

Synopsis of the Recent History of the Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke Submitted by Davis Rice - updated in January 2020

Introduction

This document is a short synopsis of the history of the Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke (MCK). It shows how resilient and complex a people we are and showcases the events that lead to the creation of the MCK. We must remember that prior to the *Indian Act*, we strived to maintain our independence and fought for the betterment of our people.

We owe a great deal to our forefathers for their commitment and tenacity in maintaining continuity throughout the years.

Although our history is vast, this document considers the period between 1960 to present day, when inroads lead to the removal of the Indian Agent's control on the community.

When examining the events and the takeover, we must consider the complex steps it required to take on such an endeavor. The evolution from the Mohawk Recreation Association in 1960 to present day is something the MCK is extremely proud of.

There are approximately 40 units and organizations within Kahnawà:ke. These organizations have a consistent mission based on similar philosophies and values shared throughout the community.

Pre-1800s: Traditional Government

Prior to the involvement of Europeans into our affairs, Mohawk settlements were run under a traditional government format, in which all members of the community had a say and where the collective aimed to come to consensus.

The people were divided into three clans (Bear, Wolf, Turtle) and each clan had three clan mothers, who chose three chiefs. For certain topics, meetings would be held for days. Upon consensus, the chiefs were obligated to carry out the wishes of the people.

1800s - 1904: The Introduction of Band Councils

The history of the MCK is vast and has evolved tremendously throughout the centuries. In the 17th century, prior to the Indian Act, Kahnawà:ke was a Christian Mohawk settlement and had a relationship with the Jesuits. The chiefs were represented by the different traditional people in Kahnawà:ke. This relationship lasted over 100 years until the British conquest of New France, creating in turn the "band of the Iroquois of Caughnawaga."

In 1884, the *Indian Advancement Act* allowed for “advanced” bands to be trained to exercise municipal powers. This came into effect in 1889 after a petition by the Crown claimed the present chief and system was unfair to the entire community.

This resulted in the reserve splitting into six “sections” where one representative from each section would govern through an election. This was the beginning of the Indian Act chartered band council system.

The Indian Agent

A major component of this system was an Indian agent, who had to approve all decisions.

We accepted, reluctantly, the *Indian Act* and cautiously considered this as a framework for our relationship with Canada. Whenever Canada tried to use its influence, we often reacted strongly against it. By 1904, we began to understand the true purpose of the Act.

1904-1964

Between 1904 and 1964, we had an elected council who could make certain laws in respect to recreation, some health issues and other minor issues. This was all contingent upon the approval of the Indian agent. It must be noted that throughout the years, there were ongoing battles for every step we attempted to make.

The Indian agent was present in Kahnawà:ke from 1821 until 1955. The agent’s responsibility was to oversee the well-being of the community on behalf of the government. The Indian agent instilled Canadian laws and values, often contrary to Kahnawà:ke’s laws and values.

The Paul K. Diabo Case

Ironworker Paul K. Diabo and others challenged the United States, who had ruled that Mohawk ironworkers were aliens and did not have the right for free passage to work in the U.S. (Mohawks were told they needed visas to work in the States). The case went all the way to the Supreme Court, which ruled in favor of the Mohawks in a 1926 landmark decision. The ironworkers were supported by the entire community, which saw the elected council and Traditional bodies working together to defend the right to unfettered border crossing rights.

Political Parties Form in Kahnawà:ke

In the 1940s, a political faction materialized in the community. This group was called the Intelligent Party. This party represented the on-reserve businesses and members living off-reserve (such as the ironworkers) and those with formal education. This group was closely allied with the church and wanted the expansion

of the Indian Act and the elimination of the traditional longhouse. In opposition to this was the Common Group, which consisted of council chiefs and longhouse people who wanted a return to a traditional government and a complete abolition of the *Indian Act* in Kahnawà:ke.

In 1947, a parliamentary review over the Act was held. Mathew Lazare represented the Common group. He presented a six part position:

1. Return to a traditional-style government.
2. Control over membership.
3. Rejection of Canadian citizenship.
4. Rejection of taxation.
5. All non-Indian residents to be removed from the reserve.
6. Demand the removal of the Sisters of Ste. Anne from our schools.

The Intelligent Group was represented by Ed Beauvais. They presented 3 points.

1. Move the election date to July to allow members working and living in the US to participate in the elections.
2. Impose a literacy test for all politicians.
3. Require exams for those who held office.

Although both parties presented their positions, very little change occurred.

The Expropriation of the Seaway

The following ten years brought on the battle of the expropriation of Kahnawà:ke lands for the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. MCR's 357/56-57 and 353/57 specifically showed the council's opposition: "We never ceded to the Seaway and reiterated this was our land."

The expropriation for the Seaway was the last straw for many in community. Physical protest proved futile and the rest is history. If there was anything gained by this era, it was the beginning of the emergence of much stronger political determination.

This began the complete mistrust towards Canada and a move of control over our affairs. These years began with the creation of institutions that went beyond the powers of the Indian Act. We began to implement/integrate key elements in philosophies, traditions and principals. The radical transformation of the MCK had begun.

1960 to 1978: The Take-Over of the Administration

In 1962, the Mohawk Recreation Association (MRA) was created which enabled an original transfer of \$8000 and allowed for the first administration of its kind. At this

time, the council meetings continued to take place, but full participation was always difficult for “volunteers.” There was a recognized need for compensation.

The band funds that were used by the Indian agent to contract projects, such as road infrastructure, buses, social service and policing were taken over and overseen by the elected council. “If the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) could use band funds to operate the community in the past, then it was time for us to reap the rewards,” stated then-Grand Chief Andrew Delisle Sr.

By allowing some council members a salary to manage certain projects in the community, it allowed for a greater assurance to exercise our right to govern our own affairs.

Expo 67 Brings First Kahnawà:ke Police Force Recognition

1967 brought the World’s Fair to Montreal (Expo 67), which demonstrated the emergence of the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke. The Indians of Canada pavilion was a showcase for Canada’s Indigenous peoples. The Mohawk Council viewed it as an opportunity for recognition. The council insisted (and was successful) in creating our own police force to secure the pavilion. We replaced the RCMP and provincial police with men from the community through appointment. This was a breakthrough for asserting our right to police our own affairs. This continues in Kahnawà:ke to this day with the firm establishment of the Kahnawà:ke Peacekeepers, who, when necessary, work cooperatively with the Surete du Quebec and the RCMP.

As the MCK continued to develop the infrastructure of the community, several institutions were established;

The Kahnawà:ke Fire Brigade

The KFB was created between 1958 and 1962 by a group of concerned volunteers from the Kahnawà:ke Knights of Columbus chapter. A Band Council Resolution from 1969 recognized the group as the official volunteer community fire brigade. The first medical and ambulatory service was launched in 1970.

Kateri Memorial Hospital Center

Originally started in 1905, the charitable hospital in Kahnawà:ke known as L’hôpital de Sacre Coeur de Caughnawaga was managed by nuns. There would be no resident physician until local Dr. Jacobs began his practice in 1931. In 1955, after financial difficulties, the council took over the hospital with volunteers. Over the next 20 years, the hospital continued to face funding challenges. In 1970, the Health Action Committee helped set up the only community-run health center on an Indian reserve. In 1984 the MCK and Quebec signed an historic nation-to-nation agreement in which Quebec agreed to fund a new hospital to replace the aging original building.

Kahnawà:ke Shakotia’takenhas Community Services

Kahnawà:ke has been involved in the delivery of social services since 1973. Over the last 40 years, Kahnawà:ke has proven its abilities to provide and administer basic social services to our community, with strong support by the MCK. In 1983, a formal agreement with the CCS Richelieu was signed. Kahnawà:ke became the first Native community to administer its own second line of services, specifically youth protection. Since 1998, we have administered a comprehensive community health plan, which continues today.

Kahnawà:ke Education

In 1968, the joint unification agreement was established and accepted by a parental vote in 1970. This agreement was developed because it had become increasingly evident that an externally controlled school system operating on reserve at that time was inferior and not accountable for its performance to the community. From that time, the Kahnawà:ke education system was developed. In 1988, all elementary and secondary schools were completely taken over from INAC.

Modern History (1978 – 1999)

The Caughnawaga Band was formally changed to the Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke in 1978. This was the first official documented evidence that it was time to rid itself of the *Indian Act*.

1978 brought the start of the Kahnawà:ke Survival (High) School. This was entirely a community movement. The backing of the MCK was necessary in order to obtain the funding for the success of this significant institution.

In 1981, a vocal movement arose for the community to return to an official traditional government.

1988 brought the “blue building” tobacco raid, the first raid on our territory that resulted in the MCK negotiating at the highest level the recognition of Kahnawà:ke and the control of our affairs.

1990 was a chapter in Kahnawà:ke that will live on forever. Too many events took place during that summer to document. What is important to remember is how the community stood together and relied on the MCK for stability. At the beginning of July, donations were arriving as the standoff continued. Many necessities were needed, including the continued management of the territory, the purchase of food and basic needs. The MCK continued housing services, infrastructure and operations, even though the community was cut off from the outside world for 78 days.

The Kahnawà:ke Peacekeepers were officially recognized by the outside governments in 1996. Prior to this, the MCK officially funded the force through various programs not funded by the Department of Indian Affairs. This

demonstrated that the MCK understood the need for our own policing, regardless of the costs.

1998 brought the Ice Storm, shutting parts of the province and leaving Kahnawà:ke without power for up to three weeks. The MCK offices remained open 24 hours a day, continuously answering the needs of the people. At this time, just about every neighboring city in Quebec had declared a state of emergency and brought in the armed forces to assist them. The MCK refused to declare such an emergency and advised the armed forces not to enter our territory. Kahnawà:ke took care of itself, coming together again in crisis and relying on the MCK for stability. The Emergency Preparedness team received the Governor General's Award for their efforts.

1999 saw the signing of the Quebec "10 Agreements," which solidified a relationship with the province to compensate funding for services not previously funded

There are approximately 20 units within the MCK, ranging from Client-Based Services, Lands, Legal Services, Housing and more, to Strategic & Organizational Development.

There are over ten community organizations, all of which are overseen by community members, who have a relationship with the MCK via the Mohawk Council Resolutions or Executive Directives that maintain a harmonious understanding and who share similar values and philosophical ideology that make Kahnawà:ke unique.

MCK: NOT LIKE OTHER BANDS

Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke's Achievements Outside of the *Indian Act*

The question isn't, "What has the MCK done in contravention to the *Indian Act*?" but, rather, "What has been achieved outside of the *Indian Act* since the 1970's?" Since the inception of the Act, the council has regularly done things beyond the scope allowed by Section 85 of the Act. Many steps taken by the council are in direct opposition to what is normally allowed. For this exercise, a few examples are presented here that will show to what degree the council felt was needed to move forward to protect the best interest of Kahnawà:ke. Before this, one must remember what the *Indian Act* is about. Below is a short summary:

The Indian Act

The *Indian Act* is the principal statute through which the Federal Government administers Indian Status, local First Nations government, management of reserve lands and communal monies. It was first introduced in 1876 as a consolidation of previous colonial ordinances that aimed **to eradicate First Nations culture in favor of assimilation into Euro-Canadian society**. The Act was amended several

times, most notably in 1951 and 1985 with changes mainly focused on the removal of particularly discriminatory sections. It is an evolving document that has endless trauma, human rights violations and social and cultural disruption for generations of First Nations people.

The Act also outlines Federal government obligations to First Nations people and determines status on who is an 'Indian.' Through the Act, the government decides who has the right to reside and receive benefits. It is this statute that differs the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke from the Federal Government.

Kahnawà:ke Achievements

Of all the issues and events that have cumulated from the MCK, none stand out more than the justice and membership components. Justice has prevailed in Kahnawà:ke, since its inception back in the 60s when Mohawks developed a policing and justice system that is considered the most comprehensive program in the country. Going back prior to 1967, a community member, Walter Delaronde, decided he would require help in policing our community from the RCMP. He found another community member to volunteer and begin what would eventually become our very first police force, the predecessor of the Kahnawà:ke Peacekeepers.

Justice: Kahnawà:ke has gone well beyond the boundaries of the *Indian Act*. If the Mohawks had the ability to hear all complaints and charges beyond what is allowed under the *Indian Act*, they would. Decisions on offences would be carried out in Kahnawà:ke in a timely and fashionable way. Besides hearing animal bearing issues or trespassing infractions, the ability to hear all would enhance the jurisdiction of Kahnawà:ke. Presently, both Quebec and Canada are entrenched in their position of complete domination over all native communities regardless of the abilities of the First Nations. It is the belief that all First Nations cannot deal with all issues they face. Most First Nations fall under both the federal and provincial jurisdictions regarding their communities. Kahnawà:ke is no different but relies on its belief that we could and that we know what is in the best interests of its community.

(Please note: the above section should be rewritten/updated)

Both governments acknowledge what the Mohawks have accomplished but have difficulty in making formal declarations of recognition, due to their belief that recognition of another government would create problems that they cannot recognize or conform.

The history of justice in Kahnawà:ke is both complicated and impressive. To fully appreciate the magnitude of this subject, one must understand the history. Under *Indian Act* Sections 107 and 87, all Indian agents were appointed as justices of the peace and could hear offences, including cruelty to animals, common assaults, breaking and entering, and offences committed by an Indian, or that relates to the person or property of an Indian.

Section 81 empowers bands to pass bylaws relating to health over residents and the prevention of spreading diseases, regulating traffic, preventing disorderly conduct and nuisance, protection of trespass by animals, construction and maintenance of waterworks, survey and allotments of reserve lands, destruction of noxious weeds, control and prohibition of public games, hawkers and peddlers, management of animal and fish and other game, and the removal of persons trespassing on reserved lands. According to the Act, before the bylaws can be enacted, they must be submitted to the minister for approval or denial.

Since 1940, Kahnawà:ke had eight justices of the peace. At this writing there are three local appointed justices with the ability to hear various offences in the court of Kahnawà:ke. In 1979, the MCK expanded the court to hear all matters other than traffic and hears all band bylaws and communal laws regardless of the recognition from the federal government.

In 1987, the MCK created the constitution of the Justice Committee and justice system. Shortly after, the MCK decided it did not require the blessing of the minister of Indian affairs and refused to submit the laws for approval. Thus, was the beginning to legislate outside both Sections 81 and 82 of the Act and to create communal laws.

Membership: This topic is the basis for which the Mohawks exist. The discrepancies between the position of Kahnawà:ke and the Federal Government have been extremely difficult to navigate and continue to the present day. Canada's insistence of the implementation of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* Kahnawà:ke's version is a non-starter. This is a major stumbling block for any discussions on any issues between both sides. Up until 2008, all discussions on membership were ongoing, with the main concern being the Charter. The Mohawk position on who is a Mohawk vs. Canada's Charter remains a stumbling block and as such caused delays in other areas of jurisdiction.

Membership remains a fundamental issue in all Native communities and the federal government insists on being the ultimate authority on this issue – a position that Kahnawà:ke is fundamentally opposed to. The community's position will remain intact regardless of the pressures from the outside and it is willing to face the consequences that follow.

Kahnawà:ke has long since determined who is a Mohawk of Kahnawà:ke and who isn't. The Federal Government has its list and Kahnawà:ke has its own. The Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke informed the Federal Government of this and, out of courtesy, allowed them to view our Membership Code. The MCK exercised the need to develop this code because the Mohawks demand control over membership, not the Federal Government.

MSI: A major development that has been quietly implemented was the removal of the QSST from the territory. Prior to 1974, QSST (Quebec's workers compensation board) had jurisdiction in Kahnawà:ke for any work done with the province, i.e. bridge work, road maintenance. The Kahnawà:ke workers petitioned the MCK to help remove the QSST from the territory and create our own system. This was a major development but just another example of Kahnawà:ke's persistence in reacquiring the jurisdiction on the territory. This was the beginning of the Mohawk Self Insurance. It must be noted that it took years of persistence and perseverance to develop MSI. Regardless of the amount of time it took, the Mohawks never gave up and in 1984 MSI was formally launched. Any and all work on the territory must now be insured by MSI. The Kahnawà:ke Labor Office was created to oversee all construction on the territory and is recognized by outside governments and allows for community members the protection of all labor issues on the territory.

Housing: In 1979, the Kahnawà:ke housing revolving loan fund was created. This fund allowed for the creation of a small interest loan for first time homeowners. Before this, grants for new construction were given in amounts that proved insufficient for new homes. Originally, seven \$17,000 grants were allotted for new construction. There were no other ways to borrow from financial institutions, as reserve land could not be used as collateral. Therefore, there was a need to convert the grant money into a loan fund. The revolving loan fund now can lend up to \$175,000, with a 5% down payment. Over the years, in excess of 200 homes have been built which allows for the continuing revolving loan to grow. The position of the federal government was to object to this process due to the restrictions posed by the treasury board. Taxpayer dollars are not to be used to make interest or profit from federal transfers. The council at the time felt the need for adequate housing far outweighed treasury board regulations and created the revolving loan fund without the consent of the Federal Government and, to this day, is a success that other First Nations communities try to emulate.

The housing department has grown exponentially, embarking on services created by the MCK that are unforeseen under the *Indian Act*. Without these initiatives, the housing in Kahnawà:ke would not be where it is today. Many housing initiatives across the country are managed by the department of Indian Affairs and are not creative enough to deal with the reality of the day. While problems do occur, the MCK has taken steps to continually improve the service and build in safeguards to ensure solid management structures.

Ultimate Fighting: in 1996, Kahnawà:ke created a Kahnawà:ke athletics law, which allowed for the second exhibition of Ultimate Fighting ever to take place in North America. This was met with great objection from the provincial government, which deemed it illegal, resulting in injunctions and arrests. In the end, the event proceeded, though under great scrutiny and pressure from the outside. It must be noted that the rules and regulations created by this law set the stage for this phenomenon now known as Extreme Ultimate Fighting around the world.

MIT: Mohawk Internet Technologies: An economic project created in 1999, MIT is a database company that hosts online gaming throughout the world. It was a pioneer in the gaming industry that allowed companies to host their websites for a fee that was illegal both in the eyes of Canada and the United States. The MCK continued to demonstrate its jurisdiction in this area regardless of outside governments. Kahnawà:ke is regarded as an example of what is needed in the gaming industry and was the leader in establishing the rules and regulatory requirements for this industry. This project far exceeds what is allowed in the *Indian Act* or any other government agencies and is seen as a major accomplishment in furthering Kahnawà:ke jurisdiction. While Kahnawà:ke continues to license and regulate online gaming, the MCK divested itself from its gaming-related online servers in 2017. It continues to hold an ownership interest in a gaming company now known as Mohawk Online, which is licensed in another jurisdiction to avoid conflict on interest.

Highway 30 Addition of Lands: Approximately 700 acres of Seigneurie of Sault St. Louis land was utilized when the Highway 30 by-pass between Candiac and St. Constant was constructed in the early 2000's. It was agreed that Quebec would return an equal amount of acreage to the community. Approximately 500 acres immediately north of Highway (contiguous to Kahnawà:ke) was identified and returned via the federal Addition to reserve process. The process was delayed by several years when the municipalities of Chateauguay, St. Constant, St. Isidore and Ste. Catherine filed a lawsuit in 2013 to halt the transfer. The Quebec Superior Court ruled in favor of Kahnawà:ke, which allowed the return of the lands to full Kahnawà:ke jurisdiction to move forward. However, the lawsuit resulted in a deterioration of relations between the two sides, which is slowly improving due to the inevitable changes in the political landscape. At this writing (January 2020) there are still 200 acres of land that need to be identified for return to Kahnawà:ke by Quebec.

Other positions and subjects of Kahnawà:ke that have been created contrary to the *Indian Act* are:

- Creation of economic initiatives and support to local entrepreneurs for their ventures
- Nation to nation dialogue between both Quebec and Canada (via Quebec/Kahnawà:ke Relations and Kahnawà:ke/Canada Relations tables)
- Kahnawà:ke control of Environmental issues
- Alcohol beverages control
- Kahnawà:ke Gaming Commission
- Infrastructure services
- Lands unit
- Public security, fire protection and ambulance.
- Cannabis law
- Residency law

Difference between Kahnawà:ke and other First Nations Communities across Canada

The Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke continues to do what is in the best interest of its people regardless of the *Indian Act*. This leads to what is different between Kahnawà:ke and the rest of the native communities across Canada. The simple answer would be the capacity, capability and aggressiveness. On top of this, Kahnawà:ke remains fair and is always willing to help sister communities. Regardless of the issues, Kahnawà:ke remains tactful in its presentation and understands the difficulties that other First Nations experience.

Does the Department of Indigenous Affairs treat Kahnawà:ke different from other communities? The answer is no. However, it is well known that when dealing with Kahnawà:ke the Department often uses kid gloves. Speaking to past officials within the department, dealing with Kahnawà:ke is a challenging exercise. The tenacity by which the Council deals with is well known and the Department fears that other communities may one day replicate what the Mohawks accomplish.

Leadership is the fundamental cornerstone for the success of a government and Kahnawà:ke is a prime example of solid governance practices. The MCK has been fortunate that it has had consistent leadership for over a half-century. Since 1964 there have only been four persons who have served as Grand Chief: Andrew Delisle, Ronald Kirby, Mike Delisle, Jr. and Joseph Tokwiwo Norton. All of those who served as Grand Chief had previously served on council and had the chance to develop their leadership skills before taking on the challenge of Grand Chief.

Across the country, other First Nations look to the Mohawks as inspiration for achievements created and to what extent it took to do so. Mohawks, by nature, tend to be straightforward and aggressive, while other First Nations are often more passive. Unfortunately, we have found that diplomacy does not always work and at times you must be forceful when dealing with outside governments. Mohawks remind other First Nations that they have been dealing with the outside for over 400 years. Many important events have taken place and allowed the Mohawks to understand what is important to the white man and how to deal with them. They argue that the decision to effectively run the community is best understood by the people who are affected by decisions from Ottawa.

Kahnawà:ke has consistently been available to any other community for advice and shares their experience on how it was achieved. It continues to be a long and hard battle that could only see success with tenacity, determination and understanding the reasons to fight.

Kahnawà:ke Community

Most people in Kahnawà:ke are aware of the *Indian Act* but very few know the intricacies involved in the wording of the document. It is far too easy to say “an *Indian Act* band council” without acknowledging the milestones created by the MCK in direct violation to this Act. What the existing council has done (in contravention to the Act) is quite substantial. All the advancements, the creation of departments, development of laws and the increasing recognition of jurisdiction is something to be proud of. The groundwork for the establishment of a nation is well underway.

When opponents criticize what is being done, they must recognize the need, even though it may not be in line with their beliefs. The question remains: What is the MCK trying to achieve to support the self-determination of the traditional beliefs? Much of the language and wording utilized by the MCK seems to respect traditional way and beliefs, but are they allowed to use it? “Why not?” ask some Kahnawa’kehrò:non.

This question has been a stumbling block in the community; Is the MCK selling out the town? One may argue that anything that is under the *Indian Act* is a sellout. If so, why does the MCK continue to move forward? The answer to this is to understand why the MCK – and the community – is determined to contravene the Act. It is the belief of the chiefs that until such time as a traditional government is in place, we shouldn’t and can’t remain stagnant. Everything that has been created will remain regardless of who is in power. There is no point in reinventing the wheel, and Kahnawà:ke will live on independent of the Act.

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The major problem facing Kahnawà:ke the lack of unity or, at least, understanding of the various viewpoints within the community. Until the people stop challenging the legitimacy of the laws created by the community, taking issues to outside court jeopardizes the hard-fought progress made over the years. The community must remember who we are and where we come from. Individualism vs. collectivism has become a dividing issue, rather than something that used to unite us.

We, as Kahnawa’kehrò:non, should take pride in the achievements demonstrated by the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke. We already take pride in challenging the obstacles in front of us. At times, it seems some people in the community take for granted what has been accomplished over the past half-century. It has taken patience and perseverance. Everything presented here is a monument to the people who have helped us survive the ongoing attempts at assimilation. We have not only survived but, as a community, we are moving forward and will continue to do so.

History indicates that the Mohawks have always demonstrated what was necessary to survive and will continue the fight, regardless of the obstacles imposed on them, and take on future challenges with the same vigor and tenacity it has been known for.

**The sources used for the development of this document are: 1) the Institution booklet of the Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke, 2) Dr. Gerald Alfred book Heading our Ancestors and 3) JD Saylor's paper from 2014. A special acknowledgement from past Grand Chief Andrew Delisle Sr. and Chief Billy Two-Rivers who provided great insight through oral interviews.