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HIGHLIGHTS:

- Nine elders in discussion at Saddle Lake Reserve.
- Descriptions of many aspects of life before contact with whites.
- Treaty #6 and their interpretation of it.
- Saddle Lake Reserve, history of amalgamations and land sales.
- Traditional story of boy raised by buffalo who develops special powers and teaches his family to build the first buffalo pound.

My name is Richard Lightning, I work with the Treaty Research Department, Indian Association of Alberta. We are here at Saddle Lake today, the date is February 13, 1975. We will be doing interviews with some elders, regarding some history we are trying to obtain from them. Both of these men are working with me. We will use a group discussion in getting information from these people.

Richard: You people must have given some information prior to this or may have been interviewed last winter. But those interviews last winter dealt mainly with the topic of reserve land you people lost. But today we have this man here who is a historian. And he would like some information from you people to find out what knowledge you have. In his work in Ottawa he has found out much information and he would like to make sure that if in fact this is what happened in the past. I'll ask you questions and anyone of you can answer if you have anything

to say on the matter. Later on when we are through with that discussion, I will be asking questions on the land issue to see what you remember about it. If I overlook some questions which could be related to the topic, just speak up and let us know. The first thing that Mr. Taylor would like to find out about is the period before the treaty was made, his question would be how did the Indian make his living and what did he do for food, what was his main food source for his family? How did he cope with this situation. Like I said earlier, this period would be before the treaty was signed. So if any of you remember or heard of stories told by your elders this is the information I would like to get from you. So that is the question that is being asked now. So if any one of you would like to discuss this, you may start now.

Julian Moses: If my information is wrong, you people may correct me.

Henry Cardinal: That information about how the Indians made their living before the treaty, none of us here have seen that, but we've heard about it through stories as told by some elders. They told us of how they made their living. He can start (Julian Moses) if he doesn't tell you the truth we'll pull him by the ear.

Julian Moses: His living, well-being and his behavior of long ago, is that it? When the old people told us of the past, there was a wealth of knowledge as this country had plenty of food source. Their main food supply was meat and berries. There was no bread or butter. When they lived in an area long ago they used to have many tipis in a circular form. In the

middle was the chief's tipi. The whiteman used to describe the Indian as something wild, (savages) is how they described the Indian.

Richard: That name was attached to the Indian by the Frenchmen.

Julian Moses: There had been much information told by the white man which has been wrong. They didn't know how the Indian made his living. When the elders told us these stories they mentioned that they had men which could be classed as servants. I don't know how you would say that in English. Not anybody was allowed to go after the buffalo, they had to be watched carefully in order that they wouldn't be chased too far away. That was an order, nobody should scare off the buffalo. The movement of Indian camps was done by following the buffalo as they made their movements. Their main food supply was meat, dried meat, pemmican and also the fat was used.

Richard: The people you mentioned as servants, what duties would he have had?

Julian: He would be like a policeman, his job was to look after things. It has been said that if somebody went out of line or misbehaved or maybe went on a chase when he should not

have, the way the servants would punish him was to cut up his tipi. All his belongings would be cut to bits. That is what he deserved. The Indians also had within their camps a place to dance. And while they trapped for all kinds of animals they never used a metal trap; they were not in use then. They used a wooden trap. Did any of you ever see a wooden trap?

Ralph Shirt: Yes, I did see one.

Julian Moses: These wooden traps would have been used a long time ago. It would be nice if someone could make a wooden trap, so the people could see what it was like. But I think very few people today would know how to make one. The Indian camps were not in one place for too long. As the horses grazed all the grass, they moved camp. This way they also found a cleaner place to live. Any food which was brought to the camp was equally shared, nobody would go hungry. They each received their share if a hunter was successful. This also applied to the old people. Nobody was faced with starvation. This will be all for now someone else can take over from there.

Richard: Today, books contain stories of Indians in the past, are these stories similar to what you people say?

Julian Moses: No, their stories are not told properly. They make the Indian look as if they didn't know anything. The Indian to them was known as a wildman, a murderer, and everything else. They never wrote anything about the Indians' good character. There was never any great disturbance or violence that went on in camp. The Indians of long ago respected one another and also listened to one another. It wasn't like today.

Tom Cardinal: At this time, I would like to ask a question or are you about to mention it? I'm referring to the food supply that the Indians used to stash away. Like in the summer they would prepare for the winter months.

Henry Cardinal: Yes, they would make a storehouse and keep the meat there which was already prepared, it could be kept there for a long time. But there was one thing wrong with that, the wolverines would break into these storehouses. No matter how it was built the wolverine managed to get in and ruin the preserved food. The wolverines would urinate on the food. Once my uncle told me of a story where they had put food away. My brother discovered that the wolverines had been in the food, so he decided to pour whiskey on the meat, there were two wolverines when they tracked them down. He said that they camped a short distance away and in the morning they decided to check the meat. They found the two wolverines sitting there - they were drunk. That is when they clobbered them over the head. But they were known to break into any storehouse no matter how it was built. Wolverines were seen dragging away hind quarters, whole ones. They were very powerful.

Richard: Were they not good for eating, the people could not

use them for anything?

Henry Cardinal: They were not to be eaten, but the pelt could be sold.

Julian Moses: Long ago, as it has been told, there were not pots or pans. I think this is part of the information you require. During that time the people couldn't boil anything as there were not pots. They made pots out of buffalo skulls. Another thing they did was to heat rocks and put them into the homemade pot and that is how they made soup. It's been said that they never wasted anything, not even the bones. The bones were boiled and the marrow taken from them. That is what they used to make pim ee kan.

Tom Cardinal: I guess they never had doctors during that time too? What did the Indians do for medication?

Henry Cardinal: Another thing is when a person misbehaved. They had a length of wood which would be placed on the path of someone who misbehaved. And if he crossed that stick, he would run into plenty of bad luck. Perhaps on his hunting trip or something like that. In those years the Indians took advice from one another, it's not like today. And if anybody would not listen or misbehave, he was the one who would have the stick placed on his pathway. This is how he was contained for fear he would run into some bad luck. I saw one of those sticks on the Blackfoot reserve. A man had one. He asked me what it was, and I told him I knew. He also asked if I knew what it was used for, I told him about it and also the Crees used them to keep people in line.

Julian Moses: There is also another thing, there was never any swearing long ago in our language. Today there is so much of the white man's swearing. In those days the men hunted and provided the food and the woman's work was in the tipi and also getting wood. In the southern part there was no wood so they used dry buffalo manure for making fire. (Maybe that is where coal came from.)

Ralph Shirt: I too have heard stories from elders. They said that when they went to bed at night they would hear sounds from the ground; they were caused by the vast numbers of buffalo that were here. When the buffalo bedded down for the night, they transmitted vibrating sounds. That was a story from a long time ago.

Richard: How did the buffalo disappear?

Julian Moses: The white man reduced the large herds.

Henry Cardinal: There was a meeting held just north of here once and our councillors were invited, but only two of us were able to go. A police commissioner was speaking that evening and he spoke on Indians. He said, "We blame the Indian for killing off everything but that is not true. It was the people who lived in the States and all over this country, the white

people, who killed off the buffalo." I believed him when he said that. I heard a story from our old people when they claimed the buffalo entered an opening in a mountain, but where did they go from there? If they had somehow crossed the mountains, we would have heard about them. But that is what that man said, "It wasn't the Indians who killed off the buffalo, it was us white men." He also stated why they killed off the buffalo when the Indian was living here and making a good living. "The Indian was healthy, they didn't have any disease, it was us who brought with us the many sicknesses and

diseases." He also asked the audience if he would ask them one thing. He said he was sorry that very few Indians were in attendance. "At the Camsell hospital in Edmonton you will not find an Indian doctor or nurse, it is a white man's hospital, that is how it was meant to be." He said, "We always call the Indians beggars or they are looking for handouts, but we are the beggars. We should be looking up to the Indian. It is their land, they own it."

Richard: When did this take place?

Henry Cardinal: That must have been 10 years ago, he was from Ontario. That too was his job, to learn more of the Indian, not to make enemies but friends.

Ralph Shirt: Like Julian was saying about the men who kept order in the camp. I too heard the elder's stories because I was brought up by an old man. The Indians never threw anything away if a hunt took place they never spoiled the meat. They made everything in the line of food. I tasted some of the Pim ee Kan but it was made by the bush people. The Indians made a lot of it. That was one food supply that they left at the storehouses which were mentioned earlier. The Indian never wasted anything, also they never knew of stealing. One Indian would never steal from another Indian, even when they were trapping. As an example, if an Indian came across someone else's trap he would kill the animal for him and also hang it up in a tree and re-set the trap. This was a common thing to do for other Indians. They always helped one another.

Julian Moses: I'm not sure what you mean when you say they didn't steal, each time they went out scouting they stole horses.

John Cryer: Whoever was the bravest became chief.

Richard: You are talking of hunt and preserving of food, were the young children taught these things too?

Julian: They were taught at a very young age, and they were also observant to see what was going on. The woman's job was to prepare food and tan hides. Someone said they didn't waste anything, they even used the sinew from the animal, that was their thread. The clothes were made from this.

William Steinhauer: That is still in use today.

Tom Cardinal: Also when someone's son reached the age where he could go and hunt by himself, the father would prepare a feast. This was something which was highly respected, since you are talking about up-bringing.

William Steinhauer: Yes, I've seen that myself. This also applied to the children, even if he killed a small animal or even a bird. The parent would keep the animal until the children reached a birthday, then he would make a feast. That is how much the parents of long ago thought of their children.

John Cryer: Yes, I've seen that too, whatever the youngster killed, the parents would keep it.

Julian Moses: Even at a pow-wow, if a child participated his parents would give away many things because a youngster took part in a dance.

William Steinhauer: We still have that today at certain places. If a child took part, the parent would give away many things, in appreciation of his child taking part in a dance and the parents being able to watch him.

Richard: How many years back would you be talking about when you are discussing this information?

Henry Cardinal: It would be close to one hundred years.

Julian Moses: It would be all of that, because it was 100 years since the treaty was made, wasn't it? It was 1876 and these stories are prior to the treaty. So it would be over 100 years ago.

Henry Cardinal: Things were different during that time, one old man who lived here told that story, all these people here, would know about that, his grandfather told him the story about how the Indians lived. That is a long time ago, it must be close to 300 years ago. The old man said it was a story told by his great-grandfather. Even the axes, today we couldn't do it. They used shoulder blades from a buffalo, and knives were made from ribs. I asked how they made fires. He told me that one would get a white rock and another of a different color and a bunch of dry grass. When the times came to make fire the stones were rubbed together which caused a spark and the dry grass would catch fire. I asked him about containers for boiling food, he said that they never had anything like that, but he did say that the Indians used the insides of a buffalo (tripe) for hauling water. This was also used when they were out scouting or when they were on a move. Good water was hard to find and they travelled great distances. To prepare meat it was sliced very thin and placed on a rock facing the hot sun and that is how it was prepared. There wasn't much food prepared by boiling. This must have been an instinct for the Indian to know how to prepare his food. Some even ate it raw

and they also drank the blood, this was the way of life with the Indians of long ago. The people ate raw meat mixed with the

animals brain. The women used the back of the foreleg for needles, they have a very small sharp bone there. There was no canvas, so they sewed buffalo skins together with sinew for the tipi. The Indians gathered the hairs which were shed by the buffalo in the spring, and they made leggings and also improvised for the feet. The garments were lined with skin to insure warmth for the cold weather. That is the story told to us by that old man. This applied to people south of here, this man (Ralph Shirt) can talk of the northern bush people.

William Steinhauer: Yes, his grandfather would know, he came from the Slave Lake area.

Henry Cardinal: He should know how the Indians of the north made their living, his grandfather came from there.

Richard: You talked about food being stored, for how long a period would this food be kept in storage? Would the people move back to the area in the fall, or how did that work?

Julian Moses: They would return in the fall.

Henry Cardinal: They would have it picked up. There was never a shortage of horses so the food would be picked up and brought to the area where the winter camp would be. They would stay in one place in winter while during the summer months they moved around a lot. They also had places for sanitation, they knew how to get along and survive. They were not like the people of today. They made use of the bow and arrow. I'm wondering if someone today could shoot a buffalo right through with an arrow. This was done from a galloping horse at full speed. The arrows were tipped with flint arrow heads. Spears were also made this way. During my time I've travelled some and I've never been able to find a flintstone. My uncle told me that they would be found along the banks of the Red Deer river. Pipestone could also be found along the river. I was told that it was this side of Hanna where they found the flint stones.

John Cryer: I found one in the area of Picture Butte.

Henry Cardinal: They even made arrows from bone. For the bow they used maple trees, not any type of tree could be used. This particular type you couldn't break. When shooting from a galloping horse the bows had to be pulled with great strength to ensure a kill. I always thought that the Indians then were very strong. This man should talk about how they hunted in the north (pointing to George Hunter). One old man told us a story

of how they hunted at Beaver Lake. They caught fish by making spears and taping material which would burn on the end, then they would go in the canoe, from the fire light they could see the fish and then they would spear them. The Indians did not have fish nets in those days. For hunting they had the bow and arrow.

Julian Moses: There was another story told of how they would corner the buffalo, today what they used is a corral. The

Indians used to chase the buffalo on foot, to gather them in particular area. (These people had inner powers.)

Henry Cardinal: (legend) My uncle told me that long ago an Indian was with a herd of buffalo for 4 years. The children would ride a travois which was pulled by a dog. He was lost when he fell from the travois. The small children would cry and the buffalo heard them cry. The child heard Cree voices which were coming from the buffalo. One buffalo said to the other, "Partner, what shall we do with him?" The other replied, "We'll keep him for 4 years." The young child would ride the buffalo and during the winter he would keep warm by taking up shelter amongst the buffalo while they laid on the ground. The child experienced a change of taste when he ate grass, he discovered that it contained a flavor which was similar to meat. This information he related to the people when he was free from the buffalo. When the buffalo were mating in the early summer, they would take him away for a few days and leave him there. They would eventually return to pick him up, the buffalo would be marked with battle scars.

One day the buffalo told him, "Now it is time for you to go home. Your people are just a short distance from the place where they used to be, your parents are struggling, your father has cut his hair so has your mother. We'll take you home and when there is a sign of hunger, I'll tell you now we like berry juice above anything else." Said the buffalo. So they took him home. They told him, "Don't go home right now, stay away for 4 nights." A young man was out riding his horse when he noticed him. He took off after him, but the young boy told him don't come near me. They discovered that they were cousins. So the young boy told him, "Tell my folks to move camp and they should also put grass for my bedding." So they did as he requested, two men would look after him, he took the form of a buffalo and he ate the grass around him.

Then after the fourth night he took the form of a human being again. Later on the people noticed that they may be faced with a food shortage. Someone suggested that they should burn incense (sweetgrass) for this man who had this inner power. My father had seen this man. So the old men approached him to inform him that there might be a shortage of food supply. Only the elders were allowed to smoke the pipe, so the man said,

"Okay, I'll take the pipe." Because it is Indian tradition that if somebody is going to commit himself to do something, he'll take the pipe. Otherwise he will not take it to smoke the pipe. This is something which is sacred. So the first thing he wanted done was for the people to make four containers of berry juice, two now and two tomorrow night. (Berry juice can be classed as soup.) The day after tomorrow I want two men to come with me, so he started his ceremony by singing for two nights, singing buffalo songs. (I heard them songs myself but have forgotten them.) In the morning they ate the two containers of soup, the remainder would be eaten when they returned. So they left camp they were on foot. They approached the buffalo as they came over a hill. The men were

asked to place the buffalo manure in line forming a circle. One man stood at one end and the other at the other end. The buffalo jumped to their feet and shook their stringy hair and entered the imaginary corral. It is said that this was the invention of the first corral for containing the buffalo. Then they were made of fences and they had to be very high in order to contain the buffalo. If they are low the buffalo just jumped over them with no difficulty. The first buffalo pound was built almost like a bridge and once the buffalo crossed there was no way they could turn back, that is when they used the bow and arrow on them. After that time this man was responsible for showing others how to make the buffalo jumping pounds. Some Indians were not able to make them. A ceremony took place for two nights when it was to be made, some were not successful as the buffalo managed to get out of them. It is these men that just didn't have the spiritual power to perform the ritual. Even today dances and pow-wows, they are basically the same as the ones that were performed many years ago. (end of legend)

Richard: What was the name of that man?

Henry Cardinal: I don't know, he never named him, but he was one of the plains Cree.

Richard: This period of time we are discussing, where did it take place? Was it here in this area or somewhere else?

Julian Moses: This area here was known in Cree as "the place where the prairie ends."

Ralph Shirt: The land was mostly prairie many years ago. My grandfather came from the North his name was "Shirt" in Cree. He came here to live, some of his relatives would be in Fort McMurray now. His uncle was there. I think he was raised by Erasmus the interpreter. That is where "Shirt" my grandfather

was brought up. In turn he raised me as my parents died when I was a young boy. I heard him telling stories. He was a trapper, but he never did tell me how the far northern bush Indians made their living. My grandfather's dad as the story was told was found frozen to death. (This was believed to be done by someone casting a spell over him.) He was on his way here, but with the bad spell cast upon him he was unable to even kill a rabbit or grouse. He was on a move southward and every little bit of food he found, he gave it to his wife and children, he didn't eat anything. This story was told by my grandmother. He would go ahead of his family and they would follow him later. Then one day they found him dead. They buried him I don't know how they did that.

So they managed to get here eventually and that is how my grandfather came to be here. I myself have seen some bags made for dogs to carry, this was at Calling Lake, When the men went into the bush that is how they carried their belongings, the dogs packed them; they too carried some on their back. My grandmother told how the Indian had stamina years ago. As an

example they told of Indians hunters tracking wild game until they killed it, they didn't make any preparation, they just went as they were. Even at Goodfish Lake where I lived as a child, our forefathers had cattle, these cattle were supplied by the government. They also hunted for food supply. Like I said earlier, the Indians never stole them from one another, they would re-set someone else's trap if they came across one.

Someone here mentioned fishing earlier, it was in the fall they did this, they went in the canoe at night, the men would put a piece of birch on fire and with this light they could see the fish which they would spear. This was food preparation to be stored. I also saw the Indians making food preparation, they were fishing with nets. The fish were tied in bunches of ten, usually on a willow stick or on a saskatoon stick. As soon as the men came to shore with their catch the fish would then be placed on the stick in bunches of ten. The fish would then be placed in the storehouse and kept there until needed during the winter. Some even had gardens during that time, and they were milking cows later on. There is the story of an old woman who used to kill bears during the winter. They would cut trees and place them at the entrance of a bear hole; she would leave just enough room for the bear's head. She would then poke the bear with a stick when the bear stuck its head out the old lady hit it on the head with an axe. The old people during that time really understood trapping. I also remember seeing a bear trap made of wood. My grandfather "Shirt" used to set the wooden bear trap. He was not a hunter, he never killed moose or deer. He just killed bears and I used to eat bear meat when I was young.

Tom Cardinal: How about birch bark canoes?

Ralph Shirt: There was one man at Goodfish Lake who was good at making them, he originally came from Beaver Lake. He used birch bark and spruce gum and roots from an old rotten tree. They were very long; he used them for sewing it together. The roots were very strong.

William Steinhauer: There was one man here who also used to make birch bark canoes, his name was Michelle. He too was from Beaver Lake.

Richard: The other thing I would like to ask, did the Indian people hear of the treaties before the commissioners came here to make the treaty?

Ralph Shirt: They have heard of it before the treaty said my grandfather "Shirt" - also he was one of the men who signed the treaty. He was my father's uncle.

Richard: Who was that?

Ralph Shirt: That was Seenum, my grandfather was David Seenum and the one who signed the treaty was James Seenum. Yes, they were aware of the coming of the whiteman. The way I heard it then was that David Seenum wanted Dog Rump Creek (east of St.

Paul) Muskrat Creek, Beaver Creek and the North Saskatchewan River. Those were the boundaries for a reserve he wanted. When it was known that the commissioners were coming, the minister whose name was Henry Bird Steinhauer said to Pagan "Don't go and meet the commissioner, he'll come here and see you. When he arrives here we'll negotiate with him." This man was giving good advice but still Seenum went forth and met the commissioner and signed the treaty, I don't know where it was.

Richard: Was that Fort Carlton?

Julian Moses: That was at Fort Pitt. It is not far from here, but in those days it would seem it was far away.

Ralph Shirt: My grandfather Seenum became angry when he was questioned as to where he signed the treaty, was it inside the tent or was it outside? If he did sign the treaty outside it would not be recognized as a true legal document, but if it was signed inside it would then be honoured as a valid agreement in honesty by the Indians. As a result through misunderstanding Seenum did not speak in good terms.

Richard: Is it known today whether he signed it inside or outside the tent?

Ralph Shirt: I don't think anybody knows that as he did not tell anybody where he signed.

John Crier: I used to hear my father mention this man Pagan, Seenum. Is that your grandfather you are referring to?

Ralph Shirt: Yes, he was my grandfather.

John Crier: My father did say that he did sign on the hide on which the treaty was written.

William Steinhauer: I think anybody here is old enough to have known Erasmus. He would have known, because he was the man who was doing the interpreting. He would know what kind of deal was made.

George Hunter: You must have seen that man, Peter Erasmus?

William Steinhauer: He was a teacher here at Saddle Lake, he used to use the little church, he used to teach us.

Henry Cardinal: It was the Iroquois who first made the treaty when the white man came.

Richard: Where was that?

Henry Cardinal: It is far away in the east where the Iroquois live. They had been in treaty for two years already when two of our people from the Plains Cree left to go east one was Kaust Tawes Ka What (Stamping out Fire) and the other was Wee Kaus Ko Ksa In (Sweetgrass Old Man) he was a Crow Indian. They were

responsible for allowing the treaty to take place as they went east to inform the commissioners that some Indians wanted to sign treaty. The story states that Kaus Ta Wes Ka What was reluctant but Wee Kaus Ko Ksa In was the one who was in favor of it. I think this was true because once I was in the United States and I was talking to a Crow Indian. He asked me if I knew why it was called Sweetgrass. I told him I didn't know. He said, "Did you ever hear of a story long ago where there was an Indian battle and one young Crow Indian was taken by the Crees and raised by them; he became one of them? The battle took place at Sweetgrass, Montana." He said, "That is what I wanted to ask you about." He was the one that was responsible for giving up the land. Although it was already known that there were a large number of Indians already, but We Kaus Ko Ksa In took his brother-in-law Kaust Ta Wes Ka What to meet the commissioners. The Crow Indian said, "Why didn't the Crees get rid of him when they first found him?"

My uncle told me that the promises were good, the commissioner stood there flanked by N.W.M.P. and he said, "Even if there is rifle fire just over the hill, it will be these men who will protect you. You Indian people have no right to be fighting there. In the future you will take reserve land. For every group of 20 you will have a chief." That is when the Indians were confused, and that is why they had many small reserves. They thought that only one chief was to be made from the many reserves. The commissioners were also afraid of the Indians so they tried to keep them a fair distance apart. It was only when they became used to the Indians that they brought them together again. That is what happened here when they were brought together as a group. There was a great celebration of horse races and foot races when the Indians were first approached. There was a great amount of supplies brought there, but the Indians never took anything as they were used to the buffalo meat. The beef that was brought there had a terrible taste at first. It is said that it took them about two years before the Indians were ready to negotiate. In the meantime it was not known that the two men had gone Kaust Ta Wes Ka What and Wee Kaus Ko Ksa In. On their return as the story is told Wee Kaus Ko Ksa In was accidentally shot in the head by his brother-in-law Kaust Ta Wes Ka What. It is also said that during treaty there was a great number of people well over 600 tents and tipis.

Even the teenage boys were borrowing up to 12 kids so they could collect treaty money. The first payment was worth \$25.00 and they even collected for people who had been dead for 15 years. Yet there was no need for money, there was no use for it. There was piles of flour, bacon and other foods. When the Indians broke camp, there was a large amount of flour which they left behind. The bacon which had the inspection stamp on it was thrown away. The Indians were afraid of the stamp, they feared the white man was attempting to poison them. The following year the payment was reduced by \$5.00 it was then reduced every year until it was down to \$5.00. My uncle also said that the treaty money which was reduced to \$15.00 was

taken to pay for medication. But the Indian agent was at the disposal of the Indians they could tell him what to do. His understanding was that the reduced treaty payments money was accumulating in order that other services could be paid for. This would last as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow, the Indian would have this right, but it did not happen that way. It was also said by the commissioners that in the future when you are working making a living and if you are in need or failing the Queen has large breasts. She will bring you back on your feet. My uncle says he has never seen any of that yet. He also said that the promises looked very good.

Richard: Who is this man you are referring to?

Henry Cardinal: He was my uncle, now he is dead.

Richard: What was his name?

Henry Cardinal: His name was Simon, we cared for him, and he always told me these stories about how the Indians were cheated.

(Some of this information is repetition and is not relevant to the discussion. When the commissioners came they told the Indians that it was now time to select the lands which they wanted. There would be one chief for every group of 20, there was some excitement as many of the Indians wanted to become a chief. That is why the reserves were small and the white men were also afraid of the Indians. Some of the story has been omitted as it only deals with horse races and foot races, it is time consuming)

Then the Indians were pondering the question, "Where would the land be best suited for us for a reserve?" Two of the leaders left as instructed by Kaust Ta Wes Ka What to include the lake as it would provide food for a long time, and also the river. That is when Egg Lake was also selected and the two other reserves that made up a total of four reserves.

Ralph Shirt: The treaty you are talking about of long ago, I've heard our ancestors making this arrangement in the past. They said that the Queen was going to protect the animals which were hunted for food (big game animals) and also the fish. Myself I've never heard of any old men tell stories of oil being given up with the land or any valuable minerals which were underground.

Henry Cardinal: According to my uncle the commissioner was only asking for this much (open hand with extended thumb) and anything underground would belong to the Indians. It's only not long ago that some Indians received oil royalties, and it was stated that anything underground would belong to them, as long as the rivers flowed and the sun shines. This was the criterion which was used. Today the river still flows and the sun still shines. I don't know why they changed and put a stop to their promises.

Ralph Shirt: I'll ask one of these men if he ever heard stories told by our ancestors and find out whether they did sell any of these things we are discussing.

Julian Moses: No, I never did. It was only to be used for agriculture, but anything underground was never mentioned that it should be for sale, even timber was never mentioned. The agreement was that the surface of the land would be for growing crops. But today we have lost our timber and minerals, they are drilling for oil, all these are supposed to be ours. I never saw anything in writing or heard stories from our elders discussing anything underground. It was only on the surface.

Richard: The term we use in Cree "Payment", what is it that they are being paid for? What is it they gave away?

Julian Moses: (Misunderstanding) Not very much, I didn't see very much, the only thing was that they would build schools for us, but they would be in control of them. The other thing was the medicine chest, the agent had it, and in farming there was one team of oxen and some small implements. The chief was to receive new clothes every 3 years. The Indian way of life is not a lasting thing, if the terms are read properly, that is the life of hunting and fishing and trapping. I understood properly it is not a thing that will last forever. That is why we are faced with great difficulty.

Richard: When the commissioners came here with money to treat with the Indians, what was it they expected in return, what is it they were trading?

Julian Moses: The money \$5.00 was just a token! It is really nothing.

Ralph Shirt: The way I understood the elders is that only one foot of the land was sold.

Richard: Was it the whiteman who made that one foot measurement?

Ralph Shirt: Yes, there was nothing else mentioned, like minerals of value underground that they were giving away.

Richard: Was the Indian aware of anything existing underground?

Ralph Shirt: I don't think they would have known.

Julian Moses: Even the stone was not mentioned, you take the different types of stone from underground like marble, there was nothing like that ever mentioned, the Indians never gave that away.

Ralph Shirt: The only thing that was said, they were going to protect the game and fish for the Indian. I've heard that

mentioned before that it was the request from the Indians. When they said the animals it included every small animal.

Richard: You mean they would be protected by the government?

Ralph Shirt: Yes.

William Steinhauer: But that is not the way it is. We often hear of a treaty Indian who has been charged for hunting game. He is brought to court and the meat could be confiscated. That is what happened to us. How many years ago would that be Julian?

Julian Moses: It must have been 15 years or more.

Richard: Were the Indian charged?

William Steinhauer: No, they just confiscated our meat. They didn't take it all. I admit we killed many, but we travelled far to go hunting and we wanted to get as many as possible. We had killed 18 and they took away 9 of them.

Richard: Did you have to go to court?

William Steinhauer: We didn't have to go, but the two governments settled it in court. (Provincial and Federal.) We did win in the end but it took a long time, about two years.

Richard: Did you lose the meat in the end?

William Steinhauer: We lost the meat, but we received some money back. That is what I mean, it doesn't look good when someone has been promised something and later on he is charged with it. If that is how the Queen made a promise, that she would protect the game for the Indians, it doesn't look very good when she then charges them with offences. Like the buffalo you are talking about, I am able to read a little myself and I know it was the white man who killed off the buffalo. And today it looks as if the same thing will happen with the moose. It will be the white man who will kill them off. It seems like that they too can shoot game at anytime now. I mean at a certain time, not always. It was never like that before. The white man was only allowed to hunt once a year, now it seems that they can hunt anytime. When a white man kills game he throws the meat away, I've seen this myself because I've hunted a lot myself. I've hunted since I was a young man. Many times I've come across the carcass of a moose with only

the hind quarters missing, the rest of it was left to go to waste. The Indian will never do that, the way the buffalo was decimated, that is what will happen to the big game today. So it is not right for an Indian to be charged with an offence which originally was a treaty promise, something he was to make a living with. Just two weeks ago some treaty Indians were brought to court. They were from the Mosquito Reserve in Saskatchewan, I know the people. They hunted and all the meat was confiscated. So if in fact the Queen was protecting game

animals for the Indians, now they are charged, it sure doesn't look good.

Julian Moses: It is also written in the treaty that a family of 5 should have received 640 acres, one section. I wonder if that was carried out, and did anybody ever check to see if the Indians received proper land allotment on the reserve? It would have been difficult that time because they didn't have surveying instruments, it would have been easy to cheat the Indians.

Richard: The Indians who signed the treaty, did they really understand the treaty? Was the interpreter doing a proper job? Nobody knows if he was interpreting the treaty terms properly.

William Steinhauer: I don't know, although I knew that old man. He used to teach us but I was just a kid. His name was Peter Erasmus, he was a Metis.

Richard: It is still not certain if he did translate the treaty precisely, and did the Indians understand everything before they signed.

William Steinhauer: I don't think anybody would know that, I used to hear my grandfather say "he is the man who was doing the interpreting."

Richard: Perhaps the Indians were convinced by some dishonest action?

Julian Moses: They were totally blindfolded because they didn't know anything.

William Steinhauer: That is easy to see.

Ralph Shirt: The Indians never knew the value of anything. They didn't know what gold was so how could that treaty be valid, it seems to me it was one sided. That is one thing I recall from the elders, that nothing below the ground was sold. That was their understanding. If the understanding wasn't clear then

the interpreting wasn't properly done. The only thing I heard from elders is that they only gave up one foot below the surface.

William Steinhauer: Maybe he was paid a large sum not to do proper interpreting.

Richard: He was hired by the government.

William Steinhauer: That is what I mean, the white man has a good heart when it is time for dishonest business. Especially during that time when our ancestors were illiterate.

Julian Moses: You look at the treaty and you will not find anything written about it.

Ralph Shirt: I guess that is the information you required. I'm not old enough but as I was raised by Seenum I heard stories from elders when I was young.

Richard: You can now talk about the reserve here, how it came about and also it appears that part of the reserve was sold to the settlement board, was that a legitimate transaction?

Ralph Shirt: I was still in school when the land was sold, it was sold as my father told me this. There was a minister by the name of Cantleon at Goodfish Lake, he used to interpret for him. The priest told my father, "Go and take up reserve land where Harvey Steinhauer took some land, claim some land close to his. You are going to surrender reserve land right up to his property." That is what the priest told my father. My father was told that if he made improvements on his land he would be compensated for it. Sure enough part of the reserve was surrendered later on. Maybe my dad sold his property too, I don't know. There was another man here whose intention was to have the reserve surrendered. His name was Robert Houle, he travelled around the reserve encouraging them to surrender the reserves. The surrendered portion of the reserve was again resold later on. It is said the minister convinced the people to sell, I don't know how much it was but they received a few more cents per acre. But we lost all the underground rights on the first surrender. But the surrender that went to the Soldiers Settlement Board, we still maintain the oil rights there. The surrender where we lost the mineral rights was bigger than the one the Soldier Settlement Board had. In the hungry 30s the people talked about the farmers who were not able to pay their property taxes, the government overlooked it. The people here thought that the money which we were supposed to receive went to the government, the money was supposed to come from the French

Canadians as they were known they are the ones who bought our land, but we never received anything from it. Nobody really looked into this until someone went to the Indian agent but he too was dishonest so he didn't help.

Richard: Who was that agent?

Ralph Shirt: Old Man Bellier.

Julian Moses: He was Metis.

Richard: The time you are referring to, was there Indians at the other reserve, the name if it is Egg Lake?

Ralph Shirt: They came here as a group, the chief for this man Moses was Blue Quill, he was the chief of that reserve at Egg Lake, there was another group south of Smoky Lake they too came and joined this reserve. There is something strange, at the time of the surrender there were only 3 chiefs mentioned as the Saddle Lake Band.

Richard: Who were they?

Ralph Shirt: Blue Quill and James Seenum and where is Crier he too added his reserve to this band. If you look at the map there you will see it. The surrender is marked on it. The chief who was here at the time was really saddened about the whole thing, he didn't even want to keep the original agreement because he was overruled in the surrender, his name was Thomas Makokis. I hope I'm telling it the way it happened, but that is what I heard from the elders. (This man would also know, Julian Moses.)

Julian Moses: I was present when the last vote was taken, it took place right here where this house is located. Now I don't know if all the men were here as the house was small. The other thing about that meeting was that the people stood up rather than raise their hand while they were voting. The heads were counted, it was a tie. The chief had to break the tie. It was with great reluctance that he signed his name.

Ralph Shirt: I thought they used the secret ballot. It was Robert Houle's brother who was said to have broken the pencil 2 or 3 times, the one used for voting.

Julian Moses: There was a miscount because the people were standing while being counted. It was Steinhauer and the minister who were counting the votes; they are the ones who sold the reserve.

Richard: Who is that you mentioned?

Julian Moses: Steinhauer and his brother, I think it was his older brother.

Ralph Shirt: It was Harvey who counted the votes.

William Steinhauer: Harvey Steinhauer was the interpreter, Alphonse was the witness.

Richard: How was it that the Chief Makokis was talked into surrendering his reserve?

Julian Moses: The Steinhauers were good at this, in talking to and convincing the people about what they were doing. If he didn't sign this would not have happened. But he would have been undesirable.

Ralph Shirt: It was only by one vote that they won, just one, that is what my father told me.

Richard: Was it this man who was sitting here (John Crier)?

Julian Moses: No, it wasn't him because I already asked him. They were in jail for 3 months at the time.

Henry Cardinal: My son-in-law says it was, because their names are written down on paper.

William Steinhauer: Well, how would that work because that is

the time they stole some wine from the priest and they were in jail?

Julian Moses: That wouldn't be hard to find out, you can check the prison records for 1925.

Richard: His name was Johnnie Crier, what was the other man's name? We could just find out if Johnnie was in jail for sure.

Julian Moses: The other one was Alex Stamp, another man is no longer alive, he was Tom's father (Tom Cardinal). But the two are alive. But they should be registered somewhere that they were in jail. There is nothing wrong with that, so why should he take the blame for this. Even if he had voted he would not have been 21 years old.

William Steinhauer: At the time I was under 20 years old and I wasn't allowed to put my name down when I was asked.

Julian Moses: Even if they blame Johnnie Crier he wasn't of age.

Ralph Shirt: Johnnie Crier said he was born in 1908.

Richard: If he didn't break the tie, who did?

Julian Moses: I asked him but he told me "They were lying. I was released from jail on the 24th of March."

Ralph Shirt: The number of people who were there was very few. This man Moses and his brother were there PASK Kap (Blind Man) Thomas and David Crier.

Julian Moses: We do not have 10 people who are living now who were present.

Ralph Shirt: There were also very few at Whitefish Lake. One of them would be my uncle and Reuben Bull, very few old people would know about that.

Richard: Are you referring to the one who broke the tie?

Ralph Shirt: Yes, there would be Reuben Bull, Peter Shirt, Noel Jackson and Cornelius. Only those 4 people are at Goodfish Lake. Chances are they might know.

Richard: What is the word used tip au um mot to in (payment) is that the proper word as it is used today?

Julian Moses: No, a treaty is a promise, promises made; tip au um mot to in is giving of money. But when a treaty is made, it is a promise. That is how I understand it. To sign a treaty you are making an agreement, a promise, you are not getting money.

Ralph Shirt: That term tip au um mot to in, money being given, originated when our ancestors first went to get money. It did

not take place when the treaty was first made by the chiefs. That was thought of as a highly sincere promise.

Julian Moses: That is not proper Cree terminology when it is said to be tip au um mot to in.

Ralph Shirt: In a sense it is right, money being given but the other word Ke Che Asot Tum Mat To In that is something different.

Julian Moses: Is that how you understand it?

Richard: I wasn't sure. Many Cree words are misused.

Julian Moses: It originated as money from the treaty promises.

Richard: What I asked for earlier is, what were the Indians being paid for?

Julian Moses: The promise was to last as long as the rivers flow and the sun shines, that was the way the promise was understood, including the money.

Richard: What about the people at Goodfish Lake, how come they are on their own and you people are here?

Julian Moses: That is where our ancestors chose to make their home.

Ralph Shirt: There were two chiefs here at first, there was Hunter and Seenum. The way I understood is that they owned the reserve between them. Some people here are from Goodfish, and once Pakan had it in mind just to make a reserve right through from Goodfish to Saddle Lake through Spedden. This other man told him not to, he suggested that he take land on the prairie, in the open, it would be separate, they would own it between them. That is when my grandfather Pakan chose his land here. Part of it is within the Saddle Lake Reserve, on the east end, that is Pakan's reserve. You'll notice on the map there is a Pakan Lake. This is Hunter's reserve, (indicating on map). We lost all this, this was Blue Quills, and this was Crier. (This information is being pointed out on the map.) The Old Man Bear's Ears was from Washatanow. Saddle Lake can go and live in Goodfish Lake. I'd be safe in saying that over half of the Indians living in Saddle Lake originated from Goodfish Lake.

William Steinhauer: All the Steinhauers, Jacksons, Shirts, they all come from there, also Houles, Whiskey Jacks, Stamps, they came from there.

Richard: What brought them here?

Ralph Shirt: I went to school and when I left school I just made my home here because we were entitled to the reserve too.

William Steinhauer: The people knew that Pakan had a reserve here, so that is why they came here. That is how they amalgamated, there's four bands here.

Ralph Shirt: In the surrender there is one chief not mentioned; there is only Saddle Lake, Blue Quills and James Seenum, you'll find that in the surrender. Where was Crier? He wasn't even mentioned in it.

Julian Moses: Each reserve had a number.

Ralph Shirt: I'm wondering why his name was not with the agreement. At the time of the surrender, Goodfish Lake didn't have a chief. There was only one chief who represented the four bands, that was Thomas Makokis.

Richard: Maybe they felt 3 chiefs were enough to make an agreement.

Henry Cardinal: I was with the crew when they surveyed.

Richard: We will now end this session and would like to thank you very much for the valuable information you have related to me.

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The participants in the following interview are as follows: Henry Cardinal, Ralph Shirt, Max Houle, William Steinhauer, Julian Moses and Tom Cardinal.

We can start this session by giving me more information you may have. The first question I'll be asking is; did the missionaries encourage or have any influence on the Indians in any way? The question then, did the missionaries help the Indians in any way?

Max Houle: I will tell you of an incident; the first missionary was Father Lacombe. He discovered a group of Indians at the Red Deer River the group numbered 20 camps. They were going to kill [him], but the chief told them not to. He stayed with them and after a long time, he attempted to convert them, but he failed because the Indians had their own traditional form of worship. But they were friendly with him. They gradually moved northward to an area in the Lacombe area that is where the Indians stayed and the town of Lacombe developed at it's present site. So that is where the town got it's name. Then he travelled northward on foot to find more Indians, he had no horses. He travelled to the north to a place called Ribstone and he stayed with the Indians. He even took part in the native worshipping. He did not apply his religion, he just worshipped the Indian way. He then left there and went to Fort Edmonton, that is what I know about him, it was told to me by my grandfather whose name was Raven.

Richard: Were there any ministers working around here too?

Max Houle: No, that was at a later time. Then there was another priest, his name was Cardinal he travelled to an area

north of Lac la Biche where some Indians were camped. My grandfather said as he related the story, the Indians did not have any names as they were only known by their Indian names. My grandfather's cousin travelled with the priest. The Indians used to use a tipi as a church. One woman lived with the priest and one year later, a baby boy was born, they named him Cardinal, so all the camp was baptized as Cardinal.

Julian Moses: Don't make your stories too long and you do not have to discuss the priest in his wrongdoing.

Max Houle: That is where the name Cardinal originated.

Henry Cardinal: The priest who was here told me that two Frenchmen came from France whose names were Cardinal and through inter-marriage the name became very common. Father

Lacombe used to travel all over, he was also at Duck Lake when the Indians fought there. After that battle he stayed with the Indians. He even took in the Sundances and smoked the pipe. He spoke Cree. But he was known to be dishonest, he was one who broke up the reserve at St. Paul (Blue Quill).

Julian Moses: You should tell about your grandfather.

William Steinhauer: I was thinking about that, I will not get carried away with my discussion as I don't know much. The first Indian minister was Henry Bird Steinhauer, he came from Ontario, he was my great-grandfather. The name Steinhauer came from a German family who raised him when both his parents died while he was very young. As he grew up and became educated, he entered college and university and then he became a minister. That is how come the German name. Then my great-grandfather left the east and made his way to the west. He stayed at Morley for a while, when he left there and came to Whitefish Lake. That is where he stayed until he died, he was also buried there.

Richard: You mentioned a place with a Cree name where he stayed for a while.

William Steinhauer: That is Pakan.

Julian Moses: It was also known as Victoriaville.

William Steinhauer: I had a book which gave a full history of him but I lost it. We have a lot of relatives in the east.

Richard: Prior to treaty a report reached the government which stated that the Indians were successful in growing gardens. Where did they learn to make gardens and grow things?

William Steinhauer: It was a brother-in-law of Steinhauer who was said to have used 6 or 8 Indians to pull a plow in cultivating the soil, but it did not state where they got these things.

Ralph Shirt: Yes, he was the one who started the cultivation of soil there. Plows are usually right handed but his was a left handed one. Some of the information was found on a paper in the agent's office. The paper was discovered beneath a tablecloth. I recall when I was young that almost every home would have vegetables, that is what Steinhauer brought here besides his preaching. The department used to give garden seeds but I don't remember them giving potato seed.

Richard: We can now discuss adhesions, how they came about after the treaty was signed?

Ralph Shirt: Can I add more on the part of religion since the question was brought up? From what I recall while I was young it was Steinhauer who was the first minister here and I believe there was another one by the name of McDougall. Those two were the first ministers here. From what I've been told by the elders there was no Catholic priest here. When Father Lacombe approached the Indians, he asked if he could build his church here. He was refused, he was told to leave because there were no Catholics here. If I am not telling the truth, the men here can correct me. My grandfather is quoted as saying, "If he builds his church here, I will burn it." So, it was Blue Quill who told him that he could build his church on the reserve. So that is where the school name also came from; the school was also built on his reserve. The same thing happened at Goodfish, he was allowed to live there. When I was a kid at Goodfish there was a priest whose name was Father Gumery and there was this minister over here. They were preaching to the people in each different denominations, they did not like each other. Then they worked together, and again they split but now it appears they are working together again. This happened at a funeral, the minister entered the church. So they are now working together.

Julian Moses: I will now talk about John McDougall as he was the first minister here. It is said that he froze to death, in a two-day blizzard.

Richard: Did the priest and minister help the Indian in any way?

Julian Moses: At first the priest and minister did not get along but it seems like that today they are on friendly terms.

Tom Cardinal: They created a lot of friction.

Max Houle: Even the Indians were separated; they didn't like one another. The Protestants didn't like the Catholics.

Chief Joe Cardinal: They may have done some good, but they were trying so hard to convert the Indians. Our religion to them meant we were praying to the devil. They said the Indian should not worship everything, but I guess they didn't understand our belief. And they tried very hard to change us. To them everything the Indian had done was bad; they called us

pagans.

Henry Cardinal: The Indian long ago was religious in his own way. He prayed in the morning and went around the camp praying. They knew of Sunday the day of worship and the Indians also knew Manitou. That was before the white man came, so they had some spiritual contact. That is what the priests were complaining about.

Julian Moses: We still, haven't answered the question about adhesions of the reserve.

Richard: Now we will discuss the adhesions. How come some people entered the treaty a year or so later after the treaty was made? How did that take place here?

Julian Moses: There were some people at Blue Quill, when they first received payment. There were Indians at many different places. It was during that time that scrip was also taken. By then the Indians were tame and Blue Quill moved here, he had asked for land here; their camp was small.

Max Houle: I had asked your dad about this (Julian Moses). He said that he was a young man when the white man came and offered scrip. An old man told them that one day they would go back to the reserves.

Julian Moses: My grandfather took scrip too, many of them did.

Ralph Shirt: My grandfather told me, my grandfather had a white man for a brother-in-law and he was convinced by him that he should take scrip. That is why he was a Metis.

Tom Cardinal: There is one thing that I would like to ask, about 1940 in the Slave Lake area there were many treaty Indians who were removed from the treaty lists. I'm wondering if that is what happened, were they forced to take scrip?

Henry Cardinal: That is why many were taken off treaty, because they all received treaty before. The same thing happened to the people in Lac la Biche. It was the Hudson's Bay people who encouraged the Indians to take scrip, because they would benefit from it in many ways. They knew the Indians would go for it. My mother told me that the people received \$1,000.00 each; she too received that much money. The Indians were cheated with dishonesty. It was different with the Metis, they had different hair styles. But many of them took treaty along with the Indians.

Max Houle. There are some Metis around Whiteford there, the Whitefords and Garrys and many others.

Richard: Before the treaty how could one tell an Indian from a Metis?

Henry Cardinal: That is what I said before, the Metis had hair

to the collar and the Indian had braids. The Metis who mostly came here from Winnipeg usually wore hats.

Richard: Did they speak Cree?

Henry Cardinal: Yes, they did, but it was slightly different. Many of them also lived at Andrew.

Ralph Shirt: I know that the Metis made a living in their own way. Like the Metis at Whiteford they are known as English halfbreeds, their names are Whiteford, Thompsons and Curries. Their home settlement was at Victoriaville at first, that place today is known as Pakan. The name was given in honor of the chief; Seenum had three names, Pakan was one of them. There were also French halfbreeds; they took land at St. Paul, (Blue Quill). And also there were the native halfbreeds, the ones who took scrip. That is what I know about it.

Julian Moses: Like Papaschase and Takkoch, they were Indians and they received treaty and lived on a reserve in Edmonton (Strathcona). They were Indians not Metis.

Richard: So there was adhesions here from three other areas?

Julian Moses: From two places, Washatanow and Pakan.

Tom Cardinal: My grandfather, old John Breretton, would know how their group came to be here, taken adhesion to it.

Julian Moses: There is the story of the Indian agent who beat up Bears Ears because he would not move from his reserve. It was later on that they amalgamated on this reserve.

Richard: How were the chiefs selected, the whiteman says that it was at the signing of the treaties that the chiefs were chosen?

William Steinhauer: Where there was a group of Indians there was always a chief.

Richard: How was he chosen?

Max Houle: He was made chief because he was known to be a brave man. If he was in a battle and if he came back all right, he would gain recognition.

Henry Cardinal: After the treaty was made a different system was used, that was the white man's idea.

Ralph Shirt: They weren't made chiefs when the treaty was signed. They had already been representing their people as headmen.

Julian Moses: Although he was a chief, he was still like the rest of the people, only when he was doing business, he played the role of chief.

Richard: When the commissioners first made the treaty, did the Indians request anything in return?

Julian Moses: If there was anything mentioned or written on paper, I'm wondering what it is. The Indian never had anything in his favor, it was always one-sided, when dealing with the white man.

Henry Cardinal: I don't think they were promised very much. My cousin told me that he was just a little boy when the government officials first arrived up north but they never concluded any business there. The next time they came, they came to a camp of about 600 tipis at Fort Carlton. That is where the treaty signing took place. But the Indians did not ask for anything; they were busy trying to understand what was happening. It was Erasmus who was the interpreter, there was also a minister there (he was the one who froze to death). That is when the government officials said, "If you fail our mother will help you. She has large breasts." There were many promises made, like it was understood, "If a whiteman's livestock enters your reserve you can deal with him in any way you want. Even just breaking a branch from a tree on the reserve, you can take action against him." It is true that the first payment was \$25.00, they were also paid for people who had been dead. The young men were borrowing up to 10 children from other families so they could get paid.

Richard: You say that the Indians didn't know the value of money, how come they were gathering large families when it was time to receive money?

Henry Cardinal: I don't know.

Julian Moses: I've heard they borrowed families, but that was in 1876. Surely they would have known money then.

Ralph Shirt: They knew the value of money.

Henry Cardinal: There wasn't very many stores around at the time, just the Hudson's Bay.

Julian Moses: It is said that the storekeepers followed the treaty as it came west.

Richard: Did the Indians ask that the animals be protected?

Julian Moses: It was stated they could continue to live with hunting and fishing without hindrance.

Ralph Shirt: There was a chief who said to the commissioners, "You will protect our animals for us," because he was aware of the buffalo disappearing.

Tom Cardinal: How were the chiefs decorated at the signing of the treaty? I heard they received flags and badges.

William Steinhauer: He had a flag and a badge, I've seen them. That is Pakan I'm talking about.

Tom Cardinal: How about animals, did they receive any?

Ralph Shirt: Yes, they did there used to be quite a few at Goodfish Lake. During the hungry 30s, here on the Saddle Lake Reserve almost every home had a cow, so the kids could get milk. There was an inspector here by the name of Smith. He also made the chief mad by what he said. The white people outside the reserve were given food supplies, and the chief went to ask him if the Indians could get food, as was stated in the treaty "when you are faced with hardship the Queen will assist you." The inspector did not help, he only said, "You are always wanting food, food." What happened then is that the Indian people ate all their cattle. Now there was a government employee who was asked to help the Indians in need; he did not do it. The people here received very little rations.

Henry Cardinal: They weren't even allowed to kill their own cattle.

Richard: Who was it that was with the crew that fenced the reserves?

Henry Cardinal: Yes, I was with the crew. During that time the people helped one another.

Richard: How did that come about, how were you selected to do that work?

Henry Cardinal: It was the chief's idea to try and protect his reserve because there were so many animals (domestic) on the outside belonging to the settlers. There was a minister who bought the fence wire, it was the cheapest grade.

Ralph Shirt: The Indians paid for the wire themselves; it did not come from the government. For the people who couldn't help in fencing, they donated the money for the wire. I was told about it, I didn't see it. That fence was repaired before the surrender and it was after the amalgamation.

Henry Cardinal: There are two lakes close to the reserve, we ran the fence line right in the middle of both of them.

Richard: The chief knew of the boundaries of his reserve?

Ralph Shirt: It was after the amalgamation of the reserve that the fence was made. I had asked the inspector about our reserve and also about Goodfish Lake. Maybe you people can find the map of the reserve which I had lost.

Tom Cardinal: It is said that when St. Brides was sold everybody received \$100.00.

Richard: Did the Indians want the treaty?

Henry Cardinal: I don't think so.

William Steinhauer: We all know that the white man is smart, he thinks far ahead to the future. They are not like us. They saw a great future in this land that is why they asked for it.

Richard: If they didn't give up the land how come they signed the treaty?

Julian Moses: It was the treaty promises they agreed to.

Richard: When they signed the treaty, what was their understanding about the treaty?

Julian Moses: The only way they would understand is by the interpretation, and I wonder if the interpreter was doing proper translation.

Richard: Does anyone know about the tar which is found in the north? Did the Indians make use of it?

Henry Cardinal: I don't know if they used it.

Richard: I will now stop the discussion. Thank you for talking to me.

(End of Interview)

#### PROPER NAME INDEX

PROPER NAME	IH NUMBER	DOC NAME	DISC #	PAGE #
BEAR EARS	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	29
BLUE QUILL	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	20,27,28
CRIER	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	20
ERASMUS, PETER	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	13,18,30
FORT CARLTON, SASK.	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	30
FORT PITT, SASK.	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	12
HOULE, ROBERT	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	19
LACOMBE, FR. ALBERT	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	25,26,27
MAKOKIS, THOMAS	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	20,21,24
MCDUGALL, REV. JOHN	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	27,30
PAKAN (SEENUM)	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	12,20, 23,29
STEINHAEUER, REV. HENRY BIRD	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	26,27
SWEETGRASS	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	13,14

#### INDEX

INDEX TERM	IH NUMBER	DOC NAME	DISC #	PAGE #
AGRICULTURE				

-gardening	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	26
BLUE QUILL RESERVE				
-amalgamation of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	20,23
BUFFALO				
-extinction of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	5
BUFFALO				
-hunting of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	3,8
CHIEFS AND CHIEFTAINSHIP				
-behavior of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	30
CHIEFS AND CHIEFTAINSHIP				
-qualifications for	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	29
CHILDREN				
-hunting by	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	6,7
CHILDREN				
-training of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	6
CLOTHING AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT				
-hair	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	29
CLOTHING AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT				
-pre-European	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	8
CONTAINERS AND UTENSILS				
-cooking	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	4
CONTAINERS AND UTENSILS				
-water bags	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	7
CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS				
-hunting code, violation of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	3
FISHING				
-techniques	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	9,11
FOOD				
-preparation of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	7
FOOD				
-preservation of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	4,11
FOOD				
-sharing of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	3
FOOD				
-traditional	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	2,8
GOODFISH LAKE RESERVE				
-relationship to Saddle Lake	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	23
HUNTING				
-code, violations of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	3
MISSIONARIES				
-attitudes toward	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	27
PAKAN RESERVE				
-relationship to Saddle Lake	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	23
PIPES AND SMOKING				
-significance of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	10
RESERVES				
-amalgamation of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	20,23,32

INDEX TERM	IH NUMBER	DOC NAME	DISC #	PAGE #
------------	-----------	----------	--------	--------

SADDLE LAKE RESERVE					
-land sale	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	19-22	
SADDLE LAKE RESERVE					
-amalgamations	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	20,23,32	
SCRIP					
-money	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	28	
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION					
-camp	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	3,8	
STORIES AND STORYTELLING (GENERAL)					
-spirits teach hunting techniques	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	9,10	
TOOLS					
-bone	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	7,8	
TRANSPORTATION					
-canoe	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	12	
TRANSPORTATION					
-pack dogs	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	11	
TRAPPING					
-techniques	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	3,11	
TREATY #6					
-interpretation of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	14-19,30,31,32	
TREATY #6					
-payment of treaty money	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	14,30	
TREATY #6					
-taking of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	12-14,30	
VALUES					
-honesty	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	6	
WASHATANOW RESERVE					
-amalgamation of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	29	
WEAPONS					
-bone	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	8	
WEAPONS					
-bow and arrow	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	8	
WEAPONS					
-stone	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	8	
WOMEN					
-work of	IH-220	SDL LK INTER	34	6	