DOCUMENT NAME/INFORMANT: INFORMANT'S ADDRESS:

INTERVIEW LOCATION:

TRIBE/NATION: LANGUAGE: DATE OF INTERVIEW: INTERVIEWER: INTERPRETER: TRANSCRIBER: SOURCE: PROGRAMME TAPE NUMBER: DISK: PAGES: RESTRICTIONS:

HAROLD READ 466-22nd St. E. PRINCE ALBERT, SASK. PRINCE ALBERT, SASKATCHEWAN NON-INDIAN ENGLISH AUGUST 12, 1976 MURRAY DOBBIN

JOANNE GREENWOOD SASK. SOUND ARCHIVES

IH-406 TRANSCRIPT DISC 100 28

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## HAROLD READ

Mr. Read has lived in northern Saskatchewan for many years. He worked for the provincial government in the fur marketing area, and after retiring, became an adviser to the Trappers' Association. He is married to an Indian woman.

## HIGHLIGHTS:

- Tomkins, Brady and Norris: a comparison of their personalities and their approaches to work and to the native people. - Fur marketing in northern Saskatchewan at different periods. - The slow evolution of local input and decision-making and the replacement of the bureaucratic structure.

## GENERAL COMMENTS:

Harold Read was a long-time worker for the provincial government and a close friend of Brady, Norris and Pete Tomkins. Has long associations with the native people.

#### INTERVIEW:

Murray: Okay. Could you describe a bit how you first met Malcolm Norris and what your impressions of him were at that time and how you came to meet him?

Harold: Well, I came to meet him because I always worked pretty close with native people in the north. In fact, my whole time with the federal-provincial fur program was tied up with northern people and, of course, I always worked with anybody that would support that type of thing. And so naturally I got hold of Malcolm and we talked quite often about these things and with the thought in mind that possibly we could, together, maybe get the things that we kind of wanted, the involvement of people and the planning of people, people being masters of their own destiny and working out their own affairs. And this was, I guess, the reason that I worked with him. And then there was - have you heard of Pete Tomkins?

Murray: Yes.

Harold: Pete Tomkins was quite a man to work with people. There was Brady and Pete and Malcolm, there were three different men altogether. Pete was a chap that got along very well with everybody. He went to many trappers' meetings with me across the north and he used to interpret and used to go on the radio and do those kind of things. Brady, Brady never attended a meeting. We didn't seem to come together as far as

we were just good friends, that's all. Whenever we met, he came up to the house quite often. And at Christmas time, why we used to get a card from him all the time and he was conservation officer down at Cumberland for a while and if we went, we stayed with him there. And he was a different man than Malcolm altogether. And my candid opinion of Malcolm was that he had ambitions to try and accomplish things for the people but many times he gave the native people a fairly rough time and he would bawl them out quite a little bit because they were not as energetic as he was. He differed far from the native people as far as philosophy and thinking and those kinds of things. I guess he was a kind of a 'going concern white man.' Brady could quietly fit in with the native people, and of course, Tomkins fitted in very well because he could be one of them. Now, as I seen Malcolm, he never could be one of the native people although he tried to befriend them. He was many times, I believe, very disillusioned with the native people. And cut the machine off for a minute.

(break in tape)

Harold: No, in the north.

Murray: In the north.

Harold: And so went over and seen Malcolm. I said, "My observation of native people at the present time make me to believe that I wouldn't get as much support from them, although

they asked me to run, and they wouldn't come out and work for me. Maybe some of the treaties might but I wouldn't get as much." So he said, "No, they won't. They'll kick you in the face in the end. They always do that." And so this was the real Malcolm when he come to tell me the honest facts of the

case. Now this was not Brady or Tomkins, you know. This was Malcolm. I used to talk to Malcolm quite a bit and Malcolm was two - you can put this on again if you want - Malcolm was two men. He challenged the white man very heavily and I used to wonder if he did it to win favor with the native people. I didn't know for sure on that. But I never seen Malcolm and the native people together as much as I saw Tomkins and the native people together or Brady and the native people together. Malcolm, as I knew him, longed to accomplish something and he was unable to go slow and he was hurt many times. Not because he wasn't a good man, he was a very smart man, but he seemed to have a problem there.

### Murray: Did he have high expectations?

Harold: High hopes. I don't know if he had high expectations or not, high hopes. And because of his attitude, many times, he didn't make as many miles as he might have. Now Quandt might say this is not the case but this is as I saw it. If Malcolm could have said, "We'll be satisfied with the half mile today," instead of wanting five miles, he might have got further than he did. And then as he got older and his health started to fail him, he said things that I sometimes, I told him, "I don't understand you, Malcolm." One time I told him that I felt that there was only one way for a man to have rest and peace in his soul and that was to have a faith in his God. And he said, "I think that is right." He said, "Of course, I am different than you. I like to go down by the river or go down by the lake and get my rattle." And I laughed and I said, "Why are you a member of the United Church if you go down to the river?" "Well," he said, "that is just for status." Now Malcolm didn't do things for status. And then when I went to

visit him in the hospital several times after his strokes and after his heart attack and stroke, he just grabbed his arm one time with the good arm and he said, "Nothing but dead meat." And I felt sorry for him because he had been willing to give a lot, he had been willing to try and do a lot, but he would always give us a rough time, you know. Unless, if he was tight he'd never gave us a rough time. He always patted me on the back and upheld me highly if he was tight. But if he was sober, he didn't. You'd think it would be the other way which made me feel that maybe he wasn't too much opposed to me. But he was a very smart man and his writings were, came up with the things that he thought.

I never knew if he understood the concepts of community development or not. I used to feel that he felt maybe he could teach them instead of letting them find the answers themselves, which I have found over the past twenty-five years is, in my estimation, the only answer to the problems. I learned quite a bit from Gus MacDonald and from Towel who was always willing to sit down and see what they wanted to do. If northern people wanted to do the wrong thing, well possibly they learned from doing the wrong thing and coming up with the right thing. And I feel that if given an opportunity - and it is very hard for bureaucrats to see this - but if given an opportunity, why they can make greater headway than as if we drive them. And this is something that I never was sure that Malcolm saw that. He was a teacher.

Pete Tomkins said that, up at Gerard I believe and in northern Alberta, he was one of the officials in the Metis colony there. And so he said, "It would be good if we had Malcolm Norris come

up." And so Malcolm came up and spoke to them and he talked to them for a while and then he said, "Your whole problem is you're lazy." And he said, "You know, if you do the things that I do, I can go out and shoot my moose. I get something to eat, I tan the hide, I make my own moccasins and I don't depend on any moonias(?) at all." And so they said to Pete, "Why did you get this guy here, to come and bawl us out for? We weren't interested in that." And so I used to liken Malcolm a little bit to maybe Grey Owl, a man that was striving on and a good man but a man who was fighting a hard battle. And as the years went by, I used to feel that maybe he felt he was losing the battle. Now I don't think Brady felt that way. Brady would maybe feel that the political set-up was not sufficiently progressive to bring about the needs of people, but he never seemed to have the same problems that Malcolm had and....

Murray: Do you think that Brady better understood why native people were in the position they were?

Harold: I think so. I used to feel that I understood native people a lot better than Malcolm did. I felt that Peter Tomkins understood them better than I did and I felt that Brady understood them better than I did. Because Malcolm's ideals were fairly high, you know. And this is just me talking, as I saw the picture. I saw a man that was in two - oh what word do I want? - two cultures almost. A moonias - a white culture and trying to fit in there because maybe of his background and the color of his skin or maybe because of his parents there. Peter Tomkins thought a lot of the Indians. His dad was an Irishman and so he was happy and enjoyed life on all sides. Malcolm continually got knocked down by the politicians. Tomkins and Brady never had those problems. They may swing away left or

something you know, but they didn't have those same problems. But Malcolm challenged everybody. I asked Malcolm once what he thought about me loaning some money to one of the northern people and he said, "They'll never pay it back." And so this was pretty well as I saw him. He studied treaties and those things a lot and I used to wonder would he have seen the treaty as he seemed to see it had he have never been native, if he had no native blood in him. Pete Tomkins saw treaties a little different than Malcolm did. Pete saw them as something that was promised at that time. He never was sure that all the treaty rights in the country would have ever brought about the condition that treaty people say they will.

Murray: So he had a little more jaundiced view of them than Malcolm do you think?

Harold: Yes. It seemed to me that Malcolm made every decision because he was a native. He made the decision on that instead of taking a look at the man deep down inside. Now, I don't know, have you ever met Allan Ahenakew?

Murray: No, I haven't.

Harold: Allan Ahenakew is some 80 years old. I've worked with him a lot. He was the chief for 42 years. A great gentleman. But I can talk to him and sometimes he'll say, "I don't know where we're going." And I mean he's pretty well-educated and he'd say, "Do you know, if we could take a look at the thing from the picture of right and go there, but," he said - this was speaking of the treaty - he said, "they are very militant." And he doesn't go along with that. If there is an important issue he'll express himself but he feels that you don't get too far just through militancy unless you're playing a game where

being militant brings about a condition that you want or something like that.

Murray: You mentioned that Malcolm did many things, you think, because of the fact that he had native blood.

Harold: Well now, this is what I wondered.

Murray: Yes. His consciousness of his native ancestry was, I've heard, was always very close to the surface. Was that something you found in him as well?

Harold: Yes, very much. But I didn't know why he was challenging so much. You don't challenge to win all the time so he couldn't have been looking to win. He would go to a meeting and he would challenge some official knowing, and doing it rough enough to know, that he would lose the support of the people. So he couldn't have been trying to win so I used to wonder now, what is he trying to gain here? What is his ambition here?

Murray: Is it possible that he was trying to prove himself in his own eyes perhaps?

Harold: Maybe, maybe that, yes. You see, when I would talk to Malcolm, I mean there is many people in the north who would maybe challenge this but seeing things as I see them and, I would think, having the support of native people as I've had the support over the years. Right now I'm adviser to the Northern Saskatchewan Trappers' Association. They have asked that I attend their meetings and so forth and they believe that I will give them good and wise decisions and we haven't failed too many times. Now I would feel that maybe my judgement is

not too far out, or at least many people would think it was okay. I've been married for 48 years, my wife is a native. Her mom is native and I know many, many people across northern Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alberta and so forth. There is renegades all right but there is a lot of mighty, mighty fine northern native people. And you take Allan Ahenakew, rates pretty hard with the... see, I've heard them say an honest, Christian, dependable old chap, you know, or gentleman. And so these were the things I didn't just know about him, you know. I think he was trying, and trying very hard. I've read Grey Owl's books so many times. Some people say he was a crook and all these.

In the early years I drove dogs a lot and I had several good leaders. One was a hebier to a collie cross, the leader was. And what a leader that was. You know, I could just run and hook the sleigh in behind a tree or something and let the dog leader take them out full length and tell him to lay there. The other dogs would try and fight for anything, the leader would just lay. He wouldn't budge. I could let him loose at home on the yard, never touched a chicken or anything. Then I had a husky leader that was a pretty good dog to lead out on the trail but he killed every chicken there ever was. Wouldn't matter if you give him a licking or what, any chicken that ever come within distance, he killed it at once. And I felt that you couldn't train that dog. It was in him away back. And we all have conditions and traits and they are some way good and some bad and it's very hard for us to make changes. This is the way I wondered.

You see, Brady used to talk political quite a bit, you know, but he did seem to be fairly happy. When we met, he would run

governments down and that kind of thing but we always got along, you know, there was no beefing, like. And Malcolm was striving as if he had a problem and yet he tried to accomplish things for the betterment of people. And Pete Tomkins, they were three together. Pete Tomkins, he was a happy chap. He didn't have no problems. And I guess maybe he accomplished as much as any of them but he didn't get into as much trouble as Malcolm. You see, Mrs. Reydon, she knew him well. She worked with him. She used to say to him, "Now, Malcolm, you don't believe that," and he'd just laugh.

And at the last, you know, when his heart was bad, I remember one time we went up to Molanosa and he got kind of a minor heart attack and he tried to come back and he drove all the way back with his heart acting up all the time and there is nothing like a heart condition to show you whether you're beat or not. I mean, it takes the strength from away down deep out of you. And this bothered him. And then when he had his stroke and he was just the opposite from positive thinking, if you know what I mean. This is the things I saw. You take if Allan Ahenakew or Pete Tomkins... I went to the hospital to see Pete quite a few times and Pete was glad to see you come and sometimes he'd break down but he was easy on himself. Malcolm didn't spare himself at all and it seemed to... and yet I don't think there was ever a man who tried to accomplish things as much as he did.

Murray: He set high standards for himself and for everyone else.

Harold: Yes, that's right. That's the way I saw him. You see, he was always blowing up the native, putting him away up.

And he criticized him a lot. But he didn't do anything the native did. I mean, his cars were good cars and he never went on a drunk and wrecked his car like some of the whites and the native folks do. He never did these kind of things. His home was always kept pretty good, his family went to school, did well and...

Murray: Do you think his concentration on sort of a middle class lifestyle was in any way a reaction to his sort of consciousness of being part native? Would that have had anything to do with his lifestyle?

Harold: I don't know. You see, I don't know why he would have been conscious of it. This is, as I have said, I don't know just why. You see, if Pete and I were around, we would meet Malcolm. Now, we never entered into the joking sessions with Malcolm the same as it would with Pete. You never mentioned tipi sneaking or anything like this to Malcolm.

Murray: That would set him off would it?

Harold: Well, you just didn't mention it because he wasn't interested in that kind of thing at all. He was fighting battles, you know, but...

Murray: He was a serious business man?

Harold: Yeah, serious business, that's right, always serious.

Murray: And yet I've heard it said too that Malcolm had a sense of humor more than Brady.

Harold: Yeah, but then I would've thought his sense of humor was more of a white man's humor.

Murray: Not the wry sort of humor of the northern native person.

Harold: No, no, I never saw that, no.

Murray: What about Brady as far as sense of humor was concerned?

Harold: Well, lots of fun, you know. Yeah, lots of fun. And

we used to go and stop at his place down in Cumberland when he was stationed there and he welcomed us. Lots of jokes and no problems at all.

Murray: From what you said I get a feeling, and maybe I'm wrong, that there was always a bit of a tension based on race between white people and Malcolm that didn't exist between white people and Jim.

Harold: Yeah, I would have thought so. Now Quandt may have something... You see, Quandt and Malcolm always seemed to me to hit it right off politically, you see. Now maybe that would overdo this, I don't know. But...

(End of Side A)

(Side B)

Harold: ...you know.

Murray: As much as called you a...

Harold: No, he didn't. He wouldn't say you were lying about it or anything but he'd challenge you for it, you know. And, well, maybe he did feel that it was, you know, blew up a bit.

Murray: But that would be a typical kind of response from Malcolm?

Harold: A lot of times, yeah.

Murray: And would Jim have responded the way you described?

Harold: No.

Murray: I mean, he would've...

Harold: Jim would've taken it slower and easy. And, of course, I always felt that Jim wasn't troubled about so many things like that, you know. Jim was...

Murray: An easier going sort of person.

Harold: Yes, and after bigger things.

Murray: Could you elaborate on that? How do you mean bigger things?

Harold: Well, I always felt that Jim was very strong politically. And these were the things that he'd be after - a bigger sweep in government where people would have a greater ruling, you know. You see, something that I think gives

much to be thought about, there is a new federal-provincial fur program that is now being prepared by the federal people with

the cooperation of the provincial government. And there is the Trappers' Association which are mostly native and they are going out and taking this program to the Metis, treaty, and white of the north and saying, "Now, we think this is a good program. We want to tell you something about it. Here it is. What do you think about it?" Now, there is Louis Morin, Chipewyan, Cree, and English with a touch of French. I don't know if you know Louis or not.

Murray: I know of him.

Harold: Yeah, well Louis Morin and there's a chap we call (inaudible). They are gone to the Athabasca area all on their own and they are meeting with a treaty Indian from Pelican and they will meet up there and they will discuss the whole issues and the people will decide what they'd like about it, whether there is changes and all these things. And the Association has said, "We feel that the directors of the Trappers' Association, which have been selected by the trappers, should play a major role in the administrating of this." And now they are out there all alone. This has never been done before. The government has given \$15,000 for administration here just to take this trip around. They are going to do it cheaper than the government would have done it and whatever comes out of it, the government is going to be able to say, "Well this is what you asked for and this is what..."

Murray: Left completely in your hands.

Harold: "And it's completely in your hands." And then the government said, "We will agree to the nine directors having a major position in the administering of the program throughout the next five years." And it'll be maybe around a \$4 million deal if it comes, if the people consider it as okay. And if the people came out three thousand strong on it, well, I don't think the federal or provincial government could hold back on it. And I talked to Louis Morin last night and he said, "It's amazing the way the people are supporting it this time." And he said, "We're having no problems whatever." Now, this is the type of thing that I like. In those times back there, we had kind of the bureaucrats running it all the time.

Murray: A similar sort of thing happened in the late forties with the Fur Marketing Board. Could you describe that effort and compare it to this one?

Harold: Yes, I knew that one very well. Now this was government made. There was a three member group here, the federal, the provincial, and the trapper. There was fur councillors selected by the people, five for each conservation area. There was some 97 conservation areas across northern Saskatchewan but they didn't have any say with policy. Right now, if the trappers wanted to take over that provincial fur marketing service, they could do it.

Murray: Under this new plan.

Harold: Under the new - they could even do it now. But they're a little afraid of it. They feel that they couldn't handle Adam Cook. And so they said, "We don't want to touch it now." But they are going to sell wherever they want. And I

would say whatever they ask for - these directors have shown up pretty good with the government, federal and provincial - and the government, I would say, feels that they can depend on these fellows, not to make a mess of things, but to make a success of things and they are going to listen to them a lot. Now in 1946, I was there in 1946 and it was paternalistic. It was compulsory.

Murray: Top-down.

Harold: Yes, top-down, now it's bottom-up. Now, this summer as an adviser, I've told the trappers again and again because this was... Do you know Gus MacDonald?

Murray: Yes, I've talked to him.

Harold: Gus MacDonald and Art Towel had a lot of grey matter in these things in my thinking. And the people, I lost my point there, what was I talking about?

Murray: You were talking about the trappers and how they were making decisions.

Harold: They made up this program, they showed it to the Trappers' Association, they went over it two or three times and so the Trappers' Association said, "Now we'd like to go out and show it to the people." So the department - we sometimes call them the bureaucrats, eh - said, "Oh, you can't go without the minister says." "Well," I said, "we'll just go and phone the minister." And so the president and I went and got the MLA here. We couldn't get the minister. He tied us up with his executive assistant and we said what we wanted. And he said, "Well, I'm very sure that the provincial government would be

only too pleased. They are not so concerned as to what the bureaucrats are bringing in, we want to know what the trappers are coming in. So go out and get us the opinions, the thoughts, and the ideas and keep us posted right on the thing so that we get the voice of the people. This is what the minister wants."

Murray: This was Mr. Phelps at the time?

Harold: No, I am speaking of... Phelps, he made the shots as they were. And people didn't have much to say. Only that little CCF group at that time. I worked for Phelps and if you didn't go along with Phelps's philosophy, why - I'm not saying it wasn't good. You know, he had a lot of good things. He did a lot of things that maybe couldn't have been done any other way. But now, as far as trappers are concerned, we're having a big, big say that we never had before. And federal will go along with this. So what's going to happen, I don't know. It will just depend on what the people do now. This coming Sunday morning Louis Morin and one chap from the west, Chipewyan, and a Cree from Pelican, they go north and they'll stay up north as long as they feel they should stay up there.

Murray: Talking up there.

Harold: Talking to people and saying, "What do you think about it? Here's one of the petitions. If you think it's good, treaty, Metis, white, where you're from, what conservation area. Do you want changes? If so, what are they?" And this will all come down to government. Bureaucrats not touching it all. Giving them a chance. And I noticed that even in the game synopsis and that the Trappers' Association is coming in

because they are being pretty steady, not radical, giving some good judgement to things. And so this seems to me to be important issues and this is things that we didn't have back in those days.

Murray: Why do you think that was? Was it a lack of understanding at the time of what should be done or what was the cause of it?

Harold: I suppose our native people did not have the knowledge that they have today. You know, we've had a lot of fur council schools and we've had a lot of battles to get them. The bureaucrats have felt that what good is a fur council school. And yet, the trappers sit around and say, "I don't know much about this and I don't know much about that. And I think we should have somebody teach this and somebody teach that and I think we should have one Indian to teach us on Indian medicine and these things." Now government is going along and saying, "Okay, whatever you think you should be taught," and government is being satisfied that these people are... The only thing, they are maybe becoming a little discouraged sometimes that it's going slow. They would like it to go a little faster. But I think government is seeing too that it's politically profitable to do these kinds of things especially if it doesn't make too many mistakes.

Murray: Do you think that the government in the north in 1946 approached everything in that way? Was that a general mistake they made about the bureaucrats making decisions?

Harold: They certainly didn't ask for trapper opinion. They sold a program, because I was in on the selling of it. And I

kept many a man here and fed him and bedded him to try and get him not too mad at the first Marketing Service. Mind you, the Fur Marketing Service did up his returns but there was a lot of things there weren't right. But now the trappers are getting strong enough. Our president goes down and sits with the minister down there at a Marketing Service board meeting and they argue and fight about it there. Murray: That didn't used to happen?

Harold: Oh, never had one on. No. Now we will have four trappers, two federal and two provincial men.

Murray: So the native people have fifty percent of the say at least.

Harold: Fifty percent of the say and I am very sure that we have federal and provincial men that understand the philosophy of community development very well. This is something that we never had before.

Murray: Were there people pressuring government to change their approach at that time or did people not realize the approach was incorrect until it was too late?

Harold: They didn't know anything about it. I would say that Gus MacDonald and Towel were the men that broke the ice. I worked under them. Just to give you a little picture here, we went to Cumberland and Cumberland has produced our president in the Trappers' Association. The Indian people always howled and moaned about the Hudson's Bay taking over that big lease down there. They said they should be getting the profits. So they petitioned the government that they would do something.

Murray: This was when, in...?

Harold: That's maybe ten years ago, twelve years ago. And so Gus MacDonald called me in one day and he said, "The federal and provincial government are willing to give those people a chance. But," he said, "I think we'll have to let them do it." Gus said, "It's better that they do it." So, did you know Halady? He was an anthropologist and he's in Winnipeg now.

Murray: What was his name?

Harold: Walter Halady.

Murray: No.

Harold: And so he was in Saskatoon at the time so I said, "Maybe you'd better send him up and I'll go then." So they sent him up and we went down. He was a pretty well-trained man and he used to wear a kind of a stocking tuque on. He used to smoke cigars and read funny papers. He could spend a week on one funny paper, you know. It was just a pretense. He would just be laying there somewhere, reading. He was listening all the time. And so anyway, we went down this time and I told them, I said, "Now listen, MacDonald has sent me down. He says that you feel that you want to do something about the lease." And they said, "Well, it's bloody well time," and this kind of thing. Well I said, "What would you like to do about it?" And you know, we started the meeting at two o'clock and at half past five we hadn't decided anything yet. So we decided to come back after supper. So we come back at half past seven and so I said, "Well have you any suggestions, any decisions at

all, any thoughts?" So one native chap got up and he said,

"Maybe we could borrow enough money." The Bay wanted \$30,000 for all the equipment, houses. It was a giveaway at that price. "Maybe we could borrow enough money." And so I said, "Well, maybe that's an idea. I never thought of that." Well, that's what they should've come up with right away. So we had a tough time getting a seconder for that. And so then, "How about voting on whether you'll borrow the money or you won't?" By jeez, they wouldn't vote.

Murray: They wouldn't vote for or against it?

Harold: No. And so anyway, they said, "We've got to think it over." So the chap that was kind of chairman, at the time, of the fur council area down there, he said, "We should have a meeting next week." I said, "All right." So we went down the next week. It was supposed to be at two o'clock. I got down there, I flew down. I got down there and I went to his house and I asked if he was home and they said, "No, he went hunting." And so we had a leader there, you see. He said, "Don't let this worry you, this is growing pains." He said, "This is labor pains," he said. You know, I'd have come up with ideas. I wouldn't have stayed there from two till eleven o'clock at night. And when I got over to the conservation office place that night, his wife said, "Mr. Read, why do you work so hard for nothing?" she said. You know, I could have bawled. I was played out, you know. But the anthropologist said, "Just take her cool," he said. "She'll come yet," he said. "But if you ever help that chicken out of the egg, they'll crack up, " he said. "It won't make it."

So I went down once more and they said, "Let's put a ballot box in there, have it locked up and put the ballots and anybody wants to come will tell the conservation officer he wants to vote because that somebody maybe put in ten ballots." And so,

anyway, we won by about twenty percent, that's all. Only about fifty percent voted.

And they were supposed to pay it back at \$1000 a year, you see. And so I said, "You know, I wonder if there is anything we can do or should we pay this." And it took a whole year before somebody said, "Let's write the federal government and provincial government to see if they, in order to give us a break here, if they won't wipe this thing right off. And this will help us to put a manager on here." And they said, "Maybe we could make out a budget." So we did this. And I'll tell you, it was a slow thing.

But now you take this Louis Morin here, he's a wizard. I mean, if the bureaucrats tried to stop him he'd say, "Just drop it. I'll go see the minister or premier right at once." You know, the change. And he's not a militant man. He's a quiet, steady, powerful man. The government even suggested the other day that maybe he should run on the Northern Council. But he said, "I can't afford to run," he said. "I only make \$13,000\$14,000 a year. I can't afford to run on that." And Carriere, the president, he said, "If I give another two years, that's all I can afford to give. You know, I'm an outfitter, big game outfitter for fish and trapping and all." So I think the changes are maybe taking... maybe it took time to do all this.

Murray: But you attribute the success to the fact that native people were not told what to do, they eventually came up with the correct ideas on their own?

Harold: Well, this was Gus MacDonald. I remember one day Peter Linklater come in and he said to Gus, he said, "You know,

it's rained and rained and we only got little sidewalks or kind of gravel walks up there," he said. "If we had \$300 I could have enough gravel put on there in those low spots that the women wouldn't get their mocassins so... " So Gus said, "Well, I wonder what we should do? I don't have the money. Would you like to talk to the minister?" So he said, "Well, yes." So they phoned long distance to the minister and Gus said to the minister, "Chief Peter Linklater is here and he is wondering if he could get some money for to put in a bit of gravel for sidewalks." So the minister said, "Well, what do you think about it?" "Well," he said, "he seems quite concerned. I think it might be good." So Peter got on the telephone and wasn't too good on English but anyway, the minister said, "Sure, tell Gus to give you \$300," he said. "How do you want it?" "Well," he said, "if I had \$300 credit at the Hudson's Bay, I could give people credit slips." He said, "Give me Gus." So he give him Gus, he said, "Give him \$300-400," he said. "Tell him he'll have to make up the credit slips. See he doesn't overspend." And golly, went on the radio that night and said, "I've been talking to the big Ogemaw down in Regina and..." Golly, he was happy and he really went to work and did a good job. These are the things, but it's very, very hard to get the local people to see this. They feel that unless they're in it... It isn't cabinet, it isn't government, you know. fought that power structure for twenty years and it just didn't seem to work. But there was always somebody who would block it all the way down.

Murray: But when the people themselves fight it...

Harold: Not too much, but they are getting strong now, you see. They are not getting radical, you know. They are getting just strong...

Murray: Is that a process of growth?

Harold: I think so. I think so.

Murray: Do you think that Brady and Malcolm contributed to that over their lives?

Harold: I would say they played their part there. Yes, I would say they played their part. Allan Ahenakew has played quite a part on this but Allan has taken it in a different way,

but they all played their part there. The thing with Malcolm, I always felt sorry for Malcolm because he gave so much, he gave his life and he never saw the victories. And this is one thing that I am very thankful about that I put twenty-six years in, fighting, and I'm amazed at the progress.

Just to think that in two days, without any talking or anything... Louis phoned last night. He said, "Did I get the money sent to Stoney Rapids?" I said, "Yes, I phoned the secretary of the Trappers' Association and he sent you \$600 in cash registered. And I sent you 50 of these." And I said, "That's all the directions we're giving you. Lots of luck to you and the Lord bless you." Just like that. And he said, "Oh, I'll get along all right. I know those people." You see, he's a winner. Jim Carriere is a winner. Jim hasn't got quite as much savvy on community development as Louis has. Louis has fought hard for fur council schools. He's had five fur council schools in his area. And didn't matter whether it was Liberal or CCF in power. He always went right after the MLA and got schools going. Nobody else could get them. He just really lobbied for schools. We'd supply the grub and they'd say what they wanted to teach. Call a meeting and the Indians sit

around and they talk about this thing, the other thing, "I think we should have somebody teach on this. We should have a doctor to teach us on something." And these were the things that I think we got. We got some pretty wise men there now.

Murray: You talked quite a bit about Malcolm's approach and how you think it was unfortunate for him. What was Brady's approach and how did you feel about his accomplishments?

Harold: I never felt that Brady's accomplishments were as noticeable and maybe as great. Brady went in to Cumberland and worked for X number of months or years there. He went out into the mining field, he did things more on his own. But Malcolm was a worker for people. He went out and got reports of conditions as they were and he sent them in. I would have always felt that Malcolm was - I don't know if his academic qualifications were any greater or not but I would've felt that he was. He went out and met the big men more than Brady did.

Murray: Brady did more talking to the native people.

Harold: Yes, a lot more. He just sat around the campfire. I never noticed Malcolm doing too much of that.

Murray: Do you think that Brady spread a lot of ideas in that way, talking to people?

Harold: I would have thought he did, yes. I would've thought so. And Brady had a tremendous lot of books that he... mind you, they were deep books. The ideas would have been pretty heavy for a lot of the folks but I always felt he watered them down quite a bit. Yeah, I figured Malcolm, he really gave his life for the cause. It just came, heart attack and strokes and.... Murray: He seemed driven by something. Did you ever figure out what it was?

Harold: Well, this is why I likened him to Grey Owl, you see. Grey Owl was driven and...

Murray: Just his nature, I suppose.

Harold: Yes. I don't know whether your training covers these fields. I don't have training but I wonder what it is that drives people. I don't know this. You see, they are driven on. I'm retired and I thrill with the impossible. I always kind of joke and say the impossible takes a wee bit longer. But now Malcolm came out and shot, pulled his guns and started shooting; I never do that. I figure it's too costly. You don't win enough that way. And now Allan Ahenakew, he don't go shooting. He just sways everybody.

Murray: And where would you put Brady?

Harold: I'm stuck on Brady because I think maybe Brady did the things he wanted to do. You see, I mean, sometimes he got into a little bit of trouble and maybe went too strong on things and the doors closed a bit. But Jim didn't seem to... as I could see him, he didn't.... He just took the shirt off and put another one on.

Murray: He wasn't obsessed with a certain kind of thing like Malcolm seemed to be?

Harold: No, no. Malcolm was driven. Yeah, I seemed to see Grey Owl. But of course, Malcolm just laughed at Grey Owl, you

know. Just a moonias, that's all. But Malcolm and Grey Owl, in my opinion, were brothers.

Murray: The same personalities.

Harold: Yeah. They seemed to be driven.

Murray: Well, it was obviously important to Malcolm that he had native blood.

Harold: Yeah. And important that he fought.

Murray: This seemed to be some sort of goal that he had set for himself long before.

Harold: Yeah, that's right. Yeah. You see, this is why I'd like to talk to an anthropologist or somebody and see just what forced him on.

Murray: Or a psychologist too perhaps, yeah.

Harold: Yeah, yeah. Just why...

Murray: Another person I talked to today mentioned that he thought that Malcolm had a bit of an inferiority complex because of his native ancestry.

Harold: I would've thought, well, I don't...

Murray: And tried to prove himself.

Harold: Yes. But the day that he retired and we went over and they gave him a very nice briefcase. And he thanked the folks

for it and he said, "Well, it's pretty nice. It'll hold a lot of arrows and I should get a lot of moonias with that." (chuckles) You see, even when he quit, he was still fighting moonias and yet, I don't know whether - I couldn't understand him. I don't think he was mad at whites. I don't think so, but there was something there that drove him.

Murray: It was easier to talk to Brady than it was to Malcolm?

Harold: Oh yes, yes. Talk for hours with Brady.

Murray: Didn't have a chip on his shoulder?

Harold: No, didn't have a chip on his shoulder. And the only time Malcolm didn't have a chip on his shoulder was if he was tight. And he'd come up and...

Murray: A lot looser then.

Harold: Yeah, and he said, "Harold, you're doing a good job." But other times he'd just run everything down.

Murray: He always spoke...

(End of Side B)

(End of Interview)

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