

Nit-acimonawin oma acimonak ohci
This Is My Story About Stories

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I have always been told that we learn from stories, and that this is the way of the Cree. What is meant by this is that it is through the telling of stories that we learn, and begin to understand the Cree way of knowing, being and seeing. Embedded in these stories are teachings about such things as history, animals, personal relationships, relationships between human beings and non-human beings, and survival.

Oral tradition is the way of the Cree. However, it is not only the Cree who have this long-standing tradition. All of the original inhabitants of Turtle Island (North America) have similar traditions—traditions that have existed from time immemorial. As Penny Petrone suggests, “Canada’s Indian peoples, however, do not share a common literary heritage. Tribal literatures [or oral traditions] are culturally specific to each of the five cultural groups in Canada . . . [and] their oral cultures reflect this great diversity in their histories and literatures.”¹ Moreover, as John Snow Jr. writes, “the oral history of the Redman in North America is intimately tied to the distinct knowledge systems of a tribe or nation of Indians.”²

Nonetheless, the nature of the oral tradition is common among all of the people of Turtle Island. The oral tradition is representative of a process of socialization or acculturation for each Aboriginal collectivity. Socialization and acculturation in each society occur through experiencing oral tradition. That is, oral tradition contains within it the ways of the people, and their culture, history and traditions. This knowledge is passed from generation to generation through stories, songs, ceremonies, and orations.³

Within Cree society, stories are traditionally held by elders. Elders are those who know, regardless of age or gender.⁴ These people may not always be the old ones, for being old does not necessarily imply that one is a keeper of the oral tradition. However, people who hold pieces of the oral tradition and who have the right to speak of it may not necessarily be referred to as elders, but merely as storytellers, singers or orators.

In most societies, not everyone has the right to tell stories, sing songs, perform ceremonies or give orations. Although oral tradition belongs to the community, it is the property (in a non-Western sense) of those to whom it

has been passed and who therefore hold it.⁵ That is, the oral tradition has been bestowed upon certain individuals by others, or through their dreams, visions or experience. This ensures that the oral tradition is maintained and that only those who have the necessary qualities have the ability to socialize and maintain the traditions, and thus society.

Like all cultures, Aboriginal collectivities are dynamic, not static. This was the case historically (both in pre-colonial and colonial times), as well as in the present. Cultures change over time. Oral tradition is didactic in nature, meaning that it is meant to instruct. Oral tradition is also a negotiated reality or truth, meaning that it is continuously revised, affirmed, adapted and expanded through experience, community input and interpretation.

As Thomas King suggests, "there is a strong misconception that Native oral literature [or the oral tradition] is an artifact, something that vanished as an art form in the last century. Though virtually invisible outside a tribal setting, oral literature remains a strong tradition."⁶ It has remained a strong tradition in many Aboriginal communities (and households) despite the fact that the colonization and modernization processes have consistently tried to destroy both the oral tradition and the language in which it is conferred.⁷ However, regardless of the fact that oral traditions continue to exist – both partially and totally – using the languages of the colonizer, one must not forget that oral traditions of many cultures have been destroyed or virtually eliminated. This has occurred because of the annihilation of nations such as the Beothuk, or through government policies aimed at ending the speaking of Indian languages and the practicing of Indian cultures in order to "civilize" and "assimilate" the Indian.⁸

Oral traditions continue to exist in most Aboriginal collectivities. However, oral tradition is not the same as it was in pre-colonial times. The colonial experience has taken its toll on oral tradition, as languages have been lost or nearly eliminated, and facets of the oral tradition (particular songs, stories or ceremonies) have not been conferred on future generations. However, just as the oral traditions of the Aboriginal collectivities were constantly developing in pre-colonial times, they have continued to develop and adapt throughout the colonial experience – as have other facets of Native (and non-Native) life – as new stories, songs and ceremonies were added to traditional repertoires and history continued to be recorded in the minds of the people.

Today, as in the past, oral tradition has expanded to include not only stories, songs, ceremonies and orations that are pre-colonial in origin; but it has continued to develop and expand in the colonial period. As a result,

there exist songs, stories, ceremonies and orations that encompass such issues and events as the demise of the buffalo, treaties, residential schools, and first encounters with Europeans. The dynamic nature of the oral tradition is exemplified in the following statement by Penny Petrone:

Oral traditions have not been static. Their strength lies in their ability to survive through the power of tribal memory and to renew themselves by incorporating new elements. . . . As a consequence [of the colonial experience], narratives of more recent origin have adapted and absorbed European folktales, Christian legends, historical accounts, contemporary reserve and urban stories and jokes.⁹

Just as the content of the oral tradition of any particular society changed and evolved since the commencement of the colonial experience, so too has its form. Oral tradition is no longer strictly oral. That is, it has come to be conferred on an audience using a multitude of different mediums. Traditional stories, songs, ceremonies and orations have been wrongfully (mis)appropriated, written down and published since the start of the colonial experience by such people as missionaries, anthropologists, government officials, historians, authors and new-agers.¹⁰ Not only have these traditional stories, ceremonies and songs been written down historically, they have also been documented utilizing all forms of cultural reproduction, including film, visual art and dramatization.¹¹

Apart from this historical and contemporary (mis)appropriation of the oral tradition, in recent years there has been an increased willingness among many Aboriginal people to share oral storytelling and Aboriginal culture in general in public forums.¹² The result has been the transformation and the resurgence of oral tradition. It has been transformed in the sense that non-sacred stories and songs have been transformed into cultural commodities that are easily accessed by people regardless of their ethnicity, their readiness to know, and their ability to understand and comprehend in a respectful manner both the subject matter and the culture from which the commodified oral tradition originated.

Although many Aboriginal cultural producers have been influenced by their oral tradition, not all Aboriginal writers, singers, artists or dancers incorporate their oral tradition into their work. It would be wrong to assume that all Aboriginal cultural producers incorporate their oral tradition into their work, or that they all should do this. As Thomas King suggests, "it assumes that the matter of race imparts into the Native writer a tribal understanding of the universe, access to a distinct culture, and a literary

perspective that is unattainable by non-Natives."¹³ As well, it ignores the fact that Aboriginal cultural producers may want to depict issues "which do not, in and of themselves, satisfy the expectations conjured up by the notion of 'Indianness'."¹⁴ Furthermore, it ignores the fact that many Aboriginal authors might not be comfortable dealing with typically "Aboriginal issues" or culture, or that they may find it inappropriate to do so.¹⁵

Meanwhile, the form that oral tradition takes has also been transformed. Many Aboriginal cultural producers, influenced by their oral tradition, have incorporated it into their work. Thus, cultural productions such as literature, art, drama and music have been influenced by, and have incorporated oral tradition. In some cases, such as music, the production may even be seen as a continuation of the oral tradition of the artist, as well as the community of which the artist is a part. Daniel David Moses seems to be suggesting that the reason for this transformation is simple. He states that Native peoples

are living now, in this world, and like everyone else we have to deal with mass media, everything from video to paperback books. Of course our ways of expressing ourselves are no longer only oral storytelling. We have seen other media and some of us know them intimately enough to use them to express whatever we need to express.¹⁶

One of the ways in which the oral tradition of Aboriginal collectivities of North America has developed is through the medium of contemporary music. According to Les McLaughlin, a producer for CBC North, in recent years there has been "a resurgence of interest in aboriginal music."¹⁷ Although not all of this music may be seen as either being influenced by the oral tradition or as a continuation of the oral tradition of the artist, much of it can be.

As such, I believe that much of the contemporary Aboriginal music, if not all, performs functions, intentionally or not, similar to those performed by the oral tradition of years gone by. The majority of Native music, both past and present, has been mainly didactic with some intrinsic entertainment qualities. Music has been and continues to be representative of a process of socialization that facilitates a way of knowing, being and seeing through both rhythm and words. This is exemplified by viewing songs as *acimonak*, or short stories that teach about such things as history, relationships with those around us, the problems we are facing and cosmology. Thus, like the oral tradition, contemporary Aboriginal music, regardless of genre, contains within it teachings. These teachings are conferred by the stories contained in both the lyrics and the actual composition or score, and may or may not

be apparent to the listener, regardless of culture.

Most contemporary Aboriginal musicians write and perform songs that teach about their history. Take for example, the song "Poundmaker" by Art Napoleon, a Cree from northern British Columbia who has traveled throughout the world with his music. Written as a tribute to one of the greatest and most well known Plains Cree chiefs in the colonial period, the song teaches the listener about this great man, his life, his mission and his fate. The didactic nature is demonstrated throughout the song, as Napoleon tells an *acimona* or a short story about a man who is "buried high up on the hill, up in old Saskatchewan . . . [who] tried to lead his people from the white lies to the truth . . . [and who in doing so] curbed a lot of men his way to Cutknife Hill that fateful day."¹⁸

Napoleon is not the only artist who uses his songs as oral histories to tell of past events and people. Robbie Robertson and the Red Road Ensemble's recent album *Music for the Native American* has on it several songs that have the same didactic qualities as "Poundmaker." For example, "Words of Fire, Deeds of Blood," written by Robbie Robertson, was inspired by the words of Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, and reflects upon Chief Joseph's experiences with and thoughts about the treaty negotiations in which he was engaged in.¹⁹

Meanwhile, whereas both "Poundmaker" and "Words of Fire, Deeds of Blood" tell of historic events and great leaders, many other songs record the oral tradition of more recent events and people. In so doing, these songs demonstrate the dynamic and didactic nature of oral traditions in that the telling of stories about more recent events and people using music as a medium of expression may be construed as facilitating one of the primary functions or foundational goals of oral traditions – the recording of history. "I've Got a Horse For You to Ride," by Winston Wuttenee, a Cree from the Red Pheasant reserve in Saskatchewan, recounts a 1982 gathering in Regina where "Indigenous peoples from all over the world . . . gathered together searching for a better tomorrow for their children and looking for solutions to solve the problems of today."²⁰

While many songs are stories about the past, others contain traditional teachings and explanations that reflect the use of the oral tradition as a tool for socialization and acculturation. That is, there are songs that offer the listener guidance by telling stories about traditional ways of being and relating to other human beings and non-human beings. According to Thomas King, "a most important relationship in Native cultures is the relationship which humans share with each other, a relationship embodied within the idea of community."²¹

A musician who uses his music to tell such stories is Winston Wuttenee. His songs "My Son," "I Am An Indian" and "I Cried" are portrayals of people's roles, as well as their responsibilities to each other and to their community. For example, in "I Am an Indian" Wuttenee explains the responsibilities both men and women have to the community, and the role they play within that community.²² He does this by addressing the roles of men and women, and the important spiritual relationship between the individual and the community, both past and present, human and non-human.

The song is more than a story about such things as the role of women as mothers; it brings to light Cree traditions and spirituality in an attempt to explain our roles, relations and responsibilities to ourselves, our communities and our relations. In addition, the song reflects the holistic traditions of Cree society, where men and women together as one represent the whole, and their roles, relations and responsibilities are those of the whole, and not of men or women per se. Thus, Wuttenee is addressing the individual, regardless of sex, when he states:

I am the singer,
 and I am the dancer,
 and I am the prayers I wept.
 I am the song,
 and I am the drum,
 and I am the braids in my hair. . . .
 I am the future,
 and I am the present,
 and I am the beat on my drum.
 I am the brother to all things in nature, and I am the good love alive.
 I am the father who teaches the children, and I am the student of life.
 I am the father,
 and I am the mother,
 and I am husband and wife.²³

Wuttenee's song is as much a teaching about spirituality and pride, as it is teaching about roles and responsibilities. Throughout the song, Wuttenee is alluding to Cree traditions and spirituality to make his point. Although many singers and song writers allude to Native spirituality, this correlation between song and spirituality may not always be evident. If one is not familiar with the culture from which the song emerged, and the power of the words that make up the song (for example, braid and drum in Wuttenee's song), many of the images are lost. Many other Aboriginal singers and

songwriters use their music as a vehicle through which to teach aspects of Native spirituality.

Joanne Shenandoah, an Oneida from Oneida, New York, uses her music to present "the Native American philosophy and heritage which continues today among the Iroquois and other nations."²⁴ This is demonstrated in her song "We Are the Iroquois," which teaches the listener that elders should be listened to, since they are the ones who know the way, and that there are many lessons to be learned from the stories they tell, as well as the "ceremonies, social dances and the songs that we sing."²⁵ Meanwhile, Robbie Robertson also uses his music to teach about Native spirituality and culture. Much of the music on his album *Music for the Native Americans* speaks to this effect. For example, "Twisted Hair" speaks of the tradition and power of dance and song, and "Ghost Dance" tells of the Ghost Dance ceremony, the outlawing of the ceremony and the massacre that occurred at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890 because the participants refused to stop the ceremony.²⁶ While both of these artists utilize their music to teach about spirituality and culture, these teachings are often combined with lessons from history; lessons that many people have yet to learn if we consider the song "Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee" by Buffy Sainte-Marie, which teaches of the second "massacre" that occurred at Wounded Knee, this time in 1970s.²⁷

Many contemporary Aboriginal musicians also use their music to express their pain and anger and to explain the problems of today. Susan Aglukark, an Inuit from Arviat in the Northwest Territories, has written a number of songs that "deal with the myriad of ills that are tearing at the social fabric of the North, including child sexual assault and suicide."²⁸ Such music is a reflection of the realities and experiences of the communities from which the Aboriginal musicians of today have emerged. As such, the music is an expression of the artist's reality. This is exemplified by Aglukark's song "Kathy I," in which Aglukark "laments the loss of a cousin and friend, Kathy, who killed herself."²⁹

While these songs may simply be the voice of the writer's frustration, pain and anger, they, too, are stories that teach. They teach of the reality of life in many Native communities – a reality of suicide, violence, alcohol, drug and solvent abuse, neglect and sexual assault. However, not only do these songs teach about the issues facing many Natives and their communities, many attempt to offer guidance in dealing with these problems. Winston Wuttenee's song "I Cried" tells of a young girl who came to the city, got involved with drugs and alcohol, attempted suicide and turned her life around by accepting Native spirituality.³⁰ Thus, many of the songs not only

reflect upon and teach about the problems facing many Aboriginal people, they also offer guidance and help.

Much like the oral tradition, contemporary Aboriginal music teaches about a multitude of subjects, some of which have been addressed in this paper. However, in its contemporary form, Aboriginal music goes beyond socializing the society from which it emerged, as it offers a counter-discourse to the colonial discourse. As Emma LaRocque suggests, "Native writers face a monumental but purposeful task: that of giving a voice to a people's journey that spans centuries."³¹ For me, this is suggestive of the need to tell and explain from the Native point of view, who we are, what we are and what our history is. According to Alanis Obomsawin, "the basic purpose is for our people to have a voice. To be heard is the important thing, no matter what it is we're talking about."³² Nonetheless, it is not just a matter of being heard. Native cultural producers must also face the myths and stereotypes projected by Canadian society. As a result, Emma LaRocque claims that "we are pressed to explain, to debunk, and to dismantle. To the war of the ways against us, we are moved to retrieve, redefine, and reconcile our scattered pieces."³³

Thus, it is not just enough to sing. Contemporary Aboriginal musicians must, and for the most part do, try to bridge the gap between Native and non-Native society by offering up and teaching about a particular issue from a Native point of view that is, in and of itself, an attempt to redefine and reconcile the colonial discourse embedded within the dominant society. As W. H. New suggests, "only when the margins participate more actively in the mainstream, by implication – effectively altering it – will the mainstream itself come to closer understanding Native experience, Native beliefs, Native perspectives on human relationships, the spirit world, the nature of nature."³⁴

Accordingly, the mere existence of Aboriginal musicians works to bridge the gap between the colonizer and the colonized and to counter the colonial discourse, since they present a more realistic view of the past, present and future. As the popularity of Aboriginal artists such as Kashtin, Susan Aglukark and Wapistan has demonstrated, this bridge building is even possible when the artists perform in the languages of their people. Kashtin's Claude McKenzie and Florent Vollant exist today, sing in Innu today, are proud of their past, and will continue to exist, as will their culture, well into the future. Thus, while their presence counters traditional stereotypes, their popularity bridges the gap between the two societies, since it allows music to create a common link and reference point.

Mere existence and popularity is not the only means by which traditional

stereotypical views are debunked, dismantled and redefined, and the gap between the two societies bridged. By telling stories about such things as history, spirituality and contemporary issues, the music of contemporary Aboriginal musicians has given a voice to Native peoples through which to counter the colonial discourse. One of the best examples of this is "Poundmaker" by Napoleon. "Poundmaker" offers a very different view of this great leader, and the events and outcome of the Northwest Rebellion than that offered in traditional history texts. By presenting a different view of Chief Poundmaker, Napoleon is also allowing his entire audience to see the Chief as he is seen by the majority of the Plains Cree. In so doing, the *acimona* (story) about Poundmaker becomes a bridge, in that it communicates and shares a way of understanding and knowing with the audience, regardless of ethnicity.

While contemporary Aboriginal music may be viewed as offering a counter-discourse to the colonial discourse, and as building a bridge between Native and non-Native society, the music also serves to build bridges between Natives as well. That is, as Thomas King explains,

for Native audiences, the twentieth-century phenomenon of Native storytellers from different tribes sharing their stories in a common language . . . has helped to reinforce many of the beliefs that tribes have held individually, beliefs that tribes are now discovering they share mutually.³⁵

Through contemporary Native music, the audience learns about other cultures, and the differences and similarities between Native cultures and their own. As well, the music has added to the evolving "pan-Indian" culture, intentionally or not, through its bridge-building.

Contemporary Aboriginal music not only builds bridges between Aboriginal collectivities and their respective cultures, it builds bridges between Native individuals and those cultures. That is, it makes Aboriginal culture available to those Aboriginal people who are not part of a community or who are separated from their community, or those who are part of a community whose oral tradition and culture has "fallen by the wayside." As such, contemporary Aboriginal music plays an important role as an educator as well as an instrument that conveys an identity.

By building bridges, contemporary Aboriginal music also serves as a healing mechanism, in several ways. By building bridges between Native society and the dominant society, that is by facilitating an understanding through the telling of stories about history, traditions, spirituality and problems, contemporary music attempts (intentionally or otherwise) to heal

the rift of misunderstanding, mistrust and negative stereotypes. Healing the rift between the two societies is not the mainstay of contemporary Aboriginal music. Rather, it functions more as a mechanism to heal Aboriginal peoples and their communities. It performs this task in several ways. For the most part, the music alone has a soothing effect, without even listening to the words. Much of the music brings to light the sound of more traditional music, which draws in the listener and engulfs them. As a result, even when you cannot understand what is being said, if it is in a language not your own, you find yourself lost in the music. Temporarily free from those burdens that hold you to the ground, you find yourself, mind and body as one, becoming the heartbeat of the nation through the drum, or soaring above like an eagle.

The use of the drum in the majority of the music represents the heartbeat of the nation. It is reminiscent of more traditional music and traditional teachings. As such, the music draws one into the heartbeat of the nation, and the heartbeat of the nation becomes part of you, and you become part of it. This is similar to the effect that the drum has at a Pow Wow; that is, as an individual you become one with those around you, relax as they relax, and the problems of the world are set aside, if only for a little while.

Apart from the individual healing powers that the music has within it, the words of the music also have the potential to act as an agent of community healing. Healing takes many forms, and is the result of many things. Contemporary Aboriginal music provides a sense of being, a way of knowing, a sense of pride and guidance. These are provided through the teachings or the stories relayed through the song. "Poundmaker" by Napoleon not only teaches the audience about this great chief, it instills a sense of pride and a mission. For instance, Napoleon questions where Poundmaker's people are today and reminds us that "we need men like him today."³⁶ Thus, much of the music offers a vision, a vision recast by Natives for other Natives, a vision that offers an alternative to the present existence, and a sense of hope and passion.

This same sense of vision and hope is present in most contemporary Native music. It does not seem to matter whether the music is teaching about traditional ways of being, knowing and seeing (otherwise called Native spirituality) or if it is talking about the problems of today. All of this music gives hope, since it provides Native people with role models who take from the past, live in the present and look toward the future. Healing occurs from within, with new directions in life being pointed out as reminders about traditions that are then bestowed upon you. Teachings about traditions remind us how we best exist together, how we should relate to the community and how we have a responsibility to that community.

For the most part, music heals by talking about social problems, such as suicide, that are not normally talked about openly by either individuals or communities (Native or non-Native). The music lets you know that you are not alone, and in many cases provides guidance and strength to deal with the problem at hand. The music causes one to listen and reflect – reflect about what has been said, and the problems facing both individuals and communities. By not offering up the primal solution or lecturing about a specific problem, it allows listeners to listen and to “draw their own conclusions using their own thoughts,”³⁷ which is important in most Aboriginal cultures.

In this light, a lot of contemporary Aboriginal music can be viewed as performing a healing function. How it performs those functions is similar to a talking circle (sometimes referred to as a healing circle), yet incomplete. According to Rupert Ross, the talking circle is a combination of intellectual and spiritual healing, which aims to address and heal the person as a whole, and not pieces of the person or the problem.³⁸ For me, the talking circle, as a mechanism of healing, is a creation of a spiritual state that involves listening and reflecting upon the stories which the others tell, more than it does upon talking yourself, and the music performs this function to some degree. However, the healing process involves recognizing your own problems and allowing them to come out so that they may be resolved. Although a lot of contemporary Aboriginal music may facilitate the onset of this process, it does not provide for this process. That is, it does not provide support for the person dealing with the problem, or an audience for his or her disclosure.

Thus, through contemporary Aboriginal music, the oral tradition has once again become a means to heal (if only to start the process) that is available to everyone – Native and non-Native – and not just those in close contact with Elders, or in institutions where healing takes place (for example, a prison that has a Native spirituality program). This has occurred because it is through the oral tradition that Native peoples learn, and begin to understand their traditional ways of being, seeing and knowing. That is, through the telling of stories, listeners learn about themselves, their problems and their community, and begin the healing process. Thus, as the oral tradition has been incorporated into, or has developed into, contemporary Aboriginal music, the music itself has become a vehicle of learning and the means by which the stories are told.

I have always been told that we learn from stories, and that this is the way of the Cree. The way of the Cree has changed over time, and today stories are being told through contemporary Aboriginal music. However,

contemporary Aboriginal music is not the only way in which stories are being told. Stories are also being conferred by the music of the dominant society. In fact, much of the dominant society's music is similar to contemporary Aboriginal music, in that it tells stories and teaches about the history of the society, about problems the society is facing and about relationships between individuals and their communities. Thus, contemporary Aboriginal music is not the only form of music that embodies the oral tradition of a culture and tells the stories of that culture. As a result, I am left reconstructing the knowledge that has been given to me. To that end, I must state that while we learn from stories, this is not only the way of the original inhabitants of Turtle Island, but it is the way of all of the inhabitants of Turtle Island presently.

Notes

- 1 Penny Petrone, *Native Literature in Canada: From the Oral Tradition to the Present* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 9.
- 2 John D. Snow Jr., "Understanding Aboriginal Rights and Indian Government," in *The Cultural Maze: Complex Questions on Native Destiny in Western Canada*, ed. John W. Friesen (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1991), p. 136.
- 3 Petrone, p. 9.
- 4 Joseph E. Couture, "The Role of Native Elders: Emergent Issues," in *The Cultural Maze: Complex Questions on Native Destiny in Western Canada*, ed. John W. Friesen (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1991), pp. 201-14.
- 5 Daniel David Moses and Terry Goldie, eds., *An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. xx.
- 6 Thomas King, ed., *All My Relations: An Anthology of Contemporary Canadian Native Fiction* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990), p. xii.
- 7 Basil H. Johnston, "One Generation From Extinction," in *Native Writers and Canadian Writing*, ed. W.H. New (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990), p. 14.
- 8 Johnston, pp. 14-15.
- 9 Petrone, p. 17.
- 10 Such writings include *The Jesuit Relations and Medicine Woman* [Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791* (Cleveland: Burrows, 1900); Lynn Andrews, *Medicine Woman* (San Francisco: Harper, 1983).
- 11 Such cultural productions include the film *Legends of the Fall*, and the 1994 song "Indian Outlaw" by Tim McGraw.
- 12 Petrone, p. 17.
- 13 King, p. x.
- 14 King, p. xv.

- 15 Moses and Goldie, pp. xix-xxi.
- 16 Moses and Goldie, p. xiii.
- 17 Brian Bergman, "Pride of the Arctic," *Maclean's*, 13 February 1995, p. 67.
- 18 Art Napoleon, "Poundmaker," *Napoleon* (1992).
- 19 Robbie Robertson & the Red Road Ensemble, "Words of Fire, Deeds of Blood," *Music for the Native Americans* (EMI Music Canada, 1994).
- 20 Winston Wuttene, "I've Got a Horse For You to Ride," *Handsome Warrior* (Winnipeg: Sunshine Records).
- 21 King, p. xiii.
- 22 Winston Wuttene, "I Am An Indian," *Handsome Warrior* (Winnipeg: Sunshine Records).
- 23 Wuttene, "I Am An Indian."
- 24 Joanne Shenandoah, *Joanne Shenandoah* (Rockville, MD: Redline Music Productions, 1989), album cover.
- 25 Joanne Shenandoah, "We Are the Iroquois," *Joanne Shenandoah* (Rockville, MD: Redline Music Productions, 1989).
- 26 Robbie Robertson & the Red Road Ensemble, "Ghost Dance," *Music for the Native Americans* (EMI Music Canada, 1994).
- 27 Buffy Sainte-Mairie, "Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee" *Up Where We Belong* (Mississauga: EMI, 1996).
- 28 Bergman, p. 65.
- 29 Bergman, p. 65.
- 30 Winston Wuttene, "I Cried," *Handsome Warrior* (Winnipeg: Sunshine Records).
- 31 Emma LaRocque, "Preface," in *Writing the Circle: Native Women of Western Canada*, ed. Jeanne Perreault and Sylvia Vance (Edmonton: NeWest Publishers, 1990), p. xxvi.
- 32 Alanis Obomsawin, quoted in LaRocque, p. xxvi.
- 33 Obomsawin, quoted in LaRocque, p. xxvii.
- 34 W. H. New, ed., *Native Writers and Canadian Writing* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990), p. 7.
- 35 King, pp. ix-x.
- 36 Napoleon, "Poundmaker."
- 37 Rupert Ross, *Dancing with a Ghost: Exploring Indian Reality* (Markham, Ontario: Octopus Publishing Group, 1992), p. 79.
- 38 Ross, p. 147.