The Saugeen Ojibway Nation and Canada
Historical Relationships, Settler Colonialism, and Stories of a Shared Space

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Awarding institution:
King's College London

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The Saugeen Ojibway Nation and Canada: Historical Relationships, Settler Colonialism, and Stories of a Shared Space

By

Christopher James Wright

Submitted to the
Faculty of Arts & Humanities
in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy, History Research
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For:

Justin – I love you

and

Mary – G’zaagin
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Abstract

This dissertation is a study of the relations of Saugeen Ojibway Nation in Southwestern Ontario with British and other European settlers, the British colonial state and Canadian nation. It is committed to an illumination of the experience of Indigenous peoples as waves of migrants surrounded and enclosed them in new ways of life.

The dissertation draws partially on unpublished sources, and some material culture, in particular wampum, but is principally based on published primary sources including government letters, documents, and reports; settler diaries; newspaper articles; school texts books; and Indigenous created records, testimonials, and collections of interviews.

The Anishinaabe ways of living made them appear to be an obstacle to the aims of settlers, the British Crown, and later Canadian government. The sections of the dissertation examine key episodes: initial engagements between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and early settlers (1830s-1880s), pre-confederation land treaties and the discontent they engendered (1836-1861), and the tragedy of the Residential Schools (1830s-1960s), seeking to map the evolution of relationships between Canada and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation as Canada increasingly sought to remove Indigenous peoples by way of either assimilation or extermination.

But there was also, from the outset, an alternative experience of peaceful and respectful coexistence, and the dissertation attempts, in all these sections, to make this visible. Today, the population within Canadian borders is comprised of sovereign Indigenous peoples, the descendants of settlers, and newcomers. The thesis is intended to be a contribution to a new history of Canada as a shared space.
### Table of Contents

**Abstract**  

**List of Figures**

**Introduction**

- The Prophecy of the Seven Fires  
- Theoretical Framework  
- Methodology  
- Primary Sources  
- Secondary Sources

**1 - Mapping the Roots of Racism**

- The Jesuit Relations: Creating the Indigenous Other  
- Early Encounters of Voyagers and Artists  
- Early Indigenous Voices  
- The Canadian Fur Trade and Indigenous Peoples  
- Indigenous Peoples: Footnotes in Canadian History  
- Emerging from the Margins  
- Indigenous sources clearing their throat  
- Legacy of the Jesuit Relations

**2 - Fires 1-3: Anishinaabe Worldview**

- Anishinaabe Worldview and Indigenous Worldview  
- Niizhwaaswi Mishomis Kinoomagewinawaan (7 Grandfather Teachings)  
- Classes of Beings within Inaadiziwin (Anishinaabe way of being)  
- Ododemwiwin (Clan System) & Manitouk (Spirit Helpers)  
- Anishinaabe Stories  
- Relationship with the Land  
- Systems of Anishinaabe Knowledge Transfer  
- Anishinaabe Naming Ceremonies
3 - Settler Colonial Worldviews

Scots in Saugeen 137
The Scots Philosophers 140
Scots in the Fur Trade: Letters, Artifacts, and Art 147
Letters from Andrew Agnew 153
Pre-Contact Emigrant Guides 157
Periodical References to ‘Indians’ 162
Early Days of Settlement on the Saugeen Peninsula 165
The Old World as New: an Anishinaabe Perspective 169

4 - The Fourth Fire: Early Relationships in Saugeen

Teaching 185
Helping 188
Sports & Recreation 190

5 - The Fifth Fire: Saugeen Treaties 1836-1861

Foundational Treaties 201
Saugeen Treaties: 1836-1861 213
Petitions presented by Nahnebahnwequay and Madyawosh 237

6 - The Sixth Fire: Residential Schools

Part 1: The Residential School System 257
Selling the idea of Residential Schools 258
'All-encompassing' Institutions 265
Living Environment of the Schools 270
Part 2: Testimonies - Life at Residential School 272
Names, language, and 'Indianess' 274
Attempts to isolate from Indigenous Worldviews 278
Classroom curriculum 278
Physical and sexual abuse 284
Neglect and Death 288
Contemporary links and the Residential School legacy 290
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 – The Seventh Fire: <em>Wasa-Nabin (Looking Forward)</em></td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legacy of History: the impact on the Saugeen Ojibway Nations</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasa-Nabin: The Crossroads of Nation-to-Nation, or Dominated Peoples?</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healing personal histories</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healing national narratives</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Art: Reframing Canadian Histories</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasa-Nabin: The Journey Together</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**References**                                                                 |
| 322  |
### List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>Map: Traditional Saugeen Ojibway Nation Territory</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>Map: Early Settlement in Upper Canada</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>Image: Kent Monkman, <em>Si je t’aime prends garde à toi</em></td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>Image: Don Yeomans, <em>Totem Pole</em> (detail)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Table: Seven Clans</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Map: Railways of Canada</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Image: A.J. Miller, <em>The Trapper’s Bride</em></td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Image: A.J. Miller, <em>Indian Hospitality – Conversing with Hands</em></td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Image: Roy Fisher, <em>Indian Girl</em></td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Image: Mrs. Bellemore on the Blair Homestead</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Image: Mrs. Blair’s seven children</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Image: Small iron cooking pot</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Image: Roy Fisher, <em>Two Indians</em></td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Image: <em>Two Row Wampum</em></td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Image: <em>Covenant Chains Wampum</em></td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Image: <em>24 Nations Wampum</em></td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Map: Saugeen Treaties 1836-1861</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Image: Mount Elgin Residential School</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Image: Pedequahum (Frank), and Weesug (Albert) Ashkewe</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Image: Boys digging ditches, Mount Elgin</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Image: Children working in the laundry, Mount Elgin</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Image: Kent Monkman, <em>The Scream</em></td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

I live in two worlds. I have a European education and I can live in European ways. I’m also an Anishinaabe person.

- Vernon Roote, elder and Chief of Saugeen First Nation

Vern spoke these words at an event I attended at the Saugeen Reserve 5 July 2012. He went on to say that knowing he is an Anishinaabe person helps him navigate European education. Understanding his social environment as ‘two worlds’ has helped him maintain ties to his culture and heritage. He can live in ‘European ways’ yet still know, at his core, he is an Anishinaabe person. Upon further reflection, I realised that I have been living in two worlds without even knowing it. My family's cottage was (and still is) located on the traditional lands of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation.¹ But because of my British-Scottish heritage, I did not need to be aware of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation world. My lack of awareness of the Indigenous space I inhabited is typical of most Canadians.²

Canada is, like Australia, South Africa, and the United States, a product of

¹ This is very similar to the experience of an Australian historian, as described in Mark McKenna, Looking for Blackfellas’ Point: An Australian History of Place (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002). McKenna’s gaze turns from the history of eight acres of land he owns and knows well, out to the Aboriginal histories of the same place, resulting in an examination of settler-Australia’s relationships with Indigenous peoples.

‘settler colonialism’. In these ‘neo-europes’, waves of migrants, armed with firearms and disease, led to a combination of massacres, epidemics, and the violent dispossession of Indigenous peoples. As Patrick Wolfe stated in his seminal essay, in the case of settler colonialism, “the colonizers came to stay”, which created a zero-sum contest over land, fueled by conflicting worldviews, and resulted in the settler colonial logic of elimination. It has been estimated that the pre-settlement Indigenous population in what was to become Canada was more than two million. However, by 1910, just over 105,000 Indigenous people were living within the boundaries of Canada. The elimination of over two million Indigenous peoples made way for the settler colony of Canada.

Settlers move across space to live in new lands; however, they carry their sovereignty with them, found political orders, and claim lands. In many ways, settlers move to their country. Settler colonial projects sought to remake Indigenous space into geopolitical lands, in which settlers could live and prosper in ways that were familiar to them from the Old World. In North America, the

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4 Russell Thornton, American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492, vol. 186 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 32.; Olive Patricia Dickason, Canada's First Nations (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), 45.; Both Dickason and Thornton pointed out that earliest European accounts of the New World spoke of “great multitudes of people,” and estimates of the ‘pre-contact’ Indigenous population reach as high as 18 million+; however, the more conservative estimate of 2 million+ is much more widely accepted.
5 Statistics Canada, "Population Reporting Aboriginal Ancestry 1901-2001," http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/abor/canada.cfm. There has been significant growth in the Indigenous population within the boundaries of Canada, with over 1.3 million by 2001, and Statistics Canada noted that a similar trend of Indigenous population growth has been observed in the census counts of Australia, the United States, and New Zealand.
7 Adele Perry, "Designing Dispossession: The Select Committee on the Hudson's
Indigenous populations that were not decimated by disease were homogenised as 'Indian' Others.\textsuperscript{8} Once 'Indians' were identified as Others, they were defined as undesirable inhabitants of the land because of either their supposed unwillingness or inability to 'civilise'. Once this was accomplished, settler colonies could go about the business of removing 'Indians'. Removal meant different things in different settler colonies; however, in Canada removal included extermination; physical removal or displacement; the erasure of Indigenous cultural practices; assimilation; absorption into the wider population, or any combination therein.\textsuperscript{9} Racialising Indigenous Others was key to the justification of their removal, because it "enabled the 'men' being destroyed to be separable from the 'man' in humanity."\textsuperscript{10} Even if assimilation or absorption was the goal, rather than physical removal, race remained a critical factor because it restored the inequality that the extension of citizenship theoretically abolished.\textsuperscript{11} Indigenous peoples in Canada were not “eliminated as original owners of the land but as Indians.”\textsuperscript{12} Settler colonialism helps explain why Canadians are typically not aware they inhabit and share Indigenous spaces.

Indigenous peoples were separated from the land either through physical

\textsuperscript{8} The concept of contrasting the Other as a way for the West to define itself, and justify its superiority, was first introduced in, Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 1.


\textsuperscript{10} Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race," 876


removal, or in the settler consciousness by way of social and economic marginalisation.\textsuperscript{13}

In the case of the Saugeen Peninsula, a new settler society was constituted of predominantly Scottish migrants, reinforced by currents of new migration, principally from Europe, but later from every part of the world.\textsuperscript{14} This settler society, as it forced Indigenous peoples off of their lands, constructed the idea of itself based on denying that they shared Canada with Indigenous peoples. By the late nineteenth century, the project of building a Canadian nation was based equally on the repression of the memory that there had ever been periods in which Indigenous peoples and settlers lived in relative peace. In the twentieth century, extraordinary violence, not least in the context of the Residential School system, sought to uproot and destroy any Indigenous culture.\textsuperscript{15} And yet it survived, and twenty-first century Canada is confronting the task of reinventing its nation to give cognitive and social space to Indigenous peoples.

This history has acquired a new importance in light of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s $80 billion lands claim suit. The 2011 Saugeen Ojibway Nation Claims Update Newsletter states that,

“If the land is privately owned, the court will not order its return. About 90% of the Saugeen Peninsula has been sold to people who bought it in good faith and are not to blame for the Crown’s broken promises. However, a court may order the government to compensate the Saugeen Ojibway Nations by paying what the land is now worth plus compensation for loss of use of the land for 150 years.”

\textsuperscript{14} However, the predominance of Scottish migrants was not unique to the Saugeen Peninsula. Belich argued that, “Scots contributed disproportionately to British expansion and development.” ibid, 42.
The Saugeen Ojibway Nation has been fighting for over 150 years to maintain ties to their culture, heritage, and histories; however, they do not seem to blame Canadians at large. They blame the Crown.\textsuperscript{16}

The Saugeen First Nation and the Chippewas of Nawash First Nation (Neyaashiinigmiing/Cape Croker) are two Anishinaabe (Ojibway) reserve communities in close proximity to each other on the Saugeen Peninsula (see Fig. 0.1).\textsuperscript{17} Together, they are known as the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. I chose to work with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation because I have spent every summer of my life in their traditional territory, but knew next to nothing about them until very recently. My longstanding ties to the area have allowed me to quickly build relationships with the local archives, historians and museums, in addition to elders of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. Its relatively small boundaries create a built-in focus. The total current population of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation is 4430 – with 1809 belonging to Saugeen First Nation and 2621 belonging to the Chippewas of Nawash First Nation (Neyaashiinigmiing/Cape Croker).\textsuperscript{18}

This dissertation explores the connected experiences of dispossession, co-existence, repression, and resistance over the nearly two hundred-year history of encounter between settlers and Indigenous people in the Saugeen Peninsula of

\textsuperscript{16} Within historical contexts, Indigenous peoples established relationships and entered into treaties with the King/Queen, and they were promised a nation-to-nation relationship – Indigenous peoples and the Crown. Now that Canada is a parliamentary democracy with a constitutional monarchy, the Crown refers to the federal government. However, some Indigenous peoples still petition the British monarch of the day directly, because they were not consulted when responsibility for “Indian Affairs” was transferred from the British monarch to the Canadian federal government.

\textsuperscript{17} Chippewas of Nawash First Nation is also known as Cape Croker, which is the English translation of Neyaashiinigmiing.

Ontario (see figures 0.1 & 0.2). It suggests that it is in understanding Canada as a shared space that we might begin to open new kinds of compassionate national belonging. We are all at home here, and yet, for the moment, no one is at home: there is still a process of healing that must be gone through.

[Fig. 0.1] Traditional Saugeen Ojibway Nations Territory.
The methods and sources of this dissertation are ordered in response to this task. This is a work produced from within and from the concerns of European historiography, and is anchored in sources from British and Canadian archives, libraries, and in a secondary scholarly literature drawn mainly from history and sociology. But it is equally based on fieldwork with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, on privileged conversations and sight of some private documents. I attempt to work with and through Indigenous approaches to the past. While western historiography prizes feats of external demonstration – in particular the indication of texts which provide the basis of argument – Indigenous intellectual life is rooted in a connection to the land, and turns on story-telling, the sharing of

20 For excellent example of bringing together western sources with field work, see, Michael T Bravo, "Science and Discovery in the British Search for a North-West Passage, 1815-1825," (PhD Thesis: University of Cambridge, 1992).
how introspection leads to insights, a reference to the contemporary. The risk I am taking here is in trying to set up a counterpoint between these ways of knowing, and by allowing the Indigenous voice to erupt in and through my historical prose to give the Saugeen Ojibway Nation a place equal to my own in the shared nation of Canada.

* * * * *

The aim of *Histoire Croisée* is to shed light on the thick fabric of interwoven histories. Each chapter of this thesis examines what I have determined to be a key layer of the fabric of Indigenous-settler history in Canada. Together, they aim to deepen the understanding of Indigenous-settler histories with the goal of fostering mutual understanding and respect. The Anishinaabeg’s *Prophecy of the Seven Fires* is used to frame the periods under examination. This is done in order to forefront the relationships and contrasting worldviews between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in the Saugeen Peninsula, and historicise the periods under examination in an Anishinaabe context.

**The Prophecy of the Seven Fires**

The Prophecy of the Seven Fires is the Anishinaabe contact narrative. The oral history of the Prophecy dates back hundreds of years, some say over a thousand, and it is encoded in the *Seven Fires Prophecy Belt* (c.1400). According to the

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prophecy, the Anishinaabeg originate from the Northeastern coast of the continent now known as North America. The Anishinaabeg were living a full and peaceful life when seven prophets visited them. Each prophet provided a prediction of what the future would bring. Each prophecy was called a Fire, and each Fire represented a particular era that would come in the future. The prophecies help the Anishinaabeg know who they were in the past, are in the present, and will be in the future.23

The first three prophets brought a warning to the Anishinaabeg. The prophets warned that a “light-skinned race” would be coming to lands where the Anishinaabeg lived, and it would be wise to divide their population into two groups. Half of the Anishinaabeg would stay and greet the light-skinned race as brothers and sisters, while the other half of the population would move west and wait until the intentions of the light-skinned race were made known.24 The first three prophecies were directed to the people who would move west to help guide them on their journey.

During the first Fire, the Anishinaabeg would follow the sacred shell of the Midewiwin Lodge to the chosen ground of the Anishinaabeg. There would be seven stopping places along the way, and they would know the chosen ground had been reached when they came to a land where food grows on water. If they did not move, they were warned they risked being destroyed. During the second

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Fire, the Anishinaabeg would camp by a large body of water after the direction of the sacred shell is lost. However, a special boy would be born, and he would help the Anishinaabeg regain their strength and point the way back to the traditional ways. During the third Fire, the Anishinaabeg would find the path to their chosen ground, where food grows on water.  

During the fourth Fire, the Anishinaabeg would be confronted by the light-skinned race and they would know the future of their people by what face the light-skinned-race wore. If they came wearing the face of *neekkonnisiwin* (brotherhood), then there would be wonderful changes; however, the prophet warned the face of *nibowin* (death) could be easily mistaken for the *neekkonnisiwin*. If the light-skinned race came with a weapon, the Anishinaabeg should beware. If they came in suffering, they may be motivated to show a false face of *neekkonnisiwin* while their hearts were full of greed. The light-skinned race would need to prove they were brothers, so they should not be accepted in total trust.

The fifth Fire would represent a time of great struggle for the Anishinaabeg. There would come a person who holds a promise of joy and salvation. If the Anishinaabeg accept this promise of a new way and abandon the old teachings, then the struggle of the fifth Fire would be with their people for many generations. The promise that would come during the fifth Fire would be a false promise, and all those that accept would nearly destroy the Anishinaabeg.

During the sixth Fire, the false promise of the fifth Fire would become evident. Those deceived by the promise would take their children away from the

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25 *Wild rice* – grains harvested from grass that grows in water, native to the Great Lakes Region in North America.
teachings of the Elders. It would also be a time when sickness would plague the Anishinaabeg, disturbing their natural balance and their way of life.

The seventh prophet said that the seventh Fire would be a time when the Oshkibimadizeeg’ (new people) would emerge. The Oshkibimadizeeg’ would be Anishinaabeg who retraced the paths of their elders, collecting what had been left behind. During the time of the seventh Fire, the light-skinned race would be given the choice between two roads. If they choose the right road, then the seventh Fire will light an eighth and final Fire – an eternal Fire of peace, love, and brotherhood. Many think that we are now in the time of the seventh Fire, with more and more Anishinaabeg embracing their culture, language and teachings.26

Chapter One – Mapping the Roots of Racism – is an examination of the historiography of Indigenous-European contact in Canada, working chronologically from the Jesuit Relations. This exercise crosses the temporal fields of Indigenous-settler relationships in the Saugeen Peninsula; however, it illustrates the derivation of the attitudes of ‘civilised’ versus ‘savage’ that are central to this thesis. The sources are organised under Fires four through seven – the time the light-skinned race arrived until the present-day.

Chapter Two presents Anishinaabe Worldviews, and represents Fires one to three. This is the era before the light-skinned race arrived. Anishinaabe knowledge, culture and values all strive to work holistically to bring individuals and communities closer to mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life). Within Anishinaabe Worldviews, distinctions between relationships with other people and relationships with the land are not made. Both are equally sacred. The

26 This overview of the Seven Fires Prophecy draws on versions as told in, Benton-Banai, The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway.; "Seven Fires Prophecy".; and Dostou, “The Prophecy of the Seven Fires.”
earliest non-Indigenous settlers in the Saugeen Peninsula would have encountered this worldview, which would have been completely foreign to them. The New World needed land in order to recreate the institutions and systems that were being transplanted from the Old World. Land was not sacred to the Crown; it was a commodity that was essential in achieving expansionist goals. The seemingly incompatible worldviews were the root of the majority of cultural clashes with the Old World views.

Chapter Three – Settler Colonial Worldviews - establishes the foundations of the cultural and moral beliefs of the settlers that emigrated from the Old World to North America, and particularly the Saugeen Peninsula. This chapter is not associated with the Seven Fires Prophecy, as it seeks to elucidate the worldview that informed the way non-Indigenous people engaged with the Anishinaabeg. Examining the culture and value systems of emigrants before and during periods of contact with Indigenous peoples in North America reveals the strong influence of the Scots philosophers. Many of the early immigrants to Canada were from Scotland, and Scots dominated the settler population in the Saugeen Peninsula. The Scots philosophers had a strong influence on what pre-contact Scots thought they would encounter when they immigrated to Canada. The Old World, institutional knowledge of Indigenous peoples being lesser-evolved, and savage versions of Europeans was brought over to the New World. Settler immigrants were expecting to encounter frozen-in-time noble savages. However, once they met Indigenous people, the early Scottish settlers felt they had a lot in common with the Anishinaabeg of the Saugeen Peninsula, the loss of land especially resonated with them. Chapter Three illustrates the gap between institutional knowledge and experiential knowledge. The Scots philosophers
wrote about ‘primitives’ and ‘savages’, many having never met an Indigenous person. This became referential knowledge that bolstered expansionist goals and created the consciousness of ‘endangered savages’ in the minds of Scottish peoples headed to the New World.

Chapter Four examines the time of the fourth Fire – the arrival of the light-skinned race in the Saugeen Peninsula. It illustrates the positive, kin-like, and even kin relationships between the Anishinaabeg and settlers prior to the 1880s, revealing the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were able to separate their experiential relationships with settlers from the actions of the Crown. During the same period, the relationship between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and the Crown/Canadian government were rapidly deteriorating.

Chapter Five examines the manifestation of the cultural clashes over land by examining treaty negotiations between the Crown and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation between 1836 and 1861. This is the time of the fifth Fire – when the Anishinaabeg were presented with the promise of joy and salvation if they abandoned their old teachings. This period resulted in soured relationships between the Crown and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, due to both illegal actions and bad-faith negotiations on the part of the Crown.

Chapter Six enters the time of the sixth Fire, when those deceived by the promises of the fifth Fire would take their children away from Anishinaabe teachings. This chapter examines the role of Residential Schools in the attacks on Indigenous culture and heritage, and attempts to create ‘Canadians’ out of ‘Indians’. Indigenous children were removed from their homes, separated from their families and communities, and subjected to ‘Canadianization’ efforts. Anishinaabe children from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were sent to the first
Residential Schools, as subjects of an experiment that became a template for Residential Schools across Canada. Indigenous children were taught that they were inferior to white Canadians at the same time the Ontario public school curriculum was teaching white children they were superior to Indians. The Residential Schools and the Ontario public school curriculum were also both critical participants in the erasure of Indigenous culture and heritage, and positive personal relationships between Indigenous peoples and settlers.

Finally, Chapter Seven examines the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, released 2 June 2015. The report reveals that the general population’s understanding of Indigenous peoples, their cultures and histories has changed very little since the dichotomy of ‘civilised’ and ‘savage’ was introduced hundreds of years ago.

This thesis recognises the multitude of perspectives and experiences that can erupt from the Canadian historical narrative by giving equal space to previously excluded Indigenous voices. This thesis also provides critical historical context of Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships in Canada. By doing so, I seek to further the goals of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada of providing Canadians historical accounts that accurately reflect, and include, the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples in Canada. This is my contribution to the recognition of Canada as a shared space.

Theoretical Framework

Settler colonialism recognises that a massive “transfer” must take place in order for a New World to replace an Old World. Lorenzo Veracini detailed twenty-six
forms for ‘transfer’ in Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview (2010). He argued that different non-settler populations and different contexts require different approaches to elimination, or ‘transfer.’ This thesis touches on the different forms of transfer used within the context of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, including: transfer by conceptual displacement; civilisational transfer; transfer by assimilation; transfer by accounting; transfer by means of ‘repressive authenticity’; narrative transfers; multicultural transfer; transfer by coerced lifestyle change; administrative transfer; diplomatic transfer; Indigenous institutionalisation; transfer by name confiscation; transfer by racialisation; and, finally, transfer by Indigenous/national ‘reconciliation’. This multidirectional assault on Indigenous identities helped to create instability, with the hope that it would make them more susceptible to being changed into something else.

However, as Alan Lester and Zoë Laidlaw pointedly note, “indigeneity has never been about stasis.” Indigenous peoples, and their histories, cultures, traditions, and languages have survived settler colonialism through adaptation and change. Place-specific histories were continually reshaped by entities that moved in and out across the boundaries set by settlers; however, scholars must recognise that those spaces were co-created by differently empowered Indigenous and colonial geographies. Transnationalism can answer calls to contextualise place-based settler colonial histories, without minimising their broader significance within

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28 Ibid, 33.
31 Ibid.
settler colonial studies.\textsuperscript{32}

The broad research question that initially inspired this project was, \textit{Can people be considered Indigenous Transnationals?} Transnationalism is a multi-disciplinary theory that allows for multiple perspectives to be explored simultaneously as the interaction of two worlds is investigated. The transmigrant is considered a guest in the ‘host’ country to which they travelled; however, they also maintain ties to the ‘home’ country from which they came. Individuals straddle two different worlds: one rooted in traditions and culture of their heritage back ‘home’ and the other that has been created and established by their ‘host’ society. The phenomenon of ethnic/cultural clustering has benefits when it comes to helping ease transition stress for newcomers, but it can also become a crutch that limits social mobility. Migrants to North America are often defined as outside of the liberal democratic framework and are seen as a threat to the nation-state.\textsuperscript{33} The literature on immigrant transnationalism has thus far explored how new immigrants construct their identities around their homeland and experiences in the host country; however, Alejandro Portes argues the concepts can also be applied backward to the study of history.\textsuperscript{34}

Transnational social structures are realised via networks. These social networks transcend borders, loosening the ties between people, wealth and


\textsuperscript{34} Alejandro Portes, "Conclusion: Theoretical Convergencies and Empirical Evidence in the Study of Immigrant Transnationalism," \textit{International Migration Review} 37, no. 3 (2003), 875.
territories, challenging the traditional definition of state. Transnational social space is “subversive of dominant hegemonies of race and nation.”\textsuperscript{35}

Transnational social networks can actually be formed as a response to marginalising dominant social structures. Indigenous peoples of Canada partook in activities that can be considered transnational, despite remaining on their traditional lands.\textsuperscript{36}

Bain Attwood is a New Zealand born, Australian historian. He has argued that historical narratives and historians have been especially important to settler societies. Nation states have “all had to undergo a transition from \textit{de facto} coercive power to \textit{de jure} authority, but this seems particularly the case for settler nations, perhaps because the violence upon which they are founded is relatively recent.”\textsuperscript{37} This makes the transnational framework applicable to places like Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, in addition to Canada. James Belich has argued that cultural hybridity is another shared characteristic of settler societies.\textsuperscript{38} A transnational framework is an excellent tool with which to tease out aspects of cultural hybridity because transnationals maintain a sense of ‘home’ while living within their ‘host’ country by creating hybrid identities. This thesis draws from scholars whose works examine various settler colonies. The

\textsuperscript{35} Steven Vertovec, “Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism,” \textit{Ethnic and racial studies} 22, no. 2 (1999), 449, 454.

\textsuperscript{36} Anthropologist and Native Studies professor, Audra Simpson has examined Mohawk struggles to articulate and maintain political sovereignty in the face of Canadian settler colonialism, arguing that a sovereign political order can exist nested within a sovereign state. See, Audra Simpson, \textit{Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States} (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

\textsuperscript{37} Bain Attwood, \textit{Telling the Truth About Aboriginal History} (Crows Nest NSW Allen & Unwin, 2005), 14.

\textsuperscript{38} Belich, \textit{Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld}, 42.
focus of this dissertation remains within the Canadian context; however, the emblematic experience of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation suggests a transnational framework could be usefully applied to the histories of other settler colonies.

The dominant narrative in Indigenous-settler historiography, as examined in Chapter One of this thesis, highlights the ways in which Old World and Indigenous cultures clash in the New World; however, in doing so the narratives too often favour one culture as being dominant, or superior to the other. The two cultures were incompatible from the perspective of the dominant class of settlers from the Old World, because they refused to acknowledge positive aspects of Indigenous culture. Jane Carey and Jane Lyden’s edited volume, *Indigenous Networks: Mobility, Connections and Exchange* (2014), is an important contribution to this emergent line of historical examination. Carey argued that ‘Indigenising transnationalism’ can help “bridge the gulf that exists between imperial histories and contemporary indigenous studies.”

Transnational theories can help do so by illustrating how Indigenous peoples had to redefine their identities in order to function in the political and social structures of the New World they encountered in Canada while trying to maintain ties to the communities of their heritage. The result is a picture of Indigenous cultures and heritages moving through, and finding a place in the New World. The image of mobile, connected, pioneering and outward-looking Indigenous peoples directly challenges the dominant conceptions of Indigenous

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peoples as primitive, isolated, and stationary.\textsuperscript{40}

During the course of research, it became apparent that the process taken in order to answer whether people can be considered Indigenous Transnationals was more important than the answer itself. The goal was not to give labels to Indigenous peoples. The quote by Vern Roote at the start of the Introduction is about how Vern lives in two worlds. He is an Elder and former Chief of the Saugeen First Nation, and an advocate and educator outside of Saugeen. He brings different aspects of himself forward, depending on context, but is never any less Anishinaabe as a result. He has maintained ties to his traditions, language and culture while learning how to successfully navigate in the New World. Is Vern an Indigenous Transnational? That is up to him to decide, but the process of applying transnational identity theories to Indigenous histories can help dissolve the hierarchy of importance that has thus far governed the discipline of history. Most importantly, the notion of sovereign, Nation-to-Nation relationships with Canada is of critical importance to Indigenous peoples, and a transnational framework provides important scaffolding when working to elucidate that Indigenous perspective in historical sources.

\textbf{Methodology}

It is important that I follow the protocol of scholars like Marlene Brant Castellano, and identify the position from which I wrote this thesis.\textsuperscript{41} This thesis

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{40} Ibid, 287.
\end{itemize}
has been shaped by my experiences as a non-Indigenous, white, male, and through my relationships with Indigenous people, engagement with Indigenous communities, and extensive research. This statement is not intended to minimise my position as a white, male historian, nor should it. It serves to recognise that this thesis should be evaluated in the context of other scholarship, in addition to knowledge produced by the communities under discussion. This work does not presume to stand in the place of vital, first-hand histories of Indigenous peoples. It is intended to stand beside and supplement them, because the history of Indigenous-non-Indigenous engagement in Saugeen has a multitude of perspectives.

The average non-Indigenous person has a narrow sense of what it means to be an Indigenous person in their country; unfortunately the image of “Indigenous” is too often informed by a self-perpetuating combination of racism and ignorance. When it comes to the topic of Indigenous history, I would argue that the majority of Canadians would claim to have “general” or “basic” knowledge. Recently, a person in the dog park asked me what I was researching. I offered my standard, vague response, saved for non-academic settings where people are usually just looking for polite conversation – “I’m examining relationships between Indigenous peoples and Europeans in the Saugeen Peninsula in Southwestern Ontario.” Her reaction surprised me. She asked, “Oh! You mean war?” I have thought a lot about that off-the-cuff response. Indigenous histories in Canada are polarizing. Controversies and conflicts are flashpoints that become the narrative of Indigenous histories, rather than extreme moments within a bigger picture.

Generally, people do not form strong opinions and/or draw conclusions
on a historical topic unless they think they know something about said topic. However, there is no shortage of strong opinions when the media run stories that focus on Indigenous peoples. In November 2015, Canada’s national public newscaster took the unusual step of disabling the comments section on stories about Indigenous peoples and issues. This was due to a disproportionately high volume of racist comments being left on these stories.\textsuperscript{42} It was expected the comments section would re-open by January 2016; however, to date (February 2017) they remain disabled. The memes of “civilized” versus “savage”, and “us” versus “them” are still very much alive. The image of an Indigenous person becomes a category that is easily subjected to judgment using either “compassion” and “empathy” or “callousness” and “indifference”.

If I am honest with myself, for much of my life I was guilty of deferring to these easily digestible categories. As I pursued my graduate studies, I acquired the skills required to navigate the complex and daunting gauntlet of Indigenous-European engagement history. A major turning point in the way I engaged with materials came after I invested time into understanding Anishinaabe worldviews. This helped shed new light on sources, and was very influential in how I responded to them.

In the course of my research, I discovered that one of my ancestors wrote \textit{Incidents of Pioneers Days at Guelph and the County of Bruce} in 1903.\textsuperscript{43} I do not necessarily want to ‘correct’ his history \textit{per se}, but I do intend to include perspectives that he did not consider. My methodological approach is critical if I


\textsuperscript{43} Bruce County covers 4079 km$^2$ of the Saugeen Peninsula.
am to accomplish this goal. In *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes, “Imperialism frames the indigenous experience. It is part of our story, our version of modernity. Writing about our experiences under imperialism and its more specific expression of colonialism has become a significant project in the indigenous world.”

This thesis is intended as a contribution to that project through its examination of Indigenous-non-Indigenous relationships as experienced under settler colonialism. The primary audience of this thesis is non-Indigenous people; however, its illumination of Indigenous-settler histories is intended to benefit both Indigenous and non-Indigenous stakeholders.

Smith also notes that culturally sensitive research is possible, but the non-Indigenous researcher must remain aware that they “have the potential to extend knowledge or to perpetuate ignorance.”

We need to be conscious of the dangers of writing Indigenous histories. For example, if we build on previous texts written about Indigenous peoples without proper critical reflection, we can legitimate hostile views of Indigenous peoples. Smith argues that the (sometimes) unintentional legitimisation of hostile histories “is particularly true of academic writing”. John S. Long’s approach of speaking *with* people, not just *about* people is a key component to culturally sensitive research. This involves engaging Indigenous peoples in the research in key roles. For example, a non-Indigenous researcher can involve Indigenous peoples by becoming a mentor to local, Indigenous research assistant(s). This can be mutually beneficial if there

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46 Ibid, 36.
are no community members who have had this kind of research training.\textsuperscript{47} This can also help the lead researcher remain mindful of the Indigenous perspective.

Re-centered histories are sometimes referred to as the ‘Empire writes back’, or post-colonial literature. They do not assume that the centre is necessarily located at the imperial centre.\textsuperscript{48} While I am writing about the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, I will strive to keep the Indigenous perspective at the centre. Indigenous poetry, plays, songs, and art blur the boundaries of ‘scholarly sources.’ Indigenous peoples use different media in an attempt to capture the messages and nuances of Indigenous lives. When possible, I have incorporated these kinds of sources, in addition to Indigenous-created primary sources in order to create a narrative of Indigenous-European engagement that will benefit both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

I have identified a lack of contextual knowledge as the major shortcoming of Indigenous histories. The shared experiences of Indigenous peoples are only useful to a point. If we want to deepen our understanding of Indigenous experiences we have to figure out ways to include the Indigenous voice in meaningful ways. This includes moving beyond shared experiences of Indigenous peoples within the Empire. Those shared experiences are, in part, a result of the homogenisation of their diverse and distinct cultures by the imperial colonisers. My dissertation will acknowledge and examine this homogenisation, but it will also examine how it impacted a specific Indigenous group, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. The conclusions of this dissertation will not

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid, 178.

necessarily be transferrable, but my goal is for the process of investigation that leads to my conclusion will be transferrable. Each distinct group of Indigenous peoples will have their own sets of secondary sources that will be important to this process. Secondary sources will offer the contextual knowledge required for Indigenous histories to have contemporary meaning.

Indigenous history encompasses many different qualitative fields, calling for an interdisciplinary approach. Secondary literature will be extremely important when examining the ‘mediators’ that shape historical actions/events, such as laws and social structures. This is why I have dedicated an entire chapter to Canadian Indigenous-Settler engagement historiography.

**Primary Sources**

There are a number of primary sources that have become the foundation of the Indigenous experience in Canada. Treaties, federal policies, and laws that impacted Indigenous peoples have become a loose framework for the grand narrative of Indigenous history in Canada. It is within this grand-narrative that individual voices have been lost. Indigenous peoples were painted with the same brush by the federal government, but that does not mean all their experiences were the same. But, in order to understand a counter-narrative, there must be knowledge of the grand-narrative it seeks to augment. Chapter One – Mapping the Roots of Racism - helps to establish the grand-narrative. Chapters Four through Seven examine the experience of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, within the context of that narrative.\(^49\)

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\(^{49}\) My research points to a gap in how the Federal Government viewed Indigenous peoples and how Indigenous peoples were viewed by non-
**Primary Oral Sources**

Oral histories were unfairly delegitimised in the nineteenth century during the professionalisation of history. It is important to remember that a lot of the documentary evidence used by historians is oral evidence that was committed to paper at a particular point in time. Trevor Lummis argued that,

> The problems of memory – how fallible it is and how biased retrospective evidence may be – which are attributed to oral evidence are actually an epistemological problem of much other historical evidence made visible and inescapable. Questions of authenticity raised in the specific context or oral evidence are pertinent to a much wider body of historical evidence as well as to the widespread use of the interview method in the social sciences.\(^{50}\)

History, by its very nature is second-hand information. But that does not mean that history is not valuable. Lummis was not arguing that we should abandon the use of oral testimonies/histories in the social sciences. He was pointing out that ‘history does not live in documents’, and human activity is a lived experience before it is documented as an ‘event’.\(^{51}\)

Wampum belts are mnemonic devices that a wampum keeper holds and reads by sight, touch, and memory. The colours and design of the wampum (cylindrical beads made of shell) help recall both the details of the treaty at which it was given and the nature of the agreement reached.\(^{52}\)

Indigenous peoples who engaged with them day to day life. Tensions were created as a result of increasingly focused attempts by the Crown/Canadian government to eliminate Indigenous peoples.


\(^{51}\) Ibid, 13.

not the only examples of Indigenous memory being recorded in concrete ways - the Anishinaabe pictographs are another example of concrete systems of writing that were used to transfer knowledge and memories. While pictographs have not traditionally been considered “true writing” by epigraphers and archaeologists, by the early 2000’s they started to recognise more diversity in systems of communication and record keeping.\textsuperscript{53} Nindoodemag were attached to Anishinaabe identities and represented by pictures of animals, most commonly by the Caribou, Eagle, Crane, Otter, Beaver, Bear and Catfish. The animals that represented individuals were associated with that individual’s clan connections, histories, cultures and traditions. Nindoodemag can be found on colonial documents from the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most commonly on treaties in the area designated for signatures.\textsuperscript{54}

Event history, for the most part, concentrates on exceptional events. There was something unique that piqued the interest of historians, and they want to learn more. Often this uniqueness is due to a rupture of normative circumstances, so individuals or groups were adversely impacted by said event. For example: the early encounters between Indigenous peoples and Europeans in North America. The early engagements went on to shape identities, and continue to impact modern interactions; however, the historical actors were not

always aware how impactful their actions would be.\textsuperscript{55} We are dependant on the past; it is the foundation of the present and future. History helps humans imbue meaning on their collective past. Identities of groups and individuals can be given context. History is a complex web of experiences, documented as events. Oral histories reflect the complexity of lived experiences, but the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples do not always fit neatly into a historical narrative.

Kim Anderson notes that oral histories delineate worldviews and rather than offering a chronicle of events, they work to “confirm identity and remind listeners of the social and moral codes of their society.”\textsuperscript{56} Patty Loew, referring to interviews with Indigenous peoples in Wisconsin, notes: “Many Native people I know don't think about the past in a linear fashion. For them, history is spatially driven. There is a strong sense of place around which people and events are remembered, often with songs and stories. Dates are often reduced to ‘a long time ago’ or ‘when my mother was a little girl’.”\textsuperscript{57} Spatially driven oral histories can prove challenging to include in a linear history, but a well prepared interviewer can be better equipped to deal with those challenges by documenting the interview context. This will help to recognise/interpret how the stories are used, and to try and preserve the intended meaning as a part of

\textsuperscript{55} See the concept of “historical distance” as discussed in: Mark Salber Phillips, “History, Memory and Historical Distance,” in Theorizing Historical Consciousness, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 91. 
the recorded account. Bain Attwood reminded us that oral histories provide historians with an opportunity to reconsider ways in which they relate the past and relate to the past. Anderson notes that academic historians have been reluctant to engage with oral history-telling. This could be related to the difficulties of historicising the histories. However, anthropologists have been recognised and rewarded for their work with oral histories.

The oft-cited work of Julie Cruikshank highlights the challenges non-Indigenous researchers face. In her award winning book, *Life Lived Like a Story* (1990), Cruikshank noted that at the outset of her research, she thought she would be compiling an archive of oral histories that she would analyse later, but she later came to realise that oral histories are not “evidence” about the past, rather “a window on the ways the past is culturally constituted and discussed.” This is a culturally distinct sense of history. Once transcribed, oral histories take on what Cruikshank has described as a “social life,” becoming a reference point for reanimating social meanings that might otherwise be erased. The written versions are not more “correct” and they do not negate the relevance of the history when it is told. Listeners also have an important responsibility when engaging with oral histories. Cruikshank argues that oral histories are, “about coming to grips with the personal meanings of broadly shared knowledge and

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58 Ibid, 19.
59 Attwood, *Telling the Truth About Aboriginal History*, 170.
60 Julie Cruikshank et al., *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Elders* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 14.
converting those meanings to social ends.”

Oral histories do not work in meta-narratives that reveal trends in Indigenous peoples’ experiences. Different members of the community are responsible for different stories, so the history concerns members of that particular community. Also, the approach to oral history is holistic and collaborative, versus the linear narrative format of European historiography.

History is a form of storytelling, and the way one chooses to tell a story determines who will hear it. Basil Johnston (Neyaashiinigiing/Cape Croker), notes that it is up to each individual engaging with the oral history to seek a morsel of understanding and draw their own inferences/interpretations. The teller of the history must trust that those interpretations are both reasonable and sensible.

I have made extensive use of archival oral histories in this thesis. These are oral testimonies that have already been recorded. Sometimes they have been recorded for a specific reason (court case, book), and sometimes they have been recorded as general information (community project, database). This was especially pertinent when I was dealing with the more traumatic experiences of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation because I did not have the resources to offer post-interview support to informants who may have required it after recalling their time at a Residential School, for example. Also, as some stories are considered sacred, I chose to refer to versions that had already been transcribed in order to

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64 Cruikshank et al., Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Elders, 4.
65 Ibid, 356.
avoid unwittingly sharing details that would have not otherwise been told.

The Saugeen Ojibway Nation have seen a resurgence of language, culture and traditions since the early 1990s, which has resulted in a large number of Indigenous-created documents of oral histories and testimonies. They started documenting their histories in a way that is more familiar to western scholarly research. For example, they have transcribed testimonies about experiences in Residential Schools, written about wampum belts, and created maps of their pre-treaty lands. There were also three presentations by members of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation during the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), during which their experiences of the process of colonisation were described. The use of these kinds of archival oral histories is widely accepted, as long as researchers do not distort meaning unfairly by placing the testimonies in different contexts.

As noted at the start of this Introduction, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation launched an $80 Billion land claim during the course of my research. In addition, I started working as a policy advisor for the Ontario provincial government at the Ministry of Indigenous Relations and Reconciliation. As a result of those two related factors, my contacts became suspicious of my intentions and chose to withdraw from actively participating in my research. I continue to foster relationships; however, the time required to establish trust given the circumstances did not match with the deadlines for the completion of this thesis. This made the archived oral histories invaluable.

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67 The goal of the 1991 inquiry was to investigate the evolution of the relationships among Indigenous peoples and the Government of Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (since renamed Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada), and Euro-Canadian settlers.

resources.

Joan Fairweather pointedly notes: “Without interviewees being present for cross-examination, courts generally regard the recording or transcript of an oral history as hearsay. Nevertheless they have permitted oral histories to be subpoenaed as evidence and have accepted oral traditions in rendering verdicts. On dealing with land claims of native peoples, courts in several nations have acknowledged the inadequacy of written documents – although legal obstacles to those native claims remain formidable. When those fighting a land claim in Canadian courts argued that oral histories ‘did not accurately convey historical truth,’ the chief justice of the Canadian supreme court ruled that ‘stories matter’, and that the legal convention of hearsay could be waived in regard to the oral traditions of Canada’s ‘first people’.69 The Supreme Court of Canada has added its voice to the Indigenous peoples and Indigenous historians who have been calling for a more meaningful incorporation of oral histories. I have drawn on the available oral histories/testimonies of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation in the writing of this thesis. In doing so I have worked to keep in mind the responsibility I have to ensure my interpretations are both reasonable and sensible, as described by Basil Johnston and Julie Cruikshank.

Primary Documents

The definition of primary documents has also been broadened and deepened by using the built-in focus of the experiences of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation on the

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Saugeen Peninsula. The newspapers published in the Saugeen Peninsula, particularly the papers with wider distribution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries like the Wiarton Echo and The Bruce Herald, were important sources of information for the settler population. Consciously or not, newspapers, art, stories, textbooks, and advertising are often the main sources of the Canadian ‘knowledge’ about Indigenous peoples. Conclusions and opinions are based on this knowledge, so it is important to examine these kinds of sources that were created during the period of investigation.\footnote{For discussion on importance of newspapers as sources when examining Indigenous-settler histories see, Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L Robertson, \textit{Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers} (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), 6, 18.}

I have paid particular interest to Ontario Public School history texts and children’s books from the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. The knowledge Euro-Canadian children were being taught about ‘Indians’ will be contrasted with what Indigenous children were being taught at the Residential schools about being ‘Canadian’. This will help exemplify the politics of difference being created between Indigenous and European communities from the ‘top-down’.

In addition, I have looked at local histories written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Euro-Canadian settlers. These early local historiographies of Saugeen Ojibway Nation–Settler relationships are often in the form of self-published journals. They offer a glimpse of non-institutionalised knowledge of, and experiences with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. John Bennett has conducted a comparative survey of hundreds of settler diaries and journals, revealing that settler populations brought similar knowledge, values and social
structures with them from the Old World.\textsuperscript{71} However, Chapter Four of this thesis - Early Relationships in Saugeen – illustrates how personal connections temporarily overcame Old World influences and, initially, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and settlers enjoyed positive personal relationships.\textsuperscript{72} Despite these relationships, as outlined in Chapters Five and Six, the project of making of a Canadian Nation resulted in escalating pressure on Indigenous spaces and settler relations as legal, political, and social expectations clashed.

**Secondary Sources**

This thesis approaches the literature related to Indigenous/non-Indigenous engagement in three ways. First, the below literature review divides Indigenous-Settler engagement historiography into three increasingly focused themes: significant contributions within Canada, contributions that focus on Ontario, and then contributions from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. Each theme is explored chronologically with the focus on contributions made in approximately the past 15 years. However, because contributions from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation are fewer relative to the broader scholarship, their contributions included in this review date back to the 1990’s. Finally, this section examines “art as history” in order to provide context to Chapters One, Three and Seven of this thesis, which


\textsuperscript{72} Zoë Laidlaw has argued the critical importance of personal connections to colonial governance in the early nineteenth century; however, the 1840s ushered in an era of information collection and centralisation, which changed the nature of colonial governance. Aspirations of systematic colonisation were revived as the Colonial Office pursued and promoted uniform imperial policies. See, Zoë Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections, 1815-45: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 13, 169-190.
include examinations of art and the role that art played in the construction and/or deconstruction of the 'Canadian Indian.'

The second way this thesis engages with the literature is much broader, starting with the *Jesuit Relations*. Chapter One – Mapping the Roots of Racism - illustrates how the ‘civilised’ and ‘savage’ dichotomy became embedded into the Canadian historical understanding of relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, and the roots of contemporary racist attitudes. Third, relevant literature is cited and referenced throughout the thesis, to highlight additional scholarship that contributed to particular arguments, and illustrate parallels and connections to Indigenous experiences outside of the Saugeen Peninsula.

**Broader Indigenous-Settler Engagement Historiography in Canada**

In 2002, a conference entitled “Worlds in Collision: Critically Analyzing Aboriginal and European Contact Narratives” was held in Victoria, British Columbia. The conference resulted in a book, edited by John Lutz and published in 2007, *Myth & Memory: Stories of Indigenous-European Contact*. Ten scholars collectively explore an interdisciplinary approach to contact narratives, including representation from the fields of history, anthropology, linguistics and literature. Lutz’s introduction to the book prepares the reader to have his/her concept of the ‘period of contact’ challenged. The inclusion of oral histories unsettles European notions that ‘contact’ was a discrete event. Lutz argues that a more inclusive range of narratives within the discipline of history reveals that
there is a “contact zone.” Within the framework of a contact zone a continuous series of communication and translation can, and should, be examined from multiple perspectives. The balance of power inevitably favours the narrative that supports the historical consciousness of the region’s dominant group. Too often Indigenous peoples have ‘myth’ and Europeans have ‘history’. Lutz concludes the introduction with the statement: “the writing in this book is about listening”, and encourages the reader to listen to old stories in new ways.

A very diverse range of ‘contact zones’ can be discussed without generalising experiences. This is accomplished simply by recognising differences among Indigenous groups. Myth & Memory represents a call from scholars in the area of Indigenous-European contact. The call is to give overdue credence to sources that have previously been either overlooked completely or included as an addendum by ‘authoritative’ sources. Indigenous and European narratives can, and should, engage when examining the contact zone. Scholars need to be critical of their current knowledge and prune any groundless notions of truth they may have. Important contributions can be made to Indigenous-European contact scholarship by breaking down the dichotomy of ‘Indigenous myth’ and ‘European history’. Some of the most recent historiographies have been taking innovative approaches in order to reach wider audiences and respect micro-narratives that have been lost in the meta-narrative of Indigenous-European engagement.

The year before the 2002 conference, Adele Perry examined connections between gender, race, and the making of colonial society in On the Edge of

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74 Ibid, 13.

Perry argued that interrogating whiteness as a race challenges the assumption that whiteness is normal and browness, blackness, and redness are the problematic ‘others’ in need of explication. Perry presents colonialism as both formidable and fragile, with the fragility being exposed when the tension between dominance and benevolence is interrogated.75 Sarah Carter continued the exploration of the complex identities of Indigenous peoples, and how those identities impacted historical relationships with non-Indigenous peoples in her 2003 article Transnational Perspectives on the History of Great Plains Women: Gender, Race, Nations, and the Forty-ninth Parallel. Carter adds ‘nationality’ to the list of considerations when examining identity and stresses the interconnected lives of Indigenous peoples and early non-Indigenous settlers. This was done to further Carter’s argument that the imposition of complex identities impacted Indigenous land rights.76

In 2005, Paige Raibmon interrogated late-nineteenth-century colonial ideas about authenticity that were couched in non-Indigenous definitions of Indigenous culture in her book Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast. Raibmon argues that definitions of authentic Indigenous culture were used to limit Indigenous access to land and resources in both historical and contemporary contexts. This was connected to Indigenous peoples adopting elements of ‘modernity’ in order to fashion self-

identities that were authentic on Indigenous terms.\textsuperscript{77} These hybrid identities helped Indigenous peoples navigate colonial systems/structures while maintaining ties to their culture and heritage. Raibmon brings forward an important understanding of Indigenous worldviews in \textit{Authentic Indians}. An ‘authentic’ Indigenous life, from an Indigenous perspective, is about finding meaningful ways to adapt and interact with the world in ways that align with a deeply rooted Indigenous worldview.\textsuperscript{78} This is explored in more depth in the context of the Saugeen Peninsula in Chapter Two of this thesis - Anishinaabe Worldviews.

\textit{With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada} (2006) examined engagements from another perspective. \textit{With Good Intentions} is a collection of essays, edited by Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock, that focuses on non-Indigenous people in Canada who worked with Indigenous peoples against injustice in colonial Canada.\textsuperscript{79} Importantly, the collection affirms the fact that even the best intended non-Indigenous people were implicated in the process of colonisation. The result is an examination of experiential relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples that contributes to a more nuanced view of Indigenous-Colonial encounters in Canada. Conrad Van Dusen is an example of a non-Indigenous person in Saugeen with good intentions, as is seen in Chapter Five of this thesis. Van Dusen worked with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation to petition the colonial government and demand they honour treaties.

\textsuperscript{77} Paige Raibmon, \textit{Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from Th Late-Nineteenth Century Northwest Coast} (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 13. 
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid, 199. 
This thesis employs a settler colonial framework, as discussed earlier in this Introduction. In 2010, Lorenzo Veracini published *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. That same year Penelope Edmonds published *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous peoples and Settlers in 19th Century Pacific Rim Cities*, which explores how the racialised politics of settler-colonial landscapes contributed to common experiences of disposition and displacement of Indigenous peoples. Edmonds employs a settler colonial framework to argue that much of the scholarship in Canada on the historical development of towns omits the lived realities and dynamic histories of relationships between Indigenous peoples and settler newcomers. In the 2000’s, scholars such as Adele Perry, Sarah Carter, Paige Raibmon, and Penelope Edmonds made very important contributions to Indigenous-European engagement historiography by presenting some of the multiple perspectives of the “contact zone.”

In 2011, Ravi de Costa and Tristan Knight explored the concept of asymmetric encounters within contact zones. They did so to help explain the historical source and texture of contemporary conflicts between Indigenous peoples and Canadians. Their article disrupts the premise that dominant societies’ policy of land acquisition is inherently lawful. The authors point out that Indigenous communities have had to leverage violent conflicts over Indigenous rights in order to compel non-Indigenous Canada to look at history from an Indigenous perspective. The connections between historical and contemporary relationships explored by Costa and Knight, and by Raibmon in

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82 Ibid, 224.
*Authentic Indians*, are extremely important as Canada moves forward on the path of reconciliation.\(^83\) By understanding the history of these relationships from both sides – Indigenous and non-Indigenous – Canadians are more likely to move forward with the contemporary process of reconciliation.

Since work on this thesis began, Adele Perry published *Colonial Relations: The Douglas-Connolly Family and the Nineteenth-Century Imperial World* (2015). Perry presents the story of one family and their lived history of empire as they moved through the eastern Caribbean, United Kingdom, and what is now the Canadian west coast (British Columbia). This is done to illustrate how the records this family left behind, particularly concerning Indigenous peoples and women, were mediated by their worldviews. The men in the Douglas-Connolly family married Indigenous women, yet the stories of those women are absent from the records the family left behind, other than records of the men receiving condemnation for marrying Indigenous women.\(^84\) This builds on the much earlier work of Sylvia Van Kirk, who highlighted the previously ignored role of Indigenous “country wives” in the Canadian fur trade in *Many Tender Ties* (1980).\(^85\) Perry also builds on Paige Raibmon’s *Authentic Indians* within a settler colonial framework by showing how the Douglas-Connolly family actively

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\(^83\) In 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada released its Final Report, after examining the history and legacy of Residential Schools in Canada. The report includes 94 Calls to Action with the aim of advancing the process of Canadian reconciliation. In 2016, the current Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau, committed to implementing all 94 Calls to Action.


participated in the defining of Indigenous identity within settler colonial contexts.\textsuperscript{86}

\textbf{Ontario focused Indigenous-Settler Engagement Historiography}

The broader scholarship in Canada since 2002 has largely embraced settler colonial frameworks, explored ‘contact zones’ and engaged with previously overlooked sources in order to break down the dichotomy of ‘myth’ and ‘history.’ The examples discussed above were important contributions not only because they highlighted distinct Indigenous perspectives, but also because the ways in which they did so were transferrable. During the same period, there was less scholarship that specifically focused on Indigenous/non-Indigenous engagement in Ontario; however, there are some important examples worth noting.

In 2003, Robin Jarvis Brownlie highlighted the top-down, patriarchal colonial system in Ontario in \textit{A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power, and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939}. She argues that the colonial system was designed to concentrate decision-making power in the hands of non-Indigenous peoples by examining what was at the time a little scrutinised area of Indigenous-government relationships in Ontario.\textsuperscript{87} \textit{A Fatherly Eye} was an important contribution, especially when examining relationships in the Saugeen Peninsula, because it started to look at the history of relationships in Ontario to better understand the strained contemporary relationships. In fact, it was a precursor to works by Costa, Knight and Raibmon discussed in the previous

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\textsuperscript{86} Perry, \textit{Colonial Relations: The Douglas-Connolly Family and the Nineteenth-Century Imperial World}, 183.
\end{flushright}
section.

John S. Long’s award winning *Treaty No. 9: Making the Agreement to Share the Land in Far Northern Ontario in 1905* (2010) was not merely an examination of the treaty signing, it also encouraged readers to re-examine their understanding of Indigenous and European engagement.\(^{88}\) The book is presented in three parts: Part One – *Historical Context*; Part Two – *Historical Documents*; and Part Three – *Trick or Treaty No. 9?* This format helps the reader contextualise and evaluate both Long’s arguments and the evidence he presents. The result is a complex, well-crafted, interdisciplinary argument that manages to remain accessible to a broad audience. Long’s inclusion of historical documents in their entirety, and his thorough contextualisation of Treaty No. 9 were extremely influential in my approach to this thesis. Histories are a collaborative effort of individuals, each informed by their own perspective. Long takes time to explain the importance of Indigenous knowledge in conjunction with western knowledge, and in doing so encourages scholars to talk *with* people, and not just *about* people.\(^{89}\) Long’s framework is an invitation for readers to think, be critical and engage in an ongoing dialogue. The methodology explained not only helped the book shed new light on Treaty No. 9, but the ideas were transferrable and could be applied to various historical examinations of Indigenous and European engagement.

In 2009, Cecilia Morgan’s chapter in *Celebrity Colonialism: Fame, Power and Representation in Colonial and Postcolonial Structures* interrogated the

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motivations of Anishinaabeg in Ontario who converted to Methodism. Morgan argues that Indigenous missionaries participated in complex, gendered strategies of self-representation in order to leverage a distinctly colonial form of power: celebrity. Individual celebrity was a foreign concept to the Anishinaabeg; however, some did convert and become Methodist missionaries in order to present Indigenous perspectives that non-Indigenous audiences (particularly in the metropole) would hear. Religion, and the gendered dichotomy of public and private worlds in the Victorian era were just two aspects of the colonial systems that were designed to concentrate power in the hands of non-Indigenous people, as Robin Jarvis Brownlie argued in A Fatherly Eye. Morgan illustrated how some Anishinaabe missionaries were able to subvert that system in their own way by leveraging a colonial celebrity status granted to them as ‘civilized Indians.’ Morgan’s chapter ‘History and the Six Nations: the Dynamics of Commemoration, Colonial Space and Colonial Knowledge’ in Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada (2010) continued to examine how Indigenous peoples permeated boundaries between ‘white’ and ‘Indian’ in order to tell national and imperial histories from an Indigenous perspective. Morgan argues that failure to uphold treaties and imposition of the Indian Act affected

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91 Ibid, 16.

92 Morgan built on this argument with a focused look at Kahgegagahbowh’s (George Copway’s) speaking tour of the United Kingdom in 1850. See, "Kahgegagahbowh’s (George Copway’s) Transatlantic Performance: Running Sketches, 1850," Cultural and Social History 9, no. 4 (2012). Chapter One of this thesis takes a closer look at Kahgegagahbowh’s 1850 voyage.

the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples in Grand River. By doing so, she illustrates how political specificities of a history lived “in place” are important in the creating of new places and new futures for Indigenous peoples in Ontario.94

Michelle A. Hamilton provides an examination of Indigenous material culture in Ontario in Collections and Objections (2010). Hamilton interrogates how material culture has been collected in Ontario, illustrating how professionals in the fields of history and anthropology preferred to collect items they considered to be traditional and authentic – of pre-contact origin or those that did not show influence of European society – and how these collections have been used to identify “authentic Indians”.95 This is an important, Ontario focused, contribution to the disruption of non-Indigenous definitions of Indigenous ‘authenticity.’ To this day, with only one licensed Indigenous archaeologist currently practicing in Ontario (Brandy George), professional interpretation of this kind of material culture remains almost exclusively in the hands of non-Indigenous peoples.96

Cecilia Morgan’s recent work Creating Colonial Pasts: History, Memory, and Commemoration in Southern Ontario 1860-1980 (2015) presents a collection of narratives that, together, examine the formation of historical memory and the

94 Ibid, 76.
96 It is important to note that current regulations in Ontario allow Indigenous communities to access sites in which items of archaeological interest are uncovered that may be connected to that community. Indigenous community members can provide input and advice on the significance of particular items; however, it remains up to the discretion of the lead archaeologist of the site whether to accept those interpretations and include them in the site’s final report. For a more in depth examination of the shortcomings of archaeology in Ontario with regards to Indigenous communities, see Megan DeVries, “Cultural Resource Management and Aboriginal Engagement: Policy and Practice in Ontario Archaeology” (University of Western Ontario, 2014).
use of historical knowledge. Morgan illustrates how Indigenous peoples were not living separate, isolated lives from settler society, in spite of how many non-Indigenous Ontarians still think this is the case. Indigenous peoples are not the focus of Creating Colonial Pasts, rather their presence is incorporated throughout, where appropriate. This approach serves to challenge prevailing notions of Ontario’s history as being divided into Indigenous and non-Indigenous, rather than shared. Also in 2015, Morgan wrote a chapter in Laidlaw and Lester, eds., Indigenous Communities and Settler Colonialism: Land Holding, Loss and Survival in an Interconnected World. This chapter examines how the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario became a physical space that, through its protection, Indigenous peoples could protect, nurture and defend their history and legitimacy. Reserves were manifestations of settler colonial policies designed to segregate and subjugate Indigenous peoples. However, Morgan illustrates how the Six Nations Reserve became a hub of resistance and sanctuary where Indigenous histories and worldviews could thrive, but not without the internal divisions and disagreements that could be expected to permeate any community working to resist external powers. Internal divisions are an aspect of Indigenous histories that can help to further illuminate the complex challenges related to identity and ‘authenticity’ Indigenous peoples were forced to grapple with in the face of settler colonialism. The colonial

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99 Ibid, 195.
government strategically leveraged internal divides among the Saugeen Ojibway Nation during treaty negotiations, which will be examined in more depth in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s Accounts

The historiography of Indigenous-European contact in Canada has gone through numerous changes since the early twentieth century; however, one feature that has remained dominant is the absence of Indigenous authors. Some notable exceptions will be discussed in more detail in Chapter One of this thesis; however, for the most part, Indigenous peoples’ writings about their own experiences and identities are not classified as history writing. The contributions from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation discussed in this section are largely drawn from legal contexts. Anishinaabe histories have been deployed in courts to present a counter-narrative and challenge the settler colonial worldview that is assumed to be informing the interpretation of evidence. These Indigenous writers use Anishinaabe values and worldviews as the framework for their historical analysis, which was very influential to my approach in writing this thesis. This framework pays attention to a sacred connection to the land, the importance of interconnectedness and balance, and the equality of all human and non-human beings. This makes these writings different from that of non-Indigenous historians. For example, Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s histories do not pay attention to gender the same way. Historians discussed above, like Morgan, Carter, Perry, and Brownlie, provide important analysis of how the explicitly gendered settler colonial worldview impacted the ways in which settlers engaged with Indigenous peoples. However, the importance of gender within the
Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s writings is more implicit. Chapter Two of this thesis explores this in more depth by examining the importance of honouring the unique qualities of both men and women within Anishinaabe worldviews.

It should be noted that there has been some growth in the academy of history being written by Indigenous scholars, including Winona Wheeler, Heather Divine and Susan Hill; however, only Divine is working in a history department (University of Calgary). Wheeler is in the Indigenous Studies department at the University of Saskatchewan, and Hill is in First Nations Studies at the University of Western Ontario. Olive Dickason, a notable Indigenous historian, retired in 1996 and Canadian history departments were without a tenured Indigenous person for well over a decade.

Also in 1996, Polly Keeshig-Tobias (Neyaashiinigmiing/Cape Croker), wrote and created the artwork for The Illustrated History of the Chippewas of Nawash. It is a well-researched, fact-based work, which includes quotes from primary documents and the full text of the area’s treaties. Unfortunately, it seems Keeshig-Tobias’ counter-narrative was published long before broader audiences were prepared to accept this kind of ‘alternative source’. Gord Hill’s graphic novel, 500 Years of Resistance, was published in 2010 and was much more widely received. Like Keeshig-Tobias’ book, 500 Years of Resistance was a well-researched, historically accurate graphic novel that aimed to serve as a counter-narrative to previous historiographies that depicted Indigenous peoples

as passive victims who had become extinct when faced with European expansion into the Americas.\textsuperscript{104} The graphic novel format sacrifices historical nuance but these examples have succeeded in reaching a youthful audience. This is particularly valuable when considering non-Indigenous youth, a group that has been typically difficult to engage in Indigenous issues and histories. Another audience that the Saugeen Ojibway Nation wanted to engage in their history was the legal system. Histories of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were written in order to give context to legal questions in Ontario in the 1990's and 2000's.

Legal scholar John Borrows' (Neyaashiinigmiing/Cape Croker) article \textit{A Genealogy of Law: Inherent Sovereignty and First Nations Self-Government} (1992) presents his own family history, in addition to historical accounts of the Chippewas of Nawash's interactions with settlers. These histories are presented as evidence to support his argument that self-government among the Chippewas of Nawash was never extinguished, but continues to exist as an inherent exercise of community sovereignty.\textsuperscript{105} Borrows' article \textit{With or Without You: First Nations Law (In Canada)} (1994) argues that legal scholarship on First Nations issues should be contextualized and situated in treaty history, dating back to the \textit{Royal Proclamation of 1763}.\textsuperscript{106} In 1997, Borrows wrote a chapter for \textit{Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada} that provided a Canadian legal history from a First Nations perspective, dating back to the \textit{Royal Proclamation}.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{104} Peter Keith Kulchyski, ”Review: 500 Years of Resistance,” \textit{Social Studies} 6, no. 2 (2010), 181.
In 1995, a group of people from Kettle & Stony Point First Nation asserted a land claim, and sought the return of land that had been expropriated from them during the Second World War, and had now become part of Ipperwash Provincial Park. Dudley George (Chippewas of Kettle & Stony Point) was shot and killed by Ontario Provincial Police. As a result, the provincial government ordered an inquiry into the events surrounding George’s death. The inquiry dug deep into the background and context of tensions between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples/the government in Ontario.

The Chippewas of Nawash (Neyaashiinigiing/Cape Croker) presented a two-part report to Justice Linden and the Ipperwash Inquiry, totaling over 350 pages. Together, the reports chronicle their community's dealings with the Crown from their own perspective. The reports focus on the years between 1990 and 2005; however, a history of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation is provided in order to illustrate how Indigenous/non-Indigenous conflicts that erupted in the 1990’s and early 2000’s found their roots in centuries old “Othering” of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation by non-Indigenous peoples.\(^\text{108}\) In addition to the main report, Darlene Johnston (Neyaashiinigiing/Cape Croker) submitted a report on the importance of protecting Indigenous heritage and burial sites. *Respecting and Protecting the Sacred* (2006) argues that experiences are mediated by, and need to be understood in terms of cultural contexts.\(^\text{109}\) Johnston begins the report by sharing an Anishinaabe origins story in order to help illustrate how “the

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connection between the First Ones and their descendants was maintained and strengthened by the burial practices of the Anishinaabeg.”

This helped explain to non-Indigenous staff of the Inquiry that Anishinaabe rights were inherent, grounded in their history, culture and connection to the land, and not something “given” to them by a foreign nation. Johnston’s report was built on the same premise as The Chippewas of Nawash’s main report to the Inquiry - a long-standing gap between Anishinaabe and Settler-Colonial worldviews had shaped historical relationships, leading to contemporary legal disputes.

Art as History in Canada

Oral histories have gained significant credit within academic circles, but plays, poetry, and other creative expressions that characterise much of the Indigenous output addressing their history in Canada still struggle to meet the requirements of scholarly rigour within the discipline of history. This parallels the non-Indigenous definitions of ‘authentic’ Indigenous identities and ‘authentic’ material culture, as discussed above. However, Indigenous art can provide valuable commentary on historical relationships that is too-often overlooked by historians. Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll has argued that Indigenous art can be used to fill in the historical blind spots and include previously excluded perspectives.

Art is a cultural activity. When something is referred to as a piece of art, it

110 Ibid, 5.
is implied that imagination, skill and subjectivity have been employed in its creation. Many artists seek to reflect how they experience the culture they live in. History is also a cultural activity. The recording of history can be viewed as Liberal ‘Art’, a branch of rhetoric that provides a context in which to socialise and educate. It is the rules of evidence, which supposedly govern the discipline of history, that prevent historians from freely imagining the past. Imagination in creative arts has no bounds, but history does. Historians imagine the past through prisms of evidence and theory. However, the visual arts can make significant contributions when examining fluid concepts such as Indigenous identity. As von Zinnenburg Carroll pointedly noted, “the belief in historical progression has precluded the colonial subject from being contemporary because they are unable to share the terms in which history has been written.”

One of the ways Indigenous peoples have challenged the Canadian historiography that has rendered them either extinct or frozen-in-time is through art.

In *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century* (2010) authors Brian Foss and Sandra Paikowsky point out a conspicuous gap of Indigenous art between the 1880’s and the 1970’s within Canadian art history, arguing the gap reflects the exclusive use of western rather than Indigenous criteria of value. Instead, it was classified as primitive craft, while ‘art’ was focused on reflecting the growth of Canadian nationalism and contributing to the establishment of a Canadian cultural identity. This created a hierarchy of genres that have an enduring presence in Canadian art history. Damian Skinner seeks to destabilise

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113 Ibid, 3.
the existing art history narratives in his article “Settler-colonial Art History in Canada: A Proposition in Two Parts” (2014). Skinner encourages viewers to pay attention to craft in order to upend the hierarchy of genres, break down barriers, and recognise best practice “wherever it is happening.” Once Indigenous and settler art are both recognized, they can be brought together to better see the dialogue and exchange between them.

Kent Monkman is a Toronto-based artist of Cree ancestry whose art almost literally brings Indigenous and settler art together. Monkman employs the techniques and styles of Rococo masters, to narrate stories of Indigenous resilience in Canada. His work critiques the paintings of settler artists, such as Paul Kane, and challenges the notion of who/what is considered a ‘real Indian’. Monkman’s paintings examine how European influences were thought to “contaminate the authenticity of the First Peoples.” He uses both European and Indigenous symbols, sexuality and gender in order to critique the settler narrative and reveal a narrative that he feels is more reflective of what actually happened. The Europeans created an image of Indians, fell in love with their own creation, which resulted in the desire to ‘preserve’ their romantic creations in museums (Figure 0.3).

A totem pole, carved by Don Yeomans was presented as part of Challenging Traditions: Contemporary First Nations Art of the Northwest Coast and remains on permanent view in the McMichael Gallery’s Grand Hall (Figure

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0.4). Yeomans was making a comment on personal identity and cultural commodity in today’s contemporary culture. He mixes traditional clan crests, but shows them using modern technology. For example, the frog using a laptop in the totem pole represents how “Native society in this day and age has incorporated technology into their way of life, just as anybody else has.”

[Fig. 0.3, below left] Kent Monkman, “Si je t’aime prends garde à toi”, 2007, collection of George and Arlene Hartman. [http://www.mason-studio.com/journal/2012/03/kent-monkman-sexuality-of-miss-chief/]

Fig. 0.4, above right] Don Yeomans, Totem Pole (detail), 2009, McMichael Canadian Art Collection. [http://www.fazakasgallery.com/totem-poles-commissions/don-yeomans-totem-poles/]

Indigenous art has reached wider audiences in more recent years, but it still lacks the particular prestige or legitimisation of classical ‘high art’. Indigenous artists, like Monkman and Yeomans, offer documents of the Indigenous experience within the contact zone, but they do not have the same impact on Indigenous-European contact historiography as earlier settler artists did.

The power of high culture, and the symbols associated with it, legitimised
the cultural productions of early documentarians of Indigenous-European contact. Later, both visual and written records were simultaneously informed and reinforced by the settler-established dichotomy of ‘civilised’ and ‘savage’. Literature, popular culture and media continued to support the notion that Indians were a people of the past, rather than a people with a past. There have been some contemporary transgressions that have attempted to subvert the settler consciousness in Canada; however, within the current power discourse Indigenous voices remain largely unheard by the dominant social class. The first chapter of this thesis examines how Indigenous-settler engagement historiography in Canada followed a very similar path.
Chapter 1 – Mapping the Roots of Racism

Historians are respected as experts. It is this expert status that imbues the writers of history with so much social power. Historiography can shape the historical consciousness of a nation. By appropriating symbols of Indigenous culture and defining them within a European context, Euro-Canadians were establishing a relationship with the country that pre-dated their arrival and validated their occupation of the land.1

In 1965 the Sugar Maple became the national tree and the maple leaf was the centerpiece the Canada’s new flag.2 The sugar maple has held an esteemed place among Indigenous people since long before 1965.3 Indigenous peoples revere nature.4 Nature is integrated with song, dance, ceremony and oral traditions. These aspects of Indigenous existence are not separate from humans, but a part of humans.5 Nature is organic, constantly growing and changing, yet it still retains history, much like the human mind. The sugar maples provide sugar water, shelter and landmarks - and they even retain history. When a tree trunk is cut, rings are revealed at the site of the crosscut. Each ring represents a year of growth for that particular tree and serves as a document for environmental conditions during each year of growth.6 These trees retain aspects of the past while building on it and retaining their relevance and productivity. The bigger

3 Indigenous peoples have historically been treated as a homogenised group by State powers in North America and the approaches to historiography that resulted from this homogenisation are the focus of this section. While experiences may have varied, dependent on distinct Indigenous identities, this section examines "Indigenous"-European contact historiography.
4 See Chapter Two of this thesis – Anishinaabe Worldviews – for a more in depth analysis of Indigenous relationships with the land and nature.
6 Statistical data (rainfall, average temperature etc.) can be measured by examining the thickness of each ring.
and older they get the more sugar water and shelter they can provide.

Indigenous peoples value sugar maples, small or large: they are all valued for their significant contribution. There is not a hierarchy of importance, which is not the case when examining the trends, patterns, and approaches that characterise the historiography on Indigenous-European contact in Canada.

This chapter provides an examination of the historiography of Indigenous-European contact in Canada, working chronologically from the Jesuit Relations. Like the rings in a maple tree, the historiography retains aspects of the past while building on them and retaining their relevance. A chronological examination of scholarship is required in order to illustrate the derivation of the general Canadian population’s contemporary ignorance and/or lack of knowledge of Indigenous issues and histories. The Jesuits were part of a genre of anthropology, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a significant impact on how Europeans understood the Americas. A dichotomy of ‘civilised’ versus ‘savage’, which found its roots in the writings of Jesuit missionaries, has endured both explicitly and implicitly in the historiography into the twenty-first century. Contemporary scholars have started to find ways to go back and add the Indigenous voice to the areas of historiography where it had previously been obscured, distorted, or completely excluded. However, the general Canadian population continues to hold negative attitudes toward Indigenous peoples, which prevents them from recognising Canada as a shared space. These tensions have been both reflected in, and informed by the historiography, reaching back to the Jesuits’ thick descriptions of their encounters with ‘savages’ in the New World. Within the context of this thesis, the development of Indigenous-settler relationships in Saugeen can be seen as an echo of the Indigenous-settler
historiography.

4th FIRE: the arrival of the light-skinned race

The Jesuit Relations: Creating the Indigenous Other

The Jesuit Relations are widely recognised as the most prolific accounts of the earliest encounters between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in North America. They are of particular interest to this study because they were used as primary documents by the Scots Philosophers to support their theories on the evolution of man from “savage” to “civilized”, which is examined in more detail in Chapter Three of this thesis. The idea of Indigenous peoples as uncivilised, less evolved versions of European man is a presupposition that is anchored in the Jesuit Relations, and has endured to support contemporary arguments related to Indigenous issues in Canada.

The Jesuits were “heirs of a Renaissance humanism” that engendered interest in the collection of information on “humankind.” This included the systematic documentation of differences in the customs, traits and manners of people both in Europe and abroad. Difference was the driving force behind what the Jesuits chose to document, and their descriptions of Indigenous peoples in the New World were compiled in the Jesuit Relations, dating to the early seventeenth century and through to the late eighteenth century. They outlined the progress of colonisation and the Jesuits’ efforts to convert “savages” to Christianity. The Jesuit Relations were published in Paris during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the English translation becoming available in

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8 Ibid.
1896. The resulting documents described aspects of Indigenous cultures in
great detail. The Jesuits started their work in the Americas in 1625, taking
advantage of existing Indigenous settlements by establishing their missions in
Indigenous communities that were not fully nomadic. In order to receive continued funding the Jesuits had to justify their
presence in North America. The Jesuits’ annual reports accomplished this by
creating ‘savages’ out of what they encountered. Indigenous peoples
symbolised ‘savage’ and Europeans symbolised ‘civilisation’.

Before the faith was received in Germany, Spain, or England, those
countries were not more civilized. Mind is not lacking among the Savages of
Canada, but education and instruction. They are already tired of their
miseries, and stretch out their hands to us for help. It seems to me that
the tribes which have stationary homes could be easily converted. I can
say of the Hurons all that was written to us a while ago by the Father of a
young Paraguayan: to wit, that much suffering must be endured among
them, but that great results may be expected.

Symbols are used to institutionalise and consolidate forms of power,

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9 Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels
and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791; the Original
French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes, vol. VI
(1633-1634) (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1898), vii.; The English
translation of the original Jesuit texts was made available in 1896, making them
widely available to historians. Blackburn, Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and
Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650, 4.; This was the same time the Crown
and Canadian governments were attempting to justify the elimination of
Indigenous peoples in order to make way for a ‘Canadian race.’ The timing of the
reprints is interesting; however, for a more focused examination of attempts to
create a ‘Canadian race’ see Chapter Six of this thesis – Residential Schools.
10 Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great
11 J.H. Kennedy, Jesuit and Savage in New France (New Haven: Yale University
Press, 1950), x.
12 Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels
and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791; the Original
French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes, vol. V (1632-
helping a society to interpret itself. A population is educated about their history, culture and identity by absorbing these symbols. However, the Jesuits controlled the visions of reality that were absorbed. Indigenous peoples were not present in the Jesuits’ descriptions in an immediate way; they were mediated to the reader through a set of assumptions from which the Jesuits operated.

The Jesuits wanted to spread civilisation and Christianity and they took great pains to present Indigenous peoples as the polar opposite: savage heathens.

The aesthetic description of the symbols may have been accurate and objective; however, the meaning bestowed on the symbols was entirely subjective.

There are several accounts, by their own words, that the Jesuits’ reputations preceded them and they did not receive a warm welcome from their potential converts. In 1634, a missionary complained about his reception in a letter titled, *What One Must Suffer in Wintering with the Savages*.

This whole country is filled with evil reports which are current about us. The children, seeing us arrive at any place, exclaim that famine and disease are coming; some women flee, others hide their children from us; almost all refuse us the hospitality which they grant even to the most unknown tribes.

The tone is that of a person who is both perplexed and offended. He seems he could not understand why the ‘gifts’ of Christianity and civilisation were not being warmly received. This entry is from a visit to an area that is now in

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15 Civilisation and Christianity are often conflated and thought of as synonymous.

southern Bruce County, which is part of the Saugeen Ojibway Nations traditional territories. In 1632, there were also Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) peoples in the area, so it is not certain whether they were describing the reaction of Anishinaabe or Haudenosaunee peoples, or both. However, the quote remains significant for its insight into the relationships between the Jesuits and Indigenous peoples. It seems unlikely that the observations Jesuit missionaries made would not have been influenced by these kinds of encounters.

The Jesuits established a mission on the Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s territory, next to Lake Huron, near Georgian Bay. In the early 1670s, a Jesuit at this mission made an observation about Indigenous peoples’ connection to the land, writing, “one’s longing for his native land is not stifled by distance, - least of all among Savages, who possess an incredibly strong attachment for the country of their birth.”17 He observed the strong connection Indigenous peoples had to the land; however, he misinterpreted it through his own lens of how the world worked. ‘Native land’ and ‘country of birth’ have geopolitical connotations that were foreign to Indigenous peoples, which will be examined in more depth in Chapter Two of this thesis – Anishinaabe Worldviews. By using those descriptors within the context of Indigenous connection to the land the account misinterpreted a sacred connection to the land as ‘homesickness’.18

Scholars have continued to value the detail of the Jesuit Relations, despite a lack of understanding the Jesuits had of the culture they were describing. This

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17 The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791; the Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes, vol. LV (1670-1672), The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1898), 141.
18 For a more detailed examination of Anishinaabe connections to place and space, see Chapter Two of this thesis – Anishinaabe Worldviews.
has lead to the *Jesuit Relations* becoming accepted as, “the most important set of documentary materials on the seventeenth century of Europeans and Native North Americans.” Even with qualified acceptance, Western scholarship has bestowed an incredibly strong legitimising force on the *Jesuit Relations*. This can cause historians to use the documents as discrete objective data, without considering the context in which they were produced.

Literacy is arguably the lynchpin of Western scholarship. The rules of historical evidence demand documentation. Jesuit colleges in Europe had very high standards and catered to the continent’s elite. Their reputation for scholastic excellence was infused into any documents that were produced in North America. The Jesuits were more literate than the early fur traders. France was eager to consolidate its power and strengthen the nation by extending its influence abroad, and part of the Jesuit program was to conquer the secular world by converting heretics and heathens. With their qualifications and reputation, it was believed the Jesuits were the ideal people to help France

20 It is crucial to understand the circumstances surrounding the production of any document used as a historical source. Context can have profound implications on meaning. Carole Blackburn argues that scholars must be careful to note what parts can be used in historical and ethnographic reconstruction and, “which parts primarily reflect the Jesuits’ particular world view and missionary agenda.” Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650*, 4.; Micah True has also described the *Relations* as “accurate within its limits.” Micah True, *Masters and Students: Jesuit Mission Ethnography in Seventeenth-Century New France* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), 140.
21 In this instance, I prefer the term North America for the geographical area being discussed because despite much of the territory being known as New France at the time, many Indigenous peoples impacted by European presence did not live within European geographic delineations.
achieve this goal. This may have been the case for the French monarchy; however, future historians may have wished for documentarians that were not so encumbered by the agenda of a foreign church and nation. Relations between Indigenous people and Jesuits were an aspect of the wider process of colonisation. As Nicholas Dirks argued, “before places and peoples could be colonised, they had to be marked as foreign, as other, as colonisable.”\textsuperscript{23} The Jesuit Relations became concrete evidence that Indigenous peoples were ‘savages’, and ripe for colonisation.

The Jesuits’ annual reports helped explain what was going on in North America; however, Micah True has argued that it is important to note that the flow of information was not one directional. Feedback and directives from Europe to the colony influenced the content of the reports.\textsuperscript{24} Once the reports were written, they underwent an editing process. Jesuit superiors compiled the letters, sometimes paraphrasing and sometimes copying verbatim, and sent them to France. The letters were vetted again in France before their eventual publication.\textsuperscript{25} It is not clear how much this editing process changed or impacted the meaning of the letters; however, Allan Greer, a noted historian in this field, is of the belief that “there is no reason to suppose that the Jesuit superiors and

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\textsuperscript{24} True, \textit{Masters and Students: Jesuit Mission Ethnography in Seventeenth-Century New France}, 140.; Chapter Six – Travelling Texts: Toward a Decentred Reading of Jesuit Mission Ethnography – examines direction Jesuits received from Europe in various forms, including letters from readers and benefactors as well as edited and published versions of the \textit{Relations} themselves. True noted that feedback note only influenced what missionaries chose to include, but could also prompt them to omit details that may otherwise have been included, 150.
\end{flushright}
provincials altered the sense of the texts that passed through their hands.” The seemingly meticulous detail of the Jesuits’ descriptions of Indigenous cultures continues to satisfy modern audiences. This is a theme that other documentarians built on.

**Early Encounters of Voyagers and Artists**

The Baron de Lahontan published accounts of his encounters with Indigenous peoples in *New Voyages to North America: Giving a Full Account of the Customs, Commerce, Religion, and Strange Opinions of the Savages of that Country* (1703). *New Voyages* continued the proto-anthropological approach of the *Jesuit Relations*. One needs to look little further than the title of the book to know that Lahontan’s observations of Indigenous peoples were limited by his inability to see them outside of his European understanding of the world. He admits to having read several volumes of the Jesuit Relations, in which “the Recollects brand the Savages for stupid, gross, and rustick Persons, uncapable of Thought or Reflection.” Lahontan argued the Jesuits were too focused on Christian conversion, and contented themselves with a surface understanding of the ‘savages.’ Lahontan did not disagree that the savages were “stupid,” “gross,” and “rustic,” - his main criticism was that the Jesuits failed to see the beauty of their

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26 Ibid.  
27 It should also be noted that Reuben Gold Thwaites, the same editor of the translated version of the *Jesuit Relations*, reprinted *New Voyages* in 1905. Again this is around the same time the Crown and Canadian government were working to justify the creation of a ‘Canadian race’ out of the Indigenous population, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven of this thesis - Residential Schools.  
savagery and ignorance. This is a very early example of understanding Indigenous peoples as frozen-in-time noble savages. A similar example is J. Long’s *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader* (1791). Long’s lengthy descriptions of how ‘savages’ kill people were slightly more sensationalistic than Lahontan’s accounts; however, he had an admiration for what he saw as the skill of their savagery.

The nineteenth century continued to produce works that described uncivilised North America and encounters with savages. One notable author is Paul Kane (1810-1871). I have chosen to give Kane significant attention in this section for several reasons. First, Kane, in addition to other settler artists mentioned in fn. 31, was very popular and the presentation of his work as both text and images was accessible to a wide audience. Second, Kane visited Saugeen in 1845, so his observations were directly connected to the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. Finally, an in depth examination of Kane as representative of settler artists here will give important context to the work of Alfred J. Miller, a Scottish settler artist, as examined in Chapter Three of this thesis. Kane alone did not change the face of Indigenous-European contact historiography; however, his contributions are an excellent example of the social power the discipline of history holds. There were a number of well-known settler artists that were working around the same time as Kane, and producing similar historical

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29 Ibid, 415-416.
documents. Kane, along with other settler artists, blurred the line between ‘Art’ and ‘History’; however, their art enjoyed the legitimising power of history. Works of art were viewed as objective historical documents and, in turn, made a major contribution to the approaches taken in Indigenous-European contact historiography.

Indigenous objects and performances captivated Kane. He strived to communicate their visual drama, despite his lack of understanding of their significance within Indigenous culture. Kane, like the Jesuits and other proto-anthropologists, was limited by his own knowledge base. His engagement with the subjects of his paintings was mediated by his expectations of the ‘Other’. Kane saw himself as a scientist, and his goal was to document the “features, customs, and legends of the indigenous peoples before the advance of European settlement put an end to their lifestyles and perhaps their lives.” This need to document ‘noble savages’ before they disappeared was likely inspired by the accounts of the likes of Lahontan and Long, who had presented Indigenous peoples as frozen-in-time peoples of the past whose demise in the face of civilisation was inevitable. His quest to create records of a disappearing people was informed by both dominant culture and his own history. He wanted to travel across the country to create a comprehensive record of Indigenous peoples, but he needed money. Kane convinced the Province of Canada in 1848 of the

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32 George Catlin (1796-1842), Karl Bodmer (1809-1893), some works by Benjamin West (1738-1820), photographs by Edward Curtis (1868-1952) and the publication McKenney and Hall’s portfolio of lithographs of the Native American portrait gallery (1832).
34 Anne Davis, A Distant Harmony: Comparisons in the Painting of Canada and the United States of America (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1982), 33.
importance of his project and they pre-ordered twelve canvasses that would serve as a “permanent memorial to the disappearing Indians.”35 This kind of support from the State empowered Paul Kane to become a cultural authority, legitimising his interpretations in the public eye.

Paul Kane’s book, *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America* (1851), was a huge success and was published in three languages.36 The book included thick descriptions of the Indigenous peoples he encountered. On the living quarters in a community he encountered early in his travels he wrote: “The filth, stench, and vermin make them almost intolerable to a white man; but Indians are invariably dirty. As to removing the filth, that is never done.”37 Later, Kane discussed alcohol in Indian villages. He painted an image of a culture that was self destructive: “There was scarcely a man, woman or child old enough to lift the vessel to its mouth, that was not wallowing in beastly drunkenness.”38 The reader would not be too concerned about Indians being self-destructive, because according to Kane they did not value themselves, especially their women: “they regard [women] more in the light of slaves than as companionable beings” and they treated aged women as “scarcely fit to live.”39 A contemporary reading of the book reveals the blatant racism and Euro-centrism contained within its pages. Kane was too often unable to see past the glaring differences between his culture and the Indigenous cultures that he was so eager to paint.40

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36 Ibid.
38 Ibid, 41.
39 Ibid, 139-140.
40 It is still possible to extract valuable information from texts like Kane’s if approached as scholars like Micah True and Carole Blackburn have approached
Kane saw it as his duty to collect facts in writing. He kept detailed field notes as he moved west and in them he mentioned that his sketch diaries should have “an intrinsic value to the historian.”\textsuperscript{41} A review of his sketch portfolio reveals an interesting change as Kane moved west. He started omitting any items that he considered European. Kane was looking for the differences, the exotic, and highlighted them as ‘Other’ and primitive. In other words, much like the Jesuits, he was interested in documenting how ‘Indians’ were the antithesis of civilisation. The main difference was, Kane achieved this by presenting images of the “proud savage, not beaten down by Europeans,” which reinforced the image of the ‘noble savage’ presented by Eighteenth century writers.\textsuperscript{42}

The message of the Jesuits had been: these savages are uncivilised, but we are working to change them. The diaries and works of explorers and artists, like Lahontan, Long and Kane, both reinforced the Jesuits’ message and added to it: Indigenous culture was being replaced with a more enlightened, advanced and sophisticated European culture and, as a result, Indigenous peoples were becoming a dying breed.\textsuperscript{43} At least, ‘true’ Indigenous peoples were dying out. The near extinct noble savage helped explain the paradox of supposedly non-existent Indigenous peoples in the face of popular books written by Indigenous peoples.

\textsuperscript{41} Kane, \textit{Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America}, viii.
\textsuperscript{43} This was not unique to settler artist depictions of North America. European training made it a shared aspect of artists across settler societies. For an Australian example, see discussion of E. Philips Fox’s painting “The Landing of Captain Cook at Botany Bay, 1770” in Maria Nugent, \textit{Captain Cook Was Here} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 24-26.
5th FIRE: a time of great struggle, marked by a promise of joy and salvation

Early Indigenous Voices

In the first half of the nineteenth-century a group of Indigenous men strategically allied with the Methodist church, in order to appropriate skills that could be used to defend their cultural, political and economic autonomy. The western education these men received allowed them to enter the world of publishing. In 1885, William W. Warren, a man of mixed Ojibway and European heritage, published *History of the Ojibway People*. Warren has been credited with coming, “closer than any other writer to describing Ojibway tribal history from the inside.” While Indigenous-created documents are extremely valuable, just as with all historical documents, they must be read with a critical eye. Works published by English presses were written with an English audience in mind, they were not written for the altruistic preservation of Indigenous knowledge. For example, when addressing the origins of the Anishinaabeg, Warren wrote, “respecting their own origin the Ojibways are even more totally ignorant than their white brethren, for they have no bible to tell them that God originally made Adam, from whom the whole human race is sprung.” If this were truly an accurate description of Anishinaabe beliefs ‘from the inside’, then Warren would have told an Anishinaabe Creation Story to explain the origins of his people. He hinted that “vague traditions” of the Ojibway claim the earth was covered in water - which sounds similar to the beginning of the Creation Story examined in

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46 Ibid, 55.
Chapter Two of this thesis – however, he infused the story with a Noah-and-the-Ark-esque reading and eviscerated an Anishinaabe understanding of the origins of their people. His Christian upbringing and European lens were given primacy and he concluded that the Ojibway had no idea where they came from. George Copway and Peter Jones are two additional Indigenous writers who presented histories of the Ojibway people. Their works – examined in more detail in Chapter Three of this thesis – reveal that their histories had been influenced by their engagement with Europeans. They both had English wives, and they both argued for assimilation while many Anishinaabeg were pursuing cultural continuity. However, core Anishinaabe values remained present in their writings. For example, Celia Morgan argued that George Copway (Kahgegagahbowh) embraced notions that were not aligned with his Anishinaabe values and worldview, such as ‘Christian manliness’ and ‘individual celebrity’; however, he did so in order to put his message in a familiar context to help it gain a non-Indigenous audience. The writings of early Indigenous authors like Warren, Copway and Jones were well received in the initial years following their publication, but unfortunately their popularity was short-lived. This was in part because Indigenous peoples could not be trusted as scholars when they were so widely understood as “savages.” Non-Indigenous people were

50 Cecilia Morgan, "Kahgegagahbowh's (George Copway's) Transatlantic Performance: Running Sketches, 1850," Cultural and Social History 9, no. 4 (2012), 536-538.
becoming increasingly viewed as the authorities on Indigenous issues, both by the Methodist institution, and the broader population. The mass media contributed to this delegitimisation of early Indigenous voices.

Images of 'Indians' appeared on everything from sports team mascots to household products. The fantasy that 'Indians' were dying out was even used to encourage tourism. In the late 1890s Canadians were encouraged to take the Canadian Pacific Railway west so they could see live Indians soon, or "they might never see them." Advertising images were intended to be positive. They showed admiration for the qualities the public associated with 'Indians': bravery, physical prowess and natural virtue. However, these were qualities 'Indians' were thought to have possessed in the past, before contact with Europeans. This reinforced the belief that the best 'Indian' was the historical 'Indian'. The Indian that existed at the time of European contact, no longer existed. Public opinion can have a major influence on historiography. This has already been examined within the context of feedback impacting what the Jesuits chose to include in their reports. Just as with the Jesuits and their European influencers, historiography is a two way street. A historian's job is complicated by what their audience is willing to read, and by the start of the twentieth century 'Indians' had become a part of Canada's past in the minds of Euro-Canadians.

As previously discussed, the Jesuit Relations and the field diaries that shortly followed them, if approached with care, can pass the tests of scholarly

51 Buddle, "Shooting the Messenger: Historical Impediments to the Mediation of Modern Aboriginality in Ontario", 110.
52 Francis, "Marketing the Imaginary Indian", 314.
53 Ibid, 312.
rigour in the opinion of many historians.\textsuperscript{55} Both of these sources have been praised for their meticulous documentation of objective anthropological data, despite the acknowledgment that the creators of these documents did not understand the meaning this data had for Indigenous peoples.\textsuperscript{56} Indigenous peoples were the original creators of this data, Europeans were merely documenting it, so we can assume at least some of the original meaning was 'lost in translation'.\textsuperscript{57} The earliest European documents were meticulous in their descriptions of numerous groups of Indigenous peoples; however, the reoccurring theme of Other served to homogenise what had previously been distinct Indigenous identities. The themes of the ‘Indigenous Other’ and the ‘dying Indigenous culture’ have had a lasting and profound influence. Contemporary historian, Robin Jarvis Brownlie, argued that it had also become difficult for non-Indigenous historians to present Indigenous histories “as equally valid or valuable, given their fixed position within colonial ideology as the very definition of savagery.”\textsuperscript{58} Historians needed to work within the population's understanding of Indigenous peoples and how they fit into the


\textsuperscript{56} Examples of data within this context include: customs; tools; dress; ceremonial objects; language, and traditions.

\textsuperscript{57} This is much like a person transcribing a document in a language they do not understand. It is possible to recreate the characters on the page, but that does not mean the transcriber is an expert in that language. Jalil Sued Badillo’s essay exemplifies how this is not unique to Canada. The essay is a scholarly explosion of colonial contact narratives in the Caribbean. Jalil Sued Badillo, “The Island Caribs,” in \textit{Wolves of the Sea}, ed. N. Whitehead (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995).

\textsuperscript{58} Brownlie, "First Nations Perspective and Historical Thinking in Canada", 23.
colonial narrative. Within the context of the fur trade the presence of Indigenous peoples was easily justified.

**The Canadian Fur Trade and Indigenous Peoples**

In 1930 Harold Innis published *The Fur Trade in Canada*. In this seminal work Innis argues: “Fundamentally the civilization of North America is the civilization of Europe and the interest of this volume is primarily in the effects of a vast new land area on European civilization”. Many scholars contributed studies relating to the same field following the publication of *The Fur Trade in Canada*, but Innis’ book has remained a definitive work on the subject for over eighty years.

*The Fur Trade in Canada* joined the *Jesuit Relations* as a cornerstone in Indigenous-European contact historiography; however, Innis painted Indigenous peoples as peripheral actors within the Canadian historical narrative. Lively commerce in North America existed pre-contact, including trade of surplus food, fishnets and tobacco for hides, furs and buffalo robes; however, *The Fur Trade in Canada* is primarily about European involvement in the fur trade and the trade’s impact on the development of Canada as a nation. Innis did not acknowledge that European contact simply took advantage of established trade relationships and routes, expanding the fur trade in North America to unprecedented levels. He simply stated that: “contact of Europeans with the

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Indians was essential to the development in the fur trade.” Innis then minimised the role of Indigenous peoples throughout the rest of his book, eventually describing the discovery of “new Indians” as merely a “fluctuation” in the fur trade. Innis’ conclusions about the complex and devastating effects of the fur trade on Indigenous peoples, and about how the fur trade ultimately shaped Canada’s political destiny, supported the ‘demise of the Indian’ as a part of Canadian national history. It was never really meant to be about Indigenous-European engagement. The prominence of *The Fur Trade in Canada* resulted in the historiographic direction described as the ‘Laurentian Thesis’, which David Neufeld has argued remained the unchallenged analytical framework for over 40 years.

6th FIRE: the false promise of the fifth Fire would become evident

**Indigenous Peoples: Footnotes in Canadian History**

Innis’ treatment of Indigenous peoples within the contact narrative reflected a trend of historians moving the Indigenous voice to the margins of historiography that dominated the first half of the twentieth century. Indigenous history was subsumed into Canadian national history, reflecting how history was becoming an important exercise of nation building. Historians concentrated on the

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63 Ibid, 387.
64 David Neufeld, ”Parks Canada, the Commemoration of Canada, and Northern Aboriginal History,” in *Oral History and Public Memories*, ed. Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 6. In the 1970s historians started exploring the Canadian fur trade from an Indigenous perspective, which will be examined in more depth later in this chapter.
65 Maria Nugent argued that this occurred in Australia as well, with historians “completely ignoring Aborigines... from the 1930s onwards, when Australian history became more professionalized and institutionalized” in Maria Nugent,
shared past of Euro-Canadians. *The History of the County of Bruce* (1906) is an example from the Saugeen Peninsula of how Canadian historiography focused on highlighting the progress that had been made since the first settlers arrived.\(^{66}\)

The first chapter dedicated nine pages to the “surrender of the Indian title,” while the rest of the text focused on settlement, development, establishing infrastructure, and other signs of ‘progress’.\(^{67}\) The historiography was focused on documenting what settlers had accomplished with the land, once the Indians had surrendered it. Indigenous people were an incidental part of that story, which was reflected in Canadian historiography during this period. Canadians were eager to show how well they fit into the colonial narrative of ‘conquering the frontier’ and how they had conquered it as a nation.\(^{68}\) Local histories were very important because the cumulative accounts of growth and development of individual communities was interpreted as proof that settlers across the country shared values, social structures and economies. Together, they became representative of the experience of settlement and community that became


\(^{68}\) Elizabeth Furniss encountered the very strong commitment many Canadians have to twentieth century, nationalist, frontier histories generated by rural communities during her research in British Columbia with the Secwepemc and Carrier communities – which resulted in “intense conflicts” when she tried to illustrate how Indigenous and Euro-Canadian histories interested. The histories hinge on the subordination of Indigenous peoples, and Furniss found that challenges of Indigenous subordination were interpreted as anti-nationalistic challenges to Canada itself. Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999).
translated into a shared cultural heritage.\textsuperscript{69} An examination of Ontario Public School history textbooks from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveals what the next generations of Canadians were learning about Canada and Indigenous peoples.

References to Indigenous people in Canada were very sparse in the history textbooks, and the references that did exist degraded Indigenous people, cultures and heritage. An 1897 text described “[Indians] as of unclean habits and without morals... upon the war-path he was cruel... scalping and torturing with fiendish ingenuity.”\textsuperscript{70} This passage also used the past tense to place Indigenous peoples in the past, as if they no longer existed. The same text managed to cover the history of the fur trade in Canada without a single mention of Indigenous peoples.\textsuperscript{71} This served to completely erase the invaluable contributions Indigenous peoples made and the positive personal relationships that were often enjoyed with the early settlers. The final sentence of the 1897 text indicated the start of a broader nation-building project that was underway, “Our recent history, our growth from weak and divided provinces to one great and united Dominion, should encourage us to look forward to the still wider federation of all the lands which fly the Union Jack.”\textsuperscript{72} The preface of a history reader from 1910

\textsuperscript{69} John William Bennett surveyed hundreds of local histories from across Canada and the American West, concluding that the experiences of people were virtually identical, regardless of where they settled, because emigrant populations brought similar knowledge, values and social structures with them from the Old World. John William Bennett, \textit{Settling the Canadian-American West, 1890-1915: Pioneer Adaptation and Community Building: An Anthropological History} (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 2-4.

\textsuperscript{70} W.H.P. Clement, \textit{The History of the Dominion of Canada - Authorized by the Education Department of Ontario for Use in High Schools} (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, Limited, 1897), 12-13.

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid, 23-24.

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid, 341.
answered whether the nation-building project would be reflected in the curriculum,

The aim of this book is to present in an informal and concrete way the story of our race. It is intended for the use of pupils in Form III of Public Schools... historical importance, no picturesqueness, has guided both author and editor in the selection of facts. For there are involved two pedagogical principles that the teacher would do well to keep in mind, - that the interest of the child should be awakened and held, and that when the survey of the field be finished the facts and names remembered be the ones worth remembering. [emphasis theirs]73

The history textbooks throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries followed the same narrative. Indigenous peoples were presented as the example of pre-civilised life, savages that were obstacles to progress. The Indians remained at stage one of the civilising process during the period of French rule. For example, the textbook *Elements of Political Economy* (1877) states that the concept of private property was what, “marks the difference between the savage and civilized man.”74 Ryerson is regarded as one of the fathers of public education in Upper Canada, and had a key role in the Indian Residential School system, examined in more depth in Chapter Six of this thesis. Ryerson’s conflation of private property and civilisation echoes the civilising process as described by the Scots Philosophers, supported by the writings of the Jesuit Relations. Ontario texts claimed Indigenous peoples were, “nearly as wild as the beasts. They loved to fight.”75 True progress did not start until the advent of British rule because, the French aside, Indigenous peoples, “were too wild and

73 na, *Britannia History Reader - Stories from Canadian and British History* (Toronto: Copp, Clark Company, Limited, 1910). np. The book is noted to be used by the Board of Education.
75 na, *Britannia History Reader - Stories from Canadian and British History*, 1.
savage ever to build Canada into a great country... so we must think of Canada on those days as wild country.”76 The civilisation project fell squarely on the shoulders of the British Crown. In the ‘Canada Now’ section of the text students were taught, “there are still Indians, but they have learned to live as we do. They no longer go on the war path and no one is afraid of them.”77 The goal of the lesson was to show how much Canada had progressed as a civilisation under British rule, proving British values and social structures were to be held above critique.

Local, experiential histories were also erased with the advent of a structured Canadian history curriculum in Ontario. Decades of positive, often kin-like relationships between Indigenous peoples and settlers, as examined in Chapter Four, were left out of the official historical records and replaced with records of relationships fraught with violence and fear. The students were trained to remember Canada as a land of wild, savage beasts until it came under the influence and protection of British rule. The conclusion of a copy of Ontario High School History of Canada from 1922 leaves little doubt that history lessons had moved into the realm of nationalist propaganda.

Thus every Canadian is at once a citizen of a municipality, of a province, of a Dominion, and of an Empire. We must all love the municipality in which we live, whether it be township, village, town or city... But we must love our municipality as part of the province... we must love the province as part of our native land,

... till all the nations know
Us for a patriot people
Loyal to our native heath, our native land.

And beyond even Canada we must love the world-wide Empire of whose people an English poet said:

76 Ibid, 3.
77 Ibid, 79.
We sailed wherever ship could sail
We founded many a mighty state.
Pray God our greatness may not fail
Through craven fear of being great!

[End of text]78

This brand of nationalist history has deep implications, especially in settler-colonies. By stating that Canadians were now the ‘natives’ of the land, the implication is the history of the Canada started with their arrival. This is true in the technical sense, because ‘Canada’ is a result of settlers; however, Canada is a geo-political entity, and the history of Canada was superseding the history of the land Canada occupies.

Indigenous peoples and their cultures were treated as artefacts; people of the past, rather than people with a past. There was scant mention of Indigenous peoples, and usually only in the past tense, implying that they simply disappeared after they “surrendered” their lands.79 This implication had become so prevalent that in 1952, historian George Stanley argued Indigenous peoples have been treated like unappreciated actors that never seem to get “dropped from the cast.”80 Canadian historian James Walker characterised Indigenous history as incomplete and “peripheral to ‘real’ Canadian history.”81 The empirical approach taken by books examining the fur trade helped to keep the Indigenous voice in the margins. The fur trade was practically the only context in which

78 Authorized by the Minister of Education for Ontario, Ontario High School History of Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1922), 451.
79 For an example, see Fox, The Bruce Beckons: The Story of Lake Huron’s Great Peninsula, 4.
Indigenous peoples were acknowledged within the Canadian historical narrative. During the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, there was not a single full-length historical book published by an Indigenous author.82

This perspective dominated until the final quarter of the twentieth century, until it seemed that scholars wanted to figure out why Indigenous cultures were ‘dead’ or ‘dying’. The fact that there was still a dominant assumption that Indigenous cultures were dying (or dead) is an implied nod to the influence of earlier writings that argued Indigenous peoples were easily dominated by the superiority of western civilisation and its expansion. The presence of Indigenous peoples in historiography offered a vehicle in which Euro-Canadians could explore a national identity. Canadians were discovering that they could embrace a shared history of progress and civilisation, evident in the ‘disappearance’ of Indigenous peoples.83 However, after a long stagnation, curiosity about alternate perspectives within Indigenous-European contact arose. This can be credited to the growing acceptance of the use of social theory. Indigenous-European contact historiography started to see a reinvigoration. In fact, I would argue that an Indigenous-European engagement historiography began to emerge, because the ‘contact’ being examined was less one-sided in favour of the colonial perspective.84

In the 1960s social history gained prominence, valued for its “willingness to respond to contemporary concerns.”85 Scholars were able to broaden and

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82 Brownlie, "First Nations Perspective and Historical Thinking in Canada", 27.
83 Thomas, Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture, 12.
84 This argument builds on the ideas of historians like John Lutz, and John Long, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.
deepen their understanding of human relations by applying theoretical tools, such as class; gender; race; and ethnicity to their analyses. These tools have been borrowed from other disciplines, such as sociology, philosophy, and cultural studies. This does not diminish their value when it comes to historical analysis; however, it can prove to be a hurdle for empirical historians who favour ‘referenceable’ proof. It is not surprising that these theoretical tools were, for the most part, developed outside of the discipline of history. It was Antonio Gramsci who took the abstract speculations about power structures and conceptualised them within the idea of hegemony, giving historians a more tangible tool for analysis, something they could reference and footnote. Gramsci gave historians the ability to identify the cultural centre by using theory, and examine the centre’s impact on Indigenous perspectives. The application of theory to historical investigations shed new light on the Indigenous perspectives that were always present, but had remained un-examined by historians. Social theories accounted for change. They revealed that past events are not static; they have multiple perspectives based on the different forms of human-interactions that resulted from the event.

86 Ibid, 924.
87 Peter Burke, History and Social Theory (New York: Cornell University Press, 2005), 105.
88 Hegemony is the idea that one cultural group is dominant over all other groups, making the dominant group the “norm” or the “cultural centre.” For hegemony as a tool for historians, see Simon Gunn, “From Hegemony to Governmentality: Changing Conceptions of Power in Social History,” Journal of Social History 39, no. 3 (2006), 707.
89 Burke, History and Social Theory, 141.
7th FIRE: light-skinned race are given a choice of following one of two roads

Emerging from the Margins

There were a number of very influential books written towards the end of the twentieth century. They worked together to stretch scholars’ collective imagination regarding approaches to Indigenous-European contact historiography. Up until this point, works that advanced colonial interests dominated historiography. Self-defined European superiority had placed Euro-Canadians at the centre of the historical narrative. It had become very difficult for Euro-Canadians to imagine a narrative in which every aspect of Indigenous life was not dependent on the presence of Europeans.

*Indians in the Fur Trade*, authored by A.J. Ray in 1974, re-centred the fur trade narrative around Indigenous peoples’ role. However, Ray could not fully escape the strong influences of earlier historiography. By the end of his book he still concluded that Indigenous peoples lost all their economic independence, their traditional life was irreversibly transformed, and their culture was lost.  

Robin Fisher’s book, *Contact and Conflict* (1977), claimed that fur trading influenced Indian policy, arguing the fur trade and civilisation could never blend. Fisher argued that the pace of change surpassed the Indigenous peoples’ ability to cope with it, resulting in acceptance of missionary teachings. Calvin Martin retained focus on the fur trade in his *Keepers of the Game* (1978); however, Martin’s focus was on Indigenous peoples’ relationship with the land

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92 Ibid, 124.
and animals. Martin still concluded that Indigenous cultures had essentially been erased by European presence. Sylvia Van Kirk exposed another perspective of the fur trade with her book, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society 1670-1870* (1980). She wanted to show that it was not just men, be they Indigenous or European, who shaped the fur trade. She also examined how Victorian morality imposed itself on frontier Canada. It was a marginalising tool, used to help people gain status and power.93

The above histories of are all important examples of works that helped change the approach to Indigenous-European contact historiography. Indigenous peoples were offered agency within the narratives as western scholars attempted to shift the lens of historical investigation to gain perspectives other than their own.94 In 1937, A.G. Bailey argued that historians could not fully transcend their own processes. Indigenous-European contact would always be infused with “our own peculiar cultural background”.95 Historiography infused with social theory attempted to prove Bailey wrong. It was a start, but European cultural influences were still present. By current standards some of the conclusions these authors drew were perhaps broad and insensitive; however,

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93 Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 165. Van Kirk brought forth the idea that culture and social structures were impacted by the fur trade and contact, not just the economy. The power of women adjusted with the fur trade. Initially they were “needed” and valued as wives of European fur traders, for their knowledge of customs and ties to key Indigenous figures in the fur trade. Later, Indigenous women were degraded when they were merely “used” as prostitutes at the trading posts. (p. 160) Indigenous women were racialised and marginalised as Victorian morals and values gained influence in Canada.

94 Within the social sciences, this refers to the ability of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices.

the social/cultural turn had an important impact on Indigenous-European contact historiography. It increased the breadth and depth of the Indigenous perspective, but still largely via western scholars. The voices of Indigenous peoples were still, for the most part, not being included as evidence. The early nineteenth century had turned history into a professional discipline. Historians became bound by rules of evidence and documentation that had prevented them from freely examining the past from a multitude of perspectives.

Peter Schmalz’s *The History of the Saugeen Indians* (1977) is the most recent book to specifically examine the Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s history, and it employs this disciplined approach to historiography. The first chapter, entitled *Conquest and Settlement*, sets the tone. Schmalz used a variety of sources but his analysis generally did not attempt to interpret sources from an Indigenous perspective. For example, in Chapter Three – *The Saugeen Indian Land Surrenders* – Schmalz argued land was illegally obtained from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation; however, he still recognised the land as having been “surrendered”. Moreover, in the Epilogue Schmalz argued, “the exploitation of Saugeen Indians throughout their history resulted in a threat to their existence.” He described the Saugeen Ojibway Nation as relying on welfare from the Crown to maintain their existence, overlooking the perspective that actions of the Crown are the origins of assaults on Indigenous culture, heritage, and ways of life.

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The cultural turn in history during the final third of the twentieth century saw non-Indigenous historians writing about ethnocentrism, cultural pluralism, and culture clash while Indigenous people were writing about history in the context of a contemporary struggle. They did so largely outside the academy in the courts, and as politicians, journalists, and activists.\textsuperscript{100} Within the academy Indigenous people were finding a place in fields, such as anthropology, sociology, law, education, and Indigenous Studies.\textsuperscript{101} In 1969, Trent University established the first Indigenous Studies department in North America (then called Indian-Eskimo Studies). They wanted to fill gaps left in Indigenous histories by history departments, as well as teach Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe culture, tradition and language.\textsuperscript{102} The growth of Indigenous Studies programs and the writing of Indigenous histories from outside the discipline of history is very similar to how Indigenous people, like Vern Roote, were learning to live in ‘two worlds’.\textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{100} Examples: Harold Cardinal, LL.D. Indigenous leader and author helped draft the Red Paper. It was the Indigenous response to Canada’s infamous White Paper, discussed in more detail later in this chapter; The establishment of the Assembly of First Nations in 1985, a pan-Indigenous political organisation whose goal is to “protect succeeding generations from colonialism” (www.afn.ca); Lee Maracle, a prolific author and recognised authority on Indigenous issues started publishing books in the 1990s; Anishinabek News, a newspaper established in 1988 – for other examples of Indigenous newspapers see, Shannon Avison and Michael Meadows, "Speaking and Hearing: Aboriginal Newspapers and the Public Sphere in Canada and Australia," Canadian Journal of Communication 25, no. 3 (2000).

\textsuperscript{101} Mary Jane Logan McCallum, "Indigenous Labour and Indigenous History," The American Indian Quarterly 33, no. 4 (2009), 532.

\textsuperscript{102} Trent University, http://www.trentu.ca/academic/nativestudies/History.html.

\textsuperscript{103} This is in reference to the quote at the beginning of the Introduction of this thesis, in which Vern Roote stated, “I live in two worlds. I have a European education and I can live in European ways. I’m also an Anishinaabe person.”
Indigenous sources: clearing their throat

In 1969, the Canadian Federal Government released the *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969*. It has become more commonly known as the White Paper. Its release sparked Indigenous political mobilisation, and Harold Cardinal’s scathing response to the White Paper – *Unjust Society* – was published that same year. Indigenous author Howard Adams’ *Prison of Grass*, published in 1975, raised similar questions to the ones Jones and Copway had asked a century earlier, but Adams employed a Marxist analysis of racism and its economic and psychological impact.\(^{104}\) He began his work arguing the inaccuracies of mainstream history, stating: “The intentions of the book are to unmask the white supremacy that has dominated native history, and to construct an authentic Indian/Métis history.”\(^ {105}\) Cardinal and Adams helped to begin the process of educating non-Indigenous people in Canada about the injustices of the past.\(^ {106}\) The 1970s and 1980s saw a number of Indigenous autobiographies emerge that touched on the same themes, including Basil Johnson’s *Indian School Days* (1988). Johnson, a member of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, was taken from his family in 1939 at age ten and placed in a Jesuit boarding school in northern Ontario. *Unjust Society, Prison of Grass* and autobiographies like *Indian School Days* were not explicit contributions to Indigenous-European contact historiography, but the injustices of the past were a result of engagement with Europeans.

By the 1990s more authors were interested in getting Indigenous

\(^{104}\) Brownlie, ”First Nations Perspective and Historical Thinking in Canada”, 30.
\(^{106}\) Brownlie, ”First Nations Perspective and Historical Thinking in Canada”, 29.
perspectives from Indigenous sources. Scholarship began to support the idea of complex, multiple and distinct perspectives during the period of contact. Historian Ian McKay warns that the liberal order’s major downfall is its predilection to think of history in homogenising essences. This approach weakens their meta-narrative and leaves an opportunity for the oppressed to take command of their own history. Scholars had started to chip away at the authoritative Eurocentric narratives.

One notable Indigenous author was Georges E. Sioui, of Huron heritage. Sioui presented a commendable counter-narrative in his 1992 book, *For An Amerindian Autohistory*. However, besides Georges Sioui, Olive Dickason, and Blair Stonechild were the only Indigenous academic historians in the 1990s and early 2000s, while other Indigenous scholars of note addressed historical themes

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107 For an example see: Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). Calloway argued that Indigenous peoples were experiencing as much of a “new world” as they Europeans were.


109 Georges S. Sioui, *For an Amerindian Autohistory*, trans. Sheila Fischman (Montreal: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 1992). 40; Sioui re-examined arguments regarding the impacts of disease, the fur trade, gender relations, missionary work and other impacts of European contact made by western scholars, from an Indigenous point of view. Sioui systematically dispelled European misconceptions of Indigenous culture in by reinterpreting “the facts” according to autohistory. However, the influence western produced Indigenous-European historiography had on Sioui was still seen in his work. Sioui’s core argument fell victim to the same homogenising essences he was being critical of: ethnocentrism. He relied too heavily on Indigenous empirical evidence, which left his argument vulnerable to critique. Another example of a historian who did not step out of the Eurocentric approach when writing a ‘corrective’ text was A. J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). He wanted to show that the fur trade lasted a lot longer than he had previously thought. The fur trade endured into the late twentieth century; however, Ray failed to explicitly correct his previous assertion at Indigenous culture “died out” with the fur trade.
in their works on law, politics, culture, self-government and literature.\textsuperscript{110}

Richard White’s book, \textit{The Middle Ground}, was published in 1991 to great acclaim.\textsuperscript{111} The ‘middle ground’ described in his book was akin to a place between cultures. It was a third space where people “acted for interests derived from their own culture, but they had to convince people of another culture that some mutual action was fair and legitimate.”\textsuperscript{112} This supported the notion that there was a push and pull relationship between Europeans and Indigenous peoples, and there was more than one valid perspective that needed to be explored. The historiography started to admit that the systematic domination of Indigenous peoples had not been ‘for the greater good’ - it only served colonial interests.\textsuperscript{113} The perspectives were more multifaceted and complex than previously acknowledged.

Despite the important academic contributions to more nuanced approaches to Indigenous histories discussed above, \textit{The Oxford History of the British Empire} (1998) revealed an enduring pull to ghettoise Indigenous histories. Chapter Sixteen of Volume Two intended to cover the history of

\textsuperscript{110} Brownlie, “First Nations Perspective and Historical Thinking in Canada”, 32. Brownlie also notes the Indigenous academics known for their works relating to the history of colonisation included: Taiaiake Alfred; Marie Battiste; John Borrows; James Youngblood Henderson; Emma LaRoque; Patricia Monture; and Sharon Venne.

\textsuperscript{111} White’s \textit{Middle Ground} won numerous awards: Francis Parkman Prize for best book on American History; Albert J. Beveridge Award for best English language book on American history; Albert B. Corey Prize for best book on US-Canadian history; and it was a Pulitzer Prize Nominated Finalist.

\textsuperscript{112} White, \textit{The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815}, 52.

Indigenous peoples in North America up to 1800. Daniel K. Richter ended the chapter with a short story and a final quip,

A tale is told—no less apt because it is apocryphal—that Tecumseh foresaw his own death on the eve of the battle and cast aside his customary British military red coat in favour of traditional Shawnee garb. That story brings the three stories of eighteenth-century Imperial-Indian relations to an appropriate end.  

Tecumseh symbolically tossed aside the British, and then perished. This is a heavy implication that Indigenous peoples were better off for the British, and reinforced the ‘assimilate or perish’ trope. Chapter Twenty-Three of Volume Three, Canada from 1815, made scant mention of Indigenous peoples other than to say, “for Canada’s indigenous peoples, the nineteenth century was a disaster.” Concluding that the thin, unorganised scattering of Indigenous peoples left in the wake of devastating population losses over the preceding centuries meant, “only the white man’s government could determine overall policy.” The implication here is the Crown and Canadian government had no choice but to take on a paternalistic role, completely disregarding the sovereignty promised to Indigenous peoples via treaties and the Proclamation of 1763. The narratives presented in 1998 by the Oxford History of British Empire – ‘the disappearing noble savage’ and ‘child-like peoples in need of civilisation’ – are not substantially different from the narratives employed by seventeenth century missionaries in the Jesuit Relations.

116 Ibid.
**Legacy of the Jesuit Relations**

In 2000, Tom Flanagan, a professor of political science at the University of Calgary, published *First Nations? Second Thoughts*. Flanagan claimed that his critique of Aboriginal rights in Canada was not based on the value judgment that ‘savagery’ and ‘civilisation’ are simply stages of social development; however, he went on to present a stage theory very similar to that of the Scots philosophers. Flanagan went so far as to argue that, “the Old World was about five thousand years ahead of the New World on the path of civilisation.” He argued that as a result, the colonisation of North America was justifiable and inevitable. These were not the views of an outlier. *First Nations? Second Thoughts* won a number of awards, including the Donner prize for the best Canadian Public Policy book, and an award from the Canadian Political Science Association for the best book on Canadian government and politics. It should also be noted that Flanagan was a prominent member of the Progressive Conservative political party in Canada and served as a key senior advisor to Prime Minister Stephen Harper from the mid-1990s until the Conservatives started distancing themselves from him in 2010. There has been a surge in

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119 Ibid., 304.


writing on settler colonialism, including First Nations, First Thoughts (2009), which was a direct response to Flanagan's book. However, First Nations, First Thoughts' main audience was academics, while Flanagan's book found an audience in the broader Canadian public. Flanagan's book is an example of how his line of thinking has infiltrated the Canadian historical consciousness. Flanagan's thoughts are not original; his arguments have been made for centuries in order to justify removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands. His book is significant because its popularity revealed how deep-seated his line of thinking is. It is a line of thinking that continues to prevent meaningful reconciliation. Before 2010, Flanagan's high-ranking position in the Conservative party brought his particular perspective to government policy, particularly in the case of treaty claims.122

Contemporary Indigenous historians, Susan M. Hill and Mary Jane Logan McCallum, wrote as guest editors for a special issue of American Indian Quarterly: “While we each have days where we may feel that little has been accomplished in the academy, we know that is not the case.”123 Reshaping the way people think about the contact zone in North America will be a long, yet important, process. This thesis is my contribution to that effort. The Indigenous-
Settler engagement historiography provides a critical backdrop to Indigenous-Settler relationships in the Saugeen Peninsula during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that I seek to foreground. Chapter Three – Settler Colonial Worldviews – examines the worldviews of settlers from the Old World, in order to illustrate how the transfer of Old Worldviews to the Saugeen Peninsula were justified as part of a larger civilising project. However, the next chapter presents Anishinaabe Worldviews in order to provide context for the way in which the Saugeen Ojibway Nation approached relationships with the light-skinned race - settlers from the Old World.
Chapter 2 - Fires 1-3: Anishinaabe Worldview

My elders told me that our land is sacred to all the Ojibway. Anishinaabek surround the Great Lakes. I heard stories of how the Ojibway used to have their sacred ceremonies on the Bruce [Saugeen] Peninsula. When they had their sacred ceremonies they could hear the heartbeat of the earth – the waves at Lake Huron against the Bruce Peninsula.
- Fred Jones

This chapter presents the Anishinaabe worldview that informed the way the Anishinaabeg entered into the personal and political relationships with non-Indigenous people that will be examined in Chapters Four to Seven of this thesis. It provides a discussion of Anishinaabe worldviews, drawing on sources such as, oral histories; testimonies; Indigenous created documents; and, of course, stories. The Anishinaabe worldview translated into a set of assumptions the Saugeen Ojibway Nations drew upon as they negotiated relationships with settlers during the time of the fourth Fire (starting with the Jesuits in the eighteenth century). Dr. Joseph Couture has argued that assumptions work like a map, providing a set of conceptual and experiential indices that provide a sense of direction to a searching mind. The mind can then use these indices to, “methodically explore and thereby incrementally build up human knowledge.”

1 As quoted in, David McLaren, "How the People of the Chippewas of Nawash Unceded First Nation Asserted Their Rights and Claims and Dealt with the Backlash - Report to the Ipperwash Inquiry," (2005), 8.
2 In 2006, Henry Reynolds noted that he addressed the stylistic problems of shifting focus from “settler to indigene and back again” by writing three volumes. See New Introduction of, Henry Reynolds, The Other Side from the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2006), 2. The Other Side of the Frontier was the volume that provided the Aboriginal perspective. This chapter presents the perspective of the Saugeen Ojibway Nations, while working within the parameters of a doctoral thesis.
The worldview presented in this chapter will facilitate understanding of the Indigenous-settler encounters examined in this thesis, by providing the Anishinaabe values and perspectives that informed the Anishinaabe side of the encounters. The next chapter will provide the settler colonial worldview that was informing the other side of the encounters.

The chapter begins by examining Anishinaabe worldviews within the broader context of Indigenous worldviews. The core values that inform the Anishinaabe worldview are then presented via an examination of the *Niizhwaaswi Mishomis Kinoomaagewinawaan* (7 Grandfather Teachings), the classes of beings within *Inaadiziwin* (Anishinaabe way of being), and the *Ododemwiwin* (Clan System). These teachings and systems of organisation illuminate the core values of the Anishinaabe, creating a foundation for the Anishinaabe worldview. The Anishinaabe worldview will then be elucidated in this chapter through an examination of Anishinaabe stories; relationship with the land, systems of knowledge transfer, and naming ceremonies. Comparison and contrast with Western worldviews is used, as appropriate, to help further elucidate Anishinaabe worldviews. Both myself as writer, and the target audience of this thesis are non-Indigenous, so Western worldviews provide a familiar anchor. It is also an approach used by a number of the Anishinaabe scholars cited in this chapter, including John Littlebear, James Dumont, and Wendy Makoons Geniusz. The differences between Indigenous peoples and

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4 In addition to Henry Reynolds, Maria Nugent is an example of another scholar who has argued the importance of presenting “both sides” of Indigenous-European encounters. Maria Nugent, *Botany Bay: Where Historians Meet* (Crows Nest NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005), 9.

5 See, Leroy Little Bear, "Naturalizing Indigenous Knowledge: Synthesis Paper," *University of Saskatchewan, Aboriginal Education Research Centre, Saskatoon, SK*
settlers were experienced during encounters in subtle concepts, such as generosity, cultivation and taste. Differences in worldviews were less tangible, and became more apparent when the Anishinaabeg tried to maintain a nation-to-nation relationship with the Crown, which will be examined in depth in chapters Five and Six of this thesis.

**Anishinaabe Worldview and Indigenous Worldview**

The tension between Indigenous and non-Indigenous ways of transferring knowledge, and their different ways of knowing, is a challenge that scholars have been addressing in recent years. The Native American and Indigenous Studies’ (NAISA) annual meeting was founded in 2007 by Robert Warrior; K. Tsianina Lomawaima; Jean O’Brien; Ines Hernandez-Avila; J. Kehaulani Kauanui; and, Jace Weaver, and it is widely considered to be the most important gathering among scholars of Indigenous Studies, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. NAISA encourages engagement across the disciplines and attempts to break down the epistemological divides that have traditionally separated areas of study, including history; anthropology; literature; philosophy; and, law. An interdisciplinary approach is encouraged, because it better reflects an Indigenous worldview.

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The underlying premise of an Indigenous worldview is that Indigenous values can be universalised to be representative of most Indigenous cultures in North America. There is also an assumption that these universal values have persisted over time, since before the fourth Fire (arrival of Europeans). Professor James Dumont (Anishinaabe – Shawanaga First Nation) supports these assumptions through a detailed examination/comparison of works by Indigenous scholars, and of teachings from Elders from various Indigenous Nations in his paper Justice for Aboriginal People. The goal of Dumont's study was to understand the values of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in terms of their primary motivators. He concluded that the Indigenous values that have persisted over time, respect and honour the “harmonious interconnectedness of all of life which is a relationship that is reciprocal and interpersonal.”

Furthermore, he concluded that these core visions and Indigenous values can be interpreted by way of the Anishinaabeg’s Niizhwaaswi Mishomis Kinoomaagewinawaan (7 Grandfather Teachings): Kindness; Honesty; Sharing; Strength; Bravery; Wisdom; and, Humility.

**Niizhwaaswi Mishomis Kinoomaagewinawaan (7 Grandfather Teachings)**

The Niizhwaaswi Mishomis Kinoomaagewinawaan reflect the core Anishinaabe values that guide relationships. Mishomis (grandfathers) are not only human

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9 Ibid, 38.
10 Ibid, 37.
persons in the Anishinaabe worldview, they can also be an other-than-human collective plural: ‘our grandfathers’. The Niizhwaaswi Mishomis Kinoomaagewinawaan are considered to be knowledge from this other-than-human collective. These teachings provide a cultural foundation to the Anishinaabe Worldview, and are adapted to meet individual community values to help the Anishinaabeg live mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life). The teachings also illustrate the core Anishinaabeg values of interconnectedness and balance, as “you can not have wisdom without love, respect, bravery, honesty, humility, and truth...to leave one out is to embrace the opposite of what that teaching is.” Vernon Roote (Saugeen First Nation) teaches that by embodying the Niizhwaaswi Mishomis Kinoomaagewinawaan, people can become the human they were supposed to be.

**Classes of Beings within Inaadiziwin (Anishinaabe way of being)**

While the Niizhwaaswi Mishomis Kinoomaagewinawaan reflect the values that guide relationships, Inaadiziwin classifies the objects of those relationships. The philosophy of Inaadiziwin divides the world into categories that differ from the dichotomy of animate-inanimate of Western thought. *Persons* are one of the major classes of animate beings; however, for the Anishinaabeg, *persons* includes both *human* and *other-than-human* persons. A. Irving Hallowell has argued that

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the nature of persons is the focal point of Anishinaabe ontology, and “the key to the psychological unity and dynamics of their world outlook.” Irving also argued that motivations of the Anishinaabeg cannot be understood without, “taking into account the relation of their central values and goals to the awareness they have of the existence of other-than-human, as well as human, persons in this world.” An example of other-than-human persons would be Manitous.

Basil Johnston defined Manitous as, “mystery, essence, substance, matter, supernatural spirit, anima, quiddity, attribute, property, God, deity, godlike, mystical, incorporeal, transcendental, invisible reality.” The Manitous are discussed in more detail later in this chapter, but they often appear as characters in stories that are told in order to teach about the Anishinaabe worldview. By sharing their knowledge and power with the Anishinaabeg, the Manitous help illustrate the importance of sharing, balance, and interconnectedness within all relationships and activities. This is because, within Inaadiziwin, all animate beings are interconnected and dependent on each other.

Rocks, trees, and plants are also considered animate within Inaadiziwin, because they each have a special purpose in maintaining balance in the world. In *Ojibway Heritage*, Basil Johnston (Neyaashiinigiiging/Cape Croker) explains the interconnectedness of all animate objects/beings in the world and how they...

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16 Hallowell, "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior and World View", 18.
17 Ibid, 18.
21 Ibid, 56.
achieve balance. The first beings that were created were natural forces, including rocks and weather. The second beings were trees and plants, and the third were non-human animals. Finally, the last beings created were the Anishinaabeg. All the beings had to live together and help each other survive, because they were all dependent on one another for survival and fulfillment.22

**Ododemwiwin (Clan System) & Manitouk (Spirit Helpers)**

These teachings on *dodems* (clans) come from Doug Williams, an Anishinaabe Elder and former Chief of Mississauga’s Curve Lake.23 Williams noted that, in his opinion, Basil Johnston had the closest documentation of dodems in *Ojibway Heritage* (1976), and said that he trusted Johnston’s sources of knowledge. Therefore, where noted, Johnston’s writings have been used to complement the teachings shared by Doug Williams.

Humans tend to organise themselves, especially where it gets cold, and the Anishinaabeg use dodems to organise themselves. The Creator gave them the system of organization, which was developed, nurtured and embellished. There are five categories that contribute to survival in this environment: leadership; sustenance; defense; learning; and, healing/medicine. Certain animals are associated with each of those qualities; for example, bears possess qualities that make them good defenders. Basil Johnston wrote, “as these animals were endowed with certain traits of character, so did the Anishinaabeg endeavour to

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23 Doug Williams, interview by Christopher J. Wright, 4 February, 2016.
emulate that character, and make it a part of themselves.”24 The below chart illustrates examples of the dodems that are associated with each of the five categories of survival. Williams noted that there are over 40 clans and sub-clans total, which is different from the modern Anishinaabe clan system organised around seven clans, as presented in Edward Benton-Banai’s *The Mishomis Book*.25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leadership</th>
<th>Sustenance</th>
<th>Defense</th>
<th>Learning</th>
<th>Healing/Medicine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crane</td>
<td>Marten</td>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Catfish</td>
<td>Turtle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loon</td>
<td>Beaver</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Pike</td>
<td>Otter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goose</td>
<td>Muskrat</td>
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<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Moose</td>
<td>Sturgeon</td>
<td>Sturgeon</td>
<td>Frog</td>
</tr>
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</table>

[Fig. 2.1] Table, based on the seven clans in Benton-Banai's *The Mishomis Book (1988).*

The Anishinaabeg consider the clans of other Indigenous groups to be related. Therefore, an Anishinaabe wolf clan member is considered related to a Haudenosaunee wolf clan member, and a union between the two would not be allowed. It is interesting to note that Anishinaabe clans are patrilineal and Haudenosaunee clans are matrilineal. Also, it is not an Anishinaabe person's gender that determines their personal characteristics. In addition to one's dodem, they must consider the guidance of *manitouk* (spirit helpers).

In her article, 'Yes, I'm Brave': Extraordinary Women in the Anishinaabe (Ojibwe) Tradition, Theresa S. Smith illustrates how *manitouk* can come to people in dreams, and bestow on the dreamer the characteristics they hold. For example, Smith shares a story of a woman who dreamed of a *makwa* (bear), and

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25 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 74-78. Anishinaabe scholar, Waaseyaa’sin Christine Sy, who provided invaluable feedback on this chapter, noted that the clans presented by Benton-Banai were “streamlined” and “packaged” for easy dissemination during Indigenous cultural revitalization efforts in the 1960s.
then displayed extraordinary bravery. The woman was accepted as a warrior, which was more typically a male role. The foundation of that acceptance was provided by the manitouk. Smith stated, "the roles [women] chose did not unsex them, nor did those roles somehow move them over into a third gender. Rather, [women] were judged on their performance and validated by their connections to the spirit realm." The interconnectedness of the human world and the other-than-human (spirit) world resulted in a certain level of gender fluidity within the Anishinaabe worldview. Dodems and manitouk are ways in which Anishinaabeg realise an inward sense of self. Stories were used to provide an outward sense of self, and one’s place in the world. The Anishinaabe worldview, “resides in and through Anishinaabeg stories – past, present, and future.” Stories, especially those told by Elders, are one of the most important teaching tools.

**Anishinaabe Stories**

Anishinaabemowin (Ojibway language) classifies narrative, or stories, predominantly in two ways. Aadizookaanag are considered to be ‘sacred’ or ‘traditional’ stories that embody the values, philosophies, and laws of life. These stories are formalized, and the telling of these stories can be seasonally restricted and ritualized. Another significant aspect of the Aadizookaanag is that

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27 Ibid, 56.
their characters are regarded as living entities that have existed since time immemorial. Dibaajimowinan stories are generally thought of as ‘news’ or ‘histories’, and tell of family genealogies, geographies, and historical experiences. Leanne Simpson (Mississauga Nishnaabeg) states, “the Aadisokaanan [sic] and our language encodes our theories, and we express those theories in Dibaajimowinan and our ways of being in the world,” and continues, “I have come to understand the Dibaajimowinan as echoing the Aandisokaanan.” The categorisation is of Aadizookaanag and Dibaajimowinan are not strict. The holistic nature of Indigenous knowledge leaves room for exceptions and blurred lines between the two. The fluidity and flux that characterises Indigenous knowledge allow the knowledge to be adaptable, and transferable. The knowledge requires a medium that is equally adaptable and transferable. This is why Indigenous knowledge is shared via stories. It should also be noted that Indigenous ‘stories’ are not confined to oral and/or printed narratives. Paintings, songs, legal documents, and poetry are all examples of stories within Anishinaabeg studies. The teller of these stories does not claim the knowledge is universal; it is rooted in their personal experience. “The degree to which you can trust what is being said is tied up with the integrity and

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perceptiveness of the speaker.” The context is very important.

The responsibility for finding meaning within these Aandisikaanan lies within individual Nishnaabeg [sic]; and this is communicated through our Dibaajimowinan. Every Nishnaabeg has our own personal stories or narratives that communicate their personal truths, learning, histories and insights. Dibaajimowinan in this sense are personal opportunities to create. Our Elders consider Creation Stories to be of paramount importance because they provide the ontological and epistemological framework to interpret other Aandisokaanan and Dibaajimowinan in a culturally inherent way. It is critical then, that these stories themselves are interpreted in a culturally inherent way, rather than through the obfuscated lens of imperial thought, because they are foundational and they serve to build meaning into the other stories.

This means the stories were an interconnected web of knowledge. Gaps in that knowledge could be devastating, resulting in loss of language, of cultural touchstones, and more. The fluidity of this knowledge system allowed it to be flexible and adaptable to remain relevant in different contexts; however, it was very vulnerable because of its intangible nature. The collective knowledge relied on the participation of the entire community, and the capacity of each individual community member to remember. Stories are part of the western leaning system; the main difference was the oral traditions of the Anishinaabe and the literate narrative of western education. This made them less vulnerable to the influences of colonial encroachment. Stories could adapt relatively easily to a western way of knowing.

In the seminal essay, *Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior and World View*, A. Irving Hallowell noted that Aadizookaanan narratives, “are significant for an understanding of the manner in which [the Anishinaabeg] phenomenal field is

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35 Simpson, *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence*, 40.
culturally structured and cognitively apprehended. These stories are accepted at face value by the Anishinaabeg, and provide a reliable source of reference when examining the Anishinaabe worldview. Legal scholar, John Borrows (Chippewa of Nawash/Cape Croker), has argued that some Anishinaabe stories are similar to common law cases in the west, because they both record, “the fact patterns of past disputes and their related solutions.” Furthermore the interpretation of the stories by Elders and Knowledge Keepers, “encourages a basic personal and institutional adherence to underlying values and principles.” The Manitous are key characters in Aadizookaanag, as they help demonstrate the principles of mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life).

Basil Johnston illustrates the importance of the Manitous, and their role in perpetuating and preserving Anishinaabe knowledge and ways of knowing in his book *The Manitous* (1995). Kitchi-Manitou is the creator of everything, all beings, including the many other Manitous. All the stories of the Manitous have a shared purpose: they allow Anishinaabeg to understand their cultural and spiritual heritage, and enable them to see the worth and relevance of their ideas, institutions, perceptions, and values. Johnston shared a story about Nana’b’oozoo, one of the Manitous:

Nana’b’oozoo, spurned and scorned, hurt and humiliated by the people who he had loved and served for so many years, gathers all his worldly possessions, stows them in his canoe, and then helps his aged grandmother, N’okomiss, board. He does not want to leave, but he must,

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37 Ibid, 8.
39 Ibid.
40 Johnston, *The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway*, 2. Also spelled Gitchi Manitou
41 Ibid, xiii.
for he is no longer welcome in his ancestral home. Still, he tarries and looks longingly in hopes that someone will notice and bid them to stay. But no one gives Nana’b’oozoo and his grandmother a second glance, and they pass beyond the horizon and out of the lives of their kin.

No one in the village misses them; no one mourns their passing. No one cares enough. Perhaps, no one will ever care enough to call them back.

But should enough people care and recall Nana’b’oozoo into their midst by learning their ancestral language and espousing their old traditions, giving them new meanings and applications in the modern age, the spirit of Nana’b’oozoo and the Anishinaubae [sic] people will be restored to its rightful place in the lives of the Anishinaubae [sic] nation.42

In this story, Nana’b’oozoo and his grandmother N’okimiss leaving the village symbolises the loss of Anishinaabe language and relationships. Nana’b’oozoo longed for the day when the people would come to the realisation that language, traditions and culture were not static, and they did not have to be abandoned in order to live and thrive in the New World. Carl Lewis (Saugeen Ojibway Nation), shared a lived experience that exemplified what Nana’b’oozoo was worried about,

King Edward VII... came to Canada some years ago. When he visited the Indians at the Mohawk mission on the Grand River, he saw a boy, a little boy in the crowd. And he asked whose parents, or who are the parents of this little boy, and they brought the boy over. And he says, "Will you let me take this boy back to England with me and I'll educate him and send him back?" And the parents said, "Yes, yes we'll be glad to have that." So he took the little boy to England and he educated him. He made him a medical doctor, he went to University of Edinburgh and came out then he came back to Toronto. His Indian name [Oronhyatekha], it just slips me now, I just forget it at the moment, but he founded the Independent Order of Foresters. The bust of him, a brass bust, stood in the hallway of the Temple building on Richmond Street for many years, until the Independent Foresters moved out to their new building of Eglington [sic] Avenue East. So it goes to show you that educating an Indian was proved to be a very dangerous thing, because he founded an insurance company.43

42 Ibid, xxiii.  
43 Carl Lewis, interview by Jamie Lee, 1982, University of Regina, 10. Carl is talking about Dr. Oronhyatekha (Peter Martin), the first known Indigenous
Nana’b’oozoo was worried that the Anishinaabeg would forget their ways of knowing, which are integral to living life in a good way. Oronhyatekha achieved great success by non-Indigenous standards; he was a western-educated medical doctor that became wealthy by founding an insurance company. However, by Indigenous standards, he was being counterproductive when it came to bringing his community closer to mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life). The way the story was told implies that Oronhyatekha’s western education taught him to value personal wealth at the expense of others, and above the good of his community. Lewis’ story educates the listener/reader about core Anishinaabe values and ways of knowing.

Nyle Johnston (Neyaashiinigmiing/Cape Croker) told me a story, called *Gift of the Stars*, which he said illustrated Anishinaabe core values, and worldview. He grew up hearing this story from his great-grandmother Verna, and his grandfather, Basil. I will share the story here, as I heard and understood it.

Southwind and Nokomis were standing on a hill at night. Nokomis told Southwind to look up at the stars. Suddenly, Southwind saw a shooting star and said, “Nokomis! Nokomis! What is THAT?” Nokomis replied, “That, Southwind, is a gift.” Southwind liked gifts, so he asked Nokomis, “Will I get a gift?” She said his gift would come when he needed it most.

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Oxford scholar. A life-sized statue of him was commissioned for the opening of the Temple Building in Toronto, in 1899. While he didn’t found the Independent Order of Foresters, he was a member and rose to become the Supreme Chief Ranger of Foresters, the organization’s international CEO, in 1881. It is a position that he held for a record 26 years. A record all the more impressive considering the membership rules explicitly stated the Order was for white men only.

44 This is the same Basil Johnston that wrote the seminal works on Anishinaabe history, culture, ceremony, and heritage that are cited in this thesis.

45 Nyle Johnston, interview by Christopher J. Wright, 18 November, 2016, Toronto.
Many years passed, and Southwind had still not received his gift. Frustrated, he went to see Nokomis, who after a particularly harsh winter had fallen ill. “Nokomis, I’ve been waiting a very long time. I want a gift! When will I get my gift?” In a frail voice, Nokomis replied, “Your gift will come when you need it. It shouldn’t be long now.” Excited, Southwind rushed to the top of the hill so he could watch the stars. He sat there nearly the entire night before he was ready to go home to bed. Exhausted, Southwind turned to head back down the hill. Just then, out of the corner of his eye, he saw a star falling out of the sky! He snapped his head around, right in time to see a star fall just behind the other side of the hill. “Oh this HAS to be my gift,” thought Southwind. He ran as fast as his legs would carry him up the hill. As he started down the other side, he started looking right where the star would have landed, but he didn’t see anything. No star, no gift, just a small pond. Southwind looked in the bushes, behind trees, but still he couldn’t find his gift. Disappointed, Southwind decided to go home. But, as soon as he turned his back he heard somebody shout, “HEY! Don’t forget me. I’m your gift!” Startled, Southwind whipped around to see who had yelled at him. Nobody was there. He only saw the trees, the grass, and the pond. But, this time Southwind noticed a beautiful white flower floating on the pond. Since he didn’t get his gift, Southwind decided he could at least take this flower back to Nokomis. He reached out to pick the flower out of the pond, but he couldn’t reach it. He had to get into the water, which was much deeper than he had expected. Southwind swam over to the flower and reached out to pluck it off the top if the water when he heard, “No! Take all of me. I’m your gift!” Southwind reached into the water below the flower and felt a thick stem that went deep into the water. Diving under the water, he followed the stem down to the roots, which he pulled from the mud before he swam back up to the surface. Carefully, Southwind pulled himself and the flower, stem and roots intact, from the water. There, on the edge of the pond Southwind looked down at the flower. He studied it for a long time, but couldn’t figure out how to use his gift. As the sun started to rise, Southwind decided to go ask his father if he knew what the gift was for. Indeed, Southwind’s father knew what to do. It was a lotus flower, and the root could make a tea that would help heal Nokomis. He showed Southwind how to carefully cut the root into small pieces, and used them to prepare a tea. Southwind made Nokomis some tea every day, and soon she was well enough to go for a walk with him. On that walk, Southwind said, “Nokomis, I don’t think that gift was for me. I think it was meant for you all along.” Nokomis smiled and said, “Oh no, that gift was for you, and you used your gift just as you should. When you are given a gift, you should take it, embrace it, and then share it with the community.”

Nokomis translates to “grandmother” in English, and she is a character that is used in many Anishinaabe stories to convey wisdom, transfer knowledge, or to offer advice. Nokomis’ final words in the story communicate the importance
Anishinaabeg place on embracing personal gifts (such as knowledge of plant-medicine) in order to contribute to everyone living mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life). This story turns on some important themes, including the difficulties involved in physical survival, and the challenges presented by undertaking a moral journey through life. Kim Anderson (Cree/Métis) has argued that Anishinaabe moral development through getting to know yourself as you are, and the gifts you have to share marks the difference between merely existing and fully living.46 In the Gift of the Stars, Nokomis is also introducing Southwind to the four levels of responsibility that humans have been given by the Creator: Self, Family, Community, and Nation.

Brent Stonefish (Delaware) has described the Anishinaabe levels of responsibility as follows:

**Self**
- One must take responsibility for their life first and foremost
- We must be able to take care of our health and to provide our body with what it needs
- Allow one’s self to learn continually and to understand and practice integrity
- To allow one’s self to believe freely, but maintain values within those beliefs
- Understand and maintain some sense of balance within one’s own life. With a better sense of balance, a person will be better equipped to help others.

**Family**
- We have a responsibility to help guide those in our family to the best of our ability
- We have a responsibility to ask our family when we need their help and guidance
- A family that is trying to achieve a healthy and good life has a responsibility to help each other achieve the level balance that each family member needs

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Community
● A healthy and balanced family has a responsibility to assist a community
● It is the responsibility of families within the community to help other families when needed and asked for

Nation
● Many different communities make up a nation. A nation is a body that is made up of different communities, families, and individuals. However, the nation is not charged with the same responsibilities as the family or community. Their responsibility is to protect the communities within the nation.  

Self-care is the foundation of the four levels of responsibility inasmuch to ensure that you are in a position to help your family, because a healthy, balanced family can contribute to a strong community. Anishinaabeg have a responsibility to their interpersonal relationships. Within the Anishinaabe worldview, individuals must find a place within the community structure. Each person must contribute something unique, in order to strengthen the community as a whole, so the primary quest in an individual’s life is to discover what it is in their nature to contribute to the whole.  

The way Stonefish has defined ‘nation’ within the context of the Anishinaabe worldview illustrates that ‘nation’ is also defined by personal relationships, rather than proximity. This is quite different from the common Euro-Western geo-political understanding of ‘nation’ as a group of people with its own territory and government, who may or may not know or interact with one another. The concept of “nation” has been critiqued by scholars in Indigenous studies, as it is generally tied to state power. However,

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49 See Scott Richard Lyons, "Nationalism," in *Native Studies Keywords*, ed. Teves Nohelani, Andrea Smith, and Michelle H. Raheja (Tucson: University of Arizona
the Anishinaabeg adapted the English word “nation.” Historian Michael Witgen (Red Cliff Ojibway) has argued that Anishinaabeg, “was not a national identity with exclusive claim to occupy a particular physical space. It was instead a constellation of lived relationships.”50 One of the key relationships was with the land. The Anishinaabe worldview reflects a unique connection to the land that was based on a personal relationship with the land, not territorial ‘ownership.’

Relationship with the Land

James Mason (Saugeen First Nation) noted that nobody owns the land, just as nobody owns the air moon or stars. He asserted they are all gifts from the Great Spirit. The Saugeen need the land, “because the land is our mother... and it’s something we have to have in order to live.”51 The Anishinaabeg are taught that their people come from, and are shaped by the land. History and self-understanding were grounded in particular landscapes, which is why the land is so important.52 In academic terms, the land is the seminal text. More than that, it is both the seminal text and the catalogue for all other knowledge. Basil Johnston described the Anishinaabeg’s relationship with the land noting that they are, “part of the land and cannot be regarded as separate from it.”53 One of the Anishinaabe Creation Stories, specific to the Great Lakes region, details the origins of the land.

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50 Ibid, 165.
51 James Mason, interview by Alex Cywink, 1983, University of Regina, 20.
52 Darlene Johnston, "Connecting People to Place: The Power and Relevance of Origin Stories," University of Toronto, Department of Law (2006), 1.
The land came after the birds and animals. The Earth had been flooded and all the animals were living on a raft. Michabous, The Great Hare, was leader of the animals and he knew that there was land under all the water. Michabous asked for volunteers to dive to the bottom and get some earth. After Beaver and Otter failed, it was Muskrat who finally succeeded. After twenty-four hours underwater, he returned with a single grain of sand. Michabous placed the grain of sand on the raft, and it began to grow and multiply. With the help of other animals, Michabous created the land, and when he thought it was large enough to sustain all the animals he sent Fox out to confirm that it was. Fox found the land was sufficiently extensive for him to secure his prey, so he reported to Michabous that the land was large enough to sustain all the animals. Michabous took a tour in order to confirm Fox’s report and found that Fox lied, and the land was incomplete. Since then, Michabous has been unwilling to trust any of the animals, so he continuously circles the earth to make sure there is enough land for all.54

Anishinaabe Elders believe the Creation stories are of paramount importance, because they provide the ontological and epistemological framework to interpret other stories in culturally inherent ways.55 The Michabous Creation Story speaks to the Anishinaabe principles that maintain there is enough abundance for all beings to flourish, as long as there is mutual respect for all life forces. This is a cornerstone of Anishinaabe knowledge and

55 Simpson, Dancing on Our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence, 40.
ways of knowing. Land was created to provide mutual sustenance, not personal gain.\textsuperscript{56} No one part of nature, including humans, can claim superiority over the other parts, or even exist without the other parts.\textsuperscript{57} Mutuality without subordination in the formation of a comprehensive ‘way of life’ is a fundamental point.\textsuperscript{58}

There is no distinction between relationships made with other people, and relationships with the land, because both are equally sacred.\textsuperscript{59} This does not mean the Anishinaabeg were prevented from taking advantage of new technologies or opportunities that they felt would improve their quality of life. However, everything should be done within an Anishinaabe framework of values and the Anishinaabe worldview, in order to bring them closer to mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life).\textsuperscript{60} The concept of ‘land’ extends far beyond the ground beneath one’s feet, within the Anishinaabe worldview. Land is sacred.

The sacred connection is something that Anishinaabe themselves struggle to put into a definitive concept.

Casper Solomon struggled to find the appropriate words to define a concept that is innate to him, a feeling that he believed to be inherent to his Anishinaabe identity. Casper settled on the term, ‘Indianness’.

\textquotedblleft I think if you have a feeling for your, for your Indianness, it’s like having a feel for nature. It’s just like being impressed by... You can go some places, you might see some scenery, you know, that’s really you know, really

\textsuperscript{56} Johnston, “Connecting People to Place: The Power and Relevance of Origin Stories”, 7. 
\textsuperscript{57} Shawn Wilson, Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods (Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2008), 70.
\textsuperscript{58} Couture, “Native Studies in the Academy”, 160.
\textsuperscript{59} Wilson, Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods, 87.
\textsuperscript{60} Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley and Ray Barnhardt, "Education Indigenous to Place: Western Science Meets Native Reality," Alaska Native Knowledge Network (1998), 10.
tremendous. You might see a big mountain, you might, or you just might, or you might travel to another part of the country and just, when you get there, you just feel a difference, you know. You look around, you know. You don't sort of, you know... Unless you can do that with your life well then you'll never, you know... There's a lot of things that you're not going to be able to understand, you see.61

Casper spoke about ‘feeling’ and ‘knowing’, trying to connect ‘feeling’ and ‘knowing’ to ‘place’ by describing scenery and mountains. The connection between knowing and place is foundational to Anishinaabe worldviews.62 The difficulty in expressing the connections explicitly can be attributed to many factors. Knowledge is holistic, flexible, and relative. It is difficult to succinctly describe anything that has both ephemeral and enduring properties.

Animism is an anthropological term, defined by J.R. Miller as, “everything in the world is alive, animated by a spirit or soul, and everything in creation is linked by this common liveliness.”63 It is not surprising that this is one of anthropology's earliest concepts, first appearing in E.B. Taylor’s Primitive Culture, in 1871. Early anthropologists needed a term that would conceptualise the sacred connection between land, air, water, and the life forces those elements sustained that was common to Indigenous cultures. However, the term has been complicated by ethnographic categories, such as ‘religion’, ‘spirits’, and ‘supernatural beings’.64 The term is further complicated by the legal definitions

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61 Casper Solomon, interview by Jocelyn Keeshig, 1982, University of Regina, 11.
of non-humans as ‘things’, and ‘things’ are without legal rights and protections. They are, by definition, opposite to persons, and the subjects of property.\textsuperscript{65}

Persons are afforded rights and protections; however, human rights laws are a western concept. Ideas about what counts as human in association with the power to define people as human, or not human, is deeply encoded into imperial and colonial ways of thinking.\textsuperscript{66} In relation to this framework, the Anishinaabeg worldview would favour natural rights over human rights, because there would be no humans to protect were it not for the land and nature. However, it should be noted that A. Irving Hallowell has argued that the Anishinaabeg are, “not animists in the sense that they dogmatically attribute living souls to inanimate objects.”\textsuperscript{67} As discussed earlier in this chapter, in Inaadiziwin, inanimate objects can be treated \textit{as if} they are persons without inferring they are being conceptualised as persons.\textsuperscript{68}

Indigenous people learned about cooperation and interdependence by observing nature and the land. “They believe all plants, winds, mountains, rivers, lakes, and creatures of the earth possess a spirit, and therefore have a consciousness and life. Everything is alive and aware, requiring that relationships be maintained in a respectful way so as not to upset the balance.”\textsuperscript{69} Land and land-based activities are critical to Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing. An excerpt from the Royal Commission Report on Aboriginal Peoples

\textsuperscript{66} Linda Tuhiwai Smith, \textit{Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples} (New York: Palgrave, 1999), 25.
\textsuperscript{67} Hallowell, "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior and World View", 6.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid, 7.
\textsuperscript{69} Kawagley and Barnhardt, "Education Indigenous to Place: Western Science Meets Native Reality", 9.
(RCAP) illustrates the important connection lands have to knowledge. Matthew Coon Come (Cree) asked his father, Alfred, to teach him about the land of his ancestors. Coon Come arrived in the bush with a topographical map of the territory he and his father were about to explore.

The first thing my Dad did was tear that map into tiny little pieces. He said I was committing the white man’s mistake, making plans for the land without ever setting foot on it, without ever getting a feel for it.70

Coon Come’s father told him that they needed to walk on the land in order to know it. A map was a western, one-dimensional, literate approach to knowing.71 By knowing the land, Indigenous peoples could take advantage of the seasonal diversity of their environments by being mobile and following the abundance.72 The lines on a map created artificial boundaries that could limit one’s pursuit of mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life) by discouraging crossing those boundaries.

The boundaries benefit the nation-state first, and then the nation can promote the boundaries to its citizenry as protective boundaries. From the Anishinaabe worldview these boundaries could also be ‘protecting’ people from attaining mino-bimaadiziwin, which could prevent a self-sustaining existence and encourage a paternal relationship between the state and its citizenry. Part of Indigenous sovereignty is the right of motion, on and through the landscape, free of artificial boundaries.73 Gerald Vizenor’s concept of Indigenous ‘survivance’ turns on this right to motion, arguing the survival of Indigenous knowledge and

73 Described by the concept of ‘transmotion’ in, Gerald Vizenor, Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 181-182.
ways of knowing in the face of settler colonialism is a practice, “not an ideology, dissimulation, or a theory.” Indigenous interaction with the landscape can be contrasted with settler presence on the landscape. Colonialism and nationalism are associated with dominating territories.

In Canada, the Crown wanted to promote the benefits of living within the boundaries of the lines on a map as citizens of the nation. This would benefit expansionist goals, because a state has no power unless it has citizens who recognise that power. The Anishinaabeg believed that the community should work as a single unit in order for each community member to attain mino-bimaadiziwin, and people should not place their hopes of a good life on an external source. For the Anishinaabeg, mino-bimaadiziwin came from the land, and from respecting all life, because the land offered a deeper knowledge of one’s self.

Systems of Anishinaabe Knowledge Transfer

Within the context of this discussion, Indigenous knowledge is being defined as teachings that have been found to contribute to mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life) of the people. More specifically, Dr. Leroy Little Bear’s definition is being used: “Indigenous knowledge is part of the collective genius of humanity,” representing accumulated experience, wisdom and know-how of a particular

75 The valuation of process of getting to a place, rather than being in a place, as an important part of “being Aboriginal” is examined in the Australian context in Nugent, “Mapping Memories: Oral History for Aboriginal Cultural Heritage in New South Wales, Australia”, 58.
76 Vizenor, Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence, 183.
Indigenous community. Anishinaabe teachings in the Great Lakes region, including the Saugeen Peninsula, have endured for many hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years. However, settlers compared Indigenous knowledge to the Scottish enlightenment’s post scientific revolution view of knowledge – examined in more detail in the next chapter of this thesis. The settlers saw Indigenous knowledge as pre-historic, because it could not be cited or referenced in an accepted, university-disciplined fashion. Indigenous knowledge could be categorised as pre-historic, but it was not a fossilised way of knowing. Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing endured, and informed very sophisticated and complex worldviews. They are a way to “recover from the artificial split between mind and body brought on by the theorizing of the western European Enlightenment.”

The Anishinaabe had long established traditions that helped transfer knowledge from one generation to the next.

A number of elders from Cape Croker, interviewed in the early 1980s, spoke about medicines. Abram Williams recalled being taught about medicines by an elderly blind woman. The woman would describe the plants to him, and confirm he had collected the right ones based on touch and smell. Casper Solomon’s mother told him when he was a baby (1913) he was very sick and

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78 See Introduction of, George J. Sefa Dei, Budd L. Hall, and Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg, eds., Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). The editors argue, “The negation, devaluation, and denial of indigenous knowledges... is the result of deliberate practices of establishing hierarchies of knowledge”, 4.
79 See discussion in Chapter One of this thesis on Indigenous ‘myth’ versus non-Indigenous ‘history’. Also see discussion Indigenous knowledges as legitimate, dynamic, continuous ways of knowing to counter the dichotomy of ‘valid’ western knowledge versus ‘not valid’ Indigenous knowledges in, Ibid, 5.
81 Abram Williams, interview by Alex Cywink, 1983, University of Regina.
they did not have access to a doctor. It was a medicine woman who saved his life, using Anishinaabe medicines. Verna Patronella Johnston’s great-grandmother taught her a lot about medicines, such as getting vitamins in the wintertime by making “chips” from the inner bark of the pine tree. She even remembered telling the settlers about the healing power of burdock, and within a few years the settlers had taken out a patent on a medicine they called “Burdock Bloodbiters.” Indigenous knowledge was simultaneously being forgotten, and appropriated. Starting in the mid-late nineteenth century, the Anishinaabeg no longer had to remember traditional remedies because western doctors were becoming more accessible, and the settlers were repackaging nuggets of Indigenous knowledge as their own. Within the interviews conducted with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation in the early 1980s, participants had started to voice concerns that knowledge of traditional medicines would soon be lost. Elmira McLeod’s family had knowledge of the medicines, but she said it was easier to see a doctor, as long as they could get to one. So, as she grew older, she saw less and less use of traditional medicines in her family. Fred Pine also expressed concerns that knowledge of traditional medicines would soon die out. It seems as if these concerns were not unfounded.

The systematic repression and attempted destruction of Anishinaabe knowledge and ways of knowing during the nineteenth century will be examined

82 Casper Solomon, interview by Jocelyn Keeshig, 1982, University of Regina.
83 Verna Patronella Johnston, interview by Jocelyn Keeshig, 1982, University of Regina, 7.
84 This phenomenon also happened with maple sugar, discussed later in this chapter.
85 Elmira McLeod, interview by Ranald Thurgood, 1982, University of Regina.
86 Fred Pine, interview by Roger Nickerson and Janice McLeod, 1984, University of Regina.
in detail in Chapter Six of this thesis – Residential Schools. However, interviews conducted in 2008 with elders from Neyaashiinigmiing, born mostly in the 1930s and 1940s, revealed little knowledge of traditional medicines. Only snippets of knowledge remained, as people recalled, “I heard this works” or “people used to do that.” It is clear that the western definition of medicine was being understood by the time the interviews were conducted, whereas traditional Anishinaabe medicine includes much more than botanicals that can be used to treat physical ailments. Medicine is for the body, and the spirit, which is exemplified by the Anishinaabe worldview. Knowledge and wisdom was medicine. An Indigenous process of education prepares the learner to know, accept, believe, and apply the knowledge.

Education, broadly defined, is the process of explaining to individuals in a community who they are, who their community is, how they relate to one another, and how they relate to the world around them. It is this knowledge that helps people become successful and productive members of their “bands, city-states, countries, or empires later in life.” Within a colonial context, a formal process of education is typically reserved for the young, or people who are considered child-like. It is also typically a process that is distinct from religion, government, politics and economics. However, those distinctions are not made in the Indigenous world. Instead, a holistic approach is utilised.

In Basil Johnston’s Life Cycle Teachings of the Anishinaabeg, “the four hills

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90 For example, non-Indigenous people said they felt it was their duty to educate those they considered to be ‘savage’ or ‘uncivilized’.
of life” are used to describe the progress from infancy, to youth, to adulthood, to old age. Each life stage has an associated stage of development and learning, illustrating that learning is a lifelong process for the Anishinaabeg. However, it is important to examine the learning done early in life because it reflects the foundations on which all other learning processes take place. The three L’s shaped the holistic approach used to teach children: look, listen, and learn. Different Indigenous communities had their own nuances, but the high level process of The Three L’s approach is widely shared. The process shaped “behaviour by positive example in the home, the provision of subtle guidance towards desired forms of behaviour through the use of games, a heavy reliance on the use of stories for educational purposes, and, as the child neared early adulthood, the utilization of more formal and ritualized ceremonies to impart rite-of-passage lessons.”

This indirect, unstructured approach to teaching and learning required a great deal of discipline on the parts of both the teacher and learner. Anishinaabe children were constantly learning. Learning was incorporated into everyday life. The community would educate children without the children realising they had, in fact, been educated and trained by adults. Children would learn valuable vocational and survival skills through games they would play. For example, a toy bow and arrow would grow bigger as the child grew bigger, until game-playing would unconsciously turn into game hunting.

A series of interviews were conducted with members of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation in 1974 and 1975. Many of the interview subjects were very careful to make a clear distinction between ‘school’ and ‘learning at home’. This

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is not surprising, since Indigenous knowledge is not learned in a formal setting, nor can it be learning in isolation from the land or other people.\textsuperscript{95} The ‘learning at home’ consisted of skills and knowledge that were keys to living a long, good life. Lillian Nadjiwon recalled how hard the ‘old people’ worked and how long they lived, commenting that people used to think it was terrible when somebody died at 75, “that was so young.”\textsuperscript{96} Some of the tasks associated with knowledge were somewhat gendered; however, the knowledge was not considered to be exclusive to either men or women. For example, women spoke more often of processing and preserving foods, and midwifery. Men spoke more often about hunting and fishing. But, both men and women demonstrated knowledge in all these areas. Gender roles were reflected in the division of labour as men and women performed their tasks without interference from each other; however, as discussed earlier, gender roles were not rigid. Sanctions against assuming the opposite gender’s role were rare.\textsuperscript{97} Knowledge pertaining to medicines, and respecting the world around them seemed to be shared equally between women and men.

Anishinaabe women participated in all aspects of life within the community; however, their ability to give birth was recognised as a source of extraordinary power. Related, menstruation was regarded as a special state of great power, sometimes requiring women to access spirits in order to help balance themselves. Women were not allowed to participate in sacred


\textsuperscript{96} Lillian Nadjiwon, interview by R. Vanderburgh, July 31, 1974, interview Box 29a, BCMA - Peter Schmalz Fonds.

\textsuperscript{97} Grant, \textit{No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada}. 39. Traditionally, there was also a great deal of respect for Two-Spirit individuals – those who possessed both male and female spirits.
ceremonies during menstruation, because it was believed that it could be harmful for sacred objects or ceremonies if they were placed into contact with the more potent power a woman possessed during her “moon time.” The recognition and respect of these extraordinary powers that only women possessed likely informed the way unions were formed among the Anishinaabeg. As settler colonial customs gained influence, unions became more focused on the marriage of a man and a woman; however, traditionally, unions were more of a community investment. Unions strengthened bonds of kinship between clans, and led to both matrilocal and patrilocal arrangements among the Anishinaabeg. The kind of knowledge women held was important when considering how unions would benefit communities as a whole. For example, women were extremely important when it came to decisions around food security. Women’s knowledge informed movements of the Anishinaabeg, which ensured the community had a sufficiently broad and flexible subsistence base to minimise the impact of any ecological fluctuations. Men knew about large game; however, women provided the base diet through their knowledge of foods such as small game, vegetables, and maple sugar.

The sugar bush is traditionally an area of Anishinaabe women’s governance, which is evident from the interviews, but both men and women took

98 Smith, ""Yes, I’m Brave": Extraordinary Women in the Anishinaabe (Ojibwe) Tradition," 48-50. Also see, Julie Cruikshank et al., Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Elders (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 10-11.

99 Anderson, Life Stages and Native Women: Memory, Teachings, and Story Medicine, 124.

100 Ibid, 104.

great delight in collecting sap and making maple sugar. Women are the ultimate decision makers in the sugar bush, deciding when it is time to boil and how many trees to tap, and they have the most experience and skill when it comes to knowing the precise moment to start vigorously stirring the maple syrup in order to turn it into maple sugar.

Lillian Nadjiwon recalled venturing into the sugar bush with only her friend Christine Waukey to help her, stating all the men thought they were crazy. After they tapped 200 trees alone, Henry Johnston helped them by cutting firewood for them. After about a week, the men started seeing the gallons of maple syrup being produced, and they began to help, resulting in an additional 200 trees being tapped. Lillian and Christine had enough sugar to last them the entire year. Even after they gave some to the men for their help, they had enough leftover to sell.102

Norman McLeod has similar memories of his family's sugar bush. Men gathered the sap and women boiled it down. His family did everything themselves, including building the sleds.103 The Anishinaabeg had to build all the tools required in the sugar bush. Gregor Keeshig recalled the weewassnagan (birch-bark containers) his grandmother used to collect the sap: “My grandmother made them, they had something, a gummy thing, spruce balsam, to seal the cracks in the buckets.”104 The ability to build sleds, spigots, buckets, boiling pots, and all the equipment needed to make sugar was drawn from many hundreds of years of experiential knowledge. The earliest record of non-

102 Nadjiwon, "Lillian Keeshig Akiwenzie Nadjiwon (1897) Interview".
104 Gregor Keeshig, interview by R. Vanderburgh, July 24, 1974, 1974, interview Box 29a, BCMA - Peter Schmalz fonds.
Indigenous people observing the collection of maple sap in order to make sugar was in 1634. In the Jesuit Relations, Father Paul Le Jeune describes watching Mi’kmaq people in Ontario collecting maple sap in the spring to make “juice, sweet as honey or sugar.” Many non-Indigenous people are not aware that maple sugar is the result of Anishinaabe knowledge generation, perhaps because non-Indigenous maple syrup producers often attribute their business to their own ancestors. However, knowledge of maple sugar is not limited to the final product. The skills required to make maple sugar – making containers, tools, sleds, boiling pots, shelters, to name a few – were highly transferrable. Within a western understanding, teaching children transferrable skills helped make them into valuable community members. More precisely, within Anishinaabe philosophy, children are seen as gifts, and their autonomy is respected. Kim Anderson has described the role of children within the Anishinaabe worldview is to bring, “happiness and hope to all” because they represent potential and the future. Children learn-by-doing, and gravitate towards activities that grasp their interest. They are supported in their interests, and other community members validate competency, which grows into responsibility to the spirit world and honouring their competencies/gifts in ceremony.

Elmira McLeod recalled watching her parents make toys for she and her

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105 The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791; the Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes, vol. VI (1633-1634) (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1898), 269.
106 Anderson, Life Stages and Native Women: Memory, Teachings, and Story Medicine, 8.
107 Anishinaabe scholar, Waaseyaa’sin Christine Sy, shared the Anishinaabe philosophy perspective with me after reading a draft of this chapter. For a variation on this discussion, see: Smith, “Yes, I’m Brave”: Extraordinary Women in the Anishinaabe (Ojibwe) Tradition.”
siblings. They sewed sock dolls, and then wove baskets and carved wheels to make a carriage for the dolls. The dolls even had little bowls and plates made from birch bark. Through the process of making toys, her parents taught her skills of carving, weaving, sewing, and tool making. Elmira also spoke of going on hunting trips with her father in the bush. When asked if her father taught her anything, she responded, “No, we just played among ourselves” - she then proceeded to describe how she learned to canoe, hunt, and shoot. These are things she learned through “play” and emulation. In a later interview, Elmira was asked again about the learning process: Ranald: “Would they sit you down and say, ‘I want you to learn this.’?” Elmira: “I don’t know, it seems like we just fall into it, like my mother’s making baskets, we sit down and start building one, little wee ones...” This learning process is very similar to the way children learned about plant-medicines by tagging along with adults, described earlier in this section.

If a child lacked discipline, they would not be able to learn and contribute to the survival and success of their community. Though the stakes were high, the methods of discipline were not what most would consider severe. “In childhood, proper behaviour was instilled largely by indirect and non-coercive means, in striking contrast to European child-rearing techniques.” The Anishinaabe worldview acknowledges discipline is rooted in education. It encourages good behaviour, offers structure and guidance, and teaches the right way to prevent and/or solve problems. Discipline, patience, and love ensure a child feels

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109 interview by Ranald Thurgood, June 20, 1982, 1982, University of Regina, 18.
110 interview by Ranald Thurgood, 1982, University of Regina, 11.
protected and nurtured by the community. Only then can they be open to receiving knowledge. Anishinaabe disciplinary techniques “reinforced the non-intrusive, non-coercive style of the educational system.”  

The European notion of punishment is considered anti-pedagogical because the definition of punishment is to ‘cause pain’, which impedes learning.

Corporal punishment was not part of traditional Anishinaabe discipline. Corrective actions were used to encourage spiritual growth and social harmony, whereas the western approaches focus more on confrontation and punishment. Discipline was often through ridicule, or public humiliation. Children would often make every effort to avoid public humiliation; however, being completely ignored was considered a worse fate. Parents would resort to ignoring a child if the child’s actions or behaviour were especially egregious. Socially, the community was the same as family and it would have been difficult emotionally to be ignored. Practically, being a part of the community within a subsistence economy was important for survival. In most cases, dealing with the consequences of one’s actions was all the discipline that was required. Kim Anderson has argued that learning self-discipline was an important part of the

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112 Ibid, 36.
114 Gross, Anishinaabe Ways of Knowing and Being, 233.
116 Grant, No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada, 42-43.
Anishinaabe learning process.\textsuperscript{117} For example, children needed to know how to be quiet and still; because the inability for a child to keep still when surprised or frightened could have life or death consequences (e.g. should they come under attack from an enemy). One way of learning this was through a “game of silence”, where the child who showed the most self-control would win a prize.\textsuperscript{118}

The different learning processes – emulation, games, and discipline – were not distinct from one another. They could even occur simultaneously. Stories were often used to solidify and help clarify lessons, because they could help to “draw out lessons buried in the daytime activities and transfer other forms of knowledge from one generation to the next.”\textsuperscript{119} An Anishinaabe person would hear the same story many times over the course of their life. As the person matured, the story would become more sophisticated and nuanced in order to draw deeper connections and foster a more thorough understanding of the knowledge. It is in this way that stories were used to transmit ethical, theological, historical, ecological, and political information to pre-literate Anishinaabe communities.\textsuperscript{120}

Earlier, a story of the Manitou Nana’b’oozoo was shared to illustrate the importance of Anishinaabe ways of knowing to mino-bimaadiziwin. However, stories of the Manitous serve many purposes. For example, Johnston’s mother, Mary, would tell him about the Weendigos and maemaegawaehnssiwk – giant cannibals and little people, respectively – lurking in the woods. These Manitous

\textsuperscript{117} Anderson, \textit{Life Stages and Native Women: Memory, Teachings, and Story Medicine}, 68.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid, 68.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid. It should be noted that stories and story telling have endured as important teaching tools within Anishinaabe communities.
helped teach children the dangers of disobedience. Then there is Nana’b’oozoo, a central figure in Anishinaabe belief systems, sent to earth by Kitchi-Manitou to teach the Anishinaabeg what befalls people who act on impulse and instinct, rather than reason and common sense. James Mason was the chief of Saugeen from 1968 to 1983, and during an interview, he recalled his grandfather telling many stories about Nanabush (Nana’b’oozoo).

Stories my granddad used to tell me were always about Nanabush, and what kind of a character he was. That he was a person who did tricks to people. And yet he was a person who did a lot of good for the people. He was a funny spirit that person, that he, he did a lot of things. He made, of course, you know the story of him making the world; and also of the Flood. He, I remember my grandfather telling me about the Flood [Creation Story].

And then, of course, there’s numerous other stories that are, that was told about Nanabush - how he always used to - thought a lot of his grandmother. How much that he used to, that whenever he went anywhere he always took his grandmother with him. Because he always, although she was old and he had to carry her, he made a special basket for carrying her, and he always... no matter where Nanabush went he always had his grandmother. She was the person who gave him intelligence, you know. When he wanted to know something he always went to his grandmother. That is the teaching, yet a part of Indian people today -- that’s why we have the elders. They are here to teach the younger people. And this is, was again shown by Nanabush, that showed the people that you have to listen to your elders and have them with you all the time. This was the idea of him carrying his grandmother with him.

James Mason’s grandfather taught him this framework by telling him stories about Nanabush. But, Nanabush was sent to earth by Kitchi-Manitou. As stated at the start of this chapter, Kitchi-Manitou is the creator of everything, all beings, including the many other Manitous.

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121 Johnston, The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway, xi.
122 Ibid, 94. Also spelled Nanabozho, Nanaboozhoo, Nanabosho. This Manitou is also known as Nanabush, and/or The Trickster.
123 Mason, "Interview James Mason", 10.
124 Ibid, 11.
125 Johnston, The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway, 2. Also spelled
Anishinaabe Naming Ceremonies

Personal names represent a deep connection to both personal and community histories for many Indigenous peoples. It is important to examine personal names in more depth here because Chapter Six of this thesis, which examines Residential Schools, discusses the removal of personal names from Indigenous children as a way of stripping them of ties to their culture and heritage. In Mohawk traditions “locations were named for the inhabitants, rather than vice versa, as in European models.”126 In addition, many Indigenous peoples can have multiple official names that they use within their communities during their lifetime, each name serving as a marker for a particular position within the community or stage of life.127 Khadija von Zinnennburg Carroll has argued the Indigenous practice of having multiple names over one’s lifetime represents a connection to Indigenous cognition of space and time, and is reflective of Indigenous ways of knowing.128 Gabriele Vom Bruck and Barbara Bodenhorn would likely agree, as they argued that names ‘historicise’ the self in complex ways by facilitating memory and allowing a genealogical account of social time.129 The first name in an Indigenous person’s life was often given during a

Gitchi Manitou.

129 Gabriele Vom Bruck and Barbara Bodenhorn. “Entangled in Histories” in
naming ceremony.

A Blackfoot elder describes how they select a child’s first name:

After a few months we approached a respected adult to name the child. This name reflected achievements of the adult and brought blessings and success to the child.¹³⁰

The process is very similar for the Saugeen. In *Ojibway Ceremonies*, Basil Johnston has a chapter dedicated to Wauweendaussowin. The elder who named children in this chapter was Cheengwun, and he described how he came to be the one who gives names:

I received the gift in dream, a long time ago. I did not seek it. It was given freely during sleep. I was taken from this world and transported through the skies, past the nearest stars and beyond the farthest, to another world.¹³¹

In his dream, Cheengwun killed many Weendigoes and saved many children.

None of the children had been given names, because previously they had all been destined to die, but now they would live and they needed names. He gave each one the gift of a name. It was after this dream Cheengwun knew he had been given the gift of naming.¹³²

Cheengwun could not give a name without first dreaming of it. The dream would then be told, in complete detail to the child’s family, and then the name is given.

He closed his eyes as he pressed the child to his chest; and he held the child against him for a long time. This was the most solemn and profound moment in the ceremony. Cheengwun was about to give his N’Kweemiss [godson/namesake] a name. But first he was to give part of himself, to transmit a portion of his own potential to the child. There was no word

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¹³² Ibid, 23.
for this potential; no word to describe its character; no word that would cause it to pass from one persona to another. Because it was an act that was consummated between souls no words were necessary. Touch, flesh to flesh, was the way in which spirits met and became one. By holding his N’Kweemiss close, Cheengwun was letting part of his being enter the child. He willed his dream and his dream power to well out into the child to form part of the child’s being and potential.

At last, Cheengwin opened his eyes. He held the child slightly away from his chest, and looked down at his N’Kweemiss. “Mishi-Waub-Kaikaik (Great White Falcon),” he said. “That is your name.” He turned to the parents. “Mishi-Waub-Kaikaik is his name. It is a good name; it is a good dream.” And Cheengwun handed Mishi-Waub-Kaikaik to his mother.

Afterwards, they feasted.133

Cheengwin passed the power of the name Mishi-Waub-Kaikaik to the child, and all the accomplishments and histories that came with the name. The story of the dream Cheengwin had before gifting the name was extremely important. It gave context to the knowledge and histories contained in the name Mishi-Waub-Kaikaik. This is why stories were important repositories for the knowledge that arose out of Anishinaabe paradigms.134 The constant movement and flux of Anishinaabe knowledge gave rise to concepts of interrelationship, which were summed up in the saying “all my relations”.135 Stories helped manage the constant movement of Anishinaabe knowledge and alternate ways of knowing. They were adaptable, in that they allowed for the listener to contextualise the knowledge to suit their personal situations. Anishinaabe knowledge is perpetuated and maintained by ancestors that died long ago, and descendants that have yet to be born. Historical experiences do not just ‘live in the past’ - they have implications in the present day, and future relationships

133 Ibid, 30.
135 Ibid, 9.
between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. It is very hard to figure out where holistic ways of knowing fit into a linear narrative.

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The next chapter – Settler Colonial Worldviews - presents the dominant worldview of the Old World that was imported to Canada by European settlers. The Settler Colonial worldview found its roots in the principles of the Enlightenment, reason and progress, which were supported by writings of the Scots philosophers. The Scots philosophers were extremely influential when it came to settlers’ worldviews. They outlined a linear worldview, explaining man’s advancement from ‘savage’ to ‘civilised’ and prescribed the knowledge man needed in order to move from one stage of evolution to the next. The Settler Colonial worldviews rest on the premise that nomadic, pastoral societies naturally give way to agrarian, and ultimately commercial societies. Commercial societies were considered the pinnacle of evolution, and their members could be considered ‘civilised’. The Scots philosophers used the Indigenous peoples of Canada as an example of savages, who had not yet evolved enough to value personal wealth and private property. This influenced how settlers interpreted the world around them, and the ways in which knowledge was transferred.137

136 The writings of the Scots philosophers popularized the enlightenment principles, which embedded them into the historical consciousness of the settlers. By living in a new land, surviving, then thriving, and eventually getting rich and dominating, the settlers were exemplifying the Scots philosophers’ version of a fully evolved, civilized man.

137 Paulette Regan, Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth
The early settlers, who came to Saugeen, and other parts of Canada, did not encounter the uncivilised savages they had learned about. They had to re-learn based on their experiences, observations, and practical day-to-day life. Settlers re-learned what they knew about the Anishinaabeg by using an Anishinaabe approach to education: the three L’s - looking, listening, and learning.\textsuperscript{138}

Chapter 3 – Settler Colonial Worldviews and Saugeen

This is an age of progress... the tide of population which is destined to flow over and to fill the several channels of communication as they are successively opened up, is rising higher and higher on every side... it would seem to be... the part of true wisdom to look with much confidence to the future, and to take due account of advantages which, although they be prospective, are by no means problematical.

The above quote is from a speech Lord Elgin made at the sod-turning of the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway in 1851. This was around the same time large numbers of Scottish settlers were arriving in the Saugeen Peninsula, an area that now has many place-names in honour of Lord Elgin. The event was part of opening up the Saugeen Peninsula for widespread settlement. Lord Elgin was full of confidence that wisdom and knowledge acquired in the “Old World” could be easily transferred and applied in the “New World”, and foster prosperity. Just a year prior he had declared that Canada could take advantage of all the recent scientific advancements, and spring from the cradle into full possession of the “privileges of manhood.” The Saugeen Peninsula had been difficult to access before the construction of a more comprehensive system of roads and rails began in the mid-nineteenth century. The railway is symbolic of the notions of progress and civilisation that were deeply engrained in the justification of expansion in settler colonies. The railway would literally help

1 "Lord Elgin's Speech," *Globe*, 16 October 1851.
2 Sir James Bruce, 8th Earl of Elgin and 12th Earl of Kincardine (1811-1863), served as Governor General from 1847-1854, and is the namesake for: Port Elgin; Kincardine; Bruce County, Elgin County; Bruce Beach; and the Bruce Mines.
facilitate the transfer of Old World ideas to the New World settlements by dropping off trains full of settlers [Fig. 2.1]. With those settlers came their systems of values, and Old World worldviews.

The previous chapter examined how the Anishinaabe interacted with the world around them. The Anishinaabeg accessed the land only to produce enough for their needs, on the basis of mutual sharing. It was a deeply embedded belief that the welfare of the collective was a higher priority than the individual accumulation of wealth. The source of mino-bimaadiziwin was the land. The Anishinaabe worldview, and the teachings that supported it, were founded on this principle. The Anishinaabeg understood that, “the land is that from which ‘we’ come, not merely that which provides.” The ‘we’ in that statement was in reference to all living beings and things, everything contained in the natural world, and even into the Spirit world. In this chapter I will assess the settler colonial worldview that was brought over to North America, with a focus on the Scots as the most dominant group that settled in the Saugeen Peninsula. The Crown saw the environment as a source of raw materials. The Crown’s concept of land was much more narrow and fixed: land was a commodity. Indigenous knowledge of the land was beneficial to the Crown in the early periods of colonial encroachment, when the focus was on ‘merchantable commodities’ that could be shipped back to Europe for profit. Many colonial officials were struck

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6 Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 2, Chapter 5, Economic Development", 132.
8 Ibid, 58.
[Fig. 3.1] Saugeen Peninsula is circled.¹⁰

by the conditions in which the Indigenous peoples they encountered were living. By European standards, Indigenous peoples were living in poverty, despite living in a landscape of astonishing abundance.\(^{11}\) Again, the Crown’s perspective that natural resources were commodities that could be harvested and sold informed the perceived abundance the officials saw. The officials were judging the Indigenous cultures by the standards of their own culture, and in doing so they quickly judged the systems that organised Indigenous life as unworthy of recognition.\(^{12}\) This is the mindset that informed the project of turning Canada into a settler colony.

This chapter establishes the Old World expectations and values that the nineteenth century settlers brought with them when they came to North America, which influenced how settlers engaged with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. As demonstrated in Chapter One of this thesis, the balance of power inevitably favours the narrative that supports the historical consciousness of the region’s dominant group. Too often Indigenous people have ‘myth’ and Europeans have ‘history’. Indigenous and European narratives can, and should, engage when examining the contact zone. This chapter begins its examination of settler worldviews by establishing the most dominant non-Indigenous group that settled in the Saugeen Peninsula, the Scots. This is not to infer that the Scots are solely responsible for perpetuating a settler colonial worldview, but to acknowledge their representative role in disseminating a settler colonial worldview in Saugeen. In order to examine the engagement of two narratives, in this case the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and the Scottish settlers, it is important to

\(^{11}\) Ibid, 33.
look at both groups ‘pre-contact.’ Previously, historians have focused too heavily
on ‘pre-contact Indians.’ The Scots’ New World started its development across
the pond in the Old World; however, the pre-contact settlers had knowledge of
the Indigenous populations of North America.

Policies that advanced colonisation and settlement of the area that would
become Canada were built on an accepted truth that Indigenous peoples in
Canada were examples of man at the earliest stage of social evolution. This
argument is advanced through an examination of the theories of the evolution of
man, popularised in the eighteenth century by the Scots philosophers. The Scots
philosophers argued that all human societies start out in a ‘savage’ state;
however, they evolve towards a ‘civilised’ state as they fully embrace the concept
of private property. The Scots philosophers became known as the literati of the
Scottish Enlightenment; however, their writings on civilisation, with the
‘primitives’ of North America representing the first stage of the social evolution
of man, employed a reductionary framework of Self and Other.13 The enduring
influence of this framework and how it informed the ways in which settlers
engaged with Indigenous peoples is further elucidated through the examination
of personal letters, settler art, emigrant guidebooks, and popular periodicals
through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The experiences and levels of
engagement European settlers had with the Indigenous peoples of North
America after their arrival were not uniform, and opinions regarding the
‘Indians’ were just as varied, but there was an underlying commonality that

13 The creation of Indigenous ‘Others’ was a key aspect of settler colonial
societies, because it provided clear targets for policies/initiatives of elimination.
Lorenzo Veracini, Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview (New York:
Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 24-29.
informed their engagements. Settlers had a sense of cultural superiority. The belief in cultural superiority is at the heart of the settler colonial worldview. The basic piece of knowledge that was brought over was: ‘We’ are more advanced than ‘Indians’.

**Scots in Saugeen**

A majority of settlers in the Saugeen Peninsula were of Scottish ancestry, so much so that the Scottish influence has endured on the Saugeen Peninsula. In the present, every clear night during the summer months the music of the ‘Phantom Piper’ can be heard floating across the harbour of the Lake Huron port town of Kincardine, Ontario. Unless, of course, it is Saturday night. On Saturdays hundreds of people gather to march down Queen Street behind a full bagpipe band. The town even holds the *Kincardine Scottish Festival & Highland Games* every July. People from all over Bruce and Huron Counties, and beyond, come to celebrate their Scottish heritage. How did such a strong Scottish influence arrive to this area? The 1880 Bruce County Atlas lists 137 people with an occupation of ‘politician’. Of that number, 43 were born in Scotland, 23 were born in Canada with a Scottish family name, and an additional 10 people were born elsewhere with a Scottish family name.\(^\text{14}\) That means more than half of the politicians in Bruce County were of Scottish heritage during the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, many people who settled on the Saugeen Peninsula maintained such close ties to their Scottish brethren, that they only knew how to speak

\(^{14}\)“Bruce County (Ontario Map Ref #16),” in *Illustrated atlas of the Dominion of Canada* (Toronto: H. Belden & Co., 1880).
Gaelic. Scottish presence was strong during the early stages of settlement of the Saugeen (Bruce) Peninsula, and strong ties to Scottish traditions and culture have endured.

The strong Scottish presence in Southwestern Ontario has been well documented by historians. Scottish people possessed enough influence to shape the New World the Saugeen Ojibway Nations encountered as the early settlers arrived at the Saugeen Peninsula and the area was colonised. Saugeen was at the end of the waves of emigration from the Old World, because it was considered among the worst farmland in the province. The first wave of Scottish emigration to Ontario lasted from the 1770s to the mid-1840s, and a second wave lasted from 1815 to the early 1850s, with Highland communities creating large migration channels between Scotland and Ontario. While Scots were not the only group emigrating, Scottish chain migration resulted in some of the most homogeneous townships in Ontario. The areas of Ontario that saw the

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17 I make this distinction because the process of colonisation is a top-down, following the goals and interests of the Head of State/Empire. The early settlers were agents of colonisation; however, the vast majority acted in good faith, following the rules and laws of the colonial government and cannot bare the blame for the broader goals of the Crown.
19 Stephen J. Hornsby, "Patterns of Scottish Emigration to Canada 1750-1870," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18, no. 4 (1992), 411-413.
20 Clarke and Buffone, "Social Regions in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Ontario" 215-
heaviest concentrations of Highland Scots settle retain names such as Scotch Block, Scotch Line, and Scotch Settlement. A legacy of the strong Scottish representation among the early settlers in Saugeen is the name of one of the main roads that runs through the Saugeen First Nation Reserve: Scotch Settlement Road.

Norms of the dominant social group become the stage on which personal, popular, and political areas of engagement occur. In Saugeen, as a result of settler colonialism, the dominant social group became the Scots. The New World in Saugeen was, in fact, constructed using the values, social structures, traditions, and knowledge from the Old World. This resulted in a social landscape that was more foreign to the Indigenous peoples than it was to the early settlers. The Scottish settlers were bringing social structures of the Old World with them, but they were also bringing their experiences of being seen as an Other within the British Empire. John M. Mackenzie argued that the Otherness of Scots matched the Indigenous enemies of empire. He went on to argue that the concept of the ‘eternal victim’ did not fit well with viewing Indigenous peoples that encountered the Empire, or even the subordinate classes of Britain. The Scottish people and the Indigenous peoples of North America were not merely passive objects of dominant behaviour. To construct them as such will "seriously underestimate the cultural autonomy of different groups and the extraordinary

216.
22 Clarke and Buffone, "Social Regions in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Ontario", 403.
capacity of popular culture to maintain a hidden integrity, to resist in subtle ways and not always obvious ways.”

Many Scottish people immigrated to North America as a result of their desire to keep their culture and traditions alive. The Scottish are commonly regarded as the Anglo elite in Canada; however, the bulk of the Scottish chain migration was working-class. This is especially true in the Saugeen Peninsula. The first Scottish families that arrived in Ontario would keep in touch with families back home. The glowing reports from kin on the ‘frontier’ were key factors in attracting additional migrants, especially in agricultural communities like Saugeen. The kinship ties provided built-in social capital, based on social structures and values from the Old World. However, the Scots also brought with them Old World ‘institutional knowledge’ of the Indigenous peoples of North America.

The Scots Philosophers

During the eighteenth century, Scots received international recognition for their centres of ‘enlightened civilisation’ in Edinburgh and Glasgow, largely due to the influential writings of the Scots philosophers. The Indigenous peoples of North

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28 ‘Institutional knowledge’ is very different from ‘experiential knowledge’, especially when considering engagements with Indigenous peoples. It is similar to the difference between ‘speaking about’ and ‘speaking with’.
29 Jane Rendall, Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment (London: Macmillan Press,
America were not of primary interest during the Scottish Enlightenment; however, they were seen as invaluable primary sources that were an “enormous font of empirical evidence, which philosophers used to refine their theories.”

They illustrated, rather than shaped, theories about the development of human societies. This suggests the Scots philosophers thought they knew and understood the Indigenous peoples of North America and they attempted to disseminate this knowledge to a broader audience via their writings. Of the Scots philosophers, Troy O. Bickham identified key figures, based on their contribution through widespread readership and publication: Adam Ferguson; John Millar; James Burnet (Lord Monboddo); Henry Home (Lord Kames); William Robertson; and to a lesser extent David Hume and Adam Smith. These philosophers were not ‘insulated scholars’; they contributed to the wider public understanding of Indigenous peoples of North America through their writings. Therefore, the writings of these authors are of particular interest to this study.

One of the central interests of the philosophers was the study of man as a social and sociable being, which inspired them to examine man’s knowledge of the external world, and attempt to develop a psychology of human nature. In the preceding century, the scientific method had opened up the mysteries of the laws of nature, so the Scots were “determined to do for the science of man and

1978), 1.


31 Bickham rightly asserts that it was popular British views of “Indians” that shaped the Scots Philosophers’ perceptions (172). The Indigenous peoples were used as literary devices to illustrate these perceptions.


33 Ibid, 96.
society what Bacon and Newton had done for matter.”\textsuperscript{34} However, the scientific method requires the systematic observation of empirical and measurable evidence. The chief characteristic that distinguishes a scientific method of inquiry from other methods of acquiring knowledge is that scientists seek to let reality speak for itself.\textsuperscript{35} The reality of the Scots philosophers was uncovered by looking at their own histories, through a lens that was informed by their own experiences and understanding of the world. Their observations informed them that man had developed from a primitive state to a sophisticated or polished state. This development was driven by ‘natural’ and ‘insatiable’ desires to improve his material condition.\textsuperscript{36} Nearly a hundred years before the majority of Scots started to settle in the Saugeen Peninsula, the Indigenous peoples of North America helped the Scots philosophers illustrate this argument.

The descriptions of the Indigenous peoples in \textit{The Jesuit Relations} and the journals of early French explorers became empirical and measurable evidence for the Scots philosophers. The French accounts were held in high regard for their detail and analysis, allowing them to be treated as trustworthy sources.\textsuperscript{37} The Scotch perceptions of ‘Indians’ that were gleaned from these sources played a vital role in the their establishment of an intellectual framework in which peoples and cultures were evaluated and categorised within a hierarchy of human societies, “all the while affirming the economic, social, and technological

\textsuperscript{34} Anand C. Chitnis, \textit{The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History} (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1976), 93.
\textsuperscript{36} Chitnis, \textit{The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History}, 94.
\textsuperscript{37} Bickham, \textit{Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth Century Britain}, 177.
superiority of European civilizations." There was a general acceptance among the Scots philosophers that the commercial society in which they lived was the outcome of a social evolutionary process. The evolution from 'primitive' to 'polished' required society to pass through several temporal phases. Unfortunately, societies in their 'primitive' stage took steps towards progress before men thought of recording the steps. North American 'Indians' were thought to be living examples of society in its most primitive state, and French accounts of North American 'Indians' provided the data required to develop the Scots philosophers' social evolutionary framework.

A shared feature of the majority of Scots philosophers' writings was the division of man's social evolution into four economic phases, each phase progressing to the next. The four phases of Primitive, Pastoral, Farming, and Commerce were shaped by their economic characteristics, but were also to be seen as cultural periods of man's past. Different philosophers used slightly different names for each phase, but the characteristics of man within the phases was consistent. Adam Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) was the first major work to use Indigenous peoples of North America as empirical evidence for the first stage of society, but it was certainly not the last.

It would seem that examples of 'progress' from all the stages of evolution coexisted within one group of people; however, there was one concept that all the Scots philosophers agreed was of paramount importance: property.

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38 Ibid, 173.
39 Ibid, 178.
41 Ibid, 102.
Adam Ferguson wrote:

They have little attention to property, and scarcely any beginnings of subordination or government... [An example of] mankind in their rudest state; that of the savage, who is not yet acquainted with property; and that of the barbarian, to whom it is although not ascertained by laws, a principle object of care and desire.43

In stage one, ‘rude savages’ did not have a concept of property. By stage two, ‘barbarous’ people know about property, but it was not embodied and protected in law. Finally, an ‘advanced state’ was achieved by making property a principle distinction, as was exampled by industrialised European nations. Authority and subordination could be derived from property, so it was treated as the lynchpin of civilisation. This was an assertion that was echoed by other key Scots philosophers.

In America, man appears in his rudest forming which we can conceive him to subsist... The greater part of its inhabitants were strangers to industry and labour, ignorant of the arts, and almost unacquainted with property.44

Without private property there would be no industry; and without industry, men would remain savages forever.45

The Indigenous peoples of North America would remain in the Primitive stage until they understood and valued property. Civilisation was dependant on a political notion of liberty, which was interpreted by the Scots philosophers as the sense of security one had from living in an environment without fear of ‘plunder.’46 People felt ‘liberty’ when their property was safe. Adam Smith acknowledged Lafitau’s documentation of Indigenous forms of governance, but

45 Lord Henry Home Kames, Sketches of the History of Man, vol. 1 (Basil, 1796), 91.
added the caveat: “Till there be property there can be no government, and the very end of which is to secure wealth, and to defend the rich from the poor.”

A strong State could control one’s sense of security. It could control populations by either giving or withholding ‘liberty’ via a system of rights that were claimed by its citizens. A key concept of settler colonialism is private property, and the Indigenous peoples of North America were ‘savages’ because they did not embrace the concept of private property.

Grace Karskens has argued that the colonial reverence for property rights resulted in private property having a sacred status and was central in a discourse that linked land with labour, liberty and rights. This is perhaps why Indigenous peoples were intimidating to Europeans: without a concept of private property, how could they be controlled?

The Scots philosophers used the accounts from Jesuits and travel diaries, and transformed them into assumptions, which “provided a foundation to the science of humanity and supported European imperialism.” They homogenised the distinct Indigenous peoples in the Americas, and presented them as a prime example.

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47 Adam Smith, "Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms 1763," (delivered in the University of Glasgow by Adam Smith; reported by a student in 1763; and edited, with an introduction and notes, by Edwin Cannan. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 15.


50 For example, during the fur trade in Canada, when the prices of fur went up, Indigenous trappers brought in fewer furs. This confounded Europeans, who were expecting the Indigenous trappers to see the raise in price as an opportunity to accumulate wealth. Instead, Indigenous peoples were happy they had to do less to meet the requirements of their subsistence, communal lifestyle. See, Arthur J. Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 68.

51 Sean P. Harvey, Native Tongues: Colonialism and Race from Encounter to the Reservation (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 47.
example of a ‘generic primitive’. The belief that ‘all savages are the same’ was firmly established among pre-contact settlers, before colonial policies were developed and implemented in North America. By labeling Indigenous peoples in North America as ‘savages’, they provided powerful justification for North American settler colonialism. The Scots philosophers were read by key figures in British Government, and the ideas were brought to North America. The socially conservative, educated professional and business classes in Canada protected their best interests by grounding the Canadian political and military spheres in the philosophies of the Scottish Enlightenment. Lord Shelburne read Ferguson’s History of Civil Society at the time he was formulating and implementing ‘Indian’ policy as the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, declaring it to be one of the best pieces of writing he had ever read. Canadian and American policy makers were keeping an eye on what the other was doing with regards to Indigenous populations. There was a general rhetoric of progress, and a ‘new era’ was being ushered in via colonisation.

The government was helping with some of the policies and infrastructure, but it was going to be up to the actual settlers to help usher in a new age of civilisation. The Scots philosophers would have had some influence on

52 Bickham, Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth Century Britain, 184.
53 Harvey, Native Tongues: Colonialism and Race from Encounter to the Reservation, 41.
55 Bickham, Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth Century Britain, 181.
57 Lord Elgin’s speech as he opened the railway in Saugeen, presented at the start of this chapter, is a good example of the rhetoric of progress.
emigrants’ preconceptions of Indigenous peoples, but there were also a number of sources that were even more accessible to the average Scot.

**Scots in the Fur Trade: Letters, Artifacts, and Art**

Many Scots worked for the Hudson’s Bay Company and played an active role in the early fur trade in North America. John Nixon, the Governor of the Hudson’s Bay company from 1679-1683, preferred to recruit Scots to work in North America. The port of Stromness, in the Orkney Islands of Scotland, was the last port of call before the Company’s ship crossed the Atlantic to North America. This made Orkney a convenient place for the Company to systematically recruit young men to work in the fur trade from 1707 onwards. Letters were sent to family members back in Scotland, documenting their impressions of the New World, including the Indigenous peoples. One of the early recruits of the Hudson’s Bay Company offered a description of ‘Indians’ in a letter sent to his mother in Edinburgh, in 1684:

> the pipole ar in a maner wilde saviges poor simpell cretors they live by hunting... and when they kill are elck a great beist like unto cou, or a deir then they abide until it is eat up and no longer they are pypell having no place of residence but wandereth too and fro as the wild beists for their food, they have nothing formerly to kill victuals for themselves but bous and arrows, but since the Inglish heath factorys amongst them they have guns, powder and shott and severall other instruments and necessaries which they tread from the Inglish factorys for bever skins and dear skins...

It is possible to see the foundations for the Scots Philosophers’ arguments about social evolution of man, even in this letter. *Indigenous people are savages, until they gain a concept of property from us. We can help them civilise.* The letter

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59 "Letter Home," (Glasgow City Archives: Register House Series. RHIS/14/41, 1684).
frames the antiquity of the connection between Indigenous peoples of North America and savagery for Scots. Nearly two-hundred years before the chain migration of nineteenth-century Scottish settlers, Scotsmen making the circular migration to North America were returning with first-hand accounts of experiences with Indigenous peoples.\textsuperscript{60} By the end of the eighteenth century, Orcadians constituted the vast majority of Hudson Bay Company’s employees in North America.\textsuperscript{61} Most of these men did not settle permanently, rather they returned to Scotland when they completed their contracts. They brought items back to Scotland created by the Indigenous peoples in North America they encountered during the fur trade. Some of these items served as personal mementoes, remaining in private family collections; however, many were displayed by museums in Edinburgh and Glasgow as part of the museums’ Fur Trade Collections.

The way the items were curated by museums helped present a distinct idea of who the Indigenous peoples of North America were, which gave meaning to the items. Usually, the museums chose to display the artifacts alongside paintings from the ‘frontier’ by settler artists, like Paul Kane.\textsuperscript{62} The contrast of low culture artifacts being displayed next to high culture art both constructed and reinforced dominant attitudes that the Indigenous peoples of North America were primitive and incapable of producing ‘high culture.’ However, objects

\textsuperscript{60} The flow of information in two directions, to and from the New World remained an important aspect of colonisation well past the period under discussion, see Zoë Laidlaw, \textit{Colonial Connections, 1815-45: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government} (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 17, 35.
produced by the Indigenous peoples of North America were not created to be gazed-upon in a static, linear manner; they were created to be used. Indigenous arts are “integrated with song, dance, ceremony and oral traditions,” whereas Western high culture views art as “a separate practice from daily life.”

Displaying artifacts alongside settler art added a voyeuristic ‘documentary’ dimension to the exhibits.

Settler artists blurred the lines between ‘Art’ and ‘History,’ as exemplified by the discussion of Paul Kane’s work in the previous chapter. Another artist, worth mentioning in this section, is Alfred J. Miller. Miller was an American painter and in 1837, a Scottish Highlander, Sir William Drummond Stewart, commissioned him to paint scenes from Stewart’s trip to North America. Like Kane, Miller composed sketches in the field and then painted the final works later, in Miller’s case he worked at Stewart’s Murthly Castle in Scotland. The paintings became part of Stewart’s collection and were displayed along with the tools, buffalo robes, pipes, and other Indigenous-created objects that he brought back from his voyage.

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64 Margaret C. Conrads, ed. Romancing the West: Alfred Jacob Miller in the Bank of America Collection (Kansas City: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2010).
Miller often added Stewart’s likeness in his paintings. His Scottish features helped frame Indigenous subjects as ‘exotic others’. Just like in Paul Kane’s paintings, Indigenous peoples were presented as the antithesis of civilisation. For example, in the painting above, *The Trapper’s Bride*, the white men are seated as a young Indigenous woman is presented to them, with other Indigenous men standing around them. Even the horse seems to be bowing. Fur trappers were hardly royalty, but this composition would work equally well for a painting of a King receiving gifts from his peasants - the Indigenous peoples as his subjects, and the mound of dirt his throne. Though these paintings were a part of Sir. William Drummond Stewart’s private collection, after his death in 1871, they were sent to public auction in Edinburgh. However, the public still had access to settler paintings. Two books that featured engravings of this same style of art, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the*
North American Indians, by George Catlin and Wanderings of an Artist, by Paul Kane, were very popular in the 1840s and 1850s in Scotland.⁶⁵

Comparisons between Highlanders and the Indigenous peoples of North America were spurred by a growing interest in Scottish cultural identity during the 1820s and 1830s. By this time, the writings of the Scots Philosophers had made a key contribution to the belief that the Indigenous peoples of North America were ‘primitive savages.’ This was no longer an assertion that needed to be interrogated since it had been accepted as common knowledge. An image of ‘noble savages’ had been created in the minds of Scots, and many drew parallels between the Indigenous peoples of North America and Scottish Highlanders. There was a belief that both Indigenous peoples in North America and Highlanders cultures shared a certain ‘primitiveness.’⁶⁶

Despite their relative proximity to the metropole, the inaccessibility of the Highlands meant the Celts were able to maintain a migratory, grazing economy on the periphery of the British Empire.⁶⁷ The draw of the resources and territory of the highlands garnered them treatment as an ‘internal colony.’⁶⁸ As a part of internal colonisation, England sought to neutralise Celtic culture in Scotland through the process of gaining control of the territory and resources.⁶⁹ Later, this form of Internal Colonialism, “spawned its more notorious overseas cousin.”⁷⁰

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⁶⁸ Ibid, 80.
⁶⁹ As evidenced by policies in the Highlands following the Jacobite uprisings of the eighteenth century. See, Ibid, 343.
⁷⁰ Ibid, 80.
Before the 19th century, the Highlands was home to a much larger population, but due to a combination of factors including the outlawing of the traditional Highland way of life following the Jacobite Rising of 1745, the infamous Highland Clearances, and mass migration to urban areas during the Industrial Revolution, the area became one of the most sparsely populated in Europe. 71 As one Scottish periodical wrote, "the conditions of the Indians greatly resembles what must have been endured by the Celts. Both have melted away before the face of a people possessing higher mental qualifications." 72 From this idea, it was not a very big leap for people to draw broader comparisons between Highlanders and the Indigenous peoples of North America.

The popular portrayal of the Indigenous peoples of North America in Scotland was generally idealised, building on the ‘noble savage’ image established by the Scots philosophers. This section will examine popular Scottish sources of information for pre-contact Scots about the Indigenous peoples of North America. The art and literature that made mention of Indigenous peoples favoured and fostered the image of the ‘noble savage’, but the audience for these media could not match the reach of printed news. The printed news sources, in combination with other popular media sources, validated the Scots philosophers assertions that the Indigenous peoples of North America were ‘primitive’ and ‘savage’; however, they were also valorised, based on perceptions of shared cultural heritage and values with the Scottish Highlanders.

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Letters from Andrew Agnew

Lieutenant Andrew Agnew joined the 93rd (or Sutherland) Highlanders regiment in 1835, and he looked upon the military as a means of advancement, travel and adventure.73 Lieutenant Agnew was the eldest son of one of southern Scotland’s prominent families. Agnew's father, Andrew Agnew Sr., was a substantial landowner in Wigtonshire and served the county as Member of Parliament. For generations the Agnews of Lachnaw had been actively involved in the political, social and religious development of southern Scotland.74 The National Archives of Scotland holds a file containing sixteen letters, written between 1838 and 1841, by Lieutenant Agnew during his time in Upper Canada (now Ontario), addressed to his mother and father in Scotland.75 Three of the letters mention his encounters with Indigenous peoples. Given Lieutenant Agnew's status and level of education, he would have had the opportunity to engage with the different sources of information regarding Indigenous peoples of North America examined in this chapter. Due to his class, Lieutenant Agnew was not the typical Scottish settler in Saugeen; however his letters remain of interest to this study for two reasons. First, he is representative of the class of Scottish settlers that built and maintained the social structures and institutions that perpetuated settler colonial worldviews. This is the class of settler that would formulate and implement official policies and laws regarding Indigenous peoples. Second, Agnew's letters reflect a tension between the preconceptions and lived

experiences that would have likely been felt by settlers in Saugeen upon embarking on relationships with Indigenous peoples. The letters written to his family can offer some insight into the impressions the Indigenous peoples in North America made on a ‘pre-contact Scot’ upon finally making contact.

On 20 July 1838 Lieutenant Agnew wrote to his mother, and made his first mention of ‘Indians’: “... we arrived in an Indian Camp in order to taste the pleasures of living au naturel.” He also wrote of “WigWams” and noted they were “infinitely superior to a tent being composed of poles placed cross ways in the ground” and they were “covered in pine bark which has a very pleasing smell.” This was a short letter, but it presents Agnew’s encounter with Indigenous peoples as a romantic curiosity, and pointed out the differences he liked. It was another year before Agnew mentioned ‘Indians’ again. On 8 July 1839 he wrote his father that “Toronto is nice for a colony”, but he was very excited to have been given two month leave to go up to the Manitoulin Islands and Lake Superior with “Indian presents.” He continued by noting: “The good faith we keep with the Indians is one of the very few redeeming fronts in the general management of Canadian affairs. We have a regular office called Protector of the Indians now held by Colonel Jarvis.” Agnew’s excitement was apparent when he described the event he would be attending: “An immense gathering of all the tribes under our jurisdiction assemble at the Manitoulin Ids when the Indians are ready to be seen in all their native splendour.”

Manitoulin Island is located just north of the Saugeen Peninsula and the

76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
Saugeen Ojibway Nation was present at the gathering. The letter detailing Agnew’s trip to Manitoulin, dated 25 September 1839, was twelve and a half pages long, eight pages longer than all but one of the other letters. It is full of thick descriptions of what he encountered, as well as his personal opinions.

Below are some excerpts:

I have returned from the hunting ground of the wild Indian, the hunt of the elk and of the deer + from the shores where the eagle and bear still reign despotic over the timid beasts of the forests and Lakes - to the gay and busy capital of Upper Canada, the scene of commerce, the seat of Provincial Government the scent of the civilization now spreading in every possible direction + yet I find our affairs foreign as well as domestic ... [have] far less dignity, than would be displayed at the savage war council of the wild untutored Chippewa or Sioux.  

Indians stalking stealthily about or grouped around them find howling forth some Chippewa melody accompanied by the... ghost like sounding tones of the Indian drums... almost forget my own identity + fancy I had become adopted into one of these tribes of Chippewas or Potowotamies.

[We] find the best camping ground after five... and generally as is the custom of the civilized world devoted our evenings to Music.

The official journal kept by Agnew during this trip recounted a different experience, though it was the very same trip. This is where the tensions between preconceptions and lived experiences can be explored. His official report works to perpetuate the settler colonial view of Indigenous peoples as ‘savage,’ despite that not aligning with his lived experience. The journal entries showed a level of enthusiasm for the trip to Manitoulin Island, and there is even a tone of appreciation for the Indigenous peoples he met; however, the unabashed admiration found in the private letters to his family was not present in his official journal. For example, his amazement with the rhythmic drum music and

81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid. (emphasis his)
Chippewa melodies that caused him to nearly forget his own identity and fantasise that the Anishinaabeg had adopted him was not present in his official journal entry from 2 August 1839:

Their dances are as stupid and lame as possible. The only music is an Indian drum, long and narrow, something like our tenor drum and a sort of monotonous howling accompanied by way of a song they kept time to regular laps in jumps sung as you may fancy a trained kangaroo leaning to and go round and round now and then crowing like cocks or squealing like anything you please.84

Agnew’s short, official entries tell mostly of buying headdresses, pipes and other ‘curiosities’ from the Indigenous peoples he encountered. There are some mentions of Indigenous hunting and tracking prowess, and the gentle nature he observed, but they do not come close to the level of enthusiasm apparent in his 25 September letter to his family. A letter from Agnew’s father, dated 20 November 1839 helps illustrate that Agnew’s family not only picked up on his enthusiasm regarding the Indigenous peoples of North America, they shared it as well: “Most valuable, interesting and instructive relation of the expedition to meet the Indians. We, Lady C. my daughter Mary + myself are greatly obliged to you for the pleasure we enjoyed yesterday in reading every word of it together.”85 Lieutenant Agnew mentioned statistics in both the journal and the private letters that are the same86 - so it was certainly the same voyage - however, different levels of enthusiasm were displayed. This could have been because the Crown’s official policy was to civilise ‘Indians’, not admire them. In

85 Agnew, ”Letters Home.”(emphasis his)
fact, an article in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* offers some insight into the goals of government where the Indigenous peoples were concerned:

“Government has recently determined upon discontinuing these yearly distributions [of gifts]; and it is possible that, having for so long felt the comfort of possessing them, some of the Indians may be stimulated into habits of industry by the desire to purchase them for themselves”.

It seems that the ‘good faith’ gifts Lieutenant Agnew was distributing were part of larger goal of ‘civilising’ the Indigenous peoples of North America, with or without his knowledge of these goals.

**Pre-Contact Emigrant Guides**

While Lieutenant Agnew’s letters best represent a ‘political elite’ class of settlers, it is important to examine the sources that were available to the average Scottish emigrant. The emigrant guides, posters, and flyers produced by branches of Her Majesty’s government and commissions, made no mention of the Indigenous peoples of North America. They offered detailed information about what to expect during the emigration and settlement process, and how to prepare.

However, there were a number of emigration guides penned by fellow Scotsmen that had visited the ‘New World’, from which some pre-contact knowledge of the Indigenous peoples of North America could be gleaned.

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87 “Notes on Canada and the North-West States of America,” *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* 1855, 580.
89 These non-governmental publications offered advice, descriptions, and statistics. Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections, 1815-45: Patronage, the Information*
Robert MacDougall’s *The Emigrants Guide to North America*, published in 1841, was written in Gaelic for the many Scottish Highlanders forced to leave their homes during the Clearances.\(^9^0\) Robert arrived at North America in 1836, and spent a great deal of his time in the Saugeen Peninsula, visiting his brother Peter who had settled there, before returning to Scotland to write the *Guide*. Peter’s homestead was near the southern border of the Saugeen Peninsula in the Huron Tract, near Goderich, the area’s earliest Scotch settlement.\(^9^1\) Robert was in the Saugeen Peninsula more than a decade before large-scale settlement started in the late 1840s. He drew on his personal experiences when writing the *Emigrant’s Guide*, because he felt the guides he purchased before his journey had very little practical, accessible information for the average emigrant. His guide used plain, straightforward language so it would be of use to ‘real’ people.\(^9^2\) It offers valuable, candid insights into the mind of a Scottish emigrant to the ‘New World.’ Furthermore, Chapter VI in the *Guide*, simply titled “Indians”, is the most extensive discussion of the Indigenous peoples of North America I have encountered in the emigration literature from the period.

The tone of the “Indians” chapter was anthropological. It echoed that of earlier European missionaries and explorers by focusing on, and exoticising, the differences between Europeans and the Indigenous peoples. MacDougall used references that were familiar to the average Scotsman to help describe exotic


\(^9^1\) Elizabeth Thompson, ed. *The Emigrant’s Guide to North America, by Robert Macdougall (1841)* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 1998), xvii. The translation was commissioned specifically for the aforementioned publication through MacDougall descendants.

\(^9^2\) Ibid, 3.
differences to his reader. When describing the skin colour of the Indigenous peoples he encountered, MacDougall wrote:

    Although the Indians are a different colour than the Gael, they are neither black nor yellow, as some maintain... When one of my kinswomen in the Highlands is dying cloth... let her immerse it in the tub of lichen... after three times... that is the colour of the skin.\textsuperscript{93}

When he described Indigenous women, he noted an “undulating gait, like the Highland women who are used to carrying the creel.”\textsuperscript{94} MacDougall also touched on shared aspects of Indigenous language and Gaelic. Not only did he assert that no other footwear was “half as warm and comfortable” as moccasins, but he also pointed out how close the word moccasin was to the Gaelic “mu chasen”, meaning “about the feet”.\textsuperscript{95} He even went so far as to write:

    The emigrant can see the type of people the Indians are, commanding valiant men, but I do not expect to see men who are more respectful toward others. They have a slow, soft, pleasant speech, merely a branch of the Gaelic language, and if those who first wrote it down had been well acquainted with Gaelic, the two languages would have looked remarkably similar.\textsuperscript{96}

It seems obvious that MacDougall had a great deal of respect for the Indigenous peoples he encountered. But, he also felt they were superior in some ways. He still viewed them as residing in a Primitive stage of social evolution, so it is not surprising that he offered high praise for their hunting and fishing skills, claiming, “there is no other man who could stay so long waiting for a fish, or catch it so expertly when it comes.”\textsuperscript{97} But, he also held their child rearing skills up as an example that Scottish emigrants should follow:

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid, 30-31.
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid, 31.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid, 33.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid, 39.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid, 34.
But in spite of the many ways in which the Indians are skillful, their dignity is greatest raising their children... The Indians do not give them bad habits from the start, and since they do not, the children will not miss them. No sound is heard out of them from morning to night. They are neat, and tidy.\textsuperscript{98}

He then went on to muse that this was how the Gaels of the past must have raised their children, but unfortunately the children were now spoiled and “cry all day and all night”.\textsuperscript{99} These kinds descriptions and comparisons could have suggested to Highland emigrants that, as a Highlander, MacDougall felt a kinship with the Indigenous peoples, despite apparent differences. However, MacDougall ended the chapter by reminding the reader that the peoples he had just described are a curiosity, quickly becoming a people of the past:

But although their language has been spoiled by the foreigners, their intelligence has not been destroyed by them, for these foreigners served as a means of bringing many of them from darkness into light, in as much as they cast off the old man, along with his works, in two senses, I hope. They have done this outwardly, at any rate, for many of them have now abandoned the hunting, and every old custom that was unprofitable, and have begun building permanent homes in the same place. They do not cultivate large areas within a few years, as many other people do in America, but they have enough crops to provide food for themselves and their families. The minister and the schoolmaster are always situated in their midst, so that they are close at hand to each and every family. Many of them have a godly look, and I would like to believe that their situation is not without hope, even though they were recently strangers to the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise, without hope, and without a God in the world.\textsuperscript{100}

It is possible to see the Scots philosophers’ influence as MacDougall described the Indigenous peoples’ natural progression along the path of social evolution being sped up by the presence of Europeans. Rather than an ode, Chapter VI turns out to be an obituary for the ‘Indians’ that were ‘discovered’ so many years

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid, 35.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid, 40.
ago. This was compounded by the placement of the chapter within the *Guide*.

MacDougall reviewed five towns for potential emigrants, each getting their own chapter: Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, and Goderich. The chapters covered the pros and cons of each location, but make no mention of Indigenous populations. The “Indians” chapter appeared just before these chapters, and failed to assign a specific location to the people it described. This separation added to the impression that ‘Indians’ were no more than a North American curiosity, and posed no cause for concern to potential emigrants.

A transcript of the report, *Canada as a field of emigration for agriculturists given* by Robert Wallace on 20 January 1880, was produced as a pamphlet later that same year under the title, *Canada as a Field for Emigration: Three Months in the Country*. Wallace visited a number of districts in Ontario, including Port Elgin and Owen Sound in the Saugeen Peninsula. New waves of Scots came to Ontario during the 1870s and 1890s, re-settling land that had been abandoned in the Saugeen Peninsula after droves of Scots left following the opening of the mid-western U.S. and the Canadian prairies. In the *Guide*, Wallace encouraged Scots “who would be contented with the Red Indians (now quite peaceable under Canadian rule) for neighbours” to seriously consider emigration to Canada; however, this was the only hint in the *Guide* that Indigenous people still had a presence.

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Periodical References to 'Indians'

A survey of periodicals published in Scotland during the nineteenth century revealed numerous articles written on the subject of emigration to Canada. Many of the articles are from *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, a weekly sixteen-page magazine that launched out of Edinburgh in 1832, at a penny per issue. It was a very popular weekly, and within a few years circulation was up to 84,000 copies.\textsuperscript{103} Most of the articles written about emigration to Canada were factual, offering statistics and information on the crossing. There were warnings of difficult conditions, and very hard work, but most had no mention of Indigenous peoples.\textsuperscript{104} One article noted that there was not an abundance of women; however, Indigenous women and settlers “wed as becomes them” but it was just a passing mention, with the focus of the article being the difficulties of adjusting to life in Canada.\textsuperscript{105} Besides the facts and figures regarding emigration, land was an issue that received a lot of attention. *Where was the good land and how did one get it?*

There were warnings that “an immense quantity of land has been kept in its native wild state”, but there was also plenty of very high quality land still to be had.\textsuperscript{106} One article mentioned that the shores of Lake Huron offered “a

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\textsuperscript{105} "Life in Canada," *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* 1832, 200.
\textsuperscript{106} "Visit from a Canadian Settler," *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* 1837, 252.
boundless extent of country that is entirely unoccupied.”\textsuperscript{107} Obviously, this was not entirely true, because the area they were referring to included the Saugeen Peninsula. When the article was written in 1832, the area had not yet been colonised; however, the area in question was most certainly Saugeen territory and the Saugeen Ojibway occupied it.\textsuperscript{108} A few years later, in 1841, another article identified the same area as enormous, and just waiting to be settled. It noted that just north of Goderich were “vast tracts owned, but not occupied by the Indians; that to the south has been obtained by a treaty.”\textsuperscript{109} This same article is one of the few that goes on to talk more about the ‘Indians’. It did so in a way that Scottish audiences would understand as it described them as wild, dangerous savages.

Travelling up the Huron Lake, our author saw on its shores, for the first time, a tribe of wild and savage Indians, armed with rifles, tomahawks, bows &c… In honour of the meeting with the British party, these Indians exhibited a scene of a strange kind, and one rendered almost terrific by the effect of the paint – white, black, and red – which covered their half-naked bodies.\textsuperscript{110}

As discussed earlier in this chapter, this image fit very neatly with the ‘frozen-in-time-noble-savage’ that the Scots philosophers wrote about. Assuming the above description was accurate, when Indigenous peoples looked like the Philosophers had described, it would not have been a big leap to also believe they were savages at the primitive stage of social evolution. Many white settlers soon learned that looks could be deceiving. By the end of the same article from which the previous quote was sourced, the author referred to the Anishinaabeg people

\textsuperscript{108} European and Anishinaabeg understandings of “occupy” can be quite different. This is further explored in Chapters One and Five of this thesis.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.
he encountered as his ‘friends’ and lamented the horrible treatment they were enduring from the Crown.\textsuperscript{111} Engaging with people on a personal level humanises them. Once settlers got past the initial difference in appearance, they often changed their minds about ‘Indians’. Differences were not seen as deficiencies but merely differences. This left room for the possibility that settlers could actually share experiences with Indigenous peoples. One such observation, in 1841, argued that the Indigenous peoples of North America were experiencing a loss of land and culture that the Celts had already experienced in Europe.

The gradual decay of the Indian tribes of America is obviously not a new fact in man’s social progress. These tribes themselves occupy a country which was once inhabited by races of men now utterly extinct. The inhabitants of western Europe now occupy regions once possessed by a Celtic people, who can only be traced by the names they have given to the localities, and the few remaining remnants of them in Wales, the Highlands of Scotland, and other retired nooks of this part of the world. The condition of the Indians greatly resembles what must have been endured by the Celts. Both have melted away before the face of a people possessing higher mental qualifications – power of thought, with the economizing of resources, being to nations as it is to individuals, the means of conquest and rational superiority.\textsuperscript{112}

The author of this article appeared to be sympathetic to the situation of Indigenous peoples of North America; however, he also accepted the notion that their extinction was inevitable. Personal perspectives may have changed from fear and mistrust to sympathy and camaraderie after meeting Indigenous peoples, but the broader colonial picture was reinforced. Accepting the principles of colonisation was tantamount to a self-fulfilling prophecy regarding Indigenous peoples. If the expansion of the British Empire could only continue on in one way, then Indigenous peoples would most certainly become ‘extinct’.

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid, 333.
\textsuperscript{112} "The Condition of American Indians", 220.
Eradication of difference is one of the basic principles of colonisation. The problem was, settlers were never presented with an alternative future. Settlers brought with them the knowledge of what happens to peoples who get in the way of the expansion of the British Empire. They had the choice to either civilise, or die. However, experiential knowledge of Indigenous peoples challenged the ideas settlers brought with them from the Old World.

**Early Days of Settlement on the Saugeen Peninsula**

Relationships between Indigenous peoples and settlers were mediated by institutional knowledge. The above examples help illustrate that settlers potentially brought a lot of preconceived ‘knowledge’ of Indigenous peoples with them during their initial ‘contact’. They learned what to expect from the ‘Indians’, but if they had opportunity to spend time with any Indigenous peoples they often changed their opinion. An excellent example of this can be found in an 1855 issue of *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, a popular publication, with a dedicated readership throughout the British Empire.

The May 1855 issue included a lengthy description of a voyage to North America by a Scottish group. Not only did they visit North America, they specifically traveled throughout the Saugeen Peninsula: “We arrived at the remote settlement of Saugeen, which was for the present our destination. The town only contains a few hundred inhabitants, and is quite in its infancy.”\(^{113}\) As they travelled, they remarked on the strong Scottish presence in the area and noted, “when our kind entertainers found that I had recently come from Scotland, and actually knew their former laird, their hospitality knew no

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\(^{113}\) "Notes on Canada and the North-West States of America", 577.
The Scottish settlers were thrilled to have people from ‘back home’ visiting. In addition to their fellow countrymen, they encountered many members of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. The notes from this voyage offer an outsider’s perspective of the earliest days of white settlement in the Saugeen Peninsula.

A great deal of the article described encounters with the Anishinaabeg of the area; however, they were also travelling with Anishinaabeg guides, identified as Bonaquum (‘Thunderbolt’), who knelt at the bows [of the canoe] and paddled, and his brother Kabeshquum (‘Triumphant’), who steered.”

The Scottish travelers grew fond of their guides, and were quite amazed by how many of the preconceptions they had about ‘Indians’ were wrong. They were even inspired to write two poems after speaking with Bonaquum and Kabeshquuum, which they included in their notes. The first poem was written after spending an “excessively social” evening with their Anishinaabeg guides. One of the author’s friends, Captain B., “expressed his sentiments upon the proceedings of the day in the following glowing stanza:

Now the light bark o’er pool and rapid shoots
Now glances where the angry waters boil,
‘Neath tall old trees, whose giant gnarled roots
Est deep into the soft alluvial soil,
Now over rocky portage paths we toil,
Our freight in some still lake to launch again;
And as we go, the somber forest aisle
Re-echos back a plaintive Indian strain –
Some wild old legend of this lovely land,
Ere yet ‘twas wrested from the red man’s hand.

\[114\] Ibid.
\[115\] Ibid, 569.
Once again, Indigenous peoples losing their lands seems to have struck a chord.

A little further into their trip, not far from Saugeen, they unexpectedly encountered some white settlers deep in the bush.

We found, upon speaking to them, that, all the government land having been taken up, they were coming to squat on Indian territory, trusting to the remote situation in which they intended to commence operations to save them from discovery; and determined to defend their own against all comers should it be necessary. We told them that waiting a few months, they would have an opportunity of purchasing the land instead of appropriating it illegally.\footnote{Ibid, 578.}

The first point of interest from this passage is that the squatters tried to appropriate the Indigenous lands because other white settlers had already spoken for all the government land. Perhaps they felt the consequences of taking land from 'Indians' would be far less than trying to take lands from the Crown or other white people. The second interesting aspect is how the author of the article wanted to get the squatters to leave the Indigenous lands, but he was also sure that those same men would be there in due course, under the authority of the Crown. There was no indication that the author had special knowledge of upcoming treaties or land transfers, yet he was confident in his assertion that the land would soon be colonised. It could be argued that he believed, if even subconsciously, that the loss of Indigenous lands in the face of expansion of the British Empire was inevitable.

The second poem the author included in his notes was written by one of his fellow Scotsmen, and addressed stereotypes of Indigenous peoples:

\begin{quote}
The painted warriors the forest ranged,
\end{quote}
Then smoked in council calumets\textsuperscript{117} of peace;  
But now they till the land, and have exchanged,  
For peaceful calumets, a clay a-piece.  
The shooting-coat conceals the coat of grease;  
They torture nobody but their papooses;  
They tread no war-path, live at home at ease;  
Instead of taking scalps, give bloody noses;  
Get no good from Palefaces, but much evil;  
And float on stream of brandy to the devil.\textsuperscript{118}

The author then followed up with an explanation of the poem: “It was indeed enough to look at our companions, to be disenchanted of all those associations with in moments of romantic credulity we had attached to Red Indians.”\textsuperscript{119} The Anishinaabeg he had encountered were not bloodthirsty savages out to scalp the settlers but quite the opposite. At no time did the author feel threatened by, or afraid of, Indigenous peoples he encountered. He did, however, issue a warning that the people to watch out for were white: “A number of those rough ‘loafers’ who prowl about the outskirts of civilisation for the purpose of preying upon inexperienced settlers, filled the bar, and were anything but agreeable companions”.\textsuperscript{120} The Indigenous peoples had gotten the ‘evil’ end of the stick where encounters with white settlers were concerned.

The author’s thoughts on the subject of the treatment of the Indigenous peoples of North America by the government were contradictory, and perhaps conflicted. He argued that those who succumbed to the civilising process enjoyed, in his opinion, the best quality of life.\textsuperscript{121} He did not go into great detail with that explanation, but based on the institutionalised knowledge Scottish

\textsuperscript{117} ceremonial pipe
\textsuperscript{118} ”Notes on Canada and the North-West States of America”, 571.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid, 574.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid, 580.
people had about ‘Indians’, we can assume his measure of civilisation would have been: how far is this Indian from being a savage?

This article from Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine illustrates the gap between institutional knowledge and experiential knowledge. The Scots philosophers wrote about ‘primitives’ and ‘savages’, many having never met an Indigenous person. This became referential knowledge that bolstered expansionist goals and created the consciousness of ‘endangered savages’ in the minds of Scottish peoples headed to North America. However, there were instances of Indigenous peoples travelling to the Old World from settler colonies. It was not unheard of for Indigenous peoples to contribute to the creation of knowledge about their communities. In the first half of the Nineteenth century, and Anishinaabe man from Canada traveled to Scotland in order to share his knowledge.

The Old World as New: an Anishinaabe Perspective

George Copway (Kahgegagahbowh), was the son of John Copway, an Anishinaabe Chief (Mississauga) and medicine man. George began missionary work in 1834 for the American Methodist Episcopal Church among the Ojibway on Lake Superior. In 1843 Copway was posted for a year at the Saugeen Mission, moved to Rice Lake in 1844, but returned to Saugeen in 1845 where the Ojibway General Council elected him vice-president of their assembly. Unfortunately,

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123 Today, Copway Road, named after George Copway, runs through the Saugeen First Nation Reserve #29.
later that year, first the Saugeen band, then that of Rice Lake, accused him of
embezzlement. During the summer of 1846 he was imprisoned for several weeks
by the Indian Department, and expelled from the Canadian conference of the
Wesleyan Methodist Church. In the 1850s Copway published a number of
volumes, with the express goal of educating white people.

In presenting my life to the public, I do so with the greatest diffidence and
at the earnest solicitation of numerous friends. I am an Indian, and am
well aware of the difficulties I have to encounter to win the favorable
notice of the white man. Yet one great object prompts me to persevere,
and that is, that I may, in connection with my life, present the present
state and prospects of my poor countrymen – feeling that the friends of
humanity may still labor and direct their benevolence to those who were
once the lords of the land on which the white man lives – and assist in
rescuing them from an untimely and unchristian grave.

As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, one of the ways that Copway felt he
could access white audiences was to frame his messages within the settler
colonial worldview. Christianity was a key access point for a number of early
Indigenous peoples who sought to act as “cultural translators,” including
Copway. While other denominations were represented, Methodism was
dominant in Ontario in the mid-nineteenth century.

Converting the Anishinaabeg was an important part of the Methodist
agenda in Ontario. The removal of Indigenous peoples from the land is an

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124 Dictionary of Canadian Biography, “Kahgegagahbowh,”
125 George Copway, The Life, Letters and Speeches of Kahgegagahbow, or G. Copway (New York 1850), vii.
126 See, Cecilia Morgan, ”Kahgegagahbowh’s (George Copway’s) Transatlantic
Performance: Running Sketches, 1850,” Cultural and Social History 9, no. 4
(2012), 536-537.
127 Kathleen Buddle, ”Shooting the Messenger: Historical Impediments to the
Mediation of Modern Aboriginality in Ontario,” The Canadian Journal of Native
128 Clarke and Buffone, ”Social Regions in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Ontario”, 215.
129 Cecilia Morgan, Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of
explicit goal of settler colonialism and Methodist missionaries contributed towards this goal through their attempts to “uplift” Indigenous peoples out of existence, by way of assimilation/civilisation.130 Non-Indigenous missionaries sought to, “soften and humanize implications of political and economic conquest,” and worked to “justify and rationalize imperial expansion, arguing that ‘British’ or ‘white’ culture brought emancipation from ‘barbarism’ and ‘savagery’.”131 The Methodist dogma in mid-nineteenth century Upper Canada was rooted in a Victorian dualistic view of the world. The Victorian social world was divided into the masculine, competitive public world, and the feminine, virtuous domestic world.132 This kind of rigid division was not present in the Anishinaabe worldview, as discussed in Chapter Two. Everything in the Anishinaabe worldview is connected, and Methodism promoted a rigid Victorian gender divide that was all but foreign to the Anishinaabeg. By the 1850s, the Methodists in Upper Canada, “identified themselves as transplanted Britons.”133 These loyal connections to the Old World perpetuated a Victorian culture in Ontario that endured well into the twentieth century.134 That culture, and its dualistic view of the world had an enduring influence on relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Ontario.

134 Westfall, Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario, 205.
Saugeen was held up as an example of success with regard to Methodist conversion, with over forty converts as a result of missionary Conrad Van Dusen.\textsuperscript{135} George Copway found Methodist teachings aligned with major aspects of an Anishinaabe worldview and could be used to promote mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life), and justified conversion.\textsuperscript{136} The rigid divides within Methodist dogma subjected Anishinaabe women to the dominance of not only white settlers, but also to male Anishinaabe converts.\textsuperscript{137} However, Anishinaabe missionary men like George Copway could enter the public world, and leverage that power to promote a version of the Anishinaabe worldview that a non-Indigenous audience would listen to. This is what he did during his public lecture tours.

In Europe, Copway’s public lectures were about ‘the Indians of North America.’ He wrote about his experiences in the Old World, which were published in 1851. Upon his arrival in Great Britain, the Liverpool Times welcomed him as a “Chief of the Ojibway Nation”\textsuperscript{138}, which he was not, but he was Anishinaabe, which make his observations of the Old World particularly interesting for this study. His time in Scotland is of particular interest, as this chapter examines what Scottish people ‘thought they knew’ about the Indigenous peoples of North America before they arrived in the New World.

\textsuperscript{136} For an in-depth examination of Anishinaabe Methodism as a means to mino-bimaadiziwin see chapters 3-5 of, Catherine Murton Stoehr, "Salvation from Empire: The Roots of Anishinabe Christianity in Upper Canada,1650 – 1840" (Queen’s University, 2008).
\textsuperscript{138} George Copway, \textit{Running Sketches of Men and Places in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Scotland} (New York 1851), 42.
George Copway was, as far as they were concerned, a genuine Chief of the Ojibways.

Copway wrote that the Old World was new to him and he was eager to document all his observations, but he was also on a mission to educate white people.\textsuperscript{139} He was keenly aware of the prejudice many people held toward 'Indians', but he was determined to serve as a shining example of how much civilisation and education could benefit Indigenous peoples.

\begin{quote}
I will uphold my race – I will endeavor never to say nor do anything which will prejudice the mind of the British public against my people – In this land of refinement I will be an Indian – I will treat everyone in the manner of a gentleman – I will patiently answer all questions that may be asked – I will study these people and lay my own feelings aside.\textsuperscript{140}
\end{quote}

Copway could by no stretch of the imagination actually represent all Indigenous peoples of North America; however, this section is not testing the quality of his representation. Rather, it is examining his impressions of the Old World, and his interpretations of the Old World's impressions of him.

Copway captivated halls full of people with lectures about the terrible situation of 'Indians'. They had been forced off their land, and attempts to educate and introduce them to Christianity had been 'peculiar' in that they stressed differences between Indigenous peoples and colonists, rather than similarities that could be built upon.\textsuperscript{141}

With regard to the loss of land, he told potential Scottish emigrants:

\begin{quote}
Ever since the first settlement in North America, emigration has been pressing westward to the setting sun. For the last 350 years the avarice of the wicked white man has pawed and gnawed the property of the Indian, and has been crying every day, 'more land, more land;' and the Indian's
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid, 44.

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid, 55.

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid, 58-60.
wigwam has been destroyed, and he has felt the effects of the rapid stride of emigration; and this has kept him from improving, as he ought.\textsuperscript{142}

It is not unreasonable to think that accounts of having one’s land taken away would have garnered sympathy from many Scottish audience members. The Scottish Highlands had been undergoing the Clearances within recent memory. By 1850, thousands of Scottish people had already chosen to immigrate to North America in the wake of the Clearances. Many had seen the New World as a place where they would be free to keep their Scottish version of the Old World alive. Copway felt his critiques on Indigenous loss of land were very positively received, and his assertion “that justice might be done to the Indian by giving him a home from which he shall never be removed again” was met with rounds of applause from the Scottish audience.\textsuperscript{143}

Copway was in Scotland from 23 November to 5 December 1850. He was very impressed with the beauty of the Highlands, noting that the people were noble-hearted, sturdy, and loved to drink.\textsuperscript{144} Copway believed drinking was a shared vice of Scottish and Indigenous peoples. As such, many of his lectures in Scotland were on the subject of temperance; however, he also tried to educate his audiences by lecturing about Indigenous peoples of North America. With respect to his “brethren, the North American Indians,” he noted “the many evils which have tended to reduce, or demoralize, and to ruin them, since the discovery of the western continent.”\textsuperscript{145} He argued that the Indigenous peoples had only, thus far, been exposed to the “worst classes of society”, which had resulted in “the greatest prejudices against civilization or education in the minds

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid, 317.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid, 63.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid, 298.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid, 304.
of Indians.” However, Copway highlighted some successful examples of ‘civilised Indians’, despite growing Indigenous mistrust of white people.

The Ojibways are beginning to have several of their own seminaries amongst them, for the purpose of perpetuating pure principles in our country; and if living in brick houses, and having farm-yards, that are filled with different kinds of domestic animals, and fields that wave before the wind, are no signs of civilization, the Indians will never become civilized.

The Scottish audiences would have had no reason to question Copway’s expertise in the matter of Indigenous peoples of North America for they knew him to be an ‘Ojibway Chief’. In his lectures he was guilty of the very thing he had been critical of, which was highlighting differences between ‘Indians’ and white people. Lectures Copway delivered included, *The Religious Belief, Poetry and Eloquence of the N.A. Indians, The Peculiarities of the Indians – Their Manners and Customs, and The Probable Origin of the Indians and their Traditions, Courtship &c.* These lectures framed exotic facets of Indigenous identities but he would then follow up with examples of how the Indigenous peoples were, in fact, becoming more like white people. The resisters of civilising efforts stayed in remote areas and were unlikely to be encountered. If audience members decided to go to Canada, they could very likely have assumed that any ‘Indian’ they encountered would be like George Copway. This messaging was consistent with emigration guides and information pamphlets that have already been examined above: ‘real’ Indians are nearly all gone; the ones that have survived are more like us than you would expect.

Copway’s parting thoughts on Scotland hint that he felt a special

\[^{146}\text{Ibid, 306.}\]

\[^{147}\text{Ibid, 314.}\]

\[^{148}\text{Ibid, 325.}\]
connection with the Scottish people:

In Edinburgh there are warm hearts to be found for me and my race, though the character of the people is cold at first; but the longer I have known them has proved that they are not cold altogether. Long time ago I read the history of these people, particularly the Highlanders, and my predilections for this people before no doubt has had to do with the present visit.\(^{149}\)

His observations concerning the wild Highlands landscape -“the surrounding country looks as though no other people could live here but the Scotch people”\(^{150}\) -echo comments made by early colonists of North America about the Indigenous peoples.\(^{151}\) Both Scottish and Indigenous peoples, it would seem, were suited to life in the ‘wild’. The affinity Copway seemed to have for the Scots seemed to be reciprocated when Scots met Anishinaabeg on the Saugeen Peninsula during the early days of settlement, as exemplified from the above accounts of Scotsmen like Captain B. and Andrew Agnew.

The next chapter, Chapter Four, more fully examines the positive personal relationships between the early settlers in Saugeen Peninsula and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, while acknowledging the underlying settler belief that they were inherently superior to the Anishinaabeg. Later, Chapters Five and Six examine how Canadian policies, supported by settler colonial worldviews, increasingly focused on the eradication of Indigenous peoples and their worldviews, resulting in a dramatic deterioration of relationships between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and non-Indigenous peoples.

\(^{149}\) Ibid, 335.

\(^{150}\) Ibid, 337.

\(^{151}\) John Howison Esq., *Sketches of Upper Canada* (London1821), 148-149.
Chapter 4 – The Fourth Fire: Early Relationships in Saugeen

During the fourth Fire, the Anishinaabeg would be confronted by the light-skinned race and they would know the future of their people by what face the light-skinned-race wore. If they came wearing the face of neekonnisiwin (brotherhood), then there would be wonderful changes; however, the prophet warned the face of nibowin (death) could be easily mistaken for the neekkonisiwin.

[Fig. 4.1] Roy Fisher, “Indian Girl” (1932), in W.M. Brown, The Queen’s Bush (London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson Ltd., 1932), 144.

Manashay had coal black eyes and raven hair, sprightly as a young fawn and of a friendly disposition. She and Alice Beaumont quickly became bosom friends. It was very entertaining to listen to Manashay’s broken English. She gave Alice the name of the “Wild Rose” due no doubt to her high colour. She also taught Alice the Indian names of many articles and taught her some Chippeway words, to which Alice responded be teaching the Indian girl better English.¹

In this chapter, I have followed the example of historians like Henry Reynolds, who have read European texts ‘against the grain’ in order to piece together fragments of information and create a plausible mosaic.² Some of the earliest settlers wrote diaries, letters and journals, which were examined together with

articles from local newspapers, to create a picture of the early days of life on the Saugeen Peninsula. Overwhelmingly, the accounts, which cover the period from the late 1840s to the mid 1880s, indicate very positive personal relationships between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and the early settlers. These sources did not approach the documentation of interactions with the Anishinaabe with the same proto-anthropological mindset of the Jesuits or the travel diaries of settler artists and explorers, as examined in Chapter One of this thesis. Engagement with the Anishinaabeg was not contained to a certain chapter, or separated from everyday life. Stories and accounts of interactions with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation appear in snippets throughout settler diaries, because they were documenting life as it happened. The majority of the early settlers would have professed to be Christians; however, there were very few priests and ministers in the Great Lakes region until the late nineteenth century, so their beliefs were not practiced with diligence. Rather, a personal God and the categorisation of the world into dichotomies such as good and evil informed their Christianity.\(^3\)

Initially, settlers’ perceptions of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were based more heavily on lived experiences, rather than a particular set of assumptions. As examined in Chapter Three, the settler colonial worldview perpetuated deeply rooted beliefs of inherent settler superiority; however, on the spectrum of Christian ‘good’ and ‘evil’ settlers categorised the Saugeen as ‘good.’ This resulted in largely positive personal relationships between early settlers and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. The picture that emerges is that of Indigenous people and early settlers enjoying peaceful, respectful, nation-to-nation relationships.

During the course of research I was initially left wondering: If things were so good, how did they get so bad? I uncovered evidence, presented at the end of the chapter, which showed the experiential knowledge of positive personal relationships between settlers and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation started to disappear in the 1870s as the west opened up for settlement. By the thousands, settlers abandoned the less desirable farming land in the Saugeen Peninsula in favour of the lure of free land grants of prime farming land in the north-west. The settlers took with them the memories of how much the Saugeen Ojibway Nation had helped them during the difficult early years of settlement, and many of the close relationships between the settler and Anishinaabe communities were lost. The loss of these memories helps to explain the relatively rapid souring of relationships between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and settlers during the twentieth century.

Pauline Flynn is the great granddaughter of William Blair, a Scotsman who settled in the Saugeen Peninsula in 1848. Flynn’s grandmother Blair was a widow with seven children, and lived at the family homestead next to Pine River. Flynn recalled hearing stories of how an ‘Indian woman’, named Mrs. Bellemore, provided invaluable help raising the seven kids:

For years, the Indians, I guess the same family, asked if they could fish the

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4 "Bruce County (Ontario Map Ref #16)," (The Canadian County Atlas Digital Project: McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections Division, http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/CountyAtlas/default.htm, 1880). When I spoke with Ms. Flynn in 2010, at her home on Ottawa Ontario, she was 90 years old. She was born January 23, 1920.
river, and I don’t know how long they stayed there but it must have been spring and summer, for many years. And in that time, grandma said, although she helped them out as much as she could, she said she learned more from Mrs. Bellemore than she had given them.\(^5\)

Flynn’s grandmother referred to Bellemore as a ‘natural nurse’, because Bellemore showed her medicines that could be found growing on the land around her homestead. Mrs. Blair used the medicines to care for her children, noting “for example, they boiled up the burdock leaves when you had pneumonia. Evidently it opened up the lymph glands, so you could breathe.”\(^6\) The close relationship between Mrs. Blair and Mrs. Bellemore continued for many years, until Mrs. Bellemore said she was being moved to a reserve, and would not be able to travel to Pine River anymore. Mrs. Bellemore gifted Flynn’s grandmother a small iron cooking pot, to thank Blair for all the kindness she had shown over the years [Fig. 4.4]. The cooking pot was passed down to Flynn’s mother, Annie (pictured bottom far right in Fig. 4.3), and then to Flynn.

\(^5\) Pauline Flynn, interview by Christopher J. Wright, 2010.  
\(^6\) Ibid.
[Fig. 4.2, above] Picture of Mrs. Bellemore on the Blair homestead (photo courtesy of P. Flynn).

[Fig. 4.3, below left] Mrs. Blair’s seven children (photo courtesy of P. Flynn).

[Fig. 4.4, below right] Small iron cooking pot, gifted to Blair by Bellemore (photo by author).
Flynn remembered when couples from the reserve would come door-to-door selling baskets, until about the 1930s: “they came to the house every year. We always got baskets or something from them. Because I still had memories of the contact that my grandma had made with them, so I felt always sort of sympathetic, shall I say? Because I remember how cross grandma was with moving them all to the reserve.” Flynn said her grandmother was cross with the situation because, “she didn’t think it was fair for the government to do this to people. To make them go and live in a certain place.”

The positive relationship Blair had with Bellemore left a lasting impression on Flynn. However, it was not only Flynn’s ancestors who remembered Mrs. Bellemore.

Jane Yemen moved to Huron Township in 1867, and wrote many letters and articles documenting her experiences. Yemen wrote, “my mother and Mrs. George Blair remembered Mrs. Bellemore very well and were agreed that she was an industrious sensible woman who could give assistance in time of illness.” They identified Mrs. Bellmore as an ‘Indian’ and believed her to be the daughter of a Chief. She was married to Louis Bellemore, who reportedly ‘squatted’ on lot #19, beside Pine River, which was very close to the Blair home, located on lot #25. Within a small, tight knit community, it is unsurprising that Mrs. Bellemore would have had occasion to help a number of settlers when they were sick. In the early days of settlement, visits to a doctor were not usually possible. Pauline Flynn shared the personal diary of another of her ancestors who settled on the

7 Ibid.
9 Norman Robertson, The History of the County of Bruce (Toronto: William Briggs, 1906), 30. The 1880 Huron County map confirms the Blair homestead lot number.
Saugeen Peninsula, Malcolm Lamont, and it reveals a number of the other challenges that faced early pioneers of the Queen’s Bush.\(^{10}\)

Lamont was born in 1857, just two years after his parents settled in the Queen’s Bush upon their arrival from Lyndale, Isle of Skye, Scotland. His diary is an account of, “the everyday life of the pioneers, the problems they faced and the hardships they endured, as they carved a home out of a seemingly hostile environment.”\(^{11}\) The diary is a collection of memories, which collectively indicate that his relationships with the Anishinaabeg were minimal, but all his encounters were positive.

Lamont recalled being ten years old, going to his fishing spot and finding, “a light cedar canoe, an Indian dugout – a real dandy.” He taught himself to use the unusually narrow canoe over many subsequent visits to the fishing site, remarking, “two strokes of a good paddle would send it a hundred feet... it was the easiest thing to paddle I ever saw.”\(^{12}\) He also marvelled at the craftsmanship of the Indian made axe handles that were sold at the hardware store in town.\(^{13}\) The entries in Lamont’s diary that address the dangers facing early settlers included warnings of bears; wolves; wasps and hornets; losing livestock in the bush; mad dogs; and deep snow.\(^{14}\) The only group of people that were feared was the Fenians from the United States. He wrote, “we did not know who the Fenians were or what the Fenians meant; we only knew that Fenians were terrible, some bad men who murdered and killed everyone, and who were coming to Canada

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\(^{10}\) The area became known as the Queen's Bush following the 1836 Treaty with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation.


\(^{12}\) Ibid, 39.

\(^{13}\) Ibid, 68.

\(^{14}\) Ibid, 117, 58, 38, 125, 45.
any day.” Based on Lamont’s recollections, it seems that the threat of Fenians was a convenient way to get children to travel in groups and head directly home after school. Lamont was not alone in his fear of Fenians as Allan Ross also recalled a Fenian scare. A church service was interrupted by news of an armed flotilla of Fenians approaching, and people “immediately dispersed with far more haste than dignity.” The panic subsided when the flotilla got close enough for people to realise it was only, “a number of canoes coming from Cape Croker laden with Indians, who doubtless would have diverted had they known what a sensation they had stirred up.” It is fairly clear that early settlers did not automatically categorise their Indigenous neighbours as either a danger or a threat. The core Anishinaabe values of reciprocity and sharing, presented in Chapter Two, would have been apparent to the early settlers, and their opinions were built on experiential knowledge, rather than a set of assumptions.

An 'Indian encounter’ was largely not an event unto itself. Mentions of ‘Indians’ appear at random, throughout the collections, which reflects the everyday nature of relationships between the Anishinaabeg and early settlers. Indigenous people were seen as different, but also a non-threatening part of everyday life as a pioneer. They were sources of knowledge, sporting opponents, trading partners, friends, and sometimes spouses. Recollections of encounters

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16 Allan H. Ross, Reminiscences of North Sydenham: A Retrospective Sketch of the Villages of Leith and Annan, Grey County, Ontario. (Owen Sound: Richardson, Bond & Wright, Limited, 1924), 78.
17 The set of assumptions presented in Chapter Three – would be reintroduced as a basis for relationships from 1880 as settlers with experiential knowledge moved west in the 1870s. Also, for an examination of the fundamental Indigenous values of reciprocity and sharing in the Australian context see, Reynolds, The Other Side from the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia, 133.
with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation in early settler accounts fall into three general categories: teaching, helping, and sports and recreation.

**Teaching**

Teaching is a broad category, because early settlers had a lot to learn about living in the Queen's Bush. Conditions were harsh, and the work was hard. The Saugeen Ojibway Nation freely shared information, knowledge, and resources, which helped many settlers survive in the Bush. Mrs. Bellemore shared her knowledge of medicines, which was very important because often Indigenous remedies were the only accessible treatments. The ‘hostile environment’ described in Malcolm Lamont’s diary was also capable of sustaining a very good life.¹⁸

W.M. Brown wrote of Anishinaabeg from Saugeen setting up camp in the late fall in the woods on a settler’s land during a hunting and trapping expedition in the early 1850s. They remained in camp for a number of weeks, waiting for ice to form on the river and streams. While the men hunted, the women made clothes, baskets and beaded purses to sell and “found ready purchasers amongst the settlers.”¹⁹ Farmers brought baked goods to trade for tanned skins or pelts of fur, but a Saugeen man, identified as Kubassey, offered to teach them how to hunt coons. The next night Guy and Alex Beaumont, Steve Neubecker, Jack Haag and Pat Godfrey took Kubassey up on his offer. Kubassey stopped at the base of an old maple and the men looked up, but they could not make out any raccoons in the tree in the dark. Kubassey held a lantern high above his head and circled the base of the tree. This trick caused the light to reflect in the raccoon’s eyes,

¹⁸ Lamont, "Bush Days", 1.
giving up their location in the trees. Guy shot at the shimmering eyes and a raccoon fell to the ground.\textsuperscript{20} Kubassey had taught them a trick that allowed them to hunt coons at night.

There are a number of early settler accounts of collecting maple sap in the spring to make sugar.\textsuperscript{21} This was a process the settlers learned from the Anishinaabeg and then shared with each other; however, the Queen’s Bush offered another natural sweet treat: honey. In the early 1850s, Peter Niwash, from Saugeen, called at the Beaumont homestead and took their children – Alice, Mary, Guy and Alex – into the woods to get some honey. Upon finding a big tree, full of honeycomb, Peter chopped it down and then set fire to green grass to produce a ‘smudge’. The smoke smudge calmed the bees and they could collect the honey.\textsuperscript{22} Peter continued his lesson by showing the children how to follow the bees, to find another honey tree. At one point, a neighbour named Jack Haag showed up to help, but made unwanted advances on Alice Beaumont. Alice immediately ran to Peter Niwash for protection.\textsuperscript{23} Not only did the Beaumont’s trust Niwash enough to send their children into the woods alone with him, the children saw him as a protector. Alice became very close with a girl named Manashay, who was the daughter of John Kubassey, of Saugeen.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, 103-105.
\textsuperscript{22} The Queen’s Bush: A Tale of Early Days of Bruce County, 116-117.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, 120.
Alice traveled to visit Manashay at the ‘Indian Camp’ at the mouth of the Saugeen River in Southampton on her own, with the permission of her parents. She was also able to convince the Lamonts, Gordons, Stewarts, and Everetts to let their children join her on the adventure.\(^\text{24}\) It was not common for settlers to visit the Saugeen in their camp; however, social visits were not unheard of. It was much more common for the settlers to provide the Saugeen hospitality in their homes when the Saugeen were on hunting trips.\(^\text{25}\) Jane Yemen recalled that “six or eight Indians according to custom” walked right into Hugh Cameron’s house “without knocking.”\(^\text{26}\) On that occasion, the Anishinaabeg were down from Saugeen to see if there was anything the settlers wanted to trade for baskets they had made, but Yemen noted that they made regular visits to the mouth of Pine

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\(^{24}\) Ibid, 136-138.  
\(^{25}\) Ibid, 149.  
\(^{26}\) Yemen, 1850-1950 Scrapbooks of J.F. Yemen, 60. According to the 1880 Bruce County Map, Hugh Cameron had lots close to Pine River, north of William Blair.
River to collect herbs and medicines. The simple honesty of these seemingly minor details, noted almost as asides in journals and letters, provide powerful evidence that the common contemporary belief that Indigenous-settler relationships have always been adversarial is not true. There was a time when eight members of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation could walk into a settler’s house, without knocking, to borrow a cup of sugar and nobody thought anything of it. In fact, the next section shows that settlers were often happy to see ‘Indians’.

**Helping**

Settling the land, especially unfamiliar landscapes, required improvisation and adaptation on the part of Europeans, which was paralleled by the improvisation and adaptation of the Anishinaabe, grappling with a New World. This section examines the ways in which settlers and the Anishinaabe would help each other as they faced these challenges. The life of a pioneer could be quite solitary at times, with large distances of dense bush between homesteads. Brown noted that life in the Queen’s Bush could be “lonely in the extreme, the settler’s only visitor being an occasional Indian.” The Saugeen Ojibway Nation helped settlers avoid total isolation and loneliness. Mrs. John Weldrick’s daughter wrote down a story told to her by her mother. “Mother was a year and two months without seeing a white woman, but one day in the summer two Indian woman carrying a papoose stole cautiously near and nearer to the shanty. Mother was so pleased to see them she opened the door, when they turned to flee, but stopped

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27 Ibid, 60.
28 This was true within the Australian context as well see, Reynolds, *The Other Side from the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia*, 199-200.
as she held up her baby and smiled and beckoned to them.” The women from Saugeen ended up becoming regular visitors to the Weldrick homestead, bringing baskets to trade and teaching Mrs. Weldrick about elm-mushrooms and other food that could be found around her homestead. David Kennedy, who was born in Scotland but settled in the Saugeen Peninsula in 1851, wrote that he was always happy, “to receive calls from the Indians, who were often passing up and down the river in their canoes.” Kennedy fondly remembered listening to “native oratory” and listening to them sing temperance songs, and even learning some Anishinaabemowin (language) in the winter of 1851. Yemen wrote that the Anishinaabeg also camped near the Pine River Post Office frequently and they were, “very friendly with the settlers, and especially with the young folk, who visited them often.” Sometimes the Anishinaabeg would stay and sing hymns in the kitchens of settlers after stopping by to trade items or collect medicine. So the visits were both business and social.

The Anishinaabeg knew the land well, and could travel through the Queen’s Bush considerably faster than settlers. People from Saugeen Ojibway Nation agreed to go get doctors in distant towns when the need was dire on more than one occasion. Dick Everett broke his shoulder out in the woods while collecting sap to make maple sugar. When two men from Saugeen Ojibway Nation came across Everett and his friend, they immediately agreed to travel 50

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31 Ibid, 301.
32 David Kennedy, *Incidents of Pioneer Days at Guelph and the County of Bruce* (Toronto 1903), 65. Interestingly, during the course of research for this thesis, I discovered that this particular David Kennedy is one of my ancestors.
33 Ibid, 69.
miles to fetch a doctor.\textsuperscript{36} The 1 July 1858 issue of a local paper had a story from a doctor wishing to reward the ‘Indians’ that came to seek him and “saved a white man.”\textsuperscript{37} It is not clear if the two accounts are one in the same; however, it seems unlikely. Everett’s account implies it happened a few years earlier, and he knew the men from Saugeen Ojibway Nation, Niwash and Kubassey. It is more likely that the newspaper story is an additional example of the Anishinaabeg helping their neighbours in time of need.

**Sports & Recreation**

In a letter dated 3 June 1873 the Chiefs of the Saugeen Band informed Indian Agent William Bartlett that they had hired J. S. Johns as a Band Master and he was to teach them how to play instruments. They instructed Bartlett to use some of the money that had been set aside to buy musical instruments.\textsuperscript{38} The Cape Croker Brass Band flourished under Johns’ leadership. The brass band had rehearsals every two weeks with Johns, and soon they became very well known throughout the Saugeen Peninsula and were often the featured entertainment at community events.\textsuperscript{39} A letter to the editor of the Wiarton Echo expressed disappointment that Wiarton did not have its own band. The author noted the Cape Croker band was adding a great deal of enjoyment to local festivities, and it was a lost opportunity for Wiarton to have not done something similar.\textsuperscript{40} The person who wrote to the Echo’s editorial staff was not the only person who

\textsuperscript{36} Brown, *The Queen’s Bush: A Tale of Early Days of Bruce County*, 171.
\textsuperscript{37} *The Comet*, 1 July 1858.
\textsuperscript{39} *Wiarton Echo*, 25 July 1879.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, 29 August 1879.
thought the brass band was exceptional - the *Echo* published a number of uniformly complimentary reviews of the band between 1879 and 1884.

One review of the brass band appeared just two weeks after they published the letter to the editor. It stated, "the Saugeen Indian brass band were in the village yesterday and treated the inhabitants to some fine music. They are excellent musicians, and to do them some credit, we must add the Saugeen Indians are far ahead of Wiarton on the band question."\(^{41}\) This positive review was further confirmed by the review of band’s 1879 Christmas concert, “INDIAN CONCERT - The concert given here by the Cape Croker Indian Concert Band was a decided success, both as to the number in attendance and the quality of both as to the number in attendance and the quality of the performance. Mr. J.S. Johns, leader of the Owen Sound band, had the band under his tuition, and considering the fact they have but a very short time organized this, their first effort was commendable. During the evening an address was delivered by Chief Peter Jones in the Indian language, and interpreted by Mr. Fred Lamorandiere, which received the applause of the audience."\(^{42}\) The band had become a visible part of community life and local celebrations on the Saugeen Peninsula. The band played at various social events, private dinner parties, and would “treat” locals to their “sweet strains” whenever they were passing through Wiarton; however, there were two particularly noteworthy performances that deserve special note.\(^{43}\)

First, in June of 1880 the brass band performed at a picnic for the children of the Christian Sabbath School, their friends, and a few teachers. They were all taken by boat, along with the brass band, to a small island for the picnic. It was

\(^{41}\) Ibid, 12 September 1879.
\(^{42}\) Ibid, 9 January 1880.
\(^{43}\) Ibid, 2 April 1881; 13 July 1883; 14 March 1884; 15 August 1884.
noted that their performance was especially impressive considering the short
time they had been practicing. This first instance is noteworthy because the
school trusted them around many children, with only a few other adults to
supervise. It is hardly likely that children would be sent to an island with anyone
who was considered dangerous, or savage. The second noteworthy performance
was at the Dominion Day celebrations in 1883. It was a very large, important
event with people coming together from many different settler communities. A
number of “first class city bands” performed, and it was reported that the Cape
Croker brass band represented Wiarton well. Dominion Day was a celebration
commemorating the formation of Canada as a Dominion on 1 July 1867. It
speaks highly of the relationships between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and area
settlers that the settlers were proud to be represented by a group of Anishinaabe
men from Saugeen at such a significant event.

The brass band also played at lacrosse games, and Cape Croker had a top-
notch team. They would often play the Wiarton Club, with the ladies of Wiarton
putting on a picnic to make games an enjoyable daylong event. The Cape team
regularly defeated the Wiartonian team in good-natured matches. Even when
Cape won all three games in one day, fun was still had by all. The brass band
played some "choice selections" and spirits were lifted. The lacrosse matches
were hotly anticipated social events and there was great disappointment when
they had to be postponed.

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44 Ibid, 25 June 1880.
46 It was renamed Canada Day by an Act of Parliament on 27 October 1982.
47 *Wiarton Echo*, 5 September 1879.
48 Ibid, 12 September 1879, 17 October 1879.
49 Ibid, 10 October 1879.
Racial and cultural differences between the Saugeen and settlers were certainly recognised by all; however, strong, positive personal relationships grew despite the differences. David Kennedy recognised several times that he was the only white man for miles around, but never indicated he felt like he was in danger or threatened. W.M. Brown also noted there were very few white settlers in the Queen’s Bush, with the majority of the bush being “primeval forest – the home of wild Indians and wild beasts.” The “wild Indians” reference was a descriptive flourish, drawing on the familiar ‘civilised’ and ‘savage’ narrative tool that was popularised during the Scottish Enlightenment. The other stories in his journal reveal genuine admiration for Indigenous hunting skills and knowledge of the land, and settlers trusted people from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation enough to send kids alone into the woods with them. Local newspapers only had one story prior to the mid 1880s that mentioned Indigenous people being involved in violent conflict.

On 26 March 1880, the Wiarton Echo ran a story the editor found in the 23 March issue of the London Examiner, “Strange Story: An Indian in Walkerton Jail Charged with Three Murders.” It told the story of Dave Richie, “an Indian well-known in the County of Bruce,” shooting people for trying to steal lumber in

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50 Anishinaabe worldviews, as discussed in Chapter Two, provide a framework to assimilate outsiders while maintaining mutually beneficial relationships. White society was less able to assimilate outsiders in terms of equality, because of perceived fundamental differences attributed to racial divides, which will be examined in more detail in Chapters Five and Six if this thesis. For an examination of similar processes in the Australian context see, Reynolds, The Other Side from the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia, 151.

51 Kennedy, Incidents of Pioneer Days at Guelph and the County of Bruce, 25, 127.

However, the story reveals that the three people he killed were also from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. The settler population reportedly was sympathetic to the families of the murdered men, and felt that Ritchie should have been made to ‘swing’ long ago. People were pleased justice was finally going to be served. Perhaps the paper thought the story “strange” because this was atypical behaviour from what they had experienced from living alongside the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. Other issues of the Echo in 1880 describe people from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation as being unable to tell a lie, as well as being “peace abiding and well behaved.” The reputation of being honest and law abiding benefited the Saugeen Ojibway Nation when a settler tried to get out of trouble by blaming ‘savages’.

A series of letters from 1859 reveal that a settler named George Jardine tried to charge the Saugeen Ojibway Nation with arson and claim damages from the Indian Department. Jardine was bankrupt and had not paid the rent for his fishing island, so his lease was not renewed. He travelled to Toronto and told the Commissioner of Crown Lands that he had a claim against the Indian Department that would cover the money he owed in arrears. His claim was that his “house was burnt by the Indians... destroyed by the Saugeen bands” and he wanted compensation. Jardine’s claims were dismissed because there was no proof to support his claim that people from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation had committed arson. In fact, the people handling the case, knowing both Jardine and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, thought it was much more likely that Jardine had

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53 Wiarton Echo, 26 March 1880.
54 Ibid.
55 Wiarton Echo, 11 June 1880, 28 May 1880.
burned down his own house and clumsily fabricated an implausible story to try and blame “wild Indians.”\textsuperscript{57} Indigenous knowledge helped early settlers create a good life, and in the process fostered positive personal relationships between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and settlers. However, over 40 years of experiential memories of positive relationships between settlers and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation started to disappear when prime farmland started becoming available in the newly established province of Manitoba. Settlers left the Saugeen Peninsula en masse to move west.

The land west of Ontario had very few settlers prior to the 1870s. Indigenous groups that still lived in a largely traditional way inhabited the land. This included moving camps with the season in order to have access to the best natural resources. Unfortunately, a lack of settlements was of great concern to a government that was concerned of the United States pushing north. The proclamation of 1763 granted Indigenous peoples the rights of a self-governing people on ‘foreign’ land, which limited the government’s ability to access land for settlement.\textsuperscript{58} However, in 1867 the British North America Act, section 91, subsection 24, gave the government exclusive jurisdiction over “Indians and Indian land”. The ultimate goal was to get rid of special status via policies of civilisation and assimilation.\textsuperscript{59} The goal of assimilation was made explicit in 1869 when the British North America Act was amended and an Act for the gradual

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
enfranchisement of Indians was passed. A national police force was then established in 1873. The North West Mounted Police (NWMP) were a visible source of Canadian sovereignty against the United States. The NWMP helped new settlers and maintained law and order as the area transitioned from wilderness to communities, but they also managed Indigenous peoples transitioning to living on reserves.

Superintendent General David Laird declared in 1876 that it was Canada’s duty to prepare Aboriginal people “for a higher civilization by encouraging him to assume the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship.” The majority of Indigenous people west of Ontario on the Prairies had signed the numbered treaties by this time and the federal government wanted to consolidate all the previous laws concerning Indigenous people. The treaties signed with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation between 1836 and 1861 – discussed in the next chapter - became the loose model on which numbered treaties in the Prairies were based. These treaties opened up the land for settlement, but additional legislation was taking into consideration the government’s new goals of assimilation. The Indian Act of 1876 became the foundation for all of Canada’s future Indian legislation, but perhaps most notably it turned Indigenous people into legal wards of the state. The Act paved the way to get rid of old tribal systems of communal self-governance by encouraging enfranchisement and a concept of private property. It did so by defining who was an ‘Indian’ and then

60 Ibid, 131.
61 In 1920, the NWMP merged with the Dominion Police, who were established to protect Ottawa’s Parliament buildings, and became collectively known as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), or the now iconic “Mounties.”
defining exactly how ‘Indians’ could become enfranchised.\textsuperscript{63} One of the ways Indigenous peoples could enfranchise was by using the land as settlers would and become farmers off-reserve. As the numbered treaties were signed, huge areas of prime farming land were opening up for settlement.

The Queen’s Bush in Ontario was dense with growth and a lot of labour was required to clear and drain the land for planting. The farms were considered poor because they were often swampy or full of hardwood brush, or both.\textsuperscript{64} There would often be a number of stumps within a ten-acre clearing that were simply too big to remove so farmers had to work around them.\textsuperscript{65} It was not ideal farming land. This is the main reason the Saugeen Peninsula was one of the last areas of Ontario to be settled. When land west of Ontario was open for settlement following the signing of the numbered treaties, news travelled quickly that it was ideal for farming. The \textit{Dominion Lands Act} of 1872 made the west even more appealing to people in Ontario. It included a section on ‘Homestead rights or Free grant lands’ which stated that if heads of family older than 21 years of age occupied and cultivated land and built a residence within three years of their arrival, they would become owners of the land. The \textit{Act} was further amended in 1879 to allow heads of families over the age of 18 to benefit from the same provisions.\textsuperscript{66} Settlers started leaving the Queen’s Bush, headed for the west and the promise of free land that was easier to farm.

The majority of people who emigrated west in the 1870s and 1880s were

\textsuperscript{63} Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy", 132.
\textsuperscript{64} Lamont, "Bush Days", 19.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid, 46.
A meeting was held in Southampton in the heart of the Saugeen Peninsula on 16 April 1875 to discuss the motion:

That from the experience we have had as settlers in the county of Bruce, we believe the system of settling by the formation of a colony is attended by less hardships and privations than many of us endured in the early settlement of this county; that being anxious to plant a colony in the province of Manitoba from the county of Bruce, immediate steps be taken to further this project, and that a suitable location be made as speedily as possible.

The motion was carried and marked the beginning of mass emigration “of the most energetic and enterprising of each generation” until the west was full of people from the Saugeen Peninsula. Thousands of young men and women moved west, leaving behind settlers who thought they were too old to make the move. The population of the Canadian prairies grew to over 250,000 between 1871 and 1891. The result was a huge decline of the settler population in the Saugeen Peninsula during the same period.

The loss of memories of positive, respectful, and mutually beneficial relationships between settlers and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation happened at the same time the government was increasing efforts to enfranchise Indigenous peoples. This further damaged personal relationships because one of the tactics of the government was to focus on differences between settlers and Indigenous people, and attach fear to those differences. This will be examined more closely in Chapter Six of this thesis. But first, the next chapter will examine treaties and treaty making protocols between Indigenous peoples and Europeans from the late seventeenth century and then contrast those protocols with five contentious

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67 Ibid.
68 Robertson, *The History of the County of Bruce*, 118-119.
69 Ibid, 119.
70 “Manitoba (1870)”.
71 *The History of the County of Bruce*, 152.
treaties made in the Saugeen Peninsula between 1836 and 1861. In response, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation petitioned to uphold their rights and interests in relation to the treaties; however, tensions between Anishinaabe worldviews and settler colonial worldviews were becoming increasingly tangible.
Chapter 5 – The Fifth Fire: Saugeen Treaties 1836-1861

The fifth Fire would represent a time of great struggle for the Anishinaabeg. There will come a person who holds a promise of joy and salvation. If the Anishinaabeg accept this promise of a new way and abandon the old teachings, then the struggle of the fifth Fire will be with their people for many generations. The promise that will come during the fifth Fire would be a false promise, and all those that accept will nearly destroy the Anishinaabeg.

“The picture of Indian life by the end of the nineteenth century in Ontario is a dismal one. Gradually, Indians had retreated to their reserves, becoming increasingly invisible. Racism ran rampant in rural villages, as it did in federal government policy.”

The earliest treaties in the Americas were peace treaties, agreements to share the land. The protocol for these treaties was developed over centuries, by Indigenous peoples, before Europeans arrived in the Americas. The early Indigenous-Euro treaties followed the Indigenous protocol until European desire shifted from sharing to possession and control. The process of treaty negotiations saw drastic changes in the nineteenth century. This is when the tensions between Anishinaabe worldviews and the Settler Colonial worldviews of the day, presented in Chapters Two and Three of this thesis, started to have a real impact on Indigenous-Settler relationships. This chapter examines first, the earliest treaties between Indigenous peoples and Europeans, and traditional protocol of treaty making. This establishes the perspective with which the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were entering treaty negotiations – treaties were about relationships, with each treaty informing the next. However, in the nineteenth century the Crown started viewing each treaty as discrete, transactional events.

Treaty texts, letters, and government documents provide evidence which reveals, as the Crown’s intentions for the land changed, it abused the trust that had been established during their participation in traditional treaty protocol. The Crown repeatedly violated both traditional protocols and its own established protocols, which had been enacted into law. The initial treaty violations resulted in early non-Indigenous support of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s interests and rights, and the Saugeen turned to petitioning in order to assert their position; however, the support and petitions had little impact on the Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s ability to retain access to their traditional lands and ways of life. Prior to 1836, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation enjoyed over 2 million acres. Between 1836 and 1861, after the Crown obtained five separate treaties, Saugeen Ojibway Nation territory was reduced by over 98%, to just under 29,000 acres. This was accomplished through illegal tactics, broken promises, and deception on the part of the Crown. Somewhat surprisingly, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s frustration and anger toward the Crown did not translate to negative relationships with the settlers. The experiential relationships between the Anishinaabe and settlers examined in the previous chapter remained overall very positive during the same period.

**Foundational Treaties**

Treaties in Canada are historically significant events at a national level because they are the foundation of Indigenous-Settler relationships. However, most Canadians have a very limited understanding of the treaties.² I am starting with

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² Recent publications of the Union of Ontario Indians have focused on addressing the lack of awareness/understanding the general Canadian population has
the Indigenous understanding of treaties because conventional, popular interpretations construct the treaties as moments of Indigenous peoples selling and/or surrendering their rights to the land. Maria Nugent has argued that significant events in national histories create “meanings that stick,” and the nationalistic perspective can have far-reaching and enduring effects.³ For me, the truth in this argument is driven home whenever non-Indigenous Canadians find out about my research and start asking me questions. I am usually asked some variation of, What do they want from us? or, What would make them happy? My standard response is, We can start by honouring the treaties. To that, I can expect one of two responses: either a blank stare or, But, what does that mean? The Indigenous perspective of treaties is a response to that poignant question.⁴

The Dish With One Spoon wampum belt is a well-documented example of one of the early Indigenous treaties, representing a peace agreement between the Anishinaabeg and Haudenosaunee (Six Nations). The oral traditions of wampum belts are a formal, highly allegorical language, which serve as a tangible reminder of peace agreements.⁵ The Dish With One Spoon treaty represented an agreement to view the land as a dish from which all could eat

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⁴ Maria Nugent has also argued the importance of the ‘Aboriginal eyewitness’ for their ability to provide evidence of alternate perspectives that were silenced in favour of nation-building narratives, revealing the ‘abuse’ and ‘misuse’ of colonial history-making. "Historical Encounters: Aboriginal Testimony and Colonial Forms of Commemoration," Aboriginal History 30 (2006), 45.
together, and where everyone was welcome to hunt for sustenance on shared land. The first written reference to this treaty dates back to 1701 when the French invited the nations for a grand council to try to achieve peace in the Great Lakes area. It is unclear from this grand council whether the treaty was established in 1701, or if it was a pre-existing treaty that was renewed. Treaty renewal was common. Reverend Peter Jones, an Anishinaabe man, was the secretary at council where there was a renewal of the Dish With One Spoon treaty on Tuesday 21 January 1840, in addition to three other peace treaties between the Anishinaabeg and Haudenosaunee.

The Onondaga chief, John Buck, made a speech and exhibited the wampum belts, the memorials of the old treaties, and explained the talks contained in them. There were four belts or strings of wampum.

The first contained the first treaty made between the Six Nations [Haudenosaunee] and the Ojebways [Anishinaabeg]. This treaty was made many years ago, when the great council was held at the east end of Lake Ontario. The belt was in the form of a dish or bowl in the centre, which the chief said represented that the Ojebways and Six Nations were all to eat out of the same dish; that is, to have all their game in common. In the centre of the bowl were a few white wampums, which represented a beaver’s tail, the favorite dish of the Ojebways. At this council the treaty of friendship was formed, and an agreement was made for ever after to call each other BROTHERS. This treaty was made so strong that if a tree fell across their arms it could not separate them or cause them to unloose their hold.

The unbreakable grip of joined arms, mentioned in the final sentence above, is an important metaphor. It comes from the Kanianerenko:wa (Great Law/Great Goodness). Chiefs linked their arms together in a show of solidarity and to

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7 Peter Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians: With Especial Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity; with a Brief Memoir of the Writer (AW Bennett, 1861), 118-119.
represent their single-minded goal to perpetuate peace. This important symbolism can be found in a wampum belt dating back to 1613 between the Dutch and the Haudenosaunee, the Two Row Wampum.

Chief Jacob Thomas’ (Cayuga) oral history reading of the Two Row Wampum was recorded by Michael Foster, Curator Emeritus at the Canadian Museum of Civilisation, in May of 2007. He said there was not much ‘love’ between the settlers and Indigenous peoples, so the parties came together to mend the discord and foster mutual respect. They agreed on symbols of their new relationship. First, they would have friendship and love, as the Creator intended, which would lead to peace. They would also take the other by the hand and call him ‘brother’, because brothers are equal and cannot control each other. They agreed to solidify their agreements with a three-link chain. The first link stands for friendship, the second link symbolises good minds, and the third means there will always be peace. The principles of the agreement are also three fold. They both have their own authority and do not have jurisdiction over each other, they have their own respective beliefs, and they have their own respective laws. The term of the agreement was for as long as the sun shines, the waters flow, and the wild grasses grow at a certain time of year. This agreement is documented on the belt using two parallel lines that stretch its length, representing the path of a canoe (Indigenous peoples) and the path of a boat

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9 Some scholars question the validity of the document purporting to represent the 1613 treaty and a connection to the Two Row Wampum. However, Jon Parmenter, an Associate Professor of History at Cornell University, makes a convincing argument that a consistent stand of Haudenosaunee oral tradition regarding the Two Row treaty and its terms can be aligned with the surviving evidence in the European-authored documentary record. Jon Parmenter, "Letter to the Editor," Post Standard, 15 August 2012.
(Europeans). Inside each boat they put their respective beliefs and laws. People who get in the boat will be guided by it, and people who get into the canoe will be guided by ways of the canoe. The spirit and intentions of the Two Row were guiding principles of future treaty negotiations.

In 1764, the Anishinaabeg made their first treaty with the British, and sealed it with two belts: the Covenant Chain Wampum, and the 24 Nations Wampum. These belts were the basis of the Anishinaabeg-British alliance, and set the stage for future treaty relations.\textsuperscript{10} This event served to ratify the Royal Proclamation of 1763, a document that defined the relationship between the Crown and Indigenous peoples as one of nation-to-nation. Quoting the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) report, Indigenous scholar and lawyer, Doctor Pamela Palmater (Mi’kmaq), points out that British and French relations with Indigenous peoples were “conducted on the basis of the assumption that their Aboriginal counterparts possessed the political, territorial, and economic

\textsuperscript{10} Corbiere, "International Treaties: Anishinaabeg and Haudenosaunee", 4.
characteristics of nationhood.” It was the *Royal Proclamation* that made some very important statements regarding the Crown’s relationship with Indigenous peoples in Canada.

*The Royal Proclamation,* issued by King George III in 1763, officially claimed British territory in North America after Britain won the Seven Years War. It stated that ownership over North America was issued to King George; however, the *Proclamation* also explicitly acknowledged Indigenous claims to land, and that all land would be considered Indigenous until it was ceded by treaty. The following passage is of particular importance,

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our Interest, and the Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds -- We do therefore, with the Advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure, that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida. or West Florida, do presume, upon any Pretence whatever, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass any Patents for Lands beyond the Bounds of their respective Governments. as described in their Commissions: as also that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our other Colonies or Plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further Pleasure be known, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass Patents for any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West and North West, or upon any Lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

The *Proclamation* was designed and written by the Crown without Indigenous input, in order to establish a monopoly over Indigenous lands; however, even if unintentionally, it severely limits the ways in which the Crown

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12 King George III, "Royal Proclamation," (Court at St. James’, 3 October 1763).
can acquire Indigenous lands. Indigenous peoples were recognised as self-determining nations, with the right to give up lands on their own terms. This would include a need to respect and incorporate Indigenous understandings of treaties. The Proclamation even recognised that there had already been incidents of “fraud” and “abuse” concerning the supposed transfer of Indigenous title of lands,

And whereas great Frauds and Abuses have been committed in purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of our Interests, and to the great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians: In order, therefore, to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our Justice and determined Resolution to remove all reasonable Cause of Discontent, We do, with the Advice of our Privy Council strictly enjoin and require, that no private Person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our Colonies where We have thought proper to allow Settlement: but that, if at any Time any of the Said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be Purchased only for Us, in our Name, at some public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that Purpose by the Governor or Commander in Chief of our Colony respectively within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any Proprietary Government, they shall be purchased only for the Use and in the name of such Proprietaries, conformable to such Directions and Instructions as We or they shall think proper to give for that Purpose: And we do, by the Advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, that the Trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our Subjects whatever, provided that every Person who may incline to Trade with the said Indians do take out a Licence for carrying on such Trade from the Governor or Commander in Chief of any of our Colonies respectively where such Person shall reside, and also give Security to observe such Regulations as We shall at any Time think fit, by ourselves or by our Commissaries to be appointed for this Purpose, to direct and appoint for the Benefit of the said Trade.13

John Borrows (Chippewas of Nawash) holds the Canada Research Chair in Indigenous Law at the University of Victoria Law School and has argued that Indigenous peoples were not, in fact, passive objects in the Proclamation but

13 Ibid.
very much active participants. The Indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes region had been engaged in diplomacy, on their terms, with Europeans since the early 1600s. Borrows points out that the British use of words like ‘sovereignty’ and ‘dominion’ were at odds with Indigenous notions of relationships with the land and each other, but he argued they were used in the *Proclamation* in order to convince the Indigenous nations that there was nothing to fear from the colonists, while still attempting to increase their economic and political power in relation to Indigenous peoples. The British government was trying to exercise sovereignty over Indigenous peoples while simultaneously trying to convince Indigenous peoples that they would remain separate from European settlers and have their jurisdiction preserved. Indigenous peoples had no reason to suspect that the *Proclamation* was ratifying anything other than a nation-to-nation relationship, especially since Indian Superintendent William Johnson presented two wampum belts to the Anishinaabeg during the ratification process.

Johnson relied on Indigenous practices of diplomacy and their inherent forms of symbolic literacy when presenting the wampum belts. Doctor Lynn Gehl (Algonquin Anishinaabe) offers a concise reading of the *Covenant Chain Wampum* and the *24 Nations Wampum*:

The former Belt [*Covenant Chain*] codified a relationship between equal allies that was as strong as links in a chain, a relationship that required a process of polishing and re-polishing what may tarnish, just as silver tarnishes. The latter Belt [*24 Nations*] represented the Indigenous Nations that participated at the Treaty at Niagara, where the chain secured around the rock, running through the twenty four Nations’ hands, and attached to a British vessel, and represented the negotiating process Indigenous Nations were to take to ensure their equal share of the resources and

bounty of the land.\textsuperscript{15}

A third belt was exchanged during the ratification process. The Indigenous nations presented Johnson with the \textit{Two Row Wampum}. Dr. Gehl points out the combined significance of the three belts,

\begin{quote}
[The \textit{Two Row Wampum}] codified a nation-to-nation relationship rooted in the philosophy and practice of non-interference mediated by peace, friendship, and respect.
\end{quote}

Through offering The British and Western Great Lakes Covenant Chain Confederacy Wampum Belt and The Twenty Four Nations Wampum Belt to the Indigenous Nations and through accepting the Two Row Wampum Belt, the British accepted a nation-to-nation relationship rooted in a policy of non-interference. This nation-to-nation relationship applied to matters such as Indigenous Nations’ right to self-government, their right to define their own citizenship laws, as well as their right to an equal distribution of land and resources required to self-govern. Clearly these three Wampum Belts embody Indigenous agency as sovereign Nations versus subjects of the British.\textsuperscript{16}

On 24 September 2011, Chief Randall Kahgee (Saugeen First Nation) gave an update of their lands claim negotiations to an assembly of the Saugeen

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
Ojibway Nation. The assembly featured two guest speakers, Alan Corbiere (M’Chigeeng) and Maurice Switzer (Mississaugas of Alderville First Nation). They explained in detail the historical cultural meaning behind wampum treaty belts. Corbiere, head of the Ojibway Cultural Foundation at West Bay or M’chigeeng on Manitoulin Island, explained that the links of the chain on the Covenant Chain Wampum portray the council fires of the First Nations, and the two figures holding hands represent the British and Indigenous alliance. The Saugeen Times quote Corbiere as explaining, “People don’t understand that these belts, and the Covenant Chain Wampum Belt in particular, are the documents that were held between the British and the First Nation peoples. Every symbol was put there for a reason.”17 The Covenant Wampum has many layers of meaning that constituted an agreement between the British and the Indigenous people, which resulted in a binding agreement. This was a perspective that was wholly supported by Switzer.

Switzer concluded the talk by saying, “There is nothing more important to know about First Nations than the belts ... they say who we are and that we were part of the founding of this country and they endorse our rights for the future and that our children and grandchildren have the same rights as everyone else.”18 In Switzer’s book, We Are All Treaty People, he echoes the lawyers, historians and Indigenous knowledge holders previously discussed. He states that the treaties were agreements, “They were not surrenders, but were an alliance agreement between equals.”19 The wampum belts cannot be ignored as

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18 Ibid.
19 Switzer, We Are All Treaty People, 5.
foundational documents, recording an agreement between the British and Indigenous peoples to pursue a nation-to-nation relationship.

After the explanations from Corbiere and Switzer, Chief Kahgee spoke. He recalled his first day of law school, when one of his professors said they were not going to spend very much time on section 35 of the Constitution. He said it “irked” him “because Canada could not exist as a nation without section 35.”

Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 states:

35. (1) The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.
(2) In this Act, "Aboriginal Peoples of Canada" includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada.
(3) For greater certainty, in subsection (1) "treaty rights" includes rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.
(4) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the aboriginal and treaty rights referred to in subsection (1) are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.

Chief Kahgee went on to explain, “These treaties are not relics of the past, they are living, breathing documents - living, breathing history that speak to our history and place in this world. In a legal context, for a treaty to be binding it has to be between nations.” Kahgee was speaking to the epistemological claim of the connection between rights and western written documents. There are two clear lines to the past in Canada - western and Indigenous – not just one, as the majority of western written documents would indicate. Wampum belts are a concrete example of the Indigenous line to the past. However, as political and legal expectations clashed in the nineteenth century, legal recognition of the

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22 "Saugeen First Nation's Chief Kahgee Addresses Special Assembly - Sept 24, 2011".
treaties increasingly favoured the interests of the Crown.  

Treaties in Canada were not made in a vacuum during the nineteenth century. Settler colonies across the globe were actively engaged in the removal of Indigenous peoples from their traditional lands during the same period. The legal obligations ingrained in wampum, even western documents like the Royal Proclamation of 1763, fell victim to the global competition of expansion of empire. Canada paid closest attention to the land policies of its neighbouring settler colony. In 1801, President Jefferson in the U.S. made it very clear in his second inaugural address that westward expansion and settlement of Indigenous lands were going to be an active part of American policy. By 1830, President Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act into law in the U.S. The American Removal Act increased tensions between Indigenous peoples and settlers in the Great Lakes region. This directly impacted the Saugeen Ojibway Nation (as will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter,) who ended up accepting Potawatomi peoples who had fled from the U.S. as members. The treaties

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24 Ibid. 13 In fact, Weaver argued that, “the shaping of property rights in roughly standard ways was a global phenomenon,” as settler colonial administrators “addressed standard predicaments.” 117

25 Ibid. 13


28 Hundreds of Potawatomi peoples settled in Saugeen and were accepted as
between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and the Crown during the first half of the
nineteenth century were being made on two very different backdrops: the
Saugeen were working within an Anishinaabe worldview, and the Crown was
working within a settler colonial worldview. That resulted in the Saugeen
believing they were building on the sharing, mutually beneficial relationships
encoded in wampum and the Royal Proclamation, while the Crown was focused
on the removal of Indigenous peoples from the land.

**Saugeen Treaties: 1836 – 1861**

The 1830s saw a shift in the way Britain viewed its ‘foreign possessions’. This is
important because it was the same time the Crown started negotiating treaties
with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. Zoë Laidlaw has argued that the emerging
science of statistics ushered in an era of information collection and
centralisation, starting in the late 1830s.29 The Colonial Office turned to
‘scientific’ and ‘objective’ data in order to find utilitarian solutions to help retain
control and influence over the British Empire.30 Laidlaw noted that, “the Colonial
Office’s search for imperial uniformity and central control was especially
apparent in the areas of land and emigration policy.”31 Emigration was required
to populate the New World; however, systematic colonisation depended on

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31 Ibid, 190.
obtaining territories for settlement. Land was the key. It seems unlikely that settlers would have been enticed to move to the New World by promises that they could share the land, nor that they would be interested in developing mutually beneficial relationships with people who had already been constructed as ‘savage’ – as illustrated in Chapter Three. To encourage emigration, the Crown

needed to promise settlers private property.

The British employed a variant of the Roman Law *res nullius* – nobody’s property – to legitimise their settlements. *Res nullius* maintained that lands remained the common property of all mankind, “until they were put to some, generally agricultural, use.”32 The belief that Indigenous peoples were ‘wasting’ the land by keeping it ‘idle’ was central to British justification of settler colonialism.33 Land could only be considered private property if the land was mixed with man’s labour.34 ‘Natural laws’ limited the rights afforded to Indigenous peoples – if Indigenous peoples had not cultivated land, then it was not property, and therefore the land was not for Indigenous peoples to give.35

The British were faced with a problem - it was not this simple in Canada. By the nineteenth century, Wampum belts and the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* had set precedents. Indigenous peoples had already been recognised as possessing political and territorial rights. However, these rights could be disputed in courts of law.

Chief Justice John Marshall’s 1823 opinion for the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Johnson v. McIntosh* is one of the most cited legal decisions in upholding the Doctrine of Discovery. This Doctrine perpetuated the idea of ‘savage’ in settler colonies, and was used to justify legal and political claims to territories inhabited by Indigenous peoples. Robert Williams argues that, “*Johnson* represents the most influential legal opinion on indigenous peoples’ human rights ever issued by a court of law in the Western world. All the major

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33 Ibid, 77.
34 Ibid.
English-language-speaking settler states adopted Marshall’s understanding of the Doctrine of Discovery and its principle that the first European discoverer of lands occupied by non-Christianized tribal savages could claim superior right to those lands under the European Law of Nations.”\textsuperscript{36} The decision does, in fact, state that, “discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy either by purchase or by conquest”.\textsuperscript{37} Marshall argued that this was necessary in order for settlers to maintain peaceful relationships with indigenous peoples,

In the establishment of these relations, the rights of the original inhabitants were in no instance entirely disregarded, but were necessarily to a considerable extent impaired. They were admitted to be the rightful occupants of the soil, with a legal as well as just claim to retain possession of it, and to use it according to their own discretion; but their rights to complete sovereignty as independent nations were necessarily diminished, and their power to dispose of the soil at their own will to whomsoever they pleased was denied by the original fundamental principle that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it.\textsuperscript{38}

The language of the Scots philosophers – theories of man’s evolution from savage to civilised – could be seen in Marshall’s decision.\textsuperscript{39} Marshall stated, “the tribes of Indians inhabiting this country were fierce savages whose occupation was war and whose subsistence was drawn chiefly from the forest. To leave

\textsuperscript{36} Robert A Williams, \textit{Savage Anxieties: The Invention of Western Civilization} (New York: Macmillan, 2012); Chief David Sawyer, "Letter to T.G. Anderson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs," (LAC: RG10, Vol. 410, Reel C-9616, pp. 263-264., March 17, 1851), 223-224. The case \textit{St. Catherines Milling and Lumber Company v. The Queen} (1888), affirms that Canada was settled under the Doctrine of Discovery, and thus its indigenous peoples did not hold a full ownership interest protected by the courts in their ancestral lands (fee simple interest).


\textsuperscript{38} Ibid, 21 U.S. 574.

\textsuperscript{39} Williams, \textit{Savage Anxieties: The Invention of Western Civilization}, 224.
them in possession of their country was to leave the country in a wilderness.”

The territorial expansionist goals of settler colonies were re-imagined as beneficial for Indigenous peoples because the end result would be civilisation. The fact that their rights were being stripped away in order to civilise them seemed to concern only the Indigenous peoples. In 1829, shortly after the Marshall decision, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, Sir John Colborne, declared the sale of Indigenous lands to be the best means to fund 'Indian civilisation' projects. This was a very popular 'for their own good' mind-set that was at the forefront of arguments for the treaties that impacted the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. The first major treaty specific to the Saugeen Peninsula was signed in 1836, the same year Sir Francis Bond Head arrived in Upper Canada to take up his post as Lieutenant Governor.

Head had lived in Argentina, and greatly admired how the Jesuits had isolated the Indigenous populations there, in areas called Indian reductions, in order to civilise and govern them more efficiently. The Jesuit reduction model inspired Head’s proposal in Saugeen. Colborne informed Head, as his successor,

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41 Settler colonies' policies of expansion, based on the notion of 'discovery' were founded on a commitment to remove Indigenous peoples. “In focusing on the territory in settler colonial contexts, the confrontation and extreme violence necessary to create these empty spaces of the colonialists’ imagination is frequently obscured.” Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington, “Introduction,” in Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity and Culture, ed. Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1.
of a project to reserve Manitoulin Island, “for the Indians solely.” The main impetus for their removal was to make way for white settlers; however, the plan appealed to Head for additional reasons. His time in Argentina had lead him to the conclusion that the future was bleak for Indigenous peoples, and remained unconvinced that colonial ‘progress’ and ‘civilisation’ would or could ever be embraced by ‘savages’. Head argued that, “civilization is against the Indian’s nature and they cannot become civilized.” In his mind, this was not a derogatory assertion. Head held a very romanticised image of Indigenous peoples. During a voyage to Georgian Bay in 1836, before the first treaty was signed, he observed that the Anishinaabeg, “breathes pure air, beholds splendid scenery, traverses unsullied water, and subsists on food which, generally speaking, forms not only his sustenance but the manly amusement, as well as occupation, of his life.” Unfortunately, this seemingly benign cultural primitivism became his justification for the removal of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation from their traditional lands. Like the Scots philosophers, Head believed that owning private property was the pinnacle of civilisation, but since Indigenous peoples were incapable of civilisation, they should have no right to

45 Geographical removal of Indigenous peoples was examined as policy in other settler colonies as well. However, it was not favoured because, “sooner or later, the frontier boundaries caught up with the new tribal boundaries and the process had to start all over again.” Patrick Wolfe, “After the Frontier: Separation and Absorption in Us Indian Policy,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011), 14.
47 As quoted in Schmalz, *The History of the Saugeen Indians*. 61. The original quote came from a *Report of the Aborigine Protection Society* (London, 1837) that Schmalz found in the manuscript department at Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario.
48 Francis Bond Head, *The Emigrant* (London: J. Murray, 1847), 139.
lands that civilised people needed for settlement.\textsuperscript{49} Shortly after his arrival in Upper Canada in 1836, Head set out to secure 1.5 million acres of Saugeen Territory.

Head attended the annual gift-giving ceremonies at Manitoulin Island in 1836 and called all Saugeen who were present to attend discussions regarding a land surrender. Approximately 7000 peoples from different Indigenous groups were expected at the ceremonies, and Head was supposed to be in attendance in order to do a general inspection of 'Indian settlements'.\textsuperscript{50} The annual gift-giving ceremonies were not a meeting called for the express intent of treaty negotiations, so Bond Head’s meeting with the Saugeen was in violation of the terms set forth in the Royal Proclamation of 1763.\textsuperscript{51} He told those who attended the meeting that the encroachment of white settlers was inevitable, and the government could only help them protect their way of life if the Saugeen Ojibway Nation agreed to remove themselves to reserves. The treaty document states that, “your Great Father (the government) engages forever to protect you from the encroachment of whites”, with regard to the reserved lands.\textsuperscript{52} Head claimed that the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, “cheerfully gave up this great tract of land”; however, an eyewitness to the proceedings had a very different account.\textsuperscript{53}

The General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions, Joseph Stinson, documented his version of the negotiations,

\textsuperscript{49} Binnema and Hutchings, "The Emigrant and the Noble Savage: Sir Francis Bond Head’s Romantic Approach to Aboriginal Policy in Upper Canada, 1836-1838", 128-129.
\textsuperscript{50} Robert Jeremiah Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: The Evolution of a System," History (Department of History: Carlton University, 1982), 209.
\textsuperscript{51} George III, "Royal Proclamation".
\textsuperscript{52} Francis Bond Head, "Treaty No. 45 1/2 " (1836, August 9).
\textsuperscript{53} The Emigrant, 140.
Sir Francis wished the Indians to surrender the whole of that territory to him; they declined; he endeavoured to persuade them, and even threatened them, by telling them that he could not keep the white people from taking possession of their land, that they (the Indians) had no right to it only as hunting ground etc. They told him they could not live on the Munedoolin [Manitoulin] Island, that they would not go there, that they wanted land they could call their own... the council of Saugeen Indians separated. About an hour or two after, Sir Francis called them together again, renewed his proposals, persuasions and threats. The Indians refused. Sir Francis then proposed that if they would surrender to him the territory adjoining Canada Company’s Huron tract, he would secure to them and their children the territory north of Owen Sound... the poor Indians did readily accede with tears in their eyes.54

Whether it was ‘cheerfully’ or ‘with tears in their eyes’, both accounts indicate that members of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation in attendance agreed to Treaty 45 ½. However, the fact that the negotiations took place unannounced and not on the territories under discussion made the treaty illegal. Furthermore, three of the four principal chiefs – Nawash, Wahbadick, and Wahwahnosh – did not sign the treaty document.55 This was an additional factor that should have immediately nullified the document. Head was aware of the proper protocol for negotiating treaties, but he had chosen to not follow protocol.56

After he had received signatures on the treaty document, Head sent a letter to Lord Glenelg, indicating that he wanted the Saugeen to Manitoulin Island, because they were “impeding the progress of Civilization in Upper Canada”, and refers to the treaty as an example of “the first fruits of the political

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Tranquility which has been attained.”\textsuperscript{57} Glenelg did not have prior knowledge of Head’s plans with regard to the treaty, which is indicated in his response to Head’s 20 August letter. He was pleased with the supposed land surrender; however, he did not think they could deliver on the promise to ‘forever protect’ the Saugeen Ojibway Nation from the encroachment of whites, stating, “no measure should be contemplated which may afford a reasonable prospect of rescuing this remnant of the aboriginal race from the calamitous fate which has so often befallen uncivilized man.”\textsuperscript{58} He went on to tell Head that he thought the Saugeen Ojibway Nation should not be isolated from civilisation, rather they should be, “reclaimed from the habits of savage life, and be enabled to share in the blessings of Christian knowledge and social improvement,” and concluded the letter by saying the King was looking forward “with the highest interest” to receiving Head’s ideas of how he would be achieving this goal.\textsuperscript{59} Head’s lengthy response reasserted his opinion that, “whenever and wherever the two races come into contact with each other, it is sure to prove fatal to the Red man.”\textsuperscript{60} He remained convinced that isolating the Saugeen Ojibway Nation would be mutually beneficial, and maintained “the Saugeen Indians also voluntarily surrendered to me a million and a half acres of the very richest land in Upper Canada,” and reminded Lord Glenelg “that however useful rich land may be to us... its only value to an Indian consists in the game it contains... he neither has

\textsuperscript{57} Francis Bond Head, ”Letter to Lord Glenelg,” (LAC: MG11, Q Series, Vol. 391, Reel C-12621, pp 29-33., 1836 August 20).
\textsuperscript{58} na, ”Newspaper Editorial - Extracts of Documents ” The Patriot IX, no. 25 (27 March 1838), 1. The letter was dated October 5, 1836, and designated a ”true copy” by J. Joseph.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
the right nor power to sell it." These exchanges reveal three very important facts surrounding the 1836 treaty.

First, the letters support the assertion that there was no prior warning to have the annual gift-giving ceremony on Manitoulin Island become the venue for treaty negotiations with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. If Head knew he was going to negotiate, he did not inform either his superiors, or the Saugeen. This fact, and other aspects of the negotiations, was in breach of treaty negotiations protocol. Second, as soon as the Crown learned the terms of the treaty, Glenelg stated it would be impossible to live up to the terms as they were written. Third, land is clearly viewed as the key to civilisation. In order for Indigenous peoples to become ‘civilised’ they had to use the land the way Anglo-settlers used it: as private property that would support an individualistic lifestyle. The only debate on the part of the Crown’s representatives was whether or not Indigenous peoples in Upper Canada were capable of civilisation. However, at the same time Head and Glenelg were debating this point, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were challenging the land surrender in its entirety.

The Saugeen Ojibway Nation expected certain benefits from the Crown in exchange for the benefits the Crown received by way of the treaties. John Borrows (Chippewas of Nawash) has argued that the petitions his ancestors used throughout the treaty process illustrate that Indigenous self-government continued to exist. The petitions were their response to the ill treatment they

61 Ibid.
64 Ibid, 333.
suffered at the hands of the Crown, and the attempts to subvert Indigenous leadership during negotiations. They were also vehicles in which the Saugeen could voice their frustrations and anger peacefully.\textsuperscript{65} Wampum belts were not used to mark the nineteenth-century treaties in Saugeen; however, Indigenous perspectives were still captured. Petitions, written by the Saugeen in response to the treaty processes of the nineteenth-century, are important Indigenous sources that document pertinent Indigenous perspectives.

Alexander Madwayosh was the one chief that did sign Treaty 45 ½, but indicated that he only did so because he was “influenced by the fear of offending his Excellency.”\textsuperscript{66} His position with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation was in jeopardy as a result of his involvement in the treaty. A petition addressed to Sir Francis Bon Head, signed by 48 members of Saugeen Ojibway Nation, dated 20 October 1836, in part demands that Madwayosh be removed from his post as Chief as a result of his participation in the treaty signing.\textsuperscript{67} All of the members of Saugeen were “disgusted with the transaction.”\textsuperscript{68} The following month the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, J. Givins, indicated to the Assistant Superintendent, William Jones, that he had no objection to the removal of Madwayosh, provided the proper chiefs and members of Saugeen Ojibway Nation had signed the petition.\textsuperscript{69} This is interesting in that proper signatures seemed to be an inconsistent requirement of the Crown, and by approving Madwayosh’s removal, the Crown was acknowledging legitimate grievances with

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid, 332.
\textsuperscript{66} Schmalz, \textit{The History of the Saugeen Indians}, 68.
\textsuperscript{67} Members of Saugeen, “Petition,” (LAC: RG10, Vol. 63, Reel C-11021, 1836 October 20).
\textsuperscript{68} Schmalz, \textit{The History of the Saugeen Indians}, 68.
respect to the treaty.

One of the chiefs who had not signed the treaty, Wahwahnosh, also sent a petition stating that, per established treaty protocol, the treaty was meaningless without his signature. Jones forwarded the petition to Givins, with an attached note indicating that he knew the petition would not be well received:

The Petition, or rather the Reservations of Way-way-nosh [Wahwahnosh] and two or three others, was forwarded to you by me... at same time I took the liberty of adding a private letter to you stating in what way the petition was got up, fearing that His Excellency might suspect me of having some hand in it... I can assure you I had not. It was done by themselves and their missionaries, without my knowledge.70

This letter was a sign of the growing resistance to the legitimacy of treaty 45 ½, and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation had Anglo supporters. In January of 1837, Lord Glenelg decided to uphold the agreement.71 It appeared that his decision was influenced by his commitment to the civilisation program rather than on the correctness of the treaty.72 However, opposition to the treaty’s correctness continued to grow. By April, Lord Glenelg was asking Head to address the concerns of Augustus D’Este, representing the Aborigine Protections Society, who was demanding an official inquiry into the 1836 treaty.73

Influential Anglo-settlers were also calling into question the validity of the 1836 treaty. Egerton Ryerson, a minister, politician and public education advocate, wrote a letter stating, “the Saugeeng [Saugeen] Indians have been

induced to surrender lands to the Crown, which, in the opinion of the Indians generally, were not at the disposal of the persons who surrendered them..." and pointed out that, "no person should have the authority to cede or surrender the Saugeeng tract without the sanction of a General Council and the concurrence of the heredity and acknowledged Chief." 74 Nearly a year later, the condemnation of the treaty had not subsided. The Christian Guardian continued to echo the same criticisms as Ryerson, calling the treaty "compulsory", and stating the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were "coerced" into signing. 75 By 1839, the Inspector general received a report regarding Head's treaty protocol, which concluded that it was "doubtful whether the agreement should be considered valid in either Law or Equity." 76 The fallout following Head's treaty negotiations lasted much longer than he did in his post. Sir George Arthur succeeded him as Lieutenant Governor in 1838.

The objections of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation had not diminished either, and they finally received some concessions from the Crown. Samuel Jarvis, the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, sent a letter to the Inspector General, stating that it had been three and a half years since Head had negotiated the treaty and since then, "the chiefs have made repeated visits to Toronto to demand fulfillment of the promises, or the restoration of their property." 77

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75 Reverend James Evans, "Remarks on the Late Surrender of the Saugeeng," The Christian Guardian 1838 April 18. Ryerson sent a letter of support to the editor of the Guardian in response to Evans' article, along with another petition against treaty 45½ (May 9, 1838).
trips were no small effort. It took nearly a month for Saugeen delegations to reach Toronto, a fact that Jarvis conveyed to the Governor General when he indicated that the Saugeen would not leave Toronto until they received an answer. Finally, in April 1840, the Governor General sent word that he would look into the legitimacy of treaty 45 1/2. A few days later, by an order in council, members of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were each granted an annual annuity of £2.10.0, up to 500 members. Also, in 1843, Jarvis sent a letter to Chief Metikwaub stating that he was “happy to inform” him that the Governor General had decided to move the boundary line of Treaty 45 1/2, in favour of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. The addition of an annual annuity and a small land concession held some meaning, but they did not reflect a re-negotiation of treaty terms using established protocol. The government recognised that Head had violated treaty protocol in 1836, but it was not willing to re-negotiate.

The Saugeen Ojibway Nation continued to seek compensation for the 1.5 million acres of land. It was now being used by white-settlers, and towns were being founded, so there was no chance of the land being returned; however, some reassurances were made in 1846 that the Saugeens’ remaining land would be protected, as promised. The Civil Secretary of the Indian Department in Montreal reaffirmed that the remaining land could not be disposed, “except by mutual consent of the Government and the Indians. The wish of the Indians

82 Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians, 72.
should be complied with." Furthermore, a Royal Deed of Declaration was issued that same year, stating that the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and their descendants were to ‘possess and enjoy’ their remaining reserve lands and receive an additional £1200 annuity. However, the Crown was promising one thing, while they were already undertaking plans to do the exact opposite.

The 1845-46 Report of the Legislative Assembly suggests a policy of starvation would open up the remaining reserve land for Anglo settlement, stating, “as to the preservation of the Game, they considered that its entire extinction or disappearance might be ultimately beneficial... as the Game is destroyed, the Indians take to the cultivation of the land.” The theory was, since the Saugeen Ojibway Nation did not have enough people to cultivate all the remaining reserve land, it would be less difficult to negotiate additional surrenders. A letter from Charles Rankin, the Deputy Provincial Surveyor to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, dated 6 June 1846, is evidence the Crown was already making plans for the reserve land that it had promised to protect ‘forever’. In the letter, Rankin indicated that he had completed the survey in anticipation of the next treaty negotiations, “two or three townships on the Indian Lands laid off in two hundred acre lots.” The Crown wanted a half-mile strip between Owen Sound and Southampton, so they could build a road and facilitate settlement of the 1.5 million acres covered in Treaty 45 ½, and the

84 Peter S Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 139.
Crown was not willing to carve it out of those 1.5 million acres.

The membership of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation changed drastically between 1836 and 1851, when the treaty negotiations for the half-mile strip took place. The American Indian wars had caused approximately 300 Potawatomi from Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin in the U.S. to seek refuge in Upper Canada. They travelled to Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s territory, which was divided between the Saugeen First Nation, near Southampton, and the Chippewas of Nawash, near Owen Sound. The Saugeen First Nation generally turned the Potawatomi away, citing their dramatically reduced hunting grounds, but the Nawash welcomed the Potawatomi. Sir Francis Bond Head had invited the Potawatomi from the U.S. to settle in Canada, indicating that they would be given land and money if they settled on Manitoulin Island; however, he was no longer Lieutenant Governor by the time their permanent settlement became a reality.

The Nawash did not submit an inquiry regarding the protocol for officially accepting Potawatomi into their ‘tribe’ until early 1840. The Potawatomi lived ‘unofficially’ at Nawash for several years, and received annual presents, just as if they were members of Saugeen Ojibway Nation; however, in early 1842, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs sent a letter to the Saugeen Ojibway Nation stating that starting in 1843, presents would only be distributed to people who

89 Joseph Sawyer, "Petition to the Governor General through the Chief Superintendent," (LAC: RG10, Vol. 72, pp. 66806-9., January 24, 1840).
were “bona fide and permanently resident in her Majesty’s Dominion.” The Anishinaabe in Nawash accepted the Potawatomi, but the U.S. ‘refugees’ were extremely grateful to the colonial government for not deporting them. The Potawatomi were very eager to please the British agents, because they feared deportation.

The Potawatomi were not the only outsiders who relocated to Saugeen territory. Anishinaabeg from other parts of Upper Canada came as well, throughout the late 1830s and into the 1850s. By 1855, only about one-sixth of the Indigenous population was indigenous to Saugeen territory. The Methodist missionaries had converted, at least partially, many members of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation; however, some remained very traditional in their spiritual beliefs. Many of the Potawatomi were Roman Catholic. The community reflected much more of an ‘Indigenous-mosaic’, than an ‘Indigenous-melting pot’. The mosaic resulted in political divides, especially between the Anishinaabe Methodists and the Potawatomi Catholics.

The Crown was well aware of the political divides and power struggles within the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, and used this knowledge to their advantage during negotiations for the surrender of the half-mile strip in 1851.

The Saugeen Ojibway Nation was/is spread over two reserves, the Nawash reserve near Owen Sound, and the Saugeen reserve near Southampton.

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91 McMullen, "Disunity and Dispossession: Nawash Ojibwa and Potawatomi in the Saugeen Territory, 1836-1865", 40.
93 McMullen, "Disunity and Dispossession: Nawash Ojibwa and Potawatomi in the Saugeen Territory, 1836-1865", 41.
94 Schmalz, _The History of the Saugeen Indians_, 28.
The Saugeen Ojibway Nation recognised that a new road connecting the two communities had the potential to improve communication, and possibly relationships; however, both communities were very wary of treaty negotiations with the Crown. The Crown asserted that it was necessary to have white settlers on both sides of the road, and they requested the Saugeen Ojibway Nation surrender approximately 4800 acres of reserve land to do so. Initially, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were unwilling to surrender any land; however, they agreed when the Crown promised to turn over the proceeds of selling the land to the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. Treaty 67 was signed on 2 September 1851. Mere months later, Queen Victoria issued An Act for the Protection of the Indians in Upper Canada, again promising protection of the remaining lands. With regards to the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, the Proclamation stated Saugeen lands north of the Treaty 67 strip were “reserved for the occupation of the Saugeen and Owen Sound Indians.” However, it was not long before the Crown wanted the Saugeen Ojibway Nation to return to the negotiation table and discuss further land surrenders.

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95 McMullen, "Disunity and Dispossession: Nawash Ojibwa and Potawatomi in the Saugeen Territory, 1836-1865", 59.
97 Sawyer, "Letter to T.G. Anderson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.", Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: The Evolution of a System." 224-225; Treaty 67 (September 2, 1851) states that monies from the sale of the land would be transferred to a trust reserved “for the benefit of our tribe and their posterity.”
98 Queen Victoria, "Royal Proclamation," (AAND: ILR, Doc No. 7163-232 D., November 7, 1851).
99 By this time, it was clear that the treaty negotiations were not to share the land, as they had been originally. The Saugeen Ojibway Nation had learned through experience that the Crown’s intentions had changed, which added to the apprehension to engage in negotiations; however, they did still have oral and written promises that the Crown would protect their lands “forever”.
The factionalism between the Nawash and Saugeen members of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation continued, and the Crown was kept informed of the conflicts.\textsuperscript{100} However, by 1854, both communities were frustrated with the provincial government. The road that was supposed to be built on the half-mile strip covered in the 1851 treaty had yet to be built. The land had also been sold for a greatly reduced price, because it was purchased in large volumes by speculators, and they were sitting on their investment. Furthermore, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation had not seen any of the monies from the sale of the land covered in Treaty 67.\textsuperscript{101} When Captain Anderson first called a General Council to obtain a further land surrender in August 1854, he was flatly refused. Many felt they had only been ‘paid in promises’, and held little hope these negotiations would have a different result.\textsuperscript{102}

On the second day, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation agreed to the surrender under stringent conditions, citing the loose, “and quite indefinite” conditions of past surrenders; however, Anderson found the conditions too stringent, claiming, “these conditions of surrender now proposed never originated in the brain of an Indian.”\textsuperscript{103} It was now Anderson who was flatly refusing the terms of the treaty. Anderson’s frustration was evident in the speech he delivered at the end of the two-day Council,

... you complain that the whites not only cut and take your timber from your lands, but they are commencing to settle on it, and you cannot

\textsuperscript{101} They were still asking about the monies from the sale of 1851 treaty lands in 1858. Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians, 77.
\textsuperscript{102} Conrad Van Dusen, The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-E-Ne-Ne (David Sawyer) a Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West (London: W. Nichols, 1867), 52.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.
prevent them, and I certainly do not think the Government will take the
trouble to help you while you remain thus opposed to your own interest.
The Government, as your guardian, have the power to act as it pleases
with your reserve... if it is not sold, the trees and land will be taken by
your white neighbours, and your children will be left without resource.\textsuperscript{104}

Anderson let his frustration show by making thinly veiled threats that squatters
would take the land and resources and offer nothing in return. This kind of
threat was common in settler colonies, because the settler right to buy always
seemed to supersede the Indigenous right not to sell.\textsuperscript{105} In addition to his
frustration, Anderson revealed that, according to the government, Indigenous
peoples were considered the same as minors, with no legal rights. The
implication was treaty negotiations were a formality. If the government wanted
the land, they would take it. The implication was later made explicit, when
Anderson reasoned that since the Saugeen Ojibway Nation could not be easily
persuaded, force should be employed to remove them.\textsuperscript{106}

Laurence Oliphant, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, thought Anderson's
strong-arm approach would not have a favourable result, and decided to conduct
negotiations personally. In Oliphant's report on the proceedings, he indicated
that he went directly to Saugeen on 13 October 1854, completely bypassing
Nawash.\textsuperscript{107} He was aware of the divisions between Nawash and Saugeen and
thought he could leverage the division by only including Saugeen we he called

\textsuperscript{104} Canada, "Copies or Extracts of Recent Correspondence Respecting Alterations
in the Organization of the Indian Department in Canada," ed. Indian Department
\textsuperscript{105} Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," \textit{Journal
of Genocide Research} 8, no. 4 (2006), 391. The United States conceded legal rights
of occupation to squatters in the 1830s-1840s; Weaver, \textit{The Great Land Rush and
the Making of the Modern World}, 1650-1900, 36.
\textsuperscript{106} Schmalz, \textit{The History of the Saugeen Indians}, 83.
\textsuperscript{107} Canada, "Copies or Extracts of Recent Correspondence Respecting Alterations
in the Organization of the Indian Department in Canada", 3.
another Council to re-open treaty negotiations.\textsuperscript{108} This was, again, in violation of the protocol required per the Royal Proclamation of 1763. Oliphant arrived without prior notice, and all interested parties were not at the negotiations. Members of Nawash found out Oliphant was at Saugeen and hurried to send representatives to the negotiations, but they arrived too late.\textsuperscript{109}

Chief Madwayosh of Saugeen, who had signed treaty 45 ½ in 1836, was determined to not make the same mistake; however, Madwayosh was plagued by debts, and the government was well aware of this fact.\textsuperscript{110} There is some evidence that Oliphant threatened Madwayosh with debtor’s prison, supported by the fact that threats from his creditors ceased once he signed the treaty and it was completed.\textsuperscript{111} In return, he was one of the signatories who agreed to surrender an additional 450,000 acres of Saugeen Ojibway Nation lands, under the terms of Treaty 72.

Five reserves remained for the Saugeen Ojibway Nation: Saugeen village (9000 acres); Chief’s Point (1280 acres); Nawash (10,000 acres); Colpoy’s Bay (6000 acres); and, Cape Croker (18,686 acres).\textsuperscript{112} They were left with just under 45,000 acres of their traditional territory, which previously covered over 2 million acres. Once again, the treaty stated the reserves would be protected for

\textsuperscript{108} McMullen, "Disunity and Dispossession: Nawash Ojibwa and Potawatomi in the Saugeen Territory, 1836-1865", 65.
\textsuperscript{109} Van Dusen, \textit{The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-E-Ne-Ne (David Sawyer) a Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West}, 55.
\textsuperscript{112} Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: The Evolution of a System", 230.
the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and their children, ‘in perpetuity’.\footnote{Laurence Oliphant, “Treaty 72,” (October 13, 1854).} There were renewed protests that this treaty, and previous treaties were not legal.\footnote{Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians, 87.} Unfortunately, the protests fell on deaf ears. The government was unwilling to find itself guilty of undertaking illegal negotiations.

The Saugeen Ojibway Nation tried another approach as well. On 27 February 1855, four chiefs and twenty-two additional band members signed a petition directed to the Governor General, demanding the conditions of the treaties be met:

We the Chiefs, Councillors and principle Indians composing the Ojebway Tribe in the Owen Sound and Saugeen Country wish to say a few words to our great Father – the Governor General. We fully believe, it will not only promote the general interest of this part of the country, but greatly increase the value, and sale of the land we have recently surrendered, by requiring actual settlement upon all farm lots that may be disposed of for our benefit. By this means, the settlement, in these countries will be rapidly expanded, and private speculators will be prevented from securing large blocks of land, which may remain for years uncultivated, and unoccupied, and thus prevent the rising value of the remaining part of the territory, and also be a great hinderance to the speedy extension of Settlement.

We therefore hope our Great Father will be pleased to hear these words of his Red Children, and require actual settlement on the land when sold, and also allow us to have something to say in the appointment of an Agent in whom we can fully confide, in disposing of the land to our advantage, under the control and direction of the Government.\footnote{As quoted in, Borrows, "A Genealogy of Law: Inherent Sovereignty and First Nations Self-Government", 328-29.}

John Borrows (Chippewas of Nawash) argues that this petition illustrates that his ancestors were not resentful of the settlement around them, “\textit{if it would increase the benefits that they were to receive in accordance with the treaty conditions.}”\footnote{Ibid. Emphasis his.} However, the petition did not elicit a response. A delegation of
band members then travelled to Quebec to present the bands’ grievances to the Governor General and the legislature in person. After travelling over 970 kilometers to Quebec, they were refused an official audience, as they did not have an official letter of introduction from their Indian Agent.\footnote{Van Dusen, The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-E-Ne-Ne (David Sawyer) a Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West, 83.} They were able to present a petition to the Legislative Assembly, but the petition died as the House was prorogued.\footnote{Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians, 91.}

The following year, the government began to encroach on the new reserve lands. The Saugeen Ojibway Nation started filing complaints of encroachment less than three months after Queen Victoria’s \textit{An Act for the Protection of Indians in Upper Canada} was extended to include protection of the five reserves covered in Treaty 72.\footnote{Queen Victoria, ”Royal Proclamation,” (LAC: RG68, Vol. 697, Records of the Registrar General., March 18, 1856).} Madwayosh and two other Chiefs, Johnson and Kabagubowh, sent a letter of complaint to Anderson, accusing the surveyors of not respecting the reserve boundaries.\footnote{Chief Alexander Madwayosh, ”Letter to T.G. Anderson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs,” (LAC: RG10, Vol. 413, Reel C-9618, pp. 541-542., September 18, 1855).} At this point, the Anglo-settlers were aware of the unfair treatment the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were receiving at the hands of the government, even going so far as to light-heartedly wonder why, “the entire white population of Owen Sound was not wiped out.”\footnote{Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians, 91.} There was not genuine fear among the Anglo-settlers at this time as they were still enjoying positive personal relationships with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. There was no indication that the Saugeen Ojibway Nation held ill will towards their new

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\item 117 Van Dusen, \textit{The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-E-Ne-Ne (David Sawyer) a Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West}, 83.
\item 118 Schmalz, \textit{The History of the Saugeen Indians}, 91.
\item 119 Queen Victoria, ”Royal Proclamation,” (LAC: RG68, Vol. 697, Records of the Registrar General., March 18, 1856).
\item 120 Chief Alexander Madwayosh, ”Letter to T.G. Anderson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs,” (LAC: RG10, Vol. 413, Reel C-9618, pp. 541-542., September 18, 1855).
\item 121 Schmalz, \textit{The History of the Saugeen Indians}, 91.
\end{itemize}
neighbours as a result of the government’s actions. It was the Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s relationship with the government that was suffering. However, the population of Anglo-settlers continued to grow, which exacerbated the Saugeen Ojibway Nation’s relationship with the Crown.

Thus far, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation had not been required to remove from any of their established villages; however, growth in the settler population was making fertile farming land a premium commodity. By 1856, the white population in Owen Sound numbered 1,985, and in January 1857 it was incorporated into a town. One month later, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were dispossessed of the 10,000 acre Nawash reserve. The government claimed the move was necessary to avoid conflict, stating, “the jealously now entertained against the native race by their white neighbours will disappear when the land, the cause of their strife, is put within the power of the latter.” The Saugeen Ojibway Nation resisted; however, the government freely admitted to applying ‘means of coercion’ to effect the treaty. By the 1850’s Methodist missionaries had aligned themselves with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. Members of the elite viewed Methodists as a threat because they were known to challenge authority. Conrad Van Dusen, a Methodist missionary, claimed when the Saugeen Ojibway Nation refused to negotiate a treaty, the Indian Department appointed new Chiefs, called a General Council in Toronto, and the government-

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122 Ibid, 97.
123 Canada. Special Commissioners to Investigate Indian Affairs, "Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September, 1856, to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada," (TRL: Baldwin Room, 970.5 C123 BR, 1858), 124.
appointed Chiefs signed Treaty 82 on 9 February 1857, and surrendered the Nawash reserve.\textsuperscript{126} The land was immediately put up for sale, so the Nawash were forced to remove to the Cape Croker reserve, per the terms of the treaty.\textsuperscript{127} Previously, the treaties had only covered hunting grounds and unmanaged lands, but this time, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were leaving homes, farms, and other aspects of community life for which they were not compensated. The year following their removal to Cape Croker was extremely hard, and poverty was widespread. The land was supposed to be sold ‘for their benefit’; however, the annuities were decreasing.\textsuperscript{128}

**Petitions presented by Nahnebahnwequay and Madyawosh**

Nahnebahnwequay (Upright Woman – also known as Nahnee and Catherine Sutton) was an Anishinaabe woman who grew up with the Mississaugas, but moved to Saugeen in 1846 with her English husband. The Saugeen offered them a 200 acre plot, and fully received Nahnee and her children as members of their community. Nahnee began collecting annuities as a member of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation in 1853.\textsuperscript{129} Treaty 82 had turned Nahnee’s farm over to the Crown. It seemed the Indian Department made a concession when they said that certain Anishinaabe families, including Nahnee, could bid on their lots at half the set price per acre during the public auction. However, when they realised Nahnee has access to enough cash to buy the land, the Indian Department told

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\textsuperscript{126} Van Dusen, *The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-E-Ne-Ne (David Sawyer) a Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West*, 114, 122.

\textsuperscript{127} R.T. Pennefather, "Treaty 82," (February 9, 1857).

\textsuperscript{128} Schmalz, *The History of the Saugeen Indians*, 118-120.

\textsuperscript{129} Donald B. Smith, *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices From Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 81.
her she could not obtain a certificate of sale as Indians were minors in the eyes of the law and did not have the right to purchase surrendered lands.\textsuperscript{130} Around the same time, the Indian Department informed Nahnee that she was no longer entitled to annuity payments since she was no longer considered to be an “Indian” because she had married an Englishman.\textsuperscript{131} This was a result of the \textit{Gradual Civilization Act} of 1857.

Prior to the \textit{Act}, no rigid legal definition of “Indian” existed: however, after the \textit{Act}, in the eyes of the Indian Department, Nahnee was now legally “white.” This meant that the \textit{Crown Lands Protection Act} of 1839 now applied to her, since she was “white” and “Indian lands” had to be protected from her.\textsuperscript{132} Apart from Nahnee’s legislated identity, she was still an Anishinaabe woman, and a member of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation community, recognised for her intelligence and talent for public speaking. This is why at a Council in Rama, in 1859, the Anishinaabeg asked Nahnee to deliver their land grievances to Buckingham Palace.\textsuperscript{133} Ways in which Indigenous peoples could actively participate in colonial politics were limited; however, petitioning allowed them to act as political citizens.\textsuperscript{134} This included Indigenous women, like Nahnee, as long as they had the means and resources to access an audience.

Nahnee, with financial support from the Quakers, travelled to London.

\textsuperscript{130} Ibid, 84.
\textsuperscript{132} Smith, \textit{Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices From Nineteenth-Century Canada}, 85.
\textsuperscript{133} Silverstein-Willmott, ”Men or Monkeys?: The Politics of Clothing and Land among Ontario First Nations Leaders, 1830-1900”, 134.
English Quakers helped Nahnee obtain important speaking engagements. Historian Celia Haig-Brown has written about Nahnee’s trip to London, detailing how well she was received by the Quaker community. Nahnee gained empathy and respect from her English audiences by being direct, and eloquent – clearly telling them that when she wanted to buy a home, she was told she could not because she was an Indian, but when she applied for her Indian annuities, she was told she was a white woman.135 After hearing Nahnee speak, John Bright, a Member of Parliament, was inspired to help her get an audience with the Duke of Newcastle, and shortly thereafter, with Queen Victoria.136

Both Celia Haig-Brown and Donald B. Smith have written histories that include quotes from the Queen’s diary, letters written by Nahnee after meeting with the Queen, and the official entry in the Court Circular.137 The Queen focused on Nahnee’s appearance, but recognized she was there to present a petition on behalf of her people regarding land grievances.138 Nahnee was excited, declaring the Queen had promised her “aid and protection.”139 The English press loved Nahnee, printing transcripts of her speaking engagements, which helped draw widespread attention in England to the concerns of the Anishinaabeg.140

The Prince of Wales and Duke of Newcastle embarked on a Royal Tour in

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136 Ibid. Also see, Smith, *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices From Nineteenth-Century Canada*, 90.
139 Ibid, 153.
1860, and were already touring Canada West when Nahnee arrived back in the Saugeen Peninsula. She had learned that a number of Indigenous leaders and warriors in Canada West had presented their own petition to the Duke of Newcastle, in Sarnia. The men's refusal to acknowledge that Nahnee had been speaking on their behalf could be attributed to the views of masculinity and femininity that Methodism promoted in Ontario, as discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. Whatever their initial motivation, Chief Henry Madwayosh of Saugeen, and 49 others signed the petition. The petition made bold claims and demands, and requested that the Duke of Newcastle investigate the conduct of the Indian Department.

We the delegates from nearly every tribe and band of Canada West, beg leave to approach Your Grace and request that in mercy to the red children from Great Mother the Queen you will listen to their complaints and cause a thorough investigation to be made into the charges which we bring against the Indian Department and Canadian Government.

1st Through fraud and carelessness several hundred thousand dollars of monies received by them in payment for lands, have been lost to us and we have no redress.

2nd The valuable fisheries in all the Great Lakes are claimed by government. Some of the fisheries along the shores of our unsurrendered lands and islands are leased by Government for purposes of revenue and we are prohibited under pains and penalties from supplying our wants from this source in the undisturbed possession from Forefather from generations uncounted.

In other instances we have been told by the Government Agent that we must pay for the fish we might take before our doors – these fisheries were not included in the surrender of the Land – we therefore claim their restoration.

3rd We complain that large tracts of unsurrendered land have been surveyed and sold without our consent, and without any compensation.

141 Ibid, 93.
142 Cecilia Morgan, "Kahgegagahbowh's (George Copway's) Transatlantic Performance: Running Sketches, 1850," Cultural and Social History 9, no. 4 (2012), 537.
being made to us. Some of our reserve lands also have been sold without our consent or knowledge even. It is said by mistake and we cannot obtain their restoration, or compensation therefor.

In other instances much larger tracts have been obtained under treaties, than we designed to surrender – other large tracts have been obtained by threats of forcible dispossession, and without adequate compensation, thus nearly driving people to desperation.

4th We all along supposed that the Titles by which we held our reserved lands were good and valid – but we have been alarmed by a Recommendation by the Indian Department that Government would grant authority to alienate our

Reserved lands, without obtaining our consent, and even against our will and [illegible] thus destroying in our minds all the surrenders and validity we formerly attached to solemn treaties.

This state of things agitates the minds of our people, and retards their improvement.

We pray that something may be done speedily to set the question of title to rest forever. There are many local and minor grievances besides the aforementioned.

Sgd by Henry H Madyawosh and 49 others
Port Sarnia
September 14th 1860

The petition details many of the same concerns that had been presented by Nahnee, including a desire to obtain titles to their land. It also accused the Indian Department of fraud and other illegal activities. The Duke of Newcastle set up an inquiry under the direction of the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, R.T. Pennefather, despite the obvious conflict of interest of having Pennefather investigate the integrity of his own department. Pennefather

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submitted an 82-page report in November of 1860, in which he systematically set out why the Duke could/should ignore the petitions. A close reading of the report reveals it is rife with inconsistencies, double-speak and contradictions, and exemplifies what the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were up against when dealing with the colonial government.

Pennefather does not mention Nahnee by name; however, early in the report he addresses grievances related to women losing their right to annuities after marrying a white man. He writes the policy is, “simply the continuance of the old Chippewa Law, or custom, that the wife follows her husband.” This is an interesting record of the colonial government claiming they were officially recognizing Indigenous laws; however, as presented in Chapter Two – Anishinaabe Worldviews, both matrilocal and patrilocal arrangements have been documented among the Anishinaabeg. Pennefather then revealed the colonial government was selective in its recognition of Indigenous law, within the context of Indigenous tenure of lands.

Pennefather noted that grievances, “respecting lands surrendered in former years is in some respects a difficult one.” He wrote that the Saugeen Ojibway Nation complaints were built on their assumption that lands, “belonged to the ancestors of the present claimants and as such, had to be bought from the

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145 It is worth noting, at the time this thesis was written the petition was under “restricted access” at Library Archives Canada, perhaps due to a land claim the Saugeen Ojibway Nation currently have before the courts. However, a copy was located, with much difficulty, at the Archives of Ontario among their colonial diffusion materials.


tribes occupying certain spots in the territory. Upon historical grounds I consider this assumption as incorrect. The present occupants of the reserves are not in every case descendants of the aboriginal proprietors of such lands.”

In fact, the documented history of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation adopting Pottawatomi and Mississaugas as full members of their community, and the government accepting that recognition by adding newly adopted members to the Saugeen annuity registry, fully supports the assumption that Pennefather had dismissed as “incorrect.” Furthermore, Pennefather had just cited “old Chippewa Law” of wives following husbands and being adopted into the new tribe when he was making a case for removing their rights. However, now that “old Chippewa Law” supported their rights by proving historical tenure of lands, the law was ignored. Instead, Pennefather cited the colonial government’s own law, the Proclamation of 1763 “as the basis for tenure of Indian lands in Canada.”

In his opinion, the colonial government had followed the rules of the Proclamation, and paid the Saugeen Ojibway Nation for their lands, thus rendering the treaties valid.

Pennefather added that complaints related to unfair compensation were unfounded because, “no market existed where the borders of civilization had not yet encroached on the forest – what was the actual value of the land.” His reasoning rested on his assertion that there was no fair market value, because there was no market.

Pennefather did admit that grievances that monies were either not paid

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149 Ibid, 33.
150 Ibid, 35.
151 Ibid, 36.
152 Ibid, 38.
or lost were, “unfortunately well founded in some instances.”\textsuperscript{153} He assured the Duke that the missing funds were being investigated, but they would have to place their trust in the solicitors because, as pagans, Indians could not testify in court.\textsuperscript{154} Pennefather wrote that he would let the Duke know of the result of the investigation, and then immediately switched his focus to another “incorrect” claim made in the petition. He wrote that it was unfair for the “Indians” to claim that there was no way for them to obtain restoration or compensation for debts owed. Pennefather wrote that, “an Indian is not disqualified by any act of the Canadian Parliament from suing – He may as any other subject of Her Majesty bring an action for debt due.”\textsuperscript{155} This statement is made just after Pennefather said Indigenous people were not allowed to testify in court. It is also worth noting here that when Indigenous people started to pursue land claims through the courts in the 1920s, the federal government added Section 141 to the Indian Act. Section 141 made it illegal for Indians to hire lawyers and legal counsel, effectively barring Indigenous people from fighting for their rights through the legal system. In his 1860 report, Pennefather wrote that if the Indians did sue, “they would need to show evidence,” and he reassured the Duke that, “the staff of the Department is wholly inadequate to keep additional copies of all the sales books for each tribe.”\textsuperscript{156} The implication being that any evidence that may support Indigenous claims/grievances was safely in the hands of the Indian Department.

Historian Rhonda Telford has noted that during the 1860 Royal Tour of

\textsuperscript{153} Ibid, 41.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid, 44-45.
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid, 47.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid, 49-50.
Canada, Indigenous grievances were, “neither known to or reported in the press and other popular accounts of the royal visit.” This was generally true of the local papers in Saugeen as well. Articles concerning treaties, petitions and Indigenous land grievances did not start appearing in the papers until the mid-late 1880s, and even then the coverage was scant. However, there were a few exceptions; one being published on 13 December 1860, a month after Pennefather’s report was written. Owen Van Dusen, publisher of the Owen Sound Comet wrote an editorial detailing the petitions and wondering what had become of them:

> On presentation of the Address and other documents, setting forth the wrongs of which the Indians complain, and after some conversation on these subjects, and explanations given by the deputation, the Duke of Newcastle promised to give the matters favourable and due consideration before he left the province. But he was accompanied by Sir Edmund Head and his Secretary, Mr. Pennefather, who had heretofore opposed these claims of the Indians; and, as a matter of course, they would give their version of the subject; and it is easy to conjecture what influence their opinions and statements would have upon the Duke.

> At any rate we have not heard of anything further being done, or one grievance being redressed. Perhaps they never will be.\(^{158}\)

Pennefather’s report in response to the petitions was not made public, and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation did not receive an official response. Without knowing the content of the report, it would seem Mr. Van Dusen was quite perceptive. Pennefather had systematically opposed the grievances, and there was no intent of redressing anything contained in the petition. There was

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\(^{158}\) Reprinted in, Van Dusen, The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-E-Ne-Ne (David Sawyer) a Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West, 144.
another important factor that contributed to the lack of response to the grievances; just weeks before the Prince of Wales arrived in Canada for the Royal Tour, Britain had transferred control of Indian Affairs over to Canada.\textsuperscript{159} The Act Respecting the Management of the Indian Lands and Property received royal assent on 30 June 1860. Unfortunately, that meant that both Nahnee’s and Madwayosh’s petitions had fallen on deaf ears. Neither the Queen, nor the Duke, wanted to interfere in affairs that were now under Canada’s purview.\textsuperscript{160}

The final pre-confederation treaty between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and the Crown was signed in 1861. This treaty was for the 6,000 acre reserve at Colpoys Bay. The Saugeen Ojibway Nation arrived at negotiations willing to surrender the reserve, because they desperately needed the money that would be derived from the auction of the lands. However, this time they wanted to be compensated for the improvements they had made on the reserve lands. Just as in the 1851, 1854, and 1857 treaties, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were to receive the money from the auctioning of the lands, but under the 1861 treaty, they were also promised additional monies: “individual and public improvements were to be given to them by the purchasers of their land at the time of sale.”\textsuperscript{161} No objections appear to have been made from either members of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation or missionaries following this surrender, a stark contrast to the previous four treaties.\textsuperscript{162}

One of the few other articles that made any kind of mention of the pre-

\textsuperscript{159} Telford, "The Anishinabe Presentation of Their Fishing Rights to the Duke of Newcastle and the Prince of Wales", 389.
\textsuperscript{160} Smith, Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices From Nineteenth-Century Canada, 94.
\textsuperscript{161} W.R. Bartlett, "Treaty 93," (1861 August 16).
\textsuperscript{162} Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians, 128.
confederation treaties was published in 1858, in the *Owen Sound Sun Times*. The article indicated that some white settlers were fearful of reprisals from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation in the wake of Treaty 82. A letter from Mrs. John McLean stated, "For some weeks the people of Owen Sound kept their doors and windows well barred and the sight of an Indian was enough to send the children scamping to shelter."\(^{163}\) However, there is no indication that any settlers suffered anything other than fear. There do not appear to be any reports of attacks on people or their property. The Saugeen Ojibway Nation were extremely angry at the Crown. They had endured decades of deceit and broken promises. But, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation understood that the settlers had bought their homesteads in good faith, and they could not be held accountable for the actions of the Crown.\(^{164}\) However, as Indigenous peoples occupied less and less territory, ‘conquest’ based on variants of *res nullius* or ‘purchase and concession’, was seen as unsustainable.\(^{165}\) Canada needed to find alternate, yet complementary, justifications for the elimination of Indigenous peoples, so the government turned its attention on Indigenous peoples, and began focusing more precisely on Indigenous identities, culture, and traditions.

In 1867, the Dominion of Canada was created via the *British North America Act* (BNA). Section 91(24) of the BNA declared Indigenous peoples to be a distinct legal category, and they were to be considered wards of the federal government. The Dominion government was given legislative jurisdiction over

\(^{163}\) As quoted in: Ibid, 107.

\(^{164}\) This understanding is explained in *Saugeen Ojibway Nation – Claims Update Letter*, Mnookmi, 2011, 5.

\(^{165}\) Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France C.1500 - C.1800*, 86.
“Indians, and Lands reserved for Indians.” The great Gcomplicated treaty disputes for Indigenous peoples. The Saugeen Ojibway Nation had signed treaties with the Crown; however, after 1867, the Crown directed all grievances to the federal government. The Dominion of Canada was dependant on its geopolitical boundaries, so the federal government continued to extol the virtues of the private ownership of property.

The Indian Act, 1876 was introduced as an attempt to consolidate and revamp pre-confederation legislation into a nationwide framework. The Indian Act continued to support the removal of Indigenous peoples to make way for Canadian settler society. It defined who could be considered an ‘Indian’ and the process by which an ‘Indian’ could lose status. The loss of status meant a loss of treaty rights; however, upon losing status an ‘Indian’ was granted a portion of the band’s reserve land. This doubly benefited the federal government, because it reduced the number of Indigenous peoples under treaty and the amount of land covered by treaties. In addition, the Act gave the federal government the authority to veto decisions made by bands, and depose band chiefs and councilors. Furthermore, the Act removed voting rights from Indigenous peoples. The centralised and consolidated power of the Dominion

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166 Olive Patricia Dickason, Canada’s First Nations (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), 237. In April 1982, the BNA was renamed the Constitution Act.
168 Dickason, Canada’s First Nations, 263.
170 Ibid, 58.
171 Carter, "'They Would Not Give up One Inch of It': The Rise and Demise of St
government meant that Indigenous rights were marginalised. Not only that, but
the Dominion’s power came at the expense of the ability of Indigenous peoples to
“engage with the wider world on a firm, secure, and sovereign footing.”172 When
faced with the Indian Act of 1876, southern Anishinaabe Chiefs, including those
of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation launched a public campaign in defense of their
rights. The Grand General Council disseminated their views by publishing their
council minutes in five consecutive issues of the Wiarton Echo, in the Saugeen
Peninsula.173 However, the government simply ignored this campaign, and there
is no evidence of it having any impact on the settler population of the Saugeen
Peninsula.

Internationally, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were viewed as possessions
of the Dominion government, which allowed the British Crown to justify its
refusal to acknowledge disputes over treaties of which it was one of the
signatories. In turn, the Dominion government used the technology of law to
frame property rights in their own favour.174 Canada’s primary motivation
behind the Indian Act - and all subsequent revisions to the Act – was to reduce
the number of Indigenous peoples for which it was legally and financially
responsible.175 If the Saugeen Ojibway Nation wanted to dispute Indigenous

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172 Sadosky, Revolutionary Negotiations: Indians, Empires, and Diplomats in the
Founding of America, 8. Sadosky was speaking within the context of the growth
of power of the American union; however, it is applicable within the Canadian
context

173 Kathleen Buddle, "Shooting the Messenger: Historical Impediments to the
Mediation of Modern Aboriginality in Ontario," The Canadian Journal of Native
Studies 22, no. 1 (2002), 111.

174 This was common practice among settler colonies; Weaver, The Great Land

175 Palmater, Beyond Blood: Rethinking Indigenous Identity, 111.
rights and land distribution, they were expected to do so through the Canadian courts, which were infused with British values and customs. The courts had a monopoly on evaluation, which helped trim and/or deny rights to Indigenous peoples, especially with regards to land rights. Furthermore, as previously discussed, later amendments to the *Indian Act* made it illegal for Indigenous peoples to hire lawyers, in essence making it impossible for them to challenge the government through the required channels. It is on this backdrop that the business of nation building in Canada took place. Canada had to focus its Indian policy on the problems presented by having Indigenous wards contained within the settler-colonial nation-state. The kind of decolonisation that created the Dominion of Canada in 1867 actually enhanced the subjugation of Indigenous peoples.

This chapter examined the coercive, deceptive, and ultimately illegal tactics employed by the Crown and government officials during the treaty processes in the Saugeen Peninsula. These practices became the foundation on which Indigenous-settler relationships would unfold in Canada. The Crown and settler government justified their actions to Canadians by drawing on the

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177 These amendments took place in 1927, explicitly making it illegal for Indigenous peoples or communities to bring land claims against the government without the government’s prior consent. It also prevented non-Indigenous peoples from hiring lawyers or launch claims on the behalf of Indigenous peoples.
178 Patrick Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (2001), 886-887. Wolfe was discussing the United States and Australia; however, his analysis is applicable within the Canadian context.
179 Lorenzo Veracini, "Introducing: Settler Colonial Studies," *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011), 6-7. Veracini went on to argue that decolonisation was, “at best irrelevant and at worst detrimental to indigenous peoples in settler societies”.
civilised/savage trope. The Indian Residential School system further built on this trope and represented a direct, focused effort to remove Indigenous peoples from Canada, by way of assimilation. Residential Schools, and the direct impacts they had on the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, are the focus of the next chapter of this thesis.
Chapter 6 - The Sixth Fire: Residential Schools

During the sixth Fire, the false promise of the fifth Fire would become evident. Those deceived by the promise would take their children away from the teachings of the Elders. It would also be a time when sickness would plague the Anishinaabeg, disturbing their natural balance and their way of life.

“The school was to be a home – a Canadian one. On crossing its threshold, the children were entering a non-Aboriginal world where, with their hair shorn and dressed in European clothes, they would leave behind the ‘savage’ seasonal round of hunting and gathering for a life ordered by the precision of clocks and bells and an annual calendar of rituals, the festivals of church and state – Christmas, Victoria Day, Dominion Day and St. Jean Baptiste Day – that were the rapid, steady pulse of the industrial world... the children were to learn the Canadian way.”

- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Residential Schools (1996)

The Indian Act was a form of cultural aggression that provided the legislative framework for a system of elimination that targeted Indigenous peoples and their cultures. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw the government of the newly formed Dominion of Canada adopt a policy of assimilation that turned into a ruthless assault on Indigenous peoples in the name of modernisation and the construction of a Canadian nation. This ‘civilising mission’ rested on the belief of racial and cultural superiority of white peoples, supported by racist theories that different peoples of the world had differing abilities. The “races of man” were ranked from strongest (white), to the
weakest (red/copper). These ideas were not unique to Canada; they shaped global policies towards Indigenous peoples. In 1883, Lord Rosebery – who would serve as the British Prime Minister from 1894 to 1895 – told an Australian audience, “It is on the British race, whether in Great Britain, or the United States, or the Colonies, or wherever it may be, that rest the highest hopes of those who try to penetrate the dark future, or who seek to raise and better the patient masses of mankind.” In Canada, it was believed that Indigenous peoples could be “uplifted out of existence” by way of aggressive assimilation policies. Assimilation did not jeopardise settler social order, rather it reinforced it, and, unlike spatial techniques of removal to reserves, assimilation was seen as a permanent solution. The nation-building project would also benefit from policies of assimilation, because they were “designed to move communities, and eventually all Aboriginal peoples, from their helpless ‘savage’ state to one of self-reliant ‘civilisation’ and thus to make in Canada but one community – a non-Aboriginal, Christian one.” As Lake and Reynolds argued, “the imagined

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4 See the text, which was used in 'Indian schools', William Swinton, *Introductory Geography in Readings and Recitations* (New York: Ivison, Blakeman and Company, 1882), 21. Also see: Margaret D Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 250.


9 Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools", 1.
community of white men was transnational in its reach, but nationalist in its outcomes, bolstering regimes of border protection and national sovereignty.”

In the case of Canada, borders were created within borders. First, the Crown and Canadian government attempted to contain Indigenous peoples and their cultures within the borders of reserves. The next step was to remove Indigenous children from the reserves, isolate them from the communities and histories of their heritage in Residential Schools, and subject them to forced assimilation. It was hoped that by breaking the bonds that tied Indigenous children to their families, communities, cultures, and lands, they would become ‘white’, which would prevent them from passing down Indigenous culture, knowledge and histories to future generations. Residential Schools sought to crush ethnic difference. In the process the Canadian government would divest itself of treaty obligations to Indigenous peoples, by turning them into non-Indigenous Canadian citizens.

Gwilym Lucas Eades has argued that Residential Schools, “stand in

11 These were the same goals as the Indian Schools in the U.S. and Australia during the same period. See Jacobs, White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940, xxx. For additional comparative analysis of “Indian Boarding Schools” see: Alexander S. Dawson, “Histories and Memories of the Indian Boarding Schools in Mexico, Canada, and the United States,” Latin American Perspectives 39, no. 5 (2012).
metonymical relationship as part of a whole paradigm of regimentation, assimilation, and the policing of indigeneity and indigenous peoples in Canada.”

This chapter foregrounds the experiences of children from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation at the schools as a means to examine the larger project of ridding Canada of its ‘Indian problem’. Government and church documents, reports, and personal communications will reveal that the schools were allowed to run for over a hundred years with relative impunity and little to no oversight. The Indigenous voice is absent from the earliest periods of the Residential Schools, because projects to record the oral histories of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation did not start in earnest until the 1970s. Accordingly, the first part of this chapter provides a background/history of the Residential School system, and the second part draws on twentieth-century testimonies to convey the experience of attending Residential Schools during that period. This allows for a careful application of the available testimonial evidence. It also allows the chapter to bridge the periods covering the onset of the Residential School system in the 1830’s, the closing of the final school in the 1990’s, and the contemporary moves toward reconciliation that will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

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14 Many of the interviews used in this chapter were not conducted with the express purpose of documenting the Residential School experience; however, the schools often came up in the course of documenting the oral histories. The Saugeen Ojibway Nation started publishing collections of stories from their elders in the 1990s, and have since published three volumes. Additional interviews, conducted in the 1970s and early 1980s with elders of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, are held at the University of Regina and the Bruce County Museum and Archives.
[Fig. 6.1, above] Mount Elgin Residential School, pictured, circa 1909 (United Church of Canada Archives, ICCA 90.162P/1167N).

[Fig. 6.2, right] Borhtes, Pedequahum (Frank), and Weesug (Albert) Ashkewe of Cape Croker at Residential School, circa 1890 (Algoma University Archive, 2010-048-001).

[Fig. 6.3, above left] Boys digging ditches, Mount Elgin, circa 1909 (UCCA, 90.162P/1169).

[Fig. 6.4, above right] Children working on the laundry, Mount Elgin, circa 1909 (UCAA, 90.162P/1173N).
Part 1: The Residential School System

A Department of Indian Affairs report in 1889 argued, “the boarding school disassociates the Indian child from the deleterious home influences to which he would otherwise be subjected. It reclaims him from the uncivilised state in which he has been brought up.” It was hoped that Residential and Industrial Schools would accelerate the assimilation process. Boys were taught agriculture and some trades, and girls were taught “domestic arts”. Indigenous languages were forbidden - including the use of traditional personal names - as was the practice of any form of Indigenous culture. The policy was effectively to reprogram Indigenous children, erasing any memory of their traditional social networks and heritage.

While Indigenous children were in Residential Schools being ‘Canadianized’, Chapter One of this thesis illustrated how Ontario public school texts were teaching Euro-Canadian children that ‘Indians’ were dying out, and nearly no ‘authentic’ ones remained. ‘Savage’ and dangerous narratives, depicting tension and conflict, were highlighted. The politics of difference was being worked from both directions. Generations of Indigenous children were being ‘reprogrammed’ to forget about their Indigenous identities. Euro-Canadian children were being taught that the peoples their ancestors had enjoyed good, sometimes even kin, relationships with no longer existed, and any ‘Indians’ that remained were the final few ‘savage’ resisters.

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15 Canada, "Sessional Papers No. 12," (Ottawa, 1890), xi.
16 Olive Patricia Dickason, Canada’s First Nations (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), 315.
Selling the idea of Residential Schools

Policies surrounding schools were of great concern to Indigenous peoples. They wanted their children to be given skills that would help them in the New World. In speaking with white officials, Poundmaker stated: “we want to be sure that life will be as good for them as it will be for your children.”\textsuperscript{17} This indicates that there was a level of acceptance that traditional ways of life for Indigenous peoples had to adapt in order to function in the New World. The Saugeen Ojibway Nation saw schools as part of the treaties, by which the government had promised to “preserve Indian life, values, and Indian government authority.”\textsuperscript{18} They entered discussions of establishing Residential Schools with good faith that the schools would be governed by the same promise.

Treaties stated that Residential Schools would be on the reserve, but Industrial Schools were situated off the reserve lands, closer to Euro-Canadian settlements. Residential Schools could be located on the reserve; however, the government’s education policy stipulated that Indigenous children needed to be completely removed from the influence of their families in order to facilitate the supposed civilisation process. The two schools attended by a number of children from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were Alnwick and Mount Elgin. Alnwick was the first federally run Residential School, and was in operation from 1838 to 1966. Mount Elgin operated from 1848 to 1948. These schools would become the standard on which many other Residential Schools were modeled.

The Alnwick school started out comparatively small in 1838, with twelve students being educated and boarded at the cost of the Wesleyan Missionaries;

\textsuperscript{17} Norma Sluman and Jean Goodwill, \textit{John Tootoosis: Biography of a Cree Leader} (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1982), 27.  
\textsuperscript{18} Dickason, \textit{Canada’s First Nations}, 315.
however, between 1848 and 1851 Governor Lord Elgin opened two official schools that were run in partnership between the church and government.\textsuperscript{19} Lord Elgin had spent time in the West Indies where he had seen Industrial Schools in operation. In the West Indies, the schools were established out of a fear that black children who were not sent to the schools would return to barbarism.\textsuperscript{20} He was impressed with their operation, which inspired him to push for their adoption in Canada with the support of the Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, Reverend Egerton Ryerson.\textsuperscript{21} In 1847, a plan for the schools in the West Indies was drawn up and circulated throughout the colonies.\textsuperscript{22} A year before that in the Saugeen Peninsula, a General Council was held to ensure bands would send their children to the schools once they were built.

At the General Council, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Captain Anderson, delivered a speech to the “chiefs and principal men” on the subject of

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\textsuperscript{20} William A. Green, \textit{British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment, 1830-1865} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 338. Lord Elgin even offered a prize for the best essay, “treat the topic of industrial education for Jamaica.” Ibid, 339. The goal of these schools was more expressly to educate slaves to be a labour sub-class, rather than citizens; however, many Residential School survivors found themselves as a sub-class within Canadian society. They were not accepted as citizens, and they were isolated from their Indigenous communities because they no longer spoke their languages or understood the culture and heritage of their birth.
\textsuperscript{22} The root goal was to teach non-whites their place within the New World, J.P. Kay-Shuttleworth, "Brief Practical Suggestions on the Mode of Organizing and Conducting Day-Schools of Industry, Model Farm Schools, and Normal Schools, as Part of a System of Education for the Coloured Races of the British Colonies " (Whitehall: Privy Council Office, 1847). For circulation see: Green, \textit{British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment, 1830-1865}, 339-340.
\end{flushright}
“Temporal and Religious Advancement in Civilised Life.” Anderson began the speech by reminding the Indigenous assembly that the government had used “every means in its power to raise you upon a level with your white brethren” however, he lamented that all their efforts had been thus far proven “insufficient for the full attainment of the great object in view.” He said it was not the fault of the government; rather it was the fact that Indigenous peoples did not value education, which had caused them to “remain poor, ignorant and miserable.”

Anderson then presented them with a solution:

It has therefore been determined, that your children shall be sent to Schools, where they will forget Indian habits, and be instructed in all the necessary arts of civilised life, and become one with your white brethren. In these Schools they will be well taken care of, be comfortably dressed, kept clean, and get plenty to eat. The adults will not be forced from their present locations. They may remove, or remain, as they please; but their children must go.

Attendance at the schools was not presented as an option, rather an inevitability, therefore it was in the best interest of those present to support. After Anderson’s speech, the Assistant Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, George Vardon, rose to speak. He added to Anderson’s point, stating: “I see no hope in succeeding unless the Indians themselves feel the importance, indeed the absolute necessity, of their children being educated and that they lend their assistance to us.”

The government wanted the bands to help pay for the schools. They proposed the bands devote a quarter of their treaty annuities for a period of twenty-five years

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24 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid, 8.
to support the running and maintenance of the schools.\textsuperscript{28} The fact the treaties promised education, at the government’s expense, did not escape those in attendance; however, they agreed to listen to the proposal. Attendees were eager to give their children an opportunity to thrive in the new world that was being established all around them.

Reverend Peter Jones, a western-educated Anishinaabe man, then spoke to the assembly on behalf of the government in Anishinaabemowin (Ojibway language), followed by Reverend William Case.\textsuperscript{29} They both stressed the long-term benefits of sending children to the schools, but Case also worked to convince the assembly that they could trust the government and the Queen. He used the example of slavery, claiming they had “considered the wrongs of the Black Man; have removed his burdens, and set him free. Such acts are noble, and worthy of a great and enlightened nation.”\textsuperscript{30} The language of the Scottish Enlightenment had a strong presence in the speeches made to the Council attendees. They promised Indigenous children would thrive in the new world, with proper education of “enlightened” principles and values. After the speeches, Captain Anderson told the Council he expected a response to their proposal the following day.

The Chiefs and Principal men returned the next day and were presented with the question, “Manual Labour Schools will be established for the education of your children; and the land to which you may now (with the consent of the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid, 6.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Jones’ speech supported the Schools in general terms on the first day; however, the following day he added that he had “long desired to have such Schools established, which the Government now proposes.” Ibid, 24.
\item \textsuperscript{30} Ibid, 9. It should also be noted that all the speeches made in full Council were translated into Anishinaabemowin (Ojibway language) by the interpreter, Allan Salt.
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government) remove, the Government will secure, by written documents, to you and your posterity for ever [sic.].” The Chiefs then delivered speeches in answer to the question. The first Chief to speak was Joseph Sawyer, and he made an insightful observation during his speech that indicated he was well aware of the enlightenment values of private property and industry, and how they functioned:

I see the white man obtains his wealth by industry; and from this I see, that in order that the Indian may attain to wealth, he must adopt the same course that the white man does; must lay aide indolence and a wandering habit of life, and must adopt an industrious course; and in that way alone can we become people of property. Sawyer did not see the principles and values of the Scots philosophers as inherently bad; however, it is very likely he understood they would be incorporated into Indigenous knowledge, not completely replace it. As discussed in Chapter Two, according to Indigenous knowledge systems and ways of knowing, knowledge was holistic. New knowledge only passed the endurance test if it could be incorporated into current, established knowledge systems. Adapting and incorporating new knowledge was part of the Indigenous way of life so Sawyer would have had no frame of reference that Residential Schools would have a different approach to teaching and learning.

Sawyer, along with the majority of Chiefs, sanctioned the Schools as Anderson and his colleagues had presented them. However, Chief Wabutik, from Saugeen, created a big stir with his refusal to address the question. Waubutik stated, “I have nothing to say at present. I am not going to remove; you point the

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31 Ibid, 15. The Government was aware of the importance placed on land by Indigenous peoples, which could explain the seemingly unconnected addition of the protection of land tied to the establishment of Schools.
32 Ibid, 16-17.
Indians to the place where I live, as the place of their future residence. It shall be free to them. They are welcome to it.” Waubutik wanted others in attendance at the Council to know they would be welcomed to join the Saugeen Ojibway Nation should they be forced to remove from their lands. Despite this clear statement from Waubutik, the Council minutes indicate that a representative from Saugeen was one of the signatories who “agreed to the proposal in this General Council.”

Waubutik was not one of the signatories, so it remains unclear which signatory was meant to represent the Saugeen Ojibway Nation.

The closing statement of the Council was from Peter Jones. He had found great success as an author and public speaker after attending white schools, which is why he passionately supported the concept of Residential Schools, stating that “having been eye-witness, for more than 20 years past, of their conversion to Christianity, and the progress made in civilisation, I had long been convinced that in order to bring about the entire civilisation of the Indian Tribes, Manual Labour Schools must be established.” He did not recognise that the children would not be receiving a white-education at the Schools— they would be receiving an education in an attempt to remove their ‘Indianess’. The children who attended the Schools would not be well taken care of, comfortably dressed, kept clean, and have plenty to eat, as Captain Anderson had promised in his speech at the opening of the General Council. The official goal was not education; rather the goal was aggressive ‘civilisation’.

The British North America Act of 1867 marked the start of the Canadian government’s policy of assimilation. Official policy was designed to convert

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33 Ibid, 22.
34 Ibid, 32.
Indigenous peoples from their ‘savage’ state to a self-reliant ‘civilised’ state and foster a single, Christian Canadian identity.\(^{36}\) The treaty promises were proving to be very expensive for the Canadian government, especially during a time when they were trying to establish federal infrastructure. It was in the government’s best financial interest to civilise Indigenous peoples, because once enfranchised they were no longer entitled to benefit from treaty annuities and provisions.\(^{37}\) There were already four Residential Schools in operation in Ontario, including Mount Elgin where many children from Saugeen were sent.\(^{38}\) However, more schools were required because the treaties in Western Canada, signed post-1870, specifically promised education. The government was under pressure from the churches to fulfill the education clauses, and as part of the process of establishing a broader education system the government wanted recommendations on policies and goals that would be enforced system-wide.\(^{39}\) The government wanted to use the Indigenous education facilities that had been promised in the treaties to serve the goal of civilising. With this goal in mind, Nicholas Flood Davin was sent to the United States to examine the schools there and make recommendations for the Canadian system.

Davin submitted his confidential report in 1879 – *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-breeds* - to the Canadian government.\(^{40}\)

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\(^{36}\) Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools", 1.

\(^{37}\) Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations*, 315.

\(^{38}\) Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986*, 8. At this time the schools were called Manual Labour Schools; however, the goals and policies remained the same before and after the title of the schools changed.

\(^{39}\) Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools", 1.

\(^{40}\) Derek G Smith, "The ‘Policy of Aggressive Civilization’ and Projects of
lauded the American policies and was the primary supporting document accompanying the Order in Council that established Residential Schools in Canada.41 With regard to the system in place in the United States, the report noted, "the school is the principle feature of the policy known as that of ‘aggressive civilisation’... Indian culture is a contradiction in terms... they are uncivilised... the aim of education is to destroy the Indian."42 Davin’s report received uniform support of the churches and the Indian Department, with the Department specifically praising the wide range of assimilative policies as, “the solution of that problem, designated ‘the Indian question’.”43

‘All-encompassing’ institutions

The intent was to make Canadians out of Indians.44 Indigenous children, it was held, needed to be immersed in a Canadian environment in order to accomplish this goal. The schools had a mandate to create an “all-encompassing environment of re-socialization with a curriculum that comprised not only academic and practical training but the whole life of the child in the school.”45

The government argued that they were acting in the best interests of the

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Governance in Roman Catholic Industrial Schools for Native Peoples in Canada, 1870–95.,” *Anthropologica* 43, no. 2 (2001), 266.
41 Ibid, 254. They were called Industrial Schools at this time; however, Residential is being used in favour of consistency, as the policies and goals remained consistent despite the changes of their official names.
43 Annual Report, 1890, as quoted in Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools", 2.
44 The term Indian is used here to acknowledge that it was an identity that was assigned to Indigenous peoples, much as the identity of “Canadian” was assigned to settlers.
45 Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools", 9.
children. It acknowledged the dramatic changes Indigenous peoples had endured since the arrival of Europeans, and in the Department of Indian Affairs’ 1895 Annual Report stated:

> No system of Indian training is right that does not endeavour to develop all the abilities, remove prejudice against labour, and give courage to compete with the rest of the world. The Indian problem exists owing to the fact that the Indian is untrained to take his place in the world. Once teach him to do this, and the solution is had.  

Skills covered in the curriculum that were supposed to teach Indigenous children to compete in the New World included agriculture; carpentry; shoemaking; and blacksmithing for boys, and skills like sewing; knitting; cooking; laundry; and general household duties for the girls. The roles were highly gendered, with little crossover, which was very different from traditional Anishinaabeg life presented in Chapter Two, in which the gender roles were much less rigid. However, it was also believed that these new gendered skills would be “useless unless accompanied by the values of the society the children were destined to join.”

The total-institution approach was important in order for the children to adopt Canadian values and social skills.

As Indigenous children were learning Canadian values and social skills, they were also learning that they were ‘savages’. The 1896 program of study

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46 “Annual Report,” ed. Department of Indian Affairs (Ottawa, 1895), xxii.
47 “Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools”, 9.
48 Interestingly, Russian Mennonites had their own schools in the Canadian Prairies, and the government strongly objected to the gendered, labour-skills based education the Mennonites chose to teach. The government claimed the skills being taught would not help Mennonite children assimilate into the Canadian population; however, it was strikingly similar to the curriculum in the government-church run Residential Schools. See: William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), and John H. Warkentin, *The Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba* (Manitoba: Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 2000).
from the Department of Indian Affairs directed that an ethics course must be taught in each grade.49 A page of instructions for every Residential School teacher was included in every school register:

In the primary grades, instill the qualities of obedience, respect, order, neatness and cleanliness. Differentiate between right and wrong, cultivate truthful habits and a spirit of fair play. As the pupils become more advanced, inculcate as near as possible in the order mentioned, independence, self-respect, industry, honesty, thrift, self-maintenance, citizenship and patriotism. Discuss charity, pauperism, Indian and white life, the evils of Indian isolation, enfranchisement. Explain the relationship of the sexes to labour, home and public duties and labour as a law of existence.50

The curriculum indicated that Indigenous peoples were thought to be lazy, untruthful, and devoid of personal morals and values. This is in stark contrast to the experiential history documented in the diaries of settlers and the articles that appeared in the early newspapers, presented in Chapter Four of this thesis. This likely stems from the fact that Indian policy, and by extension school curriculum, often originated from people who had little to no experiential history with Indigenous peoples. This is very similar to how the Scots philosophers wrote about Indigenous people in North America being ‘savages’ with great certainty without having ever met one. This kind of confidence was couched in the belief that the British were the master race, and therefore had the right to preside as a moral and cultural authority.

An 1886 report from the Indian Department’s school-inspector uses language from the Scottish Enlightenment to explain why the schools were critical to the goals of assimilation and civilisation. He argued, “resource

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50 Agnes Grant, No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada (Winnipeg: Pemmican Pub., 1996), 163.
development and settlement had prevented Indian communities from following that course of evolution which has produced from the barbarian of the past to the civilised man of today. It is not possible for him to be allowed slowly to pass through successive stages, from pastoral to agricultural life and from an agricultural one, to one of manufacturing, commerce and trade as we have done.” This is the precise language that was used by the Scots philosophers to describe evolution of man from savage to civilised, a premise that rested on the belief that all Indigenous peoples were savage, and devoid of concepts of right and wrong, honesty, integrity, self-sufficiency, and industry. In order to teach Indigenous children the euro-Canadian meaning of these concepts, they were immersed in an environment of strict, aggressive socialisation twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

The non-linear, holistic Anishinaabe systems of knowledge transfer examined in Chapter Two were not compatible with the goals of Residential Schools. The curriculum at the schools was designed to teach Indigenous children the ways in which they were inferior to euro-Canadians, and how they could leave their ‘savage ways’ behind. The Canadian government implemented policy that would provide a backdrop to the new curriculum and work in tandem with it in order to accomplish the goals of assimilation and civilisation. In 1894, amendments to the Indian Act were made empowering the Governor-in-Council to commit children to government schools and make attendance compulsory. By 1896 the Superintendent-General, Clifford Sifton, found the schools to be a waste of time and money. He believed that Indigenous peoples were fundamentally

51 As quoted in: Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools", 7.
different from Europeans, making them unable to function in Canadian society.\textsuperscript{52} He argued Indigenous peoples were resisting changes that were imposed by the Canadian government, and they were not joining the mainstream of Canadian society as expected, proving Indigenous educational policy was an abysmal failure that did not seem to lessen enthusiasm for Indigenous ways of living.\textsuperscript{53} The failure of these policies did not deter the Department of Indian Affairs; they simply changed their policies to add more coercion. This reflected the shifting goals of the government from the task of immigration and settlement to that of nation building during the same period.

In 1906, legislation was passed determining that every school that wished to continue receiving funding from the government had to fly the Union Jack. Supporters of the flag legislation argued that anyone who benefitted from living in Canada and declined to “have his children infused with British patriotism is a man that is undesirable”.\textsuperscript{54} In 1916, legislation was announced that a “proper elementary education” was compulsory and English would be the only language of instruction.\textsuperscript{55} By 1920, the Superintendent-General could enfranchise anyone he found ‘fit’. This policy of compulsory enfranchisement was just that: Indian status could be stripped without request or permission. D.C. Scott was a poet and Superintendent of Indian Affairs and in 1920 he stated, “I want to get rid of the Indian problem... Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in

\textsuperscript{52} Dickason, Canada’s First Nations, 316.
\textsuperscript{53} J.R. Miller, Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 233.
\textsuperscript{54} Adolf Ens, Subjects or Citizens?: The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994). 111-112
\textsuperscript{55} William Janzen, Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite and Doukhobor Communities in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 94.
Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question and no Indian Department.”\textsuperscript{56} From the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century the government was explicitly trying to ‘rid’ Canada of ‘Indians’. This backdrop is very important in understanding what Indigenous children were facing when they attended Residential Schools. Generations of children endured the ‘civilising’ efforts of church and state, and this goal was reflected in the development of the Residential School curriculum during the same period.

**Living Environment of the Schools**

The conditions at the Residential Schools were a far cry from what Anderson had promised they would be at the 1846 General Council. In 1904, Dr. P.H. Bryce was appointed Medical Inspector to the Department of the Interior and of Indian Affairs. In 1907 Bryce conducted special inspections of thirty-five Residential Schools. He submitted reports that stated tuberculosis was reaching epidemic levels in many of the schools, compounded by the foul living conditions and poor diets in the Schools. Children were dying as a result of the terrible conditions, and Bryce charged that the mortality rate was over 80 percent in some cases.\textsuperscript{57} Even the head of the Department of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott, asserted that, “fifty percent of the children who passed through these schools did not live to benefit from the education which they had received therein.”\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{56} As quoted in: J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 281-282.


\textsuperscript{58} As quoted in, Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools", 31.
supposed “benefits” of Residential School education aside, Scott had recognised that being sent to Residential Schools had proven to be a death sentence for half of the students.

Despite the sobering mortality rates, the government did not implement any of Dr. Bryce’s recommendations to improve the health and safety of the Schools. This came to light in 1922 when Bryce published a report on his time as Medical Inspector. In the report he asserted the government was, “counting upon the ignorance and indifference of the public to the fate of the Indian,” adding “I feel certain that serious trouble will come out of departmental inertia, and I am not personally disposed to have any of the blame fall upon me.”

Bryce wanted it to be publically known that he had done his best to improve the living conditions at the Residential Schools and he believed that what he observed was, “criminal disregard for the treaty pledges to guard the welfare of the Indian wards of the nation.” He was only able to make his true feelings known after his retirement, because while he was working as a civil servant he had been made to swear an oath that he would not, “disclose or make known any matter or thing which comes to my knowledge by reason of my employment as Chief Medical Inspector of Indian Affairs.” Unfortunately, Bryce’s report seemed to have had little impact on the conditions of the Schools.

Many people from Saugeen Ojibway Nation were sent to Mount Elgin. In order to keep children in line at Mount Elgin, the staff “could deprive them of

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60 Ibid, 14.
61 Ibid, 15.
food, or strap them or confine them, or lecture them.” After the Department of Indian Affairs started regulating the schools in 1911, they required Indian Agents to submit reports on how the schools were being run. The official Agents Reports for Mount Elgin throughout the 1930s documented a clean, well-cared for, healthy student population living in a healthy environment. There were some minor suggestions for improvement, such as painting the barn roofs, and a glossed over request for a “general over-hauling of all toilets”, but the reports were generally very good. Perhaps the inspection reports were ordered as a result of Dr. Bryce’s condemnation of the conditions he encountered at the schools; however, rather than document the actual conditions of the schools, the reports the government had on file suggested the schools were safe, clean, and the students healthy.

Part 2: Testimonies - Life at Residential School

The schools were total institutions. They were separate from the world at large and maintained an extreme power disparity between a large student population and a smaller supervisory staff. Erving Goffman presented the term ‘total institution’ in his book Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates. Goffman cited Residential Schools in Canada as an example of a total institution, used as a part of the civilising mandate in Canada.

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comparison was appropriate, according to former students from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. Frank Elliott described the schools as, “worse than prison,” and Vincent Nadjiwon said they were “worse than jail.” The staff of total institutions attempted to maintain complete control over the “inmates” in order to systematically degrade their sense of self. This began with the arrival of the inmates at the institution. Rituals of loss and mortification during the intake process in the asylums described by Goffman included: assigning numbers; undressing; bathing; disinfecting; haircutting; issuing institutional clothing; instructing as to rules; and, assigning quarters. Children from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation experienced these exact same rituals upon their arrival at Residential Schools.

Eugene Keeshig shared memories of abuse and humiliation in the following terms:

We were called savages, jackasses, saying you’ll never learn, you come from the sticks, and this right in the classroom they’d say this... I would see those little guys 7 or 8 years old arrive, still babies, they couldn’t speak English, the next day you’d see those priests kicking their asses, slapping them around saying ‘Speak English,’ how in the hell would that kid know English?

Basil Johnston recalled arriving at a school. The priests gave Johnston carbolic soap and ordered him to scrub, and then poured “a vile-smelling substance” on his head and ordered him to continue washing. Johnston was given a bag with a uniform in it and led to a dormitory that smelled of urine. That is when he was

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68 Johnston and Delorme, *We Have Spoken*, 99.

told he would be called “number forty-three” from now on.\textsuperscript{70} Charles Akiwenzie also recalled, "they didn't even call us by our name, they called us by a number."\textsuperscript{71} Being assigned a number in place of a name was traumatic for the children. In doing so, the schools were attempting to separate the children from their own sense of identity as Indigenous people, so they could be ‘Canadianized’.\textsuperscript{72}

**Names, language, and ‘Indianess’**

In Chapter Two of this thesis – Anishinaabe Worldviews – the ability of personal names to 'historicise' the self in complex ways was examined in order to establish the deep connection names have to both personal and community histories.\textsuperscript{73} The parameters of this thesis do not allow for a full examination of all the ways in which Residential Schools were a focused attack on Indigenous culture and histories. As discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw increasingly focused yet multifaceted attacks on Indigenous peoples and their cultures and histories. The following section of this chapter provides a more in depth analysis of a representative facet of the process of ‘Canadianization’ employed by Residential Schools: the practice of banning Indigenous languages and personal names. As soon as the children arrived at the schools, signifiers of Indigenous culture and individuality were stripped away, and the loss of their language and name is arguably one of the most vividly

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid, 23.
\textsuperscript{71} Johnson and Delorme, *We Have Spoken*, 109.
\textsuperscript{72} Aboriginal Healing Foundation, *Reclaiming Connections: Understanding Residential School Trauma among Aboriginal People* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2005), 44.
\textsuperscript{73} See pages 127-130 in Chapter Two of this thesis.
recollected experience of Residential School survivors:

They stripped us of everything. Gave us brown uniforms and a number. And they put what they wanted on us, made us ashamed of who we are.

– E.L. 74

I was really scared, I didn’t know why they were cutting my hair, I didn’t. I was really embarrassed, because they said that I stink. They took me in where the bathroom was. That lady bathed me, and they told me my number was thirteen. That’s when they gave me my number and my clothes. It was their clothes and we all had numbers.

– Anonymous 75

Mother recalls a priest telling her she had to change her name because it was ‘demonic’. Shortly after, she was baptized and named ‘Alexandria’ ... Years later, five of my siblings and I entered St. Ann’s Residential School. We were baptized in the Roman Catholic religion and given Christian names.

– Mary Fortier 76

One of the supervisors wrote our names and our numbers: we each had a school number on our wrist. So rather than answering in English, ‘what is your number? What is your name?’ ... we would just show our wrist... That was our identification, they wrote it in that purple pencil.

– ‘Charlie’ 77

For many children, this was their first introduction to the New World, in which their identity was obscured, their language was despised and their personal name was reduced to a number. The schools all had a policy of strict segregation of family members, both by gender and age. 78 This was to ensure the children would be forced to speak the only common language they shared with

75 Ibid, 47.
78 Grant, No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada, 237.
the other Indigenous children they lived with: English.

The language of our birth and ancestors was outlawed. Our ways of worship were condemned and prohibited. Every day we suffered the worst kind of abuse – spiritual. – Peter Kelly

Units of culture that are transmitted by societies, communities and individuals have been given the name ‘memes’. Gwilym Lucas Eades has argued that language is memetic in that it, "consists of discrete but often overlapping units of information." Eades’ examination of the Residential School system revealed bans on languages was symbolic of the Euro-Canadian need to, “control and assimilate all aspects of Indigenous life.” Eades’ focus was on place-names; however, he noted that the destruction of language systems by Residential Schools, including names, was an attempt to sever continuity in a way of life tied to the land. Personal names can also be considered a meme, connecting the self to one's history, which is why personal names were targeted during attempts to reconstruct the 'selves' of Aboriginal children. The loss of one's name became a foreshadowing of what the children could expect to encounter during their days in Residential Schools:

That first night in bed, I realized my individuality had been taken from me. My name had been replaced with a number. My personal clothing was replaced with a uniform. My siblings were exchanged for a group of strange girls. My home was replaced by this strict setting. A cold nun replaced my mother's loving warmth. I had lost my freedom to a controlled environment. I broke down and allowed

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79 Ibid, 232.
81 Eades, Maps and Memes: Redrawing Culture, Place and Identity in Indigenous Communities, 40.
82 Ibid, 107.
83 Ibid.
84 Robertson, "The Residential School Experience: Syndrome or Historic Trauma", 8.
myself to cry. In a matter of minutes, the sounds of sniffles filled the dorm. It became our place of refuge, a private ritual we all practiced on a nightly basis.
- Mary Fortier

The goal of the Residential Schools was civilisation and assimilation of Indigenous children, but each individual tactic employed had deep, traumatising impacts on the children. An examination of the history of personal names, their connection to one’s self and Indigenous culture illustrates the impact of Indigenous children’s names being replaced with, at best, Christian names, or at worst, a number. It may have seemed like a minor, necessary initial step in the civilising process to school staff but for the children it marked the loss of their identity, which was deeply rooted in history and culture. Lorenzo Veracini, a scholar of settler colonialism, has warned that the power of name confiscation should not be underestimated: “the long term viability of the settler project is ultimately compromised when settlers fail to indigenise their collective label.”

From the Indigenous perspective, the confiscation of names, both place-names and personal names, represented the strengthening domination of the settler colony. Indigenous personal names, and the histories connected to them, were dominated by the new world. This is very apparent when studying the testimonies of Residential School survivors. One of the first pieces of a child’s identity that was stripped away was their name, which set the tone for the kinds of traumas children would endure as long as they were at Residential School.

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85 Fortier, *Behind Closed Doors: A Survivor’s Story of Boarding School Syndrome*, 56.
Attempts to isolate from Indigenous Worldviews

Keeping the children away from their families and home communities was also an important component of the Residential schools. The pass system, which had been implemented during the North-West Rebellion, was meant to restrict the movements of Indigenous peoples; they could not leave their reserve without obtaining a pass from an Indian agent.\(^{88}\) Residential and Industrial Schools separated Indigenous children from their parents and the pass system was used in an attempt to ensure the separation was maintained, with mixed results.\(^{89}\) The important role Indigenous children held in preserving and perpetuating Indigenous culture and worldviews represented vulnerability that policies of aggressive assimilation sought to target.\(^{90}\) This is why the Schools required children to be kept away from their parents and communities. In theory, the separation would ensure Indigenous children internalised Euro-Canadian values and, in turn, would teach these values to their descendents. Children reproduce the culture of their primary caregivers, so Residential School staff wanted to ensure they were the children’s primary caregivers.\(^{91}\) The school curriculum impressed colonial culture and governance on Indigenous children.

Classroom curriculum

Initially, the focus had been on teaching gendered skills to boys and girls and

\(^{88}\) Grant, *No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada*, 64.

\(^{89}\) There are many accounts of Aboriginal parents making their way from the reserves to visit their children, see: J.R. Miller, "Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy," *Ethnohistory* 37, no. 4 (1990), 400.


\(^{91}\) Jessica Ball, "As If Indigenous Knowledge and Communities Mattered: Transformative Education in First Nations Communities in Canada," *The American Indian Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (2004), 456.
then using the students to maintain the buildings and grounds of the schools.

However, by the early 1900s a more structured classroom instruction became an additional requirement. The students at Residential Schools were taught using the catechism method – whereby teachers asked questions and the students responded, often in unison, with memorised answers. The curriculum included Arithmetic; Music & Dancing; Religion; Reading & Language Arts, and Social Studies. The arithmetic taught was very rudimentary, and usually in relation to record keeping for the children’s farm duties. Music & Dancing and Religion classes were closely related, as the songs were either religious or patriotic in nature. Brass bands, like the band Cape Croker was well known for, were used as public relation tools for the schools. The students would visit nearby towns and play their religious or patriotic songs, so the audience could see how well the civilising efforts of the schools were working. The students were also required to attend confession one to three times per week as part of their religious instruction. Basil Johnston of Cape Croker reported that, as students, they were told confession was necessary because, “no one was perfect, all were sinners.”

The message to the children would have been clear. They were not capable of being ‘good’; even if they acted exactly as the instructors demanded. In the minds of the children, their inability to be ‘good’ was because they were Indigenous. Geraldine Jones, also of Cape Croker, remembered feeling, “ashamed of being an Indian.”

Reading and Language Arts were the primary focus of the school day.

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92 Grant, No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada, 163.
93 Ibid, 169-173.
94 Jack Funk and Gordon Lobe, ... And They Told Us Their Stories: A Book of Indian Stories (Saskatoon: Saskatoon District Tribal Council, 1991), 45.
95 Johnson and Delorme, We Have Spoken, 79.
Most children did not speak any English upon arriving at a Residential School, so the teachers were constantly teaching English at a very remedial level to all students. Indigenous languages were forbidden. Residential School administrators believed that children must be cut off from any language other than English if any progress in civilising them was to be made. E. F. Wilson informed the Department of Indian Affairs that, “we make a great point of insisting on the boys talking English, as, for their advancement in civilisation, this is, of all things, most necessary.”

Children who were caught speaking anything other than English faced punishments ranging from withholding food to beatings and isolation. Along with the loss of personal names, the banning of language was one of the most commonly recalled traumas of former Residential School students. John Nadjiwon, from Saugeen Ojibway Nation, recalled speaking Anishinaabemowin in secret: “We could talk but we had to do it very secretly. If we were caught you would get a punishment, so it wasn’t pleasant. It was a pretty rotten experience. But there are people that just don’t even like to talk about it too much because it left a scar in your minds.”

James C. Scott has argued that children secretly speaking their own languages can be interpreted as an ‘everyday form of resistance’; however, he also cautioned against overstating their impact as a form of resistance. The loss of language was traumatising for Indigenous children because it was through language that children received their

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96 As quoted in: Ibid.
98 John Nadjiwon, interview by Ed Koenig, 1998, Bruce County Museum and Archives, Peter Schmalz fonds, Box 29a. 7.
cultural heritage from parents and community.\textsuperscript{100}

The scars of having their Indigenous language banned reached beyond the Residential Schools. Even on-reserve schools were forced to implement a strict English only language policy. Irene Akiwenzie had a vivid memory of the language ban at the Cape Croker reserve school:

I’ll always remember that on the back of the school registrar it said “no Indian child shall speak his native tongue in the classroom or around the playground surrounding the classroom – this is a punishable offence.” They used to strap the children for speaking Indian. They all had to speak English – now they wonder why the children don’t know their native tongue – that was part of the government’s way of getting rid of their way of life.\textsuperscript{101}

If children lived in a household with both a mother and a father, they were allowed to remain on-reserve because the adults were believed to be more predisposed to civilisation. The rationale of the government was, if the family were living as a proper British family would, the parents were more likely able to be educated and civilised through their children, because the children would bring the civilising lessons home from school.\textsuperscript{102} However, if children misbehaved, or if they lived in a single parent household, they were forced to attend Residential Schools.\textsuperscript{103} The on-reserve schools did not offer a better curriculum and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation had no control over it in case they tried to insert “traces of the influence of the wigwam.”\textsuperscript{104} Some of the on-reserve

\textsuperscript{100} Canada, ”Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools”, 11.
\textsuperscript{101} Johnson and Delorme, We Have Spoken, 21.
\textsuperscript{102} Canada, ”Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools”, 18.
\textsuperscript{103} Lana Landon, ed. Renewing Our Spirit: The Elders of Neyaashiinigiingmiing (Owen Sound: Ningwakwe Learning Press, 2008). Interview with Dorothy Mantyla (Keeshig), 11.
\textsuperscript{104} Canada, ”Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools”, 19.
teachers were well liked by the students but more often there were memories of mean, drunken, and sometimes violent teachers. However, the overall learning experience would have been preferable to going to a Residential School because the children would have remained with their families in a safe, healthy environment when not in school.105

Former students from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation recall their families being worried that they had ‘lost’ the child they knew before they went to Residential School. Betty Pedoniquott said she was one of the lucky ones, because she remembered enough Anishinaabemowin to still communicate with her grandparents, aunt and extended family.106 Despite the apparent focus on Reading & Language Arts, many of the students left the schools functionally illiterate.107 This did not necessarily mean the children retained their Indigenous language, rather it meant they only learned to speak English, not read and write it.

Social Studies was perhaps the most important course of formal instruction. The Social Studies curriculum in Ontario during the early twentieth century was specifically designed to teach children to be citizens of the British Empire. A key part of the ‘citizenship training’ was to compare and contrast the children with the ‘savages’ who lived in Canada before colonisation started.108

105 Punishments at on-reserve schools could be severe, and teachers were reportedly drunk, but the most recalled trauma during interviews regarding the on-reserve schools was the language ban. See, Interviews from the Saugeen Ojibway History Project, Bruce County Museum and Archives, Peter Schmalz fonds, Box 29a and 29b.
106 Johnson and Delorme, We Have Spoken, 67.
107 Grant, No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools in Canada, 166.
This process of identity formation encouraged the reproduction of colonial relations, as Canadian children “were taught to cultivate feelings of paternal superiority, camouflaged as selflessness.”\textsuperscript{109} Specifically, “the curriculum reforms at the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century were social technologies to govern how children are to understand who they are and what they are in society.”\textsuperscript{110} Creating compliant and obedient Canadian citizens was a central concern of the Ontario curriculum. It did not matter if the children were white or Indigenous, because the goal was to create a united Canadian race.\textsuperscript{111} The children learned about citizenship and what it meant to be a Canadian during their history lessons. The same history texts were used, whether the children were white or Indigenous, but the two groups were simultaneously learning two very different lessons: whites were part of the master race, and Indigenous peoples were savages, unless they were fortunate enough to be invited to join the master race and become civilised.

Children who attended the on-reserve schools at Saugeen and Cape Croker could only do so until grade six. After elementary school, they had to attend public school off-reserve. Since the schools were off-reserve, the government argued they were not included in the treaty obligations and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation had to pay tuition for each student sent to public school. If the child’s family could not afford tuition, the child was sent to Residential

\begin{enumeratenumeric}
\item\textsuperscript{109} Ibid, 415.
\item\textsuperscript{110} TS Popkewitz, “The Production of Reason and Power,” \textit{Curriculum Studies: Curriculum knowledge} 1, no. 2 (2003), 460.
\end{enumeratenumeric}
Whether it was on-reserve, off-reserve, or at a Residential School, Indigenous children were taught Canadian history. The 1929 Ontario teachers’ manuals stated, “knowledge of history is useful for citizenship and statesmanship.” Canadian nationalism and patriotism, with the foundations of the British as a master race, were the unifying threads in the Social Studies curriculum. Indigenous children learned about Canadian history, which served the dual purpose of teaching them their civic duty in the new world, and erasing their Indigenous culture and histories.

**Physical and sexual abuse**

There have been horrific accounts of both physical and sexual abuse at Residential Schools. Survivors of the schools remember the personal abuses most clearly – not the specific church and state policies that inspired the abuse. Beatings and physical punishments were commonplace at Spanish. Isabel Millette was sent to Spanish from Cape Croker and said the teachers tried “real hard to knock the native out of us especially the language.” The children were subjected to punishments and beatings not necessarily as a result of poor

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112 Johnson and Delorme, *We Have Spoken*. Interviews with Stanley McLeod, 31 and Ernest Nadjiwon, 137. This remains the case today. If there are not enough students to justify hiring a teacher for particular grade levels, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation busses children to one of Ontario’s publicly funded schools and is required to pay tuition of approximately $9,500 per student. (http://www.ofis.ca/about-us/faq/).


behaviour, but simply because they were ‘natives’. If the children tried to retain a sense of Indigenous identity, whether it was through language or otherwise, they were punished: “if everyone who stands up with pride as an Aboriginal person is cut off at the knees, the reasoning goes, people will eventually stop standing up.”

Basil Johnston’s idol at Spanish Residential School was a boy who was also from Cape Croker, Ray Nadjiwon. Ray was a hero to many students, because he never stopped standing up to the teachers. Johnston recalled, “Ray was our leader, a person we looked up to... no matter how many stripes Miss Burke delivered upon his hands, she could not make Ray cry, wince or flinch. It seemed as if he was immune to pain.”

Unfortunately, the majority of the children did not share Ray’s immunity to pain, and many were subjected to abuse that was arguably worse than physical beatings and punishments.

The sexual abuse that was rampant in the Residential School system has been acknowledged by the government and churches involved; however, former students have rarely spoken about it in specific terms. Hector LaValley was sent to Spanish from Cape Croker and he recalled hearing about boys being sexually abused by the priests, but he said he avoided the abuse himself by acting aggressively and sticking with a group of boys who all agreed, “even if we get beat up, if they [school staff] try to do something we’ll beat the shit out of them.”

Sadly, LaValley said many of the younger boys did not have the ability to protect themselves with aggression. Mervin Solomon, also from Cape Croker

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118 Proulx, Memories: The Elders of Neyaashiinigiing, 35.
119 Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools", 70.
120 Johnson and Delorme, We Have Spoken, 104.
was sent to St. John’s Residential School where he was subjected to sexual abuse: “I had my share of it. I was fortunate enough not to have it done by a man. It was done by a female supervisor. Sexual abuse didn’t really hurt me all that much but the thing is it was imprinted on my mind – I was nine years old then.”121 The emotional and mental scars of the sexual abuse survivors endured long after the physical wounds healed. Unfortunately, sexual abuse was not isolated to a few cases - it was rampant throughout the Residential School system and the children were aware that it was going on. Eugene Keeshig, who was sent to Spanish from Cape Croker, also reported general knowledge of sexual abuse: “those damn priests were strict, you couldn’t even look at a girl over there and they’d grab you by the ear and shake you around if they caught you looking over there. But look at them, most of them were sexually confused to begin with, yah, they went after boys, sure they did, but now they try to look so perfect.”122 Keeshig’s concern that outsiders viewed the school staff as ‘perfect’ reflected a fear that was shared by Residential School survivors – nobody would believe them. These fears were not unfounded, because abusers were often protected by way of the Church’s reputation.

The Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Hayter Reed, reported that at Mount Elgin, “deprivation verged on starvation, strapping became beating, and lecturing became verbal abuse of ridicule and indignity.”123 The government was aware that the severe corporal punishment was commonplace in the Residential Schools. However, in 1924 when Louise

121 Ibid, 121.
122 Ibid, 100.
123 Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools", 57.
Pinsonault filed a complaint after her children returned from Spanish, her concerns were dismissed as an unfounded attack on good Christian men. Pinsonault said her children were mistreated, told they were savages, and given food that was not fit to eat. Specifically, she charged that the Christian Brothers running Spanish undressed a boy, “whipping him naked until he became unconscious... of course it will be denied by the Christian Brothers but I am very sure that the boys back home are to be believed.”

The secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs responded that he was unwilling to investigate the School because he was confident the children were “well treated by a devoted staff.” The government knowingly protected school staff who were abusing students at the Residential Schools and dismissing Indigenous reports of abuse was commonplace. It is unclear whether the abuse was ignored because it was believed to be a necessary part of the civilising process, or perhaps even a necessary evil; however, it is clear that the government did nothing to stop the abuse. The government and the churches covered up instances of sexual abuse rather than attempting to take preventative measures. Instead, the Church-run schools were protected and, in turn, the abusive staff were not held accountable.

Churches were very powerful in the national political arena, and the Church’s support was necessary in the nation-building project Canada was

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125 Ibid, 151.
127 Ibid. Residential Schools were funded for over 100 years before Indian Affairs started to compile a list of people who were not to be hired at other schools without approval of officials in Ottawa. Ibid, 108.
undertaking around the turn of the twentieth century. At the time, the government and Church officially jointly ran Residential Schools; however, the Churches were allowed to run the Residential Schools with relative impunity. The government allowed the Residential School system to operate with few regulations, rare enforcement of any regulations that did exist, and next to no operational knowledge of the school system itself. In fact, the government was so uninformed that in 1968, J.A. MacDonald, the Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs announced, “for the first time we have set down in a precise and detailed manner the criteria which is to be used in future in determining whether or not an Indian child is eligible for these institutions.” At the time of his announcement, Canada had been funding Residential Schools for 101 years.

**Neglect and Death**

The students that attended Mount Elgin reported the food as being rotten, the buildings falling apart, and the punishments severe. R.A. Hoey, the Superintendent of Welfare and Training for the Department of Indian Affairs, supported the student testimonies, perhaps unintentionally. Hoey visited Mount Elgin in 1942, and was shocked by “the most dilapidated structure” that he had ever inspected. He reported the School was “literally alive with cockroaches,” and that he could “scarcely endure” the offensive smells in the buildings. Hoey

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128 Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol 1, Chapter 10, Residential Schools", 62.
130 Ibid.
132 Ibid.
wrote that he was certain the School would be closed down by municipal health authorities were it not a government-operated institution. Moreover, he was aware that Mount Elgin was typical of the conditions found in Residential Schools across the county. He claimed a Dr. Cochrane had informed him that Mount Elgin was “a model of sanitary perfection when compared to the United Church School at Round Lake, Saskatchewan.”133 Two years later, the Department of Indian Affairs ordered scientific assessments of School diets. Both Mount Elgin and Spanish were among the Schools used in the sample, and the results were summarised as “simply appalling.”134 Only one remark regarding the Mount Elgin survey has survived in the Department’s files – “no one on staff had even elementary knowledge of sanitation and hygiene.”135

Some former students from Saugeen Ojibway Nation recalled children dying at the schools. Hector LaValley of Cape Croker offered, “while we were there [Spanish] either you survived or you’re going to be... you know... a few boys died in there.”136 Charles Akiwenzie, also from Cape Croker, remembered the fate of a boy at Spanish everyone called Popeye,

One day he got the flu, and at breakfast time, they wouldn’t let him upstairs, made him eat, and then he brought it all up, and they made him eat what he vomited. He lived three days, and he was gone.137

Nearly thirty years after Dr. Bryce has submitted his damning report on the health and safety of the Residential Schools, and twenty years since he had gone public with his accusations, nothing had changed. The conditions of the

133 Ibid.
135 Ibid, 264.
136 Johnson and Delorme, *We Have Spoken*, 103.
Residential Schools and the student experiences remained consistently deplorable until each school was closed. The Mount Elgin School closed in 1948, but remained in partnership with the Alnwick School until 1966 when Alnwick was officially closed; just one year after the closure of St. Joseph’s School (Spanish).

**Contemporary links and the Residential School legacy**

Many members of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were also part of the ‘Sixties Scoop.’ While it was not officially part of the Residential School system, the ‘Sixties Scoop’ had similar impacts on Indigenous children and communities. Beginning in the 1960s and continuing until the late 1980s, children were literally scooped from their homes and communities without the knowledge or consent of families and bands. Indigenous peoples have charged that Government authorities and social workers acted under the colonial assumption that the Indigenous peoples were culturally inferior and unable to adequately provide for the needs of their children. This is part of the legacy of the Residential School system.

The passage of the Child and Family Services Act of 1984 ensured that Indigenous adoptees in Ontario would be placed within their extended family, with another Indigenous family, or with a non-Indigenous family that promised to respect and nurture the child’s cultural heritage. Vernon Roote, former Chief and Elder of the Saugeen First Nation, and former Grand Chief of the Union of Ontario Indians, has become one of the leaders of cultural resurgence, spearheading youth initiatives that teach Anishinaabemowin (language), culture, and heritage. In 2012, Roote wrote a book called *M’daa Kendaaswin, to look for*
knowledge: Anishinaabe Men’s Teachings. The book was intended to address the
gaps in traditional knowledge that are one of the legacies of Residential
Schools. Generations of Residential School students had those parts of their
identity stripped away from them, and in turn, have been unable to teach them to
their children.

In the 1990s, the Jesuit order of the Roman Catholic Church was found
guilty of sexual abuse of children from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, after over
100 survivors of the abuse testified in court as adults. However, at the time of the
abuse, the children felt nobody would believe them if they tried to tell people
what was happening. Also during this time, the Canadian public thought the
priests and school staff were undertaking the selfless, important work of
civilising Indigenous children. This meant the children were isolated from the
support networks of their home communities, leaving them vulnerable to the
abuse of School staff. The staff were protected by the reputation of the Church
and the public’s belief they were doing ‘good work’. The isolated locations of the
Schools also served to prevent the public from seeing the conditions under
which civilising work was taking place. However, the reality of life in the schools
has since been widely publicised.

In 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC)
released a public report that provided a comprehensive history of the
Residential School system in Canada. In addition, the report highlighted the
contemporary impacts of Canada’s sustained attempts to eradicate Indigenous

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peoples by way of assimilation. The next and final chapter of this thesis reviews the path of relationships between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and non-Indigenous peoples, as presented throughout this thesis, within the context of the TRC’s final report and Canada’s stated desire to start on the path towards reconciliation.
Chapter 7 – The Seventh Fire: *Wasa-Nabin* (looking forward)\(^1\)

*The Seventh Fire would be a time when the Oshkibimadizeeg’ (new people) would emerge. The Oshkibimadizeeg’ would be Anishinaabeg who retraced the paths of their elders, collecting what had been left behind. During the time of the seventh Fire, the light-skinned race would be given the choice between two roads. If they choose the right road, then the seventh Fire will light an eighth and final Fire – an eternal Fire of peace, love, and brotherhood.*

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**TO THE INDIANS**

*Dear Friends,*

*I think you are a little to blame for not lending your support more freely to a Society and a magazine set on foot, I may say, almost solely for your benefit and advancement… The white people say: “What is the use of trying to help the Indians when they don’t try to help themselves, and seem to show so little interest in anything that is done for them?”... These and other such questions might be discussed at the meetings of our Society, and in the pages of the magazine, if only they were both adequately supported; but, unless you all put your shoulders to the wheel, you cannot expect the wagon to move.*\(^2\)

*The Canadian Indian*, published in Owen Sound in the Saugeen Peninsula, was launched in October 1890, and this letter appeared on the last page of the final issue in September 1891. The publication was part of the Canadian Indian Research Aid Society, which had the broad aim of bringing, “the cause of Indians more prominently before the public.”\(^3\) However, the editor’s parting words blamed Indigenous peoples for Canadians not taking more interest in ‘Indian issues’. More likely, the publication’s failure was due to the conflicting aims of

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\(^1\) In Anishinaabemowin, wasa-nabin means, *to look forward, to look beyond.*

\(^2\) Edward F. Wilson, "Letter to Indians," *The Canadian Indian* 1, no. 12 (1891), 359.

\(^3\) Royal Canadian Institute, "A Brief History of the R.C.I.,” http://www.yorku.ca/rci/Site/History.html.
the Society. “Arousing the public’s sympathy for the plight of the Indian” was a secondary goal to the primary task of providing missionaries with a specialised publication for dealing with Indigenous peoples in an educational setting, with a strong focus on notions of ‘civilisation’ and ‘progress’. At its core, *The Canadian Indian* wanted to educate readers about, and promote the benefits of the federal government’s paternalistic, assimilationist policies. The publication failed to find a readership; however, it reflects a theme that has emerged in this thesis: education, hampered by misinformation and conflicting worldviews. Canadians were taught how to think about ‘Indians’, and Indigenous peoples were told how to think about themselves.

Education has been a key component in the relationship between the Anishinaabeg and settlers, and later the Crown and/or federal government, in the Saugeen Peninsula. Chapter One examined the historiography and illustrated how it both reflected and informed Indigenous-settler engagements, which provided important context to the lived experiences of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Chapter Two examined Anishinaabe worldviews, and traditional education and ways of learning of the Anishinaabeg. In Chapter Three, Scottish immigrants to North America learned what kind of people lived here before they stepped foot on the land. Their expectations of Indigenous peoples were set, based on settler colonial worldviews. Old World values were imported to North America – private property and personal wealth as the pinnacle of the evolution of man. Attempts to promote these ‘civilised’ values

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5 Ibid, 42.
above ‘savage’ Anishinaabe values were sparks that smouldered during the earliest interactions between settlers and the Saugeen examined in Chapter Four. The Anishinaabeg educated the settlers by teaching them how to survive, and even thrive, in the Queen’s Bush. This resulted in positive personal relationships between the Anishinaabeg and settlers; however, souring relationships with the Crown paralleled them. Chapter Five examined how the Indigenous peoples educated the Crown on treaty protocols, and how the Crown educated the Saugeen Ojibway Nation of the Old World values that would govern the New World. Finally, Chapter Six examined the Crown’s most explicit education campaign: Residential Schools. Residential Schools were an attempt to educate Indigenous children in the values and ways of the New World where Indigenous children were taught that they were savages, and lesser than white Canadians. Simultaneously, Canadian school children were being taught that they were superior to Indigenous people because, as Canadians, they understood the value of progress, private property, and personal wealth.

Together, the chapters map the increasingly focused attempts to cleanse Canada of Indigenous peoples by way of either assimilation or extermination. In the introduction of this thesis, I stated that it was my objective to further the goals of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. To these ends, particular attention has been given to how the Saugeen navigated and reacted to settler colonial engagements in order to provide a historical account that reflects/illuminates the lived experiences of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. It is my belief that the target audience for this thesis (non-Indigenous peoples) will not be able to embrace reconciliation until they have made an effort to examine Canadian histories from Indigenous perspectives. This final chapter examines
the legacies of the soured relationships between Indigenous peoples and Canadians/Canadian government/Crown, and, in the spirit of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, suggests a path forward.

**Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada**

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) was established in 2008, in part, to prepare a comprehensive historical record on the policies and operations of Residential Schools in Canada. The Commission's stated goal was to guide and inspire Indigenous peoples and Canadians, “in a process of reconciliation and renewed relationships that are based on mutual understanding and respect.” The final report was released on 2 June 2015, and it found:

For over a century, the goals of Canada’s Aboriginal policy were to eliminate Aboriginal governments; ignore Aboriginal rights; terminate the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada. The establishment and operation of residential schools were a central element of this policy, which can be best described as “cultural genocide.”

As of 31 January 2014, over 30,930 claims of sexual or serious physical abuse have been resolved, resulting in awards of over $2.9 billion in compensation having been paid to Residential School survivors. The number of Indigenous children who died at Residential Schools is difficult to determine, as a

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8 Ibid, 225.
result of incomplete and/or destroyed records. Of the records that remain, and of the deaths that were recorded, the Commission found that deaths in Residential Schools were 4.9 times higher than the national average. The report found 2434 cases of death recorded, but the Commission Chair, Justice Murray Sinclair, said the total number of deaths was estimated to be approximately 6000.

Residential Schools have been called, “death camps of the Canadian Holocaust.” Some Indigenous activists have been moved to copy the Holocaust’s vocabulary and symbolism, “in an effort to promote the history and rights of their own group.” However, this approach can trivialise both Holocaust and Indigenous histories by creating emotional hierarchies of atrocity, which would serve to detract from the experiences of Residential School survivors. The TRC’s assertion that the schools were central to a system of ‘cultural genocide’ is much more appropriate. Patrick Wolfe has warned that the term ‘cultural genocide’ is too abstract, and minimises the impacts on Indigenous people’s capacity to stay alive. Instead he offered the concept of ‘structural genocide’ for its ability to recognise the, “concrete empirical relationships between special removal, mass killings and biocultural assimilation.”

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10 Commission, 93.
11 Ibid.
13 Ibid, 1011.
15 Ibid, 403.
genocide is more precise from a scholarly perspective; however, it requires deeper knowledge of the structures at work and the general public would have trouble engaging with these kind of academic nuances. ‘Genocide’ on its own is perhaps more likely to invoke comparisons to the Holocaust, leading to debates around hierarchies of oppression, and detract from the goals of the TRC. Given the intended audience of the TRC’s report was the general Canadian public, I believe ‘cultural genocide’ recognises the atrocities within the history of Indigenous-settler relationships in Canada, while leaving the door open to the Commission’s goal of renewing relationships between Indigenous peoples and Canadians and fostering mutual understanding and respect.

The first step in this process is to educate Canadians on the shared histories of Indigenous peoples and settlers within Canada. The primary focus of this thesis is to foreground the historical relationships between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and settlers; however, while the historical details are unique to the Saugeen Ojibway Nation, the experiences are similar to those of Indigenous peoples across Canada, and perhaps even across settler colonies. The first half of this chapter connects into contemporary Canada the period that has thus far been the focus of this thesis. The second half of this chapter provides current examples of how Indigenous perspectives of Canadian histories have informed concrete actions towards reconciliation on both local and national levels. As I write this conclusion, Canada is celebrating the 150th anniversary of confederation. Millions of dollars are being spent on celebrating the settler history of Canada while there are over 100 First Nations communities in Canada
that have been on long-term drinking water advisories. The tension of celebrating a settler colonial history while at the same time claiming to be actively pursuing reconciliation with Indigenous peoples has provided an important testing ground for the “good words” from Canadian governments in response to the TRC’s Calls to Action.

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Settler colonial worldviews set the expectation that settlers would be encountering dangerous savages in the New World; however, upon meeting the Anishinaabeg in the Saugeen Peninsula, those expectations were not met. The early personal relationships between the Anishinaabe and settlers in the Saugeen Peninsula ranged from cordial respect, to kin-like closeness. However, the notion that Indigenous people were ‘savages’ in need of civilisation worked to support the concept of progress that was so important to expanding the British Empire, and creating settler colonies, like Canada. The messaging from the Crown, that Indigenous peoples were savages, continued until it was accepted. Once that notion was accepted as fact, Indigenous peoples who had not assimilated or died off were easily dubbed as ‘ungrateful’, or too feeble minded.

16 Government of Canada, "Drinking Water Advisories: First Nations South of 60," https://www.canada.ca/en/health-canada/topics/health-environment/water-quality-health/drinking-water/advisories-first-nations-south-60.html. Long-term is defined at over one year, and included are: boil water orders (BWO), do not consume orders (DNCO), and do not use orders (DNUO). The provision of potable water on reserve falls under the responsibility of the federal government. These statistics do not include water advisories north of the 60th parallel, and do not reflect advisories that may be impacting other Indigenous communities in Canada (Inuit or Métis).
to understand the benefits of civilisation. The Noble Savage was the Indian of the past, and had been dominated by the fully evolved European man. Indigenous peoples who endured were only shadows of the former, supposedly true Indians. This version of the history of Indigenous-settler relationships in Canada, and the inferiority of Indigenous peoples to Canadians, has endured in the Canadian historical consciousness.

**Legacy of History: the impact on the Saugeen Ojibway Nation**

The Saugeen Ojibway Nation have been engaged in the formal legal process of making treaty claims against the federal government since 1994. However, this thesis has illustrated that the Saugeen Ojibway Nation have been tasked with fighting to have their perspective understood since the earliest encounters with Europeans in the Saugeen Peninsula. The lack of understanding, and proliferation of misinformation among Canadians, encouraged by all levels of Canadian government came to a violent head in 1995, following a Provincial Court ruling in 1993 that gave legal recognition to Indigenous fishing rights.

Local sport anglers became incensed that the Saugeen Ojibway Nation were allowed to commercially fish in the waters, in recognition of their treaty rights. In addition, a dispute between Canadian’s with cottages on Saugeen land and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation had been simmering for a number of years. The cottagers were battling against rent increases reflected in their new leases.

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19 Margaret Terol, "Sauble Cottagers Win Reprieve in Rent Battle," *The Sun Times,*
two ongoing disputes, fueled by the Canadian historical consciousness that Indigenous peoples were inferior to Canadians, resulted in what the Saugeen Ojibway Nation now remember as The Summer of Hate.

When the Saugeen Ojibway Nation decided to pursue their claims rights in the early 1990s, they hired a communications coordinator to ensure their motives and actions were interpreted accurately in the media and were heard by local residents. Members of Saugeen Ojibway Nation made presentations at local schools and service clubs, wrote articles in local magazines, newspapers, and distributed educational materials throughout the Saugeen Peninsula. In January 1995, the Saugeen Ojibway Nation held a Sacred Soil symposium. They were aware of growing tensions, at that point in large part due to the land claim that had been launched, and they were attempting to educate the local Canadian population on their perspective. The panel, consisting of elders and Chief Ralph Akiwenzie, explained to attendees that the claim was not about money, but about their identity. Elder Lenore Keeshig Tobias said the land was, “a gift from the Creator. It’s a source of life. It nourishes us, supports us and it teaches us. We have a profound relationship with the land.” Elder Winona Arriaga attempted to minimise the focus on a zero sum approach to the land. She stressed that land


was to benefit all beings, including settlers, to bring everyone closer to mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life).不幸地，Saugeen Ojibway Nation's perspective continued to fall on deaf ears.

Local papers continued to publish scholarly-like articles that disputed the history, origins and rights of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. The Nawash Council categorised the perspective of the author of a number of such articles, retired business executive R.G. Bolce, as nothing short of racist. However, Bolce received the Senior of the Year Award in Albermarle Township for, "his unwavering devotion to enlighten, inform, and educate property owners, politicians, and others relative to the background behind the $90 billion Bruce Peninsula land claim lawsuit as well as claims to fishing and hunting privileges granted to the Saugeen and Cape Croker natives." It was clear that the local Canadian population felt entitled to ownership of the land, and understood hunting and fishing rights to be 'special rights', rather than treaty rights that the Canadian government had promised to protect. The government did nothing to correct this misguided perspective; in fact, they actively fostered it. In the summer of 1995 the Progressive Conservative party formed the ruling government in Ontario. The now premier of Ontario, Mike Harris, as a part of his campaign had promised to enforce the Game and Fish Act against Indigenous hunters and fishers, treating them the same as the rest of Ontario residents. Harris did not follow through with this election promise. If Harris had followed through on this promise, it would have been in direct violation of treaty

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22 Ibid.
24 As quoted in: Ibid, 68.
obligations, and illegal in the eyes of the courts; however, the promise garnered him enough political support to form the provincial government. Harris did not feel the angry backlash from Ontarians that occurred in the wake of his unfulfilled promise, rather voters turned their blame on the Saugeen Ojibway Nation.

Saugeen fishing boats were vandalised, and over ten miles of Saugeen fishing nets were stolen out of the water. On 5 August 1995 dozens of sport fishermen, led by the Member of Provincial Parliament for Grey-Owen Sound, Bill Murdoch, swarmed the stall of Yolanda Jones at the Owen Sound Farmer’s Market. Jones was there selling fish with her two daughters, and the men assaulted them with fish heads and innards. Finally, on Labour Day weekend, a Saugeen fishing boat was set on fire and four youth from the Nawash reserve were attacked by more than twenty local youths. The boys from Nawash were stabbed multiple times, and one had his face slashed open. Ten months after the attack, two men were charged; however, the case never made it to trial when the judge at the pre-trial hearing decided the “incident” was just a “drunken brawl that got out of hand.” Requests for inquiries into the incidents of the summer of 1995 were made to both the federal and provincial governments from the Saugeen Ojibway Nation; however, they received no response from Premier Mike Harris and a refusal of their request from the Minister of Indian

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The Summer of Hate in 1995 marked unprecedented levels of direct violence between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and Canadians, making it one of the darkest spots in the history of personal relationships between the two groups on the Saugeen Peninsula; however, their experiences as Indigenous peoples living within a settler colony are not unique. A volatile combination of ignorance and racism has continued to drive the majority of Canadians’ understanding of Indigenous issues and histories. In 1996, the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples included a report from the Canadian Association of Journalists. Their report found:

The country’s large newspapers, TV and radio news shows often contain misinformation, sweeping generalizations, and galling stereotypes about Natives and Native affairs... The result is that most Canadians have little real knowledge of the country's Native peoples, or the issues that affect them.\(^{28}\)

Very little has changed since 1996. Coverage of Indigenous issues remains problematic, and the advent of social and media and online commenting on news stories are flooded with inflammatory and racist commentary.\(^{29}\) Canadians need to recapture the sense of Canada as a shared space, and Indigenous peoples need to be able to reconcile what happened in Canada with what happened to them personally. This process will inevitably challenge people’s conceptions of their own identity – what it means to be both a settler/settler-descendent and an Indigenous person in a settler State.

Identity is a psychological state. It is not like a finite document that can be

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\(^{27}\) Ibid, 72-73.

\(^{28}\) Canada, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples - Vol. 5, Chapter 4, Public Education: Building Awareness and Understanding," ed. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (Ottawa1996), 16-17.

\(^{29}\) Commission, 343.
referenced or cited; however, this does not mean identities should be ignored or left out of analysis. One’s identity informs how one experiences the world in which they live. Human experience is essentially what social and cultural histories seek to document. For example, I attended the *Borderlands* history conference at King’s College London in October of 2011, and a number of scholars seemed to be struggling with how to include and acknowledge identities, especially when they spanned borders. One presenter got a laugh when he said: “I don’t know how to say this, but indigenous immigrant people.” Somebody suggested perhaps ‘Indigenous Diaspora.’ Ideally, identity would be personal and subjective; however, external forces often structure identities. For example, with regards to nationalism, it is very difficult to be a part of a larger imagined community unless one subscribes to the same sort of nationalism as the dominant group. This relates back to different conceptualisations of “nation” within Anishinaabe and settler colonial worldviews that were examined in Chapter Two of this thesis.

In 2014, Jane Carey and Jane Lydon argued that, while considerations of Indigenous peoples are within recent collections of transnational histories, “Indigenous peoples have been overlooked within the broader transnational turn.” Carey argued that ‘Indigenising transnationalism’ will help historians, “rethink the binary frameworks through which Indigenous actors themselves

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have been read, and question the stark division which has been imposed between ‘assimilationist’ and ‘resistive’ agency.”  

Carey and Lydon’s edited volume, *Indigenous Networks* (2014), was intended to fill the “conspicuous absence in existing transnational and imperial histories of Indigenous agency and presence.” However, the transnational turn also has the potential to aid in the healing of historical traumas. Indigenous peoples need to be able to reconcile ‘what happened’ with ‘what happened to them’. Questioning the stark division between ‘assimilationist’ and ‘resistive’ agency can also help Indigenous peoples reconcile their personal histories within national narratives. As Carey has argued, a transnational framework necessitates an understanding of territory and space in which hundreds of sovereign Indigenous nations have their own borders and boundaries that transgress the borders of settler colonial states, provinces, and countries. Indigenous peoples belong to sovereign nations whose boundaries are not reflected on the Canadian map. Within the context of this thesis, the process of ‘Indigenising transnationalism’ helped provide scaffolding to present the Saugeen Ojibway Nation as mobile, connected, pioneering and outward-looking, which directly challenges the dominant conceptions of Indigenous peoples as primitive, isolated, and stationary.

**Wasa-Nabin: The Crossroads of Nation-to-Nation, or Dominated Peoples?**

In order to move forward with reconciliation, Indigenous peoples have stressed that the Canadian government must commit to recognising the historical nation-
to-nation relationship that was codified in Wampum. However, this thesis has illustrated the ways in which that nation-to-nation relationship changed into one of Conqueror and ‘dominated peoples,’ which is the result of a society in which a settler colonial worldview is dominant. New Zealand historian, James Belich, argued that key components to European expansion were “empire, the control of other peoples, usually through conquest; and settlement, the reproduction of one’s own society” and that settlement “emphasized the creation of new societies, not the control of old ones.”36 From 1815, Anglo settler societies experienced a series of booms, doubling populations every ten years, which intensified societal reproduction, territorial expansion and the sweeping aside of precursors.37 Within the Canadian context, historian Gerald Craig argued that Upper Canada was seen as not just a possession of Great Britain, but a part of the British Nation overseas.38 Against that backdrop, it is difficult to argue that borders were not constructed around Indigenous peoples. They found themselves living in a new land that was dominated by new social structures and cultures, even if they had moved only a few kilometres. Living in two worlds allowed the Anishinaabeg to maintain ties to their culture, language, and heritage when they crossed borders into the social and political structures of the New World.

The Anishinaabeg in the Saugeen Peninsula crossed borders, both symbolic and geo-political. The concept of nation state was brought to them with the New World, and through both convention (experience) and law (treaties) the

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37 Ibid, 179.
38 Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841*, vol. 7 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1963), 100.
Saugeen Ojibway Nation is considered a nation, distinct from Canada. The nation-to-nation relationship was codified in the Two Row Wampum, and ratified by the Royal Proclamation of 1763, as discussed in Chapter Five.\textsuperscript{39} Canada entered into treaties with various First Nations, as a result of the established nation-to-nation relationship. It was the treaties that created the most tangible borders between the Saugeen Ojibway Nation and Canada. Lines were drawn on maps, and in order for members of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation to become citizens of Canada, they had to cross a border and live off-reserve. The goal of the Crown, and later the Canadian government, was to enfranchise all the Indigenous peoples until there was, “not a single Indian in Canada.”\textsuperscript{40} Indigenous peoples were constructed as racialised ‘others’ who posed an internal danger to Canadian law and order as a part of fostering Canadian nationalism, even though it was the land, culture, and nationhood of Indigenous peoples that was under threat.\textsuperscript{41} Dhamoon and Abu-Laban argued the, “racialized construction of the Indigenous barbarian not only gained legitimacy so as to demarcate Others from ‘us’ but it served to secure the primacy assigned to a western territorial, material, and legal conception of nationhood.”\textsuperscript{42}

The Saugeen worked to reassert their nation-to-nation relationship with the Crown and later Canada. Political representatives from Saugeen were sent to voice concerns when the Crown or Canadian government mistreated them, failed to live up to treaty promises, or acted in any number of ways that they found

\textsuperscript{39} See pages 204-206 in Chapter Five.
\textsuperscript{40} As quoted in, J.R. Miller, Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000). 281-282
\textsuperscript{41} Rita Dhamoon and Yasmeen Abu-Laban, "Dangerous (Internal) Foreigners and Nation-Building: The Case of Canada," International political science review 30, no. 2 (2009), 176.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid, 177.
objectionable. The most common political action was in the form of petitions, often delivered in person by the Saugeen Ojibway Nation to a representative of the Crown or government official. Chapter Five, Saugeen Treaties, provides examples of a number of such petitions. There are examples of people from Saugeen travelling to Toronto, Ottawa, and even London, England in order to voice grievances and advocate for their interests. The Crown had recognised the Saugeen Ojibway Nation as a sovereign, self-governing nation on foreign lands by way of the Proclamation of 1763; however, it was a constant struggle for the Anishinaabeg to be recognised as such in practice. Negotiations and political activities between the two nations of Saugeen and Canada have been present and constant from the period of initial engagement through to the current day. The notion of sovereign, nation-to-nation relationships with Canada is of critical importance to the Saugeen, and a transnational framework provided important scaffolding when working to elucidate that Indigenous perspective in settler colonial historical sources. The ‘Indigenising of transnationalism’ helped to dissect the argument that Indigenous peoples in Canada are conquered peoples, which is a critical step in the return to true nation-to-nation relationships.

**Healing personal histories**

The nation-to-nation relationships are only one part of reconciliation, and despite the magnitude of that task, arguably one of the easier, more concrete

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43 Starting on page 237.
44 Most famously, Nahnebahwequay (Catherine Sutton) travelled to England and was granted an audience with Queen Victoria in 1860. She presented Victoria with a petition that documented grievances regarding land distribution and boundaries in the Saugeen Peninsula. See, Peter S Schmalz, The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 153.
steps. Changes to the Canadian historical consciousness will surely lag behind changes in policies and laws. The circle holds very different meanings for Indigenous and European people. For Indigenous people it represents positive concepts, such as ‘wholeness’ and ‘unity’; however, for Europeans, it largely represents negative concepts, such as ‘zero’ and ‘emptiness’.45 Chapter One, Mapping the Roots of Racism, illustrated how this tension was reflected in the respective approaches to history until relatively recently. Indigenous histories are holistic, connected and circular whereas European histories favoured linear narratives that concentrated on progress and advancement. However, in recent decades, historians have been considering the role of oral histories, personal narratives, and the influence of the new media in shaping historical consciousness. In fact, the journal History & Memory is dedicated to the exploration of, “the manifold ways in which the past shapes the present and is shaped by present perceptions.”46 The ‘history and memory’ approach can create connected histories by helping Indigenous peoples acknowledge how European engagement shaped their histories while helping prevent a Euro-centric perspective from dominating their narrative.

If we turn to the example of Residential Schools, we can see that the students’ experiences are not in the past - they are a part of the past, which shapes their identities in the present. If the banning of personal names was to be damaging, then reclaiming personal names can be healing.47 One of the Truth

47 See the discussion of relational therapy in: Aboriginal Healing Foundation,
and Reconciliation Commission’s 94 Calls to Action is to reduce the burden placed on people who seek to reclaim their personal names and the, “significant portion of their heritage” contained in those names.\textsuperscript{48} Residential School survivors must accept what happened to them, and understand it was not their fault, before they can ‘go back’ and start to reclaim what was taken away:

Going into the Sweat Lodge and crying and talking about the things that happened in these places, things that happened to me in different areas of my life and going in and talking to the Creator and to the rock spirit and to my grandfathers and grandmothers and asking them to help me clean my life, to take all the ugliness and the bad medicines and everything that was put onto my life. It is no longer a mistake, it’s a lesson so that I can teach somebody else, I can show somebody else that they don’t have to hurt like that anymore. - Anonymous\textsuperscript{49}

Reclaiming the Residential School experience is required before individuals can reframe their personal histories within the Residential School narrative.\textsuperscript{50} Chapter Two of this thesis examined how the histories reclaimed by ‘postindian warriors’ are the core of Gerald Vizenor’s concept of Indigenous survivance because they reaffirm that “tribal names and stories are real histories, not discoveries.”\textsuperscript{51} Indigenous peoples challenging settler colonial devaluation of their histories is a form of survivance.

Alice French began her autobiography, \textit{The Restless Nomad}, by explaining her name is \textit{Masak}. In the Inuit culture people need to know who they are and

\textsuperscript{48} Commission, 205.
\textsuperscript{49} Agness Jack, ed. \textit{Behind Closed Doors: Stories from the Kamloops Indian Residential School} (Penticton: Theytus Books, 2006), 181.
\textsuperscript{50} Michael G Kenny, "A Place for Memory: The Interface between Individual and Collective History," \textit{Comparative studies in society and history} 41, no. 03 (1999), 431.
\textsuperscript{51} Gerald Vizenor, \textit{Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance} (Winnipeg: Bison Books, 1999), 4-6.
what names they are called. At Residential School she was called by her anglicised name, and she felt disconnected from her Inuit identity. When her father came to pick her up, he called her Masak and she was reassured she was still Inuit; however, upon returning home she realised there were many skills she would have to re-learn in order to fully be Inuit again. Reclaiming one's Indigenous name does not automatically reconnect individuals to their personal and community histories; however, personal names can serve as a bridge. It is not uncommon for Residential School survivors to begin the story of their healing process by stating their name:

My name is Red Willow Sun Woman, my mother and father were members of the lower Nicola Indian Band in the Merrit area. I was sent to residential school when I was seven years old, so that would have been 1954. – Vivian Ignace

I am Christina Casimir and I’ll share my story with you. My parents are Tommy and Sadie Casimir. I am a daughter in a family of fourteen... because of this traumatic experience I forgot I had a brother and sisters. – Christina Casimir

In the above examples one person chose to be known to the interviewer by her anglicised name; however, stated her Nłeʔkepmxc (Salish) name during the interview. The other person did not initially reveal whether she also had a traditional name. This exemplifies the subjective experience of reclaiming and reframing and helps inject narratives with personal meaning and relevance. It does not matter if the personal name has English or Indigenous roots - it can still

53 Ibid, 61.
54 Jack, 164.
55 Ibid, 207.
56 By the end of the interview she reveals her ‘Indian’ name is Red Eagle Moon.
be incorporated into Indigenous practices to aid in healing.

Personal names serve as an affirmation to identity and the concept of hybridity, borrowed from transnational identity theory, allows for a subjective interpretation of one’s identity. Having different names during different stages of an Indigenous person’s life is a part of their heritage and tradition. This is why personal names can “narrate key transformations, and they can be examined as a fundamental type of autobiographical activity.”\textsuperscript{57} There is a lot of history connected to the stage of one’s life when they were only known as a number. It shaped how Residential School children interacted with the School staff, their classmates and their ‘home’ communities. They were trying to ‘fit in’ and function within whichever context they found themselves in, all the while struggling to retain a sense of self.

Coerced assimilation by the state did not produce the desired results. ‘Canadianization’ enforced ‘from above’ resulted in the affirmation and strengthening of social networks ‘from below’.\textsuperscript{58} The banning of personal names in Residential Schools caused Indigenous children to maintain their identities in a social space that was separate from the physical place in which they were living. Christine Casimir concluded the sharing of her Residential School experience with the following statement:

I want to make this a better place for my grandchildren and my great-grandchildren. I hope I have not left anything out. I want to thank my great-grandparents and my grandparents, and my parents. Kukstsetsemc. Also, my Indian name is Red Eagle Moon


\textsuperscript{58} Alejandro Portes, “Conclusion: Theoretical Convergencies and Empirical Evidence in the Study of Immigrant Transnationalism,” \textit{International Migration Review} 37, no. 3 (2003), 470.
Woman. I am proud of that name.⁵⁹

The Anishinaabeg have successfully adapted the literacy and the western historical narrative to become tools that preserved Anishinaabeg culture and heritage. Highly acculturated and western-educated Anishinaabeg, like George Copway and Peter Jones, wrote the earliest books; however, their works had a distinctive Anishinaabeg focus, successfully bridging the gap between two distinct cultures.⁶⁰ It should be noted that these narratives did not have much to say about what many scholars would argue is the most critical periods of Great Lakes Anishinaabeg history – the arrival of Europeans.⁶¹ The Anishinaabeg are at the centre of the history of the Great Lakes region in the Anishinaabeg narratives. The narratives reflected their own priorities and their own agendas; however, they remain complementary to traditional Anishinaabeg knowledge and ways of knowing, rather than replacements. The holistic nature of Anishinaabeg histories and knowledge remained uncaptured by these narratives because they fail to reference the seminal Anishinaabe text: the land.

Healing national narratives

Would Canada have the same national identity without Indigenous peoples and histories? The answer seems obvious, but it begs the follow up question: If not, then why are Indigenous peoples and histories so often only included in tokenistic, ‘othering’ ways, if at all? The bridges between Indigenous and European

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⁵⁹ Jack, 212.
⁶¹ Ibid, 200.
narratives in Canada are complex, yet inextricably intertwined. Scholars have started to successfully include the Indigenous voice in Indigenous-European historiography, but the legacy of early scholarship continues to pose a challenge to Indigenous peoples, as exemplified by the discussion of Tom Flanagan’s work at the end of Chapter One. The fault lies with Canada for having had such a heavy hand in the education of its citizens. However, a public misinformed on key Indigenous-settler histories, such as the treaties, continues to benefit the government. For example, politicians, including the Prime Minister of Canada from 2006-2014, Stephen Harper, actively fostered the notion that tax dollars ‘fund’ first nations. It is possible that they do not do this maliciously. Being elected Prime Minister, or being appointed the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, does not automatically bestow a person with knowledge of Indigenous histories the rest of the Canadian public does not know. However, if they were to become more aware, politicians have no incentive to correct racist narratives or challenge the Canadian historical consciousness. It would not win them votes. In fact, they have even hired people like Tom Flanagan to foster the continued popular belief that ‘real Indians’ only existed in the past, and colonial domination was a justified and inevitable process when a superior, civilised race conquers so-called savages.

Indigenous Art: Reframing Canadian Histories

Kent Monkman’s (Cree) art was examined in the Introduction of this thesis as an

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example of how Indigenous art can critique settler colonial worldviews while inserting Indigenous perspectives into settler historical narratives. Monkman was asked to participate in the ‘Canada 150’ celebrations mentioned earlier in this chapter. He obliged by providing a counter-narrative to the celebrations with his exhibition *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience*. Monkman wanted to take advantage of what he felt was a turning point in Canada, stating Indigenous history was, “whitewashed and it left generations of Canadians in the dark. How do we move forward as a society when the whole founding mythology is false, exclusive, one-sided? History is a narrative; it’s a collection of stories sanctioned by the ruling power, and reinforced through words and images that suit them.”  

Monkman shines a bright light on Indigenous perspectives that were left out of Canadian historical narratives, stating his point was to, “authorize these moments that have been swept under the rug for generations.”  

*The Scream* [Fig. 7.1] addresses the legacy of the Residential Schools. At two metres tall and nearly three and a half meters wide, *The Scream* fills an entire wall of one the exhibition rooms. The remaining walls of the room are painted black and display a collection of Indigenous infant carriers and moccasins, borrowed from museum collections. The dimly lit, empty carriers and moccasins represent what was left behind when the children were taken away to residential schools. The accompanying artist’s text simply states: “This one I cannot talk about. The pain is too deep. We were never the same.”

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64 Ibid.
65 Ibid.
Wasa-Nabin: The Journey Together

Justin Trudeau was elected Prime Minister of Canada in 2015. During his campaign, he promised to implement all 94 of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada’s Calls to Action. As of the writing of this conclusion (March 2017), concrete actions from the federal government remain forthcoming. However, on 30 May 2016, Kathleen Wynne, the Premier of Ontario, apologised for Ontario’s role in the Residential School system and committed $250 Million over three years to *The Journey Together: Ontario’s Commitment to Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples*. The Introduction of the report is clear:

“In partnership with the federal government and Indigenous communities, municipalities, the private sector all Ontarians must move forward in partnership on the path to reconciliation. We must take action. We must address the legacy of residential schools. We must close gaps and remove barriers that Indigenous peoples face. We must create a justice system that is culturally relevant and responsive. We need to
support Indigenous culture. We need to reconcile relationship with First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples.\textsuperscript{66}

One of the initiatives under \textit{The Journey Together} was of particular interest to me considering the attention I paid in this thesis to the Indigenous names and their importance in relation to Indigenous histories. In recognition of the TRC's Call to Action number 17, Ontario is now waiving administrative costs for a period of no less than five years for the name-change process and the revision of official identity documents for people wishing to reclaim an Indigenous name.\textsuperscript{67} This is an encouraging indication that the current political leadership acknowledges that the healing process will be multifaceted and must be responsive to the expressed needs of Indigenous peoples.

It is time for individual Canadians to also acknowledge the impact Indigenous-European engagement had on identities and how, in turn, those identities have shaped history. The identities of Indigenous peoples have absolutely been shaped by their interactions with the European settlers, and vice versa. There is an activity that Canadians can take part in that helps to re-centre Indigenous histories, called the KAIROS Blanket Experience. Sarah Anderson, a frequent facilitator of the Blanket Experience explained how it works:

Blankets are arranged on the floor to represent Canada before the arrival of Europeans. The participants, who represent Indigenous peoples, begin by moving around on the blankets. While a narrator reads from a script, other participants -- representing the Europeans or newcomers -- join and begin to interact with those on the blankets. As the script traces the history of the relationship between settlers and Indigenous peoples in Canada, the participants respond to various cues and interact by reading prepared scrolls. The blanketed area slowly gets smaller to represent the


\textsuperscript{67} Ibid, 17. And: Commission, 158.
taking of land and at the end of the exercise both the resilience and resistance of Indigenous peoples as well as the ongoing colonialism is emphasized.68

Anderson stated that she thinks a key part of the exercise is the sharing circle at the end where people reflect on what they experienced and share with the other participants. The multitude of perspectives of a single shared experience is very educational.69 It is a great example of how Canadians can bridge the gap between historical event narrative and holistic, personal experiences. The activity’s foundation is even the land, which is central to Indigenous worldviews.

The Blanket Experience is a useful metaphor, but it is limited by its experiential nature and the participants’ dependence on a facilitator to feed them information. On 6 June 2015 the M’Wikwedong Native Cultural Resource Centre held an event in the Saugeen Peninsula called WASA-NABIN – We Are All Treaty People. Lee Maracle (Stó:lō Nation), an Indigenous poet and author, shared a story from her grandmother who hid in the bush to avoid being sent to Residential School: “you never know the terror of being the sole survivor of fourteen children and facing rebuilding the clan alone.”70 Maracle then told the audience of mostly non-Indigenous people, “you belong here, your children belong here, but we need to discover each other... we have a long road ahead, but it’s a good road. The trash is behind us. We can share this great land. The first step is to face the truth of what Residential Schools were all about.”71 Learning and understanding the entangled Indigenous-settler histories in Canada is

69 Ibid.
70 Quoted with permission from Lee Maracle.
71 Ibid. Maracle received a standing ovation.
critical to the path forward.

Last month (14 February 2017), *The Saugeen Times* published a story about an initiative spearheaded by students of G.C. Huston Public School in Southampton. The grade five and six students wrote to the Ministry of Transportation to ask that a bridge that spans the Saugeen river to connect Southampton and Saugeen First Nation be renamed *Bimaadzwin* (The Good Path). This was what they chose to do to mark ‘Canada 150.’ The school principal, Dan Russell, explained that *Bimaadzwin* is based on the Seven Grandfather Teachings: respect, wisdom, bravery, honesty, love, humility, and truth. Adding, “by following the teachings, we would all walk ‘the Good Path’ in life.”  

It is actions such as these that will help to pierce holes in the Canadian historical consciousness, and keep non-Indigenous peoples moving forward on the path to honouring historical nation-to-nation relationships with Indigenous peoples.

As I stated in the Introduction of this thesis, it was only relatively recently that I realised that I shared the land near my family’s cottage with the Saugeen Ojibway Nation. My maternal grandparents met at the cottage, so were it not for treaty 45 ½, my ancestors may have never built cottages, and my own history may have been very different. This is a micro example of the entangled histories of Indigenous peoples and settlers in Canada; however, the significance of knowing what treaty (if any) covers the land one inhabits should not be minimised. Today, the population within Canadian borders is comprised of...

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72 Sandy Lindsay, "What’s in a Name? Everything When Trying to Bring Cultures Together," *The Saugeen Times*, 14 February 2017.
73 Treaties do not cover all of the settled land in Canada. There are many settlements on unceded territories.
sovereign Indigenous peoples, the descendants of settlers, and newcomers. Some of the Anishinaabeg believe that Canada has entered the era of the Seventh Fire, marked by the *Oshkibimadizeeg’* embracing, teaching, and sharing Anishinaabe culture and language. The light-skinned race now has the choice between two roads. If they choose the right road, then the seventh Fire will light an eighth and final Fire – an eternal Fire of peace, love, and brotherhood. With that, a new history can be made which takes stock of the horrors experienced by Indigenous peoples and also highlights the Indigenous-Settler collaboration of making Canada, recapturing a story that has been obscured for too long: Canada as a shared space.
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Abbreviations

AAND  Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development
AO    Archives Ontario
ILR   Indian Land Registry
LAC   Library and Archives Canada
RG    Record Group
TRL   Toronto Reference Library
UBC   University of British Columbia
UNM   University of New Mexico
UNSW  University of New South Wales

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