



Chief Marcel Moody and a member of the Council of the Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation speak with members of the Land Task Force in Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation in northern Manitoba during Operation VECTOR on 1 April 2021.

Image by: Sailor 3rd Class Megan Sterritt, Canadian Armed Forces photo

An Indigenous Warrior Code of Honour

DR. ROBERT FALCON OUELLETTE, CD, ELDER DR. WINSTON WUTTUNEE, ELDER MELVIN SWAN, CD

Dr Robert Falcon Ouellette, CD, is from Red Pheasant Cree Nation. He is a Warrant Officer with the Royal Winnipeg Rifles and has 27 years of service in the CAF. He was a Member of Parliament and is currently a professor at the University of Ottawa. He participates actively in Cree religious ceremonies including the Sundance, purification and healing ceremonies.

Elder Dr. Winston Wuttunee is from Red Pheasant Cree Nation. He served 12 years in the CAF, most notably in the Royal 22nd Regiment. In 2014 he received an Inspire award for his work as an Elder. He is also well known as a musician across Canada and uses music to bring people together.

Elder Melvin Swan, CD is from Lake Manitoba First Nation. He served 13 years in the CAF as a member of the Military Police. He was instrumental in getting Bold Eagle started in the 1990s in Manitoba. Melvin helps advice young people about the warrior way of life encouraging them in a life of service. Today he represents Indigenous veterans as the holder of the Canadian veterans' pipe.

In 1994, the Somalia Commission of Inquiry uncovered the fundamental failings of the profession of arms in Canada. Following that inquiry the Canadian Armed Forces undertook a major self-examination of its corporate military ethics and values. The result was the foundational Canadian military policy of *Duty with Honour*.¹ Fifteen years later, the CAF has been faced with important moral and leadership challenges concerning sexual harassment it has become abundantly clear that it is an opportune time for additional perspectives on the Canadian

Armed Forces Ethos. In this article, we propose that an Indigenous world-view be one of the fundamental perspectives. An Indigenous perspective on the warrior code is holistic in nature, spiritual, and represents a whole way of life versus the CAF ethos which has a bureaucratic and corporate structure.

Today, the profession of arms must be based not on blindly following orders, but on the thoughtful consideration of information and values to determine action. The ability to think and to consider different perspectives is important on a number of levels. The CAF warrior code must better ensure success in a variety of often complicated environments, fulfil the expectations of the Canadian public, and also provide simple values which soldiers can use to guide themselves in their daily lives at home and at work. Some may be surprised to learn that Indigenous peoples also have highly developed warrior codes.² These codes are rooted in perspectives which are holistic and spiritual in nature. It should be remembered that not all Indigenous peoples are monolithic. Within the Cree community, some will follow a more traditional lifestyle while others subscribe to a more Western belief system. Many of the teachings in Cree culture are also hard to “live up to” because they require great personal discipline. While many people may hold these beliefs or know of their existence, not all are able to fulfil their obligations. The perspective presented here comes from a Cree world view, learned through lifelong teachings with Elders and an honest attempt to participate in traditional ceremonies.

An Indigenous Holistic World View

*The Great Spirit or Great Mystery of North America is everywhere and in everything – mountains, plains, winds, waters, trees, birds and animals and the earth. Whether animals have mind and the reasoning faculty is not a doubt for the Blackfeet. For they believe that all animals receive their endowment of the power of the Sun, differing in degree, but the same kind as that received by man and all things animate and inanimate.*³

The Old North Trail: Or, Life, Legends, and Religion of the Blackfeet Indians

The Indigenous matrix is made up of the ideas of constant flux and motion, existence consisting of energy waves, interrelationships, all things being animate, space/place, renewal and all elements being imbued with spirit. All matter and all beings have a dualistic nature of the animate and the inanimate. Gary Witherspoon writes, “The assumption that underlies this dualistic aspect of all being and existence is that the world

is in motion, that things are constantly undergoing processes of transformation, deformation and restoration and that the essence of life and being is movement.”⁴

Perhaps the issues with the CAF ethos stem from how people view their lives. Work is work and home is home, and the two are separate. In the Indigenous world view these things cannot be separated: people must ensure that their values are integrated into their professional and personal lives.

[The] heritage of an indigenous people is not merely a collection of objects, stories and ceremonies, but a complete knowledge system with its own concepts of epistemology, philosophy and scientific and logical validity. The diverse elements of an indigenous people's heritage can only be fully learned or understood by means of the pedagogy traditionally employed by these peoples themselves, including apprenticeship, ceremonies and practice. Simply recording words or images fails to capture the whole context and meaning of songs, rituals, arts or scientific and medical wisdom.

*Dr. Erica-Irene Daes, 1994
Sub-Commission on the Prevention of
Discrimination and Protection of Minorities,
Commission on Human Rights, UNESCO.*

For veteran and Elder Melvin Swan, the philosophical foundations of a traditional Indigenous lifestyle are wholly spiritual.⁵ To understand Indigenous peoples one must have an appreciation of the holistic-inclusive Indigenous view, which is always taught by the Elders to ensure the proper protocols. The people have followed this way of life for so long by listening to Elders' stories and dreams. The objective is continual well-being, balance and synchronicity. The Saulteaux Elder Manitopeyes says, “[I]t is not enough for us to merely walk on the earth”; we must also be mindful about how we walk. This is a practical guide asking for balance between the social, civil and natural environments, applied on an individual basis and extended to include the family, the local community, and North American community protocol. The result is not an elusive, mystical concept, but survival with moral living in or through acceptance, learning and knowledge juxtaposed with a Western vision of immortality or paradise.⁶

Traditionally, Indigenous peoples perceived spirits in everything animate and inanimate, in plants as well as in creatures of the sky, ocean and earth. These spirits were respected and held in great reverence. It was a world in which everything was interconnected, with everyone and everything mutually interdependent for survival. A hunter, when killing an animal, would thank the animal for its sacrifice in providing sustenance to him and his family. For Friesen and Friesen, this interconnectedness



Shanley Spence, a Hoop Dancer from Mathias Colomb Cree First Nation, Manitoba, performs at the Last Post Ceremony at the Menin Gate in Ypres, Belgium on November 8, 2017.

Image by: Corporal Brandon James Liddy, Canadian Forces Combat Camera

would require that the warrior understand the role he must play in the larger world and any future sacrifice he might be required to make for the greater good.⁷

Elder Winston Wuttunee has discussed how the way of a warrior is following protocol and respecting treaties.⁸ Treaties are important because each warrior is bound by treaty with creation and others.

Treaties are about respect and brotherhood. Indigenous peoples have always had treaties. The Cree and the Blackfoot made treaties using common sense. For example, there was to be no fighting in the winter, as it was too cold and not good to move children, women and the aged from their homes to different locations at that time. If one tribe made war, it sought out the other chief and explained the reason it was making war. Quite often, it was that the young warriors had too much energy, and they were bothering the whole camp. The old people knew that the best way to do things was to send them off to war against the enemy they knew. The two chiefs would talk and one would be given time to move the women, children and old people, and it worked for them. Later, in peacetime, they would talk about it.

The creation stories we tell about Wesakechak are about treaty. These world treaties are about water, earth, air, fire, and of course, the Great Spirit. For instance, when a child is born, the mother's water breaks and this signals that the child is to be born. He then gets his first breath of precious sacred air, and

he is a living human being. He is then wrapped in the warm hide and fur of an animal and joins the warmth of the fire and the life-giving milk of his mother. Soon he is playing with the other children outside on their own land, which happens to be Canada.

When the Creator finished creating the land, sea and air creatures, he called everyone forward and told them to ask for gifts they wanted to have for themselves. Thus, he made treaties with all life on earth. Many asked to serve mankind. They were warned about mankind and what he would be like as the best and worst of all creation. They accepted and understood his warnings. For their understanding and sacrifices, they were granted a place in the hereafter. They would and should be honoured by men, women and children in ceremonies, which Indigenous people still do to this day.

MP Robert Falcon Ouellette
Hansard – House of Commons
9 May 2019

The anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell conducted a long term study in the 1930s and 1940s with the Anishinaabe of Manitoba at Berens River.⁹ In a brief sketch of Salteaux cosmology, Hallowell notes that there are two fundamental notions in order to explain the Ojibwa imagination, its concepts of Kitchi Manitou, and how they constructed their natural environment: 1) that everything in the universe “has an animating principle, a soul, and a body. Man has a ghost as well”; and 2) that natural

entities also have existing and corresponding spiritual “bosses” or “owners” which help guide animals and humans.¹⁰ Nabokov used the term *Weltanschauung* roughly translated as world view, and redefined it as “the cluster of assumptions and images that a given society shared about the nature of reality.”¹¹ He goes on to say, “I see world view as being a general momentary, but evolving image, of how the cosmos is ordered. It provides humans with the means to react to their environment within that cosmos and dictates how that dynamic environment will react in return, thus enhancing their potential and their perceived objectives of success.”¹²

For Battiste and Henderson, Indigenous spiritual teachings and practices “flow from ecological understandings rather than from cosmology.” This ecology is not seen as a mass, but as a synthesis of multiple elements.¹³ Citing the work of Levy-Bruhl, Battiste and Henderson note that those multiple elements sustain a sacred living order, self-subsisting and independent of human will.¹⁴

This synthesis of multiple elements is a process which has occurred over time and has been influenced by multiple beings and spirits which have been involved in creating a global knowledge that goes back generations. An example of this is taken from fine arts and the ideas of pentimento and palimpsest.¹⁵ The first term refers to the layering of oils on a canvas and the second to a written composition in which previous drafts have been erased but traces remain. In both cases, earlier efforts can still be detected. The material that we perceive on the surface embodies and benefits from what has been understood by those who have experienced it, or have passed on the experiences of previous knowledge holders to the present knowledge keepers. It is a layering of successive knowledge.

Cree-Anishnaabe Warrior Code

This worldview of the Cree-Anishnaabe Warrior Code is important because, at its foundation, human beings are not one dimensional; they are spiritual beings.¹⁶ Elder Swan says that a “warrior is not a full human unless they have an understanding of the interconnected nature of the world...they must have a humble comprehension of the spiritual, for without any spiritual teaching you can become lost.” Swan relates his own experience in the Canadian Armed Forces where he tried to ignore the holistic understanding of what “full humans need” in order to “fit in.” He feels that a warrior must have a vision of his life as a warrior in all spheres. You cannot ignore any part of your life. The home and the work are both important. It was only later when he embraced a more holistic and traditional vision that he was able to better cope with challenges faced in military life. This embracing of a traditional Indigenous warrior code was beneficial for Elder Swan’s long term mental health and purpose in life.¹⁷

The Warrior Code

The warrior code “is the path of a warrior, it is a hard road to follow; where we must learn to protect, love, and care for our family, nation, and all of creation. We must develop ourselves in four principal areas of a true warrior in the metaphysical, our thoughts, the physical and in our deeds.”¹⁸ Accordingly, the warrior code is composed of four connected ideas.

The Cree Warrior Code is made up of four ideas

The Metaphysical, Manitowi (spiritual).

Our Thoughts, Nistikwan (my mind).

The Physical world, Niyaw (my body).

Our Deeds, Isihcikan or Miyo-tôtamowin (good deeds).

The Spiritual

A warrior must develop an understanding of the unknown. All of creation is interconnected and holistic. Manitowi is life itself. We cannot ever truly understand the what or the why, but it is our duty to try, and to acknowledge those ideas that we do not understand. We must strive to honour our comprehension and develop our perception to its fullest. The world is wholly spiritual in nature, and we have a role to play within that world-view. We must honour the great mystery, for it is the land, the water, living beings, our ancestors, our family and ourselves. We must humble ourselves in all we do.

When we follow protocol, we are never alone. We acknowledge our ancestors who are there to stand with us. Our ancestors connect us to all of creation. We need to not only see beyond the mere physical, but understand that there are spirits in the water, land, animals and sky that are connected to all we do and believe in. We are often guided by dreams, visitations or a word. A dream may not be totally clear until special events lead you to be in the exact position, only this time you understand why you are there. I had a dream which I didn't understand at the time. A few years later, I found myself comforting a widow who was being blamed for her husband's tragic death. The sacred dream revealed her innocence as sacred words were spoken: “Ye who are without sin throw the first stone.” Not another stone was thrown as the mourners' hearts and minds were opened. They took food to her, invited her to sit and eat with them and they comforted her.”¹⁹

Elder Wuttunee

Our Thoughts

A warrior without thought does not exist. It is each individual's duty to develop their mind to their fullest capacity. Nistikwan is our perception of the world based on our own humble understandings. Every person is different, and that difference must be respected. Learning is the basis of a warrior, for knowledge allows a warrior to master the challenges of this world. Through knowledge, a warrior can impact the world and the people around them. An ignorant warrior is dangerous, for in their inability to see the true world, with full knowledge they will eventually bring dishonour to themselves, their ancestors, their family, and their nation.

The education and learning that a warrior receives is important not only for the individual but for the community as well. Basil Johnston writes that the community has a duty to train its members as individuals not so much for the benefit of the community (though that is also important), but for the good of the person. The men or women so trained have received a gift from the community which is to be acknowledged in some form. That form consists simply of enlarging their own scope to the fullest of their capacity for the stronger the warrior, the stronger the community. It is equally true that the stronger the community, the stronger its members.²⁰

The Physical

The warrior code requires the mastery of the physical body to the fullest capacity. Niyaw is an ideal that nothing should be neglected, and everything is interconnected. A warrior must be able to think, but also act, and it is the physical body which carries that burden. A warrior must be prepared to suffer and sacrifice their physical existence in the honourable defence of the warrior code. A warrior must ensure that their health, and, physical prowess are fully developed and pushed to their highest levels so that they are ready when called upon to protect through love their ancestors, their family, and their nation.

Our Deeds

The warrior code requires that the spiritual, thoughts and physical ideals be expressed in good deeds or good works. Miyo-tôtamowin means that our actions are even more important than our thoughts, because our actions are ultimately an expression of our mind. We must ensure that we honour the spiritual, master our thoughts and develop our body so that we are able to produce good deeds in all actions. In this our words are also important, for words are an expression of our spiritual, mental and physical bodies which impact others around us. Our words can lift, or they can destroy, therefore our actions must be clear and good to produce outcomes which respect our true selves.

“This world view of the Cree-Anishnaabe Warrior code is important, because at its foundation, Human Beings are not one dimensional; they are spiritual beings...”

The warrior code includes seven teachings which are told in a story about a young baby raised to have a deep and profound understanding of these Grandfather teachings. They offer further consideration to help with the development of a warrior in his thoughts and deeds. These Grandfather teachings were formalized by Elder Eddie Benton-Banai, a fifth degree Midewiwin, in *The Mishomis Book*.²¹

In a story recounted by Benton-Banai, in the beginning, after creation, the number of people in the world grew. The people were not strong and often died from their weaknesses. The Creator was very concerned and instructed seven Grandfather spirits to help teach and guide the people. The Grandfathers sent a helper among the people to bring back a person who was capable of learning how-to live-in harmony with creation. Six times, the helper attempted to find a worthy person. Only after the seventh attempt was a young baby chosen. He was chosen because he was innocent and his mind was untouched by corruption and the pain in the world.

The baby was brought back to the seven Grandfathers and they instructed the helper to show the baby all of creation and the four quarters of the universe. The lesson of this traditional story is very simple: we must begin very early with our children in instructing them with these teachings. Children have fully developed senses and are completely aware of what is happening around them. They also have the ability to communicate with the spirit world. Most of us are so removed from the spirit world, that we cannot communicate properly. Education is important from a young age to help guide people in the right path in life.

Before the baby started his travels, he was given a gift by each of the seven Grandfathers. These gifts are often referred to as the seven Grandfather teachings. The baby eventually grew, yet continued on his travels. Over time he encountered seven spirits who then taught him the meaning of the gifts.

All human beings and warriors must exemplify, to the highest possible standard, the seven Grandfather teachings.

1. Cherishing **Knowledge** is to know Intelligence.
2. **Humility** is to know yourself as a sacred part of creation.
3. **Bravery** is to face the foe with integrity.
4. To know **Love** is to know peace.
5. To honour all of creation is to have **Respect**.
6. **Honesty** in facing a situation is to be brave.
7. **Truth** is the understanding of the hard-work required to achieve all these principles.

The boy was taught by the spirits that for each teaching there was an opposite; evil is the opposite of good. The boy listened and studied each of these ideas so that he would be able to pass along this knowledge to his people when the time came.

Stories are important, for without stories we cannot touch the heart of a warrior. One must speak from the heart to be truly understood. There are many who try to teach using books and reading material, yet they do not try to feel. The warrior code can be taught only through actions and story.

A Warrior's Story

The warriors were primarily people and men of peace. They depended upon hunting for survival. The worth of a man was measured by his generosity and his skill in the hunting grounds, especially in riding horses and hunting the bison. The final test of the manliness of a warrior was not bloodshed, but his ability to provide for his community and family. War was embarked upon only as a last resort. The war path was only necessary to avenge an injury, either physical or moral, to oneself or one's brother. It was a matter of great pride to never let insult or injury go unpunished. Conflict was never begun because of desire for conquest or subjugation.

Long, long ago, the Cree near present-day Battleford were camping for the winter. It had been a long, cold winter, as sometimes occurs on the prairies. One fine March day a young warrior rode into camp with news that the Blackfoot were nearby in the traditional area hunting and taking many buffalo. The Cree and Blackfoot have a long history of war with each other. Their cultures are each unique and their languages are also very different. The young Cree men in the camp felt that the tribe's honour had been impugned by the incursion of the Blackfoot into their area. They wanted to defend their territory and ensure that proper respect would be paid to their people.

Kayâs, a lead warrior of the tribe, wanted to lead a war party against the Blackfoot. A certain level of protocol was required before this could occur. After discussion among the

Elders, it was determined that there was no immediate danger. The Elders of the tribe had come together to have a larger discussion about why the Blackfoot were in their territory and how the people should react. Normally the Blackfoot should have come and asked permission to cross their territory, but they had not done so. After a long discussion the Elders decided that it would be appropriate to send a war party to fight the Blackfoot. It was decided that Kayâs would be the war chief because he had fought in many battles and was the most respected by other warriors.

Kayâs determined that he would take ten men with him to confront the Blackfoot. The reason ten were chosen was to reduce the number of possible deaths, but also to ensure that tighter control was kept over the warriors going to war. Kayâs then spent some time personally talking with the men he wanted to accompany him in the battle. While most men were happy to join, one warrior said he could not, due to hunting and family responsibilities. His wife had recently given birth and he felt he needed to be close to support his young wife. This was not a problem in Cree society, as no man would be questioned about his courage. It was known that each man had the freedom to choose whether they would participate in war and on what terms.

Kayâs then had several young men who had never gone into battle approach him requesting to participate. Among them, he selected three whom he felt would offer vitality, and seriousness and benefit from an opportunity to learn about the proper protocols of war and being a warrior. In the late afternoon Kayâs felt that he had ten warriors that would be excellent in the coming battle. Later that evening Kayâs planted his war standard in the middle of the tribe. A number of warriors started to sing, calling the people to the centre of the village. When everyone had gathered, Kayâs started to pray and offer acknowledgement of what they were going to be doing the next day. After prayer, Kayâs recounted his exploits. He did this not to brag, as everyone knew of his excellence as a warrior, but simply to highlight the seriousness of the warrior code that he lived by. When Kayâs was finished, all the warriors came forward one by one to tell of their exploits in battle. Then the young men came forward and spoke of their desire to follow in the path of the warrior. The younger men then danced as hard as they were able, in order to compensate for their lack of experience.

The whole village then joined the young men in dancing in order to honour the warriors. After a certain time, the dancing came to an end, and it was time for all the warriors to take their horses and leave for the coming battle. They all mounted their horses and the tribe honoured them as they left for battle. Two women

performed an ancient ritual in which they tried to stop the men and asked them to stay. The warriors refused and continued on their path. The two women then followed the men just outside the village where again they asked with great tears and cries that the men not go and that they stay in the village. Again, the men refused and indicated that they would follow the path of the warrior. Once outside the village, Kayâs led the men in riding towards where the Blackfoot would be found.

The warriors rode into the night, and towards dawn they stopped for a short rest and said prayers. Soon the sun was high, and it was a warm day. The warriors all felt awake and refreshed. They headed towards the Blackfoot. In the meantime, they had been spotted by a Blackfoot sentry who had informed his camp. Very soon, a group of Blackfoot warriors – the same number as the Cree warriors – rode towards them. The two groups stood 50 metres apart and they taunted each other. Eventually a young Cree could no longer stand the taunting and rode hard and fast towards the line. Just before reaching at the Blackfoot line, he turned his horse to the right and became a part of the horse. The Blackfoot shot arrows and tried to kill the young warrior. Incredibly, they could not kill him, so he turned around and rode in front of the Blackfoot a second time. Again, many arrows aimed and shot at him, and again, he was not killed. He rode back to his fellow Cree warriors knowing that he had proven his courage and his willingness to accept death.

A young Blackfoot warrior, named Ninohtîhkatânân could not stand that they had not been able to kill the Cree. He charged at the Cree line. As Ninohtîhkatânân neared the Cree, he also quickly turned to the side and became one with his horse. The Cree shot many arrows, but they could not hit, wound or kill the young Blackfoot. The young warrior then turned around and repeated his act of bravery. He too was unhurt. It was an incredible moment. After that, another Cree warrior rode towards the Blackfoot line and repeated the exploits of the other warriors. Warrior after warrior attempted to do the same exploit. The other warriors all tried to honestly kill and wound the other side. It is remarkable that no warriors were killed in those shows of courage and confidence.

Eventually Kayâs rode out and sang a song to honour all the young warriors from each side. At that, the battle ceased, and the two camps came together. Food was brought and the Cree explained that the Blackfoot were on their territory. The Blackfoot warrior Ninohtîhkatânân also talked about how they had not had much to eat that winter and had left their usual

“Just before arriving at the Blackfoot line, he turned his horse to the right and became a part of the horse. The Blackfoot shot arrows and tried to kill the young warrior. Incredibly they could not kill him, so he turned around and again rode in front of the Blackfoot, with many arrows being aimed and shot at him.”

areas. Even though the Cree and Blackfoot were traditional enemies, it was decided to end the fighting for the next little while. The Cree understood that the Blackfoot would return to their traditional lands, but that they needed food for their families. After discussion, the Cree warriors agreed to allow the Blackfoot to remain there as their guests until much warmer weather had returned and they could return to their homes. The Blackfoot gave the Cree warriors gifts including knives and special medicines that they had obtained in trades with other tribes farther south and west. The warriors from both nations ate quite a lot and told and retold the stories of the day. They congratulated the young men like Ninohtîhkatânân and the three Cree youths who had become warriors that day.

This story highlights the warrior code. We can see clearly how the Cree warrior code is made up of four main ideas which were acknowledged throughout the story:

1. The Metaphysical, Manitowi (spiritual);
2. Our Thoughts, Nistikwan (my mind);
3. The Physical World, Niyaw (my body); and
4. Our Deeds, Isihcikan or Miyo-tôtamowin (good deeds).

All warriors must exemplify to the highest possible standard the seven Grandfather teachings. In this story, we learn about the seven Grandfather teachings which can be felt in the actions of the warriors:

1. Cherishing Knowledge is to know Intelligence;
2. Humility is to know yourself as a sacred part of creation;
3. Bravery is to face the foe with integrity;
4. To know Love is to know peace;
5. To honour all of creation is to have Respect;
6. Honesty in facing a situation is to be brave; and
7. Truth is the understanding of the hard-work required to achieve all these principles.

The CAF is undergoing significant cultural change. This represents an opportunity for the CAF to become weaker or stronger. There are multiple different traditions native to

Canadian soil which offer a better and more holistic understanding of what it means to be a warrior. The CAF as a command and control bureaucracy has not been able to remove racism, sexism, discrimination and other ignorance from the hearts of many soldiers. This is a problem which, if left unattended, will remove the CAF from completing its mission objectives for Canada.

Perhaps current way of teaching the CAF ethos does not engage the spirit, the mind, the body and the actions of soldiers. If it cannot engage “the heart” it is bound to fail.²² The indigenous warrior code developed through deep conversations with Elders, represents a way of life which is still very relevant and which should offer a path for a true warrior culture in the hearts of the soldiers of CAF members.

Tapwe, (Truth)



Notes

- 1 Government of Canada, 2009, *Duty with Honour*, Ottawa: National Defence. Retrieved 8 December 2021 <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/duty-with-honour-2009.html>
- 2 Wuttunee, Winston, interview by Robert Falcon Ouellette. 2020. *What is a Warrior* (November 12).
- 3 McClintock, W. 1968. *The old north trail: Life legends, and religion of the blackfeet indian*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.
- 4 Witherspoon, G. 1977. *Language and art in the navajo universe*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- 5 Friesen, John W., & Friesen, Virginia Lyons. (2002). *Aboriginal education in canada: A plea for integration*. Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd.
- 6 Akan, L. (1992). Pimosatamowin sikaw kakeequaywin: Walking and talking A saulieux elder's view of native education. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. 19, 191-214.
- 7 Friesen, John W., & Friesen, Virginia Lyons. (2002). *Aboriginal education in canada: A plea for integration*. Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd.
- 8 Wuttunee, Winston, interview by Robert Falcon Ouellette. 2019. Protocol in Indigenous Life (July 16).
- 9 Nabokov, Peter. (2006). *Where The Lightning Strikes: The Lives of American Indian Sacred Places*. New York: Penguin Books. See pages 22-32.
- 10 Hallowell, A. Irving. (1934). Some Empirical Aspects of Northern Sauleaux Religion. *American Anthropologist*. 36, p 389-404.
- 11 Nabokov, Peter. (2006). *Where The Lightning Strikes: The Lives of American Indian Sacred Places*. New York: Penguin Books.
- 12 Nabokov, Peter. (2006). *Where The Lightning Strikes: The Lives of American Indian Sacred Places*. New York: Penguin Books. See page 33.
- 13 Battiste, M, & Henderson, J. (2000). *Protecting Indigenous knowledge and heritage: A global challenge*. Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing Ltd. pages 98-99.
- 14 Battiste, M, & Henderson, J. (2000). *Protecting Indigenous knowledge and heritage: A global challenge*. Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing Ltd. Levy-Bruhl, 1966 taken from Battiste & Henderson, 2000.
- 15 Nabokov, Peter. (2006). *Where The Lightning Strikes: The Lives of American Indian Sacred Places*. New York: Penguin Books. Page 149.
- 16 Swan, Melvin, interview by Robert Falcon Ouellette. 2020. *What is a Warrior in the CAF* (November 16).
- 17 Swan, Melvin, interview by Robert Falcon Ouellette. 2020. *What is a Warrior in the CAF* (November 16).
- 18 Wuttunee, Winston, interview by Robert Falcon Ouellette. 2020. *What is a Warrior* (November 12).
- 19 Wuttunee, Winston, interview by Robert Falcon Ouellette. 2021. *What is a Warrior* additional understandings (February 16).
- 20 Johnston, Basil. (1976). *Ojibway heritage*. Toronto, Ontario: McClelland & Steward Ltd. pages 60-70.
- 21 Benton-Banai, Edward. 1973. *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway*. Minneapolis, MN: The University of Minnesota Press.
- 22 The CAF was very close to having full civilian oversight like the RCMP had its first civilian commissioner William Elliot from July 16, 2007 to November 20, 2011. While the military general officers would not think this a possibility the continued embarrassment of sexual misconduct made it very hard to appoint the CDS General Eyre on a permanent basis.