideal, our common artistic sense, our common ancestry, and our common Christianity (p.247).

Most students did not know about the history of the FLQ, Trade goods map, Harper or Dieppe. It is interesting to note that students failed to link Indigenous resources sent to benefit European countries from their territories (although one student kept this picture as a reminder of colonization and resources benefiting European countries) or to see that the FLQ’s manifesto was/is to lay claim to Indigenous Peoples lands and resources. It might be possible that these issues may not be given enough class time to critically

explore Indigenous Peoples points of view and competing Euro-Canadian claims in any depth.

This may also be an indication that young Kanien'kehà:ka may need to broaden their knowledge base of Indigenous leaders, putting a human side to history and include learning about other Indigenous leaders in the Americas. This position is also supported by the history teacher, Kanentase Rice who said,

“Their knowledge of their Native history and culture...because if there is any history that they should know, the first one they should know is their own. Because that's the most important one in developing and shaping their identity, it's who they are. And if they don't feel secure in their own identity and they don't feel proud about it, you could teach them any other history, you could teach them any other subject, but you haven't built the foundation. It's like a house without the foundation (Rice interview, April 11, 2003).

While some students chose pictures that provided them with a sense of pride and belonging, others chose to critically analyze what they saw that enabled them to compare and contrast Euro-history with an Indigenous world view.

Rice (Interview, April 11,2003) said that it is crucial to know your own Indigenous epistemology and he saw this in students from the Rotiwennakehte Mohawk Immersion School,

“...they are much more well-rounded, they're much more secure, they have a much better sense of what's going on in the world. And they're

much better able to adapt to the outside. They can learn different languages [French and English]. They learn other histories, they can learn other cultures because they already have the basis. They have the knowledge.”

The Clans speak to the questions

When clan members were asked what role has Quebec and Canadian history and/or governments played in shaping who they are and how they see the world, one clan member credits parents shaping Mohawk identity and worldview, and added “It has made me hate what governments have done.” While Bear 1’s tone was anger with “taking French that is mandatory,” another clan member remarked how the “French tries to dominate us by imposing their language onto us...they restrict us from learning our ways and our laws...; Turtle 1 said,

“The roles that they have played towards shaping me is that they have tried pushing their ways and languages on me. They showed me that in our world today, everybody should be speaking French and doing everything according to their ways. But it also showed me how much more important it is to keep our language and ways alive.”

Wolf 2 explained, “Their government affects us a lot because we sort of, I could say, depend on them, because they fund us and our community and

everything. They're shaping who I am, right? They really make you feel as though you are different."

"No, cannot really identify with Quebec and Canadian history. We do not vote in provincial or Canadian elections because of Mohawk sovereignty, non-involvement in [the] Indian Act and our nationality is Kanien'kehà:ka. The history is similar with the U.S." (Wolf 3). Several clan members stated that Quebec and Canadian history played no role in their identity (Bear 2, Turtle 2, Bear 3).

Regarding the role that Mohawk history and government played in shaping their identity and world views, Wolf 2 viewed the role of Mohawk history and government,

"Well, it makes me proud to be a Mohawk. And to want to succeed in the world, not just to be one of the people that has to be on the reserve all the time, you know. For the government, like how the Confederacy works and you compare that to other governments and I would rather be governed by the Confederacy 'cause they're more, I guess they're more honest. They're more there for the people and how the government now is basically they're there for money or they're not really there to help the people. They're more to help themselves and that's how it begins. There's more unity-the Confederacy brings more unity between people."

Turtle 3 said,

“It has made me proud to be who I am. The wars we had to go through just to have our rights recognized. The way we stick together. The world is a big place and we have to fight to try and get our government and ways recognized.”

Wolf 3 expressed mixed feelings about the Longhouse, feeling comfortable in some, finding elitists in some but added “ At KSS, I learned about myself, the clans, history and citizenship.” “Mohawk history makes me want to learn more about my history and who I am. Many of us care for the land-White people only want to destroy it, use it for sport instead of for feeding your family” (Bear 3). Turtle 2 feels that no matter whose history, it does not shape who they are, “...History has nothing to do with who I am.”

Bear 2 was concerned with the lack of Mohawk government and safety, saying “There’s not much of a Mohawk government in my community today, so having no backbone to keep the people in order makes me feel insecure in the world around me.” This issue is too important and is elaborated on in Chapter 5.

When clans were asked about whether the history they are studying includes accurate histories of Indigenous, Blacks or Others, Turtle 1 said

“I believe that it’s accurate in the white peoples views, whereas as an Aboriginal person, some of the things discussed in the classes are not accurate. Some things can be twisted around, like our rights and our lands.”

Turtle 3 shared similar views, stating "It's accurate if you're in the position of the White people. If asked by Aboriginal people or Blacks, there would probably be a different side to the story, a different view of what happened." For Bear 1, the response was "No, cause through all our history course, the French and British are clashing and they changed our system, our way of life."

"No, I absolutely do not; in the history books they call some of these Europeans saints for converting the savage Indians, which in reality they were murderers. It doesn't mention in return for keeping them alive when they got sick, they gave us blankets with smallpox to kill us off" (Bear 4).

"No, but I guess it depends on who is writing the history" (Bear 2) and "No, I don't think the history we learn is accurate, especially the issue of land and rights to the land. It's always about the British and French and their claims to our lands. It's probably the same with the Black history and all other minority's history" (Turtle 2). For Wolf 3,

"I had some understanding of Onkwehón:we history through 7 *Generations* textbook. In LTM, it was non-existent, you know. English, New France and we were just an afterthought. History tends to be written in a way that props up the status quo and it maintains the same level of ignorance. Blacks are non-existent, they don't even want to hear there's a slave graveyard in the Eastern Townships."

Because of the historical exclusion of Kanien'kehà:ka, other Indigenous Peoples, Black and Other world views, KSS and Ratihente include Other's histories, such as the Tuskegee Syphilis Tragedy, slavery and Navajo forced sterilization that also occurred in Canada. The history teacher, Rice adds that Indigenous community schools have an advantage over provincial school boards, in that,

"We're not bound. We don't have tied hands where we can't go buy something that's not Quebec approved [in addition to translation problems]...With a lot of the boards here are tied by the latest bureaucracy. It has to be approved by the Ministry of Education..." (Rice Interview, April 11, 2003).

These inclusive histories lead one clan member (Wolf 2) to interpret the question differently,

"I think yes, somewhat. The teachers here try to show us more about our own culture and everything, so yeah, it has. They showed us more about our culture and not just the European culture but more of our own beliefs and our ways."

A question was posed to the clan members whether their families ever talk to them about history and with the exception of a couple of clan members (Wolf 2 and 3) who hear history from their family, it is the clan members themselves who initiate these discussions in the home or it's just not brought up. Cree (2003) and

Rice (2003) who reviewed all the clan interviews stated "History is generally not talked about in the home, it does come up a little but it tends to be focused on more recent events rather than our rich and storied past" (Cree, 2003). Rice (2003) concurred in this aspect of the review,

"History is only discussed when people search for a past precedent to understand current events... Many youth would like to know more of their history; the difficulty is that many parents do not know their own history having been educated in the provincial education system that did not teach any native history prior to the 1970s."

Lastly, clan members' views on the relationship between the Mohawk Peoples and the British and French were mostly and equally negative. Wolf 2 remarked on present day relationships,

"I think it's almost the same as the French as the English, like it's so, it's a tense kind of relationship where you know, they don't really agree on why we're different and why we should be different. And I think that there's some hostility between Mohawk people and the different cultures, like it's especially at the school here with the French. When I first started to school here there was a lot of racism between both, the Mohawk people were giving racism to the French and vice versa too. So we didn't really get along too well. Because we don't know each other's background basically, so it's kinda hard."

Most clan members reflected on historic relationships impacting on present day relationships. Turtle 2 believes that relationships are not good because "it's how they treated Mohawk people, how they continue to treat Mohawk people and other Aboriginal people," while Bear 1 states that "When the French first came, the Mohawk helped them stay alive and gave them the cure for scurvy. Both the French and British had allies, even the French had Mohawk allies." For Bear 4, "Well, for many years now the relationship has been untrusting and hostile but that is to be expected after so much deception" and for Turtle 3, "A lot of conflicts between governments and religion. There was a lack of respect to one another's beliefs, which led to wars between one another." Wolf 3 said, "I think that the Catholic church ruined the relationship with the French...Tensions between the French and Mohawk community are very strained. The English community, [tensions with] mostly Natives in general...basically it boils down to dollars and cents."

Emergent Themes: The questions

Several clan members stated that history is inaccurate, is supportive of maintaining the status quo and the same level of ignorance by continuing to exclude Others histories. It was acknowledged that Aboriginal oral history will have a different world view, as with Black history, but these histories are omitted from "official history." Several clan members also noted that it is accurate but only if you share a White perspective and that present history is seen as focusing only on French/British wars.

At contact, clan members see the relationship between Kanien'kehà:ka and the colonizers as allies and giving assistance. Later, colonists are viewed as abusive, racist, deceptive, hostile, untrustworthy, and discriminatory and treated the Kanien'kehà:ka Peoples as inferior, resulting in tense relationships. A lack of knowledge of each other's histories is seen by one clan member as contributing to racism by all sides. Conflicts and wars between governments and religion were from a lack of respect. As such, relationships with the French and British are not seen as good, either in the past or in the present.

History is talked about in two families. Although one clan member said that family did not discuss history, parents shared oral history of their school experiences, a personal history of that family. One clan member mentioned that history was talked about and it affected their identity and world view. Several clan members said that history was discussed if they initiated it or if something was happening in the community and they wanted to know more. What emerged is a range of answers; from family members talking about history, to students raising questions, to an absence of talking about history.

Knowledge of Mohawk history and government have lead some clan members to speak of a sense of pride in their past, their identity, language, and citizenship as Kanien'kehà:ka and a resolve to fight harder "to keep what little we still have." Some noted the present Indian Act Band council system as untrustworthy, lacking in leadership and unable to provide community with a sense of security and well-being. One noted being confused by the Longhouses and belonging, while another clan member felt that Kanien'kehà:ka history played

no role in shaping their identity and world view. Resilience is noted in their views in that they want to continue in their ancestor's footsteps but they are also acutely aware of the continued ignorance of Euro-Canadians, with one clan member concerned that there may never be peace between peoples.

In regards to the role that Quebec and Canadian history and governments play in shaping who they are and how they see the world, one clan member stated that parents shape Kanien'kehà:ka identity. One clan member stated that history, in general, plays no part in shaping their identity and world view; others see Quebec and Canada as dominating and subjugating Kanien'kehà:ka identity and history. Several clan members felt that compulsory French intrudes on Kanien'kehà:ka identity and world views through legislation and policies and through Euro-Canadian states of dependency for programs and services. Subjugation, for a few clan members, created an awareness of the importance of the survival of the language and ways of the people.

Indigenous teachers must also be ready to insert Indigenous knowledge. During the four classroom observations (Secondary 1-IV) at Ratihente High School, a missed opportunity occurred during a World History period. While discussing Arab contributions to science, mathematics, medicine and astronomy, the teacher missed a "teaching moment" to insert Indigenous epistemologies, such as those of the Aztec, Mayan and other Indigenous Peoples' medicines, astronomy, mathematics, agriculture and their contributions to the world.

Overall, the classes at Ratihente High School were excellent, comfortable and animated; the teacher accommodated personal questions that were readily

answered, such as one student asking what his dream meant of having his long hair cut and another wanted to discuss a legend. Mohawk students began every class with the Thanksgiving Address to begin the day, giving thanks to everything in Creation, the day and month, all in Kanien'ké:ha. The Native Studies room was filled with beautiful artwork. Aside from one disruptive Secondary I student who insisted on speaking English and French in Kanien'ké:ha class, other students remain on task. The teacher stated that there is concern for some students who are not interested in the language or Native studies and it is borne out by test results in Kanien'ké:ha (high-94%; low-16%) and Native Studies (high-97%; low-28%). This wide range of results locates an area for further study.

Ratihente High School follows a Social Studies curriculum (Mohawk Studies and General Geography) in Secondary I based on the book by David Blanchard (1978), *7 Generations: A History of the Kanienkehaka* and other resource materials chosen by the teachers. Secondary II students take Iroquois Studies; Secondary III is entitled Native Studies, a History of Kanehsà:ke. Secondary IV students take the M.E.Q.'s History of Quebec and Canada, while Secondary V students take Contemporary Native Studies, with course materials that include: *At the Woods' Edge: An Anthology of the History of the People of Kanehsà:ke* (1995), *Seven Generations* (1980), and *Legacy: Indian Treaty Relationships* (Price, 1991).

Students who attend the Kahnawake Survival School, a Mohawk school born from an act of protest to the Charter of the French Language as it violated

the Two-Row Wampum Treaty but it became more; a commitment to the principle of Kanien'kehà:ka education (Blanchard, n.d.) He wrote at the time,

...it is a chronicle of a people's struggle for survival; it is an epic of dignity, and a bold affirmation that the Mohawk Nation lives and is yet a power to be reckoned with. *Seven Generations: A History of the Kanienkehaka* does contain, when possible, the Mohawk point of view of history. The words and thoughts of many Mohawk teachers and traditional leaders have been recorded throughout history. I have included much of this information...(Blanchard, p. x).

Blanchard also noted that at the time of writing this history book, the Survival School was new but that students chose to go without certain conveniences in order to receive a Mohawk education,

This makes the founding students of the Kahnawake Survival School much more appreciative of the lessons they are taught. These young men and women are the Seventh Generation. They are the future, and they are preparing themselves to survive in the white man's world, but to do so as Mohawk. This makes these people unique...(p. xi)

Students receive instruction in Social Studies, taught from this textbook, *7 Generations*, written from a Kahnawake Mohawk perspective about the Five Nations Confederacy history starting from the Creation Story to contemporary times. Many acknowledge that it has numerous errors but it provides students an overview of relations with other Indigenous Peoples, the French and British

colonizers and how the Onkwehón:we relate to Canadian and world history. According to the principal, Social Studies/Indigenous Peoples' history is emphasized throughout all grade levels.

The findings indicate that clan members are generally provided with additional sources of Indigenous and Other histories, in addition to the history of Quebec and Canada. Teachers have more freedom to choose materials that inclusively enhance and elaborate history, providing the learner with opportunities to think "outside the colonial box." With experience and insight gained from working on the History and Geography Task Force, a cross-section of schools across Quebec, Kanatase Rice (personal interview, April 11, 2003) noted the frustrations of the English sector in trying to improve the teaching of history,

"But what often comes up is the lack of time, the lack of money for resources, and what some of them have alleged is a lack of will from different levels of government to act on their concerns. To provide monies to translate the documents which are in French into English. And right now, that's a big problem. You can go look in any French school and see the resources that they have access to and the catalogues because the textbooks are all government approved. ... I use whatever I can get my hands on, what I think will help the students and we've had a much better success rate because of that. We're not bound. We don't have tied hands where we can't go by something that's not Quebec approved..." (Rice, Interview, April 11, 2003).

Though only one clan member said that neither Mohawk history or Quebec and Canadian history and governments had played a role in shaping their identity or world view, what has emerged is a picture of Kanien'kehà:ka students proud of their identity, who believe they see themselves and the world through "Indigenous eyes" and are quite competent in comparing their Indigenous history and world view with that of Euro-Canadians. Many are hungry to learn more of their own history and the need to preserve, protect and promote their language and their ways. Several clan members showed wisdom in seeing Quebec and Canadian historical and government subjugation in a positive spin by stating "how much more important it is to keep our language and ways alive." There is an important cautionary note from one clan member who sadly stated that if things don't change and the colonizer does not learn walk and talk in honour,

"The world and society I'm living in is full of ignorance with a huge misunderstanding of who and what Native people really are and represent. The government perceives us as a weak people and will stop at nothing to steal our lands and our rights. I don't think that there will ever be peace between us."

I have finished. You must keep these stories as long as the world lasts; tell them to your children and grandchildren, generation after generation. One person will remember them better than another. When you go to a man or a woman to ask for one of these stories, carry something to pay for it,

bread or meat, or whatever you have. I know all that happened in the world before this; I have told it to you. When you visit one another, you must tell these things, and keep them up always. I have finished (The Origins of Stories, a Seneca legend told by Henry Jacob, n.d.).

Chapter 5 Discussion, Conclusion and recommendations

The history of our people needs to be told. We need to present accurately what happened in the past, so that we can deal with it in the future....

I don't like what has happened over the last 500 years. We can't do much about that. But what are we going to do about the next 500 years? What are we going to do about the next *ten* years? (George Erasmus, Dene, 1990, quoted in Wright, 1991, p.346).

Discussion

The effects of colonization on Indigenous populations have been devastating. The Canadian Oxford Dictionary (1998) defines colonialism as "the exploitation or subjugation of a people by a larger or wealthier power." Moffitt (2004) posits that because power and control play dominant roles in colonialism, the stresses caused by the exploitation and subjugation of Indigenous Peoples has caused a social trauma or "soul wound" (p.324). Quoting Henderson (2000), Moffitt states that the sources of colonialism are Eurocentrism, universality, and a source of difference:

- Eurocentricism is described as “a dominant intellectual and educational movement that postulates the superiority of Europeans over non-Europeans”;
- Universality is based on European values that are universal to all people; hence other ways of knowing are dismissed when measured by dominant values. Power and control are maintained and enhanced by the colonizer;
- Difference is judged from a position of superiority by colonizers, where racism occurs by determining “who we are, what we think, and the discourses available to us” (p.324).

Moffitt posits that colonialization is a health determinant, adding that Health Canada (2002) concurs by stating that “these aspects of colonialization resulted in stigmatization, marginalization, loss of cultural identity, and a health status that falls below that of mainstream Canadians.” As Bear 2 had earlier related on the lack of a strong Mohawk government in Kanehsatà:ke that “failed to keep the people in order makes me feel insecure in the world around me,” Sayers and MacDonald (2001) eloquently address the issue of this one student,

Years of colonization, residential schools, demoralization by the Indian Act, stripping away traditional governments, languages, and ceremonies...have all severely impaired the First Nations’ ability to govern. Dysfunction, anger and a feeling of helplessness or lack of control impair any government. Due to all of the above, an atmosphere of lateral violence exists at community, tribal council and other levels.

Lateral violence can be described as people, who have been colonized, continuing to colonize themselves using methods that do not promote progress, but rather bring others down. This includes intimidation, anger, control, put downs, threats, name-calling and embarrassment (p.23).

While Quebec and Canada equate nationalism differently, it does not pose a hazard to *their* health and well-being. Indigenous Peoples are faced with their very survival as unique human beings; we cannot go to the mother land to revive a language and culture because this is home. Euro-Canadians brought to this continent of Indigenous Peoples, their historic wars of Europe, racist ideologies and greed while megalomaniacs set out to recreate Europe in their architecture, their re-naming of towns, roads, streets, rivers and mountains. To both colonizers, it was territorial theft and provided them with opportunities to reinvent their national identities; imperial expansionism created "the Canadian," "the American," and "the Quebecois." To our peoples, it is our spirit, our homelands.

In his book *You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train*, Howard Zinn (1994) relates how the success of his other book exploded the myth of Columbus, *A People's History of the United States* (1982) and had lead to teachers all over the country teaching "the Columbus story in new ways, to recognize that to Native Americans, Columbus and his men were not heroes, but marauders" (p.206-207). He said that Indian teachers and activists "presumed to be dead or safely put away on reservations were visible and demanding America rethink its beginnings, rethink its values" (p.207).

The orientations of the course History of Quebec and Canada (1983) state that the Secondary IV pupil is entering the phase of adolescence which is characterized by an intense search for a personal and group identity; as he (sic) is learning to assess his personal aptitudes more accurately, he is also asking himself more questions about the society in which he is being called to play a role. At this age, the adolescent is also in the process of defining his affinities, a process which leads him to identify more clearly the social groups of which he is a part. The study of history should enable him to discover the historical roots of these groups and gradually give him an overview of the society to which he belongs. The relationship between the past and the present thus finds a particular resonance in him (MEQ, 1983, p.15). Unfortunately, this does not include Others and it does not inform the secondary pupil of what is hidden from his/her historical view.

Conclusion

I raised a question from a different perspective- a Kanien'kehà:ka perspective and asked youth questions they may have been asked before: Who are they? I have found that they are questioning, passionate, intelligent, empathetic to others, share a sense of moral outrage for the marginalization and omission of their Peoples throughout history, and for many Kanien'kehà:ka youth, have a strong sense of Kanien'kehà:ka identity. They spoke eloquently, from the heart and noted what was lacking. In many instances, clans knew of the events

or people from books and or teachers, in addition to being familiar with other perspectives derived from the experiences and oral histories of their families.

Clans said that they needed and wanted to know more of their own history, of their Peoples and their community. They wanted to know more about their "heroes," past leaders, the ancestors who had fought for the land and the people. In addition, many saw the importance of protecting, promoting and preserving their language and their ways. They realize that they walk in two worlds, their own and that of the colonizers. They spoke with a view that they would, in adulthood, have to receive the torch from their parents, that they needed to know their history because "they would need this knowledge when they grew older, when they had to take over the fight [for the lands and rights] from their parents."

The one clan member who believed that history, in general, plays no role in their identity and world view, may at this time, believe this to be true. And it may be so. Powerful church ideologies that promote assimilation, family and peer pressures, and the need to belong, that for some, means seeking "sameness" with the dominant cultures, present formidable barriers to cherishing the cultures, languages and histories of their ancestors. For many, adulthood awakens the search for Indigenous reconnection. All human beings, at different times, seek their roots. Maybe, for this one clan member, this may be their path.

From this study, it was also learned that schools are not the only sources of historical information; much is learned from family members, newspapers,

television, radio, museums and their personal lived experiences. As with the Barton and Levstik study (1998), it mentions that,

historical omissions in the curriculum are significant, for schools participate in creating public memory whether they intend to or not. From our perspective, it is not the task of teachers to transmit official history uncritically---nor to celebrate vernacular history uncritically---but to help children discover history that is useful and relevant to their lives (p.501).

The study data is supportive of the importance of inclusive vernacular history, of seeing and hearing your Peoples' voices, of providing all students with opportunities to learn and question critically all that is put before them. Bruce Trigger (1976) wrote that much that has been written is,

...well intentioned and benevolent, yet most of the literature has failed to promote a genuine understanding of the Indians as people who had worthy ambitions of their own and who were, and are, able to conduct their own affairs and to interact intelligently with Europeans...To do this, Canadian ethnohistorians must investigate, not only the economics of the fur trade, but also the cultural values of the Indians and the full range of problems they have faced (p.26).

The findings of this study are based on a small identifiable group of Kanien'kehà:ka young people; therefore caution is advised in generalizing to other Indigenous communities and young people in general.

I honour the students of Kanehsatà:ke and all Indigenous youth with the following poem that was written by a young Crow student, Scott Plain Bull. Eight

Crow Indian students in Grades 7-12 from Montana read their poems at the Library of Congress and were written on the theme of "Keeping Our Heritage and Our Lands." It was the first time American Indians presented at the Library of Congress and the first time school-age children have appeared (Reyhner, 1994).

Becoming An Indian Again
Scott Plain Bull

The old one
cannot see my voice,
and I cannot find
the words, the words
that separate us
from other Indian tribes.
My pride and my ignorance
have led me away from my
people and their past.
I have lost the way
that has brought my people here,
so I sit
with the old one
as he sings,
the old ways
dancing through
my eyes,
becoming
an Indian again.

Recommendations

I respectfully recommend the following suggestions to present and future Kanehsatà:ke teachers. The listings are not exhaustive.

- Regardless of academic level/subject being taught, include Kanehsatà:ke Kanien'kehà:ka content into the subject by "teachable moments;" this would require teachers to know Kanehsatà:ke, Kanien'ké:ha, Confederacy history as well as other Indigenous Peoples' histories;
- The history of Kanehsatà:ke can and should begin much earlier than high school. At the elementary level, teaching kinship relationships and how families are related to one another is important in creating "community." Learning about Aghneetha, Joseph Swan, Joseph Gabriel, Martin Martin, Lena Gabriel-Nicholas, James Montour, Samuel Nicholas and so many other ancestors would contribute to the children's self-esteem and connect them to their ancestors and present kinship in a meaningful way;
- Add more discussion on the affects of colonization, residential schooling, and lateral violence at the secondary level; one website offered *Aboriginal Land Claims: Recommended for Grade 10*, including student activities and additional resources; an excerpt,

The most fundamental of rights for [A]boriginal [P]eople[s] is the right to their identity as [A]boriginal [P]eople[s]. Since that identity was derived largely from the land they used and occupied before the arrival of Europeans, they believe they had - and still have - certain rights in regard to the land, including continuing habitation and use of the land, whether it

be for hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering food and medicines, or for any other traditional activities.

The right to identity also implies the further right to self-determination, for it is through self-determination that a people preserve their collective identity. Yet, the right of [A]boriginal [P]eople[s] to pursue a traditional economy is disrupted or damaged when natural resources are exploited and abused on a large scale, such as by a hydro-electric project, a pipeline, or a strip mine. Furthermore, the right of [A]boriginal [P]eople[s] to sustain their communities so that their cultures may develop and thrive is severely hampered by not having access to a sufficient land base. Thus, when aboriginal people assert their land rights, they include the resources beneath the soil, the trees and animals, the rivers, hills, coastal waters, ice and air. "Mother Earth", they maintain, incorporates all of these elements. Aboriginal [P]eoples also speak of their collective and inalienable right to the land. Land, as they see it, is not a commodity to be bought and sold, but a responsibility of the community, which must be passed on to future generations. The land is more than just an economic resource: it is also a place where spirits live, where their ancestors are buried and where new generations will grow up. Online:

<http://www.schoolnet.ca/aboriginal/issues/claims-e.html>

Also see:

Royal Commission (RCAP, 1996), available online at:
http://www.inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/index_e.html

Aboriginal Healing Foundation, available online at: <http://www.ahf.ca>
Toll-free: (888) 725-8886

- Include more teachings about Indigenous Peoples' contributions to the world;

See: *Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World* by

Jack Weatherford, New York: Fawcett Columbine Book (1988);

Native Roots: How the Indians Enriched America by Jack Weatherford,
New York: Fawcett Columbine Book (1991);

*American Contributions to the World: 15,000 Years of Inventions and
Innovations* by Emory Dean Keoke and Kay Marie Porterfield (2003).

*Reaching the Grassroots: The World-wide diffusion of Iroquois Democratic
Traditions* by Bruce E. Johansen (2002).

Online: http://www.ratical.org/many_worlds/6Nations/grassroots.html

- Include contemporary Indigenous writers, poets, architects, film makers, educators, athletes, leaders, Traditional healers, etc.;

See: Contemporary Aboriginal Issues and resources, First Nations on
SchoolNet, Industry Canada at:

<http://www.schoolnet.ca/aboriginal/issues/index-e.html>

National Aboriginal Achievement Award Recipients at:

<http://www.naaf.ca/rec2004.html#11>

U.S.- The Native American Almanac: A Portrait of Native America Today
by Arlene Hirschfelder and Martha Kreipe de Montano (1993), New York:
Prentice Hall.

- Elders and other knowledgeable individuals, such as lawyers, professors, doctors, educators, journalists, scientists, be invited into Native Studies and History classes to discuss contemporary Indigenous world views by adding personal insight to local, regional and national knowledge.

Additional knowledge of actions taken at the international level such as the Draft Declaration of Indigenous Rights at the United Nations;

- Community initiatives could include workshops on Kanehsata:ke history and geography as a *Mapping Project*. Elders could be asked to relate the story behind the place names; why is it called by that name; what was the area used for and record the stories for later use in schools;

Community initiatives could also include quarterly Historical Newsletters sent to all households. *Karihwatatie* was an excellent publication that contained family, community history and cultural teachings from Tsi Niionkwarihò:ten (Cultural Centre) and Tsi Ronterihwanónhnha Ne Kanien'kéha Owén:na Aorihwa'shón:'a (Language Centre) —flyers sent to all homes could solicit stories, ideas or themes from community members—students could have their own section that raise questions and concerns about historical events and past and present profiles of interesting individuals from the community, writing their own section, while developing research skills, from school-initiated projects;

- Those interested and concerned Onkwehón:we can “put our heads together” to write a history curriculum of Kanehsata:ke for use in the schools, elementary and secondary, using *At the Woods' Edge: An*

Anthology of the History of the People of Kanehsatà:ke as a guide, oral history from the Elders and other knowledgeable Onkwehón:we.

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Appendix A Exploratory Interview

Transcription

Interviewee: K-Wolf Clan
Interviewer: Linda Cree
Date: April 9, 2001
Time: 7:30-8:05 p.m.
Place: Their home in Kanehsatà:ke

Interviewee gave verbal permission for this session. I asked prepared, open-ended and written questions. I took written notes. The participant had attended Kahnawake Survival School and graduated in 1993. He is in his late twenties and is presently studying at McGill University.

Q. 1. Do you believe that the history you studied included accurate histories of non-European groups like Aboriginal peoples, Blacks, etc.? Explain your answer.

The history that was presented to us was mostly about Kahnawake history—not about other Mohawk histories. The focus was about the Mohawk people, a little about other Aboriginal nations, but nothing about slavery, colonizers like the Spaniards, Portuguese . . . mostly about the Dutch, French and English. Would have been good to learn of other oppressed peoples.

Q. 2 What have been the relationships between Mohawk peoples and the English? The French?

The relationship has been one of “give and take.” Europeans always taking, Aboriginals giving “by force.” If the Europeans wanted your homelands, they used force to get it. We have been friendly, while Europeans have been the extreme opposite.

Q. 3 Does your family ever talk to you about history? Explain your answer.

Yes, we discuss our community’s history, our related nations and confederacy as well as relating everything to other Aboriginal nations. We also talk about what is happening to other indigenous groups, like the recent Mayan uprising, the Maori, etc. My parents have visitors from these places as well as throughout the Americas and we sit and listen and learn. I am very lucky.

Q. 4 What role has Mohawk history and government played in shaping who you are and how you see the world?

It has shown me that we are a free peoples who were colonized by immoral Europeans. My Mohawk history and government have taught me that I am a Kanien'kehà:ka (Mohawk) first and only. That is my nationality and my citizenship.

Q. 5 What role has Quebec and Canadian history and/or government played in shaping who you are and how you see the world?

It has consistently shown me injustice, contempt for my culture and history, our Mohawk Nation's rights and freedoms . . .they have played down our place in history, our contributions, disrespect for our homelands when the French say they are a nation and country, with someone else's homeland . . .there is no justice . . .no sharing of the wealth and resources of my homelands. And, they have portrayed us as animals. Just to claim Aboriginal lands were empty, terra nullius. That's been their roles.

End of interview: 8:05 p.m.

Appendix B Clan Questions

RESEARCH PROJECT: STUDENT QUESTIONS

Student # _____

L. Cree ESTU 680

1. Do you believe that the history you are studying includes accurate histories of non-European groups, like Aboriginal peoples, Blacks? Explain your answer.
2. What has been the relationship between Mohawk people and the English? The French?
3. Does your family ever talk to you about history? Explain your answer.
4. What role has Mohawk history and government played in shaping who you are and how you see the world?
5. What role has Quebec and Canadian history and/or government played in shaping who you are and how you see the world.

Appendix C Parent/Youth Consent Form

Research Project: Would you like to hear a story? Mohawk Youth Narratives on the Role of the History of Quebec and Canada on Indigenous Identity and Marginality.

Parent Consent Form

PARENTS PLEASE COMPLETE THIS SECTION:

Please have your son/daughter return it to Linda Cree by hand or by mail: Lot 14, Ahsennenhson Road, Kanehsatà:ke, Quebec J0N 1E0

(CHECK ONE BOX) I grant { } OR I refuse { }

my child _____ permission to participate in the survey.

Name of Parent or Guardian – Please Print: _____

Signature of Parent or Guardian: _____

Student's Grade: _____ Date: _____

School: _____

Address: _____

YOUTH PARTICIPANT:

PLEASE SIGN THIS FORM, ONLY IF YOUR PARENT'S GRANT PERMISSION TO PARTICIPATE. IF YOU WISH, YOU MAY SIGN IT ON THE DAY OF THE INTERVIEW.

Statement of Consent: I have read the above description of the study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it, and I consider that I have been fully informed. I understand that I may refuse to participate or that I may withdraw at any time. I also understand that all information about me will be kept strictly confidential.

Signature of Student: _____

Date: _____

Research Project: Would you like to hear a story? Mohawk Youth Narratives on the Role of the History of Quebec and Canada on Indigenous Identity and Marginality.

"History is not only about the past. It is also about how we understand ourselves, now, as peoples and nations, how we interpret who we are and where we came from, and how we value our successes and explain our failures in relation to present morality. Even as we are in the process of making history by our actions, the shape our choices take is influenced in countless ways by our sense of what has gone before."

*Historical Perspectives, Integrated Research Plan
RCAP, January 1994*

Summary of Study

This study will involve interviewing Secondary I to V Mohawk students who are taking or have taken history in either a Band or Provincial school and who reside in Kanehsata:ke.

The purpose of this study will be to examine the roles that Mohawk, Canadian, and Quebec history and/or governments have in shaping how the students view the world and themselves, if they feel that all racial groups are accurately portrayed or included in history, and if there exists a common national history or identity within the study group.

With parental consent, students will be asked individually and separately, five non-invasive open-ended questions that will take about thirty minutes to complete—I will write down their responses. Students will also be shown 10 picture cards showing historical actors or events. They will be asked to choose 8 cards that depict actors or events from the 16th century to the present. Students will be asked to verbally explain their choices and rejections and will take about 30-45 minutes to complete. I will again write or tape their responses and later transcribe responses to both activities. The interviews will take place at the Kanehsata:ke Education Center and can be split into two sessions --I can pick up the student and return them home, with verbal or written consent.

Confidentiality

All the information that will be collected will be kept strictly confidential. Their name will not be used in this study.

Risks and Benefits

There are no known risks associated with your child's participation in this study. There is no direct compensation for participating in the project.

Freedom of Consent

Please read the above description of the study and explain it to your child. You or your child may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time.

Your child has the right to answer only those questions with which they are comfortable.

Principal Investigator
Linda David-Cree
M.A. Educational Studies, Concordia University

the existence of a common national history, culture, or identity within the study group. Two other questions will be asked such as their feelings about other histories and if they are accurate or even included

5. Scholarly Review of Proposed Research

Not applicable

Part Two: Research Participants

1. Sample of Persons to be Studied

Ten (10) Mohawk students who reside in Kanehsatà:ke but attend(ed) different secondary schools on a daily basis who have taken or are taking Secondary IV History: They (1) attend(ed) Ratihente High School in Kanehsatà:ke, (2) Kahnawake Survival School (both are Band schools situated in Aboriginal communities), and (3) Lake of Two Mountains High School, a provincial school located twelve (12) miles away in Deux Montagnes.

2. Method of Recruitment of Participants

After giving a short verbal description of the study, I will ask Mohawk students face-to-face if they would be interested in participating in this study. If I receive a positive verbal response, I will then call their parents and ask if I have their permission and to meet with them to present them with a written summary of the study, that the study will not endanger their (parents & children) physical or psychological well-being and that they can withdraw their participation at any time. Ratihente High School has agreed to send letters home to all parents concerning this study. All information about the participants will be kept strictly confidential. Written parental and student consent will be obtained before the study begins and be forwarded to my supervising professor.

3. Treatment of Participants in the Course of the Research

- (i) Participants will be asked five non-invasive, non-intrusive open-ended questions that will take approximately 30-45 minutes. Responses will be taken down by hand and transcribed.

The Mohawk students will also be shown picture cards depicting historical actors or events. The Mohawk students are then asked to choose 8 of 10 cards that are of importance to them or of national importance to many people from their history course. The chosen cards must depict historical actors or events spanning from the 16th century to the present. They will

be asked to verbally elaborate on their choices and rejections. I will write down their responses and transcribe them. This will take about 45 minutes per student and will take place in a quiet room at the Kanehsata:ke Education Center after school or during lunch. I will offer to pick up and return the participants to their homes.

- (ii) I will take every precaution to avoid leading the questions and to respect the participant responses as they state them. I do not foresee any problems in respecting cultural differences, as we are all Mohawk peoples.
- (iii) Participants will not receive any payment for their participation. I will offer to pick up and return the participants to their homes and offer a snack since many interviews may be held after school, with some students returning after 4:00 p.m.
- (iv) Should the participants share private and confidential information, I will ask the participants if they want the information stricken from the transcripts. The portion in question will be destroyed and will not be alluded to in the study.

Part Three: Ethical Concerns

1. Written informed consent will be obtained from the Mohawk student participants and their parents. An adult Mohawk male as an "Exploratory interview" gave oral consent. The interview has been transcribed and included with the date and time as Appendix A. The written consent form and summary of the study presented to students and parents are attached.
2. Deception is not seen as an issue in this study. All questions and sub-questions will be known to participants and their parents and they will be informed that this study may become part of my Master's thesis.
3. Participants will be informed orally and on the written consent form that they can discontinue at any time during the study.
4. Low-level risk or discomfort may result in Mohawk adolescents talking about who they are as individuals. I will ask before, during, and at the end of the interviews if they are comfortable and remind them that they are free to discontinue at any time. I will reassure them that it is okay to change their mind.
5. I do not see the need for professional intervention regarding serious risk. I will respect their human rights and privacy by constantly checking with the participants if they are comfortable, that they are free to discontinue, and

knowing something about adolescent behavior, I will reassure them that I am not angry or upset with them.

6. After all the data has been collected and analyzed and I have prepared a draft, I will contact the participants individually and ask them if they would like to hear of the results. I will provide them with a draft copy, so they can provide me with suggestions for changes, deletions, additions, etc., should they feel the reported data was wrongly interpreted. Though I may not change my analysis, I will include the suggestions or changes in the final document. The final copy of this study will be deposited at the Kanehsatà:ke Cultural Center.

7. **Confidentiality of Results**

The identities of the participants will not be revealed and interviews and transcriptions will be kept in a secure file at the Kanehsatà:ke Education. Data will not be destroyed, as it will become part of my Master's thesis, except taped interviews that individuals have asked be destroyed. Participants will be notified of this on the written consent form.

8. In keeping with the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Recommendations, I believe that the information from this study is relevant to almost all areas of the Research Directorate, that included a Commission proposal to develop a framework for a multi-volume general history of Aboriginal peoples. . . as an example of new approaches to Aboriginal history (Integrated Research Plan, RCAP, January 1994).

MEMORANDUM

TO: LINDA CREE
FROM: KANENTASE RICE
DATE: OCTOBER 25, 2004
RE: THESIS PAPER REVIEW COMMENTS

She:kon Linda,

I have reviewed the interviews and have the following comments to make. The comments by many students that history is rarely spoken in the home are no surprise. History is only discussed when people search for a past precedent to understand current events. I think you have stuck close to what your interviewees have said and picked up their key words and phrases.

One difficulty experienced by many students is that history and culture are not high on the list of priorities by the majority of community members. Many youth would like to know more of their history; the difficulty is that many parents do not know their own history having been educated in the provincial education system that did not teach any native history prior to the 1970's. This difficulty has been compounded by the lack of a stable community consciousness as Kanesatake Kanienkehaka, as a number of students interviewed referred to themselves as Mohawks with little to no affiliation to Kanesatake. Only one student used the term Kanienkehaka and that student was educated at the Kahnawake Survival School.

It is interesting to see the desire by many students to know more about the history of Kanesatake. Many seem to recall a few facts from 1990, the Two Dog Wampum, Joseph Swan, the Aionwatha Belt and Joseph Gabriel, yet they are unable to make cohesive links between how they relate to their history. There appeared to be little difference between students who attended Lake of Two Mountains and Kahnawake Survival School in terms of them knowing about the history of Kanesatake. Their negativity towards the History of Quebec and Canada course is not surprising since the Ministry curriculum focuses on the English and French roots of Canada to the exclusion of Aboriginal history and visible minorities. In terms of developing a national identity, the Ministry course is seen as developing a regional history of Quebec only. Each province and territory in Canada teaches history from a regional perspective. Thus defeating the

purpose of creating a national identity. And doubly defeating a community consciousness as Kanesatakeroh:non.

Your study underlines the need to develop a Kanesatake focused history and cultural curriculum for the **youth and adults** of this community. The fragmented knowledge of many interviewees makes it difficult to develop a community identity and leaves them feeling marginalized when required to study the history of Canada and Quebec.

Date: October 25, 2004
From: Jacob Cree
To: Linda Cree
Re: Review of student interviews conducted by L. Cree for M.A. Thesis:
Fighting for the Hearts and Minds of Our Youth: Mohawk Youth
Narratives on the Role the History of Quebec and Canada on
Indigenous Identity and Marginality.

Findings:

The overall perception of how history is taught is biased. Students believe that:

- history is written from the point of view of White people;
- Natives and other minorities are generally not represented;
- If they are, it is usually in a negative light.

Concerning relationships between Kanien'keha:ka, British and French, students see it as:

- Unfair, with both French and British treating Kanien'keha:ka as inferior, abusive and disrespectful treatment;
- Lands are stolen.

Concerning history being discussed in the home, students responded with:

- History is generally not talked about in the home;
- When it does come up, it is usually asked by the students and tends to be focused on more recent events rather than on the rich and storied past of Kanehsatake.

Concerning how students perceive Mohawk history and government in relation to their identity and world view, students generally said:

- It was something to be proud of, seen in positive light and allows them to see the world from their ancestors perspective, with modern eyes.

Regarding Quebec and Canadian history and government, students generally seen as:

- Negative, imposing foreign languages and history on Mohawks;
- Both governments seen as intrusive and untrustworthy;
- Strong feelings evoked at the injustices that they perceive Quebec and Canadian history and governments had done.

Regarding the pictures, students chose:

- Native symbols and leaders in general, rather than choosing Quebec and Canadian symbols, many pointing out that they have no meaning for them;
- Strong positive feelings concerning the Confederacy Belt (Hiawatha) or past leader Joseph Swan;
- Several comments noted that choices of Native events and people were students stated they had limited knowledge but stated they knew they were important to who they are.

Conclusion:

Students, in general have a good grasp of historical events and are able to express the fact that Native Peoples are missing from the historical picture, as currently portrayed in historical texts.

While students know surface information concerning Kanehsatake's past leaders and important symbols, they noted that they wanted to know more. This indicates an area that Ratihente curriculum can address in future.

It was also noted that the curriculum should increase the knowledge base of other Native Peoples, as seen by student's comments concerning Elijah Harper since they didn't know him or what he had accomplished.

Appendix G Sample of Clan Interview Questions, emergent themes

Question/Topics	Wolf 1 Response	Key words/phrases	Categories
<p>Q. 1 Do you believe that the history you are studying includes accurate histories of non-European groups, like Aboriginal Peoples, Blacks? Explain your answer.</p>	<p>The history classes I've taken have all had history discussed and presented from different points of view, depending on the victors. Aboriginal spoken history has a much different perspective than that of the English or French.</p>	<p>all had history discussed and presented from different points of view, depending on the victors. Aboriginal spoken history has a much different perspective;</p>	<p>Acknowledged that history has many versions, that Aboriginal oral history has a much different perspective than the history taught in schools.</p>
<p>Q. 2 What has been the relationship between Mohawk people and the English? The French?</p>	<p>In the past, the relationship between Mohawk people and the English & French could've seen as a 'use and abuse' kind of relationship. They felt superior to us and so they felt that they could use us, then steal our lands, discriminate our culture and everything would be alright.</p>	<p>relationship between Mohawk people and the English & French could've seen as a 'use and abuse' They felt superior... felt that they could use us, then steal our lands, discriminate our culture and everything would be alright.</p>	<p>Saw relationships between Mohawk Peoples and the Europeans as abusive, discriminatory, treated Mohawk Peoples as inferior and stole lands with impunity.</p>
<p>Q. 3 Does your family ever talk to you about history? Explain your answer.</p>	<p>Not very often. If problems occur that can be related to past history events or issues, they'll bring it up and talk about it. They sometimes discuss their upbringing and issues they had to overcome as they grew up. That's all.</p>	<p>Not very often. If problems occur that can be related to past history events or issues, they'll bring it up and talk about it.</p>	<p>History was talked about in the home when occasions arose.</p>
<p>Q. 4 What role has Mohawk history and government played in shaping who you are and how you see the world?</p>	<p>The world and society I'm living in is full of ignorance with a huge misunderstanding of who and what Native people really are and represent. The government perceives us as a weak people and will stop at nothing to continue to steal our lands and</p>	<p>world and society I'm living in is full of ignorance with a huge misunderstanding of who and what Native people really are and represent. government perceives us as a weak people... continue to steal our lands and our rights</p>	<p>An awareness of Euro-Canadian peoples and their governments' ignorance of Aboriginal Peoples' histories, cultures and beliefs and a concern that there will never be peace.</p>

	our rights. I don't think there will ever be peace between us.	don't think there will ever be peace between us.	
Q. 5 What role has Quebec and Canadian history and/or governments played in shaping who you are and how you see the world?	Since most of today's society is dominated by White people, our view of the world is in favour of them, as is our history.	most of today's society is dominated by White people, our view of the world is in favour of them, as is our history.	The role of Euro-Canadian histories and governments is the continued domination of our world views and history.
Pictures			
Rejected (2)	<u>FLQ</u> . This is just not important to me, don't really know about it. <u>Parliament</u> . It just reminds me that the government doesn't want to deal with our people.	not important to me, don't really know about it. reminds me that the government doesn't want to deal with our people.	FLQ's mailbox bombings of the 1960s are seen as unimportant and negative feelings toward the federal government are expressed
Kept (3)	<u>1990 & Army</u> . This is a big part of my history, my life. <u>Aionwatha Belt (Confederacy Belt)</u> . It means a lot to me and the people. <u>2-Dog Wampum</u> . Don't know exactly but think it has to do with our lands in Kanehsatà:ke.	big part of my history, my life. means a lot to me and the people. Don't know exactly but think it has to do with our lands in Kanehsatà:ke.	Personally affected by events of 1990. Aionwatha Belt and 2-Dog Wampum have meaning and connection to the people and lands in Kanehsatà:ke.
Additional comments	Want to learn more about the history of Kanehsatà:ke and Mohawk people, the oral history.	Want to learn more... the oral history.	Desire to learn more of the oral history.
Interviewer observations	Showed an interest to learn more but who will teach it? where? Felt it was important to know our history because they would need this knowledge when they grew older, when they had to take over the fight from their parents. Individual has only attended schools in Kanehsatà:ke.	important to know our history because they would need this knowledge when they grew older, when they had to take over the fight from their parents.	Knowing Mohawk/Kanehsatà:ke history seen as necessary to continue the struggle in the future.

Question/Topics	Turtle 1 Response	Key words/phrases	Categories
<p>Q. 1 Do you believe that the history you are studying includes accurate histories of non-European groups, like Aboriginal Peoples, Blacks? Explain your answer.</p>	<p>I believe that it's accurate in the White people's views, whereas as an Aboriginal person, some of the things discussed in the classes are not accurate. Some things can be twisted around, like our rights and our lands.</p>	<p>accurate in the White people's views, whereas as an Aboriginal person some of the things discussed in the classes are not accurate... twisted around</p>	<p>History as taught in school is seen as inaccurate from an Aboriginal perspective.</p>
<p>Q. 2 What has been the relationship between Mohawk people and the English? The French?</p>	<p>The relationship between Mohawk people, the English & the French have been many disagreements, conflicts and wars due to racial beliefs, how the English & French think they are better than the Aboriginal people.</p>	<p>have been many disagreements, conflicts and wars due to racial beliefs... English & French think they are better than the Aboriginal people.</p>	<p>Relationship between Mohawk Peoples and English/French are marred by racism, treated as inferior.</p>
<p>Q. 3 Does your family ever talk to you about history? Explain your answer.</p>	<p>My family rarely talks about history. They will talk to us about it if we ask questions. Other than that, we seldom talk about history.</p>	<p>My family rarely talks about history. They will talk to us about it if we ask questions.</p>	<p>History is discussed in the home if initiated.</p>
<p>Q. 4 What role has Mohawk history and government played in shaping who you are and how you see the world?</p>	<p>The role that it has played is that it showed me the way that the government has always been trying to steal what we have and to make it their own. From this it made me realize that we are losing so much to them that we should be fighting harder to keep what little we still have.</p>	<p>showed me the way that the government has always been trying to steal what we have and to make it their own. made me realize that we are losing so much to them that we should be fighting harder to keep what little we still have.</p>	<p>Mohawk history and government presents an alternative perspective on history and contributed to a resolve to continue to fight harder to "keep what little we still have."</p>
<p>Q. 5 What role has Quebec and Canadian history and/or governments played in shaping who you are and how you see the world?</p>	<p>The roles that they have played towards shaping me is that they have tried pushing their ways and languages on me. They showed me that in our world today, everybody should be speaking French and</p>	<p>tried pushing their ways and languages on me... also showed me how much more important it is to keep our language and ways alive.</p>	<p>The role of Quebec and Canada's histories and governments is one of subordination but positively showed how important the survival of Mohawk language and ways are.</p>

	doing everything according to their ways. But it also showed me how much more important it is to keep our language and ways alive.		
Pictures			
Rejected (2)	<u>FLQ</u> . I don't know about this at all. <u>Elijah Harper</u> . I don't know about him or what he did.	don't know about this at all. don't know about him or what he did.	No knowledge of FLQ actions in the 1960s or Harper's stance against Meech Lake.
Kept (3)	<u>1990 & Army</u> . I still remember it, it's a part of my life and will always be there. <u>Aionwatha (Confederacy) Belt</u> . I see this belt and I know that it is very important to who we are-it goes with everything that happens and represents who we are. <u>Joseph Swan & Dieppe</u> . Joseph Swan was a great leader in Kanehsatà:ke and I chose Dieppe too, because I have an interest in WWII.	still remember it, it's a part of my life and will always be there. know that it is very important to who we are-it goes with everything that happens and represents who we are. a great leader in Kanehsatà:ke chose Dieppe too, because I have an interest in WWII.	1990 and the Aionwatha Belt are seen as very important, part of the lived experience, represents identity and meaning (sadness and pride), while Joseph Swan is identified as a past great Kanehsatà:ke leader. Struggle to choose between Swan and picture of Dieppe because of a personal interest in WWII.
Additional comments			
Interviewer observations	Although quiet, student displayed sadness in remembering 1990 and expressed a great deal of pride too. Thought it would be good to learn about the history to pass on to children, learn early. Individual has only attended schools in Kanehsatà:ke.	displayed a sadness in remembering 1990 and a great deal of pride too; would be good to learn about the history to pass on to children, learn early	Desire to learn more about history and importance to teach children earlier than high school.

Question/Topics	Wolf 1 Response	Key words/phrases	Categories
<p>Q. 1 Do you believe that the history you are studying includes accurate histories of non-European groups, like Aboriginal Peoples, Blacks? Explain your answer.</p>	<p>The history classes I've taken have all had history discussed and presented from different points of view, depending on the victors. Aboriginal spoken history has a much different perspective than that of the English or French.</p>	<p>all had history discussed and presented from different points of view, depending on the victors. Aboriginal spoken history has a much different perspective;</p>	<p>Acknowledged that history has many versions, that Aboriginal oral history has a much different perspective than the history taught in schools.</p>
<p>Q. 2 What has been the relationship between Mohawk people and the English? The French?</p>	<p>In the past, the relationship between Mohawk people and the English & French could've seen as a 'use and abuse' kind of relationship. They felt superior to us and so they felt that they could use us, then steal our lands, discriminate our culture and everything would be alright.</p>	<p>relationship between Mohawk people and the English & French could've seen as a 'use and abuse' They felt superior... felt that they could use us, then steal our lands, discriminate our culture and everything would be alright.</p>	<p>Saw relationships between Mohawk Peoples and the Europeans as abusive, discriminatory, treated Mohawk Peoples as inferior and stole lands with impunity.</p>
<p>Q. 3 Does your family ever talk to you about history? Explain your answer.</p>	<p>Not very often. If problems occur that can be related to past history events or issues, they'll bring it up and talk about it. They sometimes discuss their upbringing and issues they had to overcome as they grew up. That's all.</p>	<p>Not very often. If problems occur that can be related to past history events or issues, they'll bring it up and talk about it.</p>	<p>History was talked about in the home when occasions arose.</p>
<p>Q. 4 What role has Mohawk history and government played in shaping who you are and how you see the world?</p>	<p>The world and society I'm living in is full of ignorance with a huge misunderstanding of who and what Native people really are and represent. The government perceives us as a weak people and will stop at nothing to continue to steal our lands and our rights. I don't think there will ever be peace between us.</p>	<p>world and society I'm living in is full of ignorance with a huge misunderstanding of who and what Native people really are and represent. government perceives us as a weak people... continue to steal our lands and our rights don't think there will ever be peace between us.</p>	<p>An awareness of Euro-Canadian peoples and their governments' ignorance of Aboriginal Peoples' histories, cultures and beliefs and a concern that there will never be peace.</p>
<p>Q. 5 What role has</p>	<p>Since most of today's society is dominated</p>	<p>most of today's society is dominated</p>	<p>The role of Euro-Canadian histories</p>

Quebec and Canadian history and/or governments played in shaping who you are and how you see the world?	by White people, our view of the world is in favour of them, as is our history.	by White people, our view of the world is in favour of them, as is our history.	and governments is the continued domination of our world views and history.
Pictures			
Rejected (2)	<u>FLQ</u> . This is just not important to me, don't really know about it. <u>Parliament</u> . It just reminds me that the government doesn't want to deal with our people.	not important to me, don't really know about it. reminds me that the government doesn't want to deal with our people.	FLQ's mailbox bombings of the 1960s are seen as unimportant and negative feelings toward the federal government are expressed
Kept (3)	<u>1990 & Army</u> . This is a big part of my history, my life. <u>Aionwatha Belt (Confederacy Belt)</u> . It means a lot to me and the people. <u>2-Dog Wampum</u> . Don't know exactly but think it has to do with our lands in Kanehsatà:ke.	big part of my history, my life. means a lot to me and the people. Don't know exactly but think it has to do with our lands in Kanehsatà:ke.	Personally affected by events of 1990. Aionwatha Belt and 2-Dog Wampum have meaning and connection to the people and lands in Kanehsatà:ke.
Additional comments	Want to learn more about the history of Kanehsatà:ke and Mohawk people, the oral history.	Want to learn more... the oral history.	Desire to learn more of the oral history.
Interviewer observations	Showed an interest to learn more but who will teach it? where? Felt it was important to know our history because they would need this knowledge when they grew older, when they had to take over the fight from their parents. Individual has only attended schools in Kanehsatà:ke.	important to know our history because they would need this knowledge when they grew older, when they had to take over the fight from their parents.	Knowing Mohawk/Kanehsatà:ke history seen as necessary to continue the struggle in the future.

identified as colonization while the FLQ picture was seen by one student as a discrepancy between their society believing they are a "nice polite society" but are really like everyone else with the violence and killing.

GLOSSARY

- Gabriel, Joseph** Joseph Kaná:tase fought throughout his lifetime for the lands, culture and language of his people at Kanehsatà:ke in the early 1900s. As with Joseph Swan, he was persecuted by the Sulpicians, the provincial police and RCMP and constantly arrested and thrown in jail. Charges were never proven but Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs refused to cover the legal costs, a hardship meant to financially and spiritually break Gabriel and other "militant" leaders (See *At the Woods Edge: An Anthology of the History of the People of Kanehsatà:ke*, Gabriel-Doxtater, Van Den Hende, 1995: 175-186).
- Hiawatha Belt** Aionwatha Belt represents the unity, authority and responsibility of Kaianere'ko:wa, The Great Law of Peace. A large purple and white wampum belt with two white squares on each side of the center heart or Tree of Peace, all representing the Peoples, territories and cultures. From right to left, they represent the Kanien'kehà:ka (People of the Flint and the Eastern Door Keepers), O'nientehá:ka (People of the Standing Stone, Oneida), the central government of Ononta'kehá:ka (People of the Hill, Onondaga), Kaionkehá:ka (People of the Great Pipe, Cayuga), and Shenekehá:ka (People of the Great Mountain, Seneca and the Western Door Keepers). All nations could join the Confederacy by approaching the Eastern or Western Door Keepers.
- Kahnehtà:ke** The place of the Pine gum
- Kaianerenhsera'kó:wa**
The Great Law, the Great Peace. (See *A Basic Call to Consciousness: The Haudenosaunee Address to the Western World*, Geneva, Switzerland, Autumn 1977). On July 11, 1988, the United States Congress passed a resolution to acknowledge the contribution of the Iroquois Confederacy to the development of the United States Constitution, influenced by the democratic principles developed by the Iroquois Confederacy and a reaffirmation of the continuing government-to-government relationship between Indian tribes and the United States (*Close the Book on Hate: The Documents that Bind Us*, Anti-Defamation League).

Online:

http://www.adl.org/tools_teachers/lesson_documents_bind.asp

Also see *A Basic Call to Consciousness*, Akwesasne Notes, Revised Edition, Third Printing, 1986; *The Iroquois Book of Life: White Roots of Peace*, Paul Wallace, 1994, Clear Light Publishers.

Kanehsatà:ke	Continuous Iroquoian occupation since ancient times, once a large palisade Turtle Clan village located at the Lake of Two Mountains, along the lower Ottawa River (presence in 1660 referred to in Parkman, 1893, quoted in <i>At the Woods' Edge</i> , p. 24). The Onkwehón:we at Kanehsatà:ke (On the Sandy Dunes) (Identified as "On the Hillside" in Hale, <i>Iroquois Reprints</i> , 1989, p.118-119), were visited by the Peacemaker at the early formation of the Great Law of Peace (Kaianerenhsera'kó:wa) and mentioned in the ancient Condolence Rite. The Shenekehá:ka, Seneca Nation were the last to ratify the Great Law of Peace on August 31, 1142 at Gonandaga (Victor, New York) (See: Akwesasne Notes New Series, 1 (3 & 4), 62-63).
Kanehsata'kehrónon	The people of Kanehsatà:ke
Kanien'kéha	the language of the People of the Flint (Mohawk)
Kanien'kehà:ka	People of the Flint
Onen'tò:kon	Under the Pine Trees
Onkwehón:we	Original Peoples
Ratihente School	Ratihente High School began in Kanehsatà:ke in 1996 with six female students attending Secondary I; the present school has over forty students in Secondary I through 5 (Grades 7 to 11). Their program of studies leads to a Secondary School Diploma issued by the Ministry of Education from Quebec. Students must pass Kanien'kéha from Secondary I through IV and pass English and French at the Secondary I through V level to graduate. History and Citizenship is taught from Secondary I to IV, with Contemporary World History taught at the Secondary V level. Kanien'kéha is a credit course.

Rotiwennakehte Immersion

Rotiwennakehte (They carry the burden of the language) Immersion School began in 1989 with three parents demanding that their children be immersed in Kanien'kéha. Presently, the school offers academic programs and Kanien'kehà:ka traditional teachings, all in Kanien'kéha from kindergarten to grade 6.

Swan, Joseph

Joseph O'nahsakèn:rat (September 4, 1845-February 7, 1881) died at the young age of 35. Groomed and educated at the Séminaire de Montréal, along with a great Métis leader, Louis Riel, Swan served as secretary to the Sulpicians but left after seeing the inhumane treatment of the people by the Sulpicians and on finding a document that confirmed Kanehsata'kehró:non as the rightful owners of the lands at Kanehsatà:ke (Oral History). Chosen as Chief in 1868, he was continually harassed and arrested by the Sulpicians as were other Kanehsata'kehró:non. (See *At the Woods Edge: An Anthology of the History of the People of Kanehsatà:ke*, Gabriel-Doxtater, Van Den Hende, 1995: 103-134).

Two Dog Wampum

Onkwehón:we at Sault-aux-Recollets were forced off the island of Montreal by French colonialists after cultivating over 400 acres of land, to create the Seigneurie du Lac des Deux Montagnes and told to relocate at Kanehsatà:ke, a territory already occupied by Traditional Kanien'kehà:ka of the Iroquois Confederacy. This belt was exchanged with the French at the time of the move to confirm "that if we would consent to go and settle at the Lake of Two Mountains we should have a large tract of land for which we should have a Deed from the King of France as our property, to be vested in us and our Heirs for ever, and that we should not be molested again in our habitations (Speech to Sir John Johnson, Baronet, Indian Department Office, Montreal by Aghneetha, principal Chief, February 8, 1787).

ACRONYMS

- FLQ** Front de Libération du Québec. A radical nationalist movement formed in Québec in 1963 aimed at creating an independent and socialist Québec. The FLQ sought to destroy, by systematic sabotage, all federal colonial symbols and institutions including all American cultural and commercial interests. The War Measures Act was invoked in 1970 following the kidnapping of James Cross, a British consular official and the kidnapping and murder of Pierre Laporte, a Québec minister of labour (Diverse Pasts: A History of Québec and Canada, 2nd Ed., p. 357).
- INAC** Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
Online: http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/index_e.html
- KSS** Kahnawake Survival School, Kahnawake, Quebec. The community high school teaches from grades seven to eleven and issues its own graduate diploma. Students must pass all three languages (Kanien'kéha, French and English) to graduate. The Kahnawake Community Education System provides trilingual education (Kanien'kéha, French and English), a choice of Kanien'kéha immersion or English program, culturally relevant and adapted programs of study based on Ministry objectives and standards.
- LTM** The Lake of Two Mountains High School, Deux Montagnes, Quebec is a provincial high school (Secondary I to V) and the main feeder school for Mohawk parents who choose to send their children to school outside the community of Kanehsatà:ke. LTM is under the direction of the Sir Wilfred Laurier School Board, Rosemere, Québec and follows programs of study based on Quebec's Ministry objectives and standards.