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## OVERVIEW

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### Psychiatry Among the James Bay Cree: A Focus on Pathological Grief Reactions

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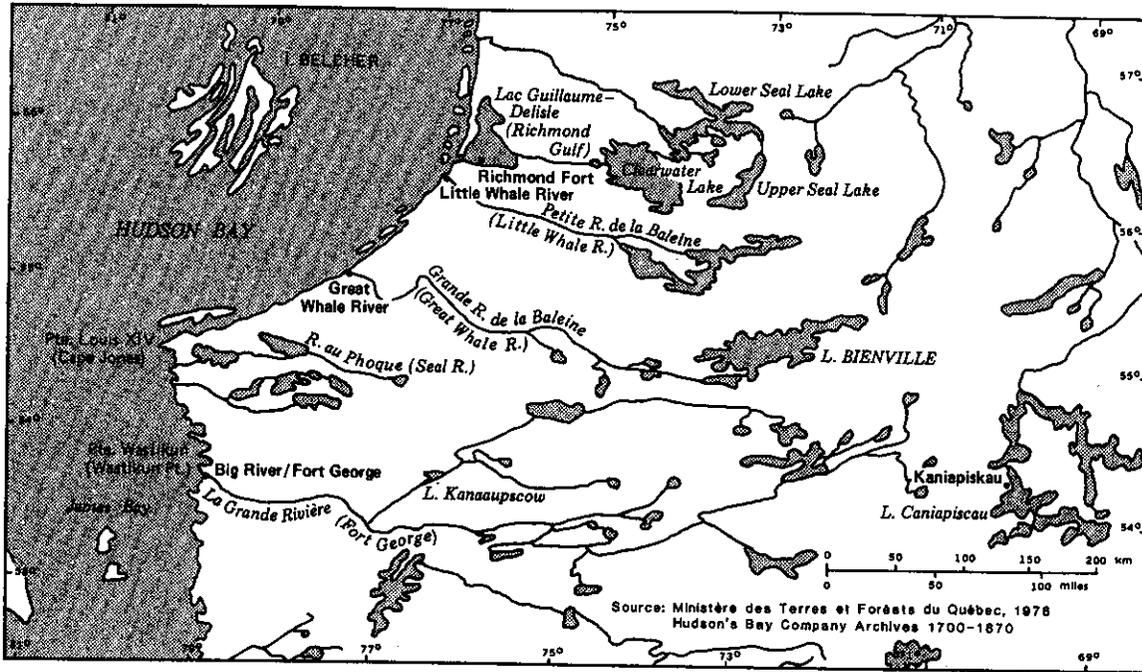
For the past ten years, I have been visiting James Bay Cree clinics in northern Québec to see their psychiatric cases and discuss problem cases with local physicians and others involved in their care.<sup>1</sup> In addition Cree patients who are referred from northern communities for two to three weeks of psychotherapy constitute at least half my current psychiatric practice in Montréal. On this basis, I will describe some of the differences in psychiatric phenomena among Cree patients as compared to patients of European extraction. Distinctive features arise primarily from two sources: from Cree culture itself which represents a remarkably successful adaptation to the rigorous conditions of the sub-Arctic; and more important, from the socially disorganizing effects of inundation by the European cultures of southern Québec. An important recent element in this latter has been the Québec "project of the century," the James Bay hydroelectric project which has had both positive and negative effects upon Cree psychosocial health.

#### THE JAMES BAY CREE

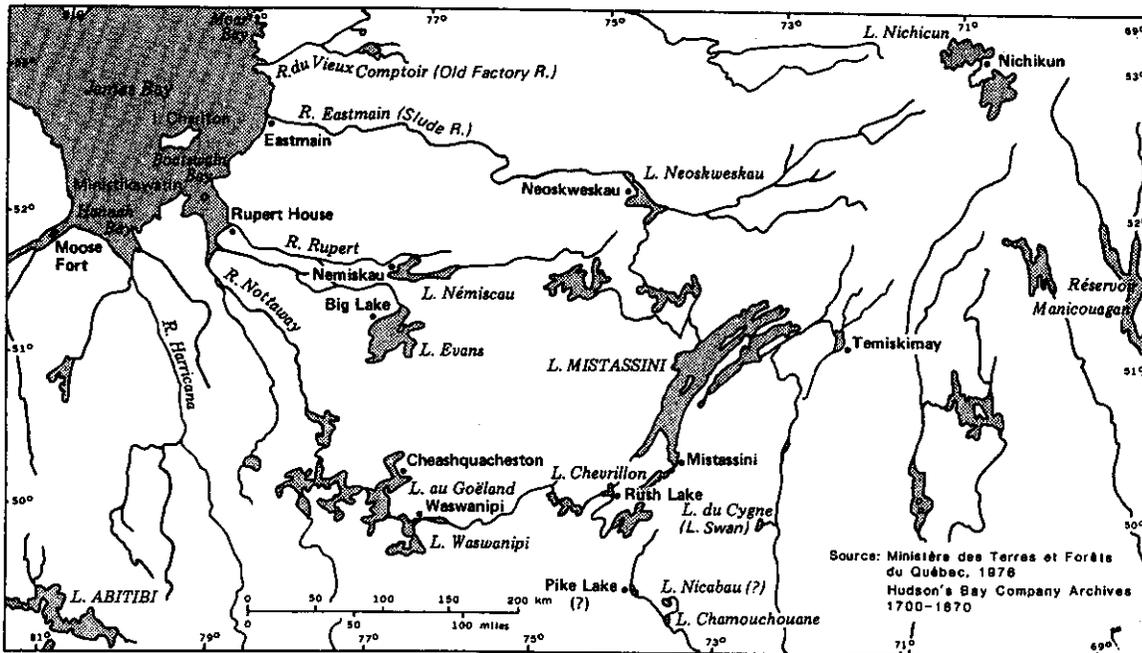
##### TRADITIONAL LIFE

The James Bay Cree occupy vast inhospitable tracts of taiga<sup>2</sup> between the 48th and 56th parallels and extending east from the shores of James Bay to beyond Lake Mistissini as far as about 69 degrees west longitude (Map 1).<sup>3</sup> The James Bay Cree or their forebears (the Shield Archaic peoples) have lived in this area for several thousand years. They probably moved in from the west and south in the wake of the northward shrinking of the final glacial ice sheet that covered the area until 7000 years ago (Harris and Matthews, 1987).

Zone One: Eastern Hudson Bay, historic and modern place-names



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Zone Two: Eastern James Bay, historic and modern place-names

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With the salt-water inrush replacing the melted ice, the sea covered a considerably larger area than the present Hudson and James Bays. Designated the Tyrrell Sea, this body of water occupied significant areas of present day Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and the Northwest Territories; Elson (1969) estimated that some 140 thousand square kilometres of Quebec were submerged beneath the Tyrrell Sea. By about 5000 years ago the present boundaries of Hudson and James Bays had emerged (Harris and Matthews 1987, Plate 4).

Ironically enough, until the James Bay hydroelectric project very little was known about the prehistory of the James Bay Cree. In an extensive review by Harp in the late 70's for example, it is striking that although there is a fairly good account of the prehistoric caribou hunters who occupied the taiga to the west of Hudson's Bay, and an even more detailed picture of the Inuit along the Quebec Arctic coast, the prehistory of the James Bay Cree remained virtually a blank slate. Harp alludes only vaguely to some archaeological finds along the shores of Lake Mistissini dating back about 1000 years (Harp, 1978, p. 109).

As a spin-off of the hydro project however, Francis and Morantz (1983) could report on some hundred archaeological sites that had been "tested or fully excavated" since the late 70's. The earliest site reported thus far is located on Lake Caniapiscau and has been dated to about 1500 B.C. (Francis and Morantz, 1983, p. 13). But for the most part sites were located along the La Grande river and its tributaries. These finds provide a picture of small, mobile hunting groups of several families exploiting a wide range of animal resources but principally beaver and caribou. Typical of these La Grande sites was one dated about 1000 A.D. on Lake Kanaaupscow (some hundred miles inland from the coast) where there were "vestiges of a house structure and a small quantity of stone flakes left over from tool making." It was suggested that this site was occupied for only a short time in the autumn by a single nuclear family who were living principally on beaver supplemented by hare, caribou and bear. Camp sites of larger populations have also been found. One site on a small tributary of the La Grande and dating back about a thousand years, revealed 32 concentrations of burnt bones, the remains of a cluster of habitations that together involved perhaps three hundred people (Seguin, 1980, cited in Francis and Morantz, 1983). Seguin proposed that this site was a meeting place occupied

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during several weeks in the summer. Near Lake Caniapiskau at the extreme north east of present day Cree country, Denton (1981, cited in Francis and Morantz) reported the remains of a 32 x 6 metre longhouse with six hearths; about one third of this longhouse seemed to have been reserved for ceremonial purposes. Dating to the early seventeenth century, Denton proposed that an exceptional summer caribou kill may have enabled this very large gathering.

We may imagine that survival was relatively easy for the archaic Cree during the short summers (July to September). Small bands probably congregated in favorite summer settlement sites along major waterways where fish, game, blueberries and raspberries were plentiful; summer was the season of festivals, socializing and recreation. The taiga is unsuitable for agriculture and unlike Iroquois peoples to the south, vegetables and grains played little part in the traditional Cree diet. Even bannock (a flat pan-baked oat or wheat bread widely used by the Cree and many other Canadian Indian groups today<sup>4</sup>) was a relatively recent introduction from Scottish fur traders. But good use was made of other forest products: birch bark for canoes, tents, moose calling horns,<sup>5</sup> and containers; tamarack root for goose and duck decoys; rushes for baskets; and a variety of woods for snowshoes, toboggans and cradleboards to mention only a few of the more distinctive Cree artifacts.

Summer ended with the September appearance overhead of vast formations of Canada and Snow Geese as they followed established flyways from their Arctic summer nesting sites down the James Bay coast. With the onset of winter, summer band settlements were abandoned as small groups of related families fanned out over their hunting territories to throw themselves upon the mercy of the frozen forest. Food was scarce; game animals were widely distributed and solitary (except for small herds of woodland caribou) and large tracts of taiga were required to support even small hunting and trapping groups. Besides fish (sturgeon, trout, whitefish), caribou and beaver, food and clothing resources included marten, lynx, black bear,<sup>6</sup> muskrat, snowshoe hare and more recently, moose; of game birds, only ptarmigan and partridges remained over the winter. With the spring thaw and the return of the geese in late April, the small hunting and trapping groups emerged from the forest to return to their collective summer fishing settlements. Because of the harshness of winter conditions and cyclical variations of the availability of game, summer festivities would often be tempered by

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the failure of some individuals and families to emerge from the forest in the spring (Rogers, 1970).

The difficulties of winter survival in Cree country cannot be overemphasized. The hardships were vividly portrayed in the account of Captain Thomas James (1633) who spent the winter of 1631-2 on the Bay that bears his name. Financed by the merchants of Bristol to find the elusive Northwest Passage, James set sail in a twenty ton barque manned by 22 seamen on May 2, 1631. After a harrowing Atlantic voyage through fog, storms and ice packs, he navigated Hudson Strait and entered Hudson Bay in mid-July. Proceeding down the west coast of Hudson Bay, ice conditions forced him to winter on a small island in south James Bay (he named it Charlton Island after King Charles I). Towards the end of November, 1631, he and his men sank their ship in shallow water so that its base would freeze solid and prevent it from being crushed by the violent storms and ice. The crew built two huts and a storehouse on the island and settled in for the winter. Four of James' men died. One plunged through the ice of a pond and was drowned; one lost his leg during a shipboard emergency and died two months later (probably of scurvy which severely impaired about three quarters of his crew); two others died of scurvy before the coming of spring with its crop of "milk vetch" and scurvy grass that provided a rapid cure. Game was exceedingly scarce. They succeeded in bagging only one "small lean deer" and a few "white partridges," waterfowl and foxes during the whole winter.

The extreme cold was perhaps most debilitating; they kept continual fires blazing in their two huts but the cook's barrels of salt beef, the doctor's "sirrups and other liquid things" and their casks of vinegar, oil and sack froze solid only a few feet from the blaze. They could scarcely tolerate the cold outside the huts. For example for the 23rd of November, "...we suffer'd the mizerablest frozen that can be conceived. Upon divers, the cold had raised blisters as big as walnuts... many had their noses, cheeks and fingers, frozen as white as paper." And further, "No clothes were proof against it; no motion could resist it. It would moreover so freeze the hair on our eyelids that we could not see: and I verily believe it would have stifled a man in a very few hours." Firewood was also a problem, "We could not burn green wood, it would so smoke that it was intolerable, yea the men would rather starve without in the cold, than sit by it." Even the final return of spring brought no respite for they found that the clouds of mosquitoes and other stinging insects were "even worse than the winter cold." Mere survival in Cree country was a remarkable feat for Europeans.

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### THE MODERN CREE

The pattern of hunting and trapping of the archaic Cree described above is recognizable today. The average size of winter hunting and trapping groups was recently found to be four families numbering from 15 to 25 individuals (Bernier, 1967, cited by Chance, 1968). However, in historic times summer congregation sites had become more permanent and clustered about the fur trading posts which had developed during the 17th to 19th centuries. The establishment of fur trading with the English and French resulted in an enormous increase in the hunting of animals for fur (as opposed to their use for food and clothing). For the James Bay Cree the important early trading sites were the Hudson Bay Company posts at Waskaganish (Charles Fort, Rupert House) established in 1670, Eastmain 1724, Chisasibi (Fort George) in 1803 and Great Whale in 1813. Tadoussac (1600-1760) was an important early French trading post with trading activities largely conducted through Montagnais intermediaries. Other French posts such as those at Nemaska and Mistissini were short lived (Francis and Moranz, 1983). During the 17th century there was intense rivalry between the French and English over the control of the fur trade. Early English posts on both the east and west coasts of Hudson and James Bay exchanged hands several times between 1682 and 1713 though often without bloodshed (Newman, 1989; Kenyon, 1986 a, b).

The fur trade brought another important change to traditional Cree life. The summer congregation of Cree bands was no longer a time of relaxation and festivities. Summer became the season for arduous canoe trips to transport the furs to James Bay trading posts and the return voyage bearing European trade goods to inland Cree settlements. For example, Frenette (1985) has described the Rupert river route which commenced operations in the early nineteenth century and permitted summer trade contacts between Mistissini and Rupert House via the Marten and Rupert rivers. Mistissini hunters returned from their winter territories in early June. After the furs were traded at the Mistissini post, the post Manager hired a "brigade leader" who was put in charge of transporting the entire Mistissini cache for the year to Rupert House in four or five large canoes.

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The brigade left Mistissini about the end of June. The route was some 360 miles long with 75 portages. Each 33 foot long canoe carried up to 4500 pounds of cargo and the crew consisted of a bowsman, a steersman and four paddlers; a number of women also went along to tend camp sites and cook. The voyage downstream (Mistissini to Rupert House) required some three weeks and the return to Mistissini about five to six weeks. The travellers would stay a few days to rest and enjoy themselves at Rupert House. Since it was already autumn by the time the brigade had returned to Mistissini, the crew had to be prepared for almost immediate departure to the bush for the winter hunting season.

Cree hunter, Bally Huskey recalled his Rupert brigade experiences: "We could only rely on our own strength. On the portages, every man did his share, and carried heavy loads. On the lakes everyone paddles. Sometimes if there was enough wind on a broad stretch of lake, we would put up sails....That was when we get some rest. If a rapid wasn't too big, we would pole our way up it...When the rapids were stronger, we would tie a rope to each end of the canoe and pull it to the head of the rapid. When the rapids were too strong we portaged. On the longer portages, each canoe was portaged by five men, but on shorter ones, three or four would do" (Frenette, 1985, pp. 9-10). Summers were no longer very restful.

Cree extended families have traditionally held hunting rights to large tracts of land. According to Feit (1985) "The Cree region of Quebec is divided into approximately 300 contiguous tracts of land ranging from approximately 230 square kilometres to several thousand square kilometres and together averaging about 1200 square kilometres" (p. 32). The control of hunting on a family tract is invested in a senior male (now known as the "tallyman"). Among his responsibilities, he assesses the game possibilities for the coming winter, decides which area of the family tract should be hunted in any given year and the locality for building the winter quarters. The tallyman owns the family drum which invests him with religious authority and a special kinship and ability to communicate with nature including with the spirits of game animals. Altered states of consciousness associated with drumming may result in visionary experience which along with his dreams provides the tallyman with foresight and alleged clairvoyant abilities.<sup>7</sup> Upon his retirement, the tallyman passes his role and drum to a son or other male relative of his choice. The Cree see themselves

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as stewards of the resources of their family lands rather than owners of the land. These attitudes towards nature have enabled the Cree to avoid overhunting; they were able to maintain a kind of steady state between animal and human populations at least until the intensification of hunting and trapping associated with the fur trade. An excellent film entitled "Cree Hunters of Mistissini" by Boyce Richardson of the National Film Board of Canada demonstrates Cree strategies for survival in the wilderness including the building of winter quarters. Richardson provides a vivid description of the making of the film in his *Strangers Devour the Land* (1991).

Today the James Bay Cree occupy eight small villages with a total population of 8590 in 1987 (Laverdure and Lavallee, 1989). Five of these are located at river mouths along James and Hudson Bay: Chisasibi (Fort George, population 2364), Waskaganish (Rupert House, 1214), Whapmagoostui (Great Whale, 446), Wemindji (Paint Hills, 788) and Eastmain (370). Three others lie further inland: Mistissini (2076), Waswanipi (967) and Nemaska (365). Recently a ninth band has been seeking recognition. This Chibougamau group (or *Ouje-Bougoumou innu*) had played an important role in the fur trade and had been linked with the Hudson Bay post at Mistissini and the French post at Pointe Bleue. As a locally recognized and distinct band they had traditionally lived and hunted to the south and northwest of the present day town of Chibougamau which sprang up suddenly in the 1950's as a result of mining interests from the south (Frenette, 1985). Although they are quite distinct from the Mistissini band, in 1936 upon the insistence of a local Federal Ministry of Indian Affairs agent, the Chibougamau band was required to move to Mistissini: "The local Indian agent decided they were nothing more than strays from Mistissini, a Cree community located about 100 kilometers away" (Picard, 1990a). This was possibly intended as a money saving decision on the part of Indian Affairs; but more likely it merely reflected confusion over how Cree reservations became officially recognized. In any case the result was disastrous for the Chibougamau. They were left out of the Northern Quebec Agreement and whereas today, the other eight Cree bands have well developed housing programs, schools and band offices, the Chibougamau have no such amenities and have lost control over their traditional hunting territories.

The hunting and trapping life survives in all of these James Bay Cree communities today; indeed as we shall presently see, there may be at least a

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modest rekindling of interest in returning to the traditional way of life as a result of the Northern Quebec Agreement. Of course today, with the ready availability of store-bought food stuffs, survival is less problematic. Aircraft and skidoos facilitate the winter thrusts into the forest and today there is much more shuttling back and forth between settlements and bush camps. Winter hunting camps are in continuous two-way radio communication with the village offices of the Cree Trappers' Association for emergencies, weather reports or special requests. On the other hand, school and work virtually cease for the two-week "goose-break" in April to hunt wild geese; children continue to hate vegetables<sup>8</sup>; and young people would sometimes prefer to go to the bush rather than attend school.

### **THE JAMES BAY HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT**

For the most part the peoples of southern Quebec had paid scant attention to the Cree occupants of the north. In the opening chapter of Hugh MacLennan's (1945) famous Canadian novel "Two Solitudes" for example, we find this remarkable statement about the land to the north of the Quebec Laurentians: "Nothing lives on it but a few prospectors and hard-rock miners and Mounted Policemen and animals and the flies that brood over the barrens in summer like haze. Winters make it a universe of snow with a terrible wind keening over it..." But this unawareness and neglect of Cree existence is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that although most other Canadian native peoples groups have negotiated agreements with the Federal or Provincial governments, before the hydroelectric project, the Cree had never entered into any governmental agreement (over land claims or anything else) over the entire 380 years of Cree-European contact. No doubt this neglect was based upon the perception that Cree lands had little commercial value. All this changed radically in 1971 when Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa unveiled his gigantic "project of the century" (the James Bay hydroelectric project). The story of this remarkable and controversial enterprise is available in considerable detail elsewhere (Wittenborn and Biegert, 1981; Johnson, 1983; Salisbury, 1986; MacGregor, 1989; Richardson, 1991) and only a brief synopsis will suffice here.

Although this project was absolutely vital to their welfare, the Cree first heard about it through radio and newspaper reports from the south. With astonishment and disbelief, they realized that the Quebec government was

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proposing to drown vast areas of their hunting territories by damming or diverting Quebec rivers to create giant reservoirs for the generation of electric power. Rivers slated for attention included the Rupert, Eastmain, La Grande, Nottaway and Broadback (Wittenborn and Biegert, 1981, p. 21). It was almost as though the Tyrrell Sea was to be recreated by human hand.

An important effect of the announcement of the James Bay project was that for the first time in their history the James Bay Cree united to form a common front. The first ever meeting of the chiefs of the eight communities was convened in Mistissini on June 28, 1971. The result of their discussions was the historic document addressed to the Federal Indian Affairs Minister, Jean Chretien: "We, the representatives of the Cree bands that will be affected by the James Bay hydro project or any other project, oppose to these projects because we believe that only the beavers had the right to build dams in our territory, and we request the Minister of Indian Affairs Northern Development, to use his legal jurisdiction to stop any attempt of intrusion of our rightful owned territory by the government of the province of Quebec or any other authority. And we have signed this document on the first day of July, 1971" (Richardson, 1991, p. 84).

This statement was the first shot in a prolonged David and Goliath battle which finally resulted in an agreement between the Cree and the Quebec/Federal Governments that was the most advantageous ever negotiated by Native Peoples in Canada. One of the influential social factors in the background was the fact that, at the same time, Quebec was aggressively seeking a greater degree of provincial autonomy within the Canadian federation or even total independence from Canada. Quebecers wanted to be "masters in their own house" (*maitre chez nous*). René Lévesque, the Quebec Premier at the time, and Billy Diamond, the charismatic young Cree who spearheaded the Cree cause, understood each other very well. There were important resonances between Cree and French Canadian aspirations which no doubt added weight to the Cree demands.

One of the main themes in the controversy was the extent to which the contemporary Cree lived the traditional life and whether flooding northern Quebec lands would create hardship. A leading lawyer for Quebec, Jacques Le Bel, argued that the Cree led a life very much like any other Canadians (Wittenborn and Beigert, 1981, p. 145); Billy Diamond's rebuttal: "My people depend on the bush for 90% of their food."

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After four years of court cases and face to face negotiations the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement was finally signed in Quebec City on November 25, 1975. The agreement was complicated but included: (1) a money transfer in cash and Quebec bonds of 250 million dollars over a five year period; (2) an income support system for Crees who elected to adopt a traditional hunting and trapping way of life; (3) Ownership of 1000 square miles of land around the eight Cree communities and hunting rights to much larger tracts; and (4) control over their own health, education, and policing systems. The income support clause was of particular importance. Cree hunters/trappers were to receive a guaranteed income if they spent a minimum of 120 days per year in hunting and trapping. For example, under the income security program, a family could earn a basic income of between \$3000 and \$9000 per annum, irrespective of the number of skins harvested (amounts have increased significantly since the initial agreement). The result of this income security program has been that many Crees have developed a renewed interest in the traditional mode of life and spend more time teaching their children to be hunters and trappers and encouraging them to work more in the bush.

In the meantime, as if the years of negotiation were irrelevant, the Quebec Government had proceeded with the hydro project anyway. By August 1972 work had commenced on LG-2, the largest underground generating plant in the world consisting of 16 generators, with a total output of 5,328 megawatts or enough power to serve a modern city of four million (Johnson, 1983). Subsequently LG-3 and LG-4 were completed and some 4,600 square miles of Cree hunting and trapping grounds were under water. The great Caniapiskau river flowed westward into James Bay rather than northward into Ungava Bay (Picard, 1990b). The Cree settlement on Chisasibi island had been moved some five miles inland; a totally new town had been built complete with high school, hospital and modern shopping centre (Johnson, 1983). All nine Cree communities (including the Chibougamau) have been transformed to a greater or lesser extent. Particularly in evidence are increases in channels of communication with the south such as roads, airports and television to mention only the most important modalities.

But as far as changes that were of specific benefit to the Cree were concerned, Cree leaders found that just because an agreement had been signed, even some of the most significant clauses did not materialize automatically. It was only by judicious use of international leverage that

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these Cree amenities slowly began to appear. The small number of Cree votes did not constitute a significant political force. But timely mass media coverage of seven Cree leaders' participation in a United Nations conference on "Aborigines and the Land" in Geneva in September 1981; and reports of a Cree deputation to Pope Jean Paul II to explain Canadian unfairness over aboriginal land rights in November, 1982 significantly focused world-wide sympathy for the Cree cause and shame for Canadian and Quebec Governments.

Beginning about 1989, newspaper articles began to report the second battle in the Cree-Quebec war. Quebec was preparing to launch phase II of its dam building program with a proposed generating capacity of 16,000 more megawatt hours of hydro power. Chief Coon Come, the Grand Chief of the Cree Nation has asked the court to declare the Northern Quebec Agreement of 15 years earlier, null and void. "The Agreement was based on the assumption that hydroelectric development was compatible with the Cree way of life and the environment, but that is obviously not true." This time around he said, "No amount of money can buy the Crees' acquiescence because further development will lead to cultural genocide" (Picard, 1990b).

### PSYCHIATRY AMONG THE CREE PART I. GENERAL FEATURES

#### CONFLICT SUPPRESSION STRATEGIES

...the Cree differ...in such non-assertive attributes as reticence in emotional expression, lack of achievement motivation, competition, and unwillingness to interfere with the activities of others (Chance, 1968, p. 23).

A number of authors (Chance, 1968; Sindell, 1968) have drawn attention to important Cree personality characteristics which appear to be linked with traditional lifestyles. The Cree have developed a kind of in-group peace-keeping personality style as it were, which may be seen as an adaptation to the struggle to survive in small hunting groups in one of the world's most inhospitable terrains. Survival required harmonious co-existence which precluded such behaviors as quarrels, jealousy or envy, sulking, aggressiveness or competitiveness or even the luxury of a grieving response

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(including tearfulness, withdrawal, weakness, loss of interest, hopelessness and rumination over the lost loved one). All or any of such responses could prove lethal. Each member of the group had to be fully functioning and cooperative to maximize the chances of survival.

Anthropologist Jean Briggs described somewhat similar personality characteristics for the Inuit. (She lived with an Inuit family for seventeen months in the Canadian arctic near Chantry Inlet some 1400 miles north of Churchill). In her book *Never in Anger* (1970) she portrays the socialization of Inuit children by teasing and shaming to suppress anger, dependency or complaintiveness. An Inuit must maintain a smiling face and never express irritation or make demands.

But the most detailed and authoritative discussion of conflict suppression strategies and their function in survival is by Mohawk (Iroquois) psychiatrist Clare Brant (1990). Brant has worked with "Iroquoian groups of southern Ontario and Quebec, the Ojibway of southern Ontario, and the Swampy Cree of James and Hudson Bay." He characterizes these strategies not as personality traits but as Native Peoples' "ethics or rules of behaviour." Brant believes that most of these conflict-avoiding features are common to Amerindian cultures generally, though if this were true, the argument for the theory of ecological determinants of personality would be considerably weakened given the wide variations among the ecological niches they occupy. For example, the Iroquois were settled and agricultural rather than nomadic hunters like the Cree. The Iroquois of Ontario were cultivating maize as early as 900 A.D., some six centuries before the arrival of Europeans; beans and squash were added about 1400 (Wright, 1972, pp. 67-68). Presumably in the relatively equitable climate of southern Ontario, the Iroquois with their well-developed agriculture and settled existence in populous and fortified villages, would have had a much easier time of it than the hard pressed James Bay Cree. If we are right in attributing Cree characteristics to their struggle for survival we would have expected considerable differences between Cree and Iroquoian rules of behavior or personality. Of course we do not know how many generations are required to alter personality traits or cultural values; possibly personality characteristics are very conservative and persist over centuries even in the face of major milieu changes.

Be that as it may, Brant's comments on some of these personality

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traits are worthy of more detailed consideration. Brant discusses four traits that he feels are fundamental and related to conflict suppression: non-interference, non-competitiveness, emotional restraint, and sharing. The non-interference policy involves "a high degree of respect for each human being's independence" and views as undesirable any behavior that attempts to infringe upon independence, such as instructing, attempting to persuade or coercing. Native peoples seek group consensus and goals are achieved by voluntary cooperation when consensus has been achieved. Brant points out that in conformity with this non-interference policy, an Amerindian parent may allow a six-year old child to decide for himself whether to go to school, do homework or go to the dentist. Non-competitiveness, Brant's second principle, may be viewed by Europeans as lack of initiative or ambition, but Native ethics holds that all should be regarded as equal, and each should seek their own perfection without the need for blame or praise. The avoidance of invidious comparisons promotes harmonious living. For example, native peoples will rarely cheer their side's home run in a baseball game because "to do so might embarrass those who struck out or managed only single base hits." According to Brant, emotional restraint (the third principle) is a corollary of non-interference and non-competitiveness. Emphasis on emotional restraint promotes self-control and inhibits expression of strong feelings including joyful feelings as well as anger and fear. Brant makes an important point about the suppression of rage. "Repressed hostility often explodes into the open under the influence of alcohol and is inappropriately visited upon innocent bystanders such as spouse, child or casual acquaintance." He suggests that the major frustrations of Canadian Native Peoples are the mindless restrictions and culturally insensitive controls imposed by white governmental bureaucrats (Brant, 1990, p. 535). Whether suppressed rage is involved in such a manner or not, certainly a great deal of medical/psychiatric work among the Cree has to do with family violence including wife beating, and male violence against other males; and certainly each of these forms of violence is almost universally associated with abuse of alcohol and/or street drugs.

## VERBALIZATION AND PSYCHOTHERAPY

A Cree patient once told me that "Indians from childhood were taught not to feel, not to speak, and not to trust." When I first began to see Cree

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patients ten years ago, this description seemed to ring true; moreover, it melds nicely with the cluster of personality traits described above. Traditionally at any rate, verbal communications were limited and unnecessary since hunting groups lived together over long periods; roles and tasks were long established and unquestioned so that explanations and discussions were not needed. Among the Cree, adult males hunted and trapped under the direction of the tallyman; adult females skinned the game, stretched the hides, cooked, carried wood and replenished the spruce boughs for the floor; and children snared hares and learned adult roles by imitation. As sociologist Basil Bernstein (1964) pointed out in connection with the limited verbalizations of low income British families, "If you know somebody very, very well, an enormous amount may be taken for granted; you don't have to put into words all that you feel because the feelings are common" (Bernstein 1964, p. 198).

To return to my own experience, at first I found that psychotherapy was almost impossible because patients seemed unable or at least unwilling to talk, particularly about their feelings. This laconic style was pervasive but perhaps most evident among adolescent girls. However I could not help but notice that those same girls that in my office would scarcely nod their heads when I asked direct questions, could be observed talking to their schoolmates at length and with great animation outside my office. Clearly this lack of verbalization was a function of context and not a Cree character trait. Indeed after working with Crees for several years, I found they could talk as much as Europeans, even about their feelings, free-associations and dreams.

There seemed to be a number of factors involved in this apparent transformation. Perhaps Cree villagers had gradually become familiar with my presence over the years and they opened up just because they had overcome their shyness. But there had also been the steady barrage of television, movies, radio, newspapers, conferences and workshops; and these, coupled with European-style schooling, probably converted many to Western views about the value of speaking, of "letting it all hang out" and the importance of expressing emotions in words. Furthermore I had changed over the years; I gradually learned about Cree values and ways of doing things. I also began to ask the right questions; patients knew that I knew about incest, child abuse and wife beating and that I believed them when they spoke of such matters.

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### CREE SEX ROLES

As already mentioned, Cree sex roles were quite clearly defined and differentiated in traditional culture. Males and females had specific and non-debatable tasks in the bush. The husband was the head of the family and if conflicts arose, the wife (usually accompanied by the children) might return to her parents. In due course the husband was expected to take the initiative to approach his father-in-law, try to patch up the quarrel and request the wife to return.

Today the power positions of the sexes are altered. Wives may well be better educated than their husbands and whether better educated or not, they often find it easier than their men to fit into jobs geared to the southern dominated economy. Housekeeping, child care and clerking in an office are not too different from traditional Cree female roles; but office and factory work exist in an entirely different dimension as it were, from the male world of hunting, trapping and warriorhood. Women often have more earning power than their husbands and often attempt to control the family's household expenditures and social life. Unemployed husbands may find themselves in the role of baby sitters while their wives go out to work at the grocery store or the band council office. This inversion of power relationships is most marked of course in couples who have elected to stay in the village year-round. After listening to many alcohol-linked family disputes and instances of wife-beating it seems to me that this shift in power is very frequently involved. Power and authority are seldom given up without a struggle; and when finally relinquished, the sense of family responsibility (a cliff-hanging male attribute under the best circumstances) may disappear as well. Denied traditional rights the Cree male may find it difficult to accept traditional duties such as child support and marital fidelity. Moreover he will not discuss these matters with his spouse; in conformity with Brant's non-interference policy, he expects her to acknowledge his authority without explanation as a kind of mind-reading. It is a humiliation for him to have to give voice to such obvious matters and he may demonstrate his dissatisfaction by having an extra-marital affair.

From the wife's point of view of course, when the husband is unable or unwilling to provide for the family, she must go to work; and since she is the breadwinner, it is only just that she determine household priorities. Many Cree women, who as we have said are often better educated and more in tune with the times than their husbands, will no longer tolerate physical assault by a drunken husband.

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A second common problem is spousal jealousy; most frequently the husband accuses the wife of involvement with another man, often on inadequate grounds. Cree men are not infrequently excessively jealous and possessive; suspicion of infidelity is often linked with wife beating. Abandonment by the wife in such circumstances may further inflame matters; on a few occasions, in a paroxysm of rage and as if their children were a physical extension of the wife, a husband has injured his own children. At times the wife is hypersensitive about the husband's fidelity. The most pathological situations occur when both husband and wife are unfaithful or accused of being unfaithful and both partners drink to excess; locked in the disinhibited and destructive battle of the sexes, they may neglect or abuse their children and alienate their extended families.<sup>9</sup>

Traditionally marriages were arranged by family elders while their children were quite young. The wishes of the young people or their romantic attachments were not taken into consideration. Although today most marriages are based upon love matches, arranged marriages still occasionally occur. For example, a marriage was recently arranged in the context of father-daughter incest. When the mother learned of the incest she insisted that her daughter marry immediately. Arrangements were made for her marriage to a considerably older alcoholic bachelor. The daughter objected but her wishes were ignored. A child was born but the marriage was not a success; after much conflict the husband was killed in an alcohol related accident.

A rather puzzling current feature of Cree marital behavior is the virtual absence of divorce. There are powerful community sanctions against divorce and today a common opinion among the Cree holds that if a Cree were to divorce (particularly a Cree woman) she or he would be virtually unable to continue living in their community because of gossip and social disapproval. A divorced woman is almost by definition a prostitute in the eyes of the community. Whether this aversion to divorce was introduced with Christian morality in the last century or formed a part of traditional pre-Christian morality is debatable.

Information about marriage and sexuality among traditional Cree is sparse. According to Francis and Moranz, during the early fur trade era (1670-1840), polygynous marriages were not uncommon.

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Hudson Bay Company records indicated that while most Cree marriages were monogamous, "...in 5 of 49 cases at Rupert House in 1823, and 5 of 29 at Mistissini, a man had two wives. In the majority of cases, principal Indians or their sons had polygamous unions" (Francis and Moranz, 1983, p. 127). But we hear nothing of divorce. Regarding the Algonquian group in general (and not referring specifically to the James Bay Cree), Eileen Jenness reported that, "A husband had full control over his wife, but either could divorce the other at will and remarry as long as they were childless; once children had been born to them, they seldom, if ever, separated" (Jenness 1933, p. 22). On the basis of these and other accounts of Amerindian cultures closely allied to the James Bay Cree, it is probable that the present intolerance of divorce is based on early traditions supporting responsibility for child rearing and that these traditional rules received strong reinforcement from Christian teachings.

### SPECIAL FEATURES OF VILLAGE PRACTICE

Medical and psychiatric practice in a large city is strikingly different from practice in a small Cree village. In Cree communities, almost everyone is related to everyone else and the private lives of others are the object of great curiosity. Gossip is rife and functions as an important method of social control. If families break village norms, they may be ostracized; or the miscreants might awake one morning to find their window's broken or a skidoo destroyed by unknown hands. A son who was believed to have raped a village girl, or a father suspected of incest might be treated in this way. Clear information on such cases is difficult to obtain, but the following example suggests something of the general flavour. A physician from India had contracted to work in one of the Cree communities. A day or two after his arrival, several drunken Cree youths knocked at the door of his transit quarters and loudly accused him of raping a local woman. His accusers had clearly misidentified him and of course he explained who he was and denied the accusations. But his persecutors were not convinced; further abuse followed and in spite of the physician's calls to local police, the youths virtually demolished his car.

Another important aspect of village life is that local health workers are frequently placed in difficult circumstances because of their relationships with families of patients. Health worker's relatives, even distant relatives,

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have special expectations and make special demands. Workers may be called upon at all hours of the day or night; they may be expected personally to provide financial aid, clothing or shelter for a child or perform special manipulations of the health care system or make other concessions on the basis of a family relationship. Outside workers are largely exempt from such excessive demands. Indigenous workers may find the strain beyond their capacities and no doubt these excessive demands have a lot to do with the high drop out rates among local health care workers. Planners who make recommendations for more indigenous workers often seem unaware of these difficulties. Of course there are ways around such problems once they have been identified; community education about roles, rights and duties of indigenous social and health workers would be an important first step towards a solution.

The village setting also creates problems over the confidentiality of medical files. Information recorded in a patient's file can be almost immediately available to anyone interested. Because of this confidentiality problem, I finally decided to avoid recording sensitive material in patient files. Instead, I recorded case histories in a personal notebook which I took out of the community. This procedure was perhaps a factor in the improvement in my communications with patients mentioned above. But of course this restricted recording limits the transfer of important personal information to other physicians.

Social planners often speak of Native Peoples' needs for psychiatric services (psychotherapy, family therapy, alcohol rehabilitation programs and women's shelters) in their own communities and familiar surroundings. In my experience this is largely untrue. Cree patients almost always welcome the opportunity to at least temporarily escape from their communities and make the trip south. They enjoy the relief from the "fishbowl" (as one Cree characterized his village) with its public visibility, gossip and family controls and demands. Anonymity can be relaxing for a while. Of course, there are a few Cree who do find life in the city bewildering or frightening; patients over the age of fifty who speak only Cree come particularly to mind. It is worth mentioning in this context however, that the above mentioned "Module du Nord" has developed an important service whereby patients travelling to Montreal from the north are met at the airport and shepherded through the city; a Cree boarding house has been established to provide living quarters and Cree meals. Appropriate translators and transportation for medical appointments are also provided.

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However, admission to hospital is another matter. Most patients admitted are psychotics or potential suicides. While about 20 percent of James Bay Cree are currently admitted to the local General Hospital in Chisasibi, the majority are transferred to Francophone hospitals in Val D'Or (23%), Matagami (12%), or Roberval (13%) (Laverdure and Lavallee, 1989). Cree patients whose second language is almost always English find a French milieu difficult. Even though physicians and nurses may have adequate English, other staff and fellow patients seldom speak English and almost never speak Cree. Admission to an Anglophone psychiatric unit is not quite so disorienting as a Francophone. The same can be said for alcohol and drug rehabilitation programs and women's shelters; the high prevalence of substance abuse and its frequent association with wife beating in Cree communities make such facilities mandatory. Cree or Anglophone facilities are essential because the major therapeutic modalities in these facilities are group discussion and counselling. Again, because of the fishbowl effect and the small populations involved, women's shelters and alcohol rehabilitation programs are more appropriately located outside of the Cree villages at least for the present. It should also be mentioned that there are no well-functioning Alcoholics Anonymous programmes in Cree communities; indeed, as has been emphasized, the anonymity required is virtually impossible in Cree villages.

The Cree have one type of therapeutic facility that is not available to southerners—what we might call the "bush asylum." In the management of Cree psychiatric patients the judicious use of a period of bush living has proved remarkably tranquillizing in the majority of cases. A psychotic clerk may greatly profit from a month in the bush before returning to his work; an alcoholic husband who has completed a Montreal rehabilitation program has a better chance of remaining sober if he can spend several months in the bush before resuming village life. Life in the bush is socially peaceful; everyone knows and accepts their particular task, alcohol is almost never taken to the bush, and as we have already seen, Cree personality and family relations have developed out of the exigencies of bush life. A return to the bush is like time travel back to pre-history and a temporary respite from the topsy-turvey, inside-out world of the south.

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### **ROLE OF THE PENTECOSTAL CHURCH**

"...and there appeared to them tongues as of fire...and they were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues..." (Acts 2: 2-4)

My work in Cree communities gradually revealed the important social and psycho therapeutic role of the Pentecostal church. During psychiatric history taking, when I asked about alcohol abuse, a frequent response was something like "He's not been drunk or beaten his wife since he became a Christian." This meant that he had been a drinker until he had converted to Pentecostalism. There are of course "drinking Christians," members of the Anglican, Baptist or Catholic churches.

A brief history of Christian influences on Cree life will place Pentecostalism in context (Francis and Moranz, 1983, pp. 160-168). The significant Christianization of the James Bay Cree did not commence until the mid-nineteenth century, some 200 years after the establishment of the Hudson Bay Company. After the Company's initial abortive attempts to settle a clergyman in residence in Moose Factory (Ontario) in 1840, two clergymen took up permanent residence in 1851-52; John Horden at the Moose Factory post and E.A. Watkins at Fort George (Chisasibi). Horden was quite successful with conversions at Moose Factory and he became the first Anglican bishop of the diocese of Moosonee in 1872. But Watkins made little progress with the more northern Cree and Inuit. He complained, "They feel no interest whatever in the sacred truths which it is my duty to proclaim" and after four years he was moved from the post at Fort George to the Red River (Manitoba) post. But the missionaries gradually prevailed. Social behavior became imperceptibly interwoven with Christianity in the Cree tapestry, and the most trivial of European habits were urged upon the Cree as necessary for their salvation: eating at table with cutlery, speaking English, drying with a towel, and settled living rather than nomadism. The missionaries also attacked Cree religious beliefs much more vigorously than the fur traders had done, and shamanism and belief in the Great Spirit receded to become a distant and indistinct backdrop. By 1964, Chance was able to report that, "as a result of Protestant missionizing, most of the Crees are now affiliated with the Anglican church" (Chance, 1968, p. 2).

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But Anglican hegemony did not last much longer. By the late 1960's, Pentecostalism, a new and aggressive form of fundamentalist Protestantism began to spread like wildfire. Today at least half of the James Bay population (apart from the Chisasibi people) have become Pentecostals.

Pentecostalism first appeared in the United States about 1900 (Ferguson, 1977). Its distinguishing characteristic is "speaking in tongues," an altered state of consciousness accompanied by glossolalia which harks back to the New Testament Pentecost in which Christ's disciples were inspired or infused by the Holy Ghost. Pentecostalism like other fundamentalist Protestant sects imposed strict restraints upon the behavior of their members including: abstention from drinking, smoking, card playing, gambling, dancing, extra-marital sexual relations and wife beating. Pentecostalism rapidly spread from the United States to the Caribbean, Latin America, and around the world. Areas in which social research has been conducted include: Jamaica (Wedenoja, 1980), Puerto Rico (Garrison, 1974) and Haiti (Gerlach, 1974) to mention only a few.<sup>10</sup>

Pentecostalism seems to have first come to James Bay through the Reverend J. Arthur Lemmert who appeared in the northern Quebec copper-mining town of Chapais in the late 1960's. A truck driver evangelist, Lemmert had come north from Philadelphia. He reported that by 1973 he had personally converted three quarters of the 125 Cree residents of Chapais (Richardson, 1991, p. 263). Soon after, Pentecostal ministers also became active in Rupert House and Mistissini. They have never been allowed to proselytise in Fort George (Chisasibi). The negative characterization of Pentecostals by a Chibougamau Anglican minister in the late sixties may help explain the Chisasibi band-council's refusal to accept Pentecostalism: "a fanatical sect of Americans who had set up in Chapais and were making heavy inroads among the Anglican Indian faithful, imposing upon these children of nature a rigid fundamentalist faith, joyless and barren, the most disruptive emotional baggage that could have been designed for them..." The Anglican minister did admit that Pentecostalism had stopped some from drinking, "but at what a cost!" (Richardson, 1991, p. 52).

But the most absorbing account of the entry of Pentecostalism into a Cree community is to be found in MacGregor's (1989) biography of Billy Diamond, who as noted previously was one of the major Cree leaders during Phase I of the James Bay hydroelectric project.

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The 21 year old Diamond had been elected chief of Rupert House (Waskaganish) in July 1970. Pentecostalism was brought to Rupert House by John Whiskeychan just the following year. After years of drinking and fighting in Chapais, Whiskeychan had finally been converted by Lemmert's spirited preaching. Returning to his Rupert House birthplace to pass on the message, his initial reception was poor—"at one point angry Crees had smashed into his house, beaten up his wife and threatened Whiskeychan with death if he stayed" (MacGregor, 1989, p. 188). Indeed, one of his main opponents in Rupert House was Chief Billy Diamond. But the Whiskeychans stayed and Pentecostalism eventually prospered.

Ironically, one of Whiskeychan's first converts of the 70's was Billy Diamond's wife, Elizabeth, who influenced many to convert with her. But Diamond remained adamantly opposed and her conversion merely increased a growing rift between Billy and his wife; the relationship was already strained not only because of Billy's total absorption in the James Bay project at the expense of his family, but also because of his excessive drinking and womanizing. Besides his wife, many of his intimate friends had one by one, also converted. Billy took the view that the Pentecostals had taken his town from him and now were taking his wife, children and friends. In a drunken state, he even burst into a Pentecostal meeting and threatened the minister he would kill him if he didn't leave Waskaganish.

As late as his thirty-fourth birthday in May 1983, Diamond was still violently opposed to Pentecostalism. But the stresses and strains of his participation in the Cree battle with the Government of Quebec, the near death of his year-old son from meningitis in 1980 and the death of his beloved father in October 1984 burdened him with rage, guilt and grief and drove him towards conversion. Since he had publicly condemned Pentecostalism, at first his turn towards religion remained private; but pressure from his wife and friends finally forced him to public acknowledgement. He began to attend Whiskeychan's church services and in late 1984 during a public service, he experienced his first dissociated state. He spoke to the assembled gathering and collapsed unconscious; he was unable to subsequently recall what he had said during his testimony or his collapse state (MacGregor, 1989, p. 219). In January 1985, he experienced a vision of the flame of Pentecost in his own bedroom: "And then a flame came down through the ceiling. It came down and landed

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on the top of my hands. It didn't burn me. I felt this glow go through my body. It was marvelous. But the flame stayed on my hands. It was transparent, it changed colour: red, blue, yellow—*it was alive!* It danced on my hands and I handed the flame over to Johnny Whiskeychan and it danced on his hands. It danced all through the rows, all the way to the back of the church" (MacGregor, 1989, p. 229). Billy Diamond had finally become both a staunch supporter of Pentecostalism and a valued and powerful preacher in his own right.

Pentecostalism has had therefore, a very considerable attraction for the James Bay Cree. There are a variety of opinions as to why this should be so: some have attributed it to Pentecostalism's clear and unambiguous morality; some to its experiential aspect—the euphoric glossolalic state powerfully convinces the subject of authenticity; and of course the very evident power of the church to save many from alcohol abuse and disruption of their families. But negative effects are also evident. One young Waskaganish man spoke of the excessive demands made upon convert's time and money, "They had to have a service every night and some said the more money you give, the more blessings you have. People were borrowing money from their relatives to put into the church...now they're at church every night—still neglecting their children" (MacGregor, 1989, p. 228). But as illustrated by the story of the Pentecostal entry into Waskaganish, the main problem has to do with schisms created in communities. Some factions become ardently opposed to Pentecostalism while others are totally committed. Splits also occur within families: children may oppose their parents; or more commonly a wife will convert along with some of her daughters and will adopt a teetotal stance against the father of the house and some of the sons.

In my view however, Pentecostalism is on the whole a positive force. In the absence of functioning AA groups, Pentecostalism represents about the only approach that offers at least some hope for the maintenance of sobriety and at least a fragile defence against family violence.

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### **PART II: SPECIAL FEATURES OF CREE PSYCHIATRIC DISORDERS: THE EXAMPLE OF PATHOLOGICAL GRIEF REACTIONS**

Psychiatric disorders among the Cree are quite similar in form to those of the European populations of the south. I have not observed Cree disorders that could be designated culture-bound syndromes: that is, "clusters of signs and symptoms that are found in some cultures but not in others on the basis of differences in cultural features such as attitudes, values and beliefs" (Prince, 1985). Are there Western disorders that are not found among Cree? Certainly, I have seen all the common Western psychiatric syndromes, including schizophrenia, major depressive disorders, anxiety states and panic disorders. I have not seen some of the less frequent syndromes such as anorexia nervosa or obsessive-compulsive disorder. But this is as expected given the small population at risk. Failure of cases to appear at clinics does not necessarily mean they do not occur; until a few months ago, I had never heard of a Cree case of monosymptomatic hypochondriacal psychosis (Munro and Chmara 1982). But recently three cases have come to my attention involving young males who had become social isolates because they believed their genitals emitted an offensive odour. Of course, there are probably Cree-European differences in prevalence of various disorders; but the verification of such differences would require an epidemiological approach, rather than the present clinical approach.

The European-Cree differences that I have observed are differences in imagery and colouring as it were. To illustrate these differences, I will use the example of pathological grief reactions, disturbances that are particularly prevalent among the Cree. To clarify differences, I will first review the European literature on normal and pathological grief reactions and contrast Cree with non-Cree case studies. It should be noted that similar subtle Cree differences may also be found in most other psychiatric disorders.

#### **GRIEF AND PATHOLOGICAL GRIEVING**

Grief may be defined as the painful feeling of loss, emptiness and sadness experienced in response to the death of a loved one. But grief also occurs in other contexts such as rejection by a lover, failure in an examination or indeed in response to significant loss of any kind. Grief may afflict groups as well as individuals; families or other social groups may suffer collective losses and even an entire culture may be involved. The Cree of today may be seen as grieving for a lost way of life.

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Normal bereavement may last from a few weeks to perhaps two years (Parkes, 1972). Among other factors, grief intensity and duration depends a good deal on personal relationships and the age of the deceased. Parental grieving over the death of a child often seems most intense; grieving for a major family breadwinner may be exaggerated by the loss of economic support in addition to personal loss; the expectable death of the elderly is often accompanied by less intense grief and may even be welcomed with a sense of relief. Of the various approaches to the study of the nature and pathology of grief, the most helpful have been those by the psychoanalysts. Other important insights derive from animal and cross-cultural studies. These three contributions will be considered in turn.

### PSYCHOANALYTIC CONTRIBUTIONS

Lindemann (1944) who studied the bereaved families of thirteen young people who died in a fire in a New York night club (Coconut Grove), described the symptoms and sequence of the grieving response: (1) Initial disbelief that the loved one was dead often accompanied by a pervasive sense of unreality; (2) Sensations of bodily distress in waves lasting from 20 minutes to an hour: tightness in the throat, choking and shortness of breath, sighing, empty feeling in the abdomen, and lack of muscular power. These episodes occurred against a background of tension and sorrow and were precipitated by reminders of the deceased including sympathetic remarks. Subjects tried to isolate themselves for this reason. (3) Other common reactions included a preoccupation with the image of the deceased sometimes along with feelings of guilt that the bereaved bore some responsibility for the death; some reported a loss of warmth towards others or feelings of hostility or irritability that were uncalled for and a surprise to the subject. (4) Those suffering severe bereavement were sometimes hyperactive instead of slowed down in daily activities. (5) Less commonly the bereaved reported the appearance of the traits of their loved one within themselves; for example, a bereaved wife found herself walking in the distinctive manner of her deceased husband.

As regards psychoanalytic insights into pathological grieving, in simplified terms the most pathological elements in grieving seem to relate to the nature of the relationship between the deceased and the bereaved.

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Pathological grieving is related both to an excessively bound-up, symbiotic relationship and to highly ambivalent (love/hate) relationships. The more intense the negative elements in the relationship, the more likely such pathological grieving responses as melancholia will ensue. Prominent defense mechanisms in grief include incorporation and denial (Abraham 1927; Freud 1925; Fenichel, 1946). To prevent being overwhelmed by grief, guilt and rage, the bereaved may first completely deny the loss; the ambivalently loved person is taken into the bereaved or incorporated as it were; the bereaved seems to be saying, "He cannot be dead for that means my hate has killed him, he is still alive here inside me." Psychoanalysis suggests that ghosts represent the re-projection of the feared aspect of the ambivalently loved object; the vengeful element is thus removed from inside the bereaved and located in the outside world where it may be more readily dealt with. These interpretations receive support from such cases as the following:

CASE I: A twenty-one year old American female medical student was hospitalized with bloody diarrhea following the cancer-death of her father. She died of ulcerative colitis thirty days later. The following excerpts from her hospital record illustrate the mechanisms of incorporation and denial. Her sister remarked, "How curious it is that she never cries. Her father preferred her, wanted her with him...but now she doesn't seem to be sad at all!" She (the patient) helped care for her father until she had to return to school, "...at this point she noticed that she could not recall him to mind, could not at all remember what he looked like". Fourteen days before her death the psychiatrist recorded the following incident: "Talked about mother and father. Stopped—panic and then face became mask-like, staring eyes and sweating. Says, 'I must be losing my mind. It seemed as though my hands were a man's hands and my feet were big, very big, and my chin seemed to stick out of me more and my face seemed to be all firm and stiff. I really don't know who I am anymore'" (Cobb 1950, pp. 218-224). The patient's lack of sadness and inability to remember her father's appearance illustrate the denial mechanism; her experience of invasion by a male body is a particularly vivid example of incorporation.

CASE II: The following example from my own records also illustrates incorporation and denial. Several months after the death of his wife of forty years, an elderly English physician reported that he still maintained his

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wife's sick-room in exactly the same state as it was at the time of her death. He changed the bed linen regularly and kept her clothing in the bedroom closet and a fresh vase of flowers on her dresser. In the evening he would often light a candle under her portrait in the hallway. He said he seemed at times unable to grasp that his wife was dead; when he confronted himself with the idea, the world seemed unreal. Sometimes when he heard someone at the door he would suddenly think she was returning home; this expectancy would last for a few seconds before he realized she was dead. When he came home from his clinic, he would don her dustcap and apron and clean the house as she used to do. On her shopping day he went to the same stores as she had done and selected the same foods, even though he didn't need them. He knew these odd behaviors were irrational but they seemed to comfort him in some way; he did not come to me as a patient but merely reported them as possibly "of interest to a psychiatrist."

CASE III: This third case was a pathological grieving response of clinical intensity. The patient was a 40 year old Hindu business man whose wife and three young children had been killed in an air crash. He and his family had immigrated to Canada from India several years previously and the symptomatology bears a slightly different colouring from the Western cases presented above. About a year after the crash he came for interview at the request of his new girlfriend who found him excessively inhibited and guilty about their relationship. He described his "numbness" during the four months after the crash. Then he became anxious and depressed and consulted a family physician who prescribed chlordiazepoxide. He had lost 20 pounds and had spent two months in India involving himself in Hindu funeral rituals for his family. But he still felt depressed and particularly he felt guilty because as he said, "I am alive but my wife and children are dead, I have received \$200,000 from an insurance company because of their death, and I am betraying my wife through my new relationship." He had donated his wife's clothing to a centre for battered women and hadn't yet used a penny of his insurance money. He ruminated over certain long past unkindnesses to his wife such as his refusal to buy new furniture for the family living room. He assumed his wife would now be saying, "You wouldn't buy me that furniture, now take the \$200,000 instead of me you skinflint." He had dreams in which his wife was alive and happy, for example he would be picking her up at the shopping centre where she used to buy the family food.

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This case illustrates the conviction of survival of personality based upon Hindu belief; the overpowering sense of guilt possibly reflect Hindu values surrounding scrupulous purity. The case also illustrates that belief in survival may be a two edged sword. In this case the sense of his wife's ghostly presence and comments on his behavior are disturbing rather than supportive.

### **ETHOLOGICAL STUDIES**

Ethological studies have confirmed what animal lovers have always known; grief occurs not only in humans but in at least some of the other higher mammals such as dogs and monkeys. For example, infant pigtail monkeys grieve when removed from their mothers. For the first day or two they frantically search and scream; if the mother does not return, an obvious depressive picture ensues, the infant sits hunched over, head between its knees (the male may suck his penis), has no interest in play and seems disengaged from its surroundings (Kaufman, 1974, p. 60). This depressive picture persists for five or six days to be followed by a slow return to normal by about a month. The agitation-depression-recovery pattern occurs during the mother's absence even when other mother-child groups are available.

In considering the adaptive value of the grieving response in animals, Kaufman (1974), Engel (1962) and others have suggested that in the wild, when the mother is first lost, the most successful strategy for finding her is searching and screaming; but such behavior is maladaptive in the long run both because of the high energy expenditure involved and because the agitated infant may attract predators. The ensuing depressive pattern on the other hand represents a conservation of energy and immobility and silence are less likely than agitation to attract attention from enemies.

### **CROSS-CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS**

Cross-cultural studies have broadened our picture of grief. Frazer (1933) collected data on grieving and funerary customs from the ethnographic literature of dozens of cultures world-wide. He emphasized the fear of the dead and argued that ghosts were feared because they were "believed to be the sources of many evils...including the last evils, sickness and death." He described the wide range of stratagems used by the living to distance themselves from ghosts. These included attempts at peaceful inducement, such as offering animal sacrifices to encourage the ghosts to

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leave the land of the living; frightening the ghost by discharging guns or fireworks; or making the world unattractive for the ghost by destroying his or her former utensils, clothing, or house.

Rosenblatt *et al.* (1976) have recently covered the same ground in a more systematic fashion. They studied some 78 cultures roughly representative of world culture areas in general. They found some grieving responses such as crying and fear of ghosts to be virtually universal. Anger and aggression were found in 76% of cultures; women were much more likely to mutilate themselves while men were characteristically aggressive towards others. Marking or isolation of relatives of the deceased was common; that is, the recently bereaved were restricted to certain living areas for a time so that aggressive outbursts could not damage others; and the bereaved were painted in characteristic ways or wore black armbands so that others would be forewarned of their special status. Ghosts were commonly feared for two reasons: the bereaved realized that their feelings and behavior towards the deceased had not always been positive and they feared the now-omniscient ghost's revenge; some also feared that ghosts might long for the companionship of their loved ones in the land of the dead and return to the world as abductors.

Most cultures have developed belief systems that support the denial defense against grief. Almost all religions teach the survival of personality after bodily death. Special funeral preparations are often associated with these beliefs in immortality; the corpse may be buried with food and weapons to sustain and defend the ghost on its journey to the other world. Many Amerindian cultures supplied their dead with bows and arrows, pipes and their favorite clothing or ornaments.

## CREE GRIEVING RESPONSES

Death is a much more familiar spectacle for the Cree than for those in the south. The hunting life brings them very close to raw nature. Hunting and trapping are dangerous pursuits at best, but these dangers are magnified in the sub-Arctic. Safety practices cannot as easily be instigated in the forest as in the workplaces of the south.

But again, the hazards of intoxication are even more perilous than the hazards of untamed nature. Almost every time I visit Cree country, there has been some new

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alcohol-related disaster; a drunken husband had fallen asleep in his car while smoking and the car exploded; after a party on the night of their graduation ceremonies, a carload of high school students were involved in a head-on collision; several drug-using adolescents drowned when their overloaded canoe had overturned. The Cree are very well acquainted with grief.

As mentioned previously, the Cree are also mourning a lost way of life and in part their increased alcohol abuse and suicidal behavior may reflect this collective loss. Other authors have also emphasized the pervasive sadness and hopelessness of Amerindian peoples: the Ojibway/Cree of Northwestern Ontario (Timpson *et al.*, 1988) and the Quechua of Ecuador (Maldonado, 1992) have received special mention in this regard. Wolfgang Jilek (1982) has coined the expression "anomic depression" for this pervasive sadness associated with loss of traditional pride, norms and religious beliefs among Amerindians.

In any case, pathological grieving among the Cree is very prevalent. Although many of these disorders are similar to those of the south, the Cree seem more often to suffer bodily responses such as disabling headaches and backaches; dissociative responses to grief are also much more common; and ghost imagery is especially prominent. As among European cultures, denial is very much in evidence. The following Cree cases are illustrative:

CASE IV: Although she was already in love with a young man, a 25 year old Cree woman's parents arranged a marriage for her with an older family acquaintance (he was also a good friend of her young lover). Her relationship with her new husband was not very satisfactory; he drank to excess and abused her physically. Several years after her marriage, her young lover of earlier times was killed in a hunting accident. Soon after his death and while her husband was away, the wife experienced an episode of sleep paralysis (a sleep disorder involving waking from sleep but being unable to move); she heard footsteps on the stairs, a man entered her bedroom and bent over her so that she could feel his breath on her face. Then he left. She had been half awake but unable to move from the time she heard the steps until he left the room. She believed this visitor was the ghost of her deceased lover. Subsequently she received several ghostly visits during episodes of sleep paralysis; she also had nightmares in which her deceased lover pleaded with her to go with him to the

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land of the dead. Her husband also began to have nightmares in which he would find his deceased friend in the house. This woman's grief response did not reach clinical intensity; she consulted for other reasons.

CASE V: A middle aged Cree mother complained of severe headaches, panic attacks, depression, insomnia and episodes of "drifting away from reality." She was unable to carry on with her work as a secretary. A year before coming to the clinic the patient's best female friend had died of Hodgkin's disease. She had visited her sick friend many times in hospital and witnessed her steady decline; she last visited a few days before her friend's death and her friend had spoken of seeing her soon, but the patient "could smell death in the room." The patient never saw her again and she had been unable to attend the funeral. For several months after the funeral she found she could not really believe her friend had died and she never cried. Some six months later however, she began to feel depressed and became preoccupied with her own death, "I kept thinking 'Will I be next on the list? Yes, I think I will be next' I began to have nightmares. In one I was visiting my friend's grave, but it was me in the grave instead of my friend. In another dream, I was in the same hospital and smelled the smell of death and my friend stretched out her arms to me. I thought she wanted me to go with her, and I was afraid." At times she was angry at her friend because as she said, "My friend promised to see me before she died but she didn't wait." But she also felt guilty: "Why did she die and not me?"

CASE VI: A young Cree woman reported severe daily headaches which failed to respond to a wide range of analgesics. She also suffered strange attacks in which she was not herself: "I almost passed out, my vision was very narrowed so that I could just see in front of me, my husband said I got very angry and threw around the furniture. The episode lasted for quite a few minutes and I didn't remember anything about what I had done after the spell." A few months previously her young son had died in a Montreal hospital after a protracted illness. The patient had remained by her son's bedside throughout his illness. A dissociated episode such as the one described above had been triggered by the announcement that the son had unexpectedly died just when the patient had left him for a few days. These dissociated episodes and daily headaches persisted for many months after her son's death. Although she had been able to cry over her son's death, often she would not be able to believe he was really dead. She

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continued to buy clothing and toys for him. She frequently dreamt that she saw him happy and content "on the other side" and he told her he was healthy and that she should not worry about him.

CASE VII: A 35 year old male complained of panic attacks and unusual feelings of the presence of his young brother who was thought to have died in a canoe accident some twelve years earlier. His brother and parents had died under unusual circumstances while paddling on a nearby lake in mid-summer. However the brother's body had not been found and a few days after the tragedy some articles of his clothing had been allegedly found along the lake. The patient had several dreams during which his brother had been alive and well; and even while awake he experienced a strong feeling of his brother's presence. There were some vague reports that the brother had been seen in a neighboring village. The patient did not know whether to believe his brother was alive or dead, but he attributed his panic attacks, and other quasi-depersonalized feelings to the presence of his brother's ghost.

### A MORE TRADITIONAL PATHOLOGICAL GRIEVING RESPONSE

All the above Cree cases were of relatively young age, had attended school and were able to converse in English. (Regrettably, I see few older Cree patients in psychotherapy as those over 45 seldom speak English.) The psychopathology of these younger Cree is not too dissimilar to southerners apart perhaps from the greater importance of ghost imagery in the Cree case histories. Earlier generations of Cree probably suffered more distinctive or even culture-bound grief reactions. Although I cannot substantiate this claim from my own case histories, an elderly patient reported by Timpson *et al.* (1988) does present unusual symptomatology. Although the patient was not James Bay Cree, she derived from a neighbouring and highly similar Algonkian-speaking group of Ojibway/Cree who live in the vicinity of Sioux Lookout in North western Ontario. The following is her abbreviated case history:

CASE VIII: This 68-year old unmarried woman lived an eccentric independent life "supporting herself and her son by fishing, hunting and trapping." She had had little contact with Europeans and knew no English. She was brought to a Native mental health worker "...crying hysterically, stating she could no longer cope with anything. She described herself as 'disoriented' and 'not

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in her body.' She related that she was experiencing the sensation of turning into a loon. She could feel and see a beak growing and had the feeling of wanting to fly. She became desperate when she had cannibalistic urges and wanted to kill herself rather than hurt anyone. She described tightness in her legs, hands and neck, and a feeling of her heart stopping. She feared blacking out and losing control. Yet throughout her episode she maintained both control and insight" (Timpson *et al.*, 1988, p. 7).

The authors attributed her symptoms to grief because of "a recent bereavement, a terminally ill sister, and the upcoming anniversary of her mother's death." In hospital the symptoms quickly resolved on a small dose of antidepressant and she left hospital in three weeks. Similar symptoms recurred in about a month but were again short-lived. She was sent to a traditional healer who attributed her illness to failure to fulfill her traditional role expectations. She was advised to give traditional feasts in her community, to acknowledge God and give offerings to Him. She also used the sweat lodge as part of her treatment.

The symptoms relapsed again a year later at the time of the anniversary of her mother's death. She attributed this relapse to her failure to fulfill the healer's recommendations completely. She returned to the healer who on this occasion used the "shaking tent"<sup>11</sup> to communicate with his spirit assistants on the client's behalf; the healer instructed her to incorporate dream images into her clothing and pay more attention to her dreams. She improved by following these instructions. It is interesting that a Native mental health worker had "recognized this problem as one that affected older people, particularly in traditional times" but unfortunately no details are provided and the loon transformation and self-accusations of cannibalism remain unintelligible.

The observations of anthropologist Irving Hallowell (1940), who studied Ojibway/Cree of the Berens River area about 300 miles Northwest of Sioux Lookout between 1930 and 1940 seem to be helpful in linking the loon lady to local mythology. Hallowell found that sorcerers were regarded as having the ability to change into animals or birds and destroy or damage others while in that guise.<sup>12</sup> Sorcerers may transform themselves into bears, owls, golden eagles, and "thunderbirds" but Hallowell made no specific mention of loons. The case of Timpson's loon lady who feared she might cannibalize others would become intelligible if we saw her as harbouring doubts in her and fears about

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becoming a sorcerer on the basis perhaps of dreams or intrusive fantasies. The loon lady is reminiscent of some of the early cases of psychiatric disorder called *windigo*<sup>13</sup> by Algonkian peoples (Marano, 1982). Although loon transformations and cannibalism are strange to the ears of Western psychiatrists, similar self-recriminations for supernatural destruction of relatives or friends by patients suffering depressive psychoses are not uncommon. Indeed the only real surprise in the case of the loon lady is that she recovered so easily and quickly. A patient suffering from Western style depressive psychosis would hardly be expected to recover without extensive therapy. Of course these remarks about the Ojibway patient are merely speculations with minimal support from the case history. As with James Bay Cree patients, it is difficult to link psychopathology with Ojibway mythology when that mythology is fragmented, buried beneath layers of Christian mythology and almost entirely forgotten.

### GRIEVING AND LIFE-REVIEW

Freud saw one of the most important aspects of grief work as a process of systematic review of the bereaved's relationship with the deceased. He spoke of the need of the bereaved to recollect in detail each of their experiences with the deceased during the several months following the death. Once each incident had been called to mind and the bitter/sweet emotions reactivated, that experience could be laid to rest. The process was a kind of unbuttoning of the self from the beloved as it were. "Each single one of the memories and hopes which bound the libido to the object is brought up and hyper-cathected, and the detachment of the libido is accomplished. Why this process of carrying out the behest of reality bit by bit, which is in the nature of a compromise, should be so extraordinarily painful is not at all easy to explain in terms of mental economics. It is worth noting that this pain seems natural to us. The fact is, however, that when the work of mourning is completed the ego becomes free and uninhibited again" (Freud, 1925, p. 154).

I observed a related aspect of the Cree grieving response which to my knowledge has not been reported before. Whether this aspect of grieving is peculiar to the Cree or has merely not been noticed among other cultures is not clear. This unusual response occurred in two unrelated adult Crees who had not likely shared their experiences with one another. Early in their bereavement, both suddenly

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experienced a rapid series of mental pictures depicting their lives with the deceased. The pictures flashed before them as a series commencing with the image of the deceased as a baby and ending with final memories of them in life. One of these life-reviews was reported by a fifty year old man whose son had drowned. At first he could not believe his son dead, but at the funeral, when he saw the body in the coffin he accepted his son's death and suddenly he experienced the picture-review. The other case was a mother grieving over an adult son who had been killed in a car accident; the review occurred immediately after receiving the news of her son's death. These grief-work recollections are reminiscent of the life-reviews associated with near-death experiences. But in near-death situations, subjects rapidly review their *own* lives; for example, life-review experiences have been reported by those who believed they were drowning or in the course of a cardiac arrest (Noyes, 1980).

In the grieving situation we may perhaps see the pictorial sequence as a mode of rapidly accomplishing the above mentioned re-experiencing and release process described by Freud. From an adaptational point of view, it is interesting that pictorial memories may be reviewed quickly without loss of meaning while verbal remembering loses intelligibility if the process is speeded up.

## CREE EXPLANATORY MODELS

As these Cree case histories illustrate, the manner in which patients explain their illnesses sometimes adds a special colouring to their illness descriptions. Ghost beliefs add this special colouring for most of these Cree cases, but sorcery beliefs also occasionally enter the picture. As with ghost explanations, sorcery explanations were often introduced as a rationale for a series of family misfortunes. Patients were much more comfortable speaking about ghosts than about sorcery; they could seldom give detailed descriptions of how sorcery worked or why. An important general point should be made here, however. My psychotherapy with Cree patients was almost always conducted under pressure. Both during my own visits up North and when I treated patients during a two-to-three week stay in Montreal, there was no time to leisurely explore indigenous beliefs and practices. The exploration of *windigo* or sorcery beliefs is inappropriate when suicidal impulses, child abuse and a host of more immediate problems are uppermost. An anthropological rather than a clinical approach to these matters would undoubtedly be highly productive.

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As far as I have been able to ascertain, the Cree image of the sorcerer (*madeou*) is usually of an older male who is able to summon spirit powers both to damage and to benefit others. The help of a *madeou* for destructive purposes is sought when the client feels an injustice has been done or to seek revenge. Most often sorcery is implicated when the victim dreams of the sorcerer and concurrently the victim or his family suffer misfortunes or illnesses. The following three examples are illustrative: (1) A young Cree male attributed his alcoholism, his own unhappy love affairs and several family tragedies to a "curse" on his lineage. He experienced visitations of a *madeou* in his dreams but he was unable or unwilling to elaborate on the relation between the dreams and the curse; (2) A Cree woman abandoned her husband for another man. She began to have dreams in which her father-in-law (who had a reputation as a sorcerer) was laughing at her. At the same time she had become pregnant by her new lover and she developed severe hypertension and fever. The doctor told her he had "never seen such a difficult pregnancy before." Shortly afterward she and her new lover were involved in a nearly fatal car accident. She attributed her difficult pregnancy and accident to the sorcery of her father-in-law in retaliation for leaving her husband; (3) A young psychotic male reported that when he was an adolescent he had received the power and protection of a spirit helper who was half-man, half-wolf. An elderly tent-shaker<sup>11</sup> (*madeou*) in his village challenged him to come into his teepee to determine which of them had the most spirit power. According to the patient, the *madeou* was defeated in this test of strength but subsequently the *madeou* retaliated and induced the patient's psychosis.

I have included these rather unsatisfactory and fragmentary remarks about sorcery and the supernatural to illustrate the subtle colouring that renders psychiatric practice among the Crees different from Southern practice. I have not found Cree illnesses that could not be placed within DSM-III but it is important to realize that some Cree symptoms do not have the same implications as they would in the South. A bereaved Cree who reports hearing the voice of the deceased, or a strong sense of his or her presence, is not necessarily suffering a psychiatric disorder. Mention of supernatural influences involving sorcery or witchcraft may not indicate psychosis but merely that patients are cultured Crees who have not lost contact with their roots or even that they have a high level of trust in the psychiatrist.

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### NOTES

1. This "distant areas service" developed out of the Northern Quebec Agreement of 1975 by which the Cree assumed responsibility for their own health care. At the request of the newly established Cree Health Board, a "Module du Nord" was set up (under Dr. Charles Dumont) within the Community Health Department of the Montreal General Hospital in 1976. In 1979, as part of this endeavour, Dr. Maurice Dongier (then Chairman of the McGill Department of Psychiatry) was asked to survey the psychiatric needs of the James Bay Cree communities. On the basis of his findings, he developed a system of monthly visits to some of the larger Cree villages by McGill psychiatrists. Drs. Tom Kolivakis, J. Lamarche, K. Minde and others have also been involved as psychiatric consultants in the project.
2. Taiga refers to the sub-Arctic terrain of forest (black spruce, white spruce, birch, willow and aspen), waterways and swamp which have a circumpolar distribution across both hemispheres. The term taiga was originally borrowed by the Russians from the Tungus (Evenk) reindeer herders of Eastern Siberia (Harp, 1978). Irwin (1984) has admirably characterized the progressive northerly transformation of the forest: "As one travels north, it becomes apparent that the North Wood starts losing its battle to the climate. The birch are the first to go, then the great white spruce. Only the black spruce, stunted and misshapen, growing aslant with branches only on the leeward side, make their last stand against the cold

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and savage wind. The Great North Wood has been scourged into the "land of little sticks.""

3. The James Bay Cree described here form only a small part of the traditionally nomadic, Algonkian-speaking group which includes: (1) The Montagnais and Naskapi who share highly similar lifestyles with the James Bay Cree and inhabit the taiga to the east of Lake Mistissini as far as the Labrador coast; (2) The Swampy Cree and Ojibway of Northern Ontario who occupy the taiga and woodlands to the west and south of James Bay; and (3) The Plains Cree of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.  
Jeness (1932) and Mandelbaum (1979) have suggested that the designation Cree represents a contraction of the Ojibway name for the Cree: Kristineaux, Christineaux or Kilistinous. According to Mandelbaum these names were frequently mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations*. They are also to be found on many French maps of the 17th Century (see the Franquelin map of 1688 in Vachon, 1982, p. 107; and several examples in Armstrong's (1982) collection of Canadian maps). Ray (1974) and Mandelbaum (1979) also suggest that when the nomadic Cree hunters of Ontario and Quebec obtained firearms from the British fur-traders of James/Hudson's Bay, they with their Assiniboine allies ousted other Indian groups (Gros Ventre and Blackfoot) from traditional homelands on the Canadian western plains. These westward migrating Cree rapidly adapted to the horseman-and-buffalo-hunting lifestyle, and because of their firearms, enjoyed a brief domination of the plains (between 1760 and 1820). By 1772 the immigrant Cree had become proficient at constructing buffalo pounds, but they evidently never became very adept horsemen (Mandelbaum, 1979). The last of the buffalo had disappeared by 1880. Today, Cree buffalo hunters' descendants constitute the Plains Cree who occupy a handful of reservations in the Prairie Provinces.
4. A recipe for bannock as well as photographs of its preparation are provided by Macfie and Johnston (1991, pp. 28-29). Bannock is "...concocted of flour, baking powder and lard (perhaps supplemented with fat skimmed from a boiling duck or goose)." The mixture is stirred in a frying pan and supported to bake in the radiant heat of a low fire. If necessary, bannock can be prepared quite quickly—"At 25 minutes from the time our canoe touched the shore, the bannock was ready for eating"—but slow baking produces a tastier product.
5. Moose are usually tracked over long distances by snowshoe. But during the September mating season, the hunter may attract the male by his

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birchbark-horn imitation of the grunts and groans of the rutting female. The bull may then fall easy prey as he comes crashing through the underbrush in search of his prospective mate.

6. The bear is a very special animal for the James Bay Cree as well as other Algonkian groups. According to Rogers (1970), when the Mistissini Cree killed a bear, a special feast was required at which only bear meat and bear grease were eaten. Ancestral spirits were also offered some of the meat and grease. The skull of the bear was hung on a tree so that it would overlook water, a leg bone was carved as a tool for flenching beaver, and the remaining bones were placed in a special rack. The bearskin was prepared by the women with the hair left attached to serve as a sleeping robe; but the robe was not used for a year out of respect for the bear. The skin of the chin was used as an amulet. (Rogers, 1970, p. 23).
7. In an interview with Boyce Richardson, elderly tallyman Isaiah Awashish (from Mistissini) spoke of his drum communications: "Since I have been a trapper I have been able to see the future in a way that I really could not understand what it meant. Only after, when things had happened did I understand that I had seen it and had known it would happen. During the time I was in contact spiritually with the hunting spirit, what I could see was all about this, what is happening now. A hunter must always watch his dreams, for from them he can tell where the animals are. He may see in his dreams a map of the land and on that land he can see where he will find the animals. Now that I am coming to the end of my hunting life, now that my moccasins wear out every week or two because it takes twice as much work to do as much as I used to do, the animals in my dreams are becoming smaller, so I know I am coming to the end" (Richardson, 1991, p. 9). In a general way, it can be said that the Cree share a shamanic religious tradition with origins in central and northern Asia (Brodsky, 1977).

In my view, it is not so much that the tallyman (shaman) can actually clairvoyantly predict where the best hunting will be found (though his long experience may well provide him with such judgments on rational grounds), but rather that the hunting band, having recognized his special status, will now abide by his decisions without question. Controversies that might otherwise be highly dangerous in this harsh environment are thereby avoided. The shaman's key function then, is not so much supernatural knowledge as band harmony.

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8. In his biography of Billy Diamond, MacGregor (1989) recounts how the ten-year-old Billy established his leadership over his fellow Crees in the residential school which he attended in Moose Factory in 1958 by leading a student revolt against eating vegetables. Residential schools at the time were intent upon transforming native students into young whites; speaking Cree was forbidden, showers were mandatory, church attendance twice on Sundays was required and it was essential of course that children eat their daily ration of vegetables. At a crucial evening meal, "Billy...sat with his arms folded defiantly while the supervisor ordered him to finish his meal. With the rest of the school staring on in fascination, the supervisor recognized that an important point needed to be established, and so he announced that Billy would sit there till he ate his vegetables, and only then would he be allowed to go to the dormitory... Billy Diamond sat without eating for eight hours, the plate in front of him and the supervisor pacing behind until finally, at two o'clock in the morning, with the vegetables cold and still untouched, the supervisor caved in and sent the boy up to the darkened dormitory, where dozens of boys still lay with their eyes closed feigning sleep while they awaited the outcome of the vegetable standoff ...From that time on his leadership went unchallenged" (MacGregor, 1989, p. 25).
9. These remarks about Cree relations between the sexes assume that wife-beating, drunkenness and family irresponsibility have increased significantly with increased Southern contact over the past 40 years. In fact, we have no hard evidence for such an increase. Rather my explanations involving power shifts between the sexes may merely reflect my own projections of current Euro-American feminist preoccupations and heightened sensitivities to family violence.
10. Social scientists have studied the spread of Pentecostalism in disintegrated or impoverished societies such as segments of Jamaican (Wedenoja, 1980) and Haitian (Gerlach, 1974) cultures and have interpreted Pentecostalism as a movement which facilitates social change and modernization. Pentecostalism discourages previous values and religious beliefs and supports such Protestant virtues as teetotalism, monogamy, thrift, hard work, and "clean living." Wedenoja contrasts the more backward-looking religious movements based upon ancestral African religions (such as Voodoo in Haiti and Pukkumina in Jamaica) as being less useful as stepping stones to modernization than Pentecostalism. The choice between a rejuvenation of Cree traditional religious beliefs and rituals and the espousal of Pentecostalism may represent

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a similar decision for the James Bay Cree. Some Cree and European observers condemn Pentecostalism because of its intolerance of Cree tent-shakers, sweat lodges and traditional drumming and dancing.

11. The shaking-tent performance is a shamanic ritual in which a healer summons his spirit helpers to give information about a patient's illness or misfortune. Tent-shaking is occasionally mentioned by Cree patients but I have not obtained a clear description. We may turn to Hallowell (1940) for a description of tent shaking as it occurred among the Cree/Ojibway of Western Ontario in the early part of the century; he recorded a 1914 eye-witness account from the Berens River. The conjuror (as Hallowell designated the operator) entered the teepee after sunset and onlookers gathered outside the tent: "William...went into the conjuring tent, and at once it began to shake. All the people, of course, were seated around it. Before he went in, William called me to him and handed me some tobacco wrapped in a handkerchief. He said, 'Give this to the people, give everyone a pipeful.'" By this time the tent was shaking harder and the various *pawaga-nak* (the conjuror's helping spirits) had appeared, identified themselves by their names and sang their individual songs. The "winds" were there and the "great turtle" and the lynx. After about two hours, the boss *djibai* (spirit of the dead) made his appearance singing in a very strong voice and pointing out the source of the patient's illness. The patient's deceased father and the spirits of other relatives appeared at the seance (it is not clear from Hallowell's description whether the various spirits possessed the conjuror and spoke through him as it were, or whether ventriloquism was involved). In any case, the spirit of the patient's deceased father provided an explanation and treatment for the illness (Hallowell, 1940, p. 42).
12. Hallowell (1967) has recorded the following story from the Berens River Ojibway/Cree about the metamorphosis of a sorcerer into a bear. The narrator and his wife lived with an elderly man who was suspected of sorcery. "One night he thought the sorcerer was up to something. The latter lit his pipe and covered himself completely with his blanket. My friend kept watch. After a long, long time had gone by, all of a sudden the sorcerer threw off the blanket and fell over towards the fire. Blood was running from his mouth; he was dead. My friend found out what killed him. At the very same time that the sorcerer was lying under his blanket so quietly, in another part of the camp P. was waiting with a gun in the dark beside the body of his son who had been killed by sorcery. A kind of fire had

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appeared around the camp several times before the boy had died. This night, P. saw the fire coming again. It made a circle around the corpse which was covered with birch bark. He heard a voice saying, 'this is finished.' Then he saw a bear trying to lift the bark near the head of his son; he was going to take what he wanted. P. shot the bear and he heard a man's voice crying out. Both the sorcerer and the boy were buried the next day. Everyone thought the old man was a bad one. No one blamed P." (Hallowell, 1965, pp. 176-7). In this story, the sorcerer's body remained at home in his tent while his soul, transformed into a bear, travelled abroad to carry out his nefarious activities.

13. The expression *windigo* has had a variety of meanings in Ojibway/ Cree culture. It is perhaps most commonly used as a folklore term to refer to a humanoid cannibalistic monster with a heart of ice. The monster sometimes haunts human settlements and devours human beings; in some accounts the monster may possess humans and render them psychotic and cannibalistic. There is also the view that some humans are driven to cannibalism during starvation conditions and once they have eaten human flesh some of these prefer it even though other foods are available. Such a person is also designated a *windigo*. There are several accounts of such *windigos* being killed and hunters tend to avoid going to the bush with a known *windigo*. Two other uses of the word *windigo* have been reported: (1) to refer to any case of psychiatric disorder; and (2) to refer to the ghost of an individual who has disappeared from the earth and been "assumed into the sky to wander wraith-like between heaven and earth" (Marano, 1982). Case VII reported above in which the patient's younger brother disappeared in a canoe accident could perhaps be seen as a *windigo* in this last sense, although this word was not used by my informant. The *windigo* concept and its relation to psychiatric disorder has received exhaustive discussion in the literature. The most important reviews are by Teicher (1960), Marano (1982) and Brown and Brightman (1988).

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