

Wilfrid Laurier University

## Scholars Commons @ Laurier

---

Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive)

---

2018

# Writing Activism: Indigenous Newsprint Media in the Era of Red Power

Elizabeth Best  
bell0620@mylaurier.ca

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd>



Part of the [Canadian History Commons](#), and the [Indigenous Studies Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Best, Elizabeth, "Writing Activism: Indigenous Newsprint Media in the Era of Red Power" (2018). *Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive)*. 2003.  
<https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd/2003>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholars Commons @ Laurier. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive) by an authorized administrator of Scholars Commons @ Laurier. For more information, please contact [scholarscommons@wlu.ca](mailto:scholarscommons@wlu.ca).

Writing Activism: Indigenous Newsprint Media in the Era of Red Power

C. Elizabeth Best  
Master of Arts 2017

THESIS

Submitted to the Department of History

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for Master of Arts in History

Wilfrid Laurier University

© C. Elizabeth Best 2017

## **Abstract**

This thesis reconstructs Indigenous activism in the era of Red Power, 1972-1976, by examining three newspapers, the *Native Youth Movement (NYM)*, *The Native Voice (TNV)* and *The Native People (TNP)*. By linking these newspapers, the overarching themes of 1970s Indigenous activism are explored in order to understand the social conditions faced by young Indigenous people. Through a content analysis of these newspapers, the author examines questions such as: what were the living conditions of Indigenous people during the 1970s? What mattered most to the journalists and editors of these papers? What did Indigenous grassroots activism in Western Canada look like in this period? Indigenous men and women continue to face similar barriers in education, housing and drug and alcohol abuse. The decade in question informs our understanding of barriers today. On one hand, Indigenous people continue to make strides but on the other, the problems discussed in this paper have compounded to create new but related issues. In addition, this paper represents an important journey of self-development for the author who will one day build on the legacy of activists from the Red Power era.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my partner in crime, Jonathan Best, for his unconditional support. I appreciate Jon as my best friend, personal chef, chauffeur and my teammate.

I would like to thank my committee members, Doctor Susan Roy, Doctor Susan Neylan and my supervisor, Doctor Lianne Leddy. It was a wonderful experience having three female role models supporting me throughout this process.

I would also like to acknowledge the Ontario Graduate Scholarship (OGS) and the financial support I received from Wilfrid Laurier University. Without the financial support of the institution, this labour of love would not have been possible.

Special mentions go to Jane and Paul Best, Patrick Harrigan, Corri Arnold, Jean Becker and Rosie Best. No acknowledgement page would be complete without mentioning Rosie.

## Contents

Abstract	1
Acknowledgements	2
Abbreviations	4
List of Figures	5
Chapter 1 Introduction	6
Chapter 2 <i>Native Youth Movement:</i> Unity in Struggle – Brotherhood in Freedom	30
Chapter 3 <i>The Native Voice:</i> The Official Organ of the Native Brotherhood of B.C. and the RAVEN Society	56
Chapter 4 <i>The Native People:</i> Smoke Signals to Satellites	83
Chapter 5 Conclusion	118
Bibliography	123

## Abbreviations

AVC	Adult Vocational Centre
AHC	Alberta Housing Committee
ANCS	Alberta Native Communications Society
ANDCO	Alberta Native Development Corporation
AIM	American Indian Movement
ANSI	Association of Non-Status Indians
ATBC	Allied Tribes of British Columbia
BNA	British North America Act
CNFC	Canadian Native Friendship Centre
CMHC	Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation
FSI	Federation of Saskatchewan Indians
IBNWT	Indian Brotherhood of Northwest Territories
IFAB	Indian Fisherman's Advisory Board
IFAP	Indian Fishermen's Assistance Program
IRFIW	Indian Rights for Indian Women
NRHP	Native and Rural Housing Program
NBBC	Native Brotherhood of British Columbia
NBS	Native Brotherhood of Saskatchewan
NCC	Native Council of Canada
<i>NYM</i>	<i>Native Youth Movement</i>
NWAC	Native Women's Association of Canada
NIB	National Indian Brotherhood
NDP	New Democratic Party
NTC	Nishga Tribal Council
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MAA	Metis Association of Alberta
MSS	Metis Society of Saskatchewan
RAVEN	Radio and Visual Education Network
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
<i>TNV</i>	<i>The Native Voice</i>
<i>TNP</i>	<i>The Native People</i>
UFAWU	United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union
UBCIC	Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs

## **List of Figures**

Figure 1	Two warriors
Figure 2	Elder and quote
Figure 3	This is the white man's foot!
Figure 4	Handwritten title (unity needed)
Figure 5	<i>NYM</i> Executive and Council
Figure 6	Cutex will kill
Figure 7	Discovery Centre staff
Figure 8	Handwritten note
Figure 9	Diana and Bud Recalma at RAVEN radio
Figure 10	Frank Calder
Figure 11	Maisie and Guy Williams
Figure 12	Salmon strike headline
Figure 13	Ready for clearance
Figure 14	Joan Cranmer resigns headline
Figure 15	Quilt case under study headline
Figure 16	Nishga delegations to Ottawa
Figure 17	Angela Mah
Figure 18	Bonnyville Rehabilitation Centre
Figure 19	Stan Daniels M.A.A. President headline

## Chapter One: Introduction

Nelson Small Legs Junior was a militant activist who worked as the southern Alberta American Indian Movement (AIM) director, and in the late afternoon of 16 May 1976, his final act was a protest suicide. According to *the Native People*, a grassroots newspaper, he wrote three letters which were dated and addressed. The first letter was for his family outlining how he wanted his personal effects handled and where he hoped to be buried. The second letter was for Roy Littlechild and Ed Burnstick, who were Nelson's colleagues in the American Indian Movement (AIM). The third letter was addressed to "the people."<sup>1</sup> According to journalists at the time, this protest suicide would "open the eyes of non-Indians" to the suffering of Indigenous people.<sup>2</sup> Nelson took his life in protest of the Canadian government "for its treatment of Indians for the past 100 years."<sup>3</sup> In the other letters he demanded a formal investigation into the federal department of Indian Affairs and for the resignation of the minister, Judd Buchanan.

Roy Littlechild said Nelson's death "blushed and shamed both Indians and non-Indians" and somebody would have to pay for his death.<sup>4</sup> The matter was even discussed in the House of Commons. Responding to Wally Firth, a Member of Parliament with the New Democratic Party (NDP), Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau said he "respected" Nelson's commitment to a cause and would "regard [the suicide] as a very serious matter indeed."<sup>5</sup>

Indigenous grassroots activism of the 1970s is the bedrock of modern movements. This thesis attempts to reconstruct the story of Indigenous activism from 1972 to 1976 with a

---

<sup>1</sup> Wendy Gray and Sam Erasmus, "A.I.M. Leader Stages Protest Suicide," *The Native People*, May 21, 1976, sec. Front Page.

<sup>2</sup> Gray and Erasmus.

<sup>3</sup> Gray and Erasmus.

<sup>4</sup> Clint Buehler, "Nelson Small Legs Jr. Remembered," *The Native People*, May 21, 1976, 4.

<sup>5</sup> "Trudeau Promises Probe of Complaints in Letters," *The Native People*, May 21, 1976.



comparative content analysis of sources produced by grassroots activism and asks: What were the living conditions of Indigenous people during the 1970s? What was the state of western First Nations activism in the era of red power? The newspapers examined in this study provided me with a sense of pride in Indigenous identity and an understanding of regional and national issues which we, as Indigenous people, struggle against today.

Chapter one examines the interests of the radical youth movement based in Saskatchewan and their short-lived circular, the *Native Youth Movement (NYM)*. The Native Youth Movement was run by young Indigenous men who were exploring, in most cases, new found agency. Their paper was rudimentary, focusing on identity formation and artistic works which explored alcohol and drug abuse, incarceration rates and activism on the ground. It is unclear when the *Native Youth Movement* was first created or how long the publication ran. More research is needed to find more issues of the newsletter.

Chapter two focuses on the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia (NBBC) and their monthly newsletter *The Native Voice (TNV)* which outlined the concerns of coastal peoples. The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia was formed in 1930 in response to repressive measures entrenched in the Indian Act. The Native Brotherhood used their monthly paper to disseminate information relating to fisheries, activism and they provided updates on the actions of the NBBC. Their leaders were well-known for the role they played in long standing Indigenous activist organizations in Canada. Readers of *The Native Voice* were fishermen and associated industry workers who were interested in organizing and relating to activism on a broad scale. These readers sustained a long-lasting publication from the 1950s well into 1980. The 1970s was a revitalization of the organization as an increased membership of the Native Brotherhood successfully negotiated protections for Indigenous fishermen and shoreworkers such as fair

wages and recognition in the industry. The Brotherhood members helped support the second wind of *The Native Voice* in the 1970s.

Lastly, the Alberta Native Communications Society (ANCS) and their weekly publication called *The Native People (TNP)* was examined as a contrast to the militancy of Indigenous youth of the time and regionalism which *The Native Voice* relied on. Established in 1966, the Alberta Native Communications Society began as a radio show but quickly branched into print. *The Native People* began each issue with their motto, “from smoke signals to satellites” and provided a left-of-center political point of view. As Canada’s first weekly newspaper, *TNP* included as many stories as possible from across Canada in all areas including activism. This third newspaper worked to include all viewpoints from all of Canada’s provinces and territories, however, they were clearly pro-Albertan in their scope. As a result, this last newspaper successfully indicated issues that were most important to their province and this will be the focus of chapter three. The contribution of this examination is to connect three grassroots newspapers which have not previously been linked.

I chose these papers because the content was sourced by Indigenous journalists for an Indigenous audience during the formative years of young activists, roughly around the same age as I am now. I was inspired by the implications of a protest suicide and what it meant about the social conditions facing Indigenous people in the 1970s. The over-arching activism contained in each circular is similar but the organizations each paper represented dictated the tone of each publication. This project is a reflection of the most important issues discussed in western Canada’s Indigenous newsprint during the 1970s. More specifically, these newspapers were chosen to recreate the conditions which convinced an activist to stage his protest suicide in 1976. The time period, 1972-1976, was chosen to provide a content analysis of the issues which may

have influenced a young, twenty year old man to take his life. Each of the newspapers included lend themselves to larger and more expansive projects. For the purposes of this paper, the images in each newspaper are not the focus of the content analysis.

This project started because I wanted to base my Indigenous identity in pride. These newspapers taught me the names of leaders, journalists, social workers and grassroots activists who worked hard to encourage young people like myself to pursue higher education. I have felt hope and despair to varying degrees. The push and pull between hope and despair often played out in the source material and I hope that dichotomy is displayed here. The failures and tragedies have been outlined as a reminder that real change is an everyday struggle shared among all self-identified Indigenous peoples.

These three newspapers reflect the larger goals of 1970s Indigenous activism. It becomes immediately apparent that each region, demographic, gender, tribe, band, status or non-status group of Indigenous people had their own interests based on their own histories, needs and concerns for the future. However, all three of these papers had the same basic aim: to reach more Indigenous people and inform them of the positive and negative aspects of our lives as a minority. The 1970s was a period of self-help and internal organization. Desires to improve Indigenous housing, education, regional problems as well as a desire to unite are prevalent in these circulars. Indigenous men and women continue to face similar barriers in education, housing and drug and alcohol abuse. The decade in question informs my understanding of barriers today. On one hand, Indigenous people continue to make strides but on the other, the problems discussed in this paper have compounded to create new but related issues.

## **Historiography**

Activism for the protection, and improvement of Aboriginal or Indigenous<sup>6</sup> rights has been constant whether at the grassroots or institutional level. Indigenous people participated in activism against an oppressive Canadian state by embracing culture despite a multitude of influencing factors to the contrary. However, domination sponsored by the Canadian government remained infuriatingly effective. Programs such as forced enfranchisement,<sup>7</sup> residential schools<sup>8</sup>, the pass system, out marriage<sup>9</sup> and the Sixties Scoop<sup>10</sup> have contributed as policies of assimilation sponsored by the Canadian state. Assimilation has “been the priority of every government of Canada since Confederation.”<sup>11</sup> Assimilation was an effort to amalgamate with

---

<sup>6</sup> Activists in the 1970s would not have used the word ‘Indigenous’ however this term will be used in this paper based on the modern reliance on self-identification under the wide umbrella of ‘Indigenous’ peoples. In this paper, ‘Indigenous’ refers to First Nations (status and non-status), Inuit and Metis people. The term Indigenous has become popular based on the protections listed in the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People (2007). For the purposes of this essay, the terms ‘Native’, ‘Indian’ and ‘Aboriginal’ will be used interchangeably in the historical sense, based on the lexicon used in secondary sources and the source base, *Native Youth Movement*, *The Native People* and *The Native Voice*

For more information on terminology, please see the following books for their thoughts regarding language: Thomas King, *An Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (Canada: Anchor Canada, 2012); Bonita Lawrence, “Real” *Indians and Others* *Mixed Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Bradley Shreve G., *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011).

<sup>7</sup> Michael Posluns W., *Speaking with Authority: The Emergence of the Vocabulary of First Nations’ Self-Government* (New York: Routledge, n.d.), 59.

<sup>8</sup> Murray Sinclair, *Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools: They Came for the Children* (Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012), [http://www.myrobust.com/websites/trcinstitution/File/2039\\_T&R\\_eng\\_web\[1\].pdf](http://www.myrobust.com/websites/trcinstitution/File/2039_T&R_eng_web[1].pdf).

<sup>9</sup> Joanne Barker, “Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women’s Activism,” *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 7, no. 1 (2006): 127–61.

<sup>10</sup> Patrick Johnston, *Native Children and the Child Welfare System*, 1983, [http://books2.scholarsportal.info.libproxy.wlu.ca/viewdoc.html?id=/ebooks/ebooks0/gibson\\_crk n/2010-12-16/1/10220619](http://books2.scholarsportal.info.libproxy.wlu.ca/viewdoc.html?id=/ebooks/ebooks0/gibson_crk n/2010-12-16/1/10220619).

<sup>11</sup> Marie Smallface Marule, “The Canadian Government’s Termination Policy From 1969 to the Present Day,” in *One Century Later* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), 103.

Indigenous people with European Canadians and western market conditions.<sup>12</sup> In addition, regional differences between groups or factions impacted the importance attached to specific issues such as treaties, traditional hunting/fishing rights, the Indian Act, and social problems related to poverty, just to list a few. To lump all Indigenous groups together is a mistake but activism successfully brought many groups together. The success or failure of advocacy movements in Canada rested on the degree to which individuals could agree on the issues. Regional differences remained the most important marker between Indigenous people in Canada throughout the twentieth century. Specific arrangements between groups and the Canadian government still remain at odds with a national campaign for equal rights. The timeline created by historians<sup>13</sup> regarding the origins of Indigenous activism will be discussed in this section. Historians of the contact period tracked passive activism while others pinpoint overt advocacy to the post-war period as the beginning of national movements.<sup>14</sup> This paper is couched in the history of the Red Power movement.<sup>15</sup> However, there was “never a time since the beginning of colonial conquest when Indian people were not resisting” oppression.<sup>16</sup> For the purposes of this paper, the time period that is examined aligns with the height of circulation for three regional

---

<sup>12</sup> Hugh Shewell, “Dreaming in Liberal White: Canadian Indian Policy, 1913-2013,” in *Aboriginal History: A Reader*, Second (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2016), 185.

<sup>13</sup> Harold Cardinal, “Hat in Hand: The Long Fight to Organize,” in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Harold Cardinal, *The Rebirth of Canada’s Indians* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977); Arthur Manuel, *Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-Up Call* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015); Noel Dyck, *What Is the “Indian Problem”: Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

<sup>14</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*, 3rd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> Daniel Cobb M., *Native Activism in Cold War America* (Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2008); Daniel Cobb M. and Fowler, eds., *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since 1900* (Santa Fe: Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research, 2007).

<sup>16</sup> George Manuel, *The Fourth World* (New York: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd, 1974), 69.

newspapers: *Native Youth Movement*, *The Native Voice* and *The Native People*. These newspapers reflected efforts to organize by highlighting topical issues of the 1970s.

At the turn of the twentieth-century, the relationship between Indigenous populations and settlers was marginally more amicable than the early settler period. In his book, *What is the 'Indian Problem'*, Noel Dyck dissected the misunderstandings between settlers and First Peoples from a twentieth-century standpoint. According to this scholar, twentieth-century misunderstanding of Indigenous peoples by Europeans was “a shared belief that Indians are the cause of their own misfortune because they have not assimilated themselves into Canadian society.”<sup>17</sup> Discussions between settlers and Indigenous peoples have started and stopped because historical responsibility remains a point of contention. For example, relations between Indigenous men and women have been a point of contention throughout the twentieth century. Noel Dyck’s major contribution to the discussion on the rise of Indigenous activism was to state that “the tutelage that Canadian Indians have experienced has been based neither upon a contractual agreement nor a negotiated understanding but upon the power of one side to regulate the behaviour of the other in accordance with a set of unilaterally selected purposes.”<sup>18</sup> What Indian Affairs administrators failed to realize in the early twentieth century was that the ‘Indian problem’ was not an inherent condition, but an underlying premise of a relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. On the flip side, this inherent knowledge contributed to what can be described as passive resistance. Dyck explained the rise of activism by illustrating the lifelong message of assimilation that the Canadian government created under the guise of the Indian Act. Based on the passages of the Indian Act, government agency created a situation in

---

<sup>17</sup> Noel Dyck, *What is the 'Indian Problem': Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration*, (St. John’s: Memorial University Press, 1991), 2.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

which Indigenous peoples were encouraged “to become worthwhile as individuals [by changing] the particular manner advocated by their tutelage agents.”<sup>19</sup> Refusal to adhere to the outlined manner of living was a sign that ‘Indians’ resisted the tutelage of government policies, despite force, poverty and societal marginalization. The fact that Indigenous identity continues to exist into the twenty-first century proves that passive resistance continues to be an important form of activism.

The first two decades of the twentieth century were marked by petitions and delegations sent to Ottawa or Britain to petition the King for Indigenous rights and land claims.<sup>20</sup> This first stage of activism was marked by protest through small, local units. Early Indigenous organizations were influenced by missionary efforts which often introduced factions along religious on top of regional differences. For example, a prominent movement in British Columbia placed the Squamish people in the national spotlight as they advocated for the protection of their land. In the southern coastal regions such as Victoria and Vancouver, Indigenous land “was sold to make way for expanding cities.”<sup>21</sup> In 1915, the first intertribal organization, the Allied Tribes of British Columbia (ATBC) was created to settle Indigenous land claims in a concerted, province-wide effort. The efforts of previously isolated events convinced Andrew Paull, a Squamish man from North Vancouver, to organize land claim activism across British Columbia. In combination with the onset of global war, Indigenous men and women across Canada recognized the opportunity to prove themselves worthy of equality. Important advances in Indigenous activism in the twentieth century involved Indigenous

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>20</sup> E. Palmer Patterson II, “Andrew Paull and the Early History of British Columbia Indian Organizations,” in *One Century Later* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), 43.

<sup>21</sup> Patterson II, 49.

veterans.<sup>22</sup> At the beginning of World War I, “Indians” were not actively recruited into the military due to deprivation of the franchise. As wards of the Crown, status Indians were not expected to join the European war. However, when recruitment on reserves began in late 1915, battalions successfully recruited Indigenous men despite previous concerns surrounding the legality of such actions.<sup>23</sup> As can be expected, communities responded differently to the call-to-arms. Ontario and Quebec were the main contributors of Indigenous soldiers. In the end, members of the Blackfoot Confederacy, Cree, Ojibway, Iroquois, Sioux, Delaware and Mi’kmaq signed on to contribute to the action at the front.<sup>24</sup> Canadians of European descent applauded these brave and patriotic men as settler volunteers became harder and harder to find. During the war many believed that this show of solidarity would translate into a post-war move away from French, British and “Indian” identities to become “Canadians pure and simple.”<sup>25</sup> This was not the case. Crown appropriation of reserve lands continued unabated and participation in Europe did nothing to mitigate the negative effects of the Indian Act such as marrying out for women. Marrying out was a policy of assimilation which took status from Indigenous women and her children if she married a non-status man. Indigenous veterans arriving home from World War I found they were not eligible for the same programs or compensation as their settler counterparts unless they left reserves permanently. Indigenous peoples had “substantiated fears of losing their Indian status and attached rights guaranteed by treaty and government obligations.”<sup>26</sup> To non-Indigenous onlookers, this lack of consideration was unfair, resulting in a show of solidarity behind veterans in general, and for the first time, behind Indigenous communities. Petitions to

---

<sup>22</sup> Timothy Winegard, *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the First World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 60.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 154.



the government were circulated. These petitions demanded the immediate cease of Crown appropriation of land and demands for equal treatment. In response, the government hid behind options which ensured enfranchised “Indians” received veteran compensation. However, by 1921 only 227 Indigenous people agreed to give up their rights and move off reserve under the Indian Act. Of the Indigenous people who opted for enfranchisement most were from Ontario with 212 from the Six Nations reserve.<sup>27</sup> Passive resistance continued but so did overt activism as “Indian veterans were instrumental in the creation of the first nationwide Indian political organization — The League of Indians of Canada.”<sup>28</sup> This League denounced inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, and called for a Canadian-British political forum. The principles of self-determination began to show up in dialogue uniting Indigenous groups across Canada. However, Indigenous women were excluded from these conversations.

After World War I, protest and activism on a provincial basis became more and more widespread. This success threatened the federal government of Canada. Under the direction of Duncan Campbell Scott, subjugation, repression and tutelage were entrenched in the Indian Act.<sup>29</sup> For each successful push against oppressive federal regulations, there were setbacks, which invoked civil disability which is the condition of a person who has had their rights or privilege revoked.<sup>30</sup> For example, on 26 July 1923, the McKenna-McBride commission published their recommendations. Among other things, this report took lucrative land away from reserves.<sup>31</sup> The McKenna-McBride commission convinced the federal government that

---

<sup>27</sup> Winegard, *For King and Kanata*, 158.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>29</sup> Shewell, “Dreaming in Liberal White: Canadian Indian Policy, 1913-2013,” 186.

<sup>30</sup> Posluns, *Speaking with Authority: The Emergence of the Vocabulary of First Nations’ Self-Government*, 69.

<sup>31</sup> Eric Jamieson, *The Native Voice: The Story of How Maisie Hurley and Canada’s First Aboriginal Newspaper Changed A Nation* (Halfmoon Bay: Caitlin Press, 2016), 39.

Indigenous land claims were a threat. These civil disabilities did not stop land claims, but “immediate causes of poverty with the onset of the Great Depression” became a primary focus of Indigenous activists.<sup>32</sup> Additionally, in 1927, the first Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons briefly considered the land claim of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia. This committee recommended a \$10,000 grant yearly but the federal government amended the Indian Act to criminalise the hiring of lawyers to fight land claims in court.<sup>33</sup> In addition, Indigenous children were compelled to attend residential schools and their parents were confined to reserves in order to isolate and destroy Indigenous culture and relationships.<sup>34</sup> Petitions, delegations and protests were instrumental in defining Indigenous consciousness during the implementation of these new laws. The repressive measures of 1927 forced Indigenous culture and protest underground but increased the importance of large, connected organizations. Subsequently, the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA) and the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians (FSI) were created, as significant differences still existed between men and women. For example, Indigenous women were subjected to gender discrimination under the Indian Act. Gender discrimination took the form of out-marriage which referred to the denial of status under the Indian Act for women who married non-status men. Conversely, Indigenous men who married non-Indigenous women were not affected. In fact, the wives of non-Indigenous men would gain status.<sup>35</sup> A national organization was too large to accommodate all interests at this time. Although there were few initial benefits, this period set precedents for assemblies “and it showed Indian Affairs that Indians had the education, motivation and aptitude to challenge

---

<sup>32</sup> Manuel, *The Fourth World*, 95.

<sup>33</sup> Patterson II, “Andrew Paull and the Early History of British Columbia Indian Organizations,” 50.

<sup>34</sup> Shewell, “Dreaming in Liberal White: Canadian Indian Policy, 1913-2013,” 187.

<sup>35</sup> Barker, “Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women’s Activism,” 130.

government policies.”<sup>36</sup> This stage of activism created the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia (NBBC) and set the stage for various communication networks run by Indigenous activists. For example, RAVEN (Radio and Video Education Network) was created in 1931. The vocabulary that underground activists developed in response to the Indian Act relied on grassroots organizations and survived well into the 1970s.

Despite many hardships, there were a number of successful movements in the post-World War II era. For example, Indigenous activists went head-to-head with the federal government for the right to vote. The 1947 Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons heard testimony from Indigenous leaders. These leaders reviewed essential amendments to the Indian Act such as band control over reserve land, the federal franchise and more.<sup>37</sup> However policy rhetoric, as it related to Indigenous people, did not change.<sup>38</sup> In the summer of 1959, the Aboriginal Native Rights Committee came together as an amalgamation of older groups which agreed to work together. The right to vote was successfully secured in 1960.<sup>39</sup> However, these achievements “contributed to the normalization and legitimization of Indian male privilege within band government” at the expense of the rights of Indigenous women.<sup>40</sup>

The next stage of Indigenous activism is the well-studied period of the 1960s, labelled Red Power. Leftist scholar Bryan Palmer covered Red Power as a chapter of his cumulative work *The 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*. Although Palmer’s main thesis revolves around Canadian identity on the whole, he asserted that “after the stagnate 1950s, Indians in

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>37</sup> Jamieson, *The Native Voice: The Story of How Maisie Hurley and Canada’s First Aboriginal Newspaper Changed A Nation*, 79.

<sup>38</sup> Posluns, *Speaking with Authority: The Emergence of the Vocabulary of First Nations’ Self-Government*, 63.

<sup>39</sup> Posluns, 63.

<sup>40</sup> Barker, “Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women’s Activism,” 133.

Canada came to see their struggles against colonialism, one that linked them to upheavals of peoples of colour around the world.”<sup>41</sup> He viewed the sixties as an era of youthful assertion of native rights that mimicked civil rights movements in the United States. This tumultuous era saw the creation of the Ontario Grand Indian Council (OGIC), the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia (NBBC), the North American Indian Brotherhood (NAIB) as well as the rebirth of Metis organizations in Alberta.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the decade of the 1960s was a period of consultation with Indigenous peoples. Between 1959 and 1961, yet another Joint Committee explored the Indian Act and again recommended a land claims commission in order to “lessen Indian dependence on government.”<sup>43</sup> Additionally, Harry B. Hawthorn was appointed by the federal government to explore the conditions of Indigenous peoples. His report appeared in 1966 and listed 155 recommendations. The Hawthorn Report supported the Indian Act but with changes which were well received by Indigenous leaders.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, the federal government disregarded such commissions and consultation reports in favour of abolishing the Indian Act and special status for Indigenous people. The *Statement of Government of Canada on Indian Policy* or the White Paper created an uproar in 1969. Indigenous people were betrayed by the federal government and rightfully angry. Leaders became more assertive about self-government and Indigenous rights.<sup>45</sup>

According to legal scholar John Borrows, the 1960s changed the relationship between white Canadians and Indians. This change came about because the conception that colonization

---

<sup>41</sup> Bryan Palmer, *1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 377.

<sup>42</sup> Palmer, *1960s*, 377.

<sup>43</sup> Sally Weaver M., *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 13.

<sup>44</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason and William Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*, Second Edition (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 250.

<sup>45</sup> Shewell, “Dreaming in Liberal White: Canadian Indian Policy, 1913-2013,” 191.

was “not a strong place to rest the foundations of Canada’s laws” and this concept was accepted by Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics and legal experts.<sup>46</sup> Underlying tensions began to gain public attention due to the legacy of the 1960s. Borrows supports this claim by examining the ramifications of the context of treaty-making in the colonial period: English settlers adhered to Indigenous traditions when negotiating. Furthermore, there was no “formal extinguished rights of Indians in Canada by discovery, occupation, prescription or conquest therefore native rights can be viewed as retaining their force.”<sup>47</sup> If anything, treaties made with ‘natives’ should be legally examined as the “inter-societal framework in which first laws intermingle with imperial laws to foster peace and order across communities.”<sup>48</sup> Borrows’ contribution supports this study because his analysis explains the numerous articles and reports which were circulated in grassroots newspapers.

The post-war period and the 1960s contrasted one another because the days of circulated petitions were over. Requests for paper promises were replaced by a radical youth movement in response to failed attempts of the federal government to solve the ‘Indian problem’ with the White Paper.<sup>49</sup> *Citizens Plus*, otherwise known as The Red Paper, was the most important legacy of the 1960s as it was a point-by-point rebuttal to the White Paper. The Red Paper proposed resolution of “the ‘Indian problem’ through dialogue, reform, [and] state commitment to lift deplorable reserve conditions.” These resolutions were adopted by the National Brotherhood of

---

<sup>46</sup> John Borrows, *Canada's Indigenous Constitution*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 14.

<sup>47</sup> Borrows, *Canada's Indigenous Constitution*, 21.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> “Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy,” Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1969), [http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/inac-ainc/indian\\_policy-e/cp1969\\_e.pdf](http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/inac-ainc/indian_policy-e/cp1969_e.pdf).

Indians and presented to the Prime Minister on behalf of all Indian interests in Canada.<sup>50</sup> The Red Paper was instrumental in the transfer of “the administration of programs designed to foster integration to the bands while permitting” Indigenous people to maintain separate identities.<sup>51</sup> This was a singular historical moment because it was “the first time in Canadian history that Indians developed and presented their own statement” to the country.<sup>52</sup>

Harold Cardinal published a comprehensive response to the failed 1969 White Paper in which he dismantled his generation’s frustration with entrenched racism. According to Cardinal, the attempts to organize in the 1920s suffered from a lack of communication and the actions of the Indian agent.<sup>53</sup> As a result, the thirties and forties were characterized by successful provincial organizations which developed in “parallel but isolated circumstances” across Canada.<sup>54</sup> These organizations helped develop ties between isolated communities which led to increased cooperation. Harold Cardinal represented his generation in tone and in leadership at the national level. His scathing indictment set the stage for a new generation of activists. His first book was published in 1969 which sets the stage for the discussion of this thesis project. Cardinal’s view of Indigenous identity was influential and his rhetoric was often emulated by up and coming activists. He inspired many grassroots activists with his adamant position that ‘Indians’ deserved to be proud of ‘Indian-ness.’<sup>55</sup> Cardinal was an advocate of Indigenous-run organizations. For him, “if the situation of the Canadian Indian [was] to be altered, even alleviated, the central issue [was] the degree of sophistication that we can develop in creating

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 407.

<sup>51</sup> Shewell, “Dreaming in Liberal White: Canadian Indian Policy, 1913-2013,” 191.

<sup>52</sup> Ian Getty A.L. and Donald Smith B., eds., *One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), 126.

<sup>53</sup> Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1969), 98.

<sup>54</sup> Cardinal, 99.

<sup>55</sup> Cardinal, 25.

organizations which are Indian controlled and representative” at the community level.<sup>56</sup> In reference to the debates over the White Paper, Cardinal mentioned advisory councils which were used by the Indian Affairs Department to “persuade those Indians on the council that the scheme actually had been created by them.”<sup>57</sup> Cardinal stated that misunderstandings between various groups stemmed from the fact “that there never have been any precise translations between the Indian and white languages,” an issue that underlined the ‘Canadian’ identity crisis of the 1960s.<sup>58</sup> Additionally, Cardinal explained the splintering of various groups in the post-war period as a result of fear that government would terminate its relationship with Indian people—a fear that was realized in 1969. Finally, the most important factor negatively affecting political organization was intense poverty of Indians across Canada; “our people were so poor that they are cutting right to the bone for pure survival.”<sup>59</sup> Cardinal established the 1970s as a future which would “rest in qualified but brown hands and that no gentle old man will have to sit, hat in hand, all day in any office at the whim of a petty bureaucrat.”<sup>60</sup> Cardinal’s second book was influential because he articulated anger, frustration and betrayal while he advocated for hope in the future. He successfully outlined the grievances of the past while standing up in the present as an activist. Unfortunately, Cardinal’s position excluded women. It was the opinion of many male, Indigenous leaders that equality between men and women was a threat to sovereignty. As a result, the Indian Rights for Indian Women (IRIW) and the Native Women’s Association of Canada (NWAC) came together to secure “a repeal of the status provisions of the Indian Act.”<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Cardinal, 97.

<sup>57</sup> Cardinal, 104.

<sup>58</sup> Harold Cardinal, *The Rebirth of Canada’s Indians*, (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977), 11.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>60</sup> Cardinal, *The Unjust Society*, 107.

<sup>61</sup> Barker, “Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women’s Activism,” 136.

The introduction of the White Paper in 1969 provided Indigenous people with an easily identifiable adversary and political organization became more and more popular. Harold Cardinal's work is central to this study because the time period, 1972-1976 is located between his first and second book. The narrative that follows reflects Harold Cardinal's method which articulated a thin line between anger and hope.

In addition to the Red Paper, the landmark *Calder* case and the *Indian Control of Indian Education* policy paper marked the 1970s as an important decade of activism. In 1973, the Canadian government recognized that Aboriginal title existed in Canadian law and a process for settlement was finally established.<sup>62</sup> The *Calder* case made it clear that "the Crown has legally binding obligations towards Aboriginal peoples in Canada."<sup>63</sup> Control of Indigenous education was an important step forward in protecting the future. Indigenous input in designing, implementation, training and hiring became an important topic of conversation in the 1970s.<sup>64</sup> At the same time, the rights of Indigenous women became more prominent on the national stage. Due to the efforts of Indigenous women such as Jeannette Vivian Corbiere, Yvonne Bedard and Sandra Lovelace, equality between the sexes was recognized in Canadian law. These women and their supporters mounted court case after court case before the Supreme Court of Canada and the Human Rights Commission without the support of male Indigenous leaders. Throughout the 1970s, Indigenous organizations representing women fought against discriminatory practices and

---

<sup>62</sup> Shewell, "Dreaming in Liberal White: Canadian Indian Policy, 1913-2013," 192.

<sup>63</sup> John Borrows, "Let Obligations Be Done," in *Let Right Be Done* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 202.

<sup>64</sup> Shewell, "Dreaming in Liberal White: Canadian Indian Policy, 1913-2013," 192.



policies which had the backing of the National Indian Brotherhood and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.<sup>65</sup>

The final two decades of the twentieth century have been marked by increased participation in new political organization and an increased presence in post-secondary institutions by Indigenous youth across Canada. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development implemented a greater range of programs in Indigenous communities throughout the last two decades of the twentieth century. The Native Women's Association and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada were established during this time. These two groups had not previously been represented nationally. Subsequently, the practice of marrying out was abolished by Bill C-31 1985.<sup>66</sup> Previous to 1985, it was common practice to remove status from Indigenous women who married men who did not have Indian status. Government programs to increase political organization, self-determination and post-secondary education took root in this period.<sup>67</sup>

However, some critics point out that band administrations emulated state agencies in order to terminate the relationship between Indigenous people and the crown. The Native Indian Brotherhood, now known as the Assembly of First Nations, continued to "press its case for greater autonomy and self-government"<sup>68</sup> at the expense of gender equality. For example, women were excluded from the conferences in the 1980s which discussed amendments to the Constitution Act. Women were used as scapegoats, by male Indigenous leaders in order to

---

<sup>65</sup> Barker, "Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women's Activism," 139.

<sup>66</sup> Joyce Green, *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism* (Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2007), <http://www.oneca.com/IndianControlofIndianEducation.pdf>.

<sup>67</sup> Manuel, *Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-Up Call*.

<sup>68</sup> Shewell, "Dreaming in Liberal White: Canadian Indian Policy, 1913-2013," 191.

further their sovereignty agenda.<sup>69</sup> Despite these setbacks, Sandra Lovelace and her supports successfully petitioned the Human Rights Commission which “found Canada in violation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights because the Indian Act denied” Indigenous women equal treatment under the law.<sup>70</sup> A gender equity clause was provided under Section 35 (1) and the Indian Act was amended with Bill C-31 by 1985. Out-marriage was reversed retroactively which reinstated status under the Indian Act for women who had previously lost special rights as Indigenous people.<sup>71</sup>

Alan Cairns documented the 1990s as an important era for the “language of nationalism was widespread” whereas prior to the 1960s, there had previously been a struggle to gain equal footing with white Canadians.<sup>72</sup> Cairns labels the 1960s as the period of *Citizens Plus*—an attempt to be considered equal with additional privileges. The movement towards nation-to-nation negotiations with the Canadian government were cemented in the *Constitution Act, 1982* as ‘Aboriginal’ rights became entrenched. The key word is ‘Aboriginal’ rights, as have been referred to throughout this paper. This development is significant because Indian, non-Indian, Metis, off-reserve, on-reserve, Inuit and others were officially amalgamated into one cohesive group: Aboriginal in the years following the repatriation of the constitution in 1982. This sparked an interest in legal professions because a new jurisdiction was created.<sup>73</sup> However, a paradox was created:

---

<sup>69</sup> Barker, “Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women’s Activism,” 140.

<sup>70</sup> Barker, 140.

<sup>71</sup> Barker, 146.

<sup>72</sup> Alan Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), 169.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

The reality, which the composition of Parliament conceals, is that the recognition of Aboriginal organizations as advocates of their peoples is both because of the limited overt presence of indigenous Canadians in Parliament and their status as voting citizens, which symbolizes their inclusion. Status Indians did not bargain nation-to-nation when they lacked the franchise.<sup>74</sup>

The implications of this paradox have continued into the twenty-first century. Cairns put forth the idea that parliamentary representation of “Indians” in the federal government is a result of the small Indigenous population and is filled by Indigenous organizations. We are still stuck between Canadian society and Indigenous organizations. Cairns advocated working within the larger Canadian system as a way forward for our people. The push and pull between those outside and those within the system continues to that exist within the Indigenous community.<sup>75</sup> This is just one suggestion for the future of activism. However, this paper will discuss the importance of grassroots activism and identity for modern Indigenous people. Not all activists would have agreed that working within the system is the best way forward.

### **Locating Myself and Methodology**

These stories and newspapers are connected through me. Part of the historical method that I have been taught in university is to prescribe a meaning outside of myself to the sources I am looking at. However, Indigenous methodologies allow and encourage me to situate myself in my work, something that I now understand to be necessary and impossible to work around. Therefore, I have tried my best to meet the standards of the university but also incorporate my

---

<sup>74</sup> Cairns, *Citizens Plus*, 172

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

own feelings and understanding of the stories in order to portray a cohesive narrative of grassroots activism in the 1970s. The following thesis project is a content analysis of three sets of newspapers which were published in different regions of Canada between 1972 and 1976. I chose a content analysis methodology because I was searching for identity. Content analysis is the most compatible and relatable concept to Indigenous methodologies. I leaned heavily on the holistic research approach advocated by Indigenous scholars which means that the researcher is part of the material and vice versa.<sup>76</sup>

These newspapers have become part of my journey in finding my identity as an Indigenous person and as an activist. If nothing else, this paper has been instrumental to my understanding of activism in my culture. The people, topics and stories discussed in this paper created a support network for me because the grassroots movements of the 1970s are responsible for the opportunities that I have been presented. I continue to attribute The Native Youth Movement's newspaper as a critical expression of the feelings I have had when I was finally free to experience my culture. Reading their calls for unity and pride were instrumental in accepting my past as part of an Indigenous life experience.

For a long time I thought it was inappropriate to identify as Metis. I grew up moving from home to home, family to family and province to province. The first seven years of my life were spent in Saskatchewan's foster care system. I lived with a few different families before the adults around me decided that I would be adopted. I gained two sisters and two brothers but I lost all pride in being a Metis person. I never felt comfortable asking the Bell family about my past because I was told that I was in foster care because my teenage mother was an alcoholic. I was

---

<sup>76</sup> Kathleen Absolon, *Kaandossiwin : How We Come to Know* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2011); Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2008); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Twelfth Impression (New York: St Martin's Press, 2008).

not told this information in a kind and understanding way but in a manner that made me feel ashamed. One particularly prominent memory I have was being told that if it were not for the Bell family, I would have become a prostitute on the street corner. This sort of negative conception of Indigenous people was the atmosphere that surrounded me. I grew up thinking that Metis people were incompetent parents due to inherent alcoholism and there was little hope for my brother and I in the future because that sort of failure was in the blood. I remember vowing to myself that I would never drink or do drugs and I would be the first in my family to go to university and law school.

I placed an enormous amount of pressure on myself because I was afraid and I was lonely. I grew up wishing my hair was different and my skin was white so I could blend in at my high school. My brothers felt their brown skin and black hair in overt forms of racist bullying but for me, I just stayed away from everyone while being part of everything. I was in student council, air cadets, I played soccer and basketball but I left high school feeling like I made no impact and no friends. I had a hard time relating to my peers because I was adopted and a minority and I was struggling with daily racism that I couldn't understand. I managed to make it to university where I finally came to understand that difference is to be valued. My undergrad years were less about understanding my racial identity and more about surviving the outside factors which influenced my day-to-day life. However, research allowed me to intellectually understand the conditions that led to those struggles. I was able to step outside of myself and realize that there were only so many things I could control or change. One of the things I learned was pride.

One of the challenges of growing up in foster care was that I lacked a support base as a young adult. I focused on good grades because it felt like the only part of my life that I had any

control. At the time of my first set of law school applications, I was beginning to actively search out information about my Metis past in general ways. Most of my school projects centered on Canadian history and I directed any open-ended assignments towards Indigenous topics. While my professors were talking about British and French history, I was learning about treaties out west. I did not identify as Metis yet. When I submitted my law school applications I chose not to self-identify because I did not think it was appropriate for me. How could I be Metis if I was raised by settlers? I felt that choosing the Metis label was taking advantage of something I did not deserve. It would be three more years before I would begin to reclaim my identity. I failed to get into law school but I was successful in securing funding and a seat in multiple Master's programs at my prerogative. I chose Wilfrid Laurier because I knew what kind of project I wanted to work on, I knew the city and I knew where my source base was in the library. I am so glad I chose this school because the past year has been fundamental in replacing shame with pride. Through my school research and my association with the Indigenous Student Centre, I have come to understand that my experiences in foster care are part of my Indigenous life experience.

From the Sixties Scoop to the present day, First Nations children have been quietly isolated through the foster care system. Painfully effective, this modern assimilation of First Nations people has created shame and sadness disguised as necessary charity by adopting Indigenous children into non-Indigenous families. Looking back, I know that the family that adopted me was racist. They were that way because they learned very little about my history and stopped looking as soon as an easy answer was available. I did not know about inter-generational trauma until I researched on my own. I didn't understand how inter-generational trauma feels until I had the opportunity to talk to other women at the ISC and I found out that I was not alone.

Now I understand that poverty doesn't "just happen" to an eighteen year old. I also know that not all people face the same barriers on a daily basis. I really do feel that the Indigenous Student Centre at Laurier is an ideal place for someone like me who is just beginning the journey to understanding identity as an Indigenous people. It is for this reason that I dedicate the following work to the Laurier ISC and the staff currently working there. I hope that one day this research helps at least one person understand that we are all brothers and sisters in the ongoing struggle to regain our pride and secure a safe and happy future for ourselves and our children. This paper adds to this discussion on identity and activism by combining three regionally based newspapers in order to flesh out similarities and differences between movements. Regional differences will be discussed but how these papers are similar will provide an overall understanding of activism in 1970s Canada. The title of this work comes from my spirit name, Zhekwe. Zhekwe means "Going Back Woman." This project is one step on my lifelong journey.

## Chapter 2

### Native Youth: Unity in Struggle – Brotherhood in Freedom

Trickery  
Rape  
Ecological destruction  
Assimilation  
Theft  
whY???<sup>77</sup>

This poem appeared in the pages of the August/September 1972 issue of *Native Youth Movement* (NYM). This poem was typical of the tone displayed by the radical Indigenous youth of Saskatchewan, in this case represented by The Native Youth Movement (NYM). As the most radical newspaper included in this analysis, this periodical displayed humour, anger, frustration, and hope in equal measure. These young people were a product of their time, and their sense of urgency often “painted a black-and-white political landscape of good versus evil.”<sup>78</sup> This message was embodied in the opening issue which presented a full page drawing of two warriors. One of the warriors was dressed in traditional warrior clothing and he held a bow. The second warrior was dressed in a jean jacket and slacks with long, unbraided hair. He was holding a rifle. These two warriors supported each other and the reader understood that these two Indigenous men engaged in a similar struggle despite the passing of time represented by period-appropriate clothing.

For this analysis four issues representing a six month stretch of publications were examined. It is unclear how many issues of this newspaper were printed. At this point in the research, I have only four issues covering six months. I followed up with the archive I worked

---

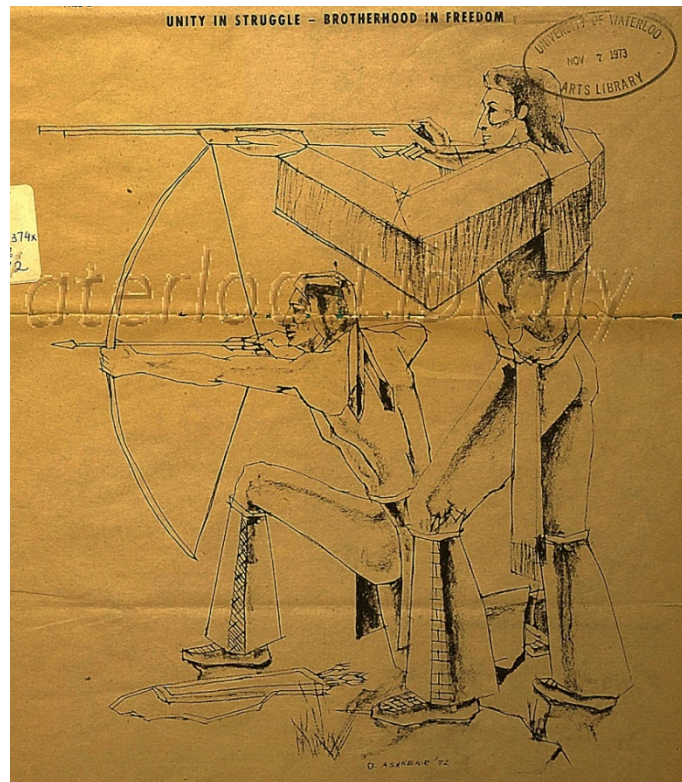
The Native Youth Movement without italics refers to the group while *Native Youth Movement* or *Native Youth News* with italics refers to the newspaper.

<sup>77</sup> “TREATY,” *Native Youth Movement*, September 1972, sec. Poems, 2.

<sup>78</sup> Shreve, *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism*, 5.



out of and they are currently looking into finding more issues and more information. At this point in time, it is impossible to locate this newspaper to a wider network. Nonetheless, *NYM* was included to provide a snapshot of the issues important to Indigenous youth in the 1970s.



**Figure 1: Two warriors. University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. *Native Youth Movement*, February 1972, page 1**

*Native Youth News* provided a snapshot of influencing factors affecting the lives of urban Indigenous youth in the 1970s. Three themes were repeatedly expressed in a six month span: substance abuse, organizational efforts, and Indigenous identity. As a young, twenty-something, these issues described influencing factors on young men growing up in the 1970s. The first and most dangerous matter affecting youth in Saskatchewan was substance abuse. Substance abuse was common issue in Indigenous communities as a symptom of wider societal troubles such as poverty. For example, many families lived on less than \$5,000 a year and many Indigenous

families had no income.<sup>79</sup> As a result many urban Indigenous youth were forced to fend for themselves which, in this case, led to an alarming reliance on sniffing chemical solvents. This trend mimicked broader alcohol abuse which Indigenous adults struggled with. The *NYM* took their role in rehabilitation efforts seriously and worked hard at tackling substance abuse head on. In addition, the editorial team included updates on provincial organizational efforts as they were crucial in information dissemination and increased awareness. Finally, the theme of identity was expressed through poetry and art. Identity through artistic expression played a prominent role in these newspapers. Commentary provided an outlet for frustrated young people who wished to express sarcasm or anger using literary devices. The charm of this newsletter is in the rough edges. This newspaper was written by young writers who were exploring leftist political thinking and developing their identities and.<sup>80</sup> Much of the discourse was couched in the language of oppression with no attempt to filter anger and frustration. The thrill of discovery and organizing along ethnic lines was evident from the content included in the articles. The language displayed frustration but also idealism especially when the topic of unity was discussed. For example, the tagline of the newspaper was “Unity in Struggle – Brotherhood in Freedom.” All Indigenous youth were included but there was an emphasis on men and very little column space was dedicated to women’s issues.

### ***NYM* as Critic**

The position of this newspaper was well outlined in the editorial section. On two occasions, the front page of the newsletter listed the following, uncredited statement:

---

<sup>79</sup> Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View* (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1989), 126.

<sup>80</sup> Shreve, *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism*.

They made us promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one, they promised to take our land and they took it. Now they lock our children up.<sup>81</sup>

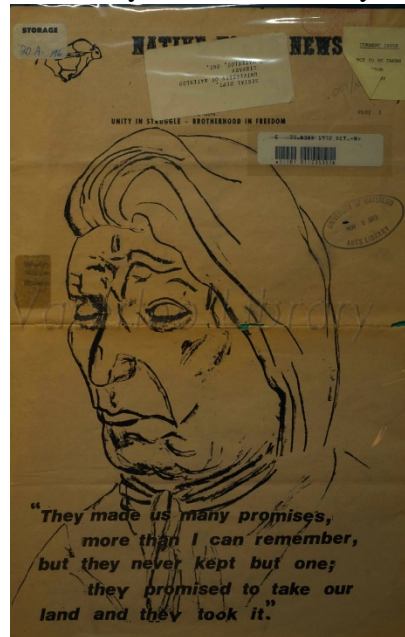


Figure 2: Elder and quote. University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. Native Youth Movement, February 1972, page 1

This statement embodied the radical tone of the paper. There was a focus on ‘us’ versus ‘them’ which implied a tense relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. This repeated statement set up the editorial position. In addition, this radical paper was left-leaning as demonstrated on an article titled “The Communist Manifesto” which was modified to refer to “Native Indians and Eskimos.”<sup>82</sup> This manifesto referred to the struggle of Indigenous people for hereditary rights, against foreign domination and the “working people fighting against the capitalist system” as written in the history books of Canada and Quebec. Left-leaning and radical, this language would come up again and again.<sup>83</sup> For example, Fred McArthur, a young

---

<sup>81</sup> “Headline,” *Native Youth Movement*, September 1972, 1.

<sup>82</sup> Fred McArthur, “The Communist Manifesto,” *Native Youth News*, November 1972, 6.

<sup>83</sup> McArthur, 6.

man from the Treaty White Bear Reserve, and the assistant editor of *NYM* labelled pow-wows “cultural prostitution” because “the modern Indian has almost totally abandoned all the sacred values attached” to the ceremony. As the assistant editor, it was Fred McArthur’s job to establish the tone of the newspaper. As a result of McArthur’s influence, editorial comments were strongly worded. McArthur scorned the idea of the modern pow-wow as “prostituting our own culture to

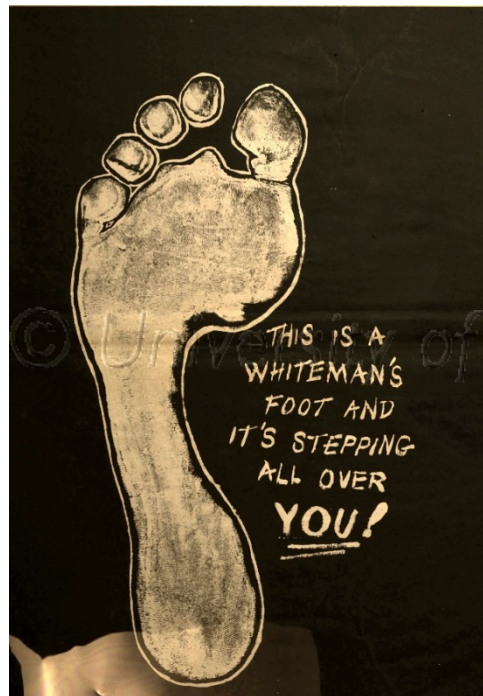


Figure 3: White man’s foot. University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972, page 8

suit the white man’s idea that an Indian gathering as such is supposed to be a spectacle, a circus of colour and sound.”<sup>84</sup> The point of his article was to encourage young people to listen to elders and learn from the lessons of the past rather than succumb to rapid decline based on “the white man’s philosophy of dog eats dog.”<sup>85</sup> Strong language successfully relayed anger and frustration aimed at ‘the white man’. These

<sup>84</sup> Fred McArthur, “Editorial,” *Native Youth Movement*, September 1972, 2.

<sup>85</sup> McArthur, 2.

articles were designed to highlight the importance of cultural identity by playing off inherent differences between the *NYM* and others.

Another tirade took aim at ‘Caucasian religion.’ McArthur rallied his readers against colonial religion as it was and remained “a means of exploitation of minority nations, in the case of the North American Indian.” Fred pointed out that missionary work was a pacifying element which signalled the use of “war machines to quietly subdue the native people.”<sup>86</sup> While the point of this article was harder to grasp, McArthur equated Christianity to “mock friendship” which led to unfair treaties which were made by “the government negotiator [who] stood with dollar signs in his eyes and a smile full of gold fillings.” He ended this editorial by again referring to religion as a form of prostitution which created collection plates, church beggars, bingos and “if you show up Sunday morning in church with the latest in fashionable clothes and throw a fifty into the collection plate with a well-manicured, diamond covered hand, then, man, you are one hell of a good Christian.”<sup>87</sup> McArthur’s editorial comments cemented the radical nature of the *NYM* newspaper. He condemned ‘the white man’ on more than one occasion, hailed a glorious, prideful past, and encouraged his readers to embrace Indigenous identity as a form of protest against the current state of affairs. Sometimes the message was difficult to understand because the articles were written from personal experience rather than a well-reasoned and evidence based point of view.

---

<sup>86</sup> Fred McArthur, “Religion,” *Native Youth Movement*, September 1972, sec. Editorial, 2.

<sup>87</sup> McArthur, 2.

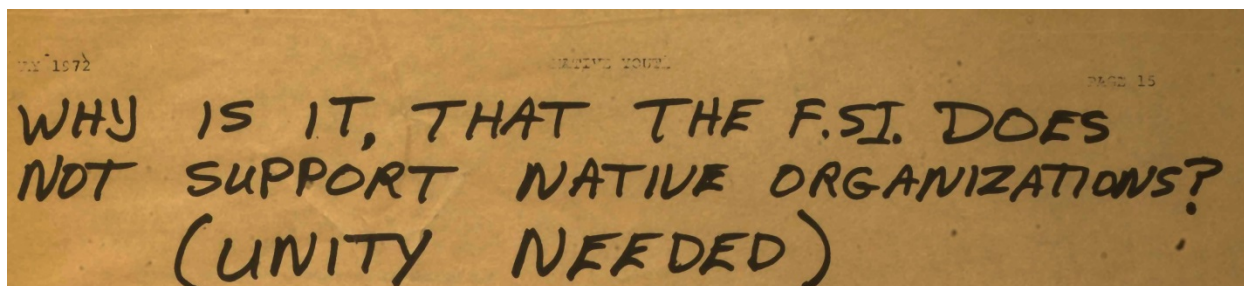


Figure 4: Handwritten title (unity needed). *University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. Native Youth Movement, May 1972, page 15.*

The *NYM* stressed the importance of inter-organizational cooperation but they often made sweeping condemnations of all large institutional and bureaucratic movements which seemed to move too slowly. This type of criticism was common in the 1970s. For example, one critic pointed out that Indigenous organization, such as the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians (FSI), was “structured along the same lines as white bureaucratic institutions.”<sup>88</sup> The Native Youth Movement described themselves as the “exuberant remnant of a once mighty nation” and they saw their role in Saskatchewan Indigenous politics as critics of the institutional organizations such as the Metis Society of Saskatchewan (MSS) and the Native Brotherhood of Saskatchewan (NBS).<sup>89</sup> These three organizations were older, well-established organizations which worked within prescribed channels alongside federal agencies. Often these organizations adhered to federal rules in order to secure funding. Fred McArthur expressed frustration on behalf of his peers who were “tired of seeing petty bickering between different native organizations” in order to secure money. McArthur intended “to call on all Native organizations composed of both Status and non-Status Indians to confront” such problems with organizing.<sup>90</sup> However, as a budding organization, the *NYM* emulated other, older organizations and covered their elections in the circular. When an election was called, there were photos and numerous columns dedicated to

<sup>88</sup> Adams, *Prison of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View*, 157.

<sup>89</sup> Thompson D, “A United Youth,” *Native Youth Movement*, February 1972, 10.

<sup>90</sup> Fred McArthur, “100 Years of Frustration,” *Native Youth Movement*, February 1972, 12.



the results. This effort at transparency was prominent in all three of the newspapers. This was an effort to exercise autonomy and it may have been a legitimate form of campaigning as the readership was presumably Indigenous. For example, the elected chiefs of the Native Youth Movement were well publicized and listed as Wayne Stonechild Chief, Dennis Shatilla as Second Chief, Brian Aubichon as Secretary and Ben Wuttunnee as Treasurer.<sup>91</sup>

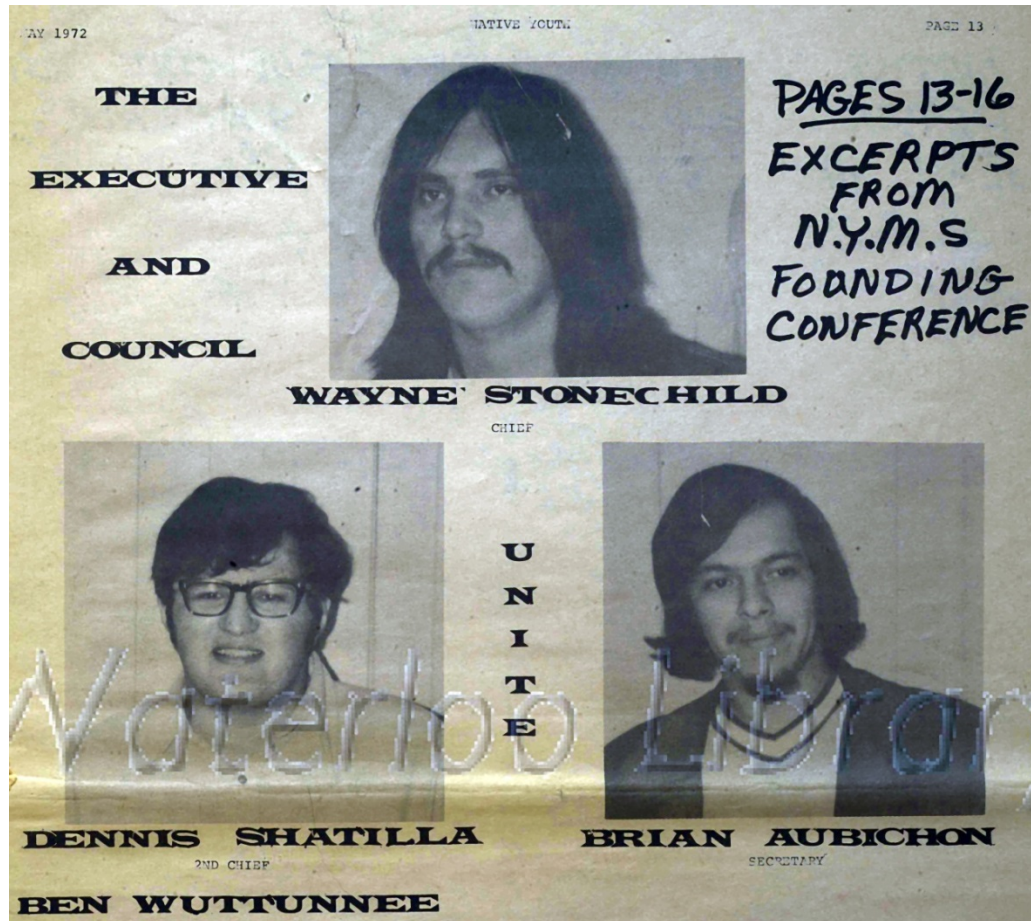


Figure 5: NYM Executive and Council. *University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. Native Youth Movement, May 1972, page 13.*

Like other, older Indigenous organizations, the *NYM* held conferences to discuss the movement and they used their newspaper to inform their readers. The *NYM*'s founding

<sup>91</sup> Wayne Stonechild, "The Executive Council," *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972.

conference was covered by short excerpts of dialogue from various meetings. One of the meetings included Peter Dubors from the FSI and Jim Sinclair, the president of the Metis Society of Saskatchewan. Albert Sinobert, editor of the *Native Youth Movement*, displayed hostility towards the Native Brotherhood, MSS and FSI because he felt that his organization was not taken seriously. Peter Dubois explained the FSI position by saying that there was a lot “to be done in all areas and we can’t cover all areas that need to be done.” As a result, the lack of staff meant that the FSI was going to rely on the youth who were organizing to fill in the gaps. Dubors said that “it’s going to take people like yourself to be able to tell us where we are going wrong.”<sup>92</sup> Essentially, Dubors provided a political response to a difficult accusation. Another excerpt included Jim Sinclair’s reply. Sinclair referred to ‘Indians and half breeds’ in jail. Sinclair said “it wasn’t the Indians that divided the Indians. It was the white man that came along in the old, divide and rule game.”<sup>93</sup> Despite incarceration, Sinclair was adamant that all First Nations people had the right to rally together despite divisions. Despite hospitality from the *NYM*, Sinclair vowed to “treat native people as native people regardless of what they are.”<sup>94</sup> The point of *NYM* criticisms was to ensure that young Indigenous people were represented.

Lorrie Lavalley directed criticism at the Metis Society of Saskatchewan in February 1972. As a young person, Lavalley expressed frustration that the Metis society did not “really represent grassroots people” and was saturated with “middle age Metis” men.<sup>95</sup> Lavalley hoped that young people would challenge misrepresentation and press the MSS for more inclusive

---

<sup>92</sup> E. McArthur, “Excerpts From Native Youth Movement’s Founding Conference,” *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972, 15.

<sup>93</sup> McArthur, 15.

<sup>94</sup> McArthur, 15.

<sup>95</sup> Lorrie Lavalley, “Your Brother in Struggle,” *Native Youth Movement*, February 1972, 10.



representation to include young people and women.<sup>96</sup> In response to this *NYM* message, Jim Durocher, treasurer of the MSS encouraged readers to unite, organize and fight for Indigenous rights and to “keep fighting and plugging away.”<sup>97</sup> Durocher made no promises regarding gender and youth parity.

Tony Durocher, added to the theme of under-representation by pointing out that “Metis people are not together: they lack communication between North and South.” He encouraged all *NYM* readers to stand “together and all should try and look at each other’s problems.”<sup>98</sup> Mel Marshall echoed this sentiment when he said the “lack of communication amongst our Native people is a great barrier in enabling us to better understand the problems we face in different parts of the country.” Marshall saluted the current newspapers, radio and television shows but lamented that the “newspaper does not give the coverage where we, the Native, think coverage should be given.”<sup>99</sup> The *NYM* demonstrated an effort to close the north-south communication gap by including reports from all over Saskatchewan. For example, a number of columns were dedicated to a report written by Ray Jones from Uranium City. Jones was a field representative for the Metis Society of Saskatchewan. The *NYM* published Jones’ report because his concerns in northern Saskatchewan mirrored other issues throughout the province. Discrimination perpetuated by the Canadian federal government, highways, cost of living and education represented some of the issues the *NYM* hoped to engage young people with.<sup>100</sup> Jones hoped that his organization and the *NYM* would function as critics of top-heavy service organizations which,

---

<sup>96</sup> Lavalley, 10.

<sup>97</sup> Jim Durocher, “Metis Association of Saskatchewan,” Letter to the Editor, February 1972, 12.

<sup>98</sup> Toni Durocher, “Metis People,” *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972, sec. Report From the Field, 11.

<sup>99</sup> Mel Marshall, “Editorial,” *Native Youth Movement*, February 1972, sec. Editorial, 10.

<sup>100</sup> Ray Jones, “The People Speak,” *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972, 2.

in his opinion, could be co-opted “by a few large grants.”<sup>101</sup> This message directed against bureaucracy was aligned with the overall *NYM* message. The importance of self- reflection was described as a vehicle for change which “cannot come without argument or opposition of some sort, therefore all people must be persuaded to give their views and listen to other views.”<sup>102</sup> On more than one occasion, the *NYM* encouraged their readers to seek out more than one form of Indigenous run media and restated their dedication to providing such a source.

Ray Jones and his article on northern Saskatchewan issues was just as inflammatory. For example, an article written from Sandy Bay lamented that large organizations failed to secure justice for Indigenous people because the word only meant ‘JUST US white folk’. This lack of justice was due to society’s reliance on a “high level of technical bullshit [which] is an illegitimate system since it rests upon our own suffering when WE are as worthy and as dignified as those who do not suffer.”<sup>103</sup> This article was referring to problems with the RCMP and police brutality.<sup>104</sup> The author reported on examples of women “getting kicked [sic] women having their arms twisted til they were black and blue – men getting choked til they were senseless.”<sup>105</sup> A petition had been circulated in Sandy Bay to collect witnesses willing to testify in court against the constables. However, the *NYM* believed that this action was taking too long and that the larger organizations were too bogged down in bureaucracy to make real change and instead the people of Sandy Bay were faced with “the usual runaround and bullshit the government gives us about such an investigation.”<sup>106</sup> As a result, the *NYM* stressed their grassroots work which

---

<sup>101</sup> Jones, 4.

<sup>102</sup> Jones, 4.

<sup>103</sup> Rod Durocher, “Discrimination at Sandy Bay,” *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972, 6.

<sup>104</sup> Durocher, 7.

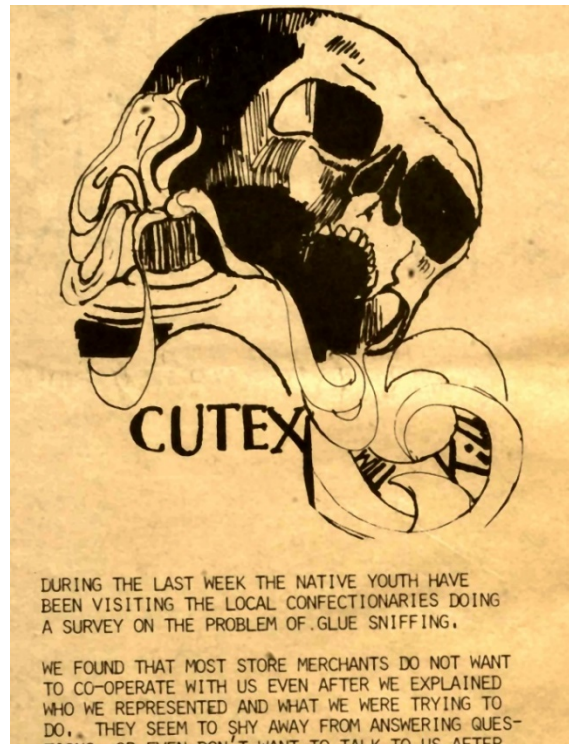
<sup>105</sup> Durocher, 7.

<sup>106</sup> Durocher, 7.

involved addressing the solvent sniffing problem and the lack of recreation for Indigenous youth in urban areas as a real time response to an urban problem.

### ***NYM on the Street***

At the ground level, Saskatchewan's Native Youth Movement (*NYM*) operated friendship



**Figure 6: Cutex will Kill.** *University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. Native Youth Movement, February 1972, page 2.*

centres in the major urban centres which catered to the needs of Indigenous youth. Friendship centres represented community building for those who had faced land alienation or who had moved to the city for better opportunities. They were typically funded by the federal government. Small spaces created in the urban setting for Indigenous people have been and remain important support bases.<sup>107</sup> Some of the most important programs that the friendship centre in Regina ran was to combat drug abuse. The first meeting of the drug discovery program was held on Thursday January 20, 1972. Fifty-five people attended the meeting in order to learn about the effects of solvent sniffing.<sup>108</sup> The *NYM* described the methods of solvent sniffing as part of their effort to alert the public to the dangers involved. According to the newspaper “the most common method of sniffing involves expelling the substance into a rag or handkerchief which is then held up to the nose and mouth.”<sup>109</sup> Other methods included squeezing glue or placing solvent soaked cloth into a plastic or paper bag, then a child would place the bag over the nose and mouth and inhale deeply.”<sup>110</sup> A selection of chemicals such as Cutex or glue were the most prominent and a tolerance could quickly build from “increasingly large volumes of the solvent [sic] required to obtain the desired results.”<sup>111</sup> It was a troubling fact that the age bracket of glue-sniffers was 10 to 15 years old but a significant number were under the age of 10 based on police reports. Ten times the number of boys to girls participated in glue sniffing.<sup>112</sup> The *NYM* councillors were aware that these young kids were from broken homes “usually fatherless [rather] than

---

<sup>107</sup> Lawrence, “*Real*” *Indians and Others*” *Mixed Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood*.

<sup>108</sup> A Fisher, “Drug Discovery Program,” *Native Youth Movement*, February 1972, 2.

<sup>109</sup> “On Solvents And Drugs,” *Native Youth News*, November 1972, sec. Editorial, 2.

<sup>110</sup> “On Solvents And Drugs,” 2.

<sup>111</sup> “On Solvents And Drugs,” 2.

<sup>112</sup> “On Solvents And Drugs,” 2.

motherless” and high numbers ended up in hospitals due to the dangerous practice.<sup>113</sup> Some of the field workers reported children “walking around in a daze with a plastic bag full of cutex or other solvents “glued” to their faces because they really don’t give a damn.”<sup>114</sup>

According to the *Native Youth Movement*, about eighty-seven percent of urban Indigenous children were sniffing chemicals which was a contributing factor leading to drop out rates for children between the ages of 6 and 25. It is unclear where these statistics came from. However, the children the *NYM* referred to were interested in sniffing because they were “too young to get beer” and “there was nothing else to do.”<sup>115</sup> In response to this troubling issue, the *NYM* approached store owners to inform them of the issue. Some of the store owners claimed ignorance but others were “bootlegging this stuff to unaware Native youngsters for their own personal gain.”<sup>116</sup> Field workers from *NYM* were keenly aware of the need for youth-oriented programming to combat the boredom Indigenous youth were experiencing. One of the councillors, Bob Cyr wrote an article on his survey of the glue sniffing problem. He found that most of the local store owners were uncooperative. The stores which sold Cutex kept the product under the check-out counter. However, his personal opinion was that most of these corner stores sold “Cutex to the kids for the single reason that if they don’t the kids will go get it from the store down the street.”<sup>117</sup> Cyr’s survey documented fourteen reactions to the glue sniffing epidemic ranging from store owners to youth. One store owner initially listened to Cyr’s concerns but refused to have anything to do with him once he asked for support. Another owner

---

<sup>113</sup> “On Solvents And Drugs,” 2.

<sup>114</sup> “On Solvents And Drugs.”

<sup>115</sup> Fisher, “Drug Discovery Program,” 2.

<sup>116</sup> Fisher, 2.

<sup>117</sup> Bob Cyr, “Cutex Will Kill,” *Native Youth Movement*, February 1972, 2.

agreed that her business suffered from theft of sniffing materials such as Cutex and vanilla.<sup>118</sup> On the other side of the story, Cyr interviewed two Metis kids who admitted that they stole materials. They started sniffing “when a friend showed them how” and it had become a habit “because they said they had nothing else to do.”<sup>119</sup> Finally, a young Indigenous boy showed Cyr “his bag of goodies.” Cyr tried to get him to discuss his problem but he would not stick around. He stayed long enough to tell Bob that he didn’t have any money so he stole the sniffing chemicals but “then he ran away.”<sup>120</sup>

As one of the most prominent and disturbing issues discussed in the *Native Youth News*, the sniffing crisis was clearly an issue worth addressing. While the information included in the newspaper was disturbing, it was necessary to alert the public of an issue that was flying below the radar so that the councillors could continue hitting the streets to put a stop to it. These efforts were successful in at least two ways. The first success saw a bootlegger shut down and a fine was levied by the city. According to one of the reports, an unnamed store was bootlegging Cutex by selling “the large bottle for \$10.00 and the medium for \$5.00 with the bag and Kleenex supplied.” The *NYM* “sent a kid into the store with marked money to see if she could buy some [Cutex], it was sold to her alright” because the store owners did not “care how young their customer [was] as long as they [made] a sale.”<sup>121</sup> Afterwards, police went in and revoked the licence of the store for unethical business practices.

The second success was the councillors’ empathetic and understanding commitment to solving the larger problems that young Indigenous kids were suffering through. Larger societal issues such as intergenerational trauma stacked the odds against the victims of substance abuse.

---

<sup>118</sup> Cyr, 2.

<sup>119</sup> Cyr, 2.

<sup>120</sup> Cyr, 3.

<sup>121</sup> Fred McArthur, “Editorial Note,” *Native Youth News*, November 1972, sec. Editorial, 2.

For example, Fred McArthur identified the major issues beyond the control of young people such as “discrimination, suppression, low income, poor housing” influenced kids which made the field worker job more difficult. Another counsellor, Blair Pascal, described the sniffing problem as a forced response brought on by lack of “education, poverty, or lack of understanding of the standards set down by the white society.” Pascal hoped that the *NYM* centres would help Indigenous youth overcome the degrading factors.<sup>122</sup> The councillors experienced difficulty convincing kids to stop sniffing because addiction was just one barrier they would face in their lives.<sup>123</sup> However, the counsellors were not afraid to catch kids sniffing on ‘skid row’ during their street work. Indigenous kids in urban centers knew that counsellors were “out there looking for them and when we find them they’re going to get shit.”<sup>124</sup> They also made “up pamphlets and posters telling [the public of] the psychological and physical dangers of sniffing.”<sup>125</sup>

The graphic details of sniffing were accompanied by words of encouragement to the readers. For example, one editorial urged Indigenous youth to “be proud of our heritage, our people and stop pretending that sniffing is fun.”<sup>126</sup> The editor went on to embolden the readers to “be proud of the body the Great Spirit gave you and quit stupidly abusing it with solvents.”<sup>127</sup> These encouragements were blunt. There was an urgency to the efforts of the *NYM* due to their inexperience and youthfulness. Many of the writers were reclaiming their Indigenous identities and part of that journey included embracing the dangers of youth including drug abuse. In the end, the *NYM* motto was “if you take something away from a kid you must have something to

---

<sup>122</sup> Blair Pascal, “Discovery Centre,” *Native Youth News*, November 1972, sec. Recreation, 5.

<sup>123</sup> Fred McArthur, “Editorial Note,” *Native Youth News*, November 1972, sec. Editorial, 2.

<sup>124</sup> Stan Stonechild and Bruce Soonias, “Native Youth Discovery Program Report,” *Native Youth Movement*, November 1972.

<sup>125</sup> Gwen Pelletier, “Native Youth Discovery Program Report,” *Native Youth News*, November 1972, 3.

<sup>126</sup> “On Solvents And Drugs.”

<sup>127</sup> “On Solvents And Drugs,” 2.

replace it.”<sup>128</sup> The Native Youth Movement covered the solvent abuse epidemic and the efforts of the organization to replace it with recreation programs at their friendship centres. Unsurprisingly, city recreation and friendship centres suffered from funding woes. Regina’s Discovery Centre Recreation Director, Billy Stonechild did not mince words: “we have been doing as many things that don’t cost money and there isn’t a hell of a lot we can do without money.”<sup>129</sup> Despite these issues, the programs experienced successes. One successful effort was rented gym use twice a week. Stonechild indicated that one of the problems he faced was “interest in participation from the kids themselves” because many of the kids had a ‘I don’t give a damn’ attitude. Stonechild worked hard at creating fun events that the kids were interested in doing, not things that he or the rest of the workers wanted to do.<sup>130</sup>

In their own words, the *NYM* “started with a small group of really concerned native youth whose main objective was more or less federally funded self-help programs.”<sup>131</sup> Their main issue was the plight with drugs and solvents and as a result, they worked 7 days a week, on foot in the streets to address the issue. The first centre provided individual counselling with donations from church and home organizations. The Native Youth Movement programs were started under the assumption that Indigenous youth required “some sort of alternative to sniffing or drug taking” such as painting, handicrafts, camping trips, horseback riding, and swimming. The founders of *NYM* wanted to take “city born native kids out into the country and away from the pollution and pavement and crowded streets.”<sup>132</sup> For their efforts, the street work and programming was

---

<sup>128</sup> “On Solvents And Drugs,” 2.

<sup>129</sup> Billy Stonechild, “Recreation,” *Native Youth Movement*, September 1972, 5.

<sup>130</sup> Stonechild, 5.

<sup>131</sup> Fred McArthur, “Native Youth General Report,” *Native Youth News*, November 1972, 6.

<sup>132</sup> McArthur, 6.



successful for some of the kids who attended. A report from the Native Youth Discovery Program described the events the counsellors put on for the kids such as gym night. Stan Stonechild wrote that he drove around the city and picked up about fifteen kids for gym night. In total, about twenty-five kids showed up in October 1972. As a result, a number of kids were offered the opportunity to visit Winnipeg. Stonechild detailed the reasons he wanted young Native kids to get involved: “First because we are native people and [we] felt it was our duty to



lend a hand and

**Figure 7: Discovery Centre Staff.** *University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. Native Youth Movement, August/September 1972, page 4.*

second, to make

our people realize that being involved in a centre such as ours we are doing out little bit to help fight our own problems” because “knowledge gives them more courage to continue the struggle.”<sup>133</sup> Clearly, the efforts of the recreation workers were to involve young kids to get them off the street. In addition, Stonechild’s efforts showed an interest in fostering pride in culture in order to perpetuate the movement. Some of the participants “seemed to brighten up and become more relaxed when away from the hustle and bustle.”<sup>134</sup> However, another problem faced by the field workers was finding space for the Indigenous youth to hang out. They were having trouble finding places for Indigenous kids due to discrimination and “white hangouts” which natives are not allowed to visit. Kids were “hassled by racist pigs who seem to follow the Indian kids around and not give them any freedom.”<sup>135</sup> Stonechild was also aware of problems with posters at the local high school which included racist content aimed at the Indigenous student body. The kids were worried but support from friendship centres alleviated the situation.

Recreation centres and staff were crucial in addressing the solvent abuse epidemic and provided a positive support system for kids who otherwise spent their time on the street. This improvement was the result of increased trust. Events such as a food line for homeless kids, encouraged the children to “understand that [NYM] really wanted to help them with no strings attached” so they began to open up and operate on a first name basis.<sup>136</sup> The Native Youth Movement was proud of their new building and they managed to secure funding from the Department of National Health and Welfare. They provided street work, counselling, use of a gymnasium two times a week, a library, a T.V. room, weight lifting, and dances with an

---

<sup>133</sup> Stonechild and Soonias, “Native Youth Discovery Program Report,” 3.

<sup>134</sup> McArthur, “Native Youth General Report,” 6.

<sup>135</sup> Stonechild and Soonias, “Native Youth Discovery Program Report,” 3.

<sup>136</sup> McArthur, “Native Youth General Report,” 6.

Indigenous band. In the fall of 1972, *NYM* was putting together a ball team and requested donations for more equipment. A successful program *NYM* advertised and supported was the Elite Smoke Signal run by the Federation of Saskatchewan of Indians (FSI). The Smoke Signal was “designed to work with the existing and future problems with alcohol and drugs among the native populations at the reserve and non-reserve levels.”<sup>137</sup> Events such as film nights and workshops on reserves created “some kind of opportunities like recreation and employment.” Additionally, there was funding for youth to participate in conferences “to voice some of the native ideas” and exchange ideas with “native peoples of different provinces” so that people had the tools to help themselves.<sup>138</sup> Colin McArthur, FSI spokesperson, encouraged *NYM* readers to struggle on because our “existence has remained because some native people have decided to stay united.” He encouraged everyone to “help each other accomplish something.”<sup>139</sup>

### ***NYM* Advocacy**

Another important area of activism for the Native Youth Movement revolved around advocacy for incarcerated Indigenous men. By 1980, Indigenous people were “disproportionately represented in federal prisons.”<sup>140</sup> For many Indigenous people, prison was the first opportunity to learn about culture and activism. For example, “traditional religion and healing became politicized” in tandem with activism.<sup>141</sup> Along these lines, Albert Sinobert, the editor of the Native Brotherhood’s Prince Albert Penitentiary newsletter wrote that hope, opportunity and

---

<sup>137</sup> Collin McArthur, “The Elite ‘Smoke Signal,’” *Native Youth News*, November 1972, 2.

<sup>138</sup> McArthur, 2.

<sup>139</sup> McArthur, 2.

<sup>140</sup> James Waldrum B., *The Way of the Pipe: Aboriginal Spirituality and Symbolic Healing in Canadian Prisons* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1997), 9; Also see: Seth Adema, “Not Told by Victims: Genocide-as-Story in Aboriginal Prison Writings in Canada, 1980– 96,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 17, no. 4 (2015), [https://journals-scholarsportal-info.libproxy.wlu.ca/pdf/14623528/v17i0004/453\\_ntbvgiapwic1.xml](https://journals-scholarsportal-info.libproxy.wlu.ca/pdf/14623528/v17i0004/453_ntbvgiapwic1.xml).

<sup>141</sup> Waldrum, *The Way of the Pipe: Aboriginal Spirituality and Symbolic Healing in Canadian Prisons*, 8.

responsibility were central to those who were incarcerated.<sup>142</sup> Albert's article was republished in *NYM* and young readers were asked to support Indigenous convicts upon release because, in his opinion, jail was a chance for self-evaluation and "an incarcerated native can only do so much then the rest is up to the parent, friend, relation, who must do their share in assisting and encouraging their son or daughter to better themselves."<sup>143</sup> For their part, the *NYM* attended events held at the Prince Albert Penitentiary and reported their activities in tandem with the Native Brotherhood. On an anniversary of the Native Brotherhood, *NYM* editor McArthur asked his readership to enlighten themselves "to some cold hard facts by visiting and communicating with our brothers and sisters in these jails and penitentiaries."<sup>144</sup> McArthur encouraged his readers to foster brotherhood and sisterhood with ex-convicts because lack of support was a serious barrier to rehabilitation. For example, obtaining a well-paying and respectable job was cited as a problem for ex-convicts because "there sure aren't too many people who are going to hire to do a job that requires honesty and responsibility."<sup>145</sup> In addition, jobs in jail lacked relevance and did not support post-jail efforts. As a result, support from friends and family was stressed as crucial for true rehabilitation in the post-jail transition. In true *NYM* fashion, Fred McArthur went one step further to criticize bureaucrats and "money-grubbing rehabilitation 'officers' [who] are too damn scared to work themselves out of jobs."<sup>146</sup> This sentiment lacked evidence but was clearly an opinion held by the leader of the *NYM* newsletter which inevitably

---

<sup>142</sup> Albert Sinobert, "Prince Albert Penitentiary," *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972, 5. This organization was not connected to The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, despite similarities in name.

<sup>143</sup> Sinobert, 5.

<sup>144</sup> E. McArthur, "Native Brotherhood Prince Albert Penitentiary for Native Brotherhood Anniversary," *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972, 16.

<sup>145</sup> Fred McArthur, "Rehabilitating the Convict or X-Con," *Native Youth News*, November 1972, 5.

<sup>146</sup> McArthur, 5.

affected the overall tone. A more substantial and fact-based letter to the editor pointed to a real solution to the incarceration rate. Billy Brass of Regina wrote to the *NYM*, Chiefs, and Councillors of reserves and suggested that Band funds be used to “bail out unfortunate Native Brothers or Sisters out of the harsh confines of jail, whether the need for bail was called for by the presiding courts of Justice.”<sup>147</sup> According to Brass, Section 66 of the Indian Act, band funds could be used to “promote the general progress and welfare of the band or any member of the band.”<sup>148</sup> Brass chose to interpret this passage to include bail payments because he believed that many Indigenous people would plead “guilty because they couldn’t get Bail and the remand atmosphere was too hard to bear.”<sup>149</sup> This solution was one practical solution provided by a newspaper typically focused on radical rhetoric and identity formation. The efforts of the *NYM* mirrored wider efforts to use culture and unity to further rehabilitation efforts. For many Indigenous offenders, first contact with spirituality happened in prison because the same societal factors which led to incarceration also alienated young men and women from their culture.<sup>150</sup>

### ***NYM* Pride**

One final aspect of the *NYM* newsletter was identity formation and pride in culture through artistic expression. In comparison to the other newspaper examined in this study, *NYM* was unique in their use of poetry and art to express their opinions. For example, Mel Marshall submitted a poem which was untitled but referred to Indigenous people of the past as “people who slave and live in poverty, are brainwashed by white religion” which made the population

---

<sup>147</sup> Billy Brass, “Spotlight on Discovery Centre,” *Native Youth Movement*, September 1972, sec. Letters, 6.

<sup>148</sup> Brass, 6.

<sup>149</sup> Brass, 6.

<sup>150</sup> Waldram, *The Way of the Pipe: Aboriginal Spirituality and Symbolic Healing in Canadian Prisons*, 129.

submissive and patient “in hopes of being greatly rewarded in Heaven.”<sup>151</sup> This poem mirrored previous sentiments which were critical of Christianity, organized religion and non-Indigenous culture. Another theme expressed in poetry was the importance of unity. Claudia Agecoutay used poetry to encourage readers to “unite: Together we stand, united, sharing, if you need, if you wish to share, if you care, unite...”<sup>152</sup> As a young person reading the poetry section, the sentiment of identity formation was powerful. In comparison to editorials, poetry of the *NYM* echoed common themes without pretense. Even the substance abuse issue was addressed poetically. Gayle S. Lacina wrote ethyl alcohol which was described as

Swiftly deadly, this wicked bitch flaunts  
Herself on man; making the old ones feel younger  
And the young ones feel older, she, the whore of all time.<sup>153</sup>

It is interesting to note that the solvent crisis was referred to in the female gender, despite the fact that young boys were ten times more likely to fall prey. In a newspaper heavily favoring men, equating femininity with this was a disturbing drug abuse problem is a downfall of the publication. The negative use of the female pronoun is disturbing. It is unclear why the author decided to gender ethyl alcohol as female, as the words ‘bitch’ and ‘whore’ imply. Perhaps this gendered view of the solvent abuse problem was a reflection of colonial masculinity, perpetuated by young men such as those at *NYM*.<sup>154</sup>

High incarceration rates were addressed by a submission by a young poet who wrote of jail inmates as men “With a dream With hopes and Fears Who sometimes knew the Meaning of

---

<sup>151</sup> Mel Marshall, “Untitled Poem,” *Native Youth Movement*, February 1972, sec. Poetry, 3.

<sup>152</sup> Claudia Agecoutay, “Unite,” *Native Youth Movement*, February 1972, sec. Poetry, 3.

<sup>153</sup> Gayle Lacina S., “Ethyl Alcohol,” *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972, sec. Poems and Prose, 6.

<sup>154</sup> Scott Morgensen L., “Cutting to the Roots of Colonial Masculinity,” in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities and Regeneration* (Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2015).

Tears.”<sup>155</sup> This poem reiterated the advocacy of the *NYM* newspaper by expressing the humanity of inmates. Another author emulated the *NYM* of pride by penning a poem about Metis pride:

Of frustration  
Of hate, of sorrow  
A man with a dream  
Hopes, Loves, Hates,  
Who fought  
For his land  
His people  
Proud to be  
A Metis<sup>156</sup>

This poem spoke to Metis pride despite the common urban issue of land alienation. This poem was situated within the context of a broad ‘Native’ identity. This broad identity embraced Metis heritage and was highlighted by this poem. Reading this poem really helped me come to terms with Metis identity as a source of pride because it showed me that other people, even those separated by fifty years, have had to struggle as Metis people.

In addition, Hazel Rainville wrote a poem entitled National Brotherhood Week which mirrored Fred McArthur’s discussion about ‘us’ versus ‘them’:

Oh the white folks hate the red folks  
And the red folks hate the white folks,  
To hate all but their right folks  
Is an old established rule.<sup>157</sup>

This poem exemplified a sense of urgency and a contempt for authority. I liked this poem because the author illustrated that each side of the “us-versus-them” debate has hatred. Indigenous people and settlers have the capacity for prejudice. Colonial oppression and dispossession can lead to mistrust of settlers

---

<sup>155</sup> Gabriel Dumont, “Untitled,” *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972, sec. Poems and Prose, 6.

<sup>156</sup> Ken Arnault, “Of Frustration,” *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972, sec. Poems and Prose, 6.

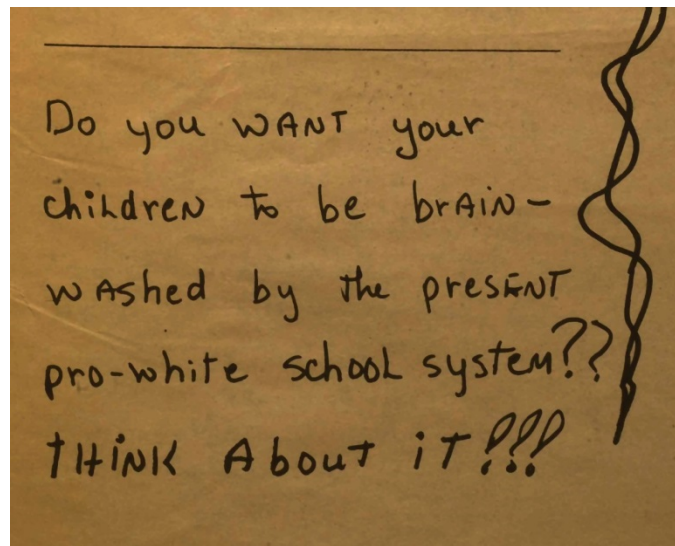
<sup>157</sup> Hazel Rainville, “National Brotherhood Week,” *Native Youth Movement*, May 1972, sec. Poems and Prose, 6.

We do not know a lot about the background of The Native Youth Movement of Saskatchewan but we know from their newspaper that they were radical and opinionated young people. The articles and editorials stressed frustration, anger and unity in an attempt to form cultural pride in Indigenous identity. The *NYM* covered the organizational efforts of their young movement as well as provided necessary criticism of top-heavy organizations which seemed too slow-moving for youthful understanding of the world. The *NYM* paper wrote about their disdain for large Indigenous organizations. They also wrote about the grassroots efforts of friendship centres which *NYM* supported. One of the main issues tackled in the short run of this newspaper was solvent sniffing which impacted very young Indigenous kids on the street. In addition, the struggle for unity was highlighted with references to the importance of support ex-convicts in their transition out of the system. Poetry and artistic expression complimented the issues and explored identity. In comparison to the other newspapers, the *NYM* was the most rudimentary. It's uneven printing in February, May, August and October 1972 showed that the authors were inexperienced and lacked a professional process or funding base. Their use of language ranged from indignant to belligerent. The activism of the Native Youth Movement aligned with broad youth movements across North America.<sup>158</sup> Many of the articles were typed but some of the final touches were clearly handwritten. Many of the images, such as the warriors depicted on the cover were hand drawn. Much of what was printed focused on identity. The writers and readers were radical young people who hoped for a better future and were willing to engage each other on the street and in print.

---

<sup>158</sup> Shreve, *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism*.





Do you WANT your  
children to be brain-  
washed by the present  
pro-white school system??  
THINK About it!!!

**Figure 8: Handwritten note. University of Waterloo Library.  
Special Collections & Archives. Native Youth Movement,  
August/September 1972, page 7.**

### Chapter 3

## The Native Voice: The Official Organ of the Native Brotherhood of B.C. and the RAVEN Society

I was born a thousand years ago  
Born in a culture  
Of bows and arrows  
But...  
Within the span  
Of half a lifetime  
I was flung  
To the culture  
Of the atomic bomb  
And that is a fight  
Forth a - - - to the moon.<sup>159</sup>

Alfred Adams, from Haida Gwaii, founded the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia (NBBC) with his friends around a beach fire in 1931 and it was at this moment he “dedicated his life to the betterment of his people.”<sup>160</sup> Alfred Adams created the Native Brotherhood following the McKenna-McBride commission successfully ratified their report on 26 July 1923. This report took lucrative land away from reserves.<sup>161</sup> Adams was one of five witnesses asked to testify on behalf of land title during the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons in 1926.<sup>162</sup> The McKenna-McBride commission convinced the federal government that Indigenous land claims were a threat. As a result, the Indian Act was amended to make it impossible for Indigenous people to hire legal counsel to pursue land title.<sup>163</sup> It was not a tough sell for Adams to convince his friends and colleagues to form the Native Brotherhood of B.C., to fight this

---

<sup>159</sup> Dan George, “Across The Ages,” *The Native Voice*, February 1972, sec. Poetry, 3.

<sup>160</sup> Guy Williams, “A Dream Was Born in the Charlottes,” *The Native Voice*, May 1973, 7.

<sup>161</sup> Eric Jamieson, *The Native Voice: The Story of How Maisie Hurley and Canada’s First Aboriginal Newspaper Changed A Nation* (Halfmoon Bay: Caitlin Press, 2016), 39.

<sup>162</sup> “Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Inquire into the Claims of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia, as Set Forth in the Petition Submitted to Parliament in June 1926,” *Proceedings, Reports and the Evidence*, (Session -1927 1926), 160.

<sup>163</sup> “An Act to Amend the Indian Act,” 134 § 6 (1927).

unfair amendment. Their first meeting was held on 13 December, 1931.<sup>164</sup> Their draft constitution spoke about ‘Aboriginal rights’ in an attempt to circumvent the ban on pursuing title. The NBBC was considered a conservative group based in Protestant values<sup>165</sup> with a coastal focus on fishing rights, as will be demonstrated in this chapter.

One of the efforts of the NBBC was *The Native Voice* (TNV). With the help of a non-Indigenous woman named Maisie Hurley, the first issue of *The Native Voice* was published in 1946.<sup>166</sup> Maisie Hurley was married to a non-Indigenous lawyer who came into frequent contact with Indigenous people in her husband’s line of work. In middle age, Maisie Hurley took it upon herself to advocate on behalf of Indigenous rights in British Columbia. Her life has been recreated with the help of the early issues of this newspaper. However, this work by Eric Jamieson focused on the non-Indigenous players involved in the early process while this chapter will focus on the Indigenous people and issues connected to the revitalization of the newsletter in the mid 1970s. Additionally, the Radio and Visual Education Network (RAVEN) was also represented by TNV. RAVEN was created in 1968 by a non-Indigenous woman, Diana Recalma and her husband, Chief Bud Recalma.<sup>167</sup> Most of the photos published in the paper were taken by RAVEN members. For this chapter, 30 issues of TNV were examined between 1972 and 1974. These papers outlined the position of the NBBC, their relation to other provincial organizations and reported on social issues near and dear to the hearts of coastal fishermen and associated shore workers. In comparison to *Native Youth Movement*, *The Native Voice* newspaper

---

<sup>164</sup> Jamieson, *The Native Voice: The Story of How Maisie Hurley and Canada’s First Aboriginal Newspaper Changed A Nation*, 49.

<sup>165</sup> Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood: George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1993), 53.

<sup>166</sup> Jamieson, *The Native Voice: The Story of How Maisie Hurley and Canada’s First Aboriginal Newspaper Changed A Nation*.

<sup>167</sup> “RAVEN to the Rescue: Native Radiophone System Successes,” *The Native Voice*, August 1972, sec. Front Page, 3.

emphasized regional issues such as fisheries, individuals, and relations with provincial organizations and social issues. Unlike *Native Youth Movement*, *The Native Voice* and the NBBC worked from within the system to advocate for change. However, women's issues were rarely addressed during the period under examination.

*The Native Voice* was important because the Native Brotherhood of B.C. was responding to external threats which revitalized membership in the organization and circulation of the newspaper in the 1970s. A statement by the Secretary-Treasurer, William Cook Junior indicated that June 1973 saw membership double. This revitalization showed "the determination of the Native people to keep the Brotherhood as the Chief and representative of their best interests in a wide variety of matters, including salmon negotiations, shore worker and tenderman negotiations."<sup>168</sup> Fisheries negotiations constituted one of the social issues discussed during this time. Several articles stressed the longevity of "Canada's senior Indian organization" and their right to participate in coastal fisheries.<sup>169</sup> Voluntary membership in the NBBC "helped offset the extremely high expense involved with [sic] salmon negotiations"<sup>170</sup> which was a significant social issue at the time. The efforts of the NBBC were outlined in *The Native Voice*. An editor wrote that revitalization had nursed loyalty, support and "declarations from readers attesting their regard" for the newspaper skyrocketed.<sup>171</sup> By the end of 1974, there were over 20,000 members and the forty-first annual convention was the largest at the time.<sup>172</sup>

---

<sup>168</sup> William Cook Junior, "Statement by William Cook Junior, Secretary-Treasurer of Native Brotherhood of B.C.," *The Native Voice*, July 1973, 8.

<sup>169</sup> Cook Junior, 8.

<sup>170</sup> Kristina Recalma, "Brotherhood Rebirth," *The Native Voice*, August 1973, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>171</sup> Kristina Recalma, "It Rests on Readers," *The Native Voice*, September 1973, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>172</sup> "Over 20,000 Members: Brotherhood Meet Biggest Yet," *The Native Voice*, December 1974, sec. Front Page, 1.

The position of *TNV* was the position of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. It is interesting to note that the front page headlines and most of the accompanying articles did not carry author taglines. This gives the reader the impression that the opinions expressed in the articles were a cohesive message closely controlled by the Brotherhood. Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA), Frank Calder was the editor at the helm of the revitalization in 1970 until his resignation in 1972.<sup>173</sup> Following Calder's resignation, the publisher and temporary acting editor was Brotherhood President, Senator Guy Williams until he retired in 1973. In May 1974 an editorial board was created to take over both roles. Where the *NYM* was reaching out to a wide demographic, the *TNV* supported a large, well-established organization steeped in regional issues such as communications and court cases.

### ***TNV* as Advocate**

The activism of *TNV* advocated for Indigenous legal rights,<sup>174</sup> and the right to vote through elected office or the courts.<sup>175</sup> Frank Calder wrote that "*The Native Voice* is politically impartial" in provincial elections but they were clearly left of center in their advocacy and Frank Calder was an elected Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) for the New Democratic Party (NDP) so this statement must be taken with a grain of salt.<sup>176</sup> In another editor's note, a clear political message was transmitted in a message about unity. According to Calder, unity on a common program was "the way to full freedom and democracy without loss of the few benefits which at best are only a fractional payment for the great loss in land and other wealth suffered by

---

<sup>173</sup> Guy Williams, "Calder Resigns," *The Native Voice*, October 1972, 1.

<sup>174</sup> Frank Calder, "Ignorance or Prejudice?," *The Native Voice*, July 1972, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>175</sup> Frank Calder, "Make Vote Count," *The Native Voice*, August 1972, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>176</sup> Calder, 4.

the Indian folk.”<sup>177</sup> *TNV* was supportive of grassroots activism regarding the rights of workers and Indigenous people. The right of the NBBC to advocate was based on the long history of *TNV*. The *TNV* often referred to the NBBC’s long history as a way of reinforcing legitimacy. For example, an article welcoming new officers credited the NBBC in supporting Indigenous lawyers, administrators, educators, “members in the House of Commons, [and] a Minister in the Provincial Government.”<sup>178</sup> NBBC support was the result of forty years of advocacy. As a support base, the NBBC wanted to establish a “status where the Native Canadian will be really understood and have a place in society, living as free democratic citizens.”<sup>179</sup> However, the editorial board admitted that there was still work to be done in a world “beset by serious economic, ecological and political problems” which they hoped would be addressed by future NBBC members.<sup>180</sup>

The RAVEN society was a telephone system “for places that don’t have telephones” as well as an on-the-ground advocate for increased communication between north and south.<sup>181</sup> By 1973 the network was made up of 55 receiver transmitters, most of them in northern British Columbia.<sup>182</sup> These transmitters provided a “common link” which made possible “the prompt dispatch of mercy flights.”<sup>183</sup> At times, these mercy flights saved lives. Another important service was the evening party line time which allowed families to talk to each other and plan

---

<sup>177</sup> Guy Williams, “All One Body We . . . Road to Better Times,” *The Native Voice*, December 1972, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>178</sup> Johnny Clifton, “Brotherhood’s New Officers Hail Predecessor’s Efforts,” *The Native Voice*, March 1973, 1.

<sup>179</sup> Guy Williams, “Looking Backward: The Indian Act,” *The Native Voice*, April 1973, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>180</sup> Alvin Dixon, Diana Recalma, and Joe Clarence, “We Shall Overcome,” *The Native Voice*, December 1974, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>181</sup> “RAVEN to the Rescue: Native Radiophone System Successes,” 3.

<sup>182</sup> Diana Recalma, “Delays Threaten ‘RAVEN’ Network,” *The Native Voice*, July 1973, sec. Editorial, 2.

<sup>183</sup> “RAVEN to the Rescue: Native Radiophone System Successes,” 3.



**Figure 9: Diana and Bud Recalma, RAVEN radio.** *University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. The Native Voice, August 1972, page 2.*

events such as tournaments.<sup>184</sup> Funding came from the B.C. government and the First Citizens Fund, however there were often serious delays and problems with these sources. These funding challenges were highlighted in the *TNV* because of their partnership.

Diana Recalma was a frequent contributor to the newspaper, often intervening on behalf of the RAVEN Society. In July 1973, the network was on the brink of closing due to a lack of funds. Recalma accused the National Indian Brotherhood of missing a proposal deadline to the Treasury Board. As a result, her group went straight to the Secretary of State for funding.<sup>185</sup> Diana worried that the provincial funding was not enough. She begged readers to understand the importance of radio to isolated communities in an attempt to save RAVEN so that lives would

---

<sup>184</sup> "RAVEN to the Rescue: Native Radiophone System Successes," 3.

<sup>185</sup> Recalma, "Delays Threaten 'RAVEN' Network," 1.

not “be lost unnecessarily should service be curtailed.”<sup>186</sup> Letters were sent out in September 1973 warning members to prepare themselves for a shut down as only \$5,000 remained in the RAVEN bank account.<sup>187</sup> The funding proposal that she submitted asked for \$50,000 to buy forty radios. Her current budget would support only twelve radios. Recalma asked her readers: “who is going to decide where the 12 radios go when 40 are needed?”<sup>188</sup> According to Recalma, this sort of decision was life or death. Clearly frustrated, she pointed out that whoever chose the twelve communities would be responsible “if there [was] a death in any of the licenced villages where a radio could not be installed” due to federal failure to fund the RAVEN Society.<sup>189</sup> Thankfully, the network successfully secured \$37,021 from the First Citizens’ Fund in February 1974.<sup>190</sup> This money went towards new equipment and training. Diana Recalma’s efforts with the RAVEN Society were well documented by her articles in *TNV*. Her strong voice was critical in advocating for better communication between all Indigenous people in British Columbia. Her efforts were rewarded in 1974 when she was appointed to the editorial board. Diana Recalma’s voice was one exception to the male-dominated newspaper. However, her influence did not direct male influence towards gender issues in the period under examination.

---

<sup>186</sup> Recalma, 2.

<sup>187</sup> Diana Recalma, “Fund Delay Puts RAVEN Into Crisis,” *The Native Voice*, September 1973, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>188</sup> Recalma, 1.

<sup>189</sup> Recalma, 1.

<sup>190</sup> Diana Recalma, “RAVEN Video Aided by Citizens’ Fund,” *The Native Voice*, February 1974, sec. Editorial, 4.





Figure 10: Frank Calder. *University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. The Native Voice, September 1972, page 1.*

### **TNV Brotherhood Highlight: Frank Calder**

Frank Calder was first elected provincial representative of the Atlin riding in 1949. Frank Calder was from Nass Harbour in British Columbia. He ran under the auspices of the New Democratic Party (NDP). The voice of MLA Frank Calder was heard often because he held a prestigious political position. Calder was a frequent contributor to the *TNV* process as the editor. His actions were reported with some frequency. At the time, Calder was one of only a handful of Indigenous representation in the provincial legislature. Many columns were dedicated to his political activities. The Atlin riding represented one-sixth of the province and 1,203 constituents.<sup>191</sup> As President of the Nishga Tribal Council (NTC), Calder's election as an MLA was significant because he spearheaded the "crucial legal battle to win claims to 4,000 square

---

<sup>191</sup> "Indian MLA First Minister," *The Native Voice*, September 1972, 1.

miles of the Nass River Valley” at the provincial level.<sup>192</sup> In 1972, Calder was the first Indigenous man to win appointment to a cabinet post in any Canadian federal or provincial government as Minister Without Portfolio responsible for Indigenous affairs in British Columbia.<sup>193</sup> This busy and significant position led to his resignation as editor of *TNV*. He pledged his service to Premier Dave Barrett and to the Nishga people. Calder promised ‘an Indian Magna Charta’ which he described as “a document of freedom and equality to show the way for all the provinces.”<sup>194</sup> In a profile published in *TNV*, Frank Calder hoped to push the provincial government to “provide residents of Indian communities with the same public services available everywhere else.”<sup>195</sup> This critical tone led to Calder’s termination from Cabinet just months later, much to the frustration of *The Native Voice*. Calder’s firing came as a “profound shock” to Diana Recalma and the editors. Premier Dave Barrett said the firing was because he had “lost confidence in a minister who had not changed his lifestyle since his appointment.”<sup>196</sup> It is unclear to what Barrett was referring but in Calder’s *Globe and Mail* obituary, Sandra Martin links his firing to an incident with “a young woman, alcohol and a parked car in an intersection.”<sup>197</sup> Nevertheless, in the pages of *The Native Voice*, Recalma criticized Barrett’s decision and supported her colleague. However, other organizations such as the Association of Non-Status Indians accused Calder of losing touch with his people. Diana Recalma was appalled by the Association of Non-Status Indians and referred to their editorial as political opportunism

---

<sup>192</sup> “Calder, Barrett in Atlin,” *The Native Voice*, August 1972, 1.

<sup>193</sup> “Indian MLA First Minister,” 1.

<sup>194</sup> Tony Eberts, “Minister’s Target: An Indian Magna Charta,” *The Native Voice*, December 1972, 2.

<sup>195</sup> Eberts, 1.

<sup>196</sup> Diana Recalma, “Questions Remain Over Calder ‘Firing,’” *The Native Voice*, August 1973, 1.

<sup>197</sup> Sandra Martin, “FRANK CALDER, POLITICIAN AND NISGA’A CHIEF: 1915-2006,” *Globe & Mail*, November 6, 2006, sec. Regional News.

and “attacking a man when he has been wounded.”<sup>198</sup> Diana’s editorial reiterated the right of Calder to lead the Nisgha cause and to represent his riding as an MLA. As a result of this firing, Calder remained silent for several months. His first public remarks on his removal from cabinet were presented in the B.C. legislature more than six months later. Calder committed himself to the NDP once again, however he refused to explain his termination. Instead, Calder promised to finish a report he had been asked to write on the status of Indigenous communities in B.C. He continued to be a vocal critic of his party.<sup>199</sup> Calder continued to advocate for Indigenous rights for his riding, the Nisgha Tribal Council and for British Columbia at large.

---

<sup>198</sup> Kristina Recalma, “A Distressing Reaction,” *The Native Voice*, August 1973, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>199</sup> “Critical Calder Keeps Faith in NDP, Duties,” *The Native Voice*, February 1974, 1.



Figure 11: Maisie and Guy Williams.  
University of Waterloo Library. Special  
Collections & Archives. *The Native Voice*,  
October 1973, page 2.

### **TNV Brotherhood Highlight: Guy Williams**

Senator Guy Williams made a name for himself in his second career as a politician. Born into the Haisla First Nation in British Columbia, Guy Williams grew up in a fishing family on the coast. As a senator, Williams worked at the federal level with goals similar to Frank Calder. Williams was described as “firm believer in the system.”<sup>200</sup> He hoped that Indigenous people across Canada would run for office and vote “just like the white man.”<sup>201</sup> Guy Williams was first elected President of the NBBC in 1960. As a Canadian Senator Williams “battled for years to establish Indian fishing rights and improve social conditions.”<sup>202</sup> He was well respected in the Indigenous community. At a tribute dinner held for Williams and his wife, Minnie, he was presented with a talking stick which was traditionally bestowed upon an orator.<sup>203</sup> Williams often expressed pride and frustration regarding successes and failures of the NBBC. He

---

<sup>200</sup> John Griffiths, “Senator Says Indians Must Now Help Selves,” *The Native Voice*, February 1972, 7.

<sup>201</sup> Griffiths, 7.

<sup>202</sup> Griffiths, 7.

<sup>203</sup> Hattie Ferguson, “Tribute Paid Senator, Wife,” *The Native Voice*, April 1973, 3.

advocated for equality for Indigenous and non-Indigenous citizens. In one speech, he said that his people “are part and partial to this country, we are participants in the election of government” and he hoped that his position would inspire young people to get involved.<sup>204</sup> In his address to the Speech From the Throne, Williams discussed fishing rights, polluted lakes, treaties and alcoholism as the price Indigenous populations paid for participation in non-Indigenous society.<sup>205</sup> He used his speeches as a platform to discuss a myriad of issues related to Indigenous rights. However, Williams held a disappointing position with regards to gender issues. In the two years examined in this paper, the Senator mentioned gender issues only once. He supported the Supreme Court decision on marrying out because “it would be the finish or the breaking point of the reserve system.”<sup>206</sup> He went on to say that a female person who married off reserve deserved to lose status because she knew what was going to happen beforehand. He even went so far as to point out that two of his daughters had been struck off band lists for their choice in partners.<sup>207</sup> This disappointing statement put Williams on the wrong side of history as the relevant section of the Indian Act was amended in 1985 with Bill C-31.<sup>208</sup> For Indigenous female readers, this position is upsetting. This paternalistic attitude was reflected in *The Native Voice* based on the neglect afforded gender issues in the pages of the newspaper. Guy Williams and his organization viewed gender parity as a threat which encouraged them to support colonial masculinity.<sup>209</sup> Williams insisted that the protection of the reserve system was more important than the issues advocated by “women’s libbers.” Male, Indigenous leaders such as Calder upheld systems of

---

<sup>204</sup> Willy Anderson, “Political Involvement Favored,” *The Native Voice*, October 1973, 1.

<sup>205</sup> “Speech From the Heart: Senator Cites Indian Tragedies,” *The Native Voice*, November 1974, 3.

<sup>206</sup> Willy Anderson, “Portrait of a Statesman,” *The Native Voice*, October 1973, 2.

<sup>207</sup> Anderson, 2.

<sup>208</sup> Lawrence, “*Real” Indians and Others” Mixed Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood*; Green, *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*.

<sup>209</sup> Morgensen, “Cutting to the Roots of Colonial Masculinity.”

oppression using troubling rhetoric which often mirrored criticisms of the federal government.<sup>210</sup> Some large, national organizations such as the NIB spent the 1970s and 1980s fighting against gender equity. Women's organizations such as the Native Women's Association of Canada were accused of being "part of a long history of colonization and racism that imposed, often violently, non-Indian ideologies and institutions on Indian peoples."<sup>211</sup> The coverage afforded these two powerful men was a direct result of their influence in the Native Brotherhood of B.C. and their political offices. Despite this hurtful rhetoric, Indigenous women successfully secured gender equity in the repatriation of the constitution and the amendment of the Indian Act in 1985.<sup>212</sup>

### ***TNV and The Brotherhood***

Many of the articles published in *TNV* did not have authors attached. Compared to the

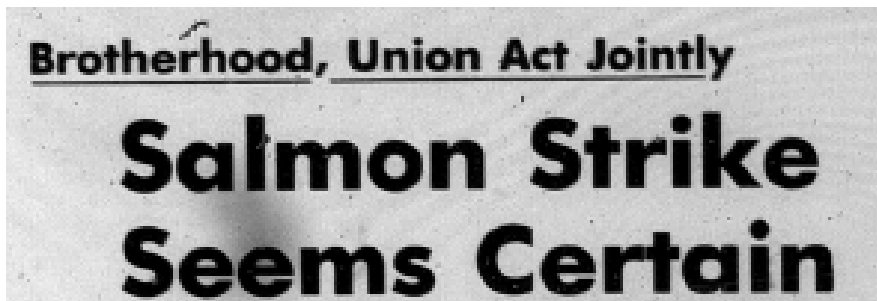


Figure 12: *TNV* Headline. University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. *The Native Voice*, June 1973, page 1.

*Native Youth Movement*, most of the columns in *TNV* were published without credit. The number of pages dedicated to Calder and Williams and the lack of individual recognition of authorship is evidence that the paper was political and directly associated with the views of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. Based on the number of columns dedicated to free advertising

<sup>210</sup> Barker, "Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women's Activism," 136.

<sup>211</sup> Barker, 137.

<sup>212</sup> Barker, 140.

for Frank Calder and Guy Williams, political office at the highest level was demonstrated to be the best way forward for the Brotherhood's brand of activism. This political focus spilled over in the Native Brotherhood's relations to other provincial organizations. For example, external threats to the Brotherhood's position made by the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union (UFAWU) forced the NBBC to revitalize. In 1973, tensions surrounding salmon price negotiations came to a head. The Brotherhood was threatened because the UFAWU publicly called for sole negotiating rights in the fishing industry. NBBC President John Clifton and Secretary-Treasurer William Cook responded with a telegram questioning why they had "not been approached in a normal fashion" over the issue.<sup>213</sup> In June, a salmon strike forced the two organizations to work together for the sake of resolving a strike but this peace did not last long.<sup>214</sup> Negotiations were outlined in the newspaper. For example, the negotiated prices for chum, pinks, and reds were included, just to name a few salmon related negotiations. This technical information is evidence that *TNV* was directly responsible to B.C.'s fishermen. Pages and pages were dedicated to the price of fish.<sup>215</sup> In order to avoid a salmon strike, the Union and the Brotherhood put their differences aside to negotiate. However, long standing differences resurfaced after the negotiation. In the March-April 1974 editorial, letters dating back to 1959 were reprinted. These letters showed years of strife surrounding the right to bargain on behalf of

---

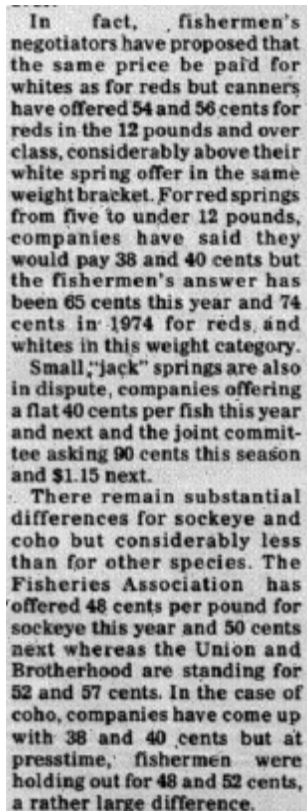
<sup>213</sup> "Brotherhood-Union Talks Held in April," *The Native Voice*, April 1973, 1.

<sup>214</sup> "Brotherhood-Union Talks Held in April," 1.

<sup>215</sup> "Brotherhood, Union Act Jointly: Salmon Strike Seems Certain," *The Native Voice*, June 1973, 5; "Brotherhood, Union Act Jointly: Salmon Strike Seems Certain," 1.

B.C.'s fishermen. *The Native Voice* accused the UFAWU of trying to “eliminate the Brotherhood

as a bargaining factor in the British Columbia fishing industry.”<sup>216</sup>



In fact, fishermen's negotiators have proposed that the same price be paid for whites as for reds but canners have offered 54 and 56 cents for reds in the 12 pounds and over class, considerably above their white spring offer in the same weight bracket. For red springs from five to under 12 pounds, companies have said they would pay 38 and 40 cents but the fishermen's answer has been 65 cents this year and 74 cents in 1974 for reds, and whites in this weight category. Small, "jack" springs are also in dispute, companies offering a flat 40 cents per fish this year and next and the joint committee asking 90 cents this season and \$1.15 next. There remain substantial differences for sockeye and coho but considerably less than for other species. The Fisheries Association has offered 48 cents per pound for sockeye this year and 50 cents next whereas the Union and Brotherhood are standing for 52 and 57 cents. In the case of coho, companies have come up with 38 and 40 cents but at presstime, fishermen were holding out for 48 and 52 cents, a rather large difference.

Figure 13: Example of fish prices. *University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. The Native Voice, June 1973, page 5.*

This external threat to the role of the Brotherhood further justified the existence of the organization. Once again, *TNV* pointed out that their long history of advocacy was the bedrock of the Indigenous population. It was their position that separating “the Native people (The Salmon People) from their organization [was] to separate them from their culture.”<sup>217</sup> In addition, the *TNV* pointed out that the

revitalization of membership supported the “organization as the most effective avenue of protecting and advancing their

interests.”<sup>218</sup> As a result, the First Vice-President, George Jeffery,

wrote an article articulating the Brotherhood’s position on the UFAWU. Jeffery accused the Union of depressing Brotherhood membership by closing the window of opportunity afforded

Indigenous fishermen to assign their dues to the NBBC.<sup>219</sup> He also

listed a number of inadequacies that only the Brotherhood could

address. Some of these issues were housing, living conditions, water, fuel, sanitation facilities

and the condition of boats which belonged to Indigenous fishermen.<sup>220</sup> Jeffery also stressed that

the executive of the NBBC was “often subjected to harassment and humiliation” for their

<sup>216</sup> Kristina Recalma, “Brotherhood Needed,” *The Native Voice*, April 1974, sec. Editorial, 2.

<sup>217</sup> Recalma, 2.

<sup>218</sup> Recalma, 2.

<sup>219</sup> George Jeffery and Godfrey M. Kelly, “Brotherhood Position on Union Relationship,” *The Native Voice*, August 1974, sec. Editorial, 3.

<sup>220</sup> Jeffery and Kelly, 3.



efforts.<sup>221</sup> He reasserted the Brotherhood's right to "represent every Indian person in the industry, indefinitely, until such time as our economic standards equal or surpass the non-Indian in the field."<sup>222</sup> This tension built and spilled over in an incident outside of price negotiations. In 1974 a clearance rift was well-publicized in *TNV*. The Brotherhood and the Union clashed over boat clearances on salmon fishing vessels because each organization had their own policies.<sup>223</sup> The UFAWU accused the Brotherhood of clearing a 'renegade' vessel for the season. This vessel, Mother III was owned by Doug Larden who was accused of being a strike breaker. During the herring, halibut and salmon clearances, Larden was refused licensing because the Union president "was under the impression



Figure 14: Boat Clearances. *University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. The Native Voice, September 1974, page 3.*

that Larden had fished during the herring strike."<sup>224</sup> Despite Larden's rebuttal, he was not cleared. As a result, he went to the Brotherhood for help. The Brotherhood cleared Larden's crew and ship for sailing as he was "found to be a law abiding citizen."<sup>225</sup> As a result, the Union wrote

---

<sup>221</sup> Jeffery and Kelly, 3.

<sup>222</sup> Jeffery and Kelly, 3.

<sup>223</sup> "Union Refuted: Facts Presented in Clearance Rift," *The Native Voice*, September 1974, sec. Editorial, 1.

<sup>224</sup> "Union Refuted: Facts Presented in Clearance Rift," 1.

a scathing indictment of the Brotherhood's clearance policy in their own newspaper, *The Fisherman*, prompting the Brotherhood response. An editorial defending their clearance policy was printed shortly thereafter. According to the Brotherhood, their fishing boat crews hiring process was a hereditary tradition that followed "a practice set out by the ancestors of present day skippers."<sup>226</sup> Skippers were expected to hire a crew that would "be beneficial to the families concerned and the village as a whole."<sup>227</sup> The system was the economic base of every village on the coast and the Brotherhood vowed to continue to fight for this practice "at every level."<sup>228</sup> In response to this impasse, the Union made an application "for certification to the Labour Relations Board" in which they asked for the right to "exclusively represent all fishermen in British Columbia" further aggravating the situation.<sup>229</sup> However, twelve major B.C. fish companies applied to the Federal Court for a counter order.<sup>230</sup> As a result, the Brotherhood reserved their right to bargain for Indigenous fishermen into 1975.

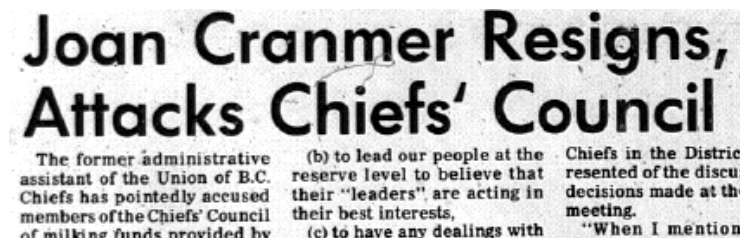


Figure 15:: Joan Cranmar Resigns. University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. *The Native Voice*, August 1973, page 4.

Another institutional relationship explored in *The Native Voice* was between the Brotherhood and the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) as a result of a public scandal. At the

<sup>225</sup> "Union Refuted: Facts Presented in Clearance Rift," 1.

<sup>226</sup> Alvin Dixon, Diana Recalma, and Joe Clarence, "Brotherhood Clearances," *The Native Voice*, September 1974, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>227</sup> Dixon, Recalma, and Clarence, 4.

<sup>228</sup> Dixon, Recalma, and Clarence, 4.

<sup>229</sup> "Certification Issue at Oct 15 Hearing," *The Native Voice*, September 1974, 1.

<sup>230</sup> "Decision Reserved in Certification Bid," *The Native Voice*, October 1974, 1.

end of the summer in 1973, Joan Cranmer, Bill Mussell, Philip Paul, Percy Gladstone and Gordon Antoine left the UBCIC at the same time. Joan Cranmer outlined her reasons for leaving in a letter. She accused the Chiefs Union of “dubious practices in its handling of expenses as well as failing to properly represent Natives at the reserve level.”<sup>231</sup> Bill Mussell concurred with Cranmer and added that the “council members did not prepare themselves to deal with the issues referred to them.”<sup>232</sup> Phillip Paul resigned amid allegations that he participated in a conflict of interest when his 3-member board awarded him an \$18,000 contract as a lands claim researcher.<sup>233</sup> The conflict of interest involved Phillip Paul as both negotiator and signatory of the contract. This contract was printed in full in *The Native Voice*, which pointed out that it was unclear who Paul’s boss would be. As the UBCIC’s former administrative assistant, Cranmer elaborated on her reasons for leaving. She admitted that she had lost respect for the executive members due to their “milking funds” and “dictatorship” leadership practices. Paul’s contract, according to Cranmer was more of the same corrupt policies she had been witness to in the past.<sup>234</sup> She accused members of claiming four days honorarium for half day meetings. In addition, she made reference to drunk and hung-over representatives who showed up late and demanded extra compensation.<sup>235</sup> *The Native Voice* expressed concern over the \$18,000 contract which Paul was involved in as a board member and an employee. This conflict of interest was presented in a short article which accompanied a full page print of Paul’s contract.<sup>236</sup> In the lead up to a Chief’s parley, Diana Recalma scolded the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs. She pointed out

---

<sup>231</sup> “Sharp Differences: Five Quit Chiefs’ Staff,” *The Native Voice*, August 1973, 1.

<sup>232</sup> “Sharp Differences: Five Quit Chiefs’ Staff,” 1.

<sup>233</sup> “Sharp Differences: Five Quit Chiefs’ Staff,” 1.

<sup>234</sup> Joan Cranmer, “Joan Cranmer Resigns, Attacks Chiefs’ Council,” *The Native Voice*, August 1973, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>235</sup> Cranmer, 4.

<sup>236</sup> “Conflict of Interest? Paul’s \$18,000 Chiefs’ Contract,” *The Native Voice*, August 1973, 5.

that the conference was time for a “mature assessment of the role the [UBCIC] is playing in this provinces as opposed to the role for which it was originally set up.”<sup>237</sup> Recalma went one step further to say that the UBCIC failed the land question, the counter-proposal to the White Paper, and continued to interfere with other organizations and bands in B.C. She suggested that greed and lust for power were part of the members’ problems.<sup>238</sup> Along the same lines as Cranmer, Recalma scolded representatives for going to conferences to get drunk. Recalma hoped that the Chiefs’ parley would re-position the organization. This public shaming of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs was swift and decisive. The UBCIC’s were forced to examine their activities, which they promised to do at their next conference. It is interesting to note that female voices of Joan Cranmer and Diana Recalma were the vocal critics of the UBCIC. More research into the role of these women is needed but it is important to acknowledge their position. Diana was a non-Indigenous woman who gained status through marriage. A disappointing show by Indigenous leadership was an important moment for Diana to speak up. She was straddling two different worlds and this scandal would have put Diana’s family in an uncomfortable position. Joan Cranmer used words like “our leadership”, otherwise it is difficult to identity her background. Based on the language she used in her letter to the UBCIC, she was invested in her leadership as an Indigenous woman. Whereas Diana would have been seen as scolding male leadership, Cranmer held more clout as an insider. Her voice was amplified in this case as demonstrated with the show of solidarity as Bill Mussell, Percy Gladstone and Gordon Antoine also resigned. In any case, *The Native Voice* and the Native Brotherhood of B.C. held significant

---

<sup>237</sup> Diana Recalma, “Chiefs’ Parley in November Requires Sharp Reassessment,” *The Native Voice*, September 1973, 7.

<sup>238</sup> Recalma, 7.

clout in the province and readers would have been appalled to see this scandal play out in the press.

Another prominent scandal that played out in the pages of *The Native Voice* was the Quilt Case. On November 30, 1971, Fred Quilt, a 55 year old man from the Chilcotin reserve, died shortly after his release from police custody. Fred Quilt and his family encountered two RCMP officers who harassed them and beat Fred up before releasing him from their custody. The first coroner's jury, in Williams Lake 300 miles north of Vancouver, found that Fred Quilt "died unnaturally by accident" and attached no blame for his death.<sup>239</sup> However, there were serious discrepancies many of which were based in racial discrimination<sup>240</sup> and a pattern which showed "Indians [were] not getting justice" in rural British Columbia.<sup>241</sup> For example, Tony Bellecourt, President of the Native Indian Brotherhood stood as an observer during the initial inquest which lacked Indigenous representation on the jury. Bellecourt questioned the method in which the jury members were chosen and condemned the entire process and outcome.<sup>242</sup> Christine Quilt provided testimony that identified two RCMP constable, Daryl Bakewell and Peter Eskins as her husband's aggressors. The Quilt family testified that Bakewell and Eskins pulled Fred from his truck and kicked and punched him, causing the injuries which led to his death.<sup>243</sup> The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia called for a review of the process.<sup>244</sup> In addition, Guy Williams called for a "special committee to study incidents of alleged injustice involving Native

---

<sup>239</sup> "Indians Raise Doubts Over Quilt Inquest," *The Native Voice*, January 1972, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>240</sup> Harry Rankin, "Noted Lawyer Charges Quilt Case Bares B.C. Racism," *The Native Voice*, February 1972, 5.

<sup>241</sup> "Quilt Case Under Study," *The Native Voice*, February 1972, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>242</sup> "Indians Raise Doubts Over Quilt Inquest," 1.

<sup>243</sup> "Quilt Case Under Study," 1.

<sup>244</sup> "Quilt Case Questioned," *The Native Voice*, January 1972, sec. Editorial, 4.

people.”<sup>245</sup> The resulting Fred Quilt Committee campaigned for a second inquest. In response to public outcry, Attorney-General Les Peterson and B.C. Chief Coroner Glen McDonald reviewed the case. The second inquiry re-examined evidence and testimony. Dr. Han Choo Lee of Williams Lake performed the autopsy. His report said “a kick was probably the cause of the inquiry which led to Quilt’s death.”<sup>246</sup> The location of the second inquest was moved from Williams Lake to Kamloops in response to these facts.<sup>247</sup> The Attorney-General concluded that “there had been a serious conflict of interest at the original inquest” based on how the jurors were assembled.<sup>248</sup> Constable C.R. Muckalt “assembled” the jury by serving a notice to his roommate and auxiliary member of the RCMP, B.B. Kimball.<sup>249</sup> Counsel for the two police officers based their defense on the “alleged drinking habits” of the Quilt family in an attempt to discredit their testimony.<sup>250</sup> However, the Attorney General found that the general peritonitis that killed Fred Quilt was caused by an injury “by the way of an unknown object to the lower right abdomen.”<sup>251</sup> The physical evidence could not be more specific. That being said, other social factors exacerbated Fred’s injury. For example, Fred refused ambulance and medical services. When the injury became serious, Fred and his family lacked sufficient transportation and the lapse of time led to his death. Recommendations from the second Quilt inquest suggested an investigation into medical services in the Chilcotin area. The jury also recommended that the process to obtain a driver’s licence be streamlined. Most importantly, the court recommended the creation of an “extensive court worker program because most Native Indians are uninformed of

---

<sup>245</sup> “Senator Proposes ‘Justice’ Committee,” *The Native Voice*, March 1972, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>246</sup> “F. Quilt Inquiry Cursory,” *The Native Voice*, April 1972, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>247</sup> “Justice Must Be Done,” *The Native Voice*, May 1972, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>248</sup> “New Quilt Inquest in Kamloops,” *The Native Voice*, May 1972, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>249</sup> “New Quilt Inquest in Kamloops,” 1.

<sup>250</sup> “Quilt Inquest Shows Conflicts in Evidence,” *The Native Voice*, July 1972, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>251</sup> Tom Findlay, “Quilt Inquest Result: Police Told To Take Care With People,” *The Native Voice*, August 1972, sec. Front Page, 1.

their legal rights and legal aid available to them.”<sup>252</sup> Regarding the role of the RCMP in Fred Quilt’s death, the police were directed to “exercise more care and attention in their handling of people” so to avoid another incident in the future.<sup>253</sup> The Fred Quilt Committee pledged to continue the fight for equality.<sup>254</sup> The success of this committee illustrated the importance of activism in the 1970s. Men like Fred Quilt were subject to abuse from local officials. Activists were successful in bringing this abuse to the public in order to change the behaviour of non-Indigenous law enforcement.

One final scandal that played out in the pages of the NBBC’s newspaper was the crisis of the Indian Fishermen’s Assistance Program (IFAP). In June 1973, *TNV* reported that the assistance program had been renewed for another five-year term. Some minor changes were made such as greater regional representation on the Indian Fishermen’s Advisory Board (IFAB) and a lowered age eligibility.<sup>255</sup> More importantly, \$10,196,000 was pledged by Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chretien and Federal Fisheries Minister Jack Davies.<sup>256</sup> This program was designed to help Indigenous fishermen “achieve a more competitive position in the B.C. Salmon fisheries.”<sup>257</sup> However, one year later, the program was in crisis. A letter from the Board was printed in *TNV*, signed by chairman, James Sewid. In September 1974, 303 applications had over-burdened the program which was one million dollars short.<sup>258</sup> Seventy-one applications were held over from the previous year and as a result, IFAP was seriously threatened. In response, the NBBC drafted a telegram to Prime Minister Trudeau requesting immediate

---

<sup>252</sup> Findlay, 1.

<sup>253</sup> Findlay, 1.

<sup>254</sup> Findlay, 7.

<sup>255</sup> “Fishermen’s Assistance Renewed,” *The Native Voice*, June 1973, 1.

<sup>256</sup> “Fishermen’s Assistance Renewed,” 1.

<sup>257</sup> “Fishermen’s Assistance Renewed,” 1.

<sup>258</sup> “Fishermen’s Assistance Crisis: Indian Program Budget Balloons,” *The Native Voice*, October 1974, 1.

assistance. Their suggestion was to compress the last three years of the program into two in order to make up the difference required in 1974. The importance of this fund was stressed. According to the NBBC, IFAP was “instrumental in the upgrading of hundreds of Indian fishermen and [had] given others the opportunity” of owning their boats and gear.”<sup>259</sup> Thankfully, Judd Buchanan announced an additional \$430,000 in funding just two months later. However, IFAP continued to work through the backlog of applications and worked on a four-year budget instead of five.<sup>260</sup> This last scandal was more hopeful than the previous UBCIC and Quilt Case scandals. The prompt response by the federal government in supporting IFAP contrasted their response to the Nisgha Land Claims issue.

The United Fishermen and Associated Workers Union fight, the Union of BC Indian Chiefs scandal, the Quilt Case and the Indian Fishermen’s Assistance Program crisis proved the institutional clout of the Native Brotherhood of B.C. and *The Native Voice*. Compared to *The Native Youth Movement*, *TNV* provided a steady publication at the end of each month with a degree of continuity between issues. It was easy to follow these stories from month to month because *TNV* possessed the resources and skills necessary to research, report and follow up. In addition, the strength of the organization was displayed as *TNV* reported the influence the Brotherhood had on other well established organizations.

---

<sup>259</sup> “Fishermen’s Assistance Crisis: Indian Program Budget Balloons,” 1.

<sup>260</sup> “More Money to IFAP But Problems Remain,” *The Native Voice*, December 1974, 1.



## TNV and Land Claims



**NISHGA DELEGATION TO OTTAWA** is pictured here outside the Supreme Court of Canada where their claim to 4,300 square miles of the Nass Valley was heard. They are, from the left, Chief Huber Doolan, Kincolith; Sen. Guy Williams, Kitamaat; Chief Arnold Recalma, Raven Society; Eli Gosnell, New Aiyansh; Chief Bjil McKay, Greenville; Chief James Gosnell, Aiyansh; Frank Calder, MLA, President of Nishga Tribal Council.

Figure 16: Nishga Delegation to Ottawa. *University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. The Native Voice, January 1973, page 1.*

Another important social issue was discussed in the pages of *TNV* was land claims. More specifically, the Nishga Land Claims case, which referred to 4,000 square miles of the Nass River Valley. The period studied in this paper was crucial to the case. Between 1972 and 1974, numerous events transpired and were splashed across the pages of the NBBC's paper. For example, the split decision of the Supreme Court of Canada on the Nishga Land Case<sup>261</sup> on January 31, 1973 was exalted as a moral victory in the *TNV*.<sup>262</sup> Senator Guy Williams wrote a short headline for the front page in January 1973. His statement said that the verdict "provided

<sup>261</sup> Manuel, *Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-Up Call*.

<sup>262</sup> Tom Krueger, "Verdict Lost 4-3: Court Split in Nishga Land Case," *The Native Voice*, January 1973, sec. Front Page, 1.

strong moral and legal support” for the Nishga claim.<sup>263</sup> Williams took this position because he maintained that no rights had been extinguished through treaty. However, the reality of the split was addressed in the following edition of the *TNV*. Frank Calder and the Nishga Tribal Council pressed Prime minister Pierre Trudeau for “immediate action.” Calder hoped that priority would be “given by Ottawa to settlement” of the case.<sup>264</sup> However, Indigenous leaders such as Hubert Doolan, Bill McKay and Maurice Nyce believed that the land claims had become a “political matter, not a legal matter.”<sup>265</sup> Months later this political problem became apparent. *The Native Voice* wrote about the tension between the provincial and federal government. Jean Chretien was quoted as saying that B.C. was “not living up to promises made during the 1972 election campaign.” Based on the British North America Act, the provincial NDP replied that the political problem belonged to Chretien.<sup>266</sup> This back and forth meant that very little was accomplished in the months following the Supreme Court’s decision. In August 1973, *TNV* printed a headline about a court decision made in Northwest Territories (NWT). In this ruling, Mr. Justice William Morrow found that the Indian Brotherhood of NWT “had sufficient interest in a huge chunk of the Territories to allow it to file a caveat, or legal statement of interest against the title.”<sup>267</sup> The NBBC hoped this decision would impact Indigenous land claims across Canada. Frank Calder was hopeful about the “historic ruling” in Canada’s north. He hoped that provincial and federal

---

<sup>263</sup> Guy Williams, “Implications Under Study,” *The Native Voice*, January 1973, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>264</sup> Frank Calder, “Nisgha Urge Speedy Action on Land Case,” *The Native Voice*, February 1973, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>265</sup> “Nishga Leaders Hopeful,” *The Native Voice*, February 1973, sec. Editorial, 3.

<sup>266</sup> “Ottawa, Victoria Toss Claims Ball,” *The Native Voice*, June 1973, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>267</sup> “Court Ruling Backs Indian Land Claims,” *The Native Voice*, August 1973, sec. Front Page, 1.

governments would “pool their resources sincerely and cooperatively.”<sup>268</sup> Unfortunately, Member of Parliament (MP) Frank Howard was “twice foiled” in the House of Commons in his attempt to force “resumption of debate on Indian aboriginal rights.”<sup>269</sup> At the sixth convention of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs in 1974, land claims were highlighted. For the first time, Jean Chretien made an address and held an hour long question and answer period.<sup>270</sup> At this meeting, the Indigenous negotiating team was expanded and their commitment was reaffirmed. Again, stalling tactics were employed by both sides. The Nishga Land Claim disappeared from the pages of the *TNV* until May 1974. At this point in time, the Nishga Tribal Council released a statement in response to an economic development and expansion plan put forth by the joint governments.<sup>271</sup> The Council saw this plan as a clear path towards the final settlement of their claims. But, once again, this effort stalled. At the end of the summer in 1974, the Human Resources Minister, Norman Levi was criticized by *The Native Voice* as ‘mulish’. The political back and forth continued when both levels refused to communicate with one another. In the editorial, Phillip Paul was quoted as saying the Nisgha “were caught in the middle of a political game.”<sup>272</sup> These games closed out the year 1974 in *The Native Voice*.

*The Native Voice* was the official organ of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia and the RAVEN Society. For this section, thirty issues of the newsletter were examined between 1972 and 1974. *TNV* clearly reflected the position of the Brotherhood in the editorials and

---

<sup>268</sup> Frank Calder, “Land Claims, Rights Should Be Settled,” *The Native Voice*, September 1973, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>269</sup> “Aboriginal Claims Tack Thwarted by Government,” *The Native Voice*, September 1973, sec. Front Page, 1.

<sup>270</sup> “Land Issue Big At Chiefs’ Meet,” *The Native Voice*, May 1974, 5.

<sup>271</sup> “Nishga Statement: Land Claim Policy,” *The Native Voice*, June 1974, 6.

<sup>272</sup> “Mulish Minister,” *The Native Voice*, August 1974, sec. Editorial, 2.

articles. For example, very few of the articles carried the author's name. Therefore, it was often impossible to tell who had written front page headlines. Presumably, this method was employed as a means of presenting a cohesive message from the organization. Only a few individuals received credit for their articles. Diana Recalma, Frank Calder and Guy Williams were some of those individuals. Frank Calder once wrote that his paper was politically impartial but it was clear from the focus on his own and Guy Williams' activities that the Brotherhood respected and desired the influence higher office provided. Indigenous women were conspicuously absent or represented by a single writer. It is important to note that Diana Recalma was non-Indigenous, had married Bud Recalma and lived on reserve with her family. Frank Calder and Guy Williams were a central presence in *The Native Voice* which was partly responsible for the lack of female voices Williams, in particular, did not advocate equality of the sexes. Therefore, female Indigenous voices were absent from the pages of *The Native Voice*. In addition, the faith Calder and Williams placed in 'the system' only went so far in pushing their agenda forward, as demonstrated by the Nishga land claims case. Subsequently, the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs scandal illustrated that organizations similar to the NBBC were fallible and that inter-organizational critiques are sometimes necessary to change behaviour. These stories and examples prove that even a powerful, structurally sound organization still struggled to provide strong representation of Indigenous people. For example, membership in the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia did not protect Indigenous people in their interactions with non-Indigenous people, as demonstrated by the Quilt Case. The death of Fred Quilt highlighted inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Young men like Fred faced violence, racism and barriers on a daily basis. This newspaper was a regional, issue specific circular. Fisheries, scandals and land claims were common main fare on a monthly basis in the mid-1970s. Whereas

*Native Youth Movement* focused on the creation of identity, *TNV* relied on readers who participated in the fishing industry. This professional monthly circular had a specific audience and reported on fish prices, negotiations, strikes and social issues related to coastal communities as an institution in its own right.

## Chapter 4

### *The Native People: From Smoke Signals to Satellites*

#### The Native Liberation Song

To your feet, Brothers  
The Motherland is calling you!  
Here's the moment, now or never,  
Shall we remain oppressed,  
Or shall we be free?  
This is the question – what is your answer?  
In the name of the Great Spirit of all  
The Native people  
We swear, we swear,  
That we shall remain oppressed no longer?<sup>273</sup>

*The Native People* (TNP) was a national newsletter meant to appeal to the broadest possible Indigenous audience. However, the paper leaned towards provincial matters and reflected regional interests of Alberta. *The Native People* was printed by the Alberta Native Communications Society (ANCS). The ANCS was created in 1966 by Eugene Steinhauer and Stan Daniels.<sup>274</sup> The print version grew from a successful radio program and circulation reached approximately 10,000 people at its height in 1979.<sup>275</sup> Due to the broad coverage, the best way to understand the position of TNP is by careful consideration of the editorial section, usually placed on page two or four of each issue. For this chapter, forty issues between 1975 and 1976 were examined. Many of the editorials were submitted by guests, but the editor for this period was Clint Buehler and his views directed the overall tone. Clint Buehler did not speak about himself or where he was from, but he was clear about his position in an infrequent section called 'Editor's Notebook.' He asked his readers for involvement. Buehler stressed the importance of

---

<sup>273</sup> Gil Pastion, "The Native Liberation Song," *The Native People*, July 16, 1976, 4.

<sup>274</sup> "Alberta Native Communications Society (ANCS) | Edmonton Maps Heritage," accessed August 19, 2017, <http://www.edmontonmapsheritage.ca/location/alberta-native-communications-society/>.

<sup>275</sup> "Alberta Native Communications Society (ANCS) | Edmonton Maps Heritage."

Indigenous cooperation to tackle social problems involving alcohol abuse, education, housing and institutional differences between organizations, all of which form the basis of this examination.<sup>276</sup> In comparison to the first newspaper, *Native Youth Movement*, the position of this paper is more difficult to pinpoint because the journalists of ANCS created a full picture of national activism which included a sports section, events, and a comic section. Of the three newspapers examined here, this paper lends itself to multiple projects because of the breadth of content. Based on a survey of forty issues of this newspaper, the emotions of hope and frustration were fighting for prominence in the 1970s. In addressing social issues, hope prevails as Indigenous communities across Alberta opened and operated rehabilitation centres to fight alcoholism and high incarceration rates. The field of Indigenous education looked bleak as the journalists stressed the barriers to graduation. However, classes of adult graduates and individual successes provided glimmers of hope to the readers. Another social issue important to the Indigenous communities in Alberta was housing. Failures by the Alberta Housing Committee (AHC), Alberta Native Development Corporation (ANDCO) and the Metis Association of Alberta (MAA) grabbed headlines on a regular basis. However, there were a few successes and both will be discussed. Finally, the excitement surrounding organizational efforts by the Metis Association of Alberta (MAA) will also be included. This paper is particularly important in telling the story of young activists and the problems with high incarceration rates, drugs and alcohol as well as poor housing would have been contributing factors to his protest suicide in 1976.

---

<sup>276</sup> Clint Buehler, "Editor's Notebook," *The Native People*, April 16, 1976, sec. Editorial, 4.

## **TNV as Everyman**

*The Native People*, and by extension, the ANCS, were staunchly in support of the full range of Indigenous rights for status and non-Status people. However, the ANCS published pro and con arguments to most issues. For example, on the topic of violent activism, one guest editorial, Beverly Page, questioned the RCMP charge that Indigenous people were the “most militant and dangerous group in Canada according to document prepared for the American Bar Association” which was presented to a legal convention in 1976.<sup>277</sup> Page challenged the federal government to prove these allegations. She cited the small population of Indigenous people in Canada and aligned herself with Harold Cardinal by quoting his work. Page challenged the Canadian government on activist violence despite a “history is full of unjust treatment to the Indians and Metis by civic and government officials, Justices of the Peace, [and] the local constables.” This author said that militant rebellion would cause Indigenous people to “be ashamed of calling ourselves Canadians.”<sup>278</sup> But, another guest editorial employed militant language to outline their opinion on cultural genocide which destroyed pride of culture to the point that an average Indian was “nothing but a drunken, useless person, dependent on welfare and the scorn of Canadian white society.”<sup>279</sup> This guest editorial finished his article by saying accusing the average “smug idiot” Canadian of “committing International crime far more horrendous than violent murder [...] without even knowing it!”<sup>280</sup> This extremely angry language contrasted with Page’s article. Where Page urged restraint and pride in Canada, Farley listed all the reasons why an Indigenous person might resort to violence. *The Native People* worked hard

---

<sup>277</sup> Beverly Page, “Is Red Power, Red Fire?,” *The Native People*, September 5, 1976, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>278</sup> Page, 4.

<sup>279</sup> Bill Farley, “Cultural Genocide,” *The Native People*, September 22, 1976, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>280</sup> Farley, 4.



at presenting both sides of common Indigenous issues, as demonstrated by these two competing points of view.

Another common theme tackled by editorials was Indigenous identity. One guest editor, Beryl Swampy, used his column to encourage readers to search for happiness, live with nature and “find out what you can do best, so that you may fulfill yourself in doing the work you have the greatest capacity to perform.”<sup>281</sup> This type of positive reinforcement was common in *TNP* as pride in Indigeneity was the first step in grassroots activism. Once pride in self was established, pride in culture was the next necessary step. As a result, there were numerous articles related to ‘Traditional Indian Ways’. The youngest generation was encouraged through editorials to listen to their elders which would “renew the Indians’ pride in their culture and will provide new ways to earn a living.”<sup>282</sup> Following cultural pride, Indigenous readers were encouraged to participate in activism which would prevent discrimination. Marvin Fox urged readers to “become aware of their human rights and abandon the attitudes that discrimination is inevitable.”<sup>283</sup> This push was important because “80% of sentences under the Highway Traffic Act, Liquor Control Act, Alcoholic Drug and Narcotic Control Act [sic] led to imprisonment [were] the result of default of payment rather than a direct sentence of imprisonment.”<sup>284</sup> These elements of pride in self, pride in culture and a push towards activism are all constant elements of *TNP* and preached by influential Indigenous leaders on the national level.<sup>285</sup> This grassroots activism led well into the next theme discussed in *The Native People*: addressing social problems such as alcohol abuse, incarceration and housing.

---

<sup>281</sup> Beryl Swampy, “Guest Editorial,” *The Native People*, February 13, 1976, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>282</sup> Gil Paston, “The Traditional Indian Ways,” *The Native People*, January 9, 1976, 4.

<sup>283</sup> Clint Buehler, “Fox Says Natives Must Demand Rights,” *The Native People*, January 16, 1976, 1.

<sup>284</sup> Buehler, 2.

<sup>285</sup> Cardinal, *The Unjust Society*; Adams, *Prison of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View*.



**Figure 17: Angela Mah. University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. *The Native People*, September 5, 1975, 1.**

One of the most prominent journalists employed by the ANCS was Angela Mah. She was a graduate of an ANCS training program designed to train Indigenous writers and hired on in early 1975. Unfortunately, all I know about Angela Mah has been gleaned from the issues she wrote in *The Native People*. More research is needed to confirm more details of her life. Angela Mah wrote about social problems affecting Indigenous people and often wrote book or report reviews. One review was written about a report by Muriel Venne, coordinator of Native Outreach in Edmonton about the urban Indigenous population. Venne's report stated that the Indian-Metis population had jumped 800% to 20,000 between 1940 and 1971."<sup>286</sup> Despite this population increase, "the rise in Edmonton's Native population [had not] been a success in

---

<sup>286</sup> Angela Mah, "20,000 Natives in Edmonton Have Many Social Problems," *The Native People*, March 19, 1976, sec. Front page, 1.

anything but numbers.”<sup>287</sup> Problems such as social drift and unfulfilled expectations living in “skid row” meant that many Indigenous people failed to adjust to urban life. Crowded conditions, alcoholism and drug abuse created a “nightmare environment” which impaired physical health. As a result, Venne advocated for solutions to these problems directly to city council.<sup>288</sup> Venne recommended that the “the city’s housing registry make human rights information permanently available in its office; that the housing registry refer applicants seeking ‘intervention’ in human rights matters to The Human Rights Commission, and that the three reports on Native housing and licensing of landlords be received as information.”<sup>289</sup> These problems with alcohol abuse, incarceration and housing were common to Indigenous life experience across the province of Alberta in the 1970s.<sup>290</sup>

According to an article published in *TNP*, in 1975, the life expectancy of Indigenous alcoholics was “estimated to be 30 to 40 years less than the national average.”<sup>291</sup> Violent deaths and disease fatalities were higher and accidental deaths were four times more likely than the national average. Along the same lines, suicides were three times more likely than the general public. Martin Thompson wrote that “Native people suffer[ed] 30 times the national homicide-rate, and 95 to 100 percent of the homicides might not have happened if the victims were in a sober state of mind.”<sup>292</sup> These numbers were shockingly high with Native alcoholism 10-15 times national average. As a result, Thompson stressed the importance of tackling alcoholism as an illness rather than a moral failing. He pointed out that treatment required individual

---

<sup>287</sup> Mah, 1.

<sup>288</sup> Mah, 2.

<sup>289</sup> Mah, 2.

<sup>290</sup> Cardinal, *The Unjust Society*; Adams, *Prison of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View*.

<sup>291</sup> Martin Thompson, “Alcohol Reaps Heavy Toll,” *The Native People*, September 5, 1975, sec. Back Page, 12.

<sup>292</sup> Thompson, 12.

commitment as well as Indigenous therapists who could relate. As a result, federal, provincial governments and Indigenous organizations worked to set up programs “for Native people suffering from alcoholism” throughout the 1970s.<sup>293</sup> Throughout the forty issues examined for this paper, prevention, treatment, training of staff and community assistance were stressed in tackling this issue because it impacted many Indigenous people throughout the province.<sup>294</sup> As such, there were a number of successful programs implemented in a short amount of time. For example, the Peigan and Blood reserves in conjunction with Fort McLeod worked together “to battle alcohol-related problems plaguing the town and both reserves.”<sup>295</sup> A joint committee with 32 officials was set up to address alcoholism. According to one town councillor, Ian Bennet, the main problem was “that a lot of Native people with alcohol problems [were] not coming in contact with rehabilitative services.”<sup>296</sup> As a result, the town of Fort McLeod agreed to dovetail services available on and off reserve and tackled alcoholism as a joint issue rather than just a ‘Native’ problem. Another successful program was St. Paul’s Poundmaker’s Lodge which was a cultural rehabilitation program aimed at Indigenous men who were on parole for alcohol-related infractions.<sup>297</sup> Poundmaker’s Lodge inspired the creation of similar centres throughout Alberta, due to the program’s “good success helping Native clients solve drinking problems.” The Lethbridge Correctional Institute was “eager to duplicate the apparent success of Poundmaker’s”<sup>298</sup> because officials estimated “that about 80 per cent of Natives at the jail [were]

---

<sup>293</sup> Thompson, 12.

<sup>294</sup> Thompson, 12.

<sup>295</sup> Russell Oughtred, “Joint Effort Against Alcohol at Fort MacLeod,” *The Native People*, March 5, 1976, 8.

<sup>296</sup> Oughtred, 8.

<sup>297</sup> Angela Mah, “Natives Start New Parolee Program,” *The Native People*, September 19, 1975, 4.

<sup>298</sup> Russell Oughtred, “Poundmaker’s Lodge Model for Centre in Lethbridge,” *The Native People*, April 2, 1976, 1.

there solely because of alcohol.”<sup>299</sup> Due to the success in St. Paul’s, the Lethbridge program went ahead with a budget of \$10,000 to run a 28-day treatment program. Ed Fox, director of the Napi centre and former manager of the Blood Tribe, hoped that “all residents would be given assistance finding jobs to ease their re-entry into the outside world and receive counselling and recreation programs from a Native staff.”<sup>300</sup> This program would focus on culture and would “invite elders to give talks” to the residents as “a stepping stone to much larger centre on awareness of the part of reserve leaders.”<sup>301</sup>

A similar program opened on October 3, 1976<sup>302</sup> with room for twenty Indigenous people to “participate in a three week program in alcoholism counselling at the Bonnyville Rehabilitation Centre.”<sup>303</sup> All facets of alcoholism education within Indigenous culture were part of the Bonnyville program with extra instruction in cultural teaching sensitivity taught by Peter Wakahat. Clients learned basic self-awareness to “achieve a greater understanding of oneself and their cultural heritage.”<sup>304</sup> Personal and family counselling, group therapy, referral systems and the organization of recreational programming was followed up by intensive in-service training through the student’s employment. Relationships between the Bonnyville program and provincial vocational programs ensured that clients would be able to find employment after their time at the centre.<sup>305</sup> The purpose of this centre aligned well with the goals of the ANCS which was “to awaken Native people caught up in the alcohol-related problems of society, to

---

<sup>299</sup> “Lethbridge’s Napi Houses Offer Alcoholics New Start,” *The Native People*, July 2, 1976, 15.

<sup>300</sup> Oughtred, “Poundmaker’s Lodge Model for Centre in Lethbridge,” 1.

<sup>301</sup> “Lethbridge’s Napi Houses Offer Alcoholics New Start,” 15.

<sup>302</sup> David Anderson, “Bonnyville Rehab Centre Opens,” *The Native People*, October 10, 1976, 1.

<sup>303</sup> Martin Thompson, “Alcoholism Counselling Program for Bonnyville,” *The Native People*, April 2, 1976, 6.

<sup>304</sup> Thompson, 6.

<sup>305</sup> Thompson, 6.

rehabilitate and give new meaning of life and its purpose in a traditional and contemporary way.”<sup>306</sup>



**Figure 18: Bonnyville Rehabilitation Centre.** *University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. The Native People, October 1976, page 8.*

Another social problem that was addressed in the late 1970s was incarceration rates of Indigenous men. In 1976, “Native people constitute[d] 50 to 85 percent of the jail population” in Alberta.<sup>307</sup> *The Native People* was sympathetic to the plight of the incarcerated. For example, an article published in February 1976 likened the jail experience to a human zoo. Using heavy literary language, the ‘human zoo’ was a heavy iron door closing with a loud bang “then the man with a ring of keys that resemble something from a monster movie puts a key in the door with a determined twist and a loud click locks the door behind the occupant.”<sup>308</sup> The jail keeper was compared to a zookeeper who watched young men learn to fight. These men would take that mentality into the streets and “wild people are not considered cute like wild animals ... so the

---

<sup>306</sup> Anderson, “Bonnyville Rehab Centre Opens,” 8.

<sup>307</sup> Thompson, “Alcohol Reaps Heavy Toll,” 12.

<sup>308</sup> Sherleen Hunter, “The Human Zoo,” *The Native People*, February 6, 1976, sec. Opinion, 5.

humans go to cages that are set off from the rest of humanity.”<sup>309</sup> An anonymous editorial comment raised important questions related to the stigma attached to ex-cons. The author was concerned because his older brother was in jail. According to a letter the author received from his brother in prison, he felt that the average inmate “finds it hard to get on his feet again” because “people on the outside are very stuck up.”<sup>310</sup> Based on personal experience, the anonymous writer promised that he would not throw “my brother away just because he’s in jail.” The ANCS supported this position and hoped that all Indigenous men and women would “have a good relationship, brother to brother” despite incarceration.<sup>311</sup> According to a report published by the Native Counselling Services of Alberta, “the majority of Native prisoners [were] young” with few past their teens. In 1974-1975 there were 590 juvenile offenders who “followed the example of their parents, friends and relatives and are third or fourth generation alcoholics and drunks.”<sup>312</sup> In the same time frame, there were 1051 drunkenness charges.<sup>313</sup> Discrimination, frustration and bigotry exacerbated intergenerational trauma which meant that “the same scene [was] repeated over and over, until they are no longer young, no longer caring and no longer willing to do anything about it.”<sup>314</sup> This problem was reflected on a broad, cross-Canada scale.<sup>315</sup> As a result, the ANCS worked at encouraging their readership to support ex-convicts in their post-jail transition. One of the methods to lower the rate of jailed Indigenous people was increased opportunities for education. This high rate of incarceration has been referred to a critical moment

---

<sup>309</sup> Hunter, 4.

<sup>310</sup> Protected Author, “Our Brother’s Keeper?,” *The Native People*, July 30, 1976, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>311</sup> Protected Author, 4.

<sup>312</sup> George Lafleur, “Majority of Prisoners Are Young Natives,” *The Native People*, September 26, 1975, sec. Editorial, 2.

<sup>313</sup> Lafleur, 2.

<sup>314</sup> Lafleur, 2.

<sup>315</sup> Waldram, *The Way of the Pipe: Aboriginal Spirituality and Symbolic Healing in Canadian Prisons*.

in political organizing. *TNP* encouraged readers to accept ex-convicts as they were important members of the community after learning about AIM or the Indian Brotherhood while in jail.<sup>316</sup>

### ***TNP* on Education**

During the mid-1970s, Indigenous youth faced many barriers to education. According to the Native Council of Canada (NCC), it was “estimated that as little as three percent [had] a chance of making it through high school.”<sup>317</sup> Many Indigenous students dropped out to take low paying jobs or fill the welfare rolls. Some returned to the reserve and a few were lucky to land a good job. It was rare for the average student to return to finish schooling.”<sup>318</sup> One of the barriers was language. Cree or other Indigenous languages spoken at home made the adjustment to English at school difficult. Dr. L.R. Gue of University of Alberta’s educational psychology department said “about 90 percent of Native students drop out before completing Grade 12.” He was of the opinion that family relationships were the key to success or failure because some parents felt “that white culture which is so different, is not desirable.”<sup>319</sup> Dr. J.W. Chalmers of the department of Education Foundations agreed with the culture barrier. Chalmers said that the “white, middle-class, opportunity and future-oriented society” clashed with the basic philosophy of Indigenous families.<sup>320</sup> With the exception of labelling Indigenous people as not ‘future-oriented’, Chalmers had a point. Indigenous students found it hard to relate to Alberta’s public school curriculum. Chalmers stressed that grinding poverty was an important barrier which held children back. Middle-class, non-Indigenous children took their culture, reflected in “books,

---

<sup>316</sup> Adema, “Not Told by Victims: Genocide-as-Story in Aboriginal Prison Writings in Canada, 1980– 96,” 457.

<sup>317</sup> “For 3% A Chance, For Others, Welfare,” *The Native People*, June 11, 1976, 8.

<sup>318</sup> “For 3% A Chance, For Others, Welfare,” 8.

<sup>319</sup> “For 3% A Chance, For Others, Welfare,” 8.

<sup>320</sup> “For 3% A Chance, For Others, Welfare,” 8.



magazines, television, music, clubs or organized sports activities” for granted.<sup>321</sup> Children who grew up experiencing these luxury items had a step up on those who were struggling at home. Unfortunately, the poverty rates for Indigenous students was a lot higher than the general population.<sup>322</sup>

For students who succeeded in school, parental support was a crucial factor. ANCS acted like a parent to the readers by celebrating education success. For an Indigenous youth, reading these success stories, pride might be cultivated. An anecdotal example of this was provided in an ANCS centerfold dedicated to education. Anna and Ben Morin were interviewed at their high school. The Morins, from the Enoch reserve, guessed that between 60 and 70 percent of the people they started school with had dropped out in Grade nine or ten.<sup>323</sup> Dropping out was easy to do as Anna and Ben had to ride the bus for two hours every morning to attend the nearest high school to their reserve. Ben said that most of his friends had jobs to support their families. Anna said that going to a school off-reserve made her conscious of being ‘Indian’ for the first time as she was stared at “the kids used to ask me if I’ve lived in teepees.”<sup>324</sup> Both said it was their parents’ encouragement that kept them going when the going got tough. However, these students continued to persevere. Leroy LittleBear, the Native Studies Coordinator at the University of Lethbridge agreed that the role of parents in encouraging education. LittleBear believed he was living in a “very critical period” wherein Indian Affairs was trying to hand control to bands who want to “increase opportunities for university and vocational training after graduation.”<sup>325</sup>

Cardston MLA John Thompson agreed with this sentiment and advocated for Indigenous

---

<sup>321</sup> “For 3% A Chance, For Others, Welfare,” 8.

<sup>322</sup> Mah, “20,000 Natives in Edmonton Have Many Social Problems.”

<sup>323</sup> Sharon Adams, “Higher Education for Native People,” *The Native People*, June 11, 1976, 8.

<sup>324</sup> Adams, 8.

<sup>325</sup> Russell Oughtred, “Parents Must Take Responsibility Says Native Studies Coordinator,” *The Native People*, October 17, 1975, 12.

“representation on local school boards.”<sup>326</sup> He tabled a private members bill to appoint “a representative to boards of districts in which more than 10 percent of students are Native.”<sup>327</sup> The Native Women’s Prevention Board of School Dropouts, was created in Lac La Biche to show “their disapproval against the high rate of Native school dropouts.” The Native Women’s Prevention Board of School Dropouts was formed to search out and diagnose the “deplorable situation in which 83% of Native students attending school drop out between Grades 7 and 9.”<sup>328</sup> This Board agreed that parents who were not interested in education failed to motivate their children. As a result, this Board required representation from the communities of Lac La Biche, Lac La Biche Mission, Kikino, Caslan, Beaver Lake Reserve, Owl River, and Imperial Mill. Each community had one representative attend bi-monthly meetings to tackle drop-out rates. This initiative required parents to become involved with their child’s education, a position that the ANCS reflected in their editorials and featured articles.

In a similar vein, one of the most demoralizing issues regularly covered by *The Native People* was the trouble experienced by the Northland School Board. If school boards had a hard time convincing parents to participate, they had an even harder time trying to attract qualified teachers to northern reserves. Northern Alberta experienced a severe teacher drought and they were unsuccessful in their 1976 push to attract qualified educators. According to a Northland Study Group appointed by the Ministry of Education, teacher turnover was fifty percent in a school district “which serve[d] some 2,300 Native students in thirty communities across

---

<sup>326</sup> “Indians on School Boards Urged,” *The Native People*, May 28, 1976, 1.

<sup>327</sup> “Indians on School Boards Urged,” 1.

<sup>328</sup> Martin Thompson, “Lac La Biche Women Act to Prevent School Drop Outs,” *The Native People*, August 13, 1976, 15.

Northern Alberta.”<sup>329</sup> When teachers did choose to go north, they were “young people willing to try teaching in isolated communities for the experience, but only for a year or two.”<sup>330</sup> Only 42 percent of Northland teachers stayed a third year or more.<sup>331</sup> As a result, these teachers were not qualified “to teach Native cultural subjects.”<sup>332</sup> The ANCS special correspondent Summer MacLean wrote all of the articles on the Northland crisis. She said that “Native children don’t talk much and [were] especially shy with strangers” which was another downside to the turnover of teachers. “Confronting a new and strange white face in the classroom each year” did not help ease drop-out rates.<sup>333</sup> MacLean suggested that the Northland School Division work on aspects of recruitment to make their job openings more attractive. A strong personality was required to live in isolated communities which lacked amenities such as television or heat.<sup>334</sup> In addition, many of the teachers who left complained about a lack of professional or community support. Summer admitted that the textbooks tended to be outdated and “Natives rarely act as friends of the young teachers” because parents knew southern teachers would not stick around.<sup>335</sup> The Northland School Division suffered because last minute recruitment selected teachers “who couldn’t find a job anywhere else, or those willing to try it for a year in a spirit of adventure” which meant that the quality of teacher coming north required more supervision than was provided or possible.<sup>336</sup> Increased awareness of this problem was aided by the articles Summer MacLean provided to

---

<sup>329</sup> Summer MacLean, “Half of Northland Teachers Change Over Every Year,” *The Native People*, February 6, 1976, 4.

<sup>330</sup> MacLean, 4.

<sup>331</sup> Summer MacLean, “Northland Teacher Difficult Problem to Solve,” *The Native People*, February 13, 1976, 4.

<sup>332</sup> MacLean, “Half of Northland Teachers Change Over Every Year,” 4.

<sup>333</sup> Summer MacLean, “Northland Teacher Difficult Problem to Solve,” *The Native People*, February 13, 1976, 4.

<sup>334</sup> MacLean, 4.

<sup>335</sup> MacLean, 4.

<sup>336</sup> Summer MacLean, “Native Students Handicapped by Constant Teacher Turnover,” *The Native People*, February 20, 1976, 4.

ANCS. Despite this effort, teachers rejected the recruitment push of 1976. Out of the 3,900 teachers in southern Alberta, one applicants took “up the challenge issued by the public school board February 9 in which the board offered to continue full pay and benefits if they would agree to teach in the Northland School Division.”<sup>337</sup> However, this single applicant withdrew their offer with no explanation. Unqualified teacher turnover was another explanation for so few Indigenous high school graduates in the 1970s.. Where there were high drop-out rates, there were also law school graduates. There were clear barriers to education but Indigenous communities were addressing these problems in bigger and bigger ways. Hope and frustration certainly played a role in efforts surrounding education which played an important role in the lives of young Indigenous people.

### ***TNP Pride***

On a more hopeful note, the ANCS highlighted successes in education as well as the barriers. Adult Vocational Centres (AVC) grew in prominence throughout Alberta during this period. AVCs were opened in Lac La Biche, Cold Lake, Frog Lake, Goodfish Lake, Kehewin, High Level, Fort Vermilion, Paddle Prairie and Assumption and Fishing Lake Metis Colony. These efforts aligned with the Indian Control of Indian Education policy paper of 1972. In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood/the Assembly of First Nations presented their right to control the education of their children.<sup>338</sup> Alberta was well on its way to taking control of the system. For example, the new Adult Vocational Centres ranged from 16 to 22 weeks and provided high

---

<sup>337</sup> “Teachers Reject Northland Division Positions,” *The Native People*, April 16, 1976, 1.

<sup>338</sup> “Indian Control of Indian Education,” in *Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education* (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1972), 131–49.

school classes starting at grade nine to upgrading and life skill programming.<sup>339</sup> AVC programs aimed to give Indigenous students proper exposure to a variety of trades and to equip them with more information before they chose selective work areas.<sup>340</sup> There was some difficulty finding qualified instructors but the ANCS helped out by advertising open positions and highlighted the successes of graduates. The Adult Vocational Centres ran classes six hours a day, five days a week between October and May. They supplied books, materials and individualized programs with small class sizes.<sup>341</sup> Completion rates reached 67% in June 1976 and organizers were proud that a good portion of their students went on to “play a major role in building a new and better place in their community.”<sup>342</sup>

Other special school programs opened or were in the process of opening on the Kehewin, Enoch, Peigan and Saddle Lake reserves during the late 1970s. The Kehewin school opened with a Cree Program worker, four certified non-Indigenous teachers and four Indigenous teachers with reserve experience. Greg Berry, the principal, hoped that “these kids will be better prepared with a better sense of identity and a strong Native foundation.”<sup>343</sup> On the Enoch reserve, a loophole in a section of the Indian Act was found “that would allow the provincial government to apply provincial laws and regulations on the school property under a lease arrangement with the Enoch band.”<sup>344</sup> After two years of jurisdictional roadblocks, a joint school was proposed for the

---

<sup>339</sup> Martin Thompson, “AVC Gets More Interest from Natives,” *The Native People*, February 13, 1976, 3.

<sup>340</sup> Martin Thompson, “AVC Said Pleased with Past Programs,” *The Native People*, June 11, 1976, 6.

<sup>341</sup> Eleanor Bass, “Northern AVC’s Offering Adult Education Courses,” *The Native People*, April 2, 1976, 14.

<sup>342</sup> Thompson, “AVC Said Pleased with Past Programs,” 6.

<sup>343</sup> Angela Mah, “Unique School Opens at Kehewin,” *The Native People*, September 22, 1975, 2.

<sup>344</sup> “Loophole Allows School for Enoch Band,” *The Native People*, March 26, 1976, 1.

Enoch reserve at Stony Plain.<sup>345</sup> On the Peigan reserve, a day school grew out of a special program that had been expanded from a school attended by children with behavioural problems.<sup>346</sup> This special program was so successful that students who wanted to attend were welcomed when the service expanded. Alan Pard, Co-ordinator of the Oldman River Cultural Centre said that the 125 reluctant student body jumped to 145 when it was opened to the public. The new program received funding up to grade 10. Parents and students were attracted to the “cultural program at the day school with the Blackfoot language, songs and dances” which produced overwhelming results.”<sup>347</sup> Teachers and parents loved that their “children [came] home singing Blackfoot songs, or telling a legend they learned in school” which greatly increased their pride in culture and self-confidence.”<sup>348</sup> One final example of a successful school opening was the Onchamainahos School on the Saddle Lake reserve. The Onchamainahos School, named after ‘Little Hunter’ who participated in the signing of Treaty No. 6, cost \$1.3 million and was “built almost entirely by Saddle Lake Band members.” Chief Eugene Steinhauer opened the school in front of a crowd of several hundred eager residents. Steinhauer said “getting that start on the reserve is the best way for your children to understand what it is to be Indian and to learn from that knowledge and experience.”<sup>349</sup> He hoped that the Band-run school would stress “cooperation rather than separation or assimilation” by federal and provincial governments.<sup>350</sup> Steinhauer also vowed that his “band was prepared to contribute through its human resources and through some portion of their band capital from gas sales to activate the planning and

---

<sup>345</sup> “Loophole Allows School for Enoch Band,” 1.

<sup>346</sup> Angela Mah, “Peigan Day School Began as Special Program,” *The Native People*, May 28, 1976, 6.

<sup>347</sup> Mah, 6.

<sup>348</sup> Mah, 6.

<sup>349</sup> “Onchamainahos School Officially Opened,” *The Native People*, November 5, 1976, 1.

<sup>350</sup> “Onchamainahos School Officially Opened,” 2.

development that will take place in our community over a long-range period.”<sup>351</sup> This project provided hope for the community.

Positive coverage of graduates in the ANCS also contributed to pride and hope for the future. There were many columns and photos printed of graduates from all training programs whether it was at the high school, AVC or university level. For example, twelve graduates of a communications trainee program were featured partially because of pride but also because the program was sponsored by the ANCS. A photo of beaming graduates accompanied a story on a number of graduates who were directly hired by ANCS. One of those trainees was Angela Mah, who went on to be a prolific staff writer on a wide range of issues for *The Native People*. Wayne Bouchier and Harry Campion also joined the reporting staff while Bob L’Hirondelle and Marie Smith were hired to the radio station and administration departments respectively.<sup>352</sup> Dave Anderson was hired on as a photographer and contributed many of the printed images. At another graduation put on by the Nechi Institute in Edmonton, counsellors attended a ceremony presided by Elder Abraham Burnstick who “summed up the Native attitudes in attempting to help one’s fellow man as it applied in this case to those needing direction and support back toward society.”<sup>353</sup> Burnstick stressed the spiritual role of the new counsellors in their home communities. Twenty-nine men and women completed this eight-month course in April 1976. At the Kehewin Life Skills Upgrading graduation, fourteen students successfully completed 14 weeks of courses in “as much as three grades in the subjects of Math, English and Spelling.”<sup>354</sup> Students in the range of 19 to 35 years old participated in academic study and life skills to boost their self-confidence. The graduation ceremony encouraged students by acknowledging the

---

<sup>351</sup> “Onchamainahos School Officially Opened,” 2.

<sup>352</sup> “Communications Trainees Graduate,” *The Native People*, September 5, 1975, 1.

<sup>353</sup> Angela Mah, “Elder Sets Mood for Nechi Graduation,” *The Native People*, May 14, 1976, 1.

<sup>354</sup> Wendy Gray, “Kehewin Life Skills Student s Graduate,” *The Native People*, May 14, 1976, 7.

importance of their achievements.”<sup>355</sup> Another proud graduate featured in a centerfold article was Willie Littlechild who “accumulated bachelor and master degrees in physical education.”<sup>356</sup> Littlechild was featured in the paper because he was off to law school in 1976 and his achievements elicited pride as a “landmark for the Native people by becoming one of the first Native lawyers in the country.”<sup>357</sup> Willie Littlechild said that he did not see his Indigeneity as a hindrance but admitted that he was often the only ‘Indian’ in his classes. He promised that he would not neglect his culture but that “some form of compromising must take place between the dominant society and our own.”<sup>358</sup> Beside the article about Willie was a headline about Rodney Soonias who had graduated from the University of Alberta law school in 1976. Soonias hoped that increased Indigenous enrollment in university would see prominence of his culture because “education could have a negative effect on the Native culture by robbing important aspects of our way of life and the only way to prevent this is to inject various aspects of the Native culture into the educational programming right at the elementary level.”<sup>359</sup> Soonais and Littlechild both hoped to use their education to give back to their communities. This type of coverage in *TNP* served as an example for other readers and educators. *TNP* advocated for parental support of education and in doing so, took on that role by highlighting the successes of small communities and individuals. It would have been a wonderful feeling to open an Indigenous-run newspaper and see Indigenous faces beaming at the camera at various graduation ceremonies.

---

<sup>355</sup> Gray, 7.

<sup>356</sup> Martin Thompson, “University: These Natives Succeeded,” *The Native People*, May 14, 1976, 8.

<sup>357</sup> Thompson, 8.

<sup>358</sup> Thompson, 8.

<sup>359</sup> Martin Thompson, “Rodney Soonias Earns Law Degree,” *The Native People*, May 14, 1976, 8.



There were a number of barriers to education. *The Native People* attempted to address some of the issues which included teacher turnover, a paucity of relevant programming made for Indigenous students and Indigenous parents who did not support their child's education. However, a number of successes became apparent during the 1970s as well. A number of schools opened on reserves and graduates continued to buck the trend and finish high school, university or other training.

### ***TNP* as Critic**

Housing problems were an ongoing issue frequently discussed by the editors and journalists employed by ANCS. The housing problem among Indigenous populations has been a primary concern since 1945.<sup>360</sup> In 1976, northern Alberta was particularly hard hit by a housing shortage and various organizations were trying to work together to fund repair, emergency, and new-home programs for the most disadvantaged Indigenous families. However, the complicated nature of the organizational structure made for serious delivery problems which *TNP* kept up with as a vocal critic. The Alberta Native Housing Committee (AHC), the Alberta Native Development Corporation (ANDCO), the Native and Rural Housing Program (NRHP), the Metis Assembly of Alberta (MAA), the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) and provincial and federal governments were all involved in implementing programming. The Alberta Housing Corporation was the community delivery agent and 25 percent funding partner. The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation provided 75 percent of the funding and held most of the control of major the housing projects. CMHC held "sole responsibility for the

---

<sup>360</sup> Martin Thompson, "Time An Essence For Housing Success," *The Native People*, October 29, 1976, 4.

awarding, supervision of contracts and agreements.”<sup>361</sup> The main role of ANDCO and the MAA was informing communities about the program, assisting individuals in organizing housing committees in their communities and they helped prepare applications for housing initiatives. As for the province, the Alberta government “committed \$5 million for special Metis housing since 1973 and in addition the government [sic] allocated a further \$4.2 million to the federal and provincial partnership under Section 40 of the National Housing Act.”<sup>362</sup> The push and pull between these organizations was well covered in *TNP*.

Early in 1976, chiefs from across Alberta met to discuss urgent housing problems. They were facing a housing shortage that was made worse by inflation and “the government’s recent cut backs in spending on programs for Treaty Indians.”<sup>363</sup> The result of a three day conference was “a strongly worded telegram to Prime Minister Trudeau, calling for the federal government to maintain its responsibility and commitment to Indian people” by upgrading and maintaining subsidies for Indigenous housing in the region.<sup>364</sup> It was estimated that 90 percent of residents living in north-eastern Alberta were on welfare and two hundred families were without homes. A strongly worded *TNP* editorial condemned the infighting and incompetence of the various housing companies and committees. ANDCO knew things were not proceeding as planned and deserved a share in responsibility for faulty housing projects. The editor of *The Native People* said: “the situation should have been publically exposed after complaints to AHC were not resolved.

---

<sup>361</sup> Clint Buehler, “No Room For Incompetence,” *The Native People*, May 7, 1976, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>362</sup> Clint Buehler, “Bogle Lists Housing Aid Provided By Government For Native People,” *The Native People*, June 4, 1976, 2.

<sup>363</sup> Gary George, “Chiefs Seek Action on Urgent Housing Problems,” *The Native People*, March 12, 1976, 7.

<sup>364</sup> George, 6.

But that may have jeopardized already poor liaison with AHC.”<sup>365</sup> The Metis Association of Alberta and the President, Ambrose Laboucane were implicated in these failures because he could “have more forcefully used his position as a member of the senior body supervising the program to force correction of the problems. To be fair, “ANDCO and Laboucane did register complaints [but] AHC” did not respond in a timely manner. In response to the complaints by ANDCO and Laboucane, Bob Bogle, the MLA minister without portfolio responsible for Native Affairs came out against Laboucane and said “the delivery of housing must remain the responsibility of the Alberta Housing Corporation.”<sup>366</sup> Bogle defended his government’s position by reiterating the funding provided since 1973 and cited 196 new units “either ready for occupancy and/or in the planning and construction stage.” The reality of the situation was “desirable in theory [but] proved to be an inefficient and cumbersome method of providing community involvement and liaison”<sup>367</sup> resulting in numerous failures throughout the province. On September 12, 1976 ANDCO pulled out of the tri-party agreement because “they did not wish to carry on as the community agent.”<sup>368</sup> Details aside, there were too many cooks in the kitchen. As a result, Indigenous people on the ground suffered.

To begin with, housing programs implementation was a long process. Funding was often provided by federal or provincial governments. A \$13 million agreement was negotiated between ANDCO and both levels of governments which would cover four hundred new homes and two hundred home repairs for houses in communities with less than 2,500 residents.<sup>369</sup> Stan Daniels,

---

<sup>365</sup> Buehler, “No Room For Incompetence,” 4.

<sup>366</sup> Buehler, “Bogle Lists Housing Aid Provided By Government For Native People,” 2.

<sup>367</sup> Clint Buehler, “Prime Concerns of Rural and Native Housing Program,” *The Native People*, December 3, 1976, 6.

<sup>368</sup> Buehler, 6.

<sup>369</sup> Angela Mah, “ANDCO GETS 400 NEW HOMES, 200 FIXED,” *The Native People*, March 26, 1976, 1.

president of ANDCO, explained that “for the 200 homes selected for repairs, there [was] a maximum of \$5,000 allocated for work done on any single dwelling” and he promised work could begin immediately.<sup>370</sup> However, the needs of residents needed to be coordinated, therefore housing communities needed to be made at the grassroots level. For example, a housing society was created in Wabasca, Alberta. According to the community liaison AHC, Wabasca would receive \$416,000 for thirteen new homes in 1976. In order to address community needs, the Kas-cin-kow-nee-waw-chims (Stoney Point) Housing Society was formed. Three board members laid out the housing situation with area residents. Paul Sinclair (President), Len Houle (Vice-President), Jack Anger (Secretary-Treasurer) worked with ANDCO to prepare necessary documents which gave the non-profit housing society legal status under the Societies Act.<sup>371</sup> AHC was then invited to handle their project with a community contractor. With high hopes, Wabasca residents planned for the replacement of their substandard “frame and log houses or trailers” with modern living quarters that had heat.<sup>372</sup> It was obvious that action had to be taken immediately to correct these unacceptable conditions.<sup>373</sup> However, there were several issues with implementation on the ground.

Despite the best intentions of the various groups involved with addressing the housing crisis, there were several failures. One such failure was in Wabasca where landless homeowners struggled to make a home for their families. George Gladue applied for a new home but he could not help where his neighbors settled and he had no place to raise livestock on his small piece of

---

<sup>370</sup> Mah, 2.

<sup>371</sup> Gary George, “Housing Society Formed, 13 Homes This Year,” *The Native People*, April 2, 1976, 1.

<sup>372</sup> George, 1.

<sup>373</sup> Buehler, “No Room For Incompetence,” 4.

land.<sup>374</sup> George qualified for a new home because his living space was had two bedrooms, 18 feet by 24 feet and 14 feet by 26 feet. This shack housed his wife Jean and their sixteen children.<sup>375</sup> George and Jean hoped that the housing program would address land claims but as it was, he was still waiting for a house at Christmas in 1976. Another family, Joe and Margaret Beaver hoped a new home would be built in a new residential site because their eight children did not get along with their neighbors. When Margaret was interviewed for *The Native People* article, her eyes shone “brightly when she [spoke] about the new hope she [sic] gained since being informed she [would] get a new house.”<sup>376</sup>

Another housing project took place in the community of Faust. Unfortunately, Faust was the worst case scenario. Fourteen low-income families were promised new homes by the Native and Rural Housing Program, CMHC and AHC. However, the houses were so poorly constructed “that the families for which they were intended [sic] refused to move into them.”<sup>377</sup> AHC took the brunt of the blame for “‘irresponsible and incompetent management’ in its role as delivery agent for the Rural and Native Housing Program.”<sup>378</sup> Five photos published in *The Native People* showed that the houses were built in sloughs and some homes had inadequate foundations. Dennis and Anne Sloat were disappointed and angry with the entire process. They had initially applied for a trailer for their family of eight but were told that they would receive “a full sized basement, but at the next meeting that was changed to a frame house with a cement

---

<sup>374</sup> Gary George, “Home Dream for Wabasca Families . . . But Land Problems Are Complication,” *The Native People*, April 2, 1976, 8.

<sup>375</sup> George, 8.

<sup>376</sup> George, 9.

<sup>377</sup> Gary George and Clint Buehler, “A.H.C. Blamed For Native Housing Flaws,” *The Native People*, May 7, 1976, 1.

<sup>378</sup> George and Buehler, 1.

foundation.”<sup>379</sup> The Sloats agreed to a frame house with a cement foundation but they were given a house with eight foot pillars instead. Problems faced by other families were houses were placed too close to other homes and working toilets were not installed. Each family was expected to pay \$33,000 in total with a down payment of \$1,700-\$1,500 for houses that did not meet their expectations.<sup>380</sup> In Faust, hope quickly turned into disappointment. Inspector Bill Gibbons, was brought in as an expert by the MAA. Gibbons’ professional opinion was that the Faust houses were “the poorest excuse [for homes] I’ve ever seen in all my 51 years of construction experience.”<sup>381</sup> Such an outrage warranted a meeting which drew representatives from the provincial, legislature, AHC, ANDCO, and the CBC TV show *Ombudsman*. As a result, the community of Faust resolutely rejected this half-baked program and became “very disillusioned with the whole housing red tape.”<sup>382</sup>

*The Native People*, as an organization which aimed to bring social problems to the attention of a wide audience, was successful in presenting a picture of a long, drawn out housing project experience. It was an important for Indigenous people to read about the people affected by bureaucratic and organizational overlap because it must have felt like someone was listening and caring about the problems. Alcohol abuse, education, housing problems and inmate relations were discussed on a weekly basis in *TNP*. There were successes and failures in all areas and these are ongoing issues which continue well into the present day.

---

<sup>379</sup> George and Buehler, 8.

<sup>380</sup> George and Buehler, 9.

<sup>381</sup> Clint Buehler, “Prime Concerns of Rural and Native Housing Program,” *The Native People*, December 3, 1976, 6.Ibid.

<sup>382</sup> George and Buehler, “A.H.C. Blamed For Native Housing Flaws,” 9.

## ***TNP* as an Institution**

Another important aspect of activism present in *The Native People* covered the movements of institutional organizations such as relations with the American Indian Movement (AIM), and the Metis Association of Alberta (MAA). The most controversial organization discussed in *The Native People* was the American Indian Movement. The first sign of trouble in 1976 was the take-over of the Canadian Native Friendship Centre (CNFC) in Edmonton. Eleven young AIM members showed up at the CNFC and demanded entrance to the centre from Clarence Fiddler, the executive director. The young activists insisted that their provincial leader, Ed Burnstick had made arrangements for them. Burnstick denied this allegation but the AIM members took over the centre in “a scene of confusion, with sleeping bags strewn around the floor.”<sup>383</sup> These young activists disrupted the daily programming at the centre by begging for money and harassing the cooks for food throughout the day.<sup>384</sup> The assistant editor of *TNP* was scathing in his review of the situation. Gary George called the perpetrators of the break in high school-drop outs, punks, childish and irresponsible kids who tarnished AIM credibility. The incident at the friendship centre was not an isolated incident but another in a string of incidents which helped “cement the stereotype of the DRUNKEN, LAZY, THEIVING INDIANS THAT CAN’T BE TRUSTED image.”<sup>385</sup> Around the same time, another AIM scandal further tarnished the group’s reputation. Director Devalon Small Legs went on the record and accused the RCMP of planting agitators in the organization to discredit them.<sup>386</sup> Few readers or fellow activists seemed to take Small Legs at his word. Reasons for skepticism included the scandal that still

---

<sup>383</sup> Angela Mah, “Group Disrupts CNFC Activities,” *The Native People*, March 12, 1976, 1.

<sup>384</sup> Mah, 2.

<sup>385</sup> Gary George, “Pretenders Hurt AIM Image,” *The Native People*, March 12, 1976, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>386</sup> “RCMP Plant Claimed By AIM Leader,” *The Native People*, July 2, 1976, 1.

surrounded the protest suicide and Devalon's refusal to reveal the names of suspected AIM plants.<sup>387</sup> A critical letter sent to *TNP* attacked all Indigenous people as responsible for Devalon's "emotional diatribe about the mistreatment of Native people at the hands of 'power hungry' workers in the Calgary office of the department."<sup>388</sup> The authors of the letter encouraged Devalon to drop the issue. Another letter criticized AIM militancy but took a personal tone by attacking reserves as "thousands of acres with government housing but appear to be valuable land going to waste."<sup>389</sup> W. Johnson from Calgary ignorantly posited that "many of the so-called Natives are content to live off our tax money" and took the position that Indigenous people should get over the past "by working with us, not against us."<sup>390</sup> These horrendous accusations were leveled at all Indigenous people following the incident at the CNFC and the accusations against the RCMP. Gary George and the staff at ANCS had reason to be angry about the break in as it gave non-Indigenous folks the courage to harass all Indigenous people in public letters to the editor. Perhaps *TNP* printed these letters to prove Gary George's point or perhaps it was to encourage young activists to continue to fight casual racism. Either way, the importance of the ANCS position was made clear through the pages of the *TNV*.

The Metis Association of Alberta (MAA) was the most prominent organization featured in *TNP* because the group represented a large base in the province. In 1975, Ambrose Laboucane was elected president at the annual assembly. Early in 1976 Laboucane wrote an editorial about

---

<sup>387</sup> "RCMP Plant Claimed By AIM Leader," 2.

<sup>388</sup> S.D. Mason and C.F. Holmes, "Validity of AIM Accusations Questioned," *The Native People*, July 2, 1976, sec. Letters to the Editor, 4.

<sup>389</sup> W. Johnston, "AIM Militancy Criticized," *The Native People*, July 2, 1976, sec. Letters to the Editor, 4.

<sup>390</sup> Johnston, 4.



the Metis Flag “which was used by the original Metis movement headed by Louis Riel.”<sup>391</sup> He encouraged “the readers, in particular the Metis people, to stand fast together to achieve our objectives by good, solid and firm negotiations with government, it cannot be done alone, it must be a joint effort by each individual doing their part.”<sup>392</sup> However, he often ran into trouble following his own advice. Laboucane often clashed with ANDCO and CMHC.<sup>393</sup> Advocating for the rights of Metis people was a difficult job. One situation that came up was proposed construction of a sewer to Fort McMurray which threatened Metis squatters. Eleven Fort McMurray families refused to move and blocked construction on the Syne, a channel of water on the town’s edge. Laboucane said the issue was Indigenous rights. It was his job to go up against the Department of Health and the Social Development Administrator. This administrator said he could not “understand why people would cling tenaciously to land that is not safe or sanitary as the area is usually flooded every spring, and the families have to move elsewhere until the water subsidizes.”<sup>394</sup> This impasse continued into 1977 due to the efforts of the MAA.

The most controversial move that Ambrose Laboucane initiated was the centralization of the Metis Association of Alberta. Laboucane closed all MAA offices in the province in order to stream-line the organization. His reasoning was the old system did not have enough staff to service the whole province. Laboucane promised that reorganization would create a more effective link between individuals and his organization to tackle social problems.<sup>395</sup> This move

---

<sup>391</sup> Ambrose Laboucane, “The Metis Flag,” *The Native People*, February 20, 1976, sec. Editorial, 4.

<sup>392</sup> Laboucane, 4.

<sup>393</sup> Summer MacLean, “Session at Manning Explores Metis Problems,” *The Native People*, February 13, 1976, 2.

<sup>394</sup> Lincolne Travers, “Metis Squatters Refuse to Move for Sewer,” *The Native People*, February 20, 1976, 14.

<sup>395</sup> Lincolne Travers, “Indian Metis Liaison Offices Closed to Centralization of Services,” *The Native People*, February 20, 1976, 2.

was highly disputed in the pages of *TNP*. In a letter to the editor, Mrs. Margaret Pritchard, Vice President of Local 69 in Calgary challenged decentralization. Pritchard spoke on behalf of her zone which felt "that decentralization would destroy any progress that we are making and would put us fifty years behind, back to where we have never been."<sup>396</sup> Pritchard was adamant that Laboucane was destroying any hope for progress with his scheme because she felt that southern Alberta would be left out.<sup>397</sup> She blamed Laboucane for pitting local chapters against each other. A second letter to the editor, written by Dephine Erasmus, President of Local 1 took the same line as Mrs. Pritchard but this author used stronger language. Erasmus said that the needs of Metis people had not changed, therefore restructuring was unnecessary. She identified Metis needs as "LAND, HOUSING, EDUCATION and EMPLOYMENT\*."<sup>398</sup> She went on to accuse Laboucane of dividing the Association:

"Together we will stand, divided we will fall. Together we will stand if we remain. Divided we will fall if vote for DECENTRALIZATION." <sup>399</sup>

Margaret Pritchard and Delphine Erasmus used the language of division in their attempts to dissuade readers from supporting decentralization. Erasmus relied on sentences in all capitals for emphasis. Despite the push back that Laboucane received, he did not halt decentralization. As the first step, thirty-six staff members of the MAA were suspended with two weeks'

---

<sup>396</sup> Margaret Pritchard, "MAA Decentralization Opposed," *The Native People*, March 19, 1976, sec. Letter to the Editor, 4.

<sup>397</sup> Pritchard, 10.

<sup>398</sup> Delphine Erasmus, "Effects of MAA Decentralization Feared," *The Native People*, July 2, 1976, sec. Letters to the Editor, 4.

\*Emphasis provided by Erasmus.

<sup>399</sup> Erasmus, 4.

severance.<sup>400</sup> Ambrose Laboucane defended his decision as the elimination of a “centralized bureaucracy which [sic] drained money and hindered active participation at the grass roots.”<sup>401</sup> He promised that suspended employees were eligible to apply for new positions in the streamlined operation and special training would be provided “to enable them to serve the constituents as effectively as possible.”<sup>402</sup> Following the mass layoff, six zones were created. These zones were spaced out throughout the province of Alberta. Six Vice-President positions were created as a board of directors. Ambrose staked his re-election on this plan.<sup>403</sup> He stood by this step forward designed to “enhance the efforts of the Metis people to develop viable and positive development programs.”<sup>404</sup> Several new positions were created such as program development and copy writers, land acquisition coordinator, field staff coordinator, local community development and financial comptroller. Funding was divided into six zones by population. Laboucane did receive support which was circulated through *The Native People*. Terry Lusty, president of Calgary Metis Local #101 rallied support for decentralization. Lusty was “wholly in support of the move and had been pushing for such a change for a few years” because north/south services were unequal and there had been a reliance on the Edmonton office that was ineffective.<sup>405</sup> It is important to note that the major criticisms to Laboucane came from women and his position was supported by men. The letters which were sent into the newspaper to protest decentralization were written by women. It is not clear why this was the case. In

---

<sup>400</sup> Clint Buehler, “M.A.A. Drops Staff, Plan to Restructure,” *The Native People*, April 2, 1976, 1.

<sup>401</sup> Buehler, 1.

<sup>402</sup> Buehler, 1.

<sup>403</sup> Lincolne Travers, “Major Restructuring of MAA Proposal,” *The Native People*, March 1, 1976, 2.

<sup>404</sup> Clint Buehler, “M.A.A. Plans Political, Services Split,” *The Native People*, April 16, 1976, sec. Reprint from Calgary Herald, 2.

<sup>405</sup> Clint Buehler, “Calgary Local Supports MAA Decentralization,” *The Native People*, April 23, 1976, 1.

addition, only men ran against Laboucane for the presidency. There were no women on the executive council during this time but there were women representing local chapters of the Metis Association. However, the anti-centralization letters printed in the *TNP* did not mention gender issues outright.

Decentralization played an important role in heightening tensions surrounding the annual assembly and elections for the MAA presidency. One headline read “RIVALRY FOR M.A.A. PRESIDENCY ON AGAIN.” Ambrose Laboucane ran on his decentralization plan while his rival, Stan Daniels (President of ANDCO) refused to commit to the race but suggested he was “available to serve again if the people want me.”<sup>406</sup> Official candidates for the presidency included Mike Woodward, Henry Houle and Joe Blyan. However, at the MAA annual assembly, “Stan Daniels once again proved his political prowess as a Native leader” by throwing his hat in the race at the last minute.<sup>407</sup> Drama ensued as Laboucane led the charge to have Daniels removed as a candidate. On the grounds that Daniels had not resigned his role as ANDCO president, Laboucane forced a review of the situation by the MAA board of directors. Daniels produced a letter of resignation which was accepted by the board. As a result, the vote went ahead and produced “a bitter defeat in the polls” for Ambrose Laboucane.<sup>408</sup> On the first ballot, Stan Daniels received 534 votes to become president while Joe Blyan received 197 which was enough to take the vice-president position. Laboucane came third with 134 votes.<sup>409</sup>

---

<sup>406</sup> Clint Buehler, “Rivalry For M.A.A. Presidency on Again,” *The Native People*, July 16, 1976, 1.

<sup>407</sup> Wendy Gray, “Stan Daniels M.A.A. President Again,” *The Native People*, August 13, 1976, 1.

<sup>408</sup> Gray, 1.

<sup>409</sup> Gray, 2.

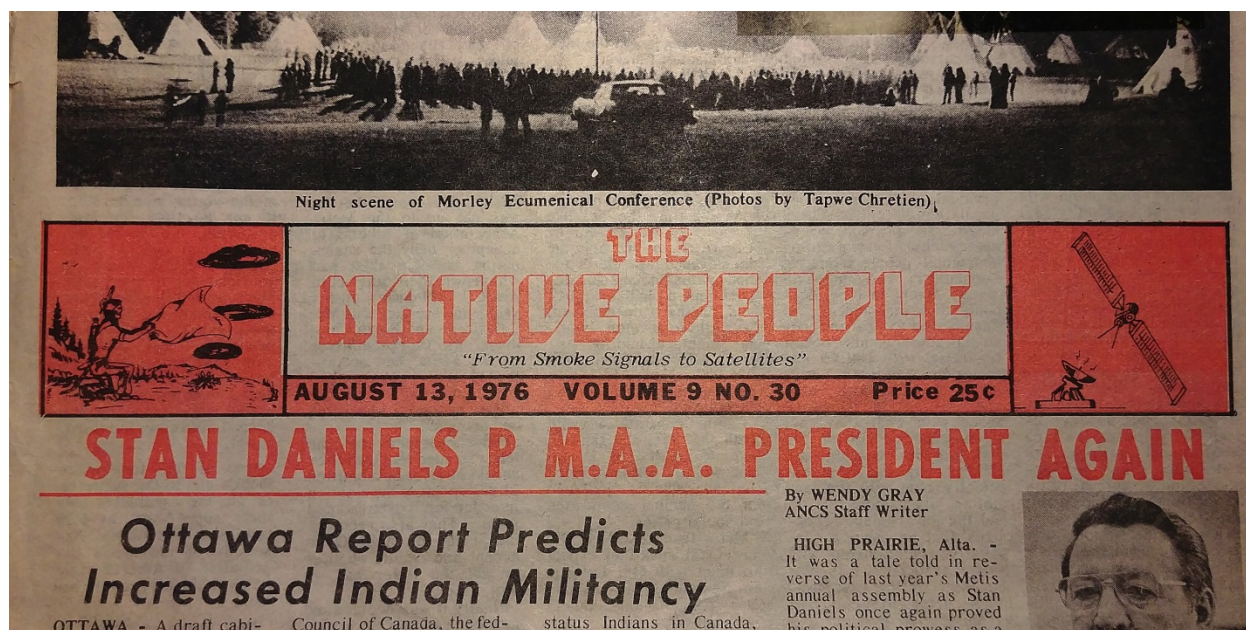


Figure 19: *TNP* front page: University of Waterloo Library. Special Collections & Archives. *The Native People*, August 1976, page 1.

A few weeks after the election, Stan Daniels published the new MAA board policies and guidelines in *TNP*. The most significant move that Daniels made as the head of the MAA was to reinstate ANDCO and AHC support. Joe Blyan, as MAA Vice-President, was placed on the board of ANDCO. By the end of 1976, Stan Daniels' took on housing as his biggest priority. In the Christmas edition, Daniels published a stream-of-consciousness rant because he was "totally disgusted" that eight Indigenous people had died in five different fires within a two-week span.<sup>410</sup> Daniels told the readers of *The Native People* that he was "totally disappointed but not frustrated, it just makes me madder to continue and to further the efforts of what I have been punched in the belly if I am wrong and I know I am going to take more criticism."<sup>411</sup> Daniels promised to spend his term as president fighting for solutions to the housing problem.

<sup>410</sup> Stan Daniels, "Message from the President of MAA," *The Native People*, December 17, 1976, sec. Metis Newsletter: A weekly report on its activities from the MAA, 4.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

The Metis Association of Alberta had the most coverage of any group in the pages of *TNV* which included exciting election news and decentralization which was the biggest issue of 1976. Based on the coverage displayed in the ANCS newspaper, *The Native People* had a positive, if neutral relationship with AIM and the MAA in the 1970s.

Like the *The Native Voice*, *TNP* was a professional paper with access to information as a branch of the Alberta Native Communications Society. *The Native People* published a lot of content with their bi-weekly newspaper. Compared to the first two publications, *The Native People* presented itself as a national newspaper concerned with covering Indigenous content in a neutral manner. The ANCS was committed to supplying Indigenous content for Indigenous readers of all stripes and was a left-wing activist paper. Journalists such as Angela Mah, Gary George, Clint Buehler and more were professionally trained and responsible for a bi-weekly newspaper for over a decade. For every article published, there was a tagline for the author and place, much like mainstream newspapers. Articles were always attributed to the writer, unlike *The Native Voice*. The articles *TNP* published were well researched pieces which tackled a myriad of issues from social problems Indigenous people in Alberta faced to scandals that did little to further their cause. The writers reported on many issues such as social problems, political organization, alcohol abuse, incarceration, and education. The sheer volume of content presented by *TNP* made it more difficult to pinpoint an overarching organizational position on most issues. It is hard to say if this was a deliberate organizational power dynamic of the paper based on the year of newspapers examined in this project. Compared to *The Native Voice*, *TNP* had more authority to claim political neutrality as AIM and the MAA faced their share of support and rejection in the pages of *TNP*. *The Native People* and the issues they highlighted created the

reality facing young Indigenous people in the 1970s. A young Indigenous man was more likely to go to jail than university. *The Native People* wobbled between hope and disappointed introspection. For every article that highlighted a positive contribution of an individual, there was an article that chastised the readers. However, the people that this newspaper highlighted are the real stars. Grassroots activists who ran friendship centres or who finished university degrees in order to help Indigenous communities came alive for me in the pages of *The Native People*. The field workers and friendship centre directors may not have a book written about their lives but they were crucial members of the activist community. Their contributions are the legacy which current Indigenous activists have to work with today.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

According to a report published by *The Native People*, Nelson Small Legs Junior was buried on a hill over-looking his reserve so that he “could look over the land” he had fought for.<sup>412</sup> This particular protest illuminated injustices against Indigenous people that had carried on for centuries and which they still faced in the 1970s. The *Native Youth Movement*, *The Native Voice* and *The Native People* were activist newspapers which detailed various social problems. Alcohol abuse, poor housing, unfair working conditions, barriers to education and casual racism were serious social barriers for Indigenous people. In the 1970s, young Indigenous men were more likely to end up in jail than to graduate from high school. The hope that activists provided shone through articles which praised high school graduates, successful housing programs, new rehabilitation programs and successful individuals who spoke on a national level for their home communities.

The *Native Youth Movement* newspaper was an expression of identity formation that was and remains common for Indigenous youth who are frustrated with societal barriers outside of their control. Issues such as alcohol abuse and prejudice defined the concerns of Saskatchewan’s urban youth. Young activists such as Wayne Stonechild, Bob Cyr and Fred McArthur took matters into their own hands and coordinated their efforts to create a support base. This newspaper served as a community and an outlet for the problems of the day. Poems and drawings were a defining feature of this circular. Strong language couched in anger and frustration were common in the *NYM* publication. Based on the short and infrequent printing of *Native Youth Movement*, this paper was the clearly the most inexperienced and it was not based in a long history or bureaucracy. This youthful, activist mentality allowed the *NYM* to present a unique, critical analysis of older institutions. For me, this paper was the most enjoyable to read. I am not far removed from the teenage anger and frustration so I could relate well to a lot of what was being said. The most impressive action performed by the *NYM* was that they tackled the solvent sniffing problem on the streets. It was inspiring to read about regular people focused on a particular goal with results. It

---

<sup>412</sup> Gray and Erasmus, “A.I.M. Leader Stages Protest Suicide,” 1.



reminds the reader that grassroots activism is a struggle every single day. The *NYM* also stressed the importance of community in urban settings.

*The Native Voice* contrasted the inexperience of the *NYM* because the Native Brotherhood of B.C. relied on their forty year history as their base of legitimacy. The leaders whose names were featured in *TNV* articles maintained important positions in provincial or federal politics. However, many of the articles were not attributed to a specific author. As a result, most of what was published in the second newspaper reflected organizational issues common to the Brotherhood. Frank Calder's insistence of political neutrality was complicated by the fact that he wrote that statement from a privileged position as an elected politician. Some of the issues that the Brotherhood presented involved fisheries, land claims and scandals. The monthly publications presented easily accessible and linear stories. Their method was more professional than the *NYM* but was not as inclusive as the *Native Youth Movement* or *The Native People*. For example, very little column space was dedicated to women or Metis people. The readership of *TNP* was understandably narrow as they relied on membership dues from fishermen and associated workers to put out the paper. Additionally, this newsletter focused on their main advocates, Frank Calder and Guy Williams which drowned out the voices of women. Just like Guy Williams, *TNV* was a "believer in the system."<sup>413</sup>

*The Native People* was the most professional and well-rounded newspaper. The trained staff were diligent in their efforts to produce a newspaper biweekly. Each article listed an author and place. Angela Mah, Gary George and others emulated a mainstream newspaper in their presentation. This newspaper opened like a mainstream paper and the sections were predictable from week to week. For example, *TNP* had a well-developed Sports section that was not explored this paper. *TNP* covered a broad on a range of issues. Their methods are an example for Indigenous-run media because both regional and national issues were reflected in this newspaper. However, the Alberta Native Communications Society provided such a wide base of opinion that it was difficult to pinpoint their stance on any particular issue. The ANCS had deep roots in the province, therefore their readership was more varied and geared towards all Indigenous

---

<sup>413</sup> Anderson, "Portrait of a Statesman."

people, including Metis, incarceration rates, education, and political organization were the main topics discussed.

The activists of the 1970s are the role models of aspiring Indigenous activists today. It was the efforts of these activists which created the opportunities for modern Indigenous academics, politicians, teachers and knowledge keepers. Reading about Nelson Small Legs Junior was an important moment of personal development for me, even though I only knew of his story from an archive far from where he lived. From a distance, I mourn his death but his courageous actions inspire me to continue the struggle. One letter to the editor of *The Native People* expressed frustration at the mismanagement and environmental degradation perpetrated by provincial and federal officials. This contributor hoped that the national conversation about the protest suicide would motivate Canadians to stop treating “the symptoms of the problems rather than dealing with the causes.”<sup>414</sup> Another reader addressed Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau directly and asked him to take action so that Nelson’s death would be honoured.<sup>415</sup> The story of Nelson Small Legs Junior in conjunction with the material covered in the *Native Youth Movement*, *The Native People* and *The Native Voice* provided compelling evidence that conditions in the 1970s were not favorable for young Indigenous people. Reserve conditions were depressed because of a lack of obtainable or relevant education and training. In the cities, high incarceration rates due to poverty and a sense of hopelessness permeated all aspects of life. Unfortunately this trend continues today. Indigenous communities continue to face suicide crises and Indigenous women face violence and the silencing of their voices. Despite this, these newspapers are an example of activism that worked to better the lives of Indigenous people. Young Indigenous people continue to grow up in a conflicted atmosphere of hope and frustration. Activists across the country work steadily to increase the opportunities available to Indigenous youth. This important era of Red Power has inspired me to find motivation in the smallest victories. I hope that I make our ancestors proud.

---

<sup>414</sup> Gary Hooe, “Letter to the Editor,” *The Native People*, May 28, 1976, sec. Letter to the Editor, 4.

<sup>415</sup> Hope McLean, “Open Letter To Trudeau,” *The Native People*, May 28, 1976, sec. Letters to the Editor, 4.



## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- "Aboriginal Claims Tack Thwarted by Government." *The Native Voice*. September 1973, sec. Front Page.
- Adams, Sharon. "Higher Education for Native People." *The Native People*. June 11, 1976.
- Agecutay, Claudia. "Unite." *Native Youth Movement*. February 1972, sec. Poetry.
- "Alberta Native Communications Society (ANCS) | Edmonton Maps Heritage." Accessed August 19, 2017. <http://www.edmontonmapsheritage.ca/location/alberta-native-communications-society/>.
- An Act to Amend the Indian Act, 134 § 6 (1927).
- Anderson, David. "Bonnyville Rehab Centre Opens." *The Native People*. October 10, 1976.
- Anderson, Willy. "Political Involvement Favored." *The Native Voice*. October 1973.
- . "Portrait of a Statesman." *The Native Voice*. October 1973.
- Arnault, Ken. "Of Frustration." *Native Youth Movement*. May 1972, sec. Poems and Prose.
- Bass, Eleanor. "Northern AVC's Offering Adult Education Courses." *The Native People*. April 2, 1976.
- Brass, Billy. "Spotlight on Discovery Centre." *Native Youth Movement*. September 1972, sec. Letters.
- "Brotherhood, Union Act Jointly: Salmon Strike Seems Certain." *The Native Voice*. June 1973.
- "Brotherhood-Union Talks Held in April." *The Native Voice*. April 1973.
- Buehler, Clint. "Bogle Lists Housing Aid Provided By Government For Native People." *The Native People*. June 4, 1976.
- . "Calgary Local Supports MAA Decentralization." *The Native People*. April 23, 1976.
- . "Editor's Notebook." *The Native People*. April 16, 1976, sec. Editorial.
- . "Fox Says Natives Must Demand Rights." *The Native People*. January 16, 1976.
- . "M.A.A. Drops Staff, Plan to Restructure." *The Native People*. April 2, 1976.
- . "M.A.A. Plans Political, Services Split." *The Native People*. April 16, 1976, sec. Reprint from Calgary Herald.
- . "Nelson Small Legs Jr. Remembered." *The Native People*. May 21, 1976.
- . "No Room For Incompetence." *The Native People*. May 7, 1976, sec. Editorial.
- . "Prime Concerns of Rural and Native Housing Program." *The Native People*. December 3, 1976.
- . "Rivalry For M.A.A. Presidency on Again." *The Native People*. July 16, 1976.
- "Calder, Barrett in Atlin." *The Native Voice*. August 1972.
- Calder, Frank. "Ignorance or Prejudice?" *The Native Voice*. July 1972, sec. Editorial.
- . "Land Claims, Rights Should Be Settled." *The Native Voice*. September 1973, sec. Front Page.
- . "Make Vote Count." *The Native Voice*. August 1972, sec. Editorial.
- . "Nisgha Urge Speedy Action on Land Case." *The Native Voice*. February 1973, sec. Front Page.
- "Certification Issue at Oct 15 Hearing." *The Native Voice*. September 1974.
- Clifton, Johnny. "Brotherhood's New Officers Hail Predecessor's Efforts." *The Native Voice*. March 1973.
- "Communications Trainees Graduate." *The Native People*. September 5, 1975.
- "Conflict of Interest? Paul's \$18,000 Chiefs' Contract." *The Native Voice*. August 1973.
- Cook Junior, William. "Statement by William Cook Junior, Secretary-Treasurer of Native Brotherhood of B.C." *The Native Voice*. July 1973.
- "Court Ruling Backs Indian Land Claims." *The Native Voice*. August 1973, sec. Front Page.

Cranmer, Joan. "Joan Cranmer Resigns, Attacks Chiefs' Council." *The Native Voice*. August 1973, sec. Editorial.

"Critical Calder Keeps Faith in NDP, Duties." *The Native Voice*. February 1974.

Cyr, Bob. "Cutex Will Kill." *Native Youth Movement*, February 1972.

D, Thompson. "A United Youth." *Native Youth Movement*. February 1972.

Daniels, Stan. "Message from the President of MAA." *The Native People*. December 17, 1976, sec. Metis Newsletter: A weekly report on its activities from the MAA.

"Decision Reserved in Certification Bid." *The Native Voice*. October 1974.

Dixon, Alvin, Diana Recalma, and Joe Clarence. "Brotherhood Clearances." *The Native Voice*. September 1974, sec. Editorial.

———. "We Shall Overcome." *The Native Voice*. December 1974, sec. Editorial.

Dumont, Gabriel. "Untitled." *Native Youth Movement*. May 1972, sec. Poems and Prose.

Durocher, Jim. Letter to the Editor. "Metis Association of Saskatchewan." Letter to the Editor, February 1972.

Durocher, Rod. "Discrimination at Sandy Bay." *Native Youth Movement*. May 1972.

Durocher, Toni. "Metis People." *Native Youth Movement*. May 1972, sec. Report From the Field.

Eberts, Tony. "Minister's Target: An Indian Magna Charta." *The Native Voice*. December 1972.

Erasmus, Delphine. "Effects of MAA Decentralization Feared." *The Native People*. July 2, 1976, sec. Letters to the Editor.

"F. Quilt Inquiry Cursory." *The Native Voice*. April 1972, sec. Front Page.

Farley, Bill. "Cultural Genocide." *The Native People*. September 22, 1976, sec. Editorial.

Ferguson, Hattie. "Tribute Paid Senator, Wife." *The Native Voice*. April 1973.

Findlay, Tom. "Quilt Inquest Result: Police Told To Take Care With People." *The Native Voice*. August 1972, sec. Front Page.

Fisher, A. "Drug Discovery Program." *Native Youth Movement*. February 1972.

"Fishermen's Assistance Crisis: Indian Program Budget Balloons." *The Native Voice*. October 1974.

"Fishermen's Assistance Renewed." *The Native Voice*. June 1973.

"For 3% A Chance, For Others, Welfare." *The Native People*. June 11, 1976.

George, Dan. "Across The Ages." *The Native Voice*. February 1972, sec. Poetry.

George, Gary. "Chiefs Seek Action on Urgent Housing Problems." *The Native People*. March 12, 1976.

———. "Home Dream for Wabasca Families . . . But Land Problems Are Complication." *The Native People*. April 2, 1976.

———. "Housing Society Formed, 13 Homes This Year." *The Native People*. April 2, 1976.

———. "Pretenders Hurt AIM Image." *The Native People*. March 12, 1976, sec. Editorial.

George, Gary, and Clint Buehler. "A.H.C. Blamed For Native Housing Flaws." *The Native People*. May 7, 1976.

Gray, Wendy. "Kehewin Life Skills Student s Graduate." *The Native People*. May 14, 1976.

———. "Stan Daniels M.A.A. President Again." *The Native People*. August 13, 1976.

Gray, Wendy, and Sam Erasmus. "A.I.M. Leader Stages Protest Suicide." *The Native People*. May 21, 1976, sec. Front Page.

Griffiths, John. "Senator Says Indians Must Now Help Selves." *The Native Voice*. February 1972.

"Headline." *Native Youth Movement*. September 1972.

Hooze, Gary. "Letter to the Editor." *The Native People*. May 28, 1976, sec. Letter to the Editor.

Hunter, Sherleen. "The Human Zoo." *The Native People*. February 6, 1976, sec. Opinion.

"Indian Control of Indian Education." In *Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education*, 131–49. Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1972.

- "Indian MLA First Minister." *The Native Voice*. September 1972.
- "Indians on School Boards Urged." *The Native People*. May 28, 1976.
- "Indians Raise Doubts Over Quilt Inquest." *The Native Voice*. January 1972, sec. Front Page.
- Jeffery, George, and Godfrey M. Kelly. "Brotherhood Position on Union Relationship." *The Native Voice*. August 1974, sec. Editorial.
- Johnston, W. "AIM Militancy Criticized." *The Native People*. July 2, 1976, sec. Letters to the Editor.
- Jones, Ray. "The People Speak." *Native Youth Movement*. May 1972.
- "Justice Must Be Done." *The Native Voice*. May 1972, sec. Editorial.
- Krueger, Tom. "Verdict Lost 4-3: Court Split in Nishga Land Case." *The Native Voice*. January 1973, sec. Front Page.
- Laboucane, Ambrose. "The Metis Flag." *The Native People*. February 20, 1976, sec. Editorial.
- Lacina, Gayle, S. "Ethyl Alcohol." *Native Youth Movement*. May 1972, sec. Poems and Prose.
- Lafleur, George. "Majority of Prisoners Are Young Natives." *The Native People*. September 26, 1975, sec. Editorial.
- "Land Issue Big At Chiefs' Meet." *The Native Voice*. May 1974.
- Lavalley, Lorrie. "Your Brother in Struggle." *Native Youth Movement*. February 1972.
- "Lethbridge's Napi Houses Offer Alcoholics New Start." *The Native People*. July 2, 1976.
- "Loophole Allows School for Enoch Band." *The Native People*. March 26, 1976.
- MacLean, Summer. "Half of Northland Teachers Change Over Every Year." *The Native People*. February 6, 1976.
- . "Native Students Handicapped by Constant Teacher Turnover." *The Native People*. February 20, 1976.
- . "Northland Teacher Difficult Problem to Solve." *The Native People*. February 13, 1976.
- . "Session at Manning Explores Metis Problems." *The Native People*. February 13, 1976.
- Mah, Angela. "20,000 Natives in Edmonton Have Many Social Problems." *The Native People*. March 19, 1976, sec. Front page.
- . "ANDCO GETS 400 NEW HOMES, 200 FIXED." *The Native People*. March 26, 1976.
- . "Elder Sets Mood for Nechi Graduation." *The Native People*. May 14, 1976.
- . "Group Disrupts CNFC Activities." *The Native People*. March 12, 1976.
- . "Natives Start New Parolee Program." *The Native People*. September 19, 1975.
- . "Peigan Day School Began as Special Program." *The Native People*. May 28, 1976.
- . "Unique School Opens at Kehewin." *The Native People*. September 22, 1975.
- Marshall, Mel. "Editorial." *Native Youth Movement*. February 1972, sec. Editorial.
- . "Untitled Poem." *Native Youth Movement*. February 1972, sec. Poetry.
- Mason, S.D., and C.F. Holmes. "Validity of AIM Accusations Questioned." *The Native People*. July 2, 1976, sec. Letters to the Editor.
- McArthur, Collin. "The Elite 'Smoke Signal.'" *Native Youth News*. November 1972.
- McArthur, E. "Excerpts From Native Youth Movement's Founding Conference." *Native Youth Movement*. May 1972.
- . "Native Brotherhood Prince Albert Penitentiary for Native Brotherhood Anniversary." *Native Youth Movement*. May 1972.
- McArthur, Fred. "100 Years of Frustration." *Native Youth Movement*. February 1972.
- . "Editorial." *Native Youth Movement*. September 1972.
- . "Editorial Note." *Native Youth News*. November 1972, sec. Editorial.
- . "Native Youth General Report." *Native Youth News*. November 1972.
- . "Rehabilitating the Convict or X-Con." *Native Youth News*. November 1972.

- . “Religion.” *Native Youth Movement*. September 1972, sec. Editorial.
- . “The Communist Manifesto.” *Native Youth News*. November 1972.
- McLean, Hope. “Open Letter To Trudeau.” *The Native People*. May 28, 1976, sec. Letters to the Editor.
- “More Money to IFAP But Problems Remain.” *The Native Voice*. December 1974.
- “Mulish Minister.” *The Native Voice*. August 1974, sec. Editorial.
- “Nelson Small Legs Sr. Chief of Peigans.” *The Native People*. December 3, 1976.
- “New Quilt Inquest in Kamloops.” *The Native Voice*. May 1972, sec. Front Page.
- “Nishga Leaders Hopeful.” *The Native Voice*. February 1973, sec. Editorial.
- “Nishga Statement: Land Claim Policy.” *The Native Voice*. June 1974.
- “On Solvents And Drugs.” *Native Youth News*. November 1972, sec. Editorial.
- “Onchamainahos School Officially Opened.” *The Native People*. November 5, 1976.
- “Ottawa, Victoria Toss Claims Ball.” *The Native Voice*. June 1973, sec. Front Page.
- Oughtred, Russell. “Joint Effort Against Alcohol at Fort MacLeod.” *The Native People*. March 5, 1976.
- . “Parents Must Take Responsibility Says Native Studies Coordinator.” *The Native People*. October 17, 1975.
- . “Poundmaker’s Lodge Model for Centre in Lethbridge.” *The Native People*. April 2, 1976.
- “Over 20,000 Members: Brotherhood Meet Biggest Yet.” *The Native Voice*. December 1974, sec. Front Page.
- Page, Beverly. “Is Red Power, Red Fire?” *The Native People*. September 5, 1976, sec. Editorial.
- Pascal, Blair. “Discovery Centre.” *Native Youth News*. November 1972, sec. Recreation.
- Pastion, Gil. “The Native Liberation Song.” *The Native People*. July 16, 1976.
- Paston, Gil. “The Traditional Indian Ways.” *The Native People*. January 9, 1976.
- Pritchard, Margaret. “MAA Decentralization Opposed.” *The Native People*. March 19, 1976, sec. Letter to the Editor.
- Protected Author. “Our Brother’s Keeper?” *The Native People*. July 30, 1976, sec. Editorial.
- “Quilt Case Questioned.” *The Native Voice*. January 1972, sec. Editorial.
- “Quilt Case Under Study.” *The Native Voice*. February 1972, sec. Front Page.
- “Quilt Inquest Shows Conflicts in Evidence.” *The Native Voice*. July 1972, sec. Front Page.
- Rainville, Hazel. “National Brotherhood Week.” *Native Youth Movement*. May 1972, sec. Poems and Prose.
- Rankin, Harry. “Noted Lawyer Charges Quilt Case Bares B.C. Racism.” *The Native Voice*. February 1972.
- “RAVEN to the Rescue: Native Radiophone System Successes.” *The Native Voice*. August 1972, sec. Front Page.
- “RCMP Plant Claimed By AIM Leader.” *The Native People*. July 2, 1976.
- Recalma, Diana. “Chiefs’ Parley in November Requires Sharp Reassessment.” *The Native Voice*. September 1973.
- . “Delays Threaten ‘RAVEN’ Network.” *The Native Voice*. July 1973, sec. Editorial.
- . “Fund Delay Puts RAVEN Into Crisis.” *The Native Voice*. September 1973, sec. Front Page.
- . “Questions Remain Over Calder ‘Firing.’” *The Native Voice*. August 1973.
- . “RAVEN Video Aided by Citizens’ Fund.” *The Native Voice*. February 1974, sec. Editorial.
- Recalma, Kristina. “A Distressing Reaction.” *The Native Voice*. August 1973, sec. Editorial.
- . “Brotherhood Needed.” *The Native Voice*. April 1974, sec. Editorial.
- . “Brotherhood Rebirth.” *The Native Voice*. August 1973, sec. Editorial.
- . “It Rests on Readers.” *The Native Voice*. September 1973, sec. Editorial.
- “Senator Proposes ‘Justice’ Committee.” *The Native Voice*. March 1972, sec. Front Page.

- "Sharp Differences: Five Quit Chiefs' Staff." *The Native Voice*. August 1973.
- Pelletier, Gwen. "Native Youth Discovery Program Report." *Native Youth News*. November 1972.
- Sinobert, Albert. "Prince Albert Penitentiary." *Native Youth Movement*. May 1972.
- "Small Legs Brother Pledges 'It Will Be Done' To Rally." *The Native People*. June 11, 1976.
- "Speech From the Heart: Senator Cites Indian Tragedies." *The Native Voice*. November 1974.
- "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy." Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1969. [http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/inac-ainc/indian\\_policy-e/cp1969\\_e.pdf](http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/inac-ainc/indian_policy-e/cp1969_e.pdf).
- Stonechild, Billy. "Recreation." *Native Youth Movement*. September 1972.
- Stonechild, Stan, and Bruce Soonias. "Native Youth Discovery Program Report." *Native Youth Movement*. November 1972.
- Stonechild, Wayne. "The Executive Council." *Native Youth Movement*. May 1972.
- Swampy, Beryl. "Guest Editorial." *The Native People*. February 13, 1976, sec. Editorial.
- "Teachers Reject Northland Division Positions." *The Native People*. April 16, 1976.
- Thompson, Martin. "Alcohol Reaps Heavy Toll." *The Native People*. September 5, 1975, sec. Back Page.
- . "Alcoholism Counselling Program for Bonnyville." *The Native People*. April 2, 1976.
- . "AVC Gets More Interest from Natives." *The Native People*. February 13, 1976.
- . "AVC Said Pleased with Past Programs." *The Native People*. June 11, 1976.
- . "Lac La Biche Women Act to Prevent School Drop Outs." *The Native People*. August 13, 1976.
- . "Rodney Soonias Earns Law Degree." *The Native People*. May 14, 1976.
- . "Time An Essence For Housing Success." *The Native People*. October 29, 1976.
- . "University: These Natives Succeeded." *The Native People*. May 14, 1976.
- Travers, Lincoln. "Indian Metis Liaison Offices Closed to Centralization of Services." *The Native People*. February 20, 1976.
- . "Major Restructuring of MAA Proposal." *The Native People*. March 1, 1976.
- . "Metis Squatters Refuse to Move for Sewer." *The Native People*. February 20, 1976.
- "TREATY." *Native Youth Movement*. September 1972, sec. Poems.
- "Trudeau Promises Probe of Complaints in Letters." *The Native People*. May 21, 1976.
- "Union Refuted: Facts Presented in Clearance Rift." *The Native Voice*. September 1974, sec. Editorial.
- Williams, Guy. "A Dream Was Born in the Charlottes." *The Native Voice*. May 1973.
- . "All One Body We . . . Road to Better Times." *The Native Voice*. December 1972, sec. Editorial.
- . "Calder Resigns." *The Native Voice*. October 1972.
- . "Implications Under Study." *The Native Voice*. January 1973, sec. Front Page.
- . "Looking Backward: The Indian Act." *The Native Voice*. April 1973, sec. Editorial.

## Secondary Sources

- Absolon, Kathleen. *Kaandossiwin : How We Come to Know*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2011.
- Adams, Howard. *Prison of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View*. Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1989.
- Adema, Seth. "Not Told by Victims: Genocide-as-Story in Aboriginal Prison Writings in Canada, 1980–96." *Journal of Genocide Research* 17, no. 4 (2015). [https://journals-scholarsportal-info.libproxy.wlu.ca/pdf/14623528/v17i0004/453\\_ntbvgiapwic1.xml](https://journals-scholarsportal-info.libproxy.wlu.ca/pdf/14623528/v17i0004/453_ntbvgiapwic1.xml).



- Barker, Joanne. "Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women's Activism." *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 7, no. 1 (2006): 127–61.
- Borrows, John. "Let Obligations Be Done." In *Let Right Be Done*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Cardinal, Harold. "Hat in Hand: The Long Fight to Organize." In *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- . *The Rebirth of Canada's Indians*. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977.
- . *The Unjust Society*. Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1969.
- Cobb, Daniel, M. *Native Activism in Cold War America*. Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2008.
- Cobb, Daniel, M., and Fowler, eds. *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since 1900*. Santa Fe: Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research, 2007.
- Dickason, Olive Patricia. *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. 3rd ed. London: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Dickason, Olive Patricia, and William Newbigging. *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*. Second Edition. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Dyck, Noel. *What Is the "Indian Problem": Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Getty, Ian, A.L., and Donald Smith B., eds. *One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978.
- Green, Joyce. *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*. Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2007.  
<http://www.oneca.com/IndianControlofIndianEducation.pdf>.
- Jamieson, Eric. *The Native Voice: The Story of How Maisie Hurley and Canada's First Aboriginal Newspaper Changed A Nation*. Halfmoon Bay: Caitlin Press, 2016.
- Johnston, Patrick. *Native Children and the Child Welfare System*, 1983.  
[http://books2.scholarsportal.info.libproxy.wlu.ca/viewdoc.html?id=/ebooks/ebooks0/gibson\\_crkn/2010-12-16/1/10220619](http://books2.scholarsportal.info.libproxy.wlu.ca/viewdoc.html?id=/ebooks/ebooks0/gibson_crkn/2010-12-16/1/10220619).
- King, Thomas. *An Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America*. Canada: Anchor Canada, 2012.
- Lawrence, Bonita. "Real" Indians and Others" *Mixed Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.
- Manuel, Arthur. *Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-Up Call*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015.
- Manuel, George. *The Fourth World*. New York: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd, 1974.
- McFarlane, Peter. *Brotherhood to Nationhood: George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1993.
- Morgensen, Scott, L. "Cutting to the Roots of Colonial Masculinity." In *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities and Regeneration*. Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2015.
- Patterson II, E. Palmer. "Andrew Paull and the Early History of British Columbia Indian Organizations." In *One Century Later*, 43–60. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978.
- Posluns, Michael, W. *Speaking with Authority: The Emergence of the Vocabulary of First Nations' Self-Government*. New York: Routledge, n.d.
- Shewell, Hugh. "Dreaming in Liberal White: Canadian Indian Policy, 1913-2013." In *Aboriginal History: A Reader*, Second. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Shreve, Bradley, G. *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism*. Oklahoma: University of Oklaholma Press, 2011.

- Sinclair, Murray. *Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools: They Came for the Children*. Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012.  
[http://www.myrobust.com/websites/trcinstitution/File/2039\\_T&R\\_eng\\_web\[1\].pdf](http://www.myrobust.com/websites/trcinstitution/File/2039_T&R_eng_web[1].pdf).
- Smallface Marule, Marie. "The Canadian Government's Termination Policy From 1969 to the Present Day." In *One Century Later*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978.
- "Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Inquire into the Claims of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia, as Set Forth in the Petition Submitted to Parliament in June 1926." Proceedings, Reports and the Evidence, Session -1927 1926.
- Tuhiwai Smith, Linda. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Twelfth Impression. New York: St Martin's Press, 2008.
- Waldram, James, B. *The Way of the Pipe: Aboriginal Spirituality and Symbolic Healing in Canadian Prisons*. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1997.
- Weaver, Sally, M. *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-1970*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- Wilson, Shawn. *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2008.
- Wineguard, Timothy. *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the First World War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.