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The Anishinaabeg of Chief's Point

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Graduate Program in Anthropology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy

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1. Abstract

Deep below the passing footsteps of the public, sacred Medicine Songs and Stories are held within Vault 54 of Museum London in London, Ontario. The oldest known audio recordings of the Anishinaabeg in Ontario were discovered in the summer of 2011 by Bimadoshka Pucan. Contained on wax cylinders and lacquered aluminium discs, songs and stories are recorded by Robert and Elizabeth Thompson of Chief's Point Indian Reserve #28. Not all recordings are considered sacred by the Anishinaabeg, instead the collection provides a broad range of topics including humour, the fur trade, plant medicine, and family history. Sometime before 1939, at the University of Western Ontario, Dr. Edwin Seaborn organized the production of 19 audio recordings. *The March of Medicine in Western Ontario (1944)* signaled to their creation by preserving the Saugeen Anishinaabeg oral tradition of the death of Tecumseh, a story that continues to live on within specific families at Saugeen First Nation #29. Through community-based research methods, evidenced through archival and artefact examinations, the story of the Anishinaabeg at Chief's Point comes through this work. The voice of the land comes through the voices of the people cited within. A collaborative partnership with Museum London and Saugeen First Nation, the digitization of the audio collection was successfully completed. The songs and stories were repatriated to Saugeen and to other concerned communities through a series of community-driven presentations. The project was celebrated through the collaborative exhibition, *The Voices of Chief's Point (May to September 2018)*. The exhibit received the Lieutenant Governor's Ontario Heritage Award for Excellence in Conservation (2019). This represents the first historic compilation of the Anishinaabeg at Chief's Point as no publications exist on this specific group of people until now.

Keywords

Digitization, Anishinaabeg, Chief's Point, Saugeen, Medicine Songs, Wax Cylinders, Storying, Re-Contextualization, Identity, I.R.E.N.E., Community-Based Participatory Action Research.

2. Acknowledgments

I have consistently felt and continue to feel that this is not my work. I feel that the right people were in the right place at the right time. Technology had to be developed just enough to be able to do this particular work. There were so many people who helped me overcome my own stubborn attitude and inspire me to think differently about a wide variety of issues and topics. In the very early days, I did not want to inquire further about the recordings other than to locate them and just to know they were there was enough. Avoiding the recordings did not help because it seemed that the objects themselves had agency and they were stirring thoughts and actions in many others. People quickly associated me as their controller or as the cylinders' spokesperson. I attempted to fill my time with other projects, but I was always drawn back to the recordings by the actions of others reaching out to me. The archival evidence seemed to come easy and piled up rather quickly. The story of the wax cylinders continued to grow both forward and backward in time. I felt threatened, so I did my early archival work in secrecy and I did not apply for funding and I did not involve others. I worried about the right to ownership of and access to knowledge. I developed my own way of reading archival documents finding references to many objects that may still be in existence. I began to think about who might be interested in this type of project and what types of outcomes were possible particularly in terms of measurement of a public intervention, in this case, repatriation and community wellness.

I did not involve the more vocal Indigenous folks, today's outspoken warriors, because their interests are always seen as militant and anti-progressive in relation to the goals of Canada. Indigenous communities are seen as sick and impoverished because we all are conditioned to see the world from a physical lens and because past research frames Indigenous folks in this way. Most non-Indigenous folks do not engage with other ways of coming to know because they are described as deficient and outside the evidenced-based prescribed world demonstrated by counting things, for example. Instead, I chose people who carried the perspective of the Anishinaabeg people as rich and fabulous, culturally speaking. I chose those who evidenced to me, that they could see things in a new way, a different way, although I wasn't really sure what that looked like either. I suppose it was their openness to listen and willingness to share

constructively. Thus, the project is as much mine as it is the community's, but it also belongs to the past and to the future and all those who have crossed my path along my journey through life. This is why I do not feel that this work is mine alone. It belongs to the people of Saugeen and their families far and wide.

I would like to acknowledge the support of Dr. Regna Darnell, my supervisor, ally and friend, who allowed me to explore a new way of understanding the world. She is fierce and I definitely stressed her to excess, but she never gave up on me. I acknowledge her guidance and her strength in the face of seemingly insurmountable hurdles. She is dedicated to emulating lessons she learned from Cree Elders and community and I needed that gentle and consistent force to push me along. To Dr. Gerald McKinley, for his long-term personalized support and guidance in my academic and social lives. He recognized when I was struggling and always reached out to offer a coffee and a talk. A true ally, Dr. McKinley is resourceful and his work with Anishinaabeg communities provided concrete examples of community-directed initiatives supported by academia and health organizations.

Thank you to the Anthropology Department at the University of Western Ontario for giving my research a home and providing me with access to dedicated individuals in community-based Indigenous research. I have enjoyed tremendous and life changing experiences; presenting at the NAISA Conference in Hawaii in 2017 and embarking on a scientific expedition into the North Pacific Ocean to investigate plastic and its effects on the environment and women's health. I acknowledge the support of past professors and programs, particularly those at the Master of Public Health Program at Western University, as well as undergraduate programs in First Nations Studies and Psychology at Western University. Special recognition to Dr. Susan Hill and Dr. Rick Fehr. It was Dr. Fehr who really started me on this journey by putting Dr. Edwin Seaborn's book in my hands. For that, Rick, I am forever changed, and my life has found new meaning. A thousand miigwechs!

In addition, I thank Dr. Vivian McAllister for inviting me to publicly discuss ideas that challenge mainstream science and medicine. Just like Dr. Edwin Seaborn saw the value of different forms of medicine, Dr. McAllister continues to bring the same drive to his lifelong work. Miigwech,

Vivian, as he continues to offer guidance and support in the extensions that grow from this work. I thank those that attended Dr. McAllister's public lecture at the Historical Symposium in 2013 for it was their interest in Anishinaabeg medicine and historical perspectives that informed me Canadians, in general, were ready to do things in a new way. To try to understand the past would help Canadians empower their future.

Many thanks to Melanie Townsend, Amber Lloydlangston, Brian Meehan and those at Museum London who facilitated access to the recordings very early on in the project. Particularly to Amber Lloydlangston, who chose to accept this challenging partnership as an equal and willing learner in the digitization project and taught me, from start to finish, to produce an exhibit of impeccable standards. I have learned so much from Amber and I hope I was able to teach her about the culture of the Anishinaabeg. We all have our own perspectives and parameters; this was sometimes incredibly frustrating for both of us, and for the museum, my community, and the partnership. We did not put our differences aside, instead we faced them head on, teaching each other why a particular issue held such importance and tried to attend to those differences. With all the frustration of doing something in a new way, I am thankful that the benefits of our partnership continue to grow. I am a witness to their organization's growth and development of improved practices in working with Indigenous communities. The museum has always had an open relationship with academia and previous work with Dr. Dolleen Manning has held the door open for projects like this one. Museum London continues to create new and exciting spaces for cultural expression and public education.

Museum London and I were supported by Saugeen First Nation, a government grant, and private sponsorship, in creating the interactive cultural exhibit, "*Voices of Chief's Point*". Our digitization repatriation project is teaching the rest of Canada how to build partnerships with collaboration as a foundational building block for success particularly when working with Indigenous groups. Amber and her team have taught me how to properly curate an exhibition from start to finish ensuring I knew the why behind the practice. Their willingness in sharing of knowledge and taking on unforeseen tasks has provided me and my community with the gift of connecting to our shared past and of giving back what we feel we have lost; it is repatriation-in-

action through relationship building. After repatriating the songs and stories to the Elders Council at Saugeen First Nation, with their approval, Museum London and I produced a beautiful and interactive cultural exhibition entitled, “*Voices of Chief’s Point.*” CBC Radio produced a wonderful interview. A TVO spotlight highlighting the cultural exhibit and the community’s response to the project brought much excitement to Saugeen. Furthermore, TVO also produced a web-based exposition on cultural revival at Saugeen. Unexpectedly, adult education classes visited the exhibit from the local Indigenous communities. I met them there to encourage them to enter post-secondary institutions telling them that research can look different and be all about their own communities. A Masters student at UWO based her final project on the exhibit, and countless news articles have made their way across Canada. “*Voices of Chief’s Point*” received the Lieutenant Governor’s Ontario Heritage Award for Excellence in Conservation in 2019. Sometimes you just have to take a risk.

I understood, as did the museum, that the project required support from leadership at Saugeen and that without Saugeen Band Council support the project would not have occurred. I thank Ogiimah [*Chief/Leader*] Vernon Roote and his successor Ogiimah Lester Anquot and their esteemed Council Members for their progressive view on moving our community and people into the future with all the tools we need to be resilient. Ogiimah Roote and I repatriated human remains in partnership with Dr. E. Molto at UWO. This quiet partnership allowed me to start conversations with leadership and traditional people at Saugeen. Thanks to Dr. Molto, Vern Roote, David Roote, Renita Nawash, and others who ensured this work was carried out and for giving me an opportunity to learn to speak with my community and to build relationships with folks who are concerned with revitalizing language, traditional values, and Mino Bimadziwin [*The Good Life*] at Saugeen and elsewhere.

Importantly, I want to thank my ancestors, who reached out to me to bring the songs and stories home to Saugeen. My family and kinship relations who helped me understand the language, stories, and culture: Dan Kimewon, Natalka Pucan, Gayle Mason-Stark, Marie Mason, Jim and Lori Kewaquom, Chief Vern Roote, Sonya George, Jan Ritchie, Tina Roote, Rita and Joe Root, Joan Cameron, Gwen Mason, Elysia Mason, Elwood Mason, Tricia Stevens, and many, many

others who shaped various aspects of influence. Much love and thanks to the Thompson Clan at Saugeen who allowed me to dig into their history and to share a most honorable and exciting story of resilience through time. I acknowledge the support of Keith Thompson who passed away just one week before the songs returned home to Saugeen. The community saw this as his final gift to the people and we are all truly grateful for Keith's lifelong commitment to Saugeen. The Thompsons are of the original and historical Anishinaabeg at Saugeen Territory and the true owners of Chief's Point. This project would not have been pursued without their ongoing approval. They have taught me that protecting the land means remaining on that land, no matter what the odds.

I thank my colleagues: Paulina Johnson, Ursula Doxtator, Natahnee Winder, Eva Cupchik, Dave Montour, Ira Timothy, Stephanie McConkney, Ryan Shreva, Shirley Hoyunst, Suzanne Isaacs, and Sara Mai Chitty, who asked just the right questions and gave me support when the project hinged on stalling. To the Rolfe Family, for sharing their family's documented stories about Robert and Eliza Thompson. The staff and tutors at Indigenous Services, UWO, to the Elders and Traditional Teachers at UWO: Myrna Kicknosway, April Jones, Dan and Mary Lou Smoke, Bruce Elijah, Eli Baxter, Kahnatawakhon David Maracle; you always picked me up when I was at my lowest. And my most heart-felt gratitude to Amanda Bragg. I wish there were a million Mandys in the world.

I give thanks for my children, Oakland, Jackson, and Walker. They sacrificed so much over the years, driving me nuts at times but always being respectful around Elders and my profs. They always listened to me talk about the recordings and our history even if they rolled their eyes most of the time. I know they will remember some of it just as I remembered listening to my own early storytellers. Follow your hearts, my Regulators, and you will never go wrong. Like my grandfather, Chief James Mason, always told to me, "Whatever you choose to do in your life, do it in the service of your people." And be busy; work hard. My grandmother, Helen, used to say, "You will get enough sleep when you die." Take these two pieces of advice together: Each and every day, you must work hard in the service of your people in whatever form that takes.

My grandmother, Helen Mason nee Solomon-Mandawoub, who gave me the story of her great-grandfather Mandawoub who fought alongside Robert Thompson's grandfather in the War of 1812. My grandfather, Chief James Mason, who took time to show me Our Lands while telling me of the history that took place on it. I would not be who I am without the early influence of all of my grandmothers and grandfathers, grand-aunties and grand-uncles, most long passed on, who I thank every day for continuing to whisper to me in my dreams, showing me where to look for the answers I thought I needed. Much love to my father, Bohdan, who took me out on the land: fishing and berrying, playing hockey and baseball, camping and cottage building. My mammy, Gayle, who always taught me to intelligently fight like hell for my people. Of course, I thank the people of Saugeen and Cape Croker and other Anishinaabeg people and communities, who supported this work and who welcomed the songs into their communities agreeing to steward their survival forever more.

This work carries on what Robert Thompson, Pewakanep, left for us. I am humbled and so very proud to share his knowledge with all people. Through the eyes of others who interacted with him, I evidence his life story here. He knew the Anishinaabeg would need access to language resources, to traditional ways of thinking and being, and to providing a connection to our shared past as a Nation, particularly for the “binogiisuk miinwah chi-nishinaabeg” [*children and Elders*] (Museum London, 1939) demonstrating the importance of this linkage in knowledge transmission. He used technology to leave us his messages of how to live and be Anishinaabeg. My dissertation journey has transposed the medium in order for us to access his messages today and into the future. It contains valuable information that will guide future repatriation partnerships. I have made mistakes; but I have had many successes on this beautiful path to the non-physical world where my non-human relatives influence the glue that holds people to culture; the dark matter of the unseen and unrealized realm of human existence. The repeating coincidences throughout this journey cannot be explained away through a dissertation but are most intriguing to my circle of connections. These strange and exciting moments kept me going in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. The timing had to be right for this project to be successful. There had to be people who supported this project, there had to be financial, legal,

and political support, and technology had to be developed to just the right level to engage with this type of work. Tobacco down, prayers up!

And a shout out to those who dream new ideas into existence. Those who seek to develop new technologies that open the doors for new ways of thinking about and being in the world together. Most importantly, how we can affect multi-level change with small projects such as this. Re-making the past in ways that are exciting and new is just what Creation Stories are teaching us. Technology has given me the opportunity to shake hands with a very interesting man on his own terms and to see the world through his eyes. I honour the life of Robert Thompson in his resolve to commit sacred songs to record and acknowledge these impressive gifts to future generations. Elizabeth Thompson, his wife, who was introduced to me through the recordings has taught me the importance of support from the shadows; a humbling lesson in *zaagiiwin* [*love*]. The balance they brought to each other is harmonious in itself. To my life, some very profound changes are a direct result of hearing the world of the Anishinaabeg through the voices of the land.

A thousand miigwechs. All my relations.

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Chapter 1

1 Re-connecting with History

When I was a very young girl, my grandmother, Helen Mason, nee Solomon-Mandawoub, told me about two men who were fighting the Chi-Mookmaan (*The Americans*). We looked southeast across the Saugeen River, through her large, front window that overlooked *King's Highway No.21*. She pointed with her lips then said that two men were being chased by the soldiers who were intent on killing them. She said, "Our men hid in a hole in the ground and they could hear the soldiers walking around on top of them." They managed to escape and come home to Saugeen.

1.1 Why this project?

Two extremely incredible things passed into being in 1876. These two powerful entities continue to exert their agency on a daily basis and on all aspects of my life. They do not possess physical, living bodies but they are powerful in commanding human beings to do their bidding. They have the mission to reach through time and space to effect relationships with self and others. In the distant past, these two intermingled in a frustrating and disappointingly painful dance, today they battle each other again and only one can be victorious. One of those powerful agents is The Indian Act of 1876, born out of white frustrations that the Indian had not disappeared yet. The other is Pewakanep, birthed out of the Anishinaabeg Nation at a time when the heavy hand of colonialism forcefully attempted to extinguish him and his family through successive coercions.

This story is about Robert Thompson, Chief Pewakanep of Chief's Point Indian Reserve #28, who spent his life nurturing and protecting the very essence of being Anishinaabeg. He left a link to the past for those who would become further displaced from their Nation, the people, and the land. Those searching for a connection to the historic Saugeen Anishinaabeg will find it here. The Thompson Family is one of utmost integrity and honour; they have repeatedly demonstrated over the generations their commitment to the

Anishinaabeg Nation. They fought tirelessly for their right to exist and to be Anishinaabeg in the face of a world seemingly intent on their demise and erasure. I tell this story exactly as it happened to me because it is as much about me as it is about Robert Thompson and The Indian Act of 1876. But even more, the intersection of people, place, and cultures, are in the heart of this body of academic submission. The story I tell will come from documentation, teachings, interpretations of what I have learned, and the effects of these events and beings on me. I am an actor in this narrative that speaks through me and my actions in behalf of the knowledge I am coming to carry. This is not subjective, rather it is the emergence of contemporary Indigenous ontologies.

I come from a politically oriented family. My grandfather, Chief James Mason (1915-1985), came from a long line of hereditary chiefs. The original family name was Mzaan [Thistle]. My grandmother, Helen Solomon-Mandawoub (1921-2004), was a social activist who always made me sit through genealogy lessons about where my bloodline originated. It was important to my grandmother that her grand-daughters knew their relatives and understood the extensions of these networks of families. She always reminded me of how the Indians helped the Whiteman when the latter was in dire need. She also reminded us of how quickly people forget. My grandmother was so strong in her convictions that she organized a protest against her own husband's political administration regarding the protection of lands from destructive economic development practices. I can only imagine my grandfather's face as his grandchildren marched around the Band Office wearing sandwich boards. Nobody messed with my grandmother or her little ones. This is the fierceness of the Anishinaabe-kwewog [*Anishinaabe-women*].

As with many other Anishinaabeg, I listened to my grandparents' stories about Our History and it never meshed with what I was taught in public school. It caused me to be untrusting and suspicious of the written word, the message, of education and of white people. But it wasn't about the people, it was about the system that came with the ideology. When I spoke out about residential schools, I was called a liar by teachers. When I refused to stand for the national anthem during the Oka Crisis and explained to

my fellow students why, I was labelled militant and a trouble-maker by school authorities. I was ejected from class instead of addressing the issue of Indigenous People and their Rights when others began to sit through the anthem in support. When I was asked what I wanted to be when I grew up, I replied I wanted to be a doctor. I was told that Indians aren't doctors, and certainly not Indian women. I will never trust public school teachers or the system. The scars are way too deep. So you see, I was born an Indian and I will always be an Indian and so that is the term I invoke in my research. To that teacher that said such derogatory and racist things to me as a child, I say to you: "Call me Dr. Indian Woman".

When I began to research this project, I read about some war belts issued by Saugeen and so I followed citations through many books to finally get to the source only to realize that the source did not match what was being produced and re-produced in my own experience. I began to question why the Anishinaabeg were said to be patrilineal when this is not what I experienced within an Anishinaabeg family or community.

Anishinaabeg-kwewog are the backbone of the Nation. Many Indigenous authors publish on historical activities of the Anishinaabeg and delve into epistemologies and histories in order to support a re-birthing of traditional ways of being in the world but then glaze over patrilineal conceptions, for example, the Clan System. What is also lacking is how we integrate knowledge to build healthier communities. It is depressing and hopeless to frame the Anishinaabeg as continual victims of colonization and history, as a people lacking agency. We need research that empowers people and communities supporting health and wellbeing across the lifespan. Improving citizenship and community pride starts with embracing our heroes that have been stolen through our colonized history. It means digging up old stories and re-telling our heroes into ongoing existence. The essence of who our ancestors are lives on in us and we have a responsibility to pick up where they left off. It is our duty as Anishinaabeg to recognize the body as a vessel to experience the physical world and allow the ancestors to reach through us to tell their truths and to mingle with our temporal consciousness.

Storied history is medicine and this project will demonstrate that through and through. This research was extremely painful, but the stories healed those deep scars. As Canada celebrates its 150th birthday this year, this project instead celebrates the life of Robert Thompson and his commitment to preserving the Truth for future Anishinaabeg. The lack of trust in past productions of research, particularly what is and what is not written about the Chief's Point Anishinaabeg or the Saugeen Anishinaabeg, has propelled me to look to primary sources for the truth. I need to be able to trust what I am learning about the Anishinaabeg and to bring balance to publications weighted by the historical colonial legacy. Balancing the narrative around Indigenous people as victims of colonization surfaced from the research process itself and instead takes a strengths-based approach to improve perceptions of self, community, and others.

In this dissertation, I choose to use the term Indian to refer to the original inhabitants of Turtle Island and to reflect records of the time period under examination (1800-1950). Indian is a legal term and refers to a group of people recognized as such by Canadian race-based law, namely The Indian Act. I was born an Indian in the 1970s and the social-political agenda dictated my identity change to Native in the 1980s; subsequent social dictators changed my identity again to Aboriginal (1990s), and further Indigenous (2000s). This has served to sever younger generations from their history and to forget how they are personally connected to their communities, Nations, and territories. The use of Indian in this dissertation reminds academics to think carefully about repercussions of their work. I use Anishinaabe (-g meaning plural for [A Good Being]. -kwe [woman], -inni [man]) to denote a specific Nation, at times referred to in the historical record as Ojibway, Ojibwe, Chippewa, Odawa, Potawatomi among many others. I use Chippewa when appropriate or when Robert Thompson does. Indigenous, the contemporary word for the concept of pan-Indians, I use to describe the original people of the Americas, both North and South. For me, the term Anishinaabeg realizes the Three Fires Confederacy, a social-political amalgamation of groups referred to as Ojibway/Chippewa, Odawa, and Potawatomi as a result of land loss and human loss, as a political response to injustices of the Settler governments and their peoples. As a young person, this is how the

Anishinaabeg referred to the wider Nation, The Three Fires Confederacy, while indicating local land base and historical and kinship ties to the wider Nation. It is how leadership was organized and discussed up until the turn of the 21st century.

I use Anishinaabeg words when appropriate and admit my inadequacy in possessing fluency. I think it appropriate to take every opportunity to bring the original languages of North America into academia, but I lack the authority to do so as I do not speak Anishinaabemowin, the language of my ancestors. Decolonizing our actions begins with decolonizing our mental representations, the assigned value, and the processes evolving from that reflexivity. I make daily mental effort to maintain a critical lens on my own thought processes. I am not offended by the term Indian as it relates to identifying myself or others like me. I was born in the 1970s, and the term Indian was how I learned to identify myself. Through the 1980s my people developed a notion of self-government and so the identifying label changed to Native then First Nations, and now it is socially acceptable in reference to self-identify as such. I reclaim the term Indian because it brings my connection to history as an original person of this land and as a treaty partner in the development of this country. I am proud of both.

I have always referred to myself as an Indian and the people I know to be from Indian Reserves do not mind being called Indians. It is when we interact with non-Indians that our identity by that name is judged to be wrong, bad, and racist. The mental representation of me and the people I love is that we are bad and socially unacceptable and so must not identify as such. When I look into the documented history of North America, the specific people who are tied to the original identity of this land are referred to as Indians. I feel it my responsibility to use the term Indian because I am referring to a specific group of people in history, and as the documents of the time period use that term, Indian also invokes the legal term and ramifications today. The people I seek to support with this research are those who continue to identify with a current Indian Reserve. Again, Indian is a legal term, the only legal term, and I must observe the laws of Canada as well as laws around personal privacy, ownership, and conservation. The term Indian

has evolved, and it is this period of change that this work attempts to make sense of. Up until the Indian Act of 1876, Indians were Indians and then they had to become status Indians. After 1876, those without status were still seen as Indian but after 1950, those who refused to register as status Indians had all but died out. Their lifelong and intergenerational resistance to colonization slipped from contemporary memory. Their struggles were quieted by the sting of loss felt by an entire nation of peoples, the Anishinaabeg. How many of our people find themselves excluded from the ability to be registered as Indians due to historical pressures and the need to survive!

At the very least, to embrace a “*two-ears hearing approach*” to understanding holding balance in all things as fundamental to embracing this in all we think, say, and do. I have taken this from Elder Albert Marshall’s Two Eyed Seeing for intercultural collaboration when working between two systems, namely Indigenous and Western. It is designed to bring two or more perspectives together to balance the collaborative approach. Because this work deals with audio recordings, we embrace and enter the sound-based world of the Anishinaabeg.

In 2011, I enrolled in a reading course with Dr. Susan Hill at the University of Western Ontario in the First Nations Studies Program. I was interested in understanding the Anishinaabeg involvement in the War of 1812 for one main reason. The Chippewas of Saugeen signed the 1836 land surrender (Treaty #45½) ceding 1.5 million acres for absolutely nothing in return (Treaty Texts, n.d.). The oral tradition at Saugeen states that the treaty was not wholly agreed to by the Saugeen people or their representatives. The date of the treaty has always felt like a termination date of sorts, so pre-Confederation Canada has always interested me. I thought that, prior to 1836, was a time when my direct ancestors enjoyed the freedom to live and be on the land provided to them by “The Great Mystery” (Johnston, 2011). Dr. Hill assured me I would not find very much as record keeping during that pre-Confederation was poor at best and mostly non-existent as it pertains to individual communities and for good reason. The communities didn’t exist in the ways that we identify them today. In addition, it is rare that individual Indigenous

people are identified in the published record nor are groups referred to in any meaningful way by current needs and interests. I did read many accounts of medicine practices of the Indians provided by non-Indigenous witnesses to specific events and battles. I read about the cunning of Tecumseh and his allies fighting alongside General Isaac Brock and the British. And then I noticed the family connections within the triad of settler government and industry and Anishinaabeg. What I began to find interesting were the diaries and journals left behind by those Indigenous people who could write at the time, particularly Peter Jones and George Copway but also other non-Indigenous people like John Tanner. Tanner's published account of his time with the Indians after the War of 1812 is relied on by many current researchers, authors, and grassroots historians. Upon reading Tanner's published diary, I questioned my own teachings in response to his recollection of public child abuse by the Anishinaabeg (Tanner, 1830, 33). After expressing disappointment in finding any real truths to the great mysteries of our histories, Dr. Rick Fehr, First Nations Studies Professor, followed up by providing me with a book entitled, *The March of Medicine in Western Ontario* by Dr. Edwin Seaborn (1944). I read the following account. My hair stood on end and I could almost hear my grandmother's voice in my ear:

"...the Indian, who is a good story-teller as well as a good musician, related in English the experience his grandfather had had in the War of 1812, and something of the death of Tecumseh. It is of interest here as he thus demonstrated his own belief in the super-natural powers of the Indian medicine. The following is our version of his story pieced together after hearing the record played several times:

A man on horseback came from "Great White King" to our country at the Sauble River. He had a long knife in his hand and another long knife on his back. And he made presents of blankets and knives and axes and promised us many things if we would fight. So my "grandeddy" say to other Indian, "Come with me and we will fight." So they went a long way. They were in a wood near a bridge and they crept close to a road and saw

Yankees in rows on white horses, and Tecumseh on the bridge with a long knife in his hand. And he fought to his right hand. And he fought to his left hand. And the long knife broke close to his hand. And he picked up another knife from the hand of a man who was dead on the bridge. And he fought to his right hand. And he fought to his left hand. And a man came behind him and ran a long knife through his shoulder. And Tecumseh fell down. But Tecumseh did not die for he carried medicine and Tecumseh was still alive somewhere and we will see him sometime when we are hunting. And the Yankee take body of Indian and put it on tree lying down and cut and cut, hitting with long knife. And "grandeddy" say, "No good; why cut Indian, no good." And he say to other Indian, "We will go." And he turn other Indian and himself into small turtle. And they creep under log. And the Yankee say: "Where Indian? Here? Where Indian? There?" And he not able to find "grandeddy" and other Indian. And "grandeddy" turn other Indian and himself into water snake and they swim river and they come back to Sauble and to women and children and other Indians." (Seaborn, 1944, 9-10).

The story's likeness to what my grandmother told me as a young girl was eerie, but it was replaced by questions rather quickly. I was curious about Seaborn's work for a few reasons: It suggests that the Saugeen Anishinaabeg were subjects of the British and is not a position that I have ever known my community to take. I found it outright preposterous and so I began to become leery of the authenticity and legitimacy of Seaborn's work. It became important to me to transcribe the original recording to compare to the published version as I found Seaborn's analysis to be untrustworthy. Seaborn admits that he had to "persuade" Robert Thompson "after many years' friendship" to share his knowledge (1944, 8) which I found to be highly suspicious and unethical, from a contemporary Western Science perspective but likely business as usual for Canadian society at the time. However, Anishinaabeg Protocol was violated and so I had deep cultural concerns that will be discussed later.

With reservations due to my own deeply held biases around the legitimacy of Dr. Seaborn's work and the cultural authenticity of the "medicine songs". I relayed my grandmother's story to Dr. Fehr; His eyes widened, lifting his smile with his eyebrows. My mind sped through an assessment of the situation and I think he watched the wave of emotions wash over my face. It was a strange feeling to learn of the existence of old recordings that purportedly contained "Medicine Songs" which are not supposed to be recorded at all. After an uncomfortable chuckle from both of us, Dr. Fehr suggested I look for those audio recordings. Honestly, I didn't think I should listen to them. In my mind, I imagined the most famous anthropologist in my world: Indiana Jones and, in particular, his movie titled, *The Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981). Just as I saw in the movie, I imagined an evil force exposed to the world upon playing these ancient "Medicine Songs". Dr. Fehr and I spent time talking about this idea of the "Uber-Sacred". The media certainly creates mental representations around the unknown. Even more is that certain cultural topics are not shared openly, sometimes not even within Indigenous families. Certain types of knowledge are often outside daily conversations. As a catholic, I was taught the sacredness of holy men and their personal connection to God although I have not practiced this religion since I was a child. I still carry those early lessons. We explored why these recordings brought feelings of fear and taboo. I openly told Dr. Fehr about the stories I knew of subjects like "bad medicine", "bear-walking", and "shapeshifting" but I couldn't tell him everything. There are some things that are extremely private and unexplainable in any logical manner. They do take on the scariest stories ever classification and it is believed by very old traditionalists that if you say things out loud you give power and direction to that thought and so provide power to the artefacts of the story. In fact, I spent years thinking about The Sacred, researching The Sacred, talking to family and community people about The Sacred. It appears there is a spectrum or possibly degrees of freedom around what exactly The Sacred means to any individual and so generalizing the findings is illogical in stating "the Anishinaabeg believe...". I can say that the Sacredness of how one connects with Creation is always protected by individuals and is very much ingrained in how cultural protection is carried out by Anishinaabeg communities. In a nutshell, some things are in and somethings are

out of the public realm. The Sacred is a sensitive topic for Anishinaabeg, inquiries about historical events bring loss and pain to the surface, and to protect each individual's right to their own Sacred story, I opted to restrict my research to the public realm and avoided interview style data collection. Contained here are publicly available sources, mostly from digital databases and published material. As more historical source documents become available publicly, this history will change and grow to be more encompassing of the greater truth if one exists.

Discussions with my family produced the same sort of concern for the legitimacy of the information on the recordings. My family questioned the identity of the man on the recordings and felt dissuaded the information was reliable. My sister, who is gifted to be ever critical of new information, questioned if he was an imposter and just making things up for the white doctor. She thought the old Indian probably wanted a free trip to London and fooled the academics. My mother was concerned whether Dr. Seaborn knew what he asked of the old Medicine Man. I wondered if the intention was to understand something about "Indian Medicine" (Seaborn, 1944); his analysis in terms of the western musical components suggests Seaborn compromised validity. Or was this purposeful in protection of the medicine songs. Is this the reason he wrote about the medicine songs in a way that did not disclose their full meaning?

In the end, we decided that the only way to know what was contained on the recordings was to listen to them. This was the conclusion that Dr. Fehr and I came to and I cannot thank him enough for that suggestion or for the connections he facilitated in the early years of the project. His guidance around early investigations and finding allies was crucial for building protections for future possibilities. Dr. Fehr taught me how to search and access archives, instructed how to be critical of what I was reading, and to ask more meaningful questions. That fall, with Dr. Fehr's support, we engaged Weldon Library and Archives archivist, Barry Arnott, in locating the recordings. Some time passed and I went on to complete the Master of Public Health degree at UWO. I stopped in to see Barry on one occasion and he told me he located the wax cylinders at a local art museum. From my

undergraduate studies, I knew how difficult it can be for Indigenous communities to regain culturally significant property under the ownership of collectors and collections but there have been successes.

In 2013, I was invited to represent my community at a public lecture given by Dr. Vivian McAllister, surgeon at University Hospital, London, who was speaking about the first hospital in Ontario. He was highlighting the historical research of Dr. Seaborn that is how his research and mine bumped into each other. The first emergency hospital was at the Battle of Moraviantown where Tecumseh lost his life. Dr. McAllister was interested in exploring the Anishinaabeg concept of *Shape Shifting* as he had found Dr. Seaborn's chapter on Indian Medicine intriguing. I found many accounts of Shape Shifting in the War of 1812 and I produced those sources for him. We argued at length about whether Shape Shifting was a behavioral change, as Dr. McAllister was inclined to believe, or a physical metamorphosis as understood by the Anishinaabeg. At the public presentation to the London Historical Society, the audience was more interested in the Anishinaabeg perspective than the interesting lecture by Dr. McAllister. It seems that the time was right for mainstream Canadians to engage with more profound issues and to explore other ways of being in the world.

The Western Gazette printed an article in 2013 on the public lecture given by Dr. McAllister at the London Public Library to the London Historical Society (Winders, 2014). The article noted the participation of a community member of Saugeen, namely Bimadoshka Pucan, and the possibility of a future project with the Seaborn recordings. This article prompted a researcher from a law firm to contact Dr. McAllister regarding the Seaborn recordings. This presented a major barrier for community repatriation and likely increased costs to the clients of the law firm. However, open communication with my First Nation has prevented barriers such as this from preventing project success. As a student sponsored by my First Nation, Chief and Council have always been informed of my ongoing journey within the academy. Thankfully I have had their support over the years. My work can in no way bring harm to the community of Saugeen First Nation.

I recognized the Master of Public Health Program at the University of Western Ontario to be foundational to the project in moving me forward to research current laws regarding cultural property, intellectual property, ethical standards, and Canadian copyright law. This political-legal environmental scan is paramount in policy development from a public health standpoint particularly around making improvements to social policy. Through this investigation, it became apparent that the Conservative government had introduced a variety of laws that would impede the success of the project. As well, I saw the development of two separate threads of understanding based in Western systems and in Indigenous protocols. Both value these recordings. But the meaning behind value was consistently miscommunicated due to the underlying meaning associated with the words we use. In order to plan a successful project, I initially performed an environmental scan to gauge the current situation, identify players and partners, identify risks and develop contingency plans. Concurrent investigations into the political context, both current and historical from both Western and Indigenous perspectives, must be addressed in order to gauge the difficulties inherent in the proposal of a simple digitization project involving Anishinaabeg Intellectual Property contained on wax cylinders, circa 1880-1940. The intersectionality of the political, cultural, and technical paradigms is laid bare through the proposed medium transfer. The movement of knowledge through reproduction and repatriation has delivered lessons in reconciliation and relationship building leading to community wellness, empowerment and growth.

I decided to set the historical parameters for this research in the following manner for reasons that emerge naturally from the research process. I initially set the time frame at 1800-1950 for two reasons. One, it is the story of the War of 1812 that I was signaled to the recordings and two, Robert Thompson created the recordings in 1939. Due to the sensitive nature of the recordings and the 99-Year Privacy Law, I procured data that is publicly available. I employed community consultants for ongoing appraisal of project developments including the historical narrative being produced leading up to digitization. Archival documents, cartographic material, photographic images, treaties, fur trade documents, war records, locally-based reading rooms, language resources,

anthropological studies, and grey material allowed me to focus in on the Chief's Point people. This is the first comprehensive study on this particular Indian Reserve; one on which Anishinaabeg people no longer live at and people no longer remember. Or do they?

The recent discovery of audio recordings from the early 1900's containing sacred "medicine songs and stories" of the historic Anishinaabeg at Chief's Point Indian Reserve #28 have presented an interesting intersection for researchers, community members, and Canadian institutions as past and present collide. The Anishinaabeg do not record sacred songs, dances, or prayers. This is a well-known and well-respected behavioural protocol of current Anishinaabeg. From this perspective, how can we understand the creation of these recordings? Who was the person sharing the information and what authority did he hold to share this information? Who were the historic Anishinaabeg at Chief's Point and where are they today? Most importantly, what types of knowledge can be gained from accessing these antique wax cylinders and how can this knowledge be used to build community capacity today?

1.2 Identity and Authority

Throughout time memorial and for reasons not of their own making, the Anishinaabeg have been categorized and described according to the parameters of the colonial lens through which they have been viewed. In particular, these categorizations have been contained geographically, linguistically, mathematically, legally, religiously, technologically, spiritually, temporally, and politically to name a few. Such categories are problematic in ways we rarely engage with although they are always current in media. In all of these categorizations, group members are continually being disenfranchised for not meeting the test for membership of the group through some particular classification. The individual measures are not seen as complementary but singularly. The classifications are not produced by the communities for which they serve as mandate.

Indigenous authors are responding to these categorizations by arguing within their silos for recognition of an Anishinaabeg worldview. Basil Johnston (2011) exhorts in his book on Anishinaabeg epistemology to "Think Indian" and to embrace a worldview that is conscious, alert, and aware of our presence on the planet in relation to humans and other-than-humans, both physical and non-physical. According to Johnston, and many others, it is through language, specifically Anishinaabemowin, that individuals and communities can restore balance and Mino Bimadziwin to all Anishinaabeg (Johnston, 2011, Corbiere, 2014). I argue there is one other language we have failed to recognize as a place where cultures and people can build ideas and relationships, to heal from past wrongs, restore balance and voice unique and distinct ways of being in the world; that language is technology. Through this work, I will show you exactly what technology can do, and has always done, to leverage partnerships and build Mino Bimadziwin [*The Good Life*] for all people, both within Anishinaabeg communities and the organizations they interact with. Technology is what can bring people together just as it has done in the past.

The term Anishinaabeg has been defined on the surface as "the Good Beings" and so encompasses all living beings and embraces the universality of living things to strive toward Mino Bimadziwin based on their nature of being in the world (Johnston, 2011, 78, 164). Layers of deep meaning imbedded in language are the core of Johnston's methodology around language translations and will be discussed in depth in a later chapter. In addition to Johnston's definition one must embrace all of those things that communities use to identify members including their own ancestors (Taylor and de la Sablonniere, 2014, 101). This brings forth both human and non-human beings that Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous groups recognize as family and kin (Norton-Smith, Thomas M., 2010, 92).

The meaning of Anishinaabeg identity must then stretch to include those who came before us and reciprocally those who come after us. A Good Being recognizes the chain linking past and future; time bends to embrace the lifeways built on generations of

pathways and experiences. The overlap of lives builds each into the other. We can thus conceptualize time as circular or perhaps much like a chain of DNA, each lifeway grafting and building onto the human chain of experience and knowledge. Envisioning and expressing this malleable perception of time is difficult in English and translating Anishinaabeg concepts around identity become easily lost and miscommunicated. For one, the academic format presents an excellent ability to explain linear concepts but attempts to explain circular concepts in this linear form appear repetitive to Western academics. This inadequacy of translatability is predominately felt in categorizations of nouns and verbs as loci for meaning and so already the fault lies within one's cultural ideology. Johnston (*Think Indian*, 2011) urges that the building blocks of cultural identity are contained in language and so learning Anishinaabemowin will result in understanding the ideology and constructing this unique way of seeing oneself in the world.

Using Anishinaabemowin fluency as a proxy of identity is the ideal vehicle for all Anishinaabeg (Johnston, 2011, 10) but excludes the majority of Anishinaabeg who continue to be plagued by institutionalized destruction of their language and culture. Institutional destruction can be understood as an effect of globalization, the one-track mindset we are all participants in. Many Anishinaabeg Elders have repeatedly explained the importance of Anishinaabemowin in developing a foundation for identity (Saugeen Elders Group, 2018, public workshop, Johnston, 2011, 76) and to determine self-governance (Corbiere, 2011, introduction). Unfortunately, it is framed in a way that blames the individual for not knowing the language of the people they identify with (Corbiere, 2014, 135; Johnston, 2011, 161). Guiltting Anishinaabeg into action has not been as productive as these authors may have hoped but instead ignites historical loss and pain. A recent rendering on cultural revitalization at Saugeen First Nation reports the pain people feel when they acknowledge the continual loss of language (TVO, *Southwest Hubs*, aired May 2018). From this video, it is clear that the Anishinaabeg at Saugeen blame their inability to speak Anishinaabemowin on how an individual ignores the repeated colonial assaults, both past and current. Blaming an individual is likely a colonial artefact because it ignores systemic racism and classism in order to maintain the

status quo and alleviate mainstream guilt. Language as a proxy for identity is at odds with current Anishinaabeg realities but it doesn't have to be.

Anishinaabeg academics and storytellers weave philosophies of a vibrant, chaotic, and organic space for the spectrum of Anishinaabeg identity to be expressed and lived (Johnston, 2011, 214). Lengthy discussions with Dr. Regna Darnell throughout this research project expand on Johnston by explaining how a lived identity is storied and creates a reality, or a "*worlding*", in which direct translation is impossible. Identity is a living breathing entity and reacts to its environment. When under assault, identity is reconstituted, and barriers put in place to protect from further assaults. Unfortunately, sometimes academic treatment of identity has produced even more problems noted in the following quote, "There is no monolithic Ojibwe culture" and so can be no single identity (Pomedli, 2014, xxxviii). As Canadian government and Indigenous groups attempt to remediate historical wrongs around identity, the rapid increase to Nominal Rolls creates problems for Anishinaabeg communities and their ability to manage their own identity and to provide services to their members. Attempts at de-discriminating of women under the Indian Act has added new members to communities without increasing funds that reflect the new numbers or increasing land-base for communities to grow and absorb new members. Of course Anishinaabeg communities want to embrace all of their members but without increasing land base, funding allocation, and services, population increases strain already limited resources resulting in friction within communities.

Mainstream society and its mechanisms for maintenance of the status quo seek to impose a static definition while Anishinaabeg battle to open the gates that prevent cultural change and adaptation (Corbiere, 2011, Introduction). Anishinaabeg communities want to decide who their members are as opposed to a system of self-identification. In a globalized market, self-identity has taken the shape of economic benefit at the cost to actual Anishinaabeg people and their communities. Historical oppression through colonization must be discussed in terms of the creation of a contained and localized identity mostly due to The Indian Act (1876) and a narrowing of definitions of being

Indian (Battiste, 2000, 255; Antone et al., 1986, 201). The closed container has ousted many who ought to belong. The reasons for identity and belonging and the self-identifying mechanisms are continually being misappropriated.

For Anishinaabeg, identity is in the stories that are told, the storied way they live, and the necessity of rebirthing those stories to guide future generations. The stories of the past are recreated in the present as Anishinaabeg strive for Mino Bimadziwin, *The Good Life*, through an organic process of continual growth and change heavily dependent on shared experiences of kinship, family and community (Doerfler, 2015, 95). But it must be the communities who decide and not academics or political policy and it must be up to the communities to own and tell their stories. Empowering citizenship through story rebuilds Anishinaabeg place and in space and in their own words. Regardless of where an Anishinaabeg is geographically, they are always connected to their traditional lands through the story of how they came to be on the earth.

Identity changes along the lifespan. The translation of the Anishinaabeg worldview is renegotiated and recreated daily and is necessarily context driven (Taylor and Sablonniere, 2014, 36; Noodin, 2013, 95). In Canada, a frozen "Indian" identity affects family and community identity, interactions and inter-relations, and legal rights to resources and will be extinguished over time through Indian Act policy (Palmater, 2013, 46). It is the idea of a non-changing culture that continues to feed racist and discriminatory practices in colonial states and institutions. It plays out daily. For example, consider that most Indigenous-focused events continue to be alcohol-free today and Indigenous organizations mandate adherence to this practice confirming the derogatory stereotype of the Indian as alcoholic and sick. Instead of making room for those Anishinaabeg who need to be in that circle to experience Mino Bimatiziiwin to heal, we systematically force out those most in need.

The grounding principle of w'daeb-awae [*truth*] and w'kikaendaun [*knowledge*] recognizes personal limits to *truth* and *knowledge* and so together Anishinaabeg stories create a fuller truth (emphasis added, Johnston, 2011, 78-79) by having the listener create

their own meaning. To think Indian is to be Indian and the two produce a different view of ethical behavior. It demands an inherent ethical standard that cannot be negotiated or subverted. Each Anishinaabeg must search their own traditional teachings and reclaim stories that support the re-creation of local identity (Nelson, 2008, xxii) and recognize the requirement for participation in the wider Anishinaabeg Nation. Integrating the best practices of Anishinaabe worldview into daily practices will produce the necessary conditions for young people to develop ways to re-claim and re-imagine their world for the benefit of their future (Pidgeon, 2012, 148). Through language, we experience the Anishinaabeg world and demonstrate that understanding through actions.

For Anishinaabeg people, identity exists within relationships to other bodies and groups, both physical and non-physical and/or human and other-than-human beings (Noodin, 2014, 6; Pomedli, 2014, xxvi; Henderson, 2000, 260, Hallowell, 1955). In this way, Anishinaabeg understand a process of reciprocity in physical and non-physical landscapes (Pomedli, 2014, 227). Although identity formation is a process that occurs within the individual, it is developed through interactions with others who share a way of living and being within a specific ecosystem and environment and through relationships have occurred repeatedly over many generations. The places and spaces that people operate in and draw sustenance from are incorporated into their families with the same affection, compassion, and commitment that is felt between mother and child. The relationship of people to the land, born over generations, is seen and felt as if the Anishinaabe person is grown out of the land itself.

Anishinaabeg identity endures in the experiences of the people in relation to their understandings of worldview (Doerfler, 2014, xxviii, Vizenor, 1984, 107). Relationships and interactions with Other-Than-Human entities, physical and non-physical, continue to be integral to how people see themselves connecting with their spirituality. Identifying as a specific clan allowed safer movements through territories by small families such as the behavior of the historic Woodlands Peoples (Childs, 2012, 10) and systematized, overlapping but distinct, social spheres (Bohaker, 2006, 29). Since men were the only

ones participating in these types of events where written records were being created, the documents that satisfy the colonizer's worldview of legitimization by committing word to stone, it is the male's clan symbol that is recorded and committed to stone as if to say this is the way it was and this is how it always will be.

Consider the Methodist Anishinaabeg authors of the 1800s, who were male, half-breeds (their fathers were white); they wrote extensively about the Anishinaabeg and their worldview at that time and described the clan system as being constructed based on male lineage. This is highly suspicious as it appears the authors were trying to convince the public that the Indian is just as good as the White man and so wrote about Anishinaabeg systems as being male dominated. Other claims include that the Indians were the Lost Tribes of Israel indicating the authors were affected by common notions of their time (Jones, 1861, 37). When reporting on Witchcraft, Peter Jones discusses Shape Shifting and human effigy curses that make others fall ill. Those under suspicion of Witchcraft were punishable by death (Jones, 1861, 145). This creates fear of people who practice traditional methods and ensures people act in secrecy or abandon the practices all together. In addition, Anishinaabeg authors were financially supported by the church and were required to provide information that would garner more financial support from church denominations; thus, showing the Anishinaabeg as worthy of support was paramount. These authors also claim to be adopted into the Anishinaabeg by their grandfathers who were well-respected chiefs and leaders.

I believe that the Clan System, if it was indeed patrilineal, likely worked well when there were only Anishinaabeg in Saugeen but once the fur trade introduced fresh possibilities, Anishinaabeg culture adapted to make space for those who would not be considered members. I only have to imagine myself as a father and question if an Anishinaabe-inni (man) would disregard his daughter's children when she married a fur trader that actually ensured her Nation's fair and consistent treatment in the trade. Thankfully, Anishinaabeg academics like Alan Corbiere are exposing this fallacy of patrilineal structure that is maintained by some sub-groups of the Anishinaabeg today, and by the Indian Act as well,

that there were/are only seven clans and that it is through men that identity and membership is allocated and bestowed.

Local identity is vital in supporting community transformation and building capacity for change. It requires that experiences of the community, in the shared lived experience and the particular situation of a community, effect individuals differently across the lifespan. How people see themselves is related to how others like them have experienced various situations and so they contribute together to this narrative. The inter-generational aftermath of residential schools and the continued hegemonic policy and practices of social and political institutions are resulting in devastating effects on the health and wellbeing of Anishinaabeg communities across the lifespan. Storytelling, the earliest method of transmitting individual, familial, and community identity, "the medicine of the earth" (Noodin, 2014, 111), continues to be silenced by the economic participation of impoverished peoples in a system of continued power imbalance (Chatwin, 1987, 222); in essence the people are an after-thought of policy and practice. The Indian Act determines the participation of a First Nation community in the wider economic realm (Palmater, 2011, 148). As well, internal programming is dictated by federal jurisdiction while the municipalities and provinces enjoy a more decentralized form of government. It is my vision for the world that we decentralize governments and instead build local economies that are flexible and sustainable, complementing the surrounding partners or neighbouring communities. As with Anishinaabeg creation stories, it is my responsibility to my ancestors and to my children to dream my reality and to re-create it through my interactions with human and other-than-human beings. This is how one manifests being Anishinaabe, by being surrounded by all things Anishinaabeg.

From the Anishinaabeg perspective, identity can be considered to be based on membership and citizenship. Membership allows for the recognition of belonging to a specific group and citizenship encompasses the activities and actions that produce the distinction of cultural groups and is transmitted through the stories we tell of "memory, land, and blood" (Allen, 2002, 220). This accounts for the variety of ways that

Anishinaabeg see their own reflection in relation to their family, community and to the world. Historically, it is written that the Anishinaabeg embraced the diversity found in all things and since the Anishinaabeg believed they were made in the image of the universe, that diversity and individualism were innate. An Anishinaabe is made to bounce the Creator's ideas back to the universe. Issues faced by the historic Anishinaabeg are not the same as they are today. For Anishinaabeg, the road to self-actualization must be available for the people to live realistically in the world and to participate meaningfully every day.

Culture must be functional, or it becomes obsolete. Every part of a community must align with the Anishinaabeg worldview to provide a space and place for people to flourish in the ways that fit the stories they know about living Mino Bimatiziiwin. A recent study of identity with the Saugeen First Nation On-Reserve youth who vocalize their love and devotion to family and community contrasted with their anguish over loss of language, culture and historical knowledge (Nutt, 2014). They refer to residential schools, treaty signing, and family trauma as having ongoing effects on their personal lives. The history that is produced here is for those young people and, those not born yet, who are lost without a connection to the living past. It is through research that we can rebuild what was once thought to be lost forever. This work has no bearing on any land claims currently being pursued by communities and in no way can this work bring harm to the Anishinaabeg people of Saugeen.

Indigenous identity, specifically an Anishinaabeg identity, is a difficult thing to pinpoint. In my own lifetime, it has undergone a variety of name changes and is an extension of historical practices as people became permanently located on reserves. It continues to change as identity has more to do with a political and economic agenda than it does with actually having traditional Anishinaabeg experiences. Canada continues to struggle with self-identification as the norm as Indigenous communities demand the right to claim and identify their own members. The Indian Act of 1876 claimed jurisdiction over the legal identity of Indians in Canada, who can and cannot be registered as Indians, as well as the right to administer the affairs of the Indians.

The reservation system contained groups of Anishinaabeg related through kinship and family ties. People became identified with the treaty area they lived in and then the reserve that they became sequestered in. As Indian people became quarantined, so did their shared experiences although their historical journey into treaty lands became intimate family knowledge. Variations in identity ought to be the norm as groups of Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous people were squeezed onto lots of land and became localized as separate groups. They experience reserve life together, creating a community history. For intergenerational knowledge transmission, stories became contained within communities and families, and thus, identity became centralized and isolated within these settled communities (Wagamese, 2011, 2-5).

The Saugeen Anishinaabeg are proud of their localized identity in that place because they have always been there and accept their history as one that exists within the context of the wider Anishinaabeg people, who in fact, cross international borders. As well, many Saugeen Anishinaabeg count direct human relatives located on other reserves and in other countries that tends to blur the containment lines of a legislated identity and confuse recognition by non-Anishinaabeg. Some families continue to identify within the clan system but historically became faced with gender inequality by basing clan membership on the male lineage which was further enshrined by the Indian Act. The fur trade introduced intermarriage between fur trader and Anishinaabeg, and Anishinaabeg-kwewog and children would not have been Anishinaabeg by traditional protocol. Instead, communities attempted to mitigate this by qualifying membership through the mother's father who bestowed membership on the grandchild suggesting an ability for the Anishinaabeg to re-create alternative avenues for identity and membership to the community (Jones, 1861, 5).

There is documentation indicating that women enjoyed the same freedoms as men within the Anishinaabeg worldview. A noted Chief of the Ottawas and fur trader, Net-no-kwa [no translation] adopted John Tanner, a white captive of Manito-a-geezhik [no translation] after negotiating his price in Council (Tanner, 1830, 36). Tanner claimed she

paid a large amount of goods to Manito-o-geezhik before he would release Tanner to his new mother. Church funded publications dictate the opposite when early Anishinaabeg authors wrote about the clan system. “Of the general character of the treatment of women by the men”, Peter Jones writes the “Indian men treat women as inferior, created for men’s use and convenience” (Jones, 1861, 60). He went on to write, “all the hard work falls upon the women; so that it may be truly said of them, that they are the slaves of their husbands” (Jones, *ibid*). Jones goes on at length about how the women are treated inhumanely. He also states, “Like the Jews, too, the women observe certain days of purification, during which days they separated themselves...” (Jones, 1861, 61).

Although I am skeptical of all historical writing, I think it important to expose beliefs around the concept of traditional within an Anishinaabeg worldview because the clan system is one in which people are reclaiming as a categorization of or avenue to Anishinaabeg identity. To continue in this manner perpetuates violence against women as it maintains a gendered hierarchy. The language of the Anishinaabeg do not distinguish between men and women unless necessary. Contradictions in the cultural fabric prevent people from engaging with cultural practices in meaningful ways. Traditional, in addition, to contemporary and Western notions of an Anishinaabeg identity must be carefully negotiated. I explained to Elders that the patrilineal clan system closely mirrored registration eligibility under the Indian Act to which some men abruptly left the table. As Anishinaabeg attempt to govern their own identity, the overarching political systems continues to affect how people relate and interact with their Anishinaabeg identity (Palmer, 2011, 33-34) and retard the ability to grow and adapt in ways that reflect how we see ourselves today.

My belief, from spending my entire 45 years immersed in traditional teachings while participating as a full member of mainstream society, is that I am Anishinaabeg because I was born to a mother who is, and she was born to a mother who was, all the way back to the beginning of time. My blood is as old as the earth itself as I am an Original Being brought forth from the earth. I carry the strength of the Original Anishinaabe-kwe; the blood that pumped through her veins, pumps through my heart and the hearts of the

children I made. I had only sons and so my line ends with me, but I have beautiful and strong nieces who will carry on the life of the Original Anishinaabeg-kwe, Winona, forever until the end of time. This is how I know myself to be Anishinaabe. It is in my blood, my faith, my resolve and my work. It must be said here and now. I have no authority to decide who is and who isn't Anishinaabeg. And I can play the academic game here as I am expected to do, argue something. But in the real world, I judge the degree of Anishinaabeg in people who claim it, by their actions, and their behaviour. When stating they are Anishinaabeg and then to not stand when Elders or women are dancing, or those who do not feed their old people before themselves, I know I am not dealing with an Anishinaabe. When policies and practices strangle the development of Anishinaabeg knowledge and protocol, I know this is not an Anishinaabe person.

There is nothing more frustrating than to hear Anishinaabeg ideology used against the people it was meant to support. Skirt shaming is appalling when men are not held to the same accountability. We know from fur trade documents that the Anishinaabeg men did not wear anything at all except a fur robe thrown over their shoulders. No one demands they show up at ceremony dressed like that! Chi-miigwech for adapting to change, Inniwag! HOKA! I might add that this is why women did not walk between men and the fire (because they would have gotten an eye full of pajoggin!). Shtaa-tahah! So I call attention to the blind following of someone who claims to be Anishinaabeg without the demonstrated, action-based, community acknowledged and driven, recognized membership supporting their claim to identity. We know how to make fun, yet we are also very serious at the same time. Emotion helps digest the Anishinaabeg worldview and so fuels how we see ourselves in the world and how we see those around us. I do not apologize for bringing a bit of humour to this sensitive topic of identity and cultural continuity.

Certainly community politics plays a huge part in what can happen in an Anishinaabeg community, but a community always claims its members, even when they have fallen into an especially difficult cycle in life. We would never turn a recognized member of the

community away. Our Elders always teach when someone is taken away as a child to remember where that child belongs. We know that when they come home, they will need to be supported to transition back into the family and community. However, Anishinaabeg communities lack resources and power to do what is needed in the moment. For those who are away from us, someone will always be waiting for those Anishinaabeg who are trying to find their way home to us. We know who you are if you do belong with us. It is in the Anishinaabeg way to know the genealogy of the community and to know who fits where. Specialized knowledge is understood to be a family affair and so it is imperative to know which people are in which family in order to track and access specific types of knowledge. It is talent-based if you will. People do what they know and what they are good at. The behaviour demonstrates the internal processes we cannot see.

In other words, identity produces ethics leading one to recognize that ethics is a culturally bound concept. An Anishinaabeg identity produces a specific type of behaviour that reflects the teachings inherent in the culture. For example, the Anishinaabeg understand the Elder to be the one who provides teachings and supports understanding of those teachings. By action, the Anishinaabe rejects providing teachings until they have reached the Elders stage of life. It is detrimental to the Anishinaabeg to have a non-Elder provide teachings to others and violates a core value within the worldview. Ethical behaviour is linked with an Anishinaabe understanding of authority to speak on an issue. Authority to speak on an issue is provided to an individual by their community. The individual is required and held to be responsible to their community and to speak the truth at all times. This acknowledged community-based Identity confirms one's authority to speak and to share knowledge from that community. Identity must be addressed in order to confirm authority of information contained on the historical audio recordings.

1.3 Indigenous Approach

Accessing historical information through primary source documents has typically been the main activity of historians. However, scholars are using the documented record in culturally informed ways (Podruchny and Peers, 2010) are producing interesting results as this dissertation will show. Combing the archives for Anishinaabeg narratives has been most fruitful in this project. The more archival documents are made publicly available, the more historical research can amend its findings and connect other silos of research. Archival searches must always be revisited lest they become outdated and uninformative for users. As I come to the end of this research project, more and more information is coming into the public realm already outdating my own findings here.

Committing to performing research in an Anishinaabeg community requires one to consider one's role in participating in such an endeavor. Accepting that Indigenous communities are hesitant to participate in research projects due to past injustices by academic researchers (Smith, 2012, 9, 111), work with Anishinaabeg communities means academia must change how and why research is done. Structural changes throughout the institution must occur for Indigenous researchers to be successful in producing quality research that supports the communities they work with and for and enhances the community's willingness to participate in projects moving forward. Situating research within an Indigenous paradigm and worldview requires a different set of obligations and actions to represent Indigenous issues within Indigenous experiences. This section will address the learner versus researcher concerns, standpoint and context justifications, and how these issues contribute to a decolonizing approach in my own research endeavors.

Before approaching a community with a research proposal, one must first acknowledge their own identity and role within the research project and what that looks like from both an Indigenous perspective and a Western perspective. For Indigenous people, inquiring about the world is an interactive process and so evolves over the lifespan building on previous experience and knowledge. So, research from an Indigenous perspective is really about learning and accepting the role as learner in an Indigenous inquiry process. It

becomes personal, intimate, and subjective and totally inappropriate from a Western research position. Joanne Archibald shares that "Indigenous communities view a learner as those who have little or no knowledge of a particular culture they wish to study" (2008, 37) but this disregards the situation that most Anishinaabeg do not know about their culture as it has been systematically outlawed and residential schools dissolved intergenerational relationships and learning. So communities are lacking this knowledge about their culture as well. According to Shawn Wilson (2008), "learning by watching and doing" are emphasized in traditional indigenous research and are considered participant observation by researchers (40) which is a better way of addressing the ongoing effects of colonization and making possible a healthy development of relationships and relationality of one to one's culture and community.

In the Indigenous context, the roles of learner and researcher collapse for the Indigenous academic and so do elements of a Western research paradigm. Margaret Bruchac suggests relinquishing ties to dichotomizing "the research and the researcher" by embracing Indigenous ways of knowing as an ordering process situated in their own perspective and producing validity within an Indigenous worldview (2010, 66). She is referring to how logic and constructions of "truth" are based in epistemology, are ordered within a methodology that effects how a phenomenon is explained by the observer. Thomas Norton-Smith explains this in detail in *The Dance of Person and Place*, (2010) but goes further to state that systems of knowledge have a linguistic component (20) because they are conceptualized through language (21) and must be assessed within that particular worldview or it is incongruent (35). For Shawn Wilson (2008), everything collapses into itself, epistemology and ontology, axiology and methodology (73-77). He suggests that introducing new concepts or re-creating past connections must respect the other relationships around it (79). Research is relational and the heart of all things Indigenous (Aikenhead, 2011, 70; Simpson, 2011, 33; Wildcat, 2009, 20; Archibald, 2008, 74; Wilson, 2008, 80). I have no response only agreement.

The learner must embrace the cultural protocols of the community to ensure a foundation for a respectful relationship (Kovach, 2009, 45). Respect and reciprocity build trust between the learner and the community especially important in Anishinaabeg communities and for academics alike. These should be built into the research model to ensure the best interests of the community are maintained throughout the research process and afterwards. This means making space for conversations not related to the research at hand, and it means supporting the community as needed with their own initiatives. Unfortunately for academia, this means that projects may take more resources than historically allotted for research projects because relationship building around trust takes time and interaction (Kovach, 2009, 32). As well, respecting community ethics, in particular community ownership, control, access, and possession of information, may mean that the final product be approved by communities prior to public dissemination, if approved at all. One must be fully vested in a project because the stakes can be quite high when working with Indigenous communities. Maintaining consistent communication with the community and with individuals, families and secular groups of special interest will guide and correct early errors. It is a continual and reciprocal feedback loop that ensures successful community-based participatory research projects.

One cannot just walk into an Indigenous community, or email the Chief, to engage a community. There are so many ways but first some research must be done. One must become fully aware of the history of a particular community to begin to understand the people they intend to work with. Efforts of sincerity must take precedence. For example, many communities share information on social media and so it is quite easy to see what community groups are taking on as community initiatives or to grasp the issues affecting wellbeing. By offering research services pro bono to community groups in ways that support their initiatives, it builds rapport and demonstrates a researcher's personal investment in the health and wellbeing of a community. Learning about the history of the community through in-depth investigations will also point to difficulties one may confront during the research process.

The learner comes with no pre-set questions and with no hypothesis generated in absence from Western theoretical silos. The learner is not interested in replicating other studies but in creating local meaning with the support of Elders and traditional knowledge keepers. However, knowledge of the community's history may sometimes only be derived by a literature search, but it will be incomplete if it does not include the community's perspective. The learner demonstrates willingness to take the perspective of the community to understand their needs and goals and to produce meaningful outcomes for the community. Knowing the community allows for identifying locally-based Indigenous Ecological Knowledge that is derived from the distinct ecologies that sustain land-based cultures. Communities have the answers to their issues and require the learner to support their initiatives for capacity building on their terms. "Knowing how to" demonstrate knowledge of respect and reciprocity is derived from epistemology, cultural protocols and ontology (Wildcat, 2010, 60) and solidified through interactions in the community. Ignorance can only be forgiven for so long before communities become frustrated and turn away.

Indigenous researchers must locate the community within the historical record to recognize the relationship to the treaty process and governance issues. This allows the researcher to witness the impacts of colonization at the community level, to see how the community has responded, how the impacts continue to reverberate and become entrenched in the community. However, Indigenous academics are exposing historical Indigenous scholarship as heavily influenced by colonial processes and must be used with caution (Geniusz, 2009, 19). Assessments of community capacity, for example a Needs Assessment, allow the researcher to prioritize concerns from the community perspective and look for avenues for developing research projects that support those issues. It can point to possible partners within the community, such as individuals, groups, and organizations. As well, supporting programs that are already functioning within a community demonstrates respect for the community's initiatives and goals. Researchers can align their own goals with those of the community in hopes of guaranteeing a respectful working relationship. Initial research ought to be shared with communities

regardless of future intent to participate. For Anishinaabeg researchers who study their own communities, preparations must be made as community unwillingness to embrace their own members is justified from their perspective (Smith, 2012, 10) as long as the goals of the research align with the community.

A learner must be reflective and requires this to share meaningful knowledge attained outside the formal Western research model, but anthropology is beginning to see the importance of holding a mirror up to their own reflection and taking a hard look at what this really means. "Reflection creates relational and holistic meaning" because stories teach to the spiritual, emotional and physical realms simultaneously (Kovach, 2009, 102). Teaching and learning through stories require personal reflection because the way stories are constructed, they are able to provide lessons over the lifespan through repeated reflection and reflexivity. Stories are like time-released medication, they can provide healing and medicine to the soul over the lifespan. Revisiting teaching stories always provides a little bit more information depending on the context and situation which the stories are being accessed. Each situation brings old stories into focus again and again offers new knowledge without a new story.

A researcher comes to a situation, or a statement of the problem, with pre-set questions developed from a Western theory that reports some phenomenon that requires inquiry. Objectification is paramount and derived from a literature search built upon a different cultural system of scientific inquiry. It is a top-down, cookie cutter styled approach to investigation and even the questions are pre-planned as if Western Science can magically predict the response or assume a response will fit their preconceived paradigm. They can and do because a researcher decides there is a problem, creates a tool to measure the problem they envision, and then shows evidence of the envisioned problem with the created tool. In this overview, the researcher will always find what they are looking for because they created an entire system to define, measure, and produce results based on the constructed paradigm, all from a Western perspective.

For me, the distinction between learner and researcher is not helpful. Not all academics or academic institutions are like this and develop new models within. The argument rests on semantics and not in research itself. The type of research model used depends on the questions being asked. If the attempt is to re-contextualize historical information, then an Indigenous methodology isn't all that helpful. What is required is a decolonizing approach to data collection and analysis. In the end, community-based participatory action research is about the community driving the research question. An Indigenous methodology is homegrown, context dependent, and situation bound. There is no single or best practice to pre-planning an Indigenous methodology. It is derived from the relationships encountered through interacting with the community on their level and within their ideology and worldview.

Indigenous researchers must address issues within various systems of thought and can expect no solutions at best. This can mean that people must be aware that they may uncover information that can inflict personal pain or may produce concerns for the authenticity of a community. Academia should look to mental health supports for those researchers who strive to produce meaningful research for Indigenous communities. It is incredibly personal to delve into the history of Canada as it affects Indigenous People and children. Residential schools, treaty disregard, and Indian Act repercussions continue to affect the health and wellness of communities of relationships within the wider Indigenous community. The colonial history is alive and well within the construct of Canada while it is the Indigenous voice that continues to be marginalized.

Mediating conflicts between the Indigenous researcher and internal systems within the institutions that support the ethical responsibilities to the community would be beneficial. Supporting community-based research is difficult for institutions that must protect their own interests first before considering ramifications from the community's perspective. Ethics is culturally based. For Western institutions, ethics is about legal protection of the institution. For Indigenous academics and their communities, it is about protection of the individual and community. Indigenous researchers can expect no support from the

institution until issues are mediated within their own walls regarding mobilization of Indigenous community-based, participatory action research.

The academic institution is a colonial one and is desperate need of a system overhaul (Denzin et al., 2008, 503). Dealing with the ethics board becomes personal for an Indigenous academic because the researcher requires institutional approval to work within their own community with Elders and Traditional Teachers who guide them and continue to guide them, in their academic pursuits and in life in general. Academic Ethics Committees conjure up ideas of "Indian Enfranchisement". This is still a major reason why there are so few Indigenous people pursuing post-secondary education at the graduate level and beyond. Becoming an Indigenous Researcher means asking the colonizers for permission to communicate with one's own relatives. Ethics boards demand that a script be used, read word for word, and that annihilates any possibility of accessing Indigenous Knowledge from communities through the oral tradition and cultural protocols. Here is an example to consider. An Anishinaabeg community absolutely requires tobacco offerings and payment when requesting conversations or to give thanks for the information shared. Paying for participation may be seen as unethical from a Western framework and so not be supported by Ethics boards or funding agencies (Archibald, 2008, 42). Indigenous students are left feeling legally unable to respect and act reciprocally towards Indigenous communities and research participants. Another example, the public attitude toward outlawing the use of tobacco in public spaces and places is regulating this vital Indigenous medicine into non-existence. Indigenous peoples are aware of many different strains of tobacco and the only one that can be inhaled into the lungs is a commercially produced, hybrid tobacco that was developed as such by European settlers in the 1700s (Murray, 1836, 32). This could be a world-known fact if North American history was decolonized.

Research for an Indigenous academic is personal (Walker and Behn-Smith, 2015, 252). It can be healing for individuals (Wilson, 2008, 135). Allowing time for grievances of the community to be acknowledged before commencing the research process is paramount

for healing past injustices by academia. Researchers must be prepared for the anger and pain of past injustices to be hurled out. It can be emotional for people to tell their stories, but it is vital to reconciliation from an Indigenous perspective to have an opportunity to voice the problems of the past. It is a part of healing and restoring relationships, and academics must acknowledge and apologize for past wrongdoings on behalf of academia. Once this has occurred, communities are more willing to involve themselves in action-based, restorative research. Once this process has occurred, communities and academia can move forward together. This suggests a different way of doing research that supports community wellbeing and protects against injustice towards the Anishinaabeg and from their perspective.

A decolonizing methodology should be community-based, participatory research that is guided by Indigenous epistemology, logic, and that supports the work already being done within Indigenous communities. It means teaching the community about what is being learned and allows the community to guide the development and direction of the research. Mobilizing communities by building capacity supports autonomy and respects the community that is willing to allow public exposure. Taking the community's perspective means that diversity must be enshrined to expose the limits of colonial categorizations. Diversity suggests no set way of doing research but assumes that organic research must grow from the relationship between the learner and the host community.

Methodology should be story-based because it respects the way knowledge is created and transmitted in an Indigenous community which is orally (Archibald, 2008, 17). "Stories reveal, illuminate, and make known the complexities of Anishinaabeg being" and so gesture to future generations of Anishinaabeg (Doerfler et al., 2013, 117). Through stories, the Indigenous Intellectual Tradition is shared in a way that allows the listener to interact with the material and the storyteller on a personal and intimate level. Knowledge becomes intimate and subjective and so not easily committed to paper (ibid). Stories are alternative ways of creating meaning "in relationships, creation, and the creative process itself" (Cajete, 2000, 44). How people "story" their life reflects how they view the world,

how knowledge is made meaningful, and how the world is ordered. As well, relationship is paramount between storyteller and listener (Anderson, 2011, 21). For example, Anishinaabeg routinely use humor to teach resistance and can confuse an inexperienced researcher who may produce erroneous analysis (Borrows, 2013, xi-xiv). Sarcasm and nuances imbedded in body language and language can be difficult to gage when working with Elders.

Using terms and concepts not quite responsive to an Indigenous ideology leads to improper or faulty assessment of understanding. For example, using words like sacred and holy brings forth mental representations and meanings found within structured Western religion, namely Christianity. In this ideology, the sacred and holy hold a social position at a high level and out of reach of the average person. The sacred and holy are untouchable and unquestionable. This is completely at odds with an Indigenous perspective. Certainly those considered sacred and holy do hold special roles and responsibilities, but they are not outside of the public's access. They are a part of everyday living and interactions and not something only adhered to on weekends or reserved for a special and holy day. The ability to switch ideology instantly is a vital tool in working with levels of representation from community-based individuals. Knowing when to be serious and when to be fun-loving is non-negotiable and this comes from life experience not monographs.

Combining Indigenous and Western methodologies can lead to inconsistency as concepts are operationalized privileging the epistemological standpoint that allows them to construct the world in a certain way. Indigenous researchers situate phenomena within the worldview of the community offering analysis based in that construction leaving no room for standardized methodology (Kovach, 2009, 43). Indigenous researchers can separate knowledge into cultural knowledge, methods of searching, and purposeful interpretation (ibid, 44) allowing Western academics some satisfaction in assessing the validity of their work. Creating space for community-based research presents major

problems with a standard approach to interviewing participants, in particular. There is no one standard approach to working with Anishinaabeg communities.

"Two Eyed Seeing" refers to a process that combines various methodologies to allow for a relationship between the learner and the knowledge (Marshall et al., 2015, 17-18). It stems from feelings of living in two distinct worlds: an Anishinaabeg world and a Colonizers' world. Bringing together the best practices of both perspectives will support Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike. For example, health services like Southwest Aboriginal Health Access Centre in Southern Ontario are combining bio-medical approaches and Indigenous cultural interventions to improve health outcomes for Indigenous peoples. Methodologies should include qualities of Indigenous traditions such as "holistic epistemology, story, purpose, the experiential, tribal ethics, tribal ways of gaining knowledge, and an overall consideration of the colonial relationship" and should be built into the Western qualitative research design (Kovach, 2009, 44) but it still must be organized according to academic programs and principles. It is possible and fruitful when the right supports exist within the academy.

Land-based or place-based approaches are narrated through storywork because Indigenous people relate their experiences to the land (Tuck and MacKenzie, 2015, 131). Indigenous people see themselves as one with the land and its elements are not separate. It is a tribal-centered approach (Kovach, 2009, 38) that can take the perspective of other-than-human beings, such as land or water (McNabb, 1998, 37) and narrated from that perspective. Findings are not generalizable (Aikenhead and Mitchell, 2011, 72). The data can be gathered in other ways such as dreams, sharing circles, walking, mapping, and ceremony (Tuck and McKenzie, 2015, 102). Landscapes are interrelated with life ways and reside in memories that are valued based on respect and reciprocity with the land and water. Names are place-based because naming practices indicate how people interacted with a specific place or space (Plain and McGregor, 2013, 95). Anishinaabeg use land as text (Corbiere, 2012, 91) and history can be read and understood through the names that Anishinaabeg and others use to refer to places and spaces.

Connections, interconnections, and coincidences make up the relational experience of Anishinaabeg communities. I mention coincidence because of the strange and mysterious events in one's life that have no explanation for occurring but contain intense meaning for individuals. These coincidences heavily influence decision-making, behaviour and outcomes in an Indigenous person's life. I present the importance of story in this research, but other events occurred I take care not to mention because their significance is misunderstood in the translation. These unique and repeating events, different yet of the same substance, make up a huge part of my personal connection to this research. These strange occurrences come into discussion with community members, Elders, and other Indigenous researchers. Those who are knowledgeable about Indigenous medicine and ceremonial practices question exactly how I found the recordings and is why I include so much of it in this writing. It is the how that will support other Indigenous researchers. There are so many strange and mysterious happenings that remind me of Shawn Wilson's personal connection to his work in *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (2008). I am an inextricable and sometimes mysterious part of this research and I attempt to persuade you of this fact through this narrative. It is only through narrative that the translation of cultural connectedness can be shared in meaningful way.

Anishinaabeg understanding of this mystery is explored through the many works of Basil Johnston, linguist and professor, and his stories, his ability to share Anishinaabeg philosophy, epistemology, and worldview taking us back to the beginning of time when what we know now was yet brand new. He was a master of linguistics producing many language resources over his lifetime. Each summer I found Basil at the Cape Croker Powwow sitting at his language booth showcasing his latest contribution. I always took a chance to sit with him and tell him how he influenced me in my work. He always asked me if I was speaking Indian yet, which I took as my cue to leave him alone or meet his challenge. There is never enough time to enjoy the powwow and people at Cape, and he needed to attend to his grandson who was always in tow. He has authored many books on the subject of Anishinaabeg culture aimed at different comprehension levels. His stories embed The Great Mystery in all of his works. Through his stories of Crazy Dave (1999),

Indian School Days (1995), and the many Nanabush and Creation Stories, I connected with more than the past but the people of the past. I will not repeat his work here only build on his work, adding to the power of The Great Mystery.

Stories and life stages connect, reconnect and bleed into other lives throughout the lifespan. They are the glue that holds people together and can easily teach cross-culturally when we embrace new ways of communicating. Stories build relationships between cohorts or generations, between individuals and their communities, and between the individual and their own mental constructions based on their experience to date, but they also instruct people about particular duties at particular life stages (Anderson, 2011, 166). When technology is employed to tell stories, it builds compassion and bonds across distances and across cultural divides. Technology allows one to connect with stories at their leisure and interact with incredible amounts of data in their own comfort zone. Revealing Anishinaabeg stories in public places educates communities, mainstream peoples, teaches across cultures, and so builds understanding and reconciliation.

"Narrative is a vehicle for lifelong process of learning, beginning with child play narrative" (Darnell, 1979, 727) and links culture and individual experience through a reflexive interplay between intergenerational relationships (Darnell, JAR forthcoming, 2020). We organize memory of our life as a story not as a collection of single events. Genuinely held notions of accountability and responsibility are built into the stories and Elders, and particularly Grandmothers, work closely with children to ensure the knowledge is kept intact (Cruikshank, 1990; Darnell, 2019; Darnell, 2018b). Thus, projects that connect youth and Elders is vital for community capacity building and relational knowledge protection. Lessons from the Boas Papers Project (Darnell, 2013-2020; Darnell 2018a), demonstrate that technology can be harnessed to instigate the rebuilding of Elder-child/youth relationship after the assault of residential schools and government policy on language, identity, and culture. Through the Boas Papers Project, the work with Indigenous groups in British Columbia and the American Philosophical Society, the team adjusts the database to provide key terms suitable to current

communities thereby increasing access to historical data. Part of the Boas Papers Project is to find ways to repatriate information and artefacts, both material and non-tangible, after communities have been separated through colonial impacts.

The most influential work that impresses the importance of a decolonizing approach to research with significant outcomes for communities is a project completed by Heather Rollason Driscoll concerning the missing representation of Dene women in the written record. She often wondered why academic publications described the historical Chipewyan culture as embracing inhumanity towards women. As a Dene woman, she was raised within the constructs of the Dene worldview and knew of no such disrespect towards women. In fact, she observed the opposite. In order to investigate why this incongruence existed, she undertook a project of re-contextualizing historical understandings of the Dene culture. She found that all current scholarship on the Dene people sourced a single diary of Samuel Hearne, the first European man to have visited and interacted with the Dene people. Through a decolonizing approach to archival documentation, she compared the published material with the original journal and found specific and systematic errors relating to women's roles within the Dene culture. Her work highlights the importance of decolonizing Indigenous histories to rebalance relationships within the community and with outsiders. Her work exposes the depth of colonial processes and calculated movements of colonizers to control people within their own societies and to manifest a perceived excuse to control and oppress other cultures. It ought to sound a red alert with all people around how we understand the current construction of other cultures in publications and in the media in general. Perhaps it is time for communities to tell their own stories publicly to clear the colonial cobwebs from mental representations of The Other.

Boas almost never identified his informants. When he published on the Kwakwaka'wakw Potlatch, he leaves out details of his actual observation of a single potlatch in 1894-95. When he published *The Social Organization of the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, he omitted that the potlatch was sponsored by his longtime collaborator of mixed

Kwakiutl descent, held to give his titles to his son, David, and the fees paid by Franz Boas (Hatoun, 2016, 227-229). Contemporary users of his work are, of course, much more interested in the details of particular Potlatch speeches for purposes of revitalization. With the same interest in cultural details, I search archival institutions in order to weave a story together. It is difficult to meet this goal as there is only one story to be told when sourcing for academia. I pull from a variety of documents, a phrase here or a word there, to stitch together an ethnographic historical presentation that reflects the Anishinaabeg storytelling features.

Digitization projects can provide an opening for the Saugeen Anishinaabeg to decolonize their history and to re-create knowledge in a way that supports their worldview, privileges their experience as Anishinaabeg over outsiders, and re-unites lost knowledge with the rightful owners and benefactors of such Indigenous Knowledge. An important goal for Indigenous communities is language revitalization. Digital projects put language, in a variety of forms, at the fingertips of community members regardless of geographical location. Access to knowledge is mediated through an online system that can take the shape of the community's vision. Digital stories are interactive and immediately available provided the community has access to technology, digital infrastructure and bandwidth. This is problematic, however, for the Saugeen Anishinaabeg who like other Indigenous communities lack basic necessities like housing, employment, and food. Community leadership could decide to relax policy around internet availability and provide open access to Wi-Fi already in band buildings to make it available to community members in their homes. Instead, access is locked even though the Band is collectively owned by its membership. Saugeen Anishinaabeg have a community website, an information and technology department, and library that could provide additional supports for educational, language revitalization, and cultural resurgence. Technology moves quickly and communities need to bolster initiatives.

From an anthropological perspective, the intersection of culture and technology is a nexus of importance to researchers, and the digital world is of increasing importance to

understanding current human interactions (Underberg and Zorn, 2013, 4). The digital world is a space with expressive potential where heritage education can be constructed in ways that support an Indigenous worldview and (Underberg and Zorn, 2013, 68). It has the ability to cope with colonization, termed globalization by current usage (ibid). The "online classroom" is interactive, has the ability to grow and change, takes many forms, and is oriented in the sensory world. Measurement can then involve metrics such as the number of hits on the site and membership login demographics. Use of technology can bridge differences between cultures and create a productive hybridization of knowledge (Aikenhead and Michell, 2011, 14).

Digital projects support the ethical concerns of Anishinaabeg by enshrining ownership, control, access, and possession of knowledge and data in the hands of the community. Even sacred knowledge can be shared digitally because controls can be instituted where access is screened through community standards and approvals. It can be place-based through imagery, contain multiple relationships with humans and other-than-humans, and can allow the learner to select a path of Anishinaabeg enlightenment. Anishinaabeg culture, history and language can be heard and seen, and re-visited as needed and warranted. Most importantly, new information can be added, thus thwarting the static construction of culture and identity.

Digital projects can bring different sources of knowledge together. Saugeen Anishinaabeg culture developed a local identity by way of the historical interactions with colonial powers, industry and economic forces, and personal relationships with others including other Indigenous peoples. However, documentation and records of events are spread throughout a variety of knowledge domains and digital projects can centralize information to support a wholistic understanding of their development. Early explorers from different countries, the fur trade, war, treaties, the Indian Act, Residential Schools, and institutional racism continue to plague the Saugeen Anishinaabeg even though their experiences of these events were not recorded, and oral transmission has been interrupted by colonizing processes. Digital projects can support re-unification of histories and

contemporary Indigenous knowledge thus supporting community capacity building on the community's own terms.

For my research project, I submit that I am a learner by the standards of recent scholarship. Before commencing a research project with my own community, I must address biases and standpoint concerns. I do not speak Anishinaabemowin fluently and English is my first language. According to the research design, my project requires the support of first language speakers of Anishinaabemowin because I can never truly understand Anishinaabeg epistemology or worldview in English. For me, translation occurs toward Western constructs and this must be addressed with Elders of my community. I acknowledge that divisions exist within my community, between families and individuals. This can hinder the ability of people to participate in the project and will affect who I consider an appropriate knowledge holder based on my previous experience with individuals within the community.

Moving knowledge forward from an Indigenous perspective is to produce the conditions for communities to build capacity on their terms. Digital projects allow communities to author their own content and control their own digital repositories (Salmond, 2012, 211). Computer technology allows for the creation of digital worlds that support Indigenous communities as producers of knowledge from their own perspective. Digitizing 3-D objects, layering of mapping technologies, incorporating fragile records and images, can all be safely accessed by those interested and at their convenience. Centralizing knowledge supports a community's need for "weaving back together their histories" (ibid, 216). Even though Indigenous people live in many different settings and their lives take them in different directions, the need for community connection is always present. Many people, especially the youth, require avenues for bridging meaningful relationships with their communities (Nakata et al., 2014, 101). Kate Hennessy (2012) sums it up best when discussing ethnographic collecting of oral narratives and intangible heritage with the Doig River First Nation in northern British Columbia: "Community-based production of multi-media aimed at documenting, transmitting, and revitalizing intangible heritage

creates space in which ... decision-making processes, or local cultural property rights discourses, are initiated and negotiated. Digitization and community remediation of ethnographic archives has illuminated tensions over the transformation of intangible expression into digital heritage, where issues related to cultural representation, copyright, and ownership of cultural property are amplified by digital circulation.” (Hennessy, 2012, 347).

1.4 Storying an Organic Methodology

Some Indigenous academics state that technology reduces the relationship between storyteller and listener (Simpson, 2011, 34). "Committing knowledge to paper or recording devices renders knowledge non-interactive or unilateral and so reduces the transmission of information" that takes place in the reciprocal nature of Indigenous storytelling (ibid 34). However, the increasingly rapid development of new technologies and the interactive possibilities of the Internet suggest Simpson's warnings are influenced by historical wrongdoings and that her skepticism may be outdated. Cultures must be functional, or they become obsolete because people forget over time. Languages change and reflect the practical nature of living and so words associated with a specific activity, occupation, or event fall out of use as mental representations of experience change over time. For example, particular language resulting from atlatl use falls into disuse as relaying information about “doing it” is no longer told so that for some the cultural artefact persists without anyone knowing why. Another example is the practice of Smudging. Research into the history of this practice suggests that this did not occur as a spiritual endeavor but for practical reasons. Smudging the lodge was important, particularly through the winter months, as the smoke purified the air by killing bacteria and viruses. In addition, prior to going out hunting or setting traps or snares, smudging was used to overpower the human spell that tends to scare game away for long periods of time. Interestingly, people continue to smudge where they feel an immediate spiritual and comforting connection to something bigger and unknown, likely invoking blood memory.

Stories carry the same ability to immediately connect people to the past. The power of stories and language are vital to reliving and repurposing the past and for recognizing the connection to the land. Storytelling can be repurposed in ways that continue to support and benefit Indigenous communities on their own terms which is exactly what storying is meant to do. Cultural relationships must to be renewed and repurposed to reflect the current needs of Indigenous people or those ties to feelings of belonging and identity will disappear. Digital projects can and do support a new way of sharing ancient knowledge from Elders to young folks as Anishinaabeg protocol demands they also extend the past to the future thereby eliminating the present. Storying using technology is time travel made tangible.

Storytelling can take new forms in the digital world. Elders can get online and be available for chat sessions bringing about an interactive and storied experience. Communities can produce their own histories to create pride and citizenship in future generations and can be continually infused with new knowledge and stories. Pictures, songs, videos, stories, genealogies, treaties, residential schools, most importantly, language can all have their allocated space together in the digital world and be presented from the community's perspective while honoring all those relations that have supported Indigenous people in surviving colonization and the ongoing aftermath. Within the digital world, Indigenous people can re-create a space and place where their lived reality is accessible for those who want to learn. Biskaabiiyang means "to return to the teachings" and considering the historical and socio-economic factors that affect Indigenous peoples and geo-locality of contemporary life, there can be no better place for the return to the self than through the doors of the digital world. Together, "we build a genealogy of story" (Blaeser, 2013, 241).

There is so much more to storytelling that just telling and re-telling stories. It is in the ability to animate concepts within the minds of those acting as the audience, adjusting to each situation and individual. Tone, timing, inflection, character voices, environment sounds, body gestures, and facial movements all contribute to the delivery of the story

and signal certain cultural artifacts to the listener. The "whole-body telling" of Anishinaabeg storytelling is considered a gift and within families there are known storytellers that exude a celebrated fullness when sharing stories. They are sought out for their particular style and ability to connect with the audience. In addition, storying the lives of the Anishinaabeg honours the way in which knowledge is created or re-created. Stories embed history, culture, and spirit in a wholistic understanding of the forces pressing in on the people and how Anishinaabeg push back against colonial genocide.

The manuscripts, research notes, and primary documentation derived from Dr. Seaborn's creation and analyses of the audio recordings could not be located. Although the Edward Seaborn Fonds Finding Aid (AFC20-10 [1950], prepared by C. James in 2006) indicates an index of Indian Medicine Songs, as well as Indian Medicine, is held at Weldon Library Archives at Western University, London, Ontario, the Seaborn Fonds no longer house the particular documents. Archivists could not locate the lost information. Inspections of other Seaborn Holdings were located at London Public Library, Dundas Street location, London, Ontario, and Museum London, an art museum located in downtown London. Performing an environmental scan of the Seaborn Fonds, Dr. Seaborn appears to be an obsessed collector of personal journals and medical histories and focused on death for the most part. The Seaborn Fonds ought to be brought together in one location to allow for a proper analysis of his work and how his research can propel further work today. This was attempted by The University of Western Ontario in 2012 (Reaney, 2015) however public pushback from local users of the public reading room at the London Public Library halted the endeavor through public outcry. Importantly to note, the public library users accessed local media who produced their grievances publicly. Had project managers recognized the affected population as potential partners for success, public buy-in through meaningful consultation and goal alignment might have ensured this project's success. While attempting to locate information about the audio recordings and their creators, my search of primary documents began.

To begin to contextualize the recordings, knowledge of the person behind the recordings was absolutely vital. From an Indigenous perspective, tracing knowledge systems through the identity of their holders reflects how knowledge is passed down through a variety of lineages. In recalling community stories of family lineages, I was told there were many different families of Thompsons at Saugeen and that some families did not have any surviving members today. As well, some of the Thompsons were not originally from Saugeen and may have come from the United States; Michigan to be somewhat more exact. Armed with these threads of information, I decided to uncover as much as possible about Robert Thompson's family and to verify his identity, based on definitions produced from the literature review. Archival documents are the only source of public information.

This would lead me to locate his grandfather who fought in the War of 1812. Turning to Archives of Canada, RG 10 Database, a search of Thompson related documents produced four files which are the focus of the following chapter. Initially, anticipation of finding any primary documents was low, however, much thanks to the record keepers at The Department of Indian Affairs, currently called Department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs. But these four files actually contain a wealth of information especially in the form of oral narratives, and they have propelled a richer understanding of the impact of outside influences on the daily lives of the Anishinaabeg.

Focusing on the four files allows an analysis of Colonial recordkeeping practices and calls attention to processes of recordkeeping, as well as the sourcing of documentation in the academy and in publishing. The reconstruction and reanalysis of those records form the basis for further search efforts. This leads to genealogical reconstruction and must extend to Colonial forces, namely British, American, and Canadian, in the lifeways of this particular family. Lifeways, in this paper, are regarded as the contextualized patterns observed in the culture clash between European settlers and the historic Anishinaabeg. In order to begin to observe context within an oral narrative, construction of Lifeways must be undertaken. Every possible avenue for supporting documentation is vital to

authenticating Robert Thompson's authority to claims of an Anishinaabeg identity that has been hijacked by colonial forces. These forces continue to affect the ability of Anishinaabeg to identify others and themselves. The power of documents includes an ability to shape the perception of a society, reproduction reinforces those perceptions across media, and the academy mandates sourcing of previous academics. These processes build a public memory into which others draw and continue to reproduce from. What happens when we build on a faulty foundation? Why is looking to the source important? What do we need to be aware of when accessing colonial documents?

The Record Group 10 Inventory (RG10) contains the historical records relating to the affairs of the Indians created by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and its predecessors (Library and Archives Canada, 2013, Background). The RG 10 Inventory holds files, correspondence, letters, and transcripts on all facets of Indian administration for both headquarters and field offices (LAC, 2013, Background). The records are separated into four areas of management including Pre-Confederation, Headquarters, Field, and Land. There are other record groups related to Indian peoples in every area of jurisdiction under control of the federal government. Access to this information falls under the Access to Information Act, The Privacy Act, and other regulations as implemented through federal and provincial legislation. An important note regarding the RG 10 Records is that they do not normally hold records for non-treaty Indians. This created concern as community knowledge suggested some Thompsons were not from Saugeen. Importantly then, other sources may be required to locate family members in the RG 10 documents. For the purposes of this particular project, RG 10 documents are supplemented by Census Documents, Treaties and related documents, fur trade documents, as well as Anishinaabeg research projects and various Canadian museum archives. In addition, accessing local public libraries, and local archival holdings was necessary as well as informal, anonymous input from many Anishinaabeg. Held within the protected walls of colonial memory institutions, archival documents, particularly the RG 10 documents at Library and Archives Canada, were searched for any

records pertaining to Robert Thompson and Saugeen Territory. Recognizing that Southern Ontario has undergone numerous changes and shifts in name and jurisdiction, the everchanging naming practices and legal status becomes problematic requiring meticulousness and intimate local knowledge. My analysis contextualizes local knowledge by toggling back and forth through layers of interaction between the micro and macro levels of influencing factors. Four main files were located pertaining to a family referred to as The Thompsons at Chief's Point. The files are named according to the subject of the file listed on the first page of the correspondence. The problem with this is that the file names only remotely hinted at the major concern contained in the file. On the surface, it appears that the department made several inquiries over the years into the identity of this particular family. However, on further scrutiny, the documents have been arranged in each file to suggest the department initiated each of the investigations; But they are out of chronological order which is highly suspicious considering the importance of the linear to colonial ideology, history, and their laws.

Reading of the documents in that arranged order provides several interesting mental constructions for our consideration. Based on the organization of the file, we find the Department of Indian Affairs was diligent in its responsibility to the Indians, that the Saugeen Band enjoyed autonomy in decision making, that the Indian Department initiated band membership referendums, and expressed concerned support for community led initiatives out of respect for their cultural views. However, when documents in all four files are merged and correlated chronologically, a very different picture appears. It is one that is highly problematic for the federal Indian Department because it led to the separation of an individual from his family, his lands, the community and from his Nation. An entire community of Anishinaabeg had their right to live their lives on the land they grew out of extinguished because of the management of the affairs of the Indians, a relationship the colonial government refuses to relinquish. The colonial government still refuses to relinquish its grip on the throats of the Anishinaabeg at Chief's Point. It destroyed the ability for the family to remain intact and severed its ties to other Anishinaabeg peoples and homelands. It severed the Anishinaabeg from important

ceremonial lands and the sacred burial ground of Anishinaabeg leaders from time immemorial. It continues to maul the ability to be recognized as Anishinaabeg today and by being a part of the land at Chief's Point and to sing, dance, and pray there.

Specific observations with the files have been made. Most importantly, some documents do not have dates and so it must be trusted that the documents do in fact belong in the file and in that order. Most of the files are arranged with the initial correspondence being the government's concerns, leading one to believe that the government was initiating inquiries in support of Band management. Names have been removed from documents in a messy fashion leaving pen strokes indicating other names removed from the bottom of lists or important numbers or counts illegible with suspicious looking ink stains. Sadly, women and children's names do not appear in any of these files nor in any narratives shared by the family. The oral narratives contained in these files have been translated from an oral testimony and transcribed by the local interpreter/secretary of the Saugeen Band who himself was non-Indian. As already stated, translation to English from Anishinaabemowin is difficult and problematic.

Chapter 2 Anishinaabeg Identity

2 Identity Through Land

Through this research process, no comprehensive information could be located regarding Chief's Point Indian Reserve #28. The following presents a history in terms of contributing to the written record, an Anishinaabeg perspective on the historic Chief's Point lands and, in particular, the how the land and people were forever changed as the West marched west.

2.1 Chief's Point

The Anishinaabeg name for Chief's Point is "Oozhoo Odenang" (Thompson, 1939). Oozhoo Odenang means "the place where clans/families gather to cross over" (Johnston, n.d., 84, 100). Chief's Point sits on the western shores of Bruce Peninsula at the mouth of the Sauble River in Ontario. Sand dunes protect the land from erosion. It sits at the outcropping of the Canadian Shield and the land noticeably changes just north of this area. According to the website, Ontario Archaeology, there have been no registered archaeological investigations at Chief's Point although it is likely due to the geographic lay of the land and the acidic nature of soil in Southern Ontario. They do suggest that people began to move into the area as early as 9,500 years ago as the ice shield rescinded. Importantly, archaeology in the Bruce Peninsula area suggests links to areas in Northern Michigan (Burse et al., n.d.) through material culture and physical artefacts this link will be further explored from an Anishinaabeg perspective through non-physical, cultural artefacts, namely oral narrative and storytelling. Kenyon (1980) connects the Ausable Valley to a wider geographical area of technological development. The Satchell Complex (8500 B.C. – 2000 B.C.) involves archaeology sites linked through Southern Ontario, the Saginaw Valley, Southern Michigan, and the Ohio Valley through particular projectile points (Kenyon, 1980). The Archaeology of Southern Ontario website states that it is likely historic peoples hunted migrating caribou as the ice shields retracted and acknowledges the Deer Clan as a common clan among different Indigenous groups

accessing the area (ibid). Current traditional teachings include the horned beings, or antler beings, as a more descriptive term for enveloping this particular clan, Darlene Johnston's submission to legal proceedings (Attorney General of Ontario, Ipperwash Inquiry, 2004) describes the Caribou Clan as an original clan to the Great Lakes, present at Kettle and Stoney Point Indian Reserves, south of Saugeen Reserve. I use this example to show a lengthy continuity in the identity of the Anishinaabeg accessing this area as evidence of cultural continuity.

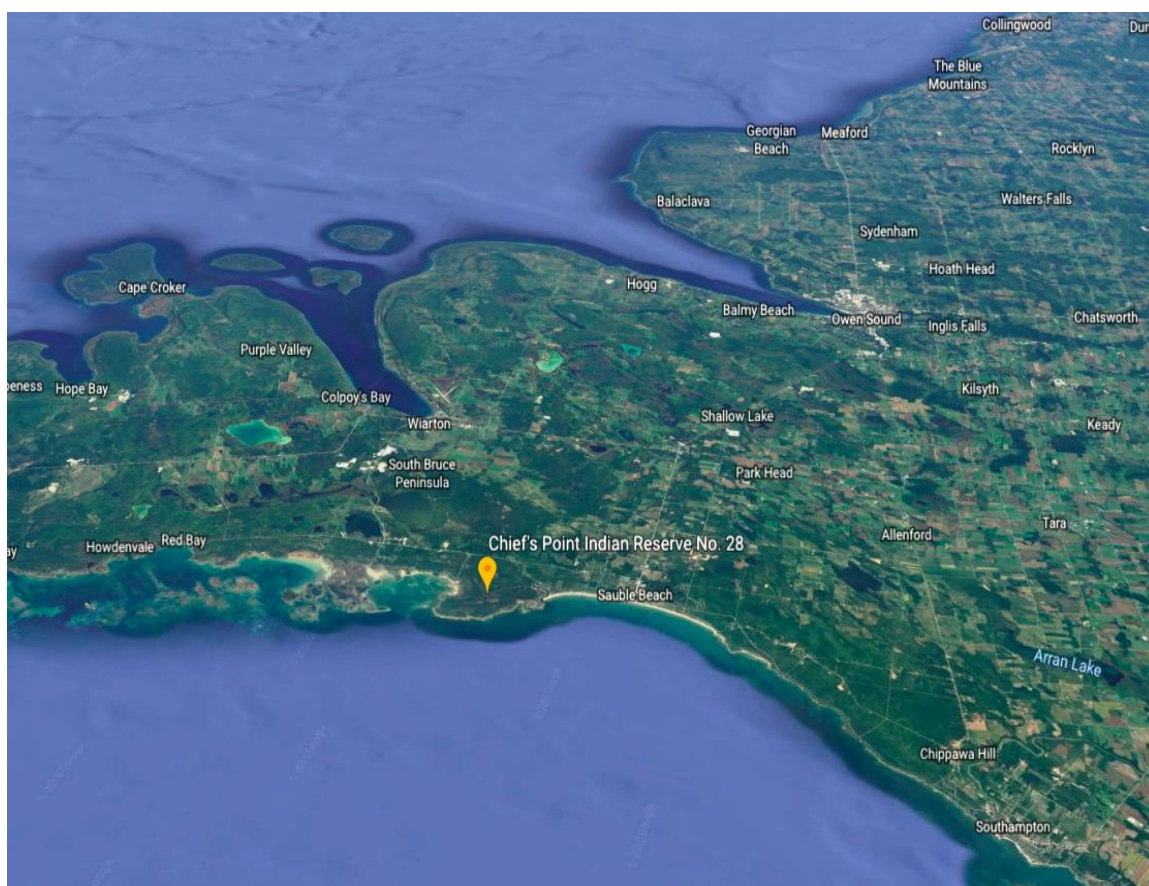


Figure 2.1 Hovering above Lake Huron and looking east across the Saugeen Peninsula (Bruce Peninsula), Chief's Point Indian Reserve #28 is pinned. Cape Croker and Chippewa Hill (Saugeen First Nation #29) are also labelled. Image captured from Google Earth on 2019-01-22.

Chief's Point sits at the west end of a portage that stretches east into Georgian Bay at the site of the Colpoy's Bay Reserve, surrendered by Coldwater Indians in 1861 (Atkey, 2002, 115). Ontario's Historical Plaques posted at Boat Lake names the portage connecting the two communities as the Bruce Peninsula Portage and explains the route developed by aboriginal peoples to avoid the difficult detour around the peninsula (Brown, 2019). Settlers into the Boat Lake area, a halfway point during the portage, told newspaper reporters that French trade axes and other material were found during tillage of the soil (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, Item 194, 198-199). As well, the very first settler family reports that at specific times of the year, they saw Indians travelling the portage at an area that crossed their land purchase. The old families had stated no ill will toward the movements of the Indians at that time (Bruce Country Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, Item 199).

North of the mouth of the Sauble River, Chief's Point allows easy access to the Oliphant Fen, a unique ecosystem where ancient, dwarfed trees, orchids and carnivorous plants grow (County of Bruce, n.d.). It is difficult, if not impossible to live at the Oliphant Fen as water continually runs over the land. As well, access to Saugeen's fishing islands, called Geghetto Islands (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, Item 530), meaning "place of bountiful fruits" (Rhodes, 1993, 151) and guaranteed to the Saugeen Indians by declaration of Queen Victoria in 1847 (Saugeen Ojibway Nation, 2016, 4), the community suggests Chief's Point was mainly a fishing station for the Anishinaabeg. A botanical study was carried out by a university in Michigan in the 1920s. A local resident described rare and unique orchids that grow from Sauble Beach to Tobermory as well as fossil samples taken from rock quarries as they escorted the university researchers through the area (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, Item 45, 536). Chief's Point is a vital area for gathering and processing medicinal plants unique to the region and for bountiful fishing. Oral tradition shared by United States Marine Veteran, academic scholar and traditional activist, Jan Ritchie, stated that his grandfather knew the Thompsons at Chief's Point and that they were traditional people, the last of their kind, who travelled to Goderich to gather medicines. It

becomes clear that Chief's Point was a place well suited for easy access around Lake Huron and into Georgian Bay.

2.2 Historical Peoples

The history of the Saugeen Anishinaabeg is long and often shrouded in mystery. Locating early sources directly relating to the Saugeen Anishinaabeg reveals no centralized information, chaotic changes in place names, and poor recordkeeping. What is available is highly suspicious in nature due to the political agenda behind the recordkeeping (Kroeber, 2005, 15.). Paper is fragile, difficult to store and protect; It accumulates and encompasses a one-way conversation (Tidridge, 2015, 43) and many documents are damaged, missing, or copied and re-copied. Most current written sources on the Saugeen people cite Peter Schmaltz for all information on the history of Saugeen First Nation but it is actually on the history of Cape Croker, currently known as Neyashiingaming, and employs a "Mrs. J. Akiwenzie" as the main informant (Schmaltz, 1977, 106). By now you must be getting confused regarding the naming practices of these two communities. By exploring the development of the Saugeen Anishinaabeg, we can understand the diversity of names and histories that have become entangled in documentation relating to Saugeen First Nation, the proprietors of Chief's Point Indian Reserve.

My analysis takes a chronological approach to describing the changes that were experienced by the Anishinaabeg, framing the Saugeen Anishinaabeg as fierce protectors of the land and water as well as ingenious responders to colonization. Taking a linear approach allows me to first, identify events of historical significance to the Saugeen people, then to take a humanistic approach, taking the perspective of individuals participating in or witnessing these historical events. An interview by Alex Cywink with Chief James Mason (Toronto Public Archives, 1982) emphasizes the detrimental psychological impact on young people due to ongoing colonization including addictions, poverty, and racism. It is through this dialogue that I experienced the importance of the

ethics of Anishinaabeg leadership. Chief Mason demonstrated love and compassion for the young people in his community and he saw each person bringing their own special talents to the workings of a healthy community. But he also saw how intergenerational poverty caused by colonial imposition on Saugeen lands led to loss of human capital. The purposeful and systematic attacks on the autonomy of the Anishinaabeg slowly destroyed the health of individuals and the community.

Community transformation through historical knowledge reclamation, using digitization projects as an example, provides opportunities for improving relationships within and outside the community and is tied with social and political change (Podruchny and Peers, 2010). Centralizing community knowledge, or "keeping the past current" supports Anishinaabeg wellbeing by re-claiming autonomy, jurisdiction, and pride in one's community as a protective factor for community wellness enshrined in Mino Bimatiziiwin (Johnston, 163) because the community can access their own history at their convenience. Education, health, policy, land-use, community projects can all benefit from building on past knowledge and developing it as they need. The lack of regeneration of stories and histories retards the development of ideology and technology. A very small piece of reclaiming our stories and our pride is to reclaim our heroes in order to reclaim past victories and build on their successes.

Saugeen means mouth of the river or where the water flows out as understood by the community. Anishinaabeg oral tradition precedes the written documentation and recalls the migration of the Huron Nation into the Great Lakes region (Copway, 1847, 45-47). It was with terrifying and tortuous war that the Huron guaranteed a space for their peoples to act as middlemen in the trade between the Iroquois Nation and the Anishinaabeg. Peace fell over the land but was short-lived. The French arrived and secured trade with the Huron eventually leading the Anishinaabeg to interfere with trade between both French and English and the trade relations with Iroquoian speaking peoples. The long and brutal Iroquois Wars re-created space for the Anishinaabeg in Southern Ontario (Kroeber, 2005, 52-53,) and this remains a source of pride among the Saugeen Anishinaabeg to this

day. Local tradition tells of a brutal war where the Saugeen Anishinaabeg destroyed the Mohawk people sending a handful of survivors to warn of the ferocity of the Anishinaabeg at Saugeen (Copway, 1850, 88) under Chief Sahgimah (Hamilton, 1893, 97). This is attested to in early European and Missionaries' diaries suggesting the Anishinaabeg and Huron took control of the area by 1687 (Kelton, 1887, 29). Cartographic material depicts the major battle at Saugeen and subsequent changes in land distribution as a result of the war (Tanner, 1987, 32-3). The *Battle of Skull Mound* actually refers to the aftermath of the brutality that occurred at the mouth of the Saugeen River between the historic Saugeen Anishinaabeg and the Mohawk. It was impossible to bury the dead due to the clay soil and bones protruded from the mounds (Chief James Mason, 1982, published interview). This battle occurred at the end of more than 150 years of war brought on by the lack of furs in Iroquois territories. The fur trade bled their lands quickly so that with the increasing demand of the English, the Iroquois moved into Huron communities and Anishinaabeg Territory. In addition, disease had ravaged all Indigenous populations. The loss of knowledge associated with the level of impact on communities must have been devastating and further increased dependence on trade goods.

The Great Peace of Montreal in 1701, known to Indigenous groups as *The Dish with One Spoon*, guaranteed peace in Southern Ontario and safe passage to participation in the fur trade (Short and Doughty, 1914, 94) across different territories. During this time, not much is known about the Saugeen Anishinaabeg. However Schmaltz describes the area as being repopulated by Anishinaabeg and some Huron people (Schmaltz, 1977, 20) after the war. As well, the historic Saugeen Metis have political ties to the Saugeen Anishinaabeg as they acted as middlemen in trade with the French and later the English (Hilborn, 2015, 84). The Saugeen people relied on the Saugeen Metis to act as honest interpreters between them and the non-Anishinaabeg in order to protect their resources and trade relationships. It is likely the Treaty of 1836 that caused a break in the ties between both groups. One just needs to look at a map of the surrendered lands to see this.

The historic Anishinaabeg had heard stories of people from the east coming into the area and about selling the land to the White man. They heard about deracination and removal, but the reports were too extraordinary to believe (Johnston, 1982, 157). The Anishinaabeg met in council with White representatives, made treaty, and suffered the consequences that the people were warned of years before by their relatives from the East (ibid, 175). The Anishinaabeg were much more ingenious in battle than Europeans and Pontiac's War proved that; The Anishinaabeg women were instrumental in taking Fort Michilimackinac in 1763 (Kelton, 1887, 38). The Anishinaabeg considered a certain equality among gender status and that was something Europeans had not yet grasped. The Royal Proclamation recognized Aboriginal Title, and the Covenant Chain at Fort Niagara ratified the proclamation tying the Anishinaabeg to the English to share the land and resources (Tidridge, 2015, 31-2).

There were an estimated 25,000 British loyalists in "Canada" and 1 million "Americans" at the outbreak of war in North America in reaction to the French/English War occurring globally. The Saugeen Anishinaabeg participated in the War of 1812 aligning with Tecumseh and the desperately outnumbered British. This was important for Saugeen because the Americans pursued an agenda of extermination against any and all Indigenous peoples. As well, the British agreed that success over the Americans would guarantee a recognized "Indian State" to be protected from encroachment of settlers or their government. The Treaty of Ghent, the agreement that outlined the international border between Canada and the United States, failed to recognize the agreement made with the British and the Americans also refused to recognize the legitimacy of the "Indians". This could be why oral narratives continue to be shared regarding the deadly stealth of the Saugeen warriors (Mason, 1982) toward the hated Americans (Jones, 1861, 218) and research has uncovered written documentation of various local stories (Schmaltz, 1991, 9). Allies from as far away as the Ohio Valley joined the Saugeen Anishinaabeg after the War of 1812, refusing to live under American jurisdiction (Mason, 1982).

2.3 Treaty Process

The year 1836 saw the illegal surrender of 1.5 million acres of Saugeen lands for settlement; the land in the peninsula was reserved for the Indians and the 1.5 million acres for sale (Kroeber, 2005, 63). The surrender allowed the government to recognize promises made to the Indigenous allies of the British to have a legally recognized and protected "Indian State" for their participation in the War of 1812 and to allow Loyalists access to the finest lands in Southern Ontario. The Saugeen Anishinaabeg saw their most prized lands already being overrun by British Loyalists looking to escape the confines of the American borders safely (Kroeber, 2005, 61), Scottish immigrants (Campey, 2005, 148), and others. The Saugeen Anishinaabeg were disgusted with the transaction, as were many others, and Methodist witnesses to the treaty signing testified that the four Anishinaabeg who signed the treaty did not have authority, were under duress, and were outright threatened by Sir Bond Head (King, 2012, 91; Schmaltz, 1991, 135-9). They were not compensated for the land, loss of capital and resources, or for community upheaval. The Saugeen Anishinaabeg pressed for creation of the Grand Council of Chiefs to address the legality of future negotiations (Schmaltz, 1991, 136).

Under American president Andrew Jackson, a systemic ethnic cleansing of the eastern seaboard saw the removal of thousands of Cherokee and related peoples during the Trail of Tears from 1836 – 1838. Oral tradition speaks of people coming to Saugeen asking for refuge to escape the torture of American extermination policies. My grandmother spoke of her great-grandmother whose feet had curled up in old age from the forced march while unprotected from environmental elements. She was Creek from the Georgia area. With census documents and legal proceedings against both Canadian and American governments, many families in Saugeen declared Pottawatomie identity hailing from the United States (Kroeber, 2005, 61) and were seeking both asylum in Canada or Saugeen Territory as well as restitution for loss of lands in the United States. The claim continues to sit in limbo today.

Just 10 months before the signing of the 1836 Treaties at Manitowaning, the Anishinaabeg on the American side of North America relinquished their lands to the American government with stipulations for lands reserved for Indians (Sims, 1992, 237). However, the stipulations were removed from the treaty before ratification and the Anishinaabeg were threatened with total land loss within 5 years (ibid). When the Anishinaabeg arrived at Manitowaning for annual gift giving by the British Crown that summer, they shared their outcome with leadership in Canada and it caused great fear of American actions on behalf of the Anishinaabeg and others (ibid, 212).

The people already had first-hand knowledge of the ongoing inhumanity of the American people towards the Indians. *Treaty #45 1/2* states that the Saugeen Anishinaabeg leadership agreed to surrender the land in 1836 for those Indians who did not have land to live on. This document has a section stroked out that states the Saugeen maintain ownership of their hunting grounds in Goderich.

Council the property (under your
 Great Father's Control) of all Indians,
 whom he shall allow to reside on
 them -

I now propose to you that
 you should surrender to your Great
 Father, the Sauguen Territory you
 at present occupy and that you
 should remain ^{with} to this Island.

Figure 2.2 Screenshot of a section of Treaty 45 1/2 stating the land was surrendered for all Indians to live on. Library and Archives Canada, RG 10, Sauguen Indians - Agreement relative to their surrender of the Sauguen Territory and setting apart the Manitoulin Islands as the property of all Indians allowed to reside on them -- IT 121" 1836/08/09, volume 1844/IT 121, microfilm reel Number: T-9938.

In return, the Saugeen people were to receive houses and civilization, although what civilization meant then, or means now, is highly subjective and strangely ambiguous for an international legal document. Inspection of this treaty shows there are four people listed as Saugeen Anishinaabeg (one name appears to be of French origin) and 12 officers of the government with officials of the Methodist Church witnessing (Indigenous and Northern Affairs, Treaty Texts, n.d.). The Saugeen leadership clan symbols are shown in Figure 2.3 and 2.4).

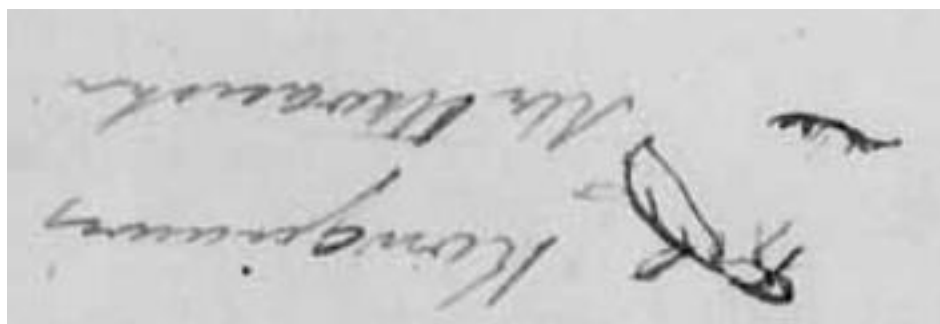


Figure 2.3 Clan symbols of the treaty signatories from Saugeen. The document must be turned upside down to realize the image is a horned being and the smaller image is likely an otter or possibly mink being. (Ibid.)



Figure 2.4 Clan symbols from Treaty 45 1/2. The page must be turned to realize the image. (Ibid.)

Although many religious denominations were gaining converts in Anishinaabeg territory, the Methodists made huge gains as only they allowed Mississauga-Anishinaabeg to preach and convert through Anishinaabemowin. Sought by both the government and the Saugeen Anishinaabeg for interpretive abilities, Methodist-Mississauga were easily employed in hopes of protection of each party (Hilborn, 2015, 124). George Copway, a

Methodist-Anishinaabe from Rice Lake, whose autobiography was printed in 1847, found employment in Saugeen as an interpreter. In his writings, he claimed chieftainship over all Anishinaabeg, but this definitely was not the case. He wrote extensively about his involvement as secretary with the Grand Council of Chiefs and his ability to convince the chiefs to financially support an Indian technical school in the Saugeen Peninsula (Copway, 1847,132-41) although this never materialized. Copway was fired from representing Saugeen interests after band funds had been stolen repeatedly during his employment (Hilborn, 2015, 140, Smith, 2013,182; Peyer, 2007, 219). And although he was present at Saugeen during this treaty period, he never included any information regarding this treaty in his publications. Recently historical research delved into the records of the Methodists and confirmed that the signatories to the 1836 Treaty were Methodists who were also half-breeds from the Mississauga Anishinaabeg (Hilborn, 2015, 127).

The Treaty of 1854 that was signed by the Saugeen Anishinaabeg surrendered the Indian Peninsula (Bruce Peninsula) for auction with proceeds to go into an Indian Trust Fund. The agreement left 6 small parcels of land for the Saugeen Anishinaabeg. Saugeen remained at the mouth of the river while the Owen Sound Nawash group moved into Colpoy's Bay further north into the peninsula (Atkey, 2002, 81; Schmaltz, 1991, 131). Oral tradition states that government officials attempted negotiations with Saugeen but were stalled to await the arrival of the Nawash Band leadership. At this time, the government officials invited the Saugeen leadership to imbibe in feast and celebration to pass the time. The government officials opened barrels of whiskey and a celebration ensued. There were promises that Indians would be so rich they would ride in carriages and never want for anything again (Smith, 2013, 121). When the Nawash Band arrived, the treaty had been already been signed, the government officials were gone, and the Saugeen Indians were flooded with shame (ibid, 122).

Peter Jones, a Methodist-Mississauga from Rice Lake and published author, lived amongst the Saugeen Anishinaabeg at the time of treaty signing at Oliphant in 1854. He

contributes no information in his published writings although he signed as witness to the surrender (Smith, 2013, 121). Fellow Methodist-Mississauga and published author, Peter Jacobs, deployed to convert the Saugeen community, was known to both Anishinaabeg and Methodists as a drunkard (Smith, 2013, 119) and was signatory to the Treaty (INAC, 2016). His son, Charles Keeshick also signed the treaty. Other Methodist-Mississauga names appear on the document, specifically David Sawyer, John Johnston, and Peter Jones, as well as non-Anishinaabeg, John H. Beatty. It appears that Methodist-Mississauga half-breeds signed away land they had no jurisdiction over. In fact, according to traditional protocol as noted by these same early authors, the Anishinaabeg were a patrilineal society with membership bestowed through the father. The Methodist-Anishinaabeg previously stated were fathered by White men. They could not have been in a position to dispose of lands or to negotiate on behalf of the Saugeen Anishinaabeg if they were even considered Anishinaabeg by the people themselves. Jones does boast of the religious work and personal character of treaty witness James Evans (Jones, 1861, 208) who was later put on trial for the sexual abuse and rape of children at Norway House. Court transcripts are available at Weldon Library and Archives at Western University in the archive holding of James Evans papers.

Through the late 1800s, the last of the land was surrendered through The Quarter Mile Strip Surrender and several other land surrenders leaving Cape Croker Indian Reserve, Chief's Point Indian Reserve #28, Saugeen Indian Reserve #29, and hunting grounds in the northern tip of the peninsula (LAC, RG 10, 1854-IT). Grievances were filed concerning the legality of the surrenders as internal strife over membership and authority to sign was questioned (Schmaltz, 1991, 135). The people were never compensated with homes and civilization as dictated in the 1836 Treaty nor were the boundaries ever respected in the 1854 Treaty. The land was auctioned off to Anishinaabeg and non-Anishinaabeg alike but later the government would rescind the sale to Anishinaabeg men and women. Catherine Sutton, a Methodist-Mississauga living in the Saugeen Territory went to petition the Queen for recognition of land ownership (Smith, 2013, 91). Road allowances that were not planned for by surrounding townships ended up costing the

Saugeen Anishinaabeg more lands to support the townships as lands were taken without legal surrender. As well, loss of the fishing islands through illegal barter and sale between Cape Croker and land surveyors outside the knowledge of Saugeen contributed to the corruption of relationships between the two Sister Reserves. Indian Trust funds were used to pay for the construction of colleges, universities, churches, parliament buildings, roads and bridges outside of reserve lands. Logging contracts, commercial fishing licenses, improper land surveys, illegal land sales and illegal rebates, and squatters compelled the Saugeen Anishinaabeg to serve the Crown with grievances while resources dwindled.

The introduction of the Indian Act (1876) turned the Indians into state wards leaving the federal government to deploy Indian Agents to manage individual reserves and see to the administration of the Indians. The Indians organized their own leadership into the Grand Council of Ontario Chiefs and met regularly throughout Anishinaabeg and Iroquois territories (Danziger, 2009, 103-105, 203). Many grievances and complaints were filed towards the government and the Crown regarding gender discrimination, self-government, and financial mismanagement (Mason, 1982). What is profoundly interesting about government oversight at Saugeen is that no Indian Agent was ever specifically assigned to manage Chief's Point Indian Reserve #28. The four files relating to the Thompson family re-exposed this oversight to the government. The Saugeen Reserve Council knew about people living at Chief's Point but the lack of a competent Indian Agent, unhindered influx of newcomers, both Indian and non-Indian, and poor management between political and territorial jurisdictions produced the conditions that robbed the Thompsons of their livelihood, identity, and the Anishinaabeg Nationhood. The final blow came with the Indian Act of 1876 and the legislated extinction of all the Indians at Chief's Point through federal, provincial and township organized and orchestrated land theft.

2.4 Final Surrender

According to Treaty No. 72, the 1854 agreement bound the Chief's Point Indian Reserve at a half mile up the Sable River on the East and continued on a northerly direction to the bay, and upon all other sides by the lake (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, Treaty Texts). Although first described as a reserve in 1854, Anishinaabeg occupation at Chief's Point is lengthy but has never been explored through academic research. By pulling a variety of sources together, I provide an explanation as to why the historic Saugeen Anishinaabeg were compelled to protect and remove from white settlement, the territory of Chief's Point Indian Reserve #28. Today, Chief's Point continues to be legally regarded as an Indian Reserve but there are no Indians living there; only non-Indians are allowed to live on the land. How did this Indian Reserve come to be reserved for non-Indians while retaining federal Indian Reserve status? What drew people to Chief's Point, and in particular, the Thompsons and Dr. Edwin Seaborn? How did Chief's Point unite the two men?

In relation to archival documents, no Indian Agent had ever been posted at Chief's Point and so the Red and Black Series of archival documents are quite sparse in their holdings of records related to this particular area. There are 4 files related to the Thompson family at Chief's Point, cartographic images and land surveys, misfiled documents relating to River Aux Sable, and files related to the administration of land sales in the surrounding township of Amabel. By combing Saugeen and Cape Croker records, corporate resource extraction, archaeological information contained in newspapers, historical societies, census documents, and cultural consultants from the community, the territory of Chief's Point held tremendous significance for many people for different reasons over time. For the Anishinaabeg, it appears it held practical and spiritual importance; corporations found wealthy resources; for newcomers, it was their heaven on earth.

As an Indian Port on the eastern shore of the Saugeen Peninsula, many families made homes at Chief's Point, both temporary and permanent. According to the 1881 Canada Census, Amabel Township noted the following family names at Chief's Point: Root,

Jones, Ahnonguot, Kahbeige, Kewageshig, Nicodemis, Wesley, Richie, Otter, Waukbegee, Naskawaik, Kahgee, Cook, Petaunquot, Big Canoe, Naswausogona, Keshawass, James, Bull, Wahbezie, Penaiswequa, Mahkisauga, as well as the Thompsons, whose long family history becomes public in the next chapter (Census 1881, Canada, Province of Ontario, Township of Amabel. District 144 North Bruce). In comparison to the observations made by the Indian Agent and by Forest Ranger Henry Ritchie just 5 years earlier, the area was booming with migrating families. Only one other family was noted to be at Chief's Point along with the Thompsons in the 1870s. This was the Toma family from South Bay. Their family name does not show up in 1881. The census documents have been helpful in terms of ensuring the correct Indian Affairs documents were being accessed as well as to compare observations of families over time. Importantly this search led to identifying current descendants for possible repatriation of songs and to seek permission to publish findings. No other documents relate to Chief's Point or any of these family names. Treaty signatory and old chief, Mitegwob, is noted as 85 years in 1891 and living at Chief's Point next door to the Thompsons. Amusing to me is that the old Chief's occupation was farmer at that time, but he was likely being cared for by the Kahgees with whom he was living. A photo of the old chief and the leadership is found below. Knowing Mitegwob was at Chief's Point in his final days coincides with David Root being present at his deathbed. David Root lived at Chief's Point as well and claimed to be in receipt of the chieftainship at the death of the hereditary chief. It was after the Chief's death that Saugeen was thrust into the election system as dictated by the Indian Act. The change was given leverage by the community uproar against David's claim to the hereditary throne.

But the land at Chief's Point held a particular cultural significance and has a specific purpose for the Anishinaabeg. This is where the most revered of the Anishinaabeg were laid to rest. The soil is acidic, a problem for archaeologists but a necessity to the Anishinaabeg, because burying people there ensured their bones were taken into the earth quickly. Very ancient beliefs are held around the concept of *two-spirits*. It was believed that the Anishinaabeg had two spirits inside them. One was their conscious self, the

power of all things good and positive, and the other a very ancient and old spirit that was contained in their bones. This ancient spirit could behave in malicious and destructive ways. When a person died, the conscious spirit would go to the spirit world in the west and the ancient spirit would remain in the bones. It was important to ensure the bones were buried in the earth so that the bones would be absorbed back into the earth as it was the only being powerful enough to contain this malevolent spirit. The proper treatment of the body after death maintained a balance in the universe. The blind Chief Nawash, a veteran of the War of 1812 and last hereditary chief at Cape Croker, was laid to rest at Chief's Point as were many others, all the way back into the beginning of time. Cottagers in the area reported finding single bodies on their cottage lots; moving them in a respectful manner so their cottage constructions or their lifepaths did not harm the bones any further. Cottagers reported moving the bones to the corner of their lots to prevent further accidental disturbances to the bones. When reporters inquired as to how the cottagers knew they were Indian bones, they replied the bodies were found in the fetal position and facing westward. Both are well-documented burial practices among the Anishinaabeg. These beliefs continue to exist among some Anishinaabeg today, the knowledge passed from instructor to apprentice.

Chief's Point appears to have been a safe haven for many different Anishinaabeg during its early creation by the Treaty. On Indian Affairs maps, it is noted as a hunting ground. The Indian Agents report it being used as a fishing station, a place where fish was processed and cured. Saugeen had much difficulty with controlling resource extraction and business agreements often resulting in anger and hostility; it still does. As the land was auctioned off for private settlement, their journey into the area was treacherous. There were no roads into the surveyed townships and the settlers, and eventually the cottagers, arrived into the area by boat. Quite quickly, the townships realized that a shift in land use was occurring among the newcomers and that much money would be made by creating a summer haven for those who could afford a second home in the country. An examination of some land sales records shows the land wasn't expensive at all with many gaining their lots without ever paying.

The same problems that haunt the past continue to create havoc today. The jurisdiction over land and the multiple levels of government resulted in a miscarriage of legal sales throughout Saugeen Territory. From the archival documents around individual land sales, some deeds describe the land purchased as running “to the water’s edge”. As the lake recedes, people feel they are gaining land. However, federal law dictates that the land around any body of water is to be free from private ownership to allow for public access. It is unfortunate for the government that the mistake lies with their administration of the area. The longstanding dispute is lived out daily by the local people and continues to drive a wedge between local communities. The lack of government attention to timely settling of historic mistakes continues to be played out on the ground (Kroger, 2005; Schmaltz, 1991). At Chief’s Point, disagreements with government are evident in complaints from the Thompsons and from cottagers who felt swindled by land speculators and resource depletion.

For settlers and later cottagers, the issues were unforeseen. The history of the land would rear its head time and again. Lands were purchased at auction and people did not always inspect the land before purchasing and the lack of roads into the newly surveyed townships in the Saugeen Peninsula presented this obstacle for buyers. Settlers complained that they had no access to their properties as the land was not surveyed with roads, so road allowances were taken from of the Saugeen lands cutting them up even smaller. The settlers did not know that corporations had already bled the land for all of its resources. The fur trade, timber, fish, inland lakes, rocks, gas and oil exploration, had all taken place on the lands that government sold to individuals after it could no longer support corporate interests. Once people arrived at their individual lots, it was then they realized that the land had long been raped. There was no timber on their properties and so they could not build homes. Clearing the land at the foot of the Canadian Shield, or on a vein from the Niagara Escarpment, presented a rocky terrain, next to no soil for crops, and limited water supplies. The corporate interests during the 1800s produced conditions that changed the land and water forever.

Corporations first took the animals and trees. The clearing of the forest in the Saugeen Peninsula resulted in the lack of water retention on the land. As well, the minimal soil that was held there was dislodged and was freed to blow around the earth. Inland lakes were sold to concrete companies who changed the course of water drainage and eventually left empty lakebeds empty and then scraped the bed for all its worth. A map of the lakes near Chief's Point is included (Figure 1). These companies, once the resource was depleted, simply declared bankruptcy and moved on to the next resource under a different name. They rarely paid their leases to the Indian Department and most times the business owner was the same person who sat in the government seat approving sales. Environmental fallout was left for local people to contend with without any resources or supports to mitigate and repair environmental damage.

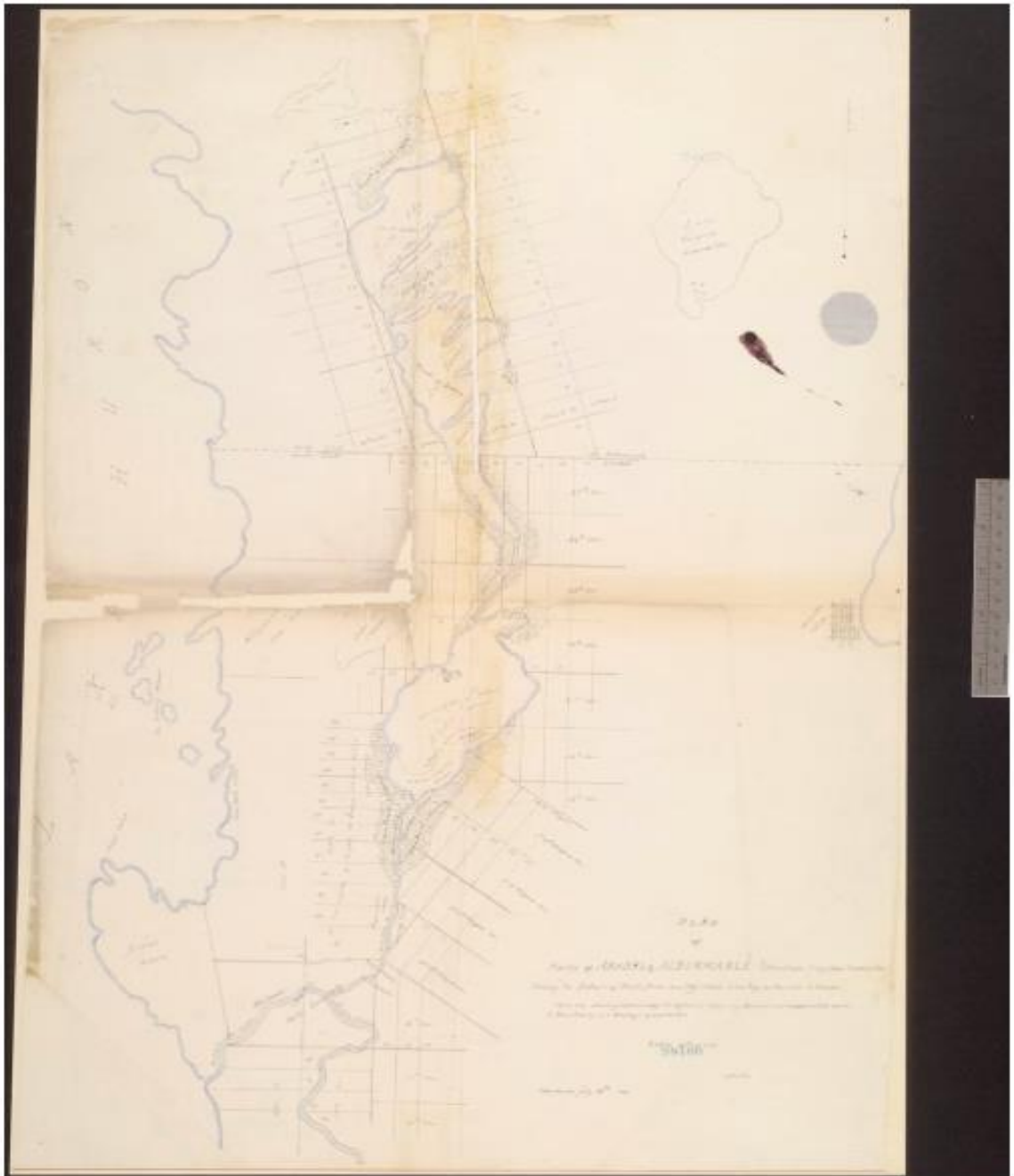


Figure 2.5 Plan of parts of Amabel & Albermarle townships (copy from township plan) shewing the Lakes-viz "Boat", "Isaac" and "Sky", which it has been contemplated to drain [cartographic material] 1882. Library and Archives Canada, RG 10M 78903/78, file 34362. Draining the lakes destroys the portage route and effects the ability of the land to hold and filter water.

As more and more people settled into the newly created townships, those on the southern side of the Sauble River were located in Amabel Township. The township held 50 people dedicated to building a home for their children and role for themselves. People who became Indian Agents at Cape Croker and Saugeen were residents in the area who had \$5000 to pay the government for this prestigious position. The government's position was that if Indian Agents bonded themselves for a significant amount, they would hold themselves to a particular ethical standard. The incumbent Indian Agent understood that if any miscarriage of administration of finances occurred, this amount would be forfeited to the government. Although no Indian Agent was assigned at Chief's Point, by 1880, it was under the effective control of the Saugeen Reserve and their Indian Agent.

Saugeen's Indian Agents were either drunks, or were illiterate, and hired for their knowledge of farming in hopes they would teach this to the Indian people. Agents had their children scribe for them in correspondence with the government. Some government employees left many families and children at Saugeen. It is not known if any Agent who was dismissed actually forfeited their bond and many became wealthy from their dealings and some went on to higher government positions. Some agents appear to try to do a good job. When the Indian Agent Connaught realized there were Indians at Chief's Point, he went to the oldest people in Saugeen and asked about the identity of the people at Chief's Point. Although he was not trained in community-based research methods, he knew the information was held with the Elders of the community. It was these old people who instructed Agents on who was an original family and who were newcomers. But even this held no sway with government decision makers around who had the right to belong, where they could live, and what they could do. Every turn in attempting to understand the history of Chief's Point led to different outcomes depending on who was employed in the Indian Department and their understanding of the relationship between

the Crown and the Indians. People brought in their own ideas and so changed the course of Indian people's lives with the stroke of a pen.

On the Sauble River, a company purchased the rights to generate electricity for the settlers after the timber mill closed. No electricity was provided to the Chief's Point Indian Reserve and so the people likely suffered while the homes across the river were bright and warm. Winters are exceptionally brutal in the Saugeen Peninsula and along the shores of Lake Huron. Although I share here a few examples of the problems surrounding the land around the Sauble River, this in no way presents any legal opinion. I am only sharing stories for the benefit of those interested in what happened in the development of Amabel Township and how people were personally affected by the status of the land and how this will harbour resentment and guilt between neighbours and friends.

A clear synopsis of problems arising from the status of the land is found in Indian Affairs Archives and provided to us by Cecil Swale, The North Bruce Farmers' Institute in Wiarton, Ontario, writing to his Member of Parliament, Hugh Clarks, on 5 October 1914. Cecil lived his life farming in Saugeen Territory and held a position on Council in Amabel Township before the situation became out of hand regarding land ownership at the Sauble River. He states that Mr. Seaman asked the Council for a 4- rod strip from Sauble Falls to the mouth of the river. He wrote that the Indian Department intended to keep this land as a roadway for taxpayers to access the mouth of the river. That is a very curious statement considering the Indian Department was mandated to protect and administer to the rights of Indians, not taxpayers. This statement also admits that people were well aware that the Indians retained ownership of both sides of the Sauble River (RG 10, Vol. 3106, File #309.460 Pt 2). This could be the reason why the LeBlanc Family assaulted the surveyor Rankin when he attempted to stake out the area on behalf of the Indian Department (RG 10, Vol 10283, F 478/30-5-3-28, C T-7576, Bruce Agency, 1937-1960).

Cecil reports that a customary road had developed that suited the terrain and ran through the properties of Mr. Seaman and Mr. Simmie. The land was well-stocked with timber

and so Seaman did not want to observe the actual land survey as he would lose his income he intended to gain from the land. It was known that any resource being sold off the land was to be reported to the Indian Department for taxation of sorts although no such reports were ever located. The opposite is found in abundance as settlers complain about the lack of resources on the purchased lots. When the question was put to Amabel Council, the parties bargained and decided to accept the customary road that ran through their properties in exchange for land deeds for the riverfront lands to Seaman and Simmie. The township would allow Seaman and Simmie to build cottages on the riverfront in order to beautify the Sauble River (RG 10, Vol. 3106, File #309.460 Pt 2). He states he assumed the Indian Department consented to the agreement which we document with the Simmie Survey of 1908 (RG 10M, 78903/78, File #309460 Pt 1).

Cecil describes a man named Thede, who complained that the Seaman's clear-cut the entire strip of land of the timber, dumping much of it into the Sauble River, and abandoned the entire mess. The area was so dry that Thede feared a fire would consume the Peninsula as it had done twice in the past due to environmental degradation. When Cecil re-joined the Council after this debacle, Thede asked Cecil to restrain The Seaman Company and petition the Indian Department to evict Seaman from the strip of land. The Council, of which most were in their seats when making the agreement with Seaman, regretted their decision and gave up any desire to reconcile their mistake. Cecil issued a further complaint that the Seaman Company built a brick factory at the mouth of the Sauble River, polluting and disrupting everyone's livelihood. Amabel Council now wanted to claim that they did not give permission to Seaman to remove the timber, and so the Indian Department should deal with him and evict him (RG 10, Vol. 3106, File 309,460 Pt 2).

Cecil reported that Simmie told him he fell out of good will with Seaman when he removed the timber from Simmie's property without approval and Simmie felt owed for his land and loss of revenue. Cecil states that Amabel Council gave the newly created land at the mouth of the river to Simmie and Seaman in order to build cottages and that

Amabel should never have petitioned the Indian Department to act on this request in favour of Seaman and Simmie. Cecil asserts that Amabel Township's Council is to blame for the land ownership problems and that attempting to blame the Indian Department for what is Amabel Council's own fault. Cecil urges his MP to seek our Reeve Eldridge for he was the only Amabel Township Council member to speak against this bargain between Amabel Township and Mr. Seaman and Mr. Simmie. Two survey maps from Library and Archives Canada show that the concerns were not really understood at the federal level in terms of the land and the complaints from local peoples (RG 10, Vol. 3106, File 309,460 Pt 2).

Simmie leaves his story as well. He felt he owned the Sauble River and the land along the eastern shore along the Sauble River to where it outcrops into Lake Huron. As the area quickly became desirable for cottagers, he informed the government that he would be selling his land in parcels. The Indian Department (in charge of land sales) informed Simmie that he would have to commission a survey of the lands and file this with the Indian Department. Enter into evidence, The Simmie Survey of 1908. This survey was likely completed by himself because it does not conform to already established Canadian law is reserving a chain length around all bodies of water to ensure public access. Amabel Township was one of the last townships to be surveyed and sold. Implementing town plots and roads came after lands had already been sold or squatted on. It is the history of the land that informed me of the situation with Dr. Seaborn and the London Faction at Chief's Point as well as how Dr. Seaborn and Robert Thompson came together to support one another and to protect the land and water (RG 10, Vol 3106, F 309,460 Pt. 2).

In 1931, the Hepworth Manufacturing Company demanded a land deed from the Indian Department regarding the Mill Reserve. The letter stated the land was surveyed wrong 24 years earlier and sold as cottage lots. The Hepworth Manufacturing Company accused the cottagers of squatting illegally on their property. The Indian Department says the original sale was in 1850 and no deed was issued to the Hepworth Manufacturing Company. An interesting claim is made by the company called The High-Water Mark as a measurement

for land ownership along the waterfront but there was no government follow-up. The issue around the land was never dealt with and letters continued to arrive at the Indian Department relating to the indecisiveness of the government. What the Indian Department decided, was to give the road allowance that still belonged to the Saugeen Anishinaabeg free of charge to Amabel Township with no surrender from the Saugeen people and at no cost to Amabel Township. The Indian Department refers to a letter from the original surveyor at the time of the original land surrender, named Charles Rankin, who on 30 July 1868, reserved for the Saugeen Indians a road allowance from mouth to mill lot, aux Sable River (RG 10, V.1, F 309,460).

Rankin claimed he was assaulted by the LeBlancs and his survey stakes were pulled out of the ground (RG 10, Vol 3106, F \$309.460 Pt. 2). He told the Indian Department he would not return to the area until the government had the situation under control. The mill road was never surveyed properly and disputes against the validity of Treaty 72 clearly existed from its inception. Misfiled documents are noted often in this file as there is information that the Indian Department repeatedly informed various townships that they were not legally allowed to sell any natural resources within their township as the Indians had not yet made those surrenders. As for the area south of the Sauble River, the Indian Department repeatedly told Amabel that the land belonged to the Indians as they had never surrendered that part of the territory. Amabel made land deals in full knowledge that the sales were illegal. Amabel Township ought to have initiated control measures for their own settler population but instead Amabel Council stole from the Indians to gain popularity with the voters. The governments' response was and has always been the same and the matter has not yet been settled in court.

Rankin's accusation against the LeBlancs presents an interesting intersection for exploration and investigation. Unfortunately, no other information could be located about the LeBlancs in the particular geographic area until a private conversation with Patsy McArthur pointed out my research flaws. The connection between the LeBlancs and the Thompsons are nestled in the connections of the women in their families. John

Thompson's wife was named Ann or Hannah Frousway or Francey, depending on the document, and this family was known as the LeBlancs in the fur trade. This points out once again that resource development and extraction was well under way before the land was even surveyed for sale. The people who sought to survive on the land as Free Men, meaning free from government control, were pushed from lands by the treaty process and forced to purchase land and pay land taxes forever. Early explorers and fur traders made families here and chose to live and pursue the lifestyle dictated by the land and the original occupants. For those, who came before those, who would document their existence, we must listen to the Elders for their understanding of historical events. My grandmother said that before there were treaties at Saugeen, many different kinds of people came into our territory. She said they pleaded with the Indians, begging them for just enough land to drag their plows through and grow some food. They brought their children and showed their tiny, starving faces to the Indian people. My grandmother said the Indians felt so sad for these sick and homeless children and their families and so came up with a plan.

My grandmother said, the Saugeen Indians decided to issue rules of citizenship within the territory. The settlers, Indian or non-Indian families, would only be entitled to enough land to drag the plow through (depth) and enough land to feed their families and no more. This concept is also known as *The Post Hole Treaty*. In addition, the newcomers would have to speak the language of the Saugeen people, and would have to respect and live by the same social rules as established by the Saugeen Anishinaabeg. They would only be entitled to the food they grew from their land and nothing more. My grandmother said this worked out fine for both the Saugeen Anishinaabeg and the new settlers. If you ask any of the early newcomer-settler families in the Saugeen Territory, they will tell you that at least one of their grand-relatives spoke Ojibway and traded with the Indians.

Everyone prospered in the Great Saugeen Territory until the aftermath of the Treaty of Ghent in 1815. With the influx of the Loyalists and "Land-Less Indians" (Treaty 45 ½, 1836) the ability of the Saugeen Anishinaabeg to control their territory was overrun by

Loyalists and Indians who felt owed something by the Crown due to promises of land exchanged for loyalty against the Americans. *The History of the Saugeen Indians* (Schmaltz, 1977) discusses the influx of large populations of different people and groups moving into the territory in a relatively short period of time. He shows that people are seeking refuge and peace in coming to Saugeen Territory.

Cottagers such as Dr. Seaborn and Dr. Althouse from London, Ontario had erected cottages on lots plotted by the Simmie Survey (1909) and subsequently approved by the Indian Department. They purchased the land from Henry Simmie and became connected with the people at Chief's Point. The Indians maintained small farms on Chief's Point and the influx of cottagers created economic opportunities and new friends. Indians sold farm produce including fresh milk and delivered it via canoe to the cottagers. In addition, the men were likely hired to help build the summer shacks while the women certainly found employment through cottage cleaning and maintenance. Interestingly to note is a common behavior of the cottage population. Cottagers maintain a "*cottage log*" where day to day events are recorded including weather, visitors, and personal reflections of spiritual connections to the land, water, and year-round inhabitants. One such example is included to provide the wealth of information that these journal entries contain. There is something very powerful about the land at Chief's Point because newcomers gave voice to the land by enshrining its history within these cottage logs. These cottage logs represent an untapped wealth of data for both academic and grassroots researchers including people who seek to know something of their genealogies and those who seek to build on theories and understandings of kinship and land. I have included an excerpt from a cottage log to show that the people had intensely felt connections to the Indian people at Chief's Point; they were seen as belonging to or apart of the spirit of the land. The cottage logs themselves are living documents in that they continue to grow with each entry and each year. They contain the ongoing past. Generations bear witness to their relatives' enlightenment through descriptions of self and place at peace with the land and the Indian people. Connecting with the sunset on the beach reminds all humans of the interconnectedness of land and people and so a certain alliance can develop over

environmental protection (see Saugeen v. Regina, in Schmaltz' *The History of the Southern Ojibwe* (2001).

The spirit of the land enters all people when they take time to reflect on their relation to place and their connection to people who live that connection, those who breathe its lifeforce and those who sing the spirit of the land into being. The cottagers in fact felt a certain ownership and responsibility to the relationships that were created at Chief's Point. They tried to stop injustice both at the individual and government level as it effected the Saugeen Anishinaabeg, but the heavy hand of government control meant threats of a policy shift (environmental depredation through resource development or property loss at the individual level) and leveraging both Settler and Anishinaabeg communities against one another over control of the land. Thousands of letters are held in government archives relating to the illegal land sales of improper land surveys that caused strife for people on the ground as well as for government policy and law. Land changes affected everyone.

Environmental changes do not bode well with land deeds which are cemented in time. As explained, resource extraction namely timber removal affected the Sauble River Water Basin and its ability to hold and to filter impurities from water, but the series of interconnected inland lakes were further affected by cattle and farming runoff (Grey Sauble Conservation Authority, 1986). Around the turn of the century, a major storm struck the peninsula and changed the shoreline and river forever. An immeasurable amount of sand was brought to the shore and caused new land to be created at the mouth of the Sauble River. The river curtailed into lands reserved for the Indians. Non-Indians who owned land on the water's edge felt, and continue to feel, that they own any new land created as the shoreline changes. They do not acknowledge their gain comes at a loss to others. Their argument lies in the already discussed illegal land deeds created at the provincial level that did not take into account federal law. But even more, shoreline property owners reported land loss as the lake levels rose and felt they should reap the rewards when the lake levels recede. The Saugeen Anishinaabeg have maintained a strict

view that Lake Huron and her lakebed were never surrendered, nor any inland lakes or rivers, and so they retain full ownership and control.

In private conversations with Marie Jones the last Indian Agent at Saugeen, who took office when she was just 18 years of age in 1952, recalled this longstanding disagreement between all of the parties having an effect on her work throughout her career. She shared that the people at Chief's Point relied on their own ingenuity to survive; she often acted as middle man in the fur trade by sending the furs caught at Chief's Point to Thunder Bay where they would be auctioned off. During her time as Indian Agent, she knew Robert Thompson and Laurence James, saying they were the last people to live at Chief's Point. She said they were not band members at Saugeen, but the Band Council allowed the men to live out their lives in peace at Chief's Point. We will see in the next chapter that the Indian Agent did not have all the facts and so her understanding of their identity was mistaken. Her insight into the effects of the revisions of the Indian Act in her lifetime has ensured her devotion to the community in her retirement years. She continues to support the people of Saugeen, including me, by helping individuals deal with government interference around the Indian Act as it crashes into the Canada Revenue Agency. Conversing with the Crown Agent at Saugeen and hearing her story, she shared her dedication to the relationships in Saugeen Territory, both to the band as a collective and to the individuals. She shared other events concerning government, land and the people but are outside the focus of this dissertation.

The water quality drastically changed; some areas became swampier bringing mosquitos, presenting health concerning disease vectors and water born illness. A lack of government involvement at the Chief's Point Indian Reserve meant that people did not have access to health care or government relief programs. The people were dependent on the land and water for daily sustenance, shelter, warmth, clothing, medicine, but also dependent on their relationships with the newcomers, particularly during the timbering years and subsequent cottage development. Employment opportunities were not available to status Indians as they would have to enfranchise their status to gain employment of

reserve lands. The people at Chief's Point did not have government recognized band membership and so could not enfranchise what they did not have. Maintaining a strong work ethic and demonstrating sound morals and dedication to business owners meant regular employment for Indian men and employment by Indian women in the homes of settlers and cottagers. The people at Chief's Point depended on the land and their relationships to industry to provide for them as services and treaty annuities were non-existent and unavailable to non-status Indians. They were able to leave the reserve to work without being stripped of their identity or incarcerated.

Unfortunately, practitioners of M'shikiki, a general term for Anishinaabeg medicine, were threatened with incarceration and/or jailed. At Cape Croker, Susan Jones petitioned the Indian Department for \$7.00 in payment of services in treating an ill person. She was instructed to cease and desist treating people and was threatened with jail time if she continued to impersonate a physician (Library and Archives Canada, RG 10, Volume 2970, File 208,238). As well, an Indian from Chief's Point, Doctor Thompson, was incarcerated for selling plant medicine to settlers. His name is retrieved from census documents and Indian Affairs documents, additionally identifying him as Jacob Thompson, an uncle of Robert.

Today, the land at Chief's Point Indian Reserve #28 is devoid of Anishinaabeg. The land now in the hands of non-Anishinaabeg due to the Williams Treaty of 1923. The very last clause in the treaty reads as follows:

“... the proceeds of such sale, lease or other disposition applied for the benefit of such band or bands, provided, however, that in the event of the band or bands to which any such reserve has been allotted becoming extinct, or if for any other reason such reserve or such portion thereof as remains undisposed of is declared by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to be no longer required for the benefit of the said band or bands, the same shall thereafter be administered by and for the benefit of the Province of Ontario, and any balance of the proceeds of the sale or other disposition of any portion thereof then remaining under the

control of the Dominion of Canada shall, so far as the same is not still required to be applied for the benefit of the said band or bands of Indians, be paid to the Province of Ontario, together with accrued unexpended simple interest... ”.

In 1931, The Indian Department noted the Indians were not benefitting from the land and ought to surrender it for revenue purposes (RG 10, Vol. 3106, File 309.460 Pt 2). Beachfront property was appraised at \$5/foot for a long-term lease. This was rewritten to be 100 foot lots at \$15.00 per lot and again re-written as 100 foot lots at \$2500 per year. The Indian Department admitted they knew the Chiefs would not surrender their land willingly but might be convinced to make long-term lease agreements. The Indian Department stated that the Indians would gain additional revenue by selling chairs to the cottagers. Even more, this particular RG 10 file has hundreds of random files that allude to the lack of government control over agents, both from the Indian Department and from municipal, provincial and federal bodies, with fallout felt by the people on the ground. Accusations were made against Indian Agents seeking to personally benefit from convincing the Saugeen and Cape Croker Indians to surrender their lands. Agents report feeling fraudulent at their actions toward the Indian Band Councils on instruction from the Indian Department and municipal councils. These many moving parts all worked together to gain traction for the final clause in the Williams Treaty and will be discussed next.

Once the last status Indian either died or moved to Saugeen, the land was no longer held for the benefit of the Indians and so the Province of Ontario, with the approval of the federal government, surrendered the land along the water's edge for non-native cottagers to enjoy. The rental fees were set at \$25 per year until Chief James Mason of the Saugeen Indian Reserve, a hereditary and elected chief, sued the Ontario and federal government in the 1970s. That court case is well documented in Peter Schmaltz, *The History of the Southern Ojibwe* (1991, 244 - 265) and includes an ethnographic and historical account

of the daily experience of the Saugeen Anishinaabeg through this ordeal. Racial tensions flared as peoples' livelihood felt threatened.

In order to contextualize the loss of land at Chief's Point, there is a bigger picture that we need to consider. Peter Schmaltz breezes over major development and he leaves readers with the impression that the Saugeen people were willing and facilitated the surrender of their land along all of the waterfronts. Unfortunately, that just simply is not the case. At the same time the land disputes around cottage lots in Amabel Township were happening, World War I thrust people from different places into a central arena. Those who could not leave the reserve due to The Pass System finally had a chance to talk to other Indian men in the war. The Pass System was introduced to prevent Indians from leaving the reserves by requiring Indians to secure permission from the Indian Agent to set foot off reserve lands. The war allowed Indians to speak to one another from distant reserves. These conversations led to political re-development of nationhood and a comparison of the current situation between Indigenous communities and outside them as well. My grandmother spoke of the Great Depression, that people did not know there was economic chaos because there was no noticeable change felt in the community. After World War II, soldiers demanded their due in the form of land deeds and the Indian soldiers were no different. Instead of receiving Crown Land as the other soldiers did, the Indian Councils were ordered to provide Indian lands to the returning veterans. In addition to this, the soldiers saw their communities required infrastructure just as other Canadians were developing and so the government used band funds to attend to this development. When the people realized their trust funds were being depleted, the government surrendered the beach front properties across Ontario to attempt to replace the funds in the Trust Accounts held in the interest of the status Indian people.

The resounding theme in this historical production is that the Saugeen people were always reacting to outside pressures and operating under forced legislation that did not hold their interests as paramount. Although pockets of resistance existed, the changing environment including social and natural, prevented their growth and development as a

nation. These small pockets of resistance saw technology as opportunity for the transmission of knowledge outside the current “forces of oppression and cultural genocide” as Murray Sinclair enshrines in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report. The dislodging of the Clan System occurred as a result of scientific observation of genetic disorders within the British monarchy. Genetic-based diseases, like hemophilia, result when the recessive gene occurs on both parental, genetic material. As the church’s function was to educate people, through the Church and then successive marriage laws, people were instructed not to marry within their families as the offspring would be severely impacted. It is still a widely held belief.

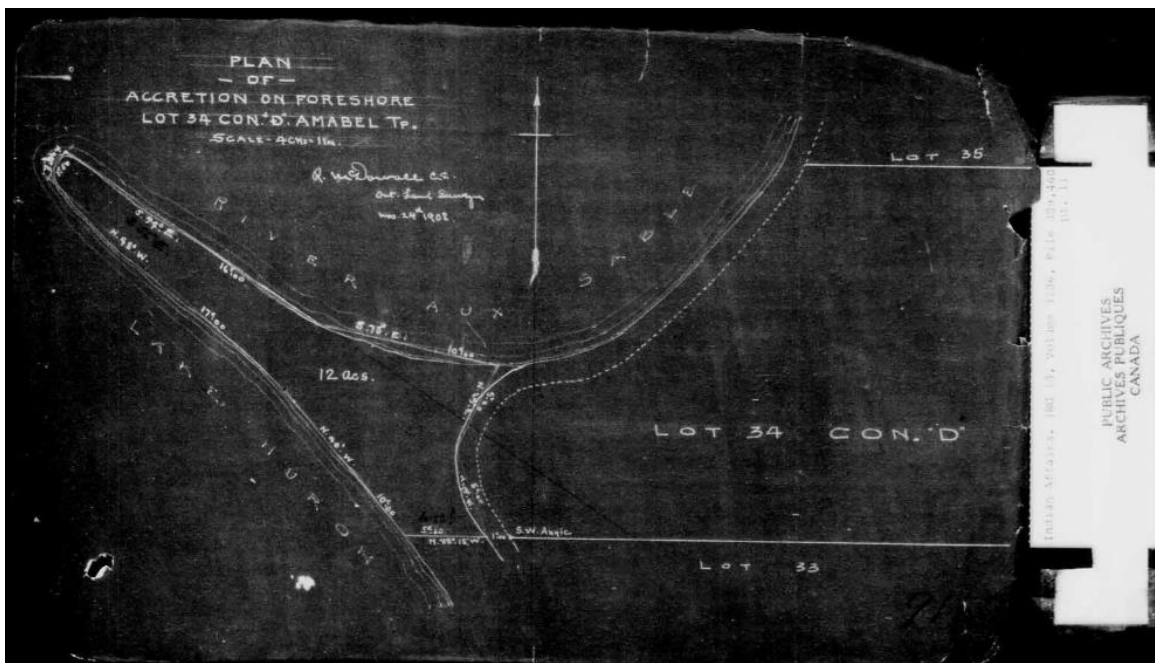


Figure 2.6 Plan of Accretion on Foreshore Lot 34 Con."D" Amabel Tp. 1908. RG 10 Vol. (smudged) File: 100.450(smudged). The “8” in 1908 is distorted. The map shows the 12 miles of “new lands” created at Chief’s Point.

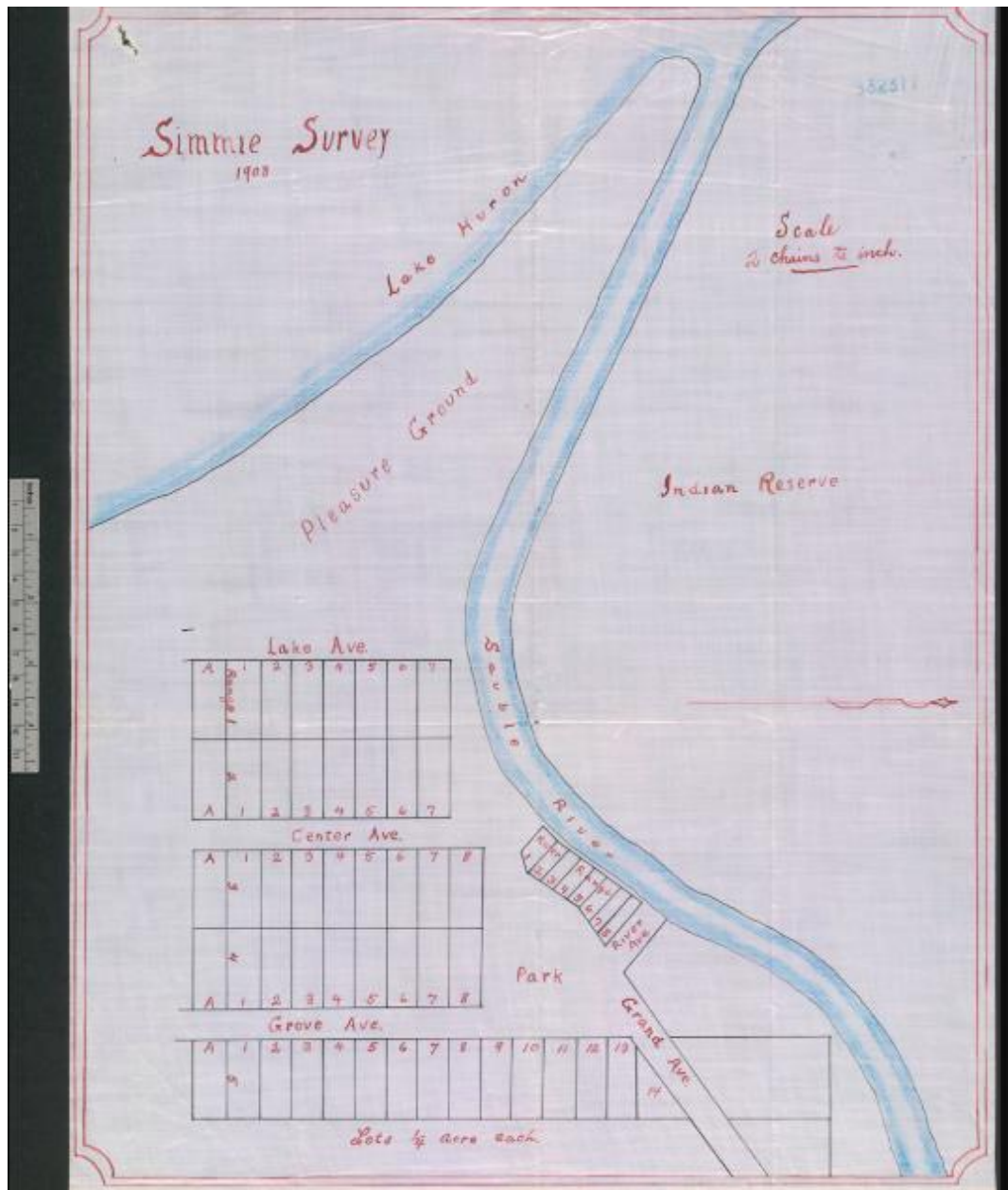


Figure 2.7 The Simmie Survey, 1908. "Plan of lots in Amabel township, Ont. south of Sable River and Chief's Point Indian Reserve. cartographic material." RG 10M, 78903/78 File Number 309460 PT1.

Chapter 3

3 Identity Through Land, Space and Time

This chapter follows an Anishinaabeg family as they move through space and time to continually re-settle Chief's Point Indian Reserve #28 until the government forced all Anishinaabeg out for good. Through their experiences and relationships, how they expressed their identity was an expression of their willingness to maintain a distinctly Anishinaabeg way of life no matter the ultimate consequences. The oral narratives captured by local government agents and sent on to Ottawa will act as our baseline for locating Robert Thompson, Pew-wek-wen-nep, and his family through the development of Canada, particularly 1800-1960. Grey literature produces additional support for their story.

3.1 Sah-ga-che-way-o-say

The grandfather of Robert Thompson was an incredible individual named Sah-ga-che-way-o-say, a veteran of the War of 1812. Rhodes' *Eastern Ojibwa-Chippewa-Ottawa Dictionary* (1993) brings concepts of "throw something outside" (Rhodes, "Zaagjiwebnaad", 378), "someone" (Rhodes, "waya", 356) and "shiny" (Rhodes, "waase", 567) leaving us with his name somewhat encompassing "the essence of illuminating the darkness with his presence". However, Anishinaabemowin first-language speaker and Cultural Teacher, Dan Kimewon, explained to me that the brightest light, or illumination, is coming around a bend, something shiny like silver, but he says that it is difficult to share the mental imagery in the English language. He also said I wasn't pronouncing it properly or I could be easily confused with my imprecise pronunciation. Upon repeated inquiry with Mr. Kimewon on different occasions over several years, he had sometimes said "it is like a light coming around a point of land" and "the light is shiny like money or silver coins". These comments brought into consideration the Silver Trade in Canada, in

terms of verifying the dates of Sahgachewayosay's existence and his family's knowledge and experiences to give that particular reference in naming.

The fullness of meaning becomes miscommunicated in the translation process. Helen Roy's Sound Based Method (2017) offers more insight into this. I produced this interpretation of Sahgachewayosay; He reveals something about his inner state, which we can never fully know, but is visible in actions: unexplainable actions, purposeful physical actions, a revealing that occurs again and again, like two forces acting on a body and forming a movement. The gradations of meaning contained in Anishinaabemowin becomes lost and seems repetitive to non- Anishinaabeg, but it is quite exact. His abilities are contained in his name or contained in his original instructions just as Elders Dan and Mary Lou Smoke instruct us time and again. Original instructions are explained through the Thanksgiving Address routinely shared by Dan Smoke in which he acknowledges all beings that necessitate the continuation of life on earth. Each being, whether it be deer, tree, bug, or wind, all follow the original instructions provided to them by Creation. He reminds human beings to follow their original instructions of living in harmony with all of Creation. Mary Lou instructed that this is much easily understood when contemplating a seed. When planted a seed automatically knows to grow toward the sun. The instructions are contained in its DNA just as human beings have instructions in their DNA. This can represent a way to think about the teaching of original instructions. Names, for the Anishinaabeg, contained valuable information about the individual. Their names changed over time as the person grew into their own being. But they also grew to reflect social changes. The following gives insight into naming practices among the Anishinaabeg and incoming settlers. In particular, the historical spellings of the same word become difficult to manage and numerous. And it gives different meaning with each experience exposing layers of robust meaning in changing contexts.

As expected, the name is spelled differently by different people, including but not limited to Sah-ge-jewawasa and Saugajwasay. It was confused by the government as Sagawsouai, Shawbwossogay, Shawunassoway, Showonoswai and Saugajwusau (RG

10, 1891, Ledger Book: Samuel Thompson). I note when confusion in the record exists because these mistakes fueled the government's ability to dislodge the Anishinaabeg from their traditional lands and territories. It allowed the excuse that the Anishinaabeg were confused about their history and their identity including who they thought their parents, grandparents, and children were. There can be no confusion when lineage is followed from the women's line as that is just plain biology. Confusion around this same name is evident elsewhere but we will discuss that later. As noted in the chapter on the audio recordings, Robert Thompson is heard to an English-speaking ear saying his grandfather's name as "Sug-jii-way'say" (Thompson, 1939).

Sahgachewayosay is first described in the written record as being born and living in Kingsville, County of Essex, near Windsor, Ontario (RG 10, Ledger Book: Samuel Thompson, 1891). His wife, Sahgachewayosay-kwe (Hamp, 2001) was there with him as they married in 1810 (RG 10, Ledger Book: Samuel Thompson, 1891). Oral narratives, captured by government employees at Saugeen, state Sahgachewayosay lived with his friend named Mandawoub before the start of the War of 1812 (ibid). After aligning with Tecumseh, Sahgachewayosay and Mandawoub journeyed to Moraviantown to join British and Indian allied forces. Other Anishinaabeg have been identified through archival documents including Masigeshig, Sawgwobs, Wehwass, Wadwushmund, Mandawoub, Wahbezee, and Mishukwawudong (RG 10, Saugeen Agency, Pay Outs, 1886). After a most vicious battle, of which Sahgachewayosay turned himself and Mandawoub into turtles and then snakes to escape the American soldiers. It is important to note that there are other accounts of Shape Shifting whereby individuals physically change into some type of animal during particular battles of The War of 1812. This suggests that this form of Anishinaabeg medicine was practiced by warriors and may have been more widely practiced than currently accepted (see Manitowabi in Corbiere's journal, "Anishinaabemwin Niizh, 2011" for a different perspective on this practice).

Both men witnessed the subsequent death and indignity of Tecumseh's body fueling their departure from the area. The audio recording specifically states that the men saw

Tecumseh being hacked to pieces (Thompson, 1938, *Story of Tecumseh*) and the Smithsonian Institution has raised this possibility through their own research (Gilbert, 1995, *Smithsonian Magazine*). The American position is that an impressive looking dead Indian, quite possibly Tecumseh, suffered horrific indignities as some Americans cut his skin, tanned it, and used them "for razor strops and leather souvenirs" (ibid). The Anishinaabeg shared fearful stories of brutality and encouraged hatred of the Americans for their people. This fear was used against the Saugeen Anishinaabeg by the British Crown during the 1836 treaty signing at Manitowaning and will be discussed later. Even before 1836, the lands at Saugeen were being demanded by other Indigenous groups who supported the British in the War of 1812. In 1818, John Norton wrote to government officials asking for the land in the Indian Peninsula, including the River Sable and along the shores of Lake Huron to the river on the western branch of the Grand River, likely the Saugeen River (LAC, *War of 1812 Miscellaneous Records*, 556-557). He requested the land for his bands of Indians that were allies of the British in the War of 1812 citing their lands now being in the hands of the Americans. Below is an image of a reproduction of a map from 1815. On this map, you will note the Cape Croker community by name, however, Saugeen does not appear on the map. What does appear is the name Three Hill Point. Three Hill Point refers to Chippewa Hill, Frenchman's Bay, and Scotch Settlement which are all settlement areas within Saugeen First Nation and refer to groups who lived in that area at that time. These names carry into today.

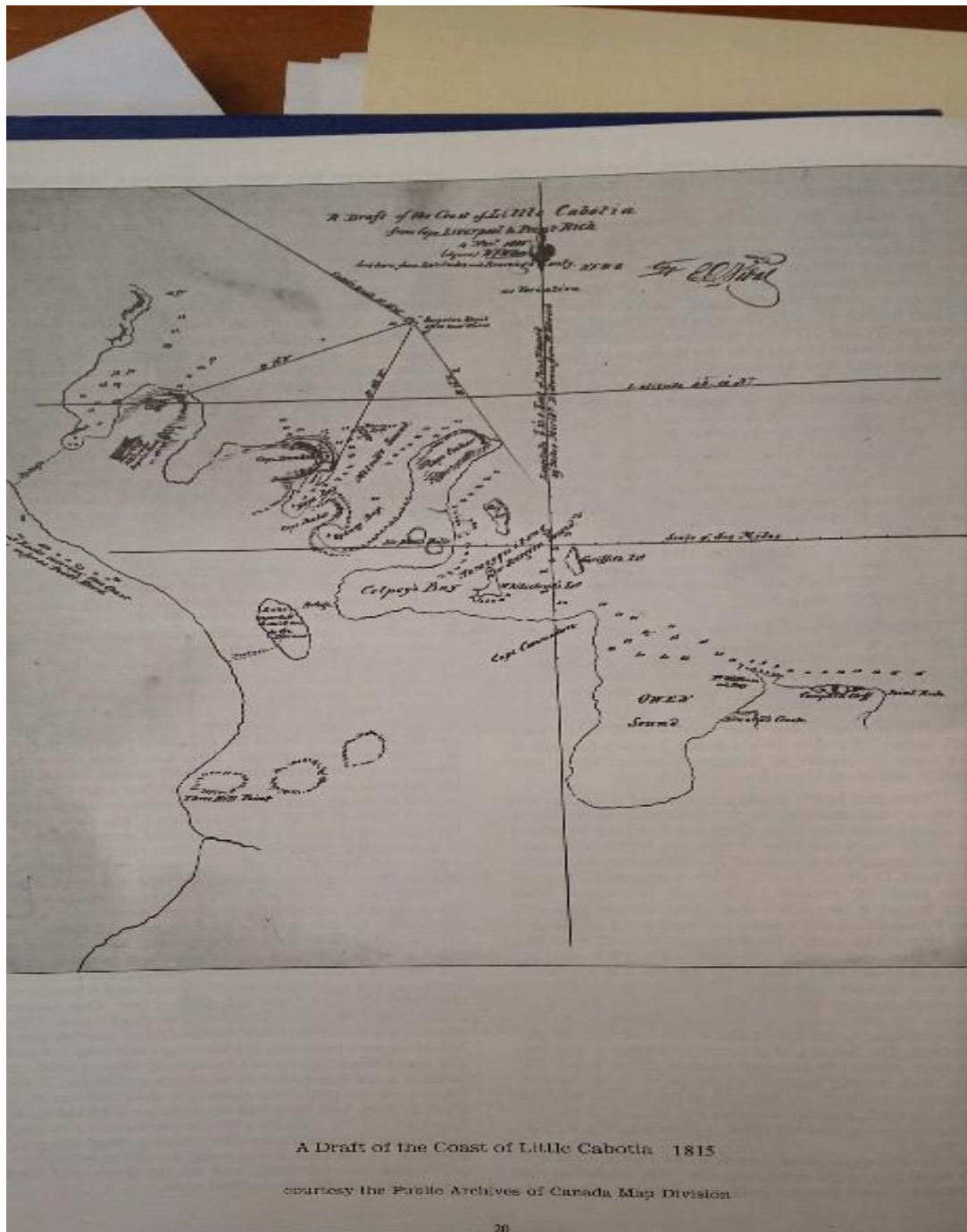


Figure 3.1 A Draft of the Coast of Little Cabotia, 1815. Saugen is named “Three Hill Point” and Chief’s Point is not noted. Image of reproduction found in *In Their Own Words* (Morris Croft, 2001).

Sahgachewayosay then moved to the Fork of The Thames River, near present day London, Ontario, and assumed land at the mouth. His authority to choose land was provided by Chief Sha-oo-gi-mah of the Muncey Caradoc Reserve (LAC, RG 10, Volume 2926, File 190313, Item 12). In 1818, a number of land surrenders took place in southern Ontario that displaced many Anishinaabeg as well as adding pressure to other situated Anishinaabeg communities to protect their shrinking land base. Namely, Lake Simcoe-Nottawasaga Treaty Number 18 with 5 signatories, Ajetance Treaty Number 19 with 5 signatories, and the Rice Lake Treaty Number 29 with 5 signatories, essentially surrendered the entire eastern and southern portions of Ontario. Again in 1822, the Longwoods Treaty Number 25 was signed with 12 representatives of the Anishinaabeg, and it is in this treaty that the name Sagawsouai is noted (Treaty Texts, n.d.). The name is similar to Sahgachewayosay and so is noted. Attempting to trace early Anishinaabeg through the written record is problematic as there was no standardized English spelling of Anishinaabeg names. The 1822 Treaty surrendered the London area forcing the people onto reserved lands. From my overview of these treaties, I envision the process as government agents arranging a gathering of Anishinaabeg where they propose a land deal and offer to reserve a speck of land with all the accoutrements of civilization for the Anishinaabeg. If any agreed, they would move to the reserved lands. If any did not agree, they moved further into Indian Territory, or Canada West.

But they were not the only people repeatedly forced to move from the homes and farms they built. A newspaper article, published in the London Free Press, provides the Little Family narrative (Phillips, 1943). The Little Family were staunch British loyalists who lived in a place called Harsen's Island, across the river from present-day Walpole Island First Nation. After the Treaty of Ghent (1815) stipulated the international border, the Littles found themselves living on the American side of the border. This upset Robert Little, the patriarch of the family. He chose to abandon his land and home in order to move to the British side of the border. He knew that Walpole Island and the Shawanese

Indian Reserve were set aside for Indians who were British supporters, but Robert Little moved to Walpole Island assuming he would be welcome even though he was a white man. In 1839, Walpole Island Indian Reserve came under the administration of an assistant superintendent who ordered the eviction of all whites from Indian Lands and give their homes and farms to the Indians. He chose to move to the Snye, where the family again built a home and farm. This narrative is important to share as it provides insight into the perspective of British loyalists into Indian Territory including Saugeen. White settlement was well under way long before any treaty agreements were made. Instead, Saugeen instituted their own immigration policies as share to me by my grandmother: people were required to speak the language and live by the ethical principles of the Anishinaabeg. Saugeen decided who would live in their territory.

Sahgachewayosay was invited to live with the Saugeen people by Chief Metigwob likely due to the massive movements and migrations of Anishinaabeg who did not agree to the land surrender and did not want to live on reserved lands. I argue that the Saugeen Anishinaabeg felt pressured to add protective forces to their territory and to occupy their lands with Anishinaabeg to deter non-Anishinaabeg from settling too close for comfort. The Kitchener/Waterloo area was illegally sold by Joseph Brant to land speculators in New York who quickly sold the land to Mennonites who then displaced the Anishinaabeg (Good, 1998, 145-165) shrinking Saugeen Territory even further. Important to note, Chief James Mason taught me that the Saugeen Territory had stretched almost all the way to London, Ontario. A map verifying Chief Mason's story is found here (Figure 3).

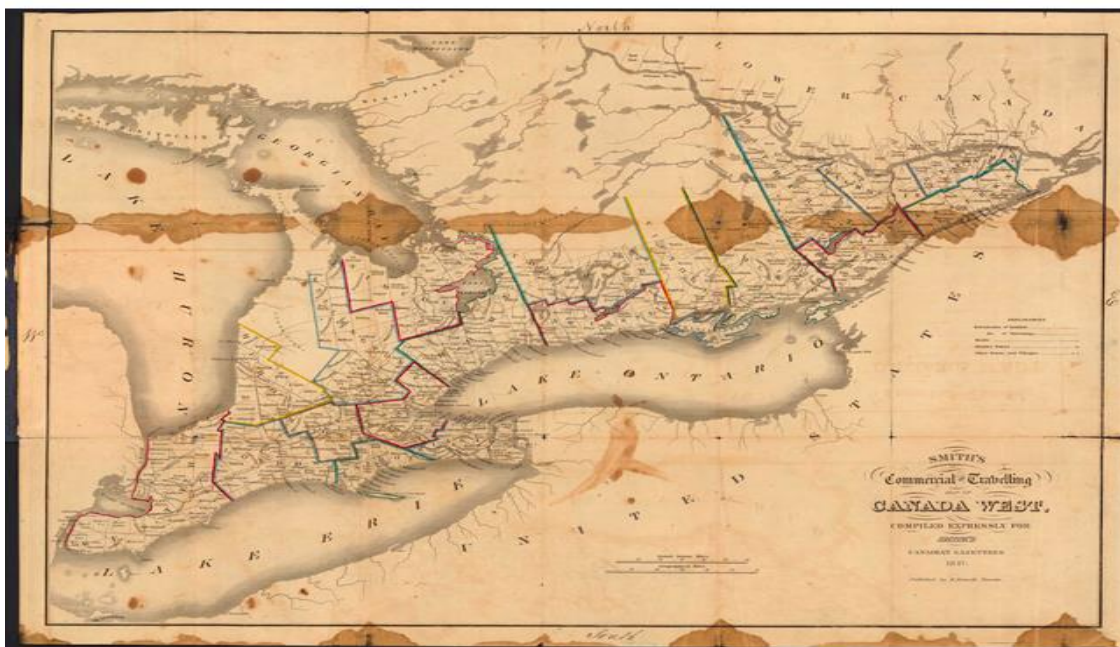


Figure 3.2 Map of Canada West, engraved and published in the Canadian Almanack for 1865 by W.C. Chewett & Co., Toronto. (MIKAN 3724052). This map shows the Saugeen Territory stretching almost to London, Ontario.

It has been well documented that the Pottawatomi who were British supporters moved into Southern Ontario after the War of 1812 and more came after Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act in the United States in 1830 (Schmaltz, 1991, Smith, 2005). As more southerly Indigenous peoples moved north of the border, they brought with them stories of horror and inhumanity. My grandmother's grandmother was Creek from Georgia and she walked the Trail of Tears. She escaped and came to live amongst the Saugeen Anishinaabeg. Her name was Magwiss and my grandmother told me her hands and feet curled up in old age from being forced to walk in the snow without shoes or proper clothing. Anishinaabeg family histories are unfathomably bound to the history of colonization in North America and over vast distances and stretches of time.

Sahgachewayosay arrived in the Saugeen Territory with his wife and chose to live at Chief's Point. It was his right as his authority was provided through Chief Metigwob (Library and Archives Canada, RG 10, Alex McNeil, Vol 2845, File 1753536, RG 10, Saugeen, Vol 2926, File 190313). The records note that a messenger on behalf of Chief Metigwob named Wasageshig invited Sahgachewayosay and Mandiwoub to Saugeen for game and furs (Library and Archives Canada, RG 10, Saugeen, 190313). There was a Hudson's Bay Company Trading Post at "Sanguingue", the French term for the Saugeen area, as well as Metis Traders in the area suggesting that during this time furs were plentiful (Hilborn, 2015, 78-92). The French had had a long relationship with the Anishinaabeg in the Saugeen Peninsula. When early white settlers plowed through the land, particularly in the area around Chief's Point, they celebrated finding arrowheads, axes and kettles with French emblems, and stone pipe heads (Bruce County Museum and Archives, A.2014.003.0546.197). At Chief's Point, people found arrow heads and human skulls in the sandhill on the north side of the Sauble River (ibid, A.2014.003.0546.506). The informant surmised that Chief's Point was the site of a major Indian battle from long ago. In looking to the French term, "san" means blood and the root of the word suggests "to engage". The term can refer to a plant called bloodroot that grows in plenty all over Saugeen Territory. The term also revisits the Iroquois wars in which the Saugeen Anishinaabeg regained control of the territory. As with fishing, the area provided economic opportunities as well as sustenance on the lands that were noted on maps as The Queen's Bush. By naming this area in this way, the British likely hoped this would deter non-Indigenous settlement because the English knew it was illegal to hunt on the Queen's Lands.

3.2 Hunting Towers at Chief's Point

While living at Saugeen Territory, Sahgachewayosay was baptized by George Copway and re-named Thompson Sahgachewayosay (LAC, RG 10, Volume 2926, File 190, Item 12). Sahgachewayosay was required to attend at Windsor to receive his annual war pay.

When General George Ironside heard that Sahgachewayosay was living at Saugeen, he advised Sahgachewayosay to attend at Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island for future payments because it would be closer to Saugeen (ibid). It appears that Sahgachewayosay had some sort of government certificate that ensured his annual pay at specific locations. This certificate promised annual gifts and pay for service in the War of 1812. In addition, land and capital was promised to Sahgachewayosay if he would repair to Manitoulin Island and reside there (LAC, RG 10, Volume 2926, File 190313); in today's terms, Manitoulin was to be a retirement community for the war veterans and their families, clans, and allies.

For the following annual payouts and gift giving, Sahgachewayosay and his family travelled to Manitoulin Island. Captain Anson told him to take possession of land on Manitoulin as inscribed on a certificate from Captain Ironside the year before (LAC, RG 10, Volume 2926, File 190313). Chief Metigwoub pleaded with Sahgachewayosay to return to Saugeen as land there was as good as any on the Island. I infer that Chief Metigwoub heard the speech given to the Indians at Manitoulin and the subsequent surrender terms. This likely caused much angst and worry for Chief Metigwoub as Indians were implored to remove to Manitoulin Island where it would become an Indian State, as promised by the British for support during the War of 1812 but unable to be guaranteed through the Treaty of Ghent. Sahgachewayosay claimed he heard the terms of the Saugeen Surrender (Treaty 45½, 1836) and was required to be at Saugeen when government officials would return with the treaty payments that would solidify the agreement (LAC, RG 10, Volume 2926, File 190313).

Captain Anson advised Sahgachewayosay to turn over his personal documents to the government for safekeeping until lands were officially divided at Saugeen. This he did. He returned to Chief's Point and continued to hunt and trade furs to local fur traders (LAC, RG 10, Volume 2508, File 104910), likely at Southampton. Several Metis families dominated the industry, particularly the Bourassas, the Longes, and the LeBlancs. Patsy McArthur, celebrated Southampton Metis historian, explained that Anna Frousway,

Sahgachewayosay's daughter-in-law, was of the LeBlanc family and provided a compiled census report to me (private conversation). Anishinaabeg and Metis families were bound and rebound through the lineage of the women of the area. The trade, living on and with the land, brought people together and bound their loyalty through space and time. Metis fur trader, Pierre Piche, received wampum strings from the Saugeen Anishinaabeg which enshrined their agreement to share in the responsibility of stewarding Saugeen Territory and to protect each other (Hilborn, 2015,84).

The Thompsons were also connected to Bima Dashka, whose name is romantically recalled as Princess Laughing Water and her husband, Mukwa Solomon, the Medicine Man, who also lived along the shores near the Sauble River. The story of Bima Dashka is known by both the Anishinaabeg at Saugeen and the local cottagers (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, 117, 283-284). She is buried on the shores of Lake Huron near my family's property. Bima Dashka's grave is within the claimed property of a cottager and they are respectful of her remains. They attempt to maintain something similar to a traditional Anishinaabeg practice of grave covering. Originally Bima Dashka's grave covering was a wood fence, made without any metal at all (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, Amabel Township).

Bima Dashka's story is the most romantic story of the Saugeen people. I weave together community oral tradition and support it with archival documents in order to provide additional detail. When Saugeen's messengers were returning from The Crooked Place (Niagara Falls District) in 1764, after the Anishinaabeg ratification of the King's Proclamation of 1763, they camped away from the larger gatherings of people. This is a unique behaviour of the Saugeen Anishinaabeg and the behaviour is also noted at the signing of the 1836 Treaty. In the middle of the night, the messengers awoke to hear a baby crying in the distance. The crying continued for some time and the messengers became quite concerned. They searched for the forest and found a tiny white child, a girl, all alone. The messengers did not know what to do with the tiny, blonde girl and so brought her back to Saugeen for further instruction from leadership. Messengers were

dispatched in all directions to inform of the child's whereabouts and inquire into her family and circumstance. No one came forward to claim the child. Instead, the Saugeen people adopted her in and raised her as one of their own. A settler's narrative suggests Bima Dashka was taken captive at Niagara (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546.482).

Bima Dashka grew into young womanhood. Her white family had returned to the area and came to Saugeen to inquire to their daughter's wellbeing. They expressed wanting her to come to live with them. Chief Metigwob thought long and hard on the matter and told young Bima Dashka to go with her white family for one year. If she did not want to stay with them after that period, she could return to be with the Saugeen people if that was her wish. One year later, the messengers attended to the residence of Bima Dashka's family and found the young woman on her deathbed, dying of a broken heart. She missed the Saugeen people, her true family. Bima Dashka returned to Saugeen at once with the aid of the messengers. She regained her health and married the Chief's son. His name was known as Maqua, the Medicine Man (Mason, 1981, 19). He was also known by the name Chief Solomon (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546.501) and Chief Metta-Wanash (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, Amabel Township). Bima Dashka died at a young age and a settler's narrative proposed she passed around 1800-1810 (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546.422). Her husband was so beside himself that he built an Anishinaabeg grave house that he adapted to show Bima Dashka's unique identity. He buried her next to the beach at Saugeen, to be close to the sound of the waves that she loved so dearly (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546.502). Bima Dashka is revered as the White Queen of the Red Band, as told by Gwen Samells to Roy Fleming (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546.483).

While at Saugeen, Sahgachewayosay and his wife started their family and four sons were born to them, namely Pana-So-Ba (1812, Samuel Thompson), Mah-ge-che-gum (1816, Jacob Thompson), Kah-ge-che-yash (1823, Peter Thompson), and Yah-be-gitchi-guck

(1826, John Thompson) (LAC, RG 10, Volume 2926, File 190, 313, Items 12 and 13).

They also had two daughters, but their names do not appear in this particular record. (As a side note, it appears that the document has been tampered with as if to cut down the list of names from the bottom of the page. The tops of the pen's strokes are visible.)

Providing for such a large family must have been stressful as the number of people in the area increased rapidly and resources in the Saugeen Territory began to dwindle.

Documents report Sahgachewayosay and his family struggled to attain adequate resources to survive. The family reported they could not find food as the animals had disappeared. Along with not having food, other products produced from animals, such as hides for clothing and housing, would have become scarce. Agriculture was problematic as the soil was/is beach sand. In addition, illness would have become rampant.

Sahgachewayosay and his family must have been faced with an alarming situation.

Before annuities could be paid out at Saugeen after the 1836 Surrender,

Sahgachewayosay and his family were on the move. They did meet with Signock, a government employee and son of Assiginack, prominent Anishinaabe leader in the War of 1812 and likely known to Sahgachewayosay. Even though it was disclosed to the family that Signock was en route to pay annuities at Saugeen, Sahgachewayosay informed him to have the Indian Agent hold his pay until he returned from trading his furs. This encounter took place just north of Goderich, Ontario. Sahgachewayosay's name does not appear on the Saugeen Pay List at that time.

Documenting local fur trade history, I looked to Southampton Metis Matriarch, Patsy McArthur's work on the Saguingue Outpost (McArthur, 2002). McArthur wades through Hudson's Bay Company records to bring forth stories of the historic Southampton Metis. She verifies the Thompson family narrative noting the area had been severely depleted, and fur traders had moved westward after their fur trade permits were declined (McArthur, 2002,30). McArthur identifies several individual families who opposed the HBC at Saguingue (south side of the Saugeen River and present-day Southampton, Ontario). She notes a cluster of names related through marriage that informed my search

in Michigan. Those names are Sayers, Obemauunoqua (a woman), Loranger, deLamorandiere, Michell, Laronde, and Josephte Sauteuse Sai-Sai-go-no-kwe. As well, in Goderich, the names Laronde, Piche, Gooding, and Johnston are mentioned as related to the Lamorandiere trading family. It is these names and particularly Sai-Sai-go-no-kwe that I searched Michigan records assuming a possible connection to Sahgachewayosay. Documents from Michigan indicate the change in trading abilities was not the only reason the family attended to the Saginaw, Michigan area. They had done so for many generations at least. Sahgachewayosay's wife, Sahgachewayosay-kwe, likely held high status with the Saginaw Anishinaabeg as the next section will point out.

3.3 Hunting Towers at Michigan

Sahgachewayosay moved his family to Michigan as word was received that ample hunting was available there. Looking to treaty documentation in Michigan, Sahgachewayosay, also spelled "Sagishewayoson" was located in Saginaw, Michigan in 1820 (United States, 1820 Treaty with the Chippewa at Sault Ste. Marie). The treaty surrendered lands around the St. Mary's River for a onetime payment but retained fishing rights for the Chippewa. Chippewa is a term used to denote a specific sub-group of the Anishinaabeg. When I was a little girl, my reserve was known as The Chippewas of Saugeen. The term Chippewa is no longer in use in Canada. The term is still used in the United States. The relationship between treaty agreements and Anishinaabeg in the United States compared with Canada provides interesting observations. I performed a comparison between British Pre-Confederation Treaties where 5 or less signatures were required of the Indians while the United States had 16 signatures of the Chippewa Nation, both occurring around the same time. The 1826 Treaty with the Chippewa and the United States verified earlier treaties with the Chippewa, as well as terminated their rights to minerals without losing land ownership rights, allocated land to half-breeds of Chippewa descent at the Band's request, guaranteed annuities for as long as Congress saw fit to establish a school for young people, recognized the severe poverty under which many

Chippewa were dying and noted that any stipulations could be withdrawn at the government's behest without affecting the land surrender. Over 80 Chippewa signed this treaty in comparison to the few on the British Crown Pre-Confederation Treaties of the same year.

The Chippewa were careful and clear to ensure half-breeds were provided for and were specifically named in the treaty. The children of well-known John Tanner, a White man who published his recollections of being adopted by a Chippewa woman named Nowakwa who was a well-respected fur trader, received land. Country wives Oshaugausacoday wagqua (wife of John Johnson, Esq.), Saugemauqua (wife of fur trader John Baptiste Cadotte), Saganoshequa (wife of John H. Fairbanks) and many others were well compensated in this particular treaty. The Americans instituted a “born-by date” in which those born after the treaty signing were not eligible for land nor annuities. The treaty effective ended the ability to be born into full and legal membership to a Nation.

Sahgachewayosay's name does not appear on the 1836 Treaty with the Ottawa et al. and the United States. This aligns with oral narratives provided by his children and grandchildren that the family was at Chief's Point during this time. Catherine Sim's dissertation around gift giving in 1836 examines the pressures from government faced on both sides of the American/ Canadian border by the Anishinaabeg leading up to treaty making and so will not be explored here (Sims, 1992). Sahgachewayosay's name does not appear on the 1838 Compact of Ottawa at Grand Rapids. Moving forward to the 1855 Treaty with The Chippewa of Saginaw and the United States, there was an addendum to the 1836 Treaty with the Chippewa as the Saginaw Band was allotted land that was absolutely uninhabitable. Actually, the wording of the treaties states they were entitled to land in a specific area that was not already sold. When the Saginaw Chippewa went to choose their lands, they found the whole area to be already inhabited by white settlers. The addendum treaty provided the Saginaw with land allotments in Isabella County, Michigan, instead. Sahgachewayosay's name appears listed under the Saginaw Band and is marked as Chief Saw-saw-che-way-o-say with his clan symbol (Wyckoff, 2016).

Looking to digitized images of the Treaty of 1855 with the Chippewa at Sault Ste. Marie, Sahgachewayosay's mark appears as a V-shaped marking. Unfortunately, I was unable to secure permission to use an image of the actual treaty document. According to research published by local youth working with Elders to document their community's history, "*Our Land and Culture: A 200 Year History of Our Land Use*" (2005), Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians submit "Nissawakwad" as the Anishinaabe name for the Forked Clan (Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians, 2005, 30). This clan was created after the Iroquois Wars to denote captured Seneca Indians who were then adopted into the Chippewa Nation. The forked imagery reminds the people of the coming together of two different Nations of people into one. Helen Roy's Sound Based Method discusses how the concept of two forces acting on one is contained in the construction of the name Sah-ga-che-way-o-say. In this case, both Clan and name align with historical and cultural knowledge and guide ethical behaviour. The cultural continuity embedded in philosophy, epistemology, language and behaviour of the Anishinaabeg is thoroughly intertwined. The Thompson family's history is lengthier than documented history has demonstrated, and their identity secured through traditional group membership attests to their longstanding status within the wider Nation.

Sahgachewayosay and his wife, Sahgachewayosay-kwe, chose lands within Isabella County. The situation was not a pleasant one, although no records of individual complaints could be located by the researcher relating to Sahgachewayosay. According to the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior (1878), the Chippewa were defrauded of their lands and reported that white settlers were creating conditions where the Chippewa were being harassed to no end (United States Government, 1878, 443- 444). The US government separated Indian groups and filled areas with white settlement (Bowes, 2016, 40). Indian reservations were not held communally but the land was partitioned individually. This effectively prevented the Indians from maintaining their relationship with the British by being in close proximity to American settlers, prevented communication between Indian groups, and prevented how they moved through the area (Bowes, 2016, 40). Saginaw Chippewa lots were right next to white settlers and laws

certainly favoured white land owners. For example, if cattle belonging to white settlers happened to wander off their property and onto a Chippewa Indian's lot, and destroyed crops on Saginaw Chippewa lots, there was no recourse for the Chippewa. Indian Agents did not find the Settlers at fault for the loss of crops due to negligent white farmers. If cattle belonging to the Chippewa wandered off their property, the white settlers shot the animal and no recourse was available to the Chippewa (United States Government, 1878, 571). The U.S. government pressured the Chippewa to sell their lands deciding that their unwillingness meant they did not want peace (Bowes, 29, 2016). Ongoing harassment forced the Chippewa to sell their land in Isabella County (United States Government, 1878, 571).

Sahgachewayosay's land was purchased by a woman named Nancy Thompson and suggests she was a relative of Sahgachewayosay although the female children's names were not located in any database. His exact land holding was 015 N, 005 W and his wife, John, Teresa, Mary A, Yah Bay and Kaw Gay Che Osh have all been located on the land allotment registry in Isabella Country relatively close to one another (Hamp, P, 2017, 69, 89, 24). As Sahgachewayosay approached his retirement years, it was likely important for him to return to Chief's Point where his ancestors, the great leaders and healers of the Anishinaabeg Nation, all went to live out their last days. He considered these lands his and his children's, along with his right to join his bones with those of his family and ancestors safely protected by the spirit of the land.

3.4 Return to Chief's Point

In 1881, Sahgachewayosay-kwe was in South Bay, Manitoulin Island to collect annuities from the Crown on behalf of her family. Sahgachewayosay was recorded as deceased and his wife collected for herself and 6 children. By 1886, many of her descendants had returned to Chief's Point, Robert being 10 years old at the time he arrived with his parents and siblings. They joined other family members who had fled Michigan due to

the harassment of the government agents and the settler population and had been at Chief's Point for decades. Chief's Point had been in the family's possession for generations. They referred to Chief's Point and their lands near Saginaw, Michigan as their traditional hunting grounds calling them "hunting towers" in Indian Affairs documents (RG 10, Volume 2810, File 190313). They were also known to attend at the mouth of the French River where certain resources are available at specific times of the year. The unique phrasing, "*Hunting Towers*", has not been noted in any other documentation relating to the Anishinaabeg and demonstrates their longstanding intergenerational relationship of moving around and across the Lake Huron and Georgian Bay region.

When the Indian Agent, John Crowe, came upon the Anishinaabeg at Chief's Point in July of 1896, he was surprised to see people living there. He questioned them as to where they came from to which they replied they had always been there. They turned the tables and asked the Indian Agent where he came from. This likely enflamed the assumed power of the Government Agents who were employed to manage their Indians and their resources including access to those resources. Indian Agent Crowe was not an unreasonable man, but Forest Ranger and Band Secretary Henry Ritchie was conniving and power hungry. His actions against the Thompsons at Chief's Point were relentless and fraudulent as the documented record will demonstrate.

The Indian Department had not put an Indian Agent in charge at Chief's Point and the two agents in Saugeen territory did not assume responsibility for the administration at that community, each assuming the other was doing so. In 1896, the Indian Agent from Saugeen, along with Henry Ritchie, the Forest Ranger, arrested the Thompsons for illegally cutting cordwood. The Indian Agent took measures against the Thompsons, under direction of the Indian Department, to take the cordwood into custody until a decision could be made regarding the identity of the Indians found to be living at Chief's Point and their right to live and be on the land claimed by Sahgachewayosay after the War of 1812. His descendants were molested and maltreated by the government with

Henry Ritchie abusing his position first as Forest Ranger and then later as Saugeen Band Secretary. A photo of the Grand Council of Indians shows Henry Ritchie seated (Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3 Grand Council of Indians (1880s) behind the Saugeen Band Office. Seated 2nd from right is Henry Ritchie. Also note the first evidence of photobombing in Saugeen. Photo courtesy of the Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre in Southampton, Ontario.

Even when the Chief and Council ordered Henry Ritchie, acting Secretary, to issue a full list of all The Thompsons at Chief's Point and to send this at once to the Indian Department to add them to the Saugeen Band List, he deliberately misrepresented the orders of the Chief and Council. The Band Council Resolution and attached listed names only document two of the large family of Thompsons with some names cut from the bottom of the page, then pen marks still showing. This shows that the records have been deliberately tampered with. Additional documents show Ritchie was instructed several times by the Council to fix his errors. He continued to misrepresent the orders of the Council and deliberately kept people off the membership list (RG 10, Vol. 2810, F #164, 293).

Henry Ritchie was employed by the Indian Department in a variety of positions. He could read and write in English and he could speak Anishinaabemowin. The private journal of Chief James Mason, held by his daughter Kathleen Mason-Stark, wrote that Henry Ritchie was likely a half-breed whose Indigenous line was not of the Saugeen Anishinaabeg and Ritchie did not have band membership anywhere. His ability to translate is what made him valuable to the government, but it was also his desire to control the Indian people that ensured his employment over the years. Henry Ritchie did not tell the Indian Agent that Samuel Thompson, the eldest son of Sahgachewayosay wrote to the Indian Department through the interpreter Waldron Elias in 1880 requesting band membership and the settling of unpaid annuities and gifts. Samuel, born in 1812, recounts the family history, from participation in the War of 1812 and the invitation to attend to their lands at Saugeen by Chief Metigwoub with the influx of settlers and squatters, to deriving occupation in the fur trade through connections at Goderich, then following the food supply to Michigan and returning to Chief's Point around 1850 (RG 10, Vol. 2926, File #190,313).

The government responded again in 1896 by inquiring with the Indian Agent at Saugeen requesting the Agent to identify this family. The Agent responded by stating the department ought to check with Cape Croker as Saugeen did not administer to Chief's

Point. The Indian Department inquired at Cape Croker as to the identity of the Thompsons to which the Indian Agent responded they ought to check with Saugeen as Chief's Point was not under his control. The Indian Department was quite furious at this point and demanded that the Agent at Saugeen immediately check each of the Pay Lists for their names. Their names do not appear because they were away selling furs as already stated earlier. The government instructed the matter be addressed by Chief and Council; they were unanimous in their affirmations of the Thompsons identity; indeed they were original members at Saugeen (RG 10, Vol. 2810, F #164,293). The government was not satisfied with this confirmation and pressed the Indian Agent for a proper Band Council Resolution. The band underwent an election and the previous council was uprooted. Schmaltz indicates much turmoil with band politics as more and more Potawatomi and others moved into Saugeen territory thereby usurping the original members. It was a simple matter of numbers. By the time a new council addressed the government's concern, the newcomer leadership did not know who the original families were and sought to disenfranchise the Thompsons (RG 10, Vol. 2810, F #164, 293). The issue went back and forth for decades when the government decided to take a closer look at their own documents.

Indian Affairs, through misunderstandings of the Anishinaabeg language, in addition to their own sound-based spelling, could not distinguish between individuals. They confused Sahgachewayosay with Sagassoway and ordered the Thompsons to attend at Birch Island where their grandfather was supposed to be (RG 10, Vol. 2845, F #173, 536). The family argued with the Indian Department that they had not signed a treaty at Manitoulin that their grandfather received annuity and promises of land forever in their name at Chief's Point. The Indian Agent sought to remedy the situation between the government, the Band Council, and the community by visiting the oldest people in the village (RG 10, Vol. 2845, F #173,536). The Elders confirmed indeed the Thompsons were original band members and it is noted in the letter from the Indian Agent that they were more deserving of any Indians referring to the newcomers to Saugeen. The government refused to hear the Indian Agent's petition and told him to take it to a

community referendum. The government reminded the Indian Agent that he was to carry out the requests of the Indian Department and not attend to community input other than at Band Council meetings. The community, mostly newcomers according to Schmaltz (1991), who were welcome to sit in at all meetings regardless of the issue on the table, voted to disallow membership to the Thompsons (RG 10, Vol. 2819, F #164,293). The council stood by this vote additionally noting the Thompsons were clever and intelligent; they felt threatened they would lose their seats on Council (RG 10, Vol. 2926, F #190, 313). My research uncovers the Indian Department's mistake and shows that Sagassoway was receiving payouts at Whitefish Bay (Whitefish River) when Sahgachewayosay was in Michigan. In fact, I surmise from the Thompson's behavior that if a family did not agree with a treaty, they moved out of the area into Indian Lands. By removing the Canadian-United States binary of history, it appears many Anishinaabeg were chased around Lake Huron until only reserves and reservations existed. This left families, like the Thompsons, homeless in their own homelands.

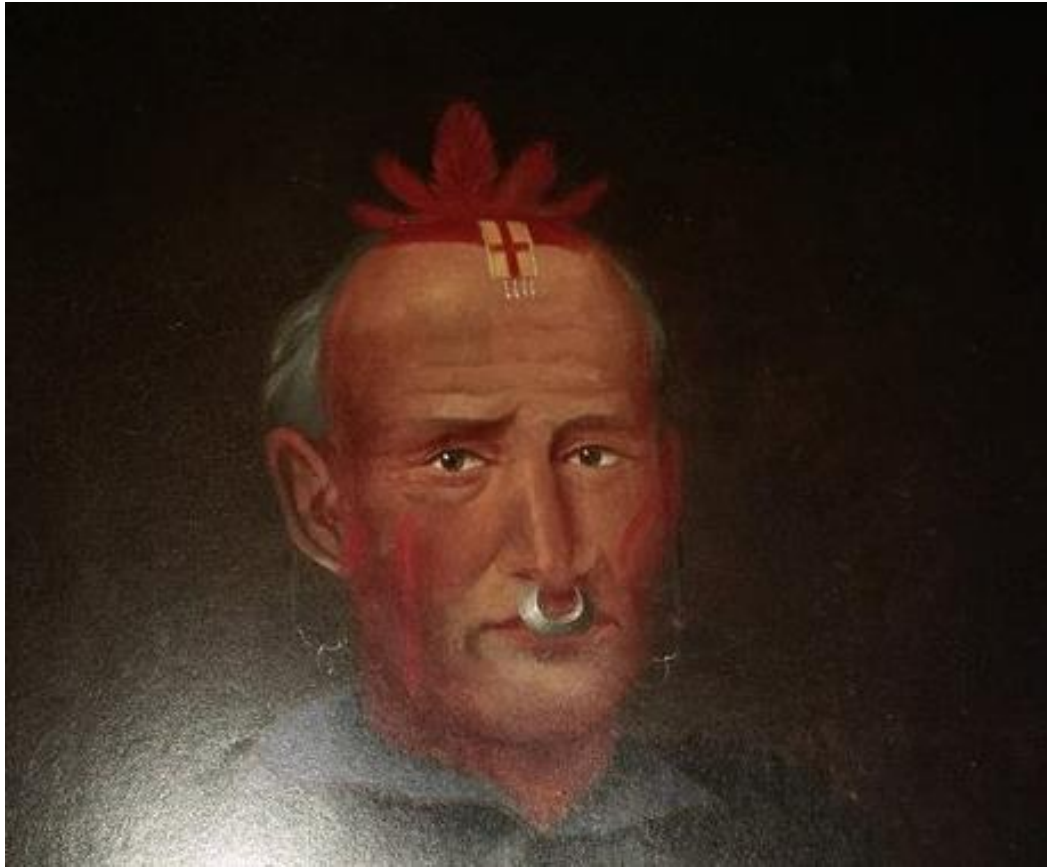


Figure 3.4 This oil painting on canvas is part of the Paul Kane Collection at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM). The image was thought to be of Shawunaussoway until a recent project with Anishinaabeg historians discovered the error in documentation. This portrait could be Sahgachewayosay, whose identity was confused with the former as well. Photo and story courtesy of Saugeen Genealogist and Band Member, Biidaaban Nataalka Pucan, in the summer of 2017.

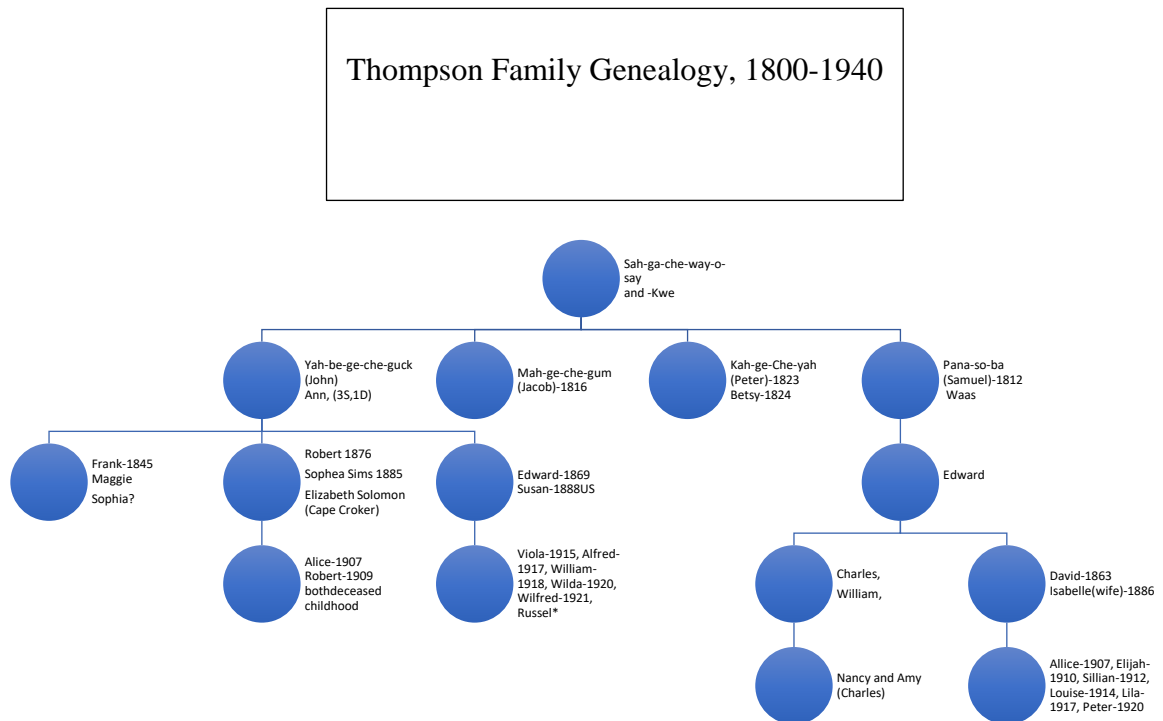


Figure 3.5 Image of Genealogy of The Thompson's. Note the transition in naming practices through time. Robert's Anishinaabeg name is not included in this chart strictly because the program is at its maximum for data load. As well, the genealogy is entering the 99-Year Privacy Law parameter. Alfred Thompson was Chief at Saugeen in the mid-1900s.

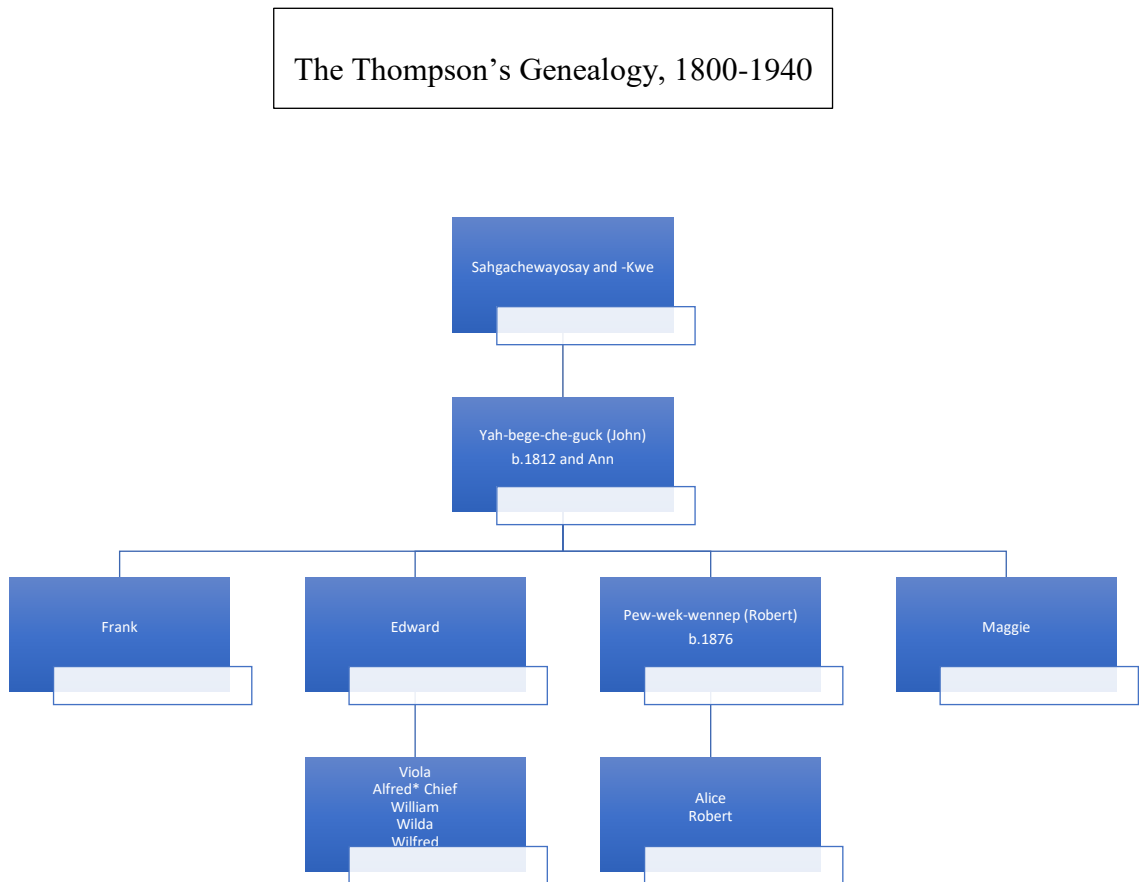


Figure 3.6 A simplified version of Robert Thompson's genealogy.

Chapter 4

“Suppose that the world and all the creatures upon it were to be re-created and suppose that God engaged as consultants in this great project engineers, architects and designers, all mathematicians. What would have been the result? What kind of world?

*We have but to draw attention to humankind’s inventions, manufactures, and designs to imagine what kind of world and beings upon it (emphasis added) that engineers and architects would re-create to correspond to their notions of perfection.” -Basil Johnston, *Think Indian, 2001, 21.**

4 Recording the Voices of Chief's Point

In the above quote, Basil Johnston is being facetious because he is providing examples of why seeing the world through one world construction is inappropriate to engage with the world or any culture of people. Blending of ideologies is possible through technology for it is a language in which all cultures and people can communicate information to others. This coming together or blending was attempted by two men who participated in the world in very different ways yet were so similar in the goals they set for themselves. That goal was to help their fellow man in whatever way that did the least harm focusing on balancing the outcome for all. The coming together of Robert Thompson and Edwin Seaborn happened as a result of the two being on the land at Chief’s Point together. Both were drawn into solidarity with this place by the water and its abundance of health and wellness that it provided.

The Sauble River, its colonial history erroneously archived within files noted as the River aux Sauble or the Sable River or the River aux Sable, the subtle naming variations mistaken by some government officials and in treaty documents, drains the land into Lake Huron at Chief’s Point. There is another River Aux Sable south of the contemporary Saugeen Territory that was an Anishinaabeg community as well. The ability to differentiate between these two communities, rests with knowing which families belong to which area of Anishinaabeg Aki (land). There are no books to teach a person which

family belongs where at which time in Anishinaabeg Territory. This knowledge comes from spending a lifetime in the presence of their people, their communities and their wider Nation. Interactions, relationships, kinship, ceremonial, resource specific, and culturally rich experiences repeated over lifetimes and generations produce a mind map that quickly categorizes lengthy histories associated with areas in the territory.

Knowing which families are present at which communities and at which time periods allows Anishinaabeg to quickly identify relationality to other Anishinaabeg outside their respective communities. The intermarriage between families and communities mingles how one relates to identity, history, and land. This means that although individual Anishinaabeg have never met personally, the identification of family last name (instead of clan due to colonial impacts), Anishinaabeg will locate the individual within their constructed kinship mind map. A vastly extended network of relationships, both human and non-human, is produced and reproduced with each experience of meeting someone new. The network is organic within each individual, each family and for communities as more and more information is added over time through the sharing of story and lifeways. In this section, we listen to the voices produced by relationships grown out of the land and water to provide essential insight into the identity of the Anishinaabeg at Chief's Point. Technology is giving this opportunity to hear the land speak through Robert, Eliza, and Edwin.

Wax Cylinders were invented by Alexander Graham Bell in the late 1800s and were much more flexible in usage than tin foil cylinders developed earlier by Edison. The wax cylinders were used extensively by the military in WWI to record interrogations in the field. Seaborn was a veteran of both world wars and he likely learned all about the technology while on duty. However, much of what these songs can offer people is to reveal something of their cultural significance. A total of 8 wax cylinders and 7 aluminium discs were located at Museum London (Figure 4.1). Unfortunately, the only descriptive information regarding these devices were physical descriptions of the objects for title, example, length, width, colour. No information was available as to the audio

content, specifically, the intellectual property of the historic Anishinaabeg, contained in the physical object. Unfortunately, it is not protected under law until it is written down, at which point, it is attributed the scribe. Due to the fragility of the wax cylinders, created at the University of Western Ontario (Seaborn, 1944, 9; London Free Press, 1938), playing the devices on a Dictaphone would certainly damage them. In fact, each time the wax cylinders are played, the needle damages the grooves while reading the sound resulting in poorer quality of sound with each pass of the needle. Other factors threaten the quality of the sound as there was no standardization at the time leaving one to guess at the speed of the revolutions. Seaborn admits to having difficulty transcribing the recordings as the sound quality was poor; even with help from colleagues there were concerns (1944, 9). However, looking to Densmore's research, she found that audio sound of wax cylinders was improved when converting to turntable records.



Figure 4.1 The Seaborn Audio Collection housed at Museum London, London Ontario. Photo courtesy of Bimadoshka Pucan in 2013.

Anthropologist Frances Densmore, who published widely on her research on the Chippewa south of the border (Densmore, 1929) is noted at being the first person to coin the term “Pan-Indian” (Densmore, 1926, 96, 114). Not only was she an academic but she also gave expert testimony to the United States government regarding the colonial concept of the Pan-Indian. The government attempted to convince itself that there were no separate or distinct Indian tribes and that they were all of one group. The concept was used to dislodge Indian claims of territorial ownership and duties to honour treaty

agreements and human rights. The single group approach allows for sweeping administration of Indian lands and peoples. Part of her government funded research allowed Densmore to create wax cylinder recordings in the field with the Turtle Mountain Chippewa, their reservation located in North Dakota, as well as many other Indian people across the United States. Her work with the Chippewa resulted in the recording of 350 Chippewa songs in the early 1900s. Because of the lack of documentation around the Seaborn-Thompson wax cylinders, an examination of Densmore's practices in combination with the examination of the collection of audio recordings contained on the wax cylinders and aluminium discs show there are more recordings on the aluminium discs than on the wax cylinders. We can then infer that many more wax cylinders likely existed but were lost over time either through destruction, misplacement, or simply cast off. Densmore's practices involved first creating the wax cylinders with a small Dictaphone within the communities she visited. She returned to the university to transfer the recordings to a master recording, an aluminium disc. The technology was easy to take out into the field and could be reused and rerecorded on if necessary. According to Densmore's report to the United States government regarding the Chippewa Indians of the United States, she selected and analyzed 35 of 350 Chippewa Indian recordings. Her analysis was based on equating Western notions of music structure to her analysis of meaning as she transcribed and translated the songs. She noted tempo, rhythm, and octaves as most relevant to her work.

It must be noted that the use of this recording equipment resulted in much random noise along with the intended sounds. The noise from the machine and the noises in the room are picked up by the instrumentation. As well, others were present in the room. When the wax cylinders are transferred to the aluminium disc the noise in the room and the noise the machine makes are picked up again by the recording device in addition to the noise already on the original recording. Eighty years later, the digitization process again picks up noise as it transfers the signal. When comparing the digitized version with one made using the hand cranked Dictaphone, the digital files sounded much clearer. Although clearer, the lack of standardization in speed of playback as well as the recording speed

affect the quality of sound. Some play very slow and others play quite quickly which then distorts the sound of the recording. Hand playing a wax cylinder or aluminium disc results in the stylus continually scratching into the grooves to read the sound. This damages the antique recordings with every pass of the needle.

Wax cylinders are made of wax, and natural material tends to grow mold that gouges at sections of the recordings. A needle running over damaged areas will cause further damage both to the cylinders and to the stylus. With hand cranking the playback, “skipping” in which the recording playback is stuck in a loop occurs and speed changes with bouncing out of the damaged grooves introduces additional noise. I repeat this here because this compounding noise as well as playing at the wrong speed can sometimes made people very uneasy today. Because sacred songs are not to be recorded, a certain taboo or superstition is believed in by many Anishinaabeg today and the noise contained on the recordings may heighten this belief for some. This belief can be understood by mainstream Canadians in the same way that urban legends dictate playing a Motley Crue record backwards will share messages from Satan. But then again, they are not the same at all. It is difficult and problematic to make analogies between cultural groups.

The fact is that the Anishinaabeg understand that those described as people having access to the holy spirit, by Lassiter’s friends when studying Kiowa, have a very intimate and powerful gift that enables one to be considered a medicine person (Lassiter, 1998, 33-34). Respect for the power contained in the medicine person, the practices, and the medicine predict an individual’s response to their own willingness to engage with traditional medicine. Relaxing the words we use to talk about traditional ways of being will encourage Anishinaabeg to engage with aspects of their culture that build and strengthen resilience. The degree of historical understandings of the development of traditional practices predicts the response to the recordings. Some will feel that the wax cylinders and discs are medicine songs meant to be protected from non-Anishinaabeg and sheltered from misuse or nonchalance. Some will feel the opposite, and the spectrum of responses is related to the breadth of historical knowledge.

From listening to the entire collection, not all of the recordings relate to specific medicine practices: some are funny, some are reports of historical events, one records Dr. Seaborn testing the technology and complaining about the hired staff, and some where Robert Thompson all of sudden cannot recall a particular song, or where he refuses to translate to English stating he does not know what a particular song means. At times we hear hysterical laughter although the humour in the story is only funny for Anishinaabeg language speakers; the humour is lost in translation to English. The collection demonstrates a spectrum of various aspects of Anishinaabeg culture that continue to be practiced by the people of Saugeen.

4.1 Robert Thompson

Pe-wak-a-nep means "he runs around, in a certain direction, from something particular" (Rhodes, 1993), or perhaps more philosophically, it is "the essence of repeatedly coming back" as teased out by a Saugeen community member. He was also known by another name. Robert Thompson was born in Ontario, Canada in 1876 (Library and Archives Canada, Canada Census: 1921, 1911, 1901). He arrived at Chief's Point around 1886 with his family (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, 492) namely his father, John, mother, Ann, two older brothers, Frank and Edward, and one younger sister, Maggie (Library and Archives Canada, Canada Census: 1901) likely through Manitoulin Island. It appears they either travelled with or rejoined other family members already known to attend at Chief's Point Indian Reserve #28, Saugeen Territory. His family held historical ties to the land and waterways and frequented various family hunting towers throughout Anishinaabeg Aki (*land*). In fact, stories of Pewakanep Robert Thompson's grandfather's participation in the War of 1812 remain celebrated narratives at both Saugeen and Neyashiingaaming. Many Anishinaabeg families and kinship lineages continue to retell of their Ancestors participation as allies with Tecumseh (Schmaltz, 1991, 9; Morris Cross, 2001, 217). Although both communities claim the story as their own, archival documentation (Bruce County Museum and

Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, 492) and private conversations with the last Indian Agent at Saugeen, Marie Jones, indicate that neither group claimed Pewakanep as a band member.

The photo of Robert Thompson (Figure 4.2) shows him holding a special type of drum called “mahdwauhkoquon” (Jones, 1861, 134). Densmore describes this same drum as a “mitig’ wakik” and adds that water is an important addition to Jones description (Densmore, 1929, 95-96). These drums are ceremonial drums that are made from the trunk of a hollow tree or from a tree stump that is burned and scraped out. It is approximately two feet long and has deer hide on one end and a board cover on the bottom. There are seven stones and seven sticks tied around Robert’s drum. Today, some people refer to this as a Little Boy Drum. The name of the drum that is used in social dancing is called a “tawaegun” (Jones, 1861, 134). The drum stick is considered to be more valuable than the drum (Densmore, 1929, 96). Robert is also wearing a headdress with wild turkey feathers and blue jay feathers. For the Anishinaabeg, wild turkey feathers were used to demark social status before the spread of the use of eagle feathers. I am aware that the use of blue jay feathers suggests that Robert was a recognized and respected Orator and Storyteller of his people. His headdress flaunts a style of beadwork referred to as raised beadwork and is a hallmark of Haudenosaunee [Iroquois] culture. The raised beadwork aligns with the Nissawakwaton [Forked] Clan origin story (Little Traverse Bay Band of Indians, 2005, 14).



Figure 4.2 Robert Thompson playing his drum. Courtesy London Free Press (1939).

Robert and his extended family entered into over 60 years of litigation with the Department of Indian Affairs over recognition of Indian Status and Aboriginal Title (RG 10, Vol. 2926, F #190,313; RG 10 Vol. 2810, F #164, 293; RG 10, Vol. 2845, F #173,536; RG 10, Vol. 2508, F #104, 910, RG 10, Vol. 3106, F #309.460 Pt.2). In fact, Saugeen Band Council, their staff, and the Indian Department adamantly sought to disallow his family's claims to membership for reasons not related to his ability to demonstrate their membership and affiliation to the community documented earlier. It was a convergence of influences on decision making at the community level and heavily dependent on the outcomes of the Indian Act that led to his non-registration. Robert Thompson did live out his life at Chief's Point Reserve #28, but he was never made a member of the Saugeen Band (Jones, private conversation, 2017). He was considered a non-treaty Indian as the Department of Indian Affairs failed to understand the many treaties that actually involve all Canadians and not just the Treaty Indian (Asch, 2014). The Indian Department misunderstood their own documents due to the same issues that haunt historical research today, in terms of identifying individual Indigenous people in the documented record and maintaining adherence to and understanding of treaty agreements over time. At the time, poor documentation practices or, to be overly generous, the evolving practice of Euro-styled record keeping by colonial departments has caused much suffering to both Indigenous and Settler peoples in trying to navigate a successful merger of cultures. Interestingly, reliance on these same documents begins our understanding of Robert Thompson's life and his understanding of his culture and his identity.

Robert married Sophea Sims when he was approximately 30 years old and had two children, a daughter Maggie and a son Robert Jr (Library and Archives Canada, Census of Canada, 1911). Sadly, his young wife and son died, possibly due to a Spanish Flu outbreak in the late 1910s (Goldenburg, 2018; Library and Archives Canada, Census of Canada, 1921). A few years later, his daughter passed away leaving Robert all alone at

Chief's Point (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, 492). The despair he must have experienced during those sad years must have been very dark and painful. Although the graves of his family could not be located in public records, I suspect that they were buried at Chief's Point. Although many Indian cemeteries exist in Saugeen Territory, some are known, and others only certain families know of. It must have been lonely on Chief's Point, as his other relatives had either moved out of the area or had been accepted into membership at Saugeen Reserve #29. The Pass System, an Indian Act policy where people needed written permission to leave the boundaries of the reserve, likely prevented any regular Anishinaabeg visitors. Robert maintained his resolve to continue to strive for Mino Bimatiziiwin and not succumb to depression or debilitating addiction as so many others did and still do in response to overwhelming and intense loss of love.

Eventually, Robert remarried to a woman from Neyashiingaaming, Cape Croker Indian Reserve, and brought her and her father to live with him at Chief's Point. At that time, Robert was the only resident at Chief's Point. Various news articles (Figure 4.4) present "Chief Pewakanep" Robert Thompson as an Indian of the finest sort, who played a fiddle at the local community dances, sang Anishinaabeg songs accompanied by his drum and shared stories with non-native locals and cottagers (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, 492). Robert held local records for timber hauling, one of his professions (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A214.003.0546, 50). In fact, a character reference from a local timber company raved about the work ethic of the Thompsons at Chief's Point stating, "... they are of the most industrious type" (LAC, RG 10, Volume 2810, file 164, 293). Robert is found throughout the newspapers of the time sharing his knowledge of land, the people who lived there and their history (Figure 8). He talked of treaties such as the Gunshot Treaty and Williams Treaty. He told stories of Bima Dashka when the sight of her grandchildren with their blonde hair sparked concerns in the journalist (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546, 478). Robert told of his family weaving baskets and selling them on the side of the road (Figure 4.3).

This lovely coincidence must be shared here. The last Indian Agent at Saugeen reported to me through a private conversation that I had a personal connection to Robert Thompson, “well sort of” according to Marie Jones. She said that my uncle, who was my first teacher around M’shikiki [*Anishinaabeg Medicine*] and ceremony, had lived with Robert Thompson for some time. This was well before he married my auntie. My uncle passed away several years ago, and before I started off to post-secondary studies. I wish I could have asked him about Robert. How wonderful that the lessons I learned may have come from Robert Thompson himself, including the stories I learned from my grandfather and grandmother.



Figure 4.3 “Professor Crow’s Camp” (Bruce Peninsula, 1880s) shows two men and their horse and dog selling black ash baskets on the side of the road. The shelter behind them is described by the Indian Agent Library and Archives Canada documents found in RG 10, Volume 2810, File 164, 293. Robert discusses his family selling woven baskets on the side of the road. Reprinted with permission from Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre.

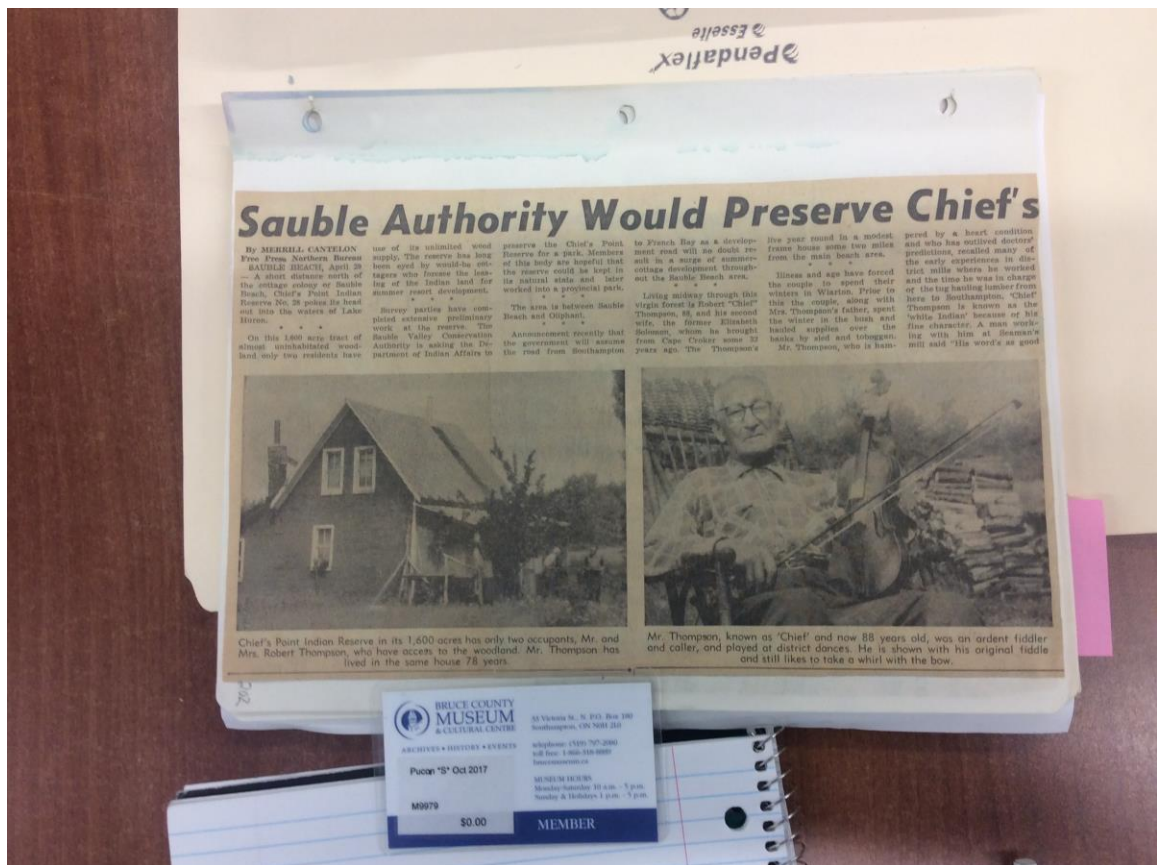


Figure 4.4 An image captured by Bimadoshka Pucan of a newspaper clipping of Robert Thompson, his fiddle and his home at Chief's Point. Item 202 in the Krug Family Fonds and housed at the Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre.

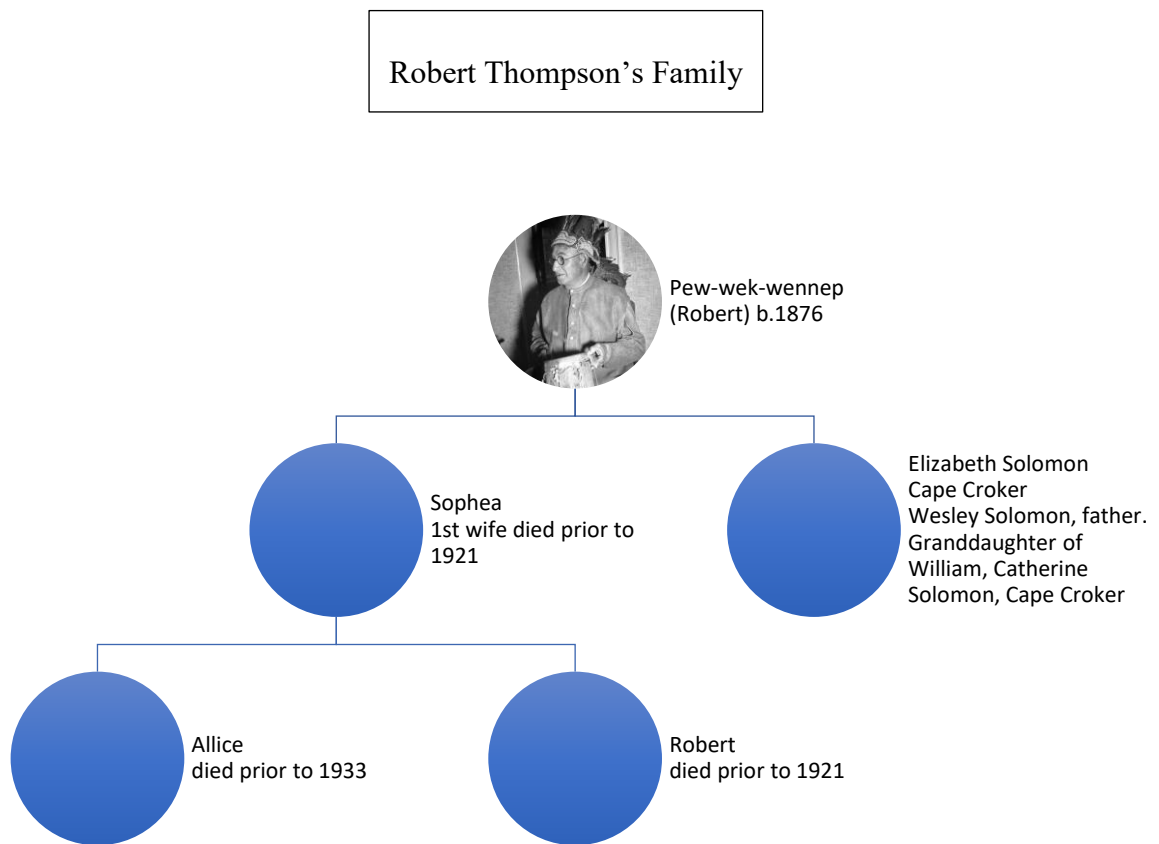


Figure 4.5 Robert Thompson's Genealogy.

4.2 Dr. Edwin Seaborn

Dr. Edwin Seaborn authored the book entitled, “*The March of Medicine in Western Ontario*” in 1944. Reflecting on the writing as a whole, Seaborn initially sets the stage by attempting to elevate Indian Medicine by quoting historical interactions that indicate successful treatments. Just like all others who write about Indian Medicine, they all begin with Cartier, scurvy, and the cure. However when Seaborn quotes Robert Thompson's story, it portrays the Indian as ignorant, uneducated, and superstitious. He comes across as childish which frustrated me considering the strong start. As well further in the book, Seaborn discusses the War of 1812 and is unable to connect Robert Thompson's information to Tecumseh's involvement from an English (British) perspective.

The RG 10 documents uncovered in relation to Dr. Seaborn and Robert Thompson (Figure 4.6) point to a common frenemy that likely contributed to solidifying an alliance between the recording creators (RG 10, Volume 3106, File 309,460, Plan and Pt 1). To begin to understand their relationship, a short history of Chief's Point is required. It is short as there are limited documents related to Chief's Point Indian Reserve. However, the problems considered to be related to land sales within the township of Amabel were kept by Indian Affairs. According to two files that include over 500 documents, Dr. Edwin Seaborn and several others had purchased lots of land from a man named Henry Simmie. Remember his name as he will come up again. The lots were located along the southern shore of the Sauble River at Lake Huron above the “Pleasure Grounds”, newly created land that rose from the lakebed after a storm and thrust government jurisdictional issues to the forefront as shown on the included maps. When Amabel Township realized the value of the land located along the shores of Lake Huron in terms of its popularity as a recreational area for city folks, the township sought to build roads that would facilitate further access to prime real estate. Up until this point, people arrived via the water, not

the land. Water travel as the main form of transportation is a very foreign concept for many Canadians today so our ability to comprehend the associated behaviors and activities necessary to facilitate survival through innovation is lost on minds with no reference knowledge.



Figure 4.6 Robert Thompson and Dr. Edwin Seaborn after completing a recording session. Image captured by Bimadoshka Pucan of panel produced for “*Voices of Chief’s Point*” exhibit. Original image from London Free Press, 1939).

How did the land shape relationships in Chief's Point? Taking the eagle's eye approach to re-conceptualizing our understandings of the past, the effects of rapid colonial expansion on the land and water were brutal. An overview of the general history of the peninsula portrays the land being raked of all of its resources such as the fur bearing animals which began to collapse in the late 1820s. The loss of economic base, food systems, and clothing needed for the tough winters, was likely an influencing factor for the Saugeen Anishinaabeg in the subsequent land surrender of 1836. The people again looked to Lake Huron and the river system produced a flourishing of fresh water bounty and the Saugeen Anishinaabeg referred to the many islands along the peninsula as Ghetto Islands, meaning *bountiful harvest* (Baraga, 1992, 127). The Fishing Islands and Main Station are also names used to refer to these islands.

The timber industry took over the area next, using rivers, such as the Sauble River, for transportation. Robert Thompson was known to drive a barge for a timber company and deliver logs to Southampton where furniture factories flourished for decades. The train station added to the improved transportation to urban centers and larger markets. Clearcutting of the peninsula removed the ability for the land to hold adequate water and the whole peninsula burned down not once but twice (Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, A2014.003.0546.506). The timber take was not the only reason for the manmade disasters. Local colonial governments sold inland lakes to corporations who drained them and removed the lake bottom to create the early concrete industry. Once the lakes had been scraped, they were abandoned and left for local people to contend with. The Saugeen Anishinaabeg were never consulted regarding these corporate endeavors. Businesses were owned by the local politicians and so they used their positions of power to line their own pockets.

As the land and water changed, so did the ability for the Anishinaabeg to enjoy their way of life. Rapid changes produce different activities and relationships. As industry changed, so did the livelihood of the Anishinaabeg. The associated knowledge, stories, and ceremonies began to slip in the past. The close connection that people maintained through

their activities with the land and water diverged as they moved into the age of industrialism and associated tourism for family getaways. Language that accompanied traditional activities fell out of use. And more and more families left Chief's Point, some headed to Saugeen Indian Reserve and some into urban areas and other communities.

Amabel Township attempted to build roads into the area but Dr. Seaborn's cottage, and others, were sitting on the road allowance. Amabel Township instructed the cottagers to remove their buildings and to secure themselves a surveyed lot. Dr. Seaborn and others petitioned the federal government to get involved as they purchased the land from Simmie. When Simmie had informed the government that he intended to sell lots of his land along the Sauble River. Indian Affairs requested a land survey with proposed lots as they had previously sold this large area of land to a timber company who sold it to Simmie. Simmie produced *The Simmie Survey* in 1908. Indian Affairs accepted this survey and allowed the land to be sold in individual lots. Dr. Seaborn purchased one of them. Seaman and Simmie both attempted to secure a living by re-developing the land without securing proper ownership and leaving environmental, political-legal, and social destruction in their wake (RG 10, Vol 3106, F #309.460 Pt 2). Seaborn and his legal representation, along with many other interested parties filed many complaints regarding the unscrupulous behavior of government officials and local land owners (RG 10, Volume 3206, File 309,460 Pt 1).

Surprisingly, an interesting piece of the puzzle was found within a file containing hundreds of documents surrounding land ownership disputes between the township and the Indian Department along the Sauble River (RG 10, Volume 3106, File 309 460, Pt 1). In a letter from Robert Thompson to the Indian Department he accused Seaman of being of the most delinquent character and contended that Seaman had been harassing Robert Thompson for some time. Seaman was accused of stealing Robert's hunting traps and fishing nets and reporting Robert to the Ministry of Natural Resources citing illegal behaviour. Simmie felt he owned the Sauble River and that Robert was illegally hunting and fishing on his claim. Robert cited the Williams Treaty in which Anishinaabeg,

regardless of Indian Registration, were allowed to hunt and fish anywhere in Ontario at any time. The government did not respond to Robert's plea for recourse. Interestingly, Robert's hint of the Williams Treaty provides the basis for the province of Ontario to surrender of lands along the river of Chief's Point in the 1940s and at Saugeen. This surrender effectively separated Robert from accessing resources for survival and his livelihood. This final blow forced families with children to relocate to Saugeen. Robert had nothing left to lose (RG 10, Vol 3106, F 309,460 Pt 2).

I was confused by the similarity in the names Simmie and Sims. The mistake allowed me to gain insight into other activities in the peninsula and into genealogy. Henry Sims was the father of Robert's first wife, Sophea Sims of Cape Croker (Ontario Marriages, 1905). I wanted to believe that Sims likely blamed Robert for his daughter's death and sought to make life difficult for Robert. The Simmie Survey shows Henry Simmie's property across the river from Chief's Point Indian Reserve which added to my bias. I am still not totally convinced that Sims and Simmie are two different people which evidences how entrenched biases can affect how we view findings. Perhaps they are father and son. However, we do know that Henry Sims was not well liked by many of the Anishinaabeg in the area. At Cape Croker, the Chief and Council implored the help of the Indian Department when they accused Sims of taking up with a local widow and taking her two children around the territory attending to their alcoholic lifestyle. The council claimed concern for the welfare of the children. It was the Anishinaabeg way to care for their children as a community and sought families on the reserve who would provide that care for the children. They also stated they did not want to pay annuity for the children to a white man. Two families were recognized by the Indian Department as being alternate homes to raise the children and the children were removed from Sim's influence (RG 10, Volume 2565, File 115, 072). It appears Henry Sims had several wives in the Saugeen Territory and at Cape Croker, but he also had a white wife and family. Other archival documentation suggests that families at Cape Croker took in other children of Henry Sims or those claimed to be his and took ownership of the lands that were due to the Indian children (RG 10, Volume 3205, F 513,622).

The relationship between Robert Thompson and Dr. Seaborn was likely strengthened by having common enemies, namely Simmie and Seaman, combined with their investments and love for the land at Chief's Point. The cottagers likely strategized with the local Anishinaabeg to petition the government to intervene. Upon the government's investigation, the administration of land sales is where the problem becomes exacerbated. The federal government reserves one chain length around each and each body of water in Canada. This ensures public access to public resources. When the province administered land sales, the wording of the contracts indicates that lots of land along the lakeshore were described as running to the lake's edge. The problem was and continues to be that water levels change, sometimes slowly and sometimes drastically as happened in this particular case. Lake Huron receded and according to both archival reports, newspaper articles, and local people's descriptions of an incredible storm threw loads of sand onto the shore. The receding shoreline coupled with the unique and powerful storm essentially created new land at the shore of Lake Huron where the Sauble River meets her. The power of the Sauble River had been reduced by inland settlement and inland lake destruction and fell to the force of the storm.

The newly created land was considered to come as a benefit to the land owners while the Saugeen Band felt it was theirs. The lakes, lakebeds, and islands were already guaranteed to them by the Queen in 1848. The settler land owners felt their plots of land continued to extend infinitely to the water's edge as they conversely stood to lose if the shoreline intensified. According to Library and Archives Canada documentation, this issue was absorbed into the many more claims brought against the Saugeen Band by local settlers who wanted their money back after decades of enjoyment of the fruits of the land. Settlers felt swindled as the poor soil and lack of timber reduced their ability to survive and thrive on their "purchased" plots. The federal government ended up conceding to the settlers and drastically reduced the price of lands that the settlers had never paid for in the first place. Details of this lengthy and problematic period are well presented by Peter Schmaltz in *The Ojibwe of Southern Ontario* (1991). But the issue of the shoreline requires its own investigation as the records of it are intermixed with the above noted

issue within the archival database. The newly created land on the shoreline, noted as “The Pleasure Grounds” in the Simmie Survey of 1908 and the “12 Mile Strip” on the Ontario survey, propelled Henry Simmie to seek financial gain by separating his land into smaller plots. The Indian Department exercised its strong arm against the municipality, province and federal government explaining it was their jurisdiction to approve the land sales. The Indian Department accepted the Simmie Survey of 1908 and approved the plans to partition into cottage lots.

It wasn't until the municipality attempted to build roads into the area to allow access to town plots that this issue exploded. Amabel Township referred to federal law citing the Canadian government reserved one chain length around any body of water in order to ensure public access to water. Amabel Township enforced this by requesting those cottagers remove their physical improvements, their cottages, as the lots were illegal and offered no compensation of loss of land or improvements to that land. Dr. Seaborn's letter to the Indian Department states that Henry Simmie sold him an illegal lot of land along the Sauble River. Seaborn requested that the Indian Department intervene as it was through their authority, the land belonging to the Indians, that the transaction was made legal. Through much research, it becomes clear that there was a government administration problem and an unwillingness to address their mistake.

When Indian lands became available for sale, the Indian Department initially “sold” the land to corporations and resource extractors although actual deeds could not be located by the researcher. These companies raked the land of all resources and then quickly left the area declaring bankruptcy of which there is ample evidence particularly around the inner lakes of the peninsula (RG 10, Volume 1925, file 3086). The Indian Department then sold the land to settlers. When the local Crown land agents prepared the deed to the lots, they described the lots of land as going all the way to the water's edge. This is in direct conflict of federal law but was overlooked at the local level likely due to mismanagement and the hiring of local businessmen who preferred personal gain over the Indians. Jobs and industry come and go but one is an Indian for life. After the great storm

that changed the waterfront as described earlier, land owners felt their lands were extended while the Saugeen Anishinaabeg, the Indian Department, and the federal government refuted the deeds and the claims. Still others stepped in requesting problematic lands be turned into a provincial park for whites to enjoy. One must contextualize this with The Pass System legislation already discussed.

At this time Robert Thompson also wrote to the Indian Department explaining that Seaman had been molesting his traps in the Sauble River. Robert accused Seaman of stealing his traps and reporting Robert to the Ministry of Natural Resources for illegal hunting and trapping. Thompson explained that under the Gun Shot Treaty and the Williams Treaty, he had every right to hunt, trap, and fish anywhere in Ontario regardless of not being registered as an Indian under the Indian Act. He asked the government to intervene and find Seaman at fault of harassment and theft and to remove him from the area. The government did not respond to Robert. (RG 10, Volume 3106, F 309,460 Pt 2) It is clear that many people, both Anishinaabeg and non-Anishinaabeg, had experienced serious harassment and illegal and destructive business practices by Simmie and Seaman and they likely saw Robert as a common enemy preventing their full takeover of the Sauble River and the surrounding Indian Lands.

In response to Dr. Seaborn's letter, the Indian Department cited the chain length requirements under federal law and left Seaborn with no legal recourse or financial compensation (RG 10, Volume 3106, F 309,460 Pt 2). This likely infuriated Dr. Seaborn and he channeled his energy into writing the book, *The March of Medicine in Western Ontario (1944)*. With Robert and his father's help, Dr. Seaborn was introduced to M'shikiki [*Anishinaabeg Medicine*]. Through the songs and stories shared by Robert and translated by his present wife, Elizabeth, of Cape Croker, we are left with a beautiful and powerful connection to a past kept hidden by colonial policy and law. Without access to the recordings, there would be no knowledge of their contributions to making the knowledge available to a wider audience including Dr. Edwin Seaborn and me. Today, the road is as the Simmie Survey lays it out, and the cottages along the river remain, and

a provincial park surrounds it all. An example of a bill of sale from 1939, in the amount of \$1.00, is found below and is one of the lots of questionable status (Figure 4.7).

File No. 302460. Vol. 2.
Sale No. 2425.....

DEPARTMENT OF MINES AND RESOURCES
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH.

TO THE DIRECTOR

RESERVES AND TRUSTS SERVICE.
MEMORANDUM

Re.
SALE OF INDIAN LAND.

Noted
27/40
B

Reserve ..Cape Croker..... Province...Ontario.....

Description *Road allowance along Lake Huron and Aux. Sable River in lot 34 Con. D. Township of Amabel.*
..... Areaacres

Purchaser *Municipal Corporation of the Township of Amabel.*

Address

Application received

Appraised by Agent..... File No.....

Value of Land ...\$1.00.....	Value of Buildings.....	Total.....
------------------------------	-------------------------	------------

Price offered by applicant.....

Cash down payment

Terms of sale *Note memorandum on file from Surveyor..... General, dated Dec. 1, 1939.*

Remarks

Recommended: *[Signature]* Approved: *[Signature]*

Figure 4.7 Cape Croker Agency - Bill of Sale, Lot 34, Con. D, Township of Amabel. Library and Archives Canada. This lot holds Dr. Seaborn's cottage.

4.3 The Songs

Bob Morrison

By Rob Rolfe

It took place in the 1940s, after years of coaxing, after eight years of ritual and shaman training. Bob Morrison traveled from Chief's Point to London on the soon to be forgotten train. He picked up a rattle, a drum, and in a high-pitched nasal voice, began to sing. Afterwards, he told stories for the doctor who had taken such a keen interest in his Ojibwa knowledge of healing, history, and natural ways.

The tape machine was still running when the story unfolded of his granddaddy's incredible escape. It happened in 1813. He was carrying a medicine bag and potent medicine. He watched as Tecumseh fell, then he changed himself from a turtle into a water snake and vanished into the river. Once he had finished the story, Bob Morrison took his drum and his rattle, and set out for home on the first train. (Rolfe, Saugeen, 2011).

Each song carries a portion of the history of the Saugeen Anishinaabeg, but even more it reveals the essence of daily life of the Anishinaabeg; the things they cared about, that they worked to protect, the things cherished above all else. Certainly, the songs prepare one for the love the people had for life and for protecting those around them. The recordings are so difficult to hear yet compared to what is available from that time period his message is surprisingly understandable. Without hearing the actual recordings, one would not ever know that Robert Thompson's wife, Elizabeth Thompson, acted as translator on the many of the recordings. Dr. Seaborn did not refer to her in his publication and did not refer to women at all in his book. This simply points to the social attitude of 1900s colonial, paternalistic society in Canada. Even Robert's own description

of medicine in English refers to men being medicine men on one recording and on another he states that women were “Bear walkers”. Even Robert held ideas current to the time around gender. Seaborn and Thompson do not get a free pass as victims of their time period.

We cannot distort the historical lens, we can only bear witness and ask why, how. When reflecting on traditional teachings after a lifetime of conversations with Anishinaabeg people, the lack of grammatical distinction between male and female in the pronominal system generates a dislocation in the English translation of the speaker. I think that due to translation into English, language produces gender distinctions completely embedded in ideology and refracted through social realities and mental representations. I have always argued that the English language has a hierarchy completely ingrained within the structure of the language and so any non-English idea is automatically corrupted. Speakers are not aware of these categories that influence how we think. It is why I argue that researchers must always go to the language of the original source when dealing with Canadian academic knowledge silos, Canadian publications, or any colonial publications for that matter.

What is interesting about colonial cultures is their need “to keep and to save” things and how that particular value is built into and maintained by colonial structures and organizations. Colonial authorities wanted to save Indians from their culture and so cultural items were taken from the Anishinaabeg. Philanthropists wanted to save the culture from extinction and only kept cultural items. In one sense, it is with much gratitude that these recordings were saved but only if the Anishinaabeg have access to it today. Preservation appears as a double-edged sword. From the Anishinaabeg perspective, it can be understood as a lesson in balance. To gain such access has been a long process with many obstacles, some technological and others about control of and access to intellectual property.

The recordings, 19 in total from Integrated Resources for Evaluating Numerical Estimates (I.R.E.N.E.) technological and statistical innovation offered by the Northeast

Document Creation Center (NEDCC) compared to the original 6 I initially received on the first pass of the museum's holdings, are rough and difficult to understand. Two wax cylinders were severely damaged, but Museum London arranged to have them repaired. Figure 4.8 shows the two wax cylinders before they were repaired. Any damage to the wax cylinders or aluminium discs results in additional noise on the digital files. By using free online software, called Audacity, I employed noise reduction algorithms to improve audio output. Each recording requires individual treatment to improve sound quality which is different for each person and changes over one's lifespan. Elders require different technical supports than youth and so the digitized recordings present an opportunity to reconnect the two life stages for traditional and technical knowledge transmission.



Figure 4.8 Image of two broken wax cylinders from the ‘Seaborn Audio Collection’ as referred to by Museum London. Photo courtesy of Bimadoshka Pucan at Museum London.

To Make Medicine to Smoke in A Pipe

(0:44)

"Oh oh hey manidoo yah hey

Oh Great Mystery

oh yah hey manidoo

Oh ya Wiikwandan

Let us smoke

Oh oh miigwech manidoo

Thank you, Great Mystery,

Oh oh hey manidoo yah hey

Oh Great Mystery

This song teaches of the Anishinaabeg view that the body is a vessel, a container, for the spirit to experience the physical world. Inviting and thanking the Great Mystery of Life and allowing for manidowag [*other-than-humans*] to experience the physical world for a short time by giving one's body for such experience. According to the Creation Stories, the Great Manito [*Great Spirit*] was busy doing the work of the universe that he left manidoo in charge of different aspects of life on the earth and these manidowag helped the Anishinaabeg survive and thrive. It is through these earthbound manidoo that messages could be carried to the Great Spirit such as the eagle or the wind. According to the Creation Stories, the Great Manito was so busy doing the work of the universe that he left many manidowag in charge of different aspects of life on the earth and these spirits helped the Anishinaabeg survive and thrive. It is through these earthbound manitowag

that messages could be carried to the Great Spirit, such as the eagle and wind. This song shares the Anishinaabeg view that the body is considered a vessel for one's spirit to experience the physical world. Smoking the pawagun [*pipe*] is a rare event, used for special occasions. Museum London, after notifying insurance providers and city fire officials, turned off their sprinkler system while traditional people held a pipe ceremony in the exhibit space to ensure positive energy and protection of the songs and stories while on exhibit. Thanking the Great Spirit, or Great Mystery, and opening one's vessel (the body) allows the manitowag to experience the physical world for a short time by giving virtue of one's body for such experience. The Anishinaabeg invited manitowag to experience the physical world, in this particular case, to smoke medicine in a pipe.

The Canoe Song

(4:30, mostly inaudible, changes in speed, damaged sections, muffled sounds)

"Nwaabndahdimi, Yaabndahdiwaad,

To show things to one another,

Waabndahwed "

To present things

Technically speaking, the recording is incredibly difficult to hear. Voices are muffled at times and the speed changes throughout the recording. There are damaged sections on the cylinder and the hand cranked version is clearer in comparison to IRENE's version. Noise reduction software was not adequate in isolating particular signals identified as noise. Where the particular frequency I programmed the software to read as noise, matched in hertz, which is the standard measurement of frequency, to signals not intended to be recognized as noise, those particular zones provided incredible difficulty in separating the noise from the signal under isolation and far exceeded the capabilities of

my technology and my expertise. That being admitted, there are other features of the software that allow one to amplify or even distort specific frequencies and so the quality of sound can be individualized.

Interestingly, with each replay of the particular recording it became easier and easier to understand words and the context of the conversation. I felt that my ears were learning to listen to the songs and the voices; each pass revealing something more about the information being transmitted by Robert. This is the same sort of learning that occurs with reading historical documents that are prepared with cursive writing. It takes time and experience to become more fluent with the information but is frustrating and mentally exhausting from straining to understand something clearly. The process of repeated listening heightens layers of understanding is already familiar to Anishinaabeg who have listened to the same stories from Elders on multiple occasions and in different contexts. This learning to listen extends to engaging and working with communities.

In this particular recording, labeled *The Canoe Song*, Mrs. Thompson can be heard explaining to Dr. Seaborn that the Anishinaabeg used to travel to Montreal to trade furs with the French. She mentions a campground, like a clearing, where Anishinaabeg would stop for ceremony and for rest. As noted in the physicality of Chief's Point, it is the site of an ancient portage used to cross between Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. The French River on Georgian Bay leads to Lake Nipissing and connects to the Ottawa River and leading down into Montreal. Through this song, the Anishinaabeg were able to map song onto waterways much in the way the Indigenous Australian people map song onto land.

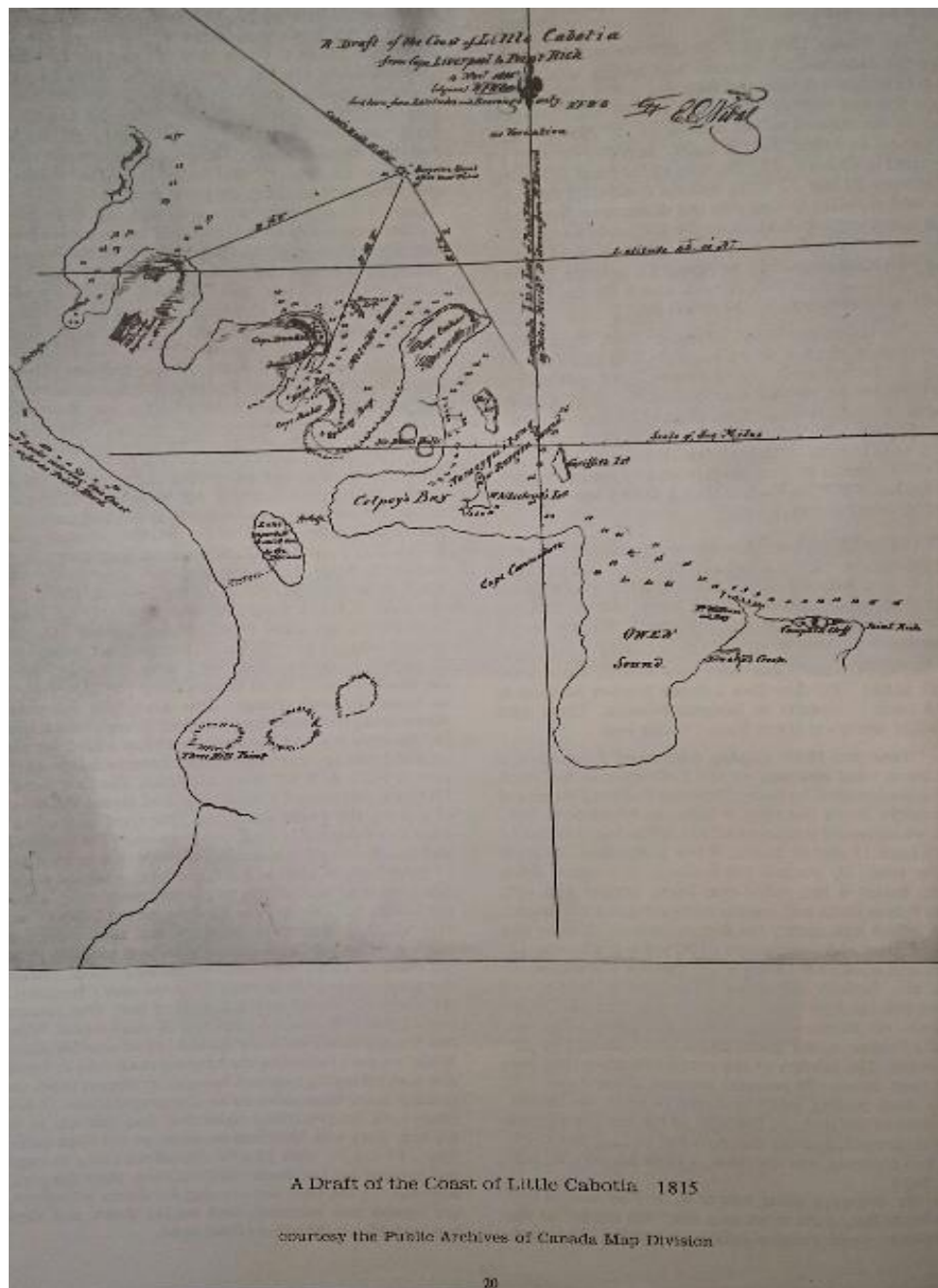


Figure 4.9 Map of Little Cabotia (1815). Reprinted in Melba Croft's, *In Their Own Words, 1626-1994: the story of Ontario and Quebec but in Particular about the Georgian Bay Melcroft: 2001*. Not the much quicker portage route between Chief's Point and Colpoys's Bay as noted in *The Canoe Song* sung by Robert Thompson.

Of particular interest is Robert's response to Seaborn's question about the meaning of the song. Robert laughs and responds he doesn't know. Seaborn sounds somewhat frustrated but Mrs. Thompson interjects the above noted information. What is being demonstrated is Robert's unwillingness to share specific information to Seaborn, thereby protecting the song from being analyzed in the typical Eurocentric perspective. Robert challenges Seaborn to make it meaningful to him and not just be told the answer. Like Densmore, Seaborn analyzed the songs based on tempo and octaves making the comparison within established musical practices of the colonial ideology. The audio collection has served that purpose for Seaborn as the researcher and so serves no other purpose than as an object to observe from a distance. But the collection allows contemporary Anishinaabeg to seed their own meanings in the teachings.

Complex details are built into Anishinaabemowin and result in specific and intricate information assembled into the relationships with space and place. The language, embedded with layers of meaning, has been inadequately translated into simple English (see any Ojibwe dictionary) and the depth and richness of the language is not transmitted. Concepts appear simplistic and childish. Over time, words like "sacred" and "traditional" become something outside the day-to-day life and either are practiced on weekends or considered untouchable. The untouchable sacred is also practiced by museums. Three different museums in Ontario reported no Indigenous artefacts in their holdings yet further pressure presented the response that artefacts were too sacred to look at. One museum reported that an artefact was too fragile to be put on display. As a member of the public, I feel that public funds would be better spent on social programs than storing items someone has declared outside the public reach. But there are museums and communities who are doing things differently.

Indigenous-managed museums make cultural items available for community members through a lending service (Clifford, 1997, 139). In a comparative analysis, Clifford provides an outsider perspective on four museums in British Columbia. Clifford claims that repatriation of artefacts to Indigenous community museums has had the effect of

changing the master narrative from cultural disappearance to resurgence and revitalization (Clifford, 1997, 109). He also states that writing about local histories, specific audiences, and internal debates is travel writing and not ethnographic or historical research (Clifford, 1997, 109). Although he admits he is a white American, he is unable to recognize his own bias as he is speaking from a place of privilege. He does not seem to realize that the community museums of his investigations are mimicking colonial institutions that just happen to be located within an Indigenous community.

Language for many Anishinaabeg is outside their access. The need for conversation to solidify concepts, to build repertoire and to experience the comfort and flexibility of a fluent speaker missing from urban pockets of Indigenous peoples. Certainly, one can take a university course in Anishinaabemowin, but this represents a one-way stream of knowledge transmission. Once a student leaves a classroom, the ability to use the language in everyday spheres disappears. The ability to maintain and build vocabulary is lost. Traditional teachers in my own life have implored the necessity to learn Anishinaabemowin because the ability to transmit ideas and knowledge could not be misinterpreted as it is with translations. The interaction between the self and the language a person thinks in produces a relationality of identity and culture within that perspective. These same teachers said that the English language was quite deficient because of the “double-sided” nature of meaning, likely referring to both syntax and semantics, based in that particular worldview. A hierarchy is produced naturally due to the interactions of the self, worldview, and the motivation behind the information being conveyed; quite simply, worldview motivates thoughts and behaviors due to how one understands their role in society. To think Indian, one must speak Indian (Johnston, 2011).

What is incredible about this recording, is the clear hesitancy of Robert Thompson when Dr. Seaborn questions him directly about the meaning of the song. Robert responds by making sounds like he can't hear what Dr. Seaborn is saying. Dr. Seaborn then asks Robert again what the words mean exactly. Again, Robert responds with, “umhmm” and “huh”, sounds that I would understand to mean that he didn't understand the question

or chose to play hard of hearing at this particular moment. Dr. Seaborn then starts to prompt Robert by saying, “you know, the thing that hangs around their neck.” Robert responds with verbal affirmations and then responds that he doesn’t know if it is true or not, and that he only knows what he was told by his mother.

It is then that Mrs. Thompson speaks to Dr. Seaborn and provides listeners with the plausible English explanation of the importance of this song and how the Anishinaabeg employed song to store information in way that could be easily remembered and shared widely and quickly. Song carries stories over the land through space and time, much as the wax cylinders acted as a container for these songs to travel through time to be available to us today. It is as if these containers hid the knowledge from destructive colonial policy and protected it until a time when people could realize the true value what has almost been lost.

The wax cylinders have protected a small piece of Chief’s Point, its voice heard within the sounds of the words spoken by Robert Thompson. The audio recordings provide people with a lifeline to a renewed way of thinking about the world and how we occupy space, both in the physical realm and the non-physical. The object has the ability to bend time allowing today’s Anishinaabeg to hear the voices of Chief’s Point and their language, their stories, and to experience the relationships that formed around the land. The relationships between settlers and cottagers were respectful as evidenced by cottage logs shared by those non-Indigenous families who knew and loved Robert Thompson.

Chippewa Love Medicine

(2:52)

Oh way go zagitowa gizowah

Kwe-neh, oyahteh (sonhyahgay) gizowah

"Kwe-zaans oyahteh (go yah gay?) miigwetch"(chorus)

Gii go kwe na miigwech

Ona mandaah kwe

oh yah ney (go yah ney)

ba go zhay na bey go gay go zhay beygoh

Gii go mundah kii gey get man ki do wey

According to Dr. Seaborn, “*this song is used to make the love medicine. It is used to reach a girl who will be his love to the death.*” In conversations with Jan Ritchie, Saugeen Band Member and fellow academic, he shared what his grandfather told him about the Thompsons of Chief’s Point. They were the last of the real Indians; they played the drums and performed the old-time dances (Ritchie, 2016). This family knew of the Indian Medicine and often travelled to Goderich to pick the plant used for this particular medicine (Ritchie, 2016). It ought to be noted here that many original Saugeen families were located at Goderich, Ontario prior to the Treaty of 1836 (conversations with Elder Marie Mason of Saugeen). These families were forced to leave their businesses and homes to move north of the treaty line and relocate their settlement at Chippewa Hill, currently known as Saugeen First Nation #29. Saugeen has a few meanings and is mostly commonly understood to mean *where the river flows out*. Interestingly, Zawgiinong refers to love and perhaps this term actually refers to a specific group of people who practiced love medicine since they live in the area where this plant grows so abundantly. Plants associated with love medicine are initially noted by the word “Wabano” in the Anishinaabeg dictionaries already mentioned. Wabano is one of four medicine societies of the Anishinaabeg (Jones, 1861, 95). The others are the Meta [Midewin], Cheseewineh [Shaking Tent], and Tebekee-winenah [Bone Sucker] (Slight, 1844, 94). It is my understanding that each medicine society specialized in specific treatments for specific

issues related to health. For more complicated health issues, the medicine societies would come together to perform a team-based approach to treatment while surrounding the patient with services, care, and health improvements and cures. My grandmother often told me that we are not Meta [Mide], ours is a different way. My grandfather said the last Shaking Tent at Saugeen was in the 1920s when he was a little boy. His recollections are kept within our family and medicine stories are shared only in the privacy of his children and grandchildren. But we have other stories too. My grandmother talked often of the Indians across the Saugeen River in Southampton. They weren't "our kind of Indians, but they were Indians nonetheless." What can be learned about Saugeen Reserve's neighbours to the south?

Names can tell us much about the context of interaction of groups or of people. Interesting to consider, the French term for the Saugeen Territory is "Sanguingue" meaning "blood" and "quick to react/ respond" according to my French speaking colleagues. This reference may signify stories about the brutal time referred to as the Iroquois Wars (1500-1700). A bloody victory was won at Saugeen by the Anishinaabeg and the community references Skull Mound in their oral tradition. Although the particulars of that battle are outside the scope of this discussion, the war is discoursed with reference to the creation of the clan Nissawakwaton and includes the Thompson family. Even more intriguing is that a plant called Puccoon or Bloodroot (*Sanguinaria canadensis*, Vogel, 1970, 533) grows in abundance throughout Saugeen Territory (Jarvis, 2009, 19). The Europeans, including the French, were interested in this plant, not only for its medicinal purposes but for the use of dying wool red, orange, and yellow (Bohr and Lindsay, 2009). The dyes were traded to the English which they used to dye the Hudson's Bay trade blankets (ibid, 2009). The Southampton Metis have also called the area home for a lengthy time period, settling on the south side of the Saugeen River and setting up trading posts. Perhaps the word Saugeen is an *Anishinaab-ized* version of Sanguingue (you must pronounce this in French to hear the connection to Saugeen). Land and language are intertwined in the cultural expressions of experiences not only for the

Anishinaabeg but for the Metis across the river as well. Engagement in trade with the French has been hundreds of years longer than renewed trade with the English.

Chippewa Religious Song

(2:45)

"Oh ho Naniboozhoo

Eh Debwe Ahnii

Ho Binonegodah

Oh miigwe gii go dah

eh debwe ahnii

dodem" --inaudible

The Chippewa Religious Song brings forth the concept of Truth for the Anishinaabeg. Robert Thompson gives thanks for his connection to creation, which he felt through the land he survived on. He acknowledges his clan as being one that dictates how he interacts with others in his life. Through archival documentation, it is uncovered that Robert's grandfather marked treaties with a symbol that I initially perceived as a scribble. I found the same mark on other treaties by Anishinaabeg people around Lake Huron. Although I was unable to capture an image of the U.S. Treaties with the Anishinaabeg in Michigan, I verify that this mark is similar to the mark of the Forked Tree Clan, Nissawakwaton (Little Traverse Bay of Odawa Indians, 2005). This clan was created to encompass the Seneca captives taken during the Iroquois Wars by the Anishinaabeg. They received this clan symbol to indicate that this family line originated among a different beginning but

were now considered members of the Anishinaabeg Nation. I viewed the fork as a split, in that one became two but learning about the adoption process indicates that this symbolizes the two becoming one. I had to change how I was thinking about treaty symbols and the more I looked at different ones, the more I noticed they were being referenced improperly through research, both by Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics.

4.4 The Stories

"My grandfather, "Sagajewaywassay {Sug-gii-way-wah-say}" was an Indian. His tribe was Chippewa well so is mine. He rode on horseback. He had 2 knives on the back and side and his horse had a knife in the front. Well he went to gather up some men, soldiers, see if they want go a Great Fight. They wanted to know what happened and who failed. Well, my grandfather, he just go. And another said well all right. They had 50 odd cannons and horseback and one old Indian. They put the old Indian on horseback, when he looked behind he saw Yankees walking on the side of the road and on horseback. When he turned around he said, "Oh He is coming." And when they got close to the bridge they saw they were on another bridge. Well, my grandfather, he started looking the other way and to go around all he could. He is thinking what is real and what is a young fella and to run away like that, so and dropped down on the ground. And he went down into a little square. And he went under a log and he said the Yankees were going like this and shooting everything and everybody around here. And my grandfather was going to get killed anyhow so that's why he jumped in the river and he came up on the other side. Well, he changed into a g'niibik he changed into a snake. And he went back across the water and the other bridge.

Well it seems somebody shot him all right, but they couldn't kill his body. You can't kill him when he is like that. They kept shooting him and shooting him.

Well I guess he got hit in the shoulder and he had one hand over the wound and the other hand was fighting and he broke it, he broke the knife, he pulled another one, he broke it again. He couldn't see, there was smoke, the soldiers kept shooting, well they got him and they cut him up pretty bad. My grandfather can't think and he can't see very well. And after while, they hear "Kill them. Catch them and kill them, the Indians." And a lot of people were killed on that bridge, right in the center of that bridge. And the reason my grandfather, he run away after awhile, I don't know how long, but he got to go found his wife. And well I guess he put on a log and got a knife and said there, now you are defeated. Well I don't know about that but I don't think [war whoop]." (3:31)

This story begins by re-experiencing the audio recording relating the death of Tecumseh. Comparing the audio recording to the published version exemplifies the importance of going to the source as important perspectives and features are lost in translation, in this case from audio to monograph. My findings indicate colonial hijacking of history. The audio recording entitled "The Tecumseh Story" relays a very different understanding of the Anishinaabeg perspective on the War of 1812. I relayed the published version of this story in Chapter 1. The published version presents the story in quotations however there is very little that is actually the same in the original audio record. I suspect that Seaborn heard this story many times as the original audio begins with Seaborn asking Thompson to recall the Tecumseh story he had told in the past. Thompson verifies he remembers the story and begins telling it by identifying his grandfather's name. Seaborn did not print this name in his account. Seaborn also failed to publish a note regarding an additional participant on the audio recordings. At the end of the Tecumseh Story audio recording, a woman is heard laughing in response to the war whoop at the end of the story. The fact that Seaborn did not even mention Robert Thompson's wife reveals something about the lack of importance of women at that time.

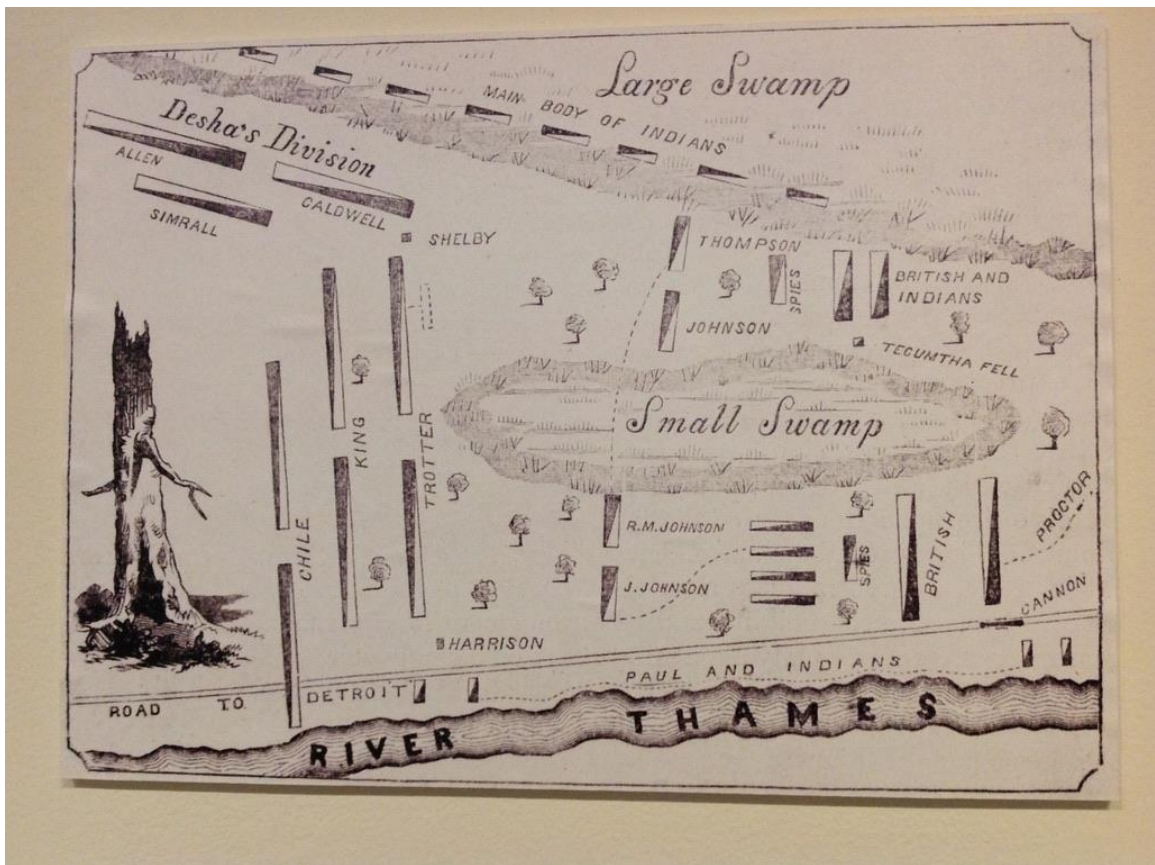


Figure 4.10 Diagram by Bennet H. Young (Public Domain, 1903). The Battle of the Thames: In Which the Kentuckians Defeated the British, French, and Indians, October 5, 1813 with a List of Privates and Officers who Won the Battle. USA: Virginia. Thompson's story describes the setup in the same way.

According to the audio recording, the Anishinaabeg certainly did not believe they were defeated by the Americans and certainly not at The Battle of Moraviantown where Tecumseh lost his life. Nor did they swear to fight under the "Great White King" as indicated by Seaborn in his book. An uncritical eye would result in assuming that the

Anishinaabeg ceded their identity, autonomy, and lands to the British. Robert Thompson himself laughs at the notion of defeat of the Anishinaabeg by Americans for the simple fact that there he sat in 1938 with Dr. Seaborn explaining the uniqueness of cultural practices and beliefs of the Chief's Point Anishinaabeg. Unfortunately for the reader of monographs, it is not typical to include "hahaha" in a serious work of non-fiction. Thus, readers will not understand the mismatch happening inside the published account and will assume that the Anishinaabeg fight in the war was one of submission.

After listening to the recordings, there is a lack of understanding of Anishinaabeg storytelling features. Local language use impacted Seaborn's ability to properly present the oral narrative and this became glaringly clear after listening to Robert. For example, it is in the way that Thompson says "great fight" in that the word "great" is stretched out in time with a specific sound distortion which indicates that the size of the fight was grand, long lasting, and brutal. It also indicates it happened a long time ago. The reflection of processes of the whole earth are employed in the subtle ways that language, land, and story come together. The words sound like the thing the word describes; it mimics the sounds in nature. Local language should sound different from their neighbours particular if they are located in very different environments. I surmise this from listening to Indigenous language speakers from across Canada. Their words sound like the natural land from where they originate. But something else happens when Anishinaabeg use the English language. I choose to call the phenomenon, "Anishinaab-ized". English as a second language for the Anishinaabeg continues to reflect the connection to the land by mimicking nature and experience in how the language is produced in the speaker. Pronouns are used and understood differently and contributes to miscommunication with non-Anishinaabeg English language speakers.

Many of these values and attitudes are carried over into Anishinaabeg English. Even though most Anishinaabeg speak English today, the use of particular words and phrases expressed with an almost musical sound that mimics sounds from the natural world. The way that today's Anishinaabeg speak English continues to reflect how the people see

themselves as a part of the natural landscape; as opposed to Basil Johnston's argument that in order to "Think Indian" one must speak an Indian language. I argue that by carefully listening to Anishinaabeg first language speakers as they speak English, we can show that Anishinaabeg people Anishinaab-ize the English language that maintains their multifaceted and intimate connections to land by employing a unique sound-based method that aligns with current research (see Helen Roy's Sound Based Method, 2012). How does one produce sound within a monograph and is that even appropriate? There are interesting ways of producing performance through text (Hedlock, 1983) but perhaps there are lessons for the academy in terms of addressing technological advances and the ability produce different styles of dissertations that make available other ways of knowing and explaining them to a fuller effect in particular the layers of meaning contained in Anishinaabeg storying. For example, I am writing this dissertation inside a digital template designed by the academy but am unable to include digital sound bites from the recordings or videos of the land. However, the submission website suggests otherwise. Even more than soundbites, perhaps technology will be developed to provide academic dissertations with the ability to become interactive. I imagine hidden functions or tables and graphs that grow and/or shrink. This would certainly engage a wider audience if they have access to academic dissertations.

The nuances contained within individual auditory processing implore an emotive response, both physical and internal, in the reciprocating listener. The way that breath travels from the storyteller mimics the natural winds, forceful as with a storm or gentle as with a summer breeze. The Tecumseh Story climaxes with the loud shout of the Americans which unsettles the listener, invoking the physical manifestation of suspense, fear, and loathing: the listener holds their breath and their eyes become wide, the heart pounds with adrenaline. Visiting Chief's Point, we feel, hear, and smell the pounding water on the shores much like the heart beats in our bodies. The beating of the water on land changes in response to complex natural and non-terrestrial events that are interconnected, at play with yet without our conscious awareness. The water thus speaks its language each and every moment and the physical body mimics her presence. Being

on the land allows one to process an unspoken language. Thompson captures the breathing of Creation and sings its thoughts and intentions into consciousness.

Reflecting on the learning process leads to important discoveries. Take this amusing example that has many lessons for contextualizing what Thompson is telling us. I worked with one particular recording in Indigenous Services, UWO. Many people use and move through this space daily to access a variety of services. I was struggling to make sense of a particular word. I knew the word to mean Jell-O, one of my most favorite desserts. I recall thinking in amazement that Thompson must have really liked Jell-O to write a song about it. I then questioned when Jello was invented. It turns out Jell-O came about in the 1880s which made me say out loud, “Why is he singing a song about Jell-O?” An elder stopped and informed me the word did not mean Jell-O as it does for me today. The word refers to gelatin but has an even older meaning. It is the word used when people boil deer antlers and hooves to make gelatin that preserves food and medicines. Again, I was not wrong in my identification of the root word, but I failed to realize the historical significance contained within the words. The words actually hold the knowledge of the “how-to”. Language doesn’t really change, only our mental representations as we use the language. The more knowledge we add to our mental representations of our place in the world the more this strengthens our connection to the land and elements of its being through time. It is healing to witness cultural continuity when the production of information frames the Anishinaabeg and all Indigenous peoples as wiped of their culture and identity. The Anishinaabeg have never been disconnected to the past or the future; it is the world around them that has unplugged them from their identity.

The degree of connectedness can be exponentially expanded even without fluency by learning to speak Anishinaabemowin, just as Basil Johnston implores in *Think Indian* (2011). Take, for example, my name Bimadoshka. My grandfather named me when I was born, and it is my legal first name. I didn’t know anyone with an Anishinaabe name back in the 1970s or 1980s. I was always taught as a young person that we never tell our Indian names to anyone. When people know your Indian name, they can take your power.

I never used my legal name growing up instead people called me by whatever name other people identified me as. It was a combination of people not being able to pronounce my real name and me not telling them or correcting them. My family, including my 98 cousins that I feel I have close ties to, all call me by names that bring feelings of endearment, most of the time. As a child, when someone asked my name, I never responded, firstly, because a nickname persisted that I hated, and the other option was taboo. Instead, I would point to someone else and that person would say a name to identify me. I have many names and I identify people by the name they call me. It wasn't until I moved to the city that I learned that my unwillingness to say my name was extremely rude and so I began to make up names depending on how I felt that day. All of the names seemed similar to me but not to others. I often found myself in situations where different circles of people would crash into each other. They called me by different names and I really didn't care to explain why they called me by different names. I find it hilarious although serious problems occurred when I ran into police who demanded to see identification and asked me my name in front of others. The strangest thing that can only happen to a status Indian in Canada must be shared here. Separate governments register status Indians for different reasons. An error occurred in one of the silos of government which produced an additional letter in one of my names for only one silo. Immigration ordered me to choose one of the registered identifications and to change all other identification to match. I choose the least expensive method and Annya has been stricken from legal existence. As my documents were further inspected, the place where I was born no longer existed as it had been absorbed into a larger body. That required changes in documentation as well. Names are always in flux, yet some essence of their origin persists.

Back to this name, Bimadoshka. I used Basil Johnston's methodology that he calls *Layers of Meaning* (2011) and began to translate my name. On the surface, Johnston's first layer, the meaning is "Laughing Water" as told to me by my grandfather. Below that level, is the layer of meaning associated with the prefixes and suffixes of root words. This is an extremely difficult layer as the root words can be nested within the appearance of a word.

The glue that holds the utterance together tells us that Bimadoshka is the sound the water makes when it crashes on a rocky shore. There is a further, deeper layer, Johnston's third layer he calls the philosophical meaning. Bimadoshka is built from the word apiidashkaa. This word refers to the timing between waves on a lakeshore. Anishinaabeg needed to think about time in this manner for practical reasons. One needs to imagine they are trying to take their canoe out into Lake Huron. One would need to run the canoe between waves and coordinating a path of least resistance would necessitate this thought process. The Saugeen Anishinaabeg have always maintained a strong love and dependence on the shores of Lake Huron where we continue to enjoy the fruits of the land and water, as individuals and as a community. Our beaches are our pride and we will not give them up at any price as this land is a major source of our identity. "If you don't know your language **and** your heritage (emphasis added), learn it and you will or should get to know who you are." (Johnston, 2011, 167).

Let's try the same word, Bimadoshka, with Helen Roy's Sound-Based Method. In this process, we use sounds contained in the word to harness deep meaning rooted in Anishinaabemowin. From this, we understand that the word Bimadoshka identifies not the wave as a thing but what the wave is actually doing. The word describes the essence of the thing. A wave takes the old water and pulls it back across the sand, cleaning the impurities out of the water as it turns it over, and then sends the water back onto the land clean and pure. What a coincidence that I have followed my own original instructions by taking the old recordings, removing the impurities while I turned it over, and sent it back to the people clean and pure. Thus, it is the definition of cultural continuity. As Anishinaabeg, we take the old and make it into something new and useful again. This is the ultimate in cultural recycling; it is what we do as Anishinaabeg. Listening to these old recordings is exactly what we are supposed to be doing with them. People make recordings because they feel they have something important to record and something to share to enlighten others in the future.

Chapter 5

5 Reflections of the Repatriation Process

In this chapter, I reflect on the current political-social context that these recordings exist in. I share my personal reflections of the research process throughout. I review important material already presented, retelling it into wider meaning each time. Importantly, I present community voice as the Medicine Songs and Stories became a part of the lives of the current Saugeen Anishinaabeg. I disclose ethical considerations around re-building identity of the Anishinaabeg at Saugeen First Nation.

5.1 Identity in the Political Context

Indigenous rights to protection of heritage and culture are not federally supported as they are with American legislation and policy, namely the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) enacted in 1990. Ontario's Cemeteries Act stands in stark difference to NAGPRA in the United States where sacred items must be returned to the original Native American groups from which the items were removed. Government organizations, such as museums and archival institutions, are not required to recognize community ownership of Indigenous artefacts and are not in the position to make space for intellectual property rights. The fact that the Anishinaabeg Nation is split by the American/Canadian border makes ownership and possession an almost impossible concept to address. This section problematizes who owns knowledge, who has the right to access it and who ought to benefit from it.

Federal legislation regarding heritage conservation in Canada falls under the control of the Environmental Assessment Agency and is directly tied to resource development regulations. The Canadian Environmental Assessment Act states that Canadian perceptions of heritage encompass a wide range of categories including economic,

political, social, environmental and cultural (Government of Canada, Reference Guide on Physical and Cultural Heritage Resources, 1. Intro., canada.ca). Convoluting matters at the federal level are claims to protect physical and cultural heritage in both the tangible and intangible categories. The document goes on to clarify that the agency is concerned with the costs of economic development at the expense of physical cultural objects and/or sites (section 2).

For those interested in the intangible artefacts being affected by resource development, such as the loss of language caused by eroding relationships where language actually persists or by causing a loss of access to traditional knowledge by destroying vessels containing knowledge. The Environmental Assessment Agency is mandated to provide “consideration” to aboriginal groups observing “traditional” land and resource use. Traditional land use is defined by the colonial state and requires a community to evidence cultural continuity in a colonial court of law. Interestingly, the guide defines a cultural heritage resource as of “human work or a place that gives evidence of human activity or has spiritual or cultural meaning, and that has historic value” (Section 2, para 2). The ability for the Environmental Assessment Act to have power rests with federally owned areas and transfers power and ownership to provinces where resources are concerned. However, when federal ownership is removed, protection is removed. Indian reserves fall into legal-political limbo.

Several principles are set forth by the Act in order to guide resource development when confronted by physical heritage. Principle 1 outlines Canada’s responsibility to consider culture from a broad perspective when considering cultural value but maintains a colonial approach because of the lack of cultural competency training or education. Principle 2 addresses jurisdictional issues in the division of powers between federal and provincial governments and subsequent legislation, in terms of being complementary and consistent. As well, Canada must meet global obligations and has enacted other legislation to support the conservation and protection of sacred sites and cultural artefacts. Namely, the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage Act, ratified in 1976, the Means of

Preventing the Illicit Import Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property Act, ratified in 1978, both establish legal obligations affecting this project (ibid. Canada.ca). Protecting culture through prevention of export affects current research for Indigenous Peoples in Canada and the United States, and in particular relevance for this project, the Anishinaabeg, a Nation that was cut in half by the Canadian/ American border. The legislation affects the ability for the Anishinaabeg Nation to share knowledge and cultural practices and history, particularly for mnemonic devices or sacred objects. In addition, the legislation prevents the ability to access unique technology developed and legally protected by other countries without inflating legislative red-tape, excessive paperwork, and financial costs. For example, legally accessing the NEDCC, located in the United States, in order to digitize the recording of Thompson's narrative of the War of 1812 could be problematic as Canada and the United States remain vigilant regarding information of this particular event in our shared history. The War of 1812 is still fresh in the minds of the political and legal body. And mine, of course.

Principle 3 makes space for municipal government, stakeholders, and Indigenous Peoples by stating they may have important information to offer. First Nations communities maintain nationhood status akin to federal powers and so ought not attend at the table at the municipal level due to fear of setting legal precedent, the judicial driving force in Canada. Federal legislation and Canada's policy-driven administration are hereby recognized as a major barrier to project success. Embracing them as a partner versus a threat is considered to be a more fruitful approach. Convincing of federal administrative bodies was relatively simple for this project. The difficulties for this project began with making space at the table for provincial and municipal interests. As early as 2011, a signed document from the Chief of Saugeen was required to begin to meet with museum staff to discuss the possibility of digitization.

The Ontario Heritage Act (1990) states its intent as "to conserve, protect, and preserve the heritage of Ontario". The act specifically refers to property, in particular, buildings and structures on land. The Ontario Heritage Act (O.H.A.) provides the structural

administrative organization and mandates municipalities to administer the Act locally and at the community level, particularly, to respect consultation with the communities in question. What the province has done to support the municipalities is to organize the O.H.A. into categories and the province into heritage districts which would allow for an easier administration of regulations. The Federal and Provincial governments appear to recognize that local governments are better equipped to understand community interests in specific geographical areas by recognizing that local peoples have “maintained their uniqueness and sense of place” and so ought to decide if designation is required (Government of Ontario, Heritage Conservation Districts, 2006).

It does not specifically include First Nations communities, but it does not dis-include them either. Unfortunately, the legislation refers to municipal councils which does not include First Nations Band Councils. The O.H.A. legislation does not ensure that municipal councils have working relationships with First Nations governance representatives and also assumes municipalities control First Nations Bands. And why should it? First Nations hold nationhood status and sitting down with municipal governments or adhering to provincial legislation suggests an abandonment of their inherent rights and Aboriginal Title. Since Canada continues to uphold race-based law, such as the Indian Act (1876), legislation is created separately for First Nation people although the Metis and Inuit have been put in the same canoe. This stark difference in legislation exacerbates tensions between municipalities and local Indigenous groups, particularly in areas where First Nations’ communities are engaged in legal battles stemming from the 1800s (See R vs Nawash, Jones, a Fishing Case of 1990s in Saugeen Territory, or Saugeen Territory Comprehensive Land Claim registration).

Because the legislation recognizing Indigenous concerns and rights to conserve, protect, and preserve their cultural heritage falls below the standards set for municipalities, instead of at the national level from where municipalities and provinces take direction, it places First Nation communities in an unequal position to begin negotiations. It sets up a revolving door for non-access of cultural property, both tangible and intangible, as

various levels of governments struggle with who has a right to own, control, access, and possess cultural artefacts, both physical, for example a flute, and non-physical, the songs the flute plays. Access to cultural property, and decisions on who can access cultural knowledge, especially those items hidden away in the depths of museum vaults and out of consciousness of the Canadian public remain outside including First Nations people. Recognizing inherent difficulties with the legislation, opportunities were created to enhance a comprehensive approach to community engagement including the continuously evolving duty to consult. This allowed the legislation to expand and embrace cultural tendrils permeating Canadian identity where diversity is held as the foundation to local identity. Many museums, and including Museum London, mandate the involvement of local First Nations communities but unfortunately do not make space for artefacts that have been taken from other geo-political areas such as heritage property removed from the Saugeen Territory and kept in underground vaults.

Indigenous Peoples and communities are mentioned under a subsection of the O.H.A. entitled, “*Grants for Museums*” in which funds are available to First Nations Bands if the Band owns a museum recognized as such by the Province. Funding is tied to provincial recognition of First Nations culture but does not extend to those not recognized as First Nations Bands or their members which in turn is decided at the federal level by the terms of The Indian Act of 1876. The Constitution of 1982 makes a distinction to recognize the inherent rights of Aboriginal People including First Nations, Metis, and Inuit (FNMI) but not those who self-identify as they are already provided for under the category of Canadian. It ignores that they might have special rights arising from Indigenous descent. Spillage from this category involves those who are not federally recognized but self-identify as Indigenous and demand the same access to FNMI resources.

Recognizing that the O.H.A. had serious issues concerning its ability to conserve, protect, and preserve intellectual property, it was amended in 2009 and attempts were made to make space for intangible cultural artefacts. Concerned political, legal, corporate, and academic Indigenous groups have created their own legislation in order to protect cultural

interests from a non-colonial perspective. This is problematic as non-indigenous parties do not honour or respect non-Canadian government agencies, cultural protocols, or community groups. The Ontario Heritage Trust, a provincial agency now provides this definition of Intangible Cultural Property:

“Intangible cultural heritage includes living expressions of our identity passed from generation to generation, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. This intangible heritage is important in maintaining the diversity of our communities and building intercultural dialogue and understanding. The significance of intangible cultural heritage – and its inextricable link to tangible heritage – is increasingly being recognized.” (Ontario Heritage Trust, Intangible Cultural Property, n.d.).

Although the definition does not quite encompass cultural uses of Western technology by Indigenous people, it is promising we are moving in the right direction.

The next issue requiring critical analysis and urgent change is in the way heritage is valued. Evaluation of heritage property is prescribed by policy and recognizes not only structures and buildings but geographical features important to cultural identity. Treaties and land surrenders make it increasingly difficult to encompass all cultural groups who have cultural or traditional ties to various and often overlapping geographical areas as their access was/is removed through reservation allocation and subsequent legislation, notably The Indian Act (1876). Looking back even further, the Treaty of Ghent (1815) legitimized the American-(pre)Canadian International Border and effectively separated the Anishinaabeg Nation thereby severing family, clan, kinship, and national identity. Canadian legislation continues to effect Indigenous community identity.

As evidenced by The Franz Boas Papers: Documentary Edition (Darnell, 2013), preserving inclusivity and repatriation of both tangible and intangible culture has proven

problematic because many contemporary communities trace their historical ties to a wider Indigenous-national identity. Friction over the rightful ownership of artefacts or intellectual property positions Indigenous communities against one another. It is through research projects like The Franz Boas Papers that my project was guided in terms of employing community inclusion as way of mitigating kinship separation from the reserve system. How the songs and stories were repatriated to the Anishinaabeg Nation required personal delivery in combination with a community-focused historical presentation. It is not helpful to deliver cultural artefacts without ensuring the community has the right resources to support their own goals around an artefact. And it follows from Dr. Regna Darnell's work in supporting community capacity building through the return of cultural "stuff" or the glue that holds particular cultural groups together. (Darnell, 2014, public conversations) and to the healthy functioning of a well community. As evidenced by her work with B'kejwanong [*Walpole Island First Nation*], supporting community driven projects, particularly around health and wellbeing, improve community pride, trust, and knowledge.

Federal and provincial legislation appear to support a "Canadian first" Identity and Indigenous identity second. Indigenous is not a legal term in Canada. And as long as there are Indians in Canada, Canadians and their government have a fiduciary responsibility to this specific group of people as defined by separate legislation. This group is known by the legal term Indian. Under the Indian Act, physical property situated on an Indian Reserve cannot be acquired unless written permission is provided by the Minister of Indian Affairs. The particular physical property is described in the Act as an Indian Grave House, a carved grave pole, a totem pole, a carved house post, or a rock embellished with paintings or carvings (Indian Act 1985, s.91.1). Physical cultural property is only protected within the perimeter of the Indian Reserve regardless of whether the property was created by Indigenous peoples. Many people do not realize that many non-Indians live on Indian Reserves and Indian Bands are held responsible for people not registered under the Indian Act. This means that health insurance, education, resource use, and their waste management come at a cost to recognized Band members

and their children. Historically, Indian Bands were not responsible for those who were not registered Indians as those individuals were trespassing and were removed. However, with Robert Thompson and his wife, the Saugeen Band insisted that they allowed the couple to live at Chief's Point Indian Reserve even though they were not Status Indians.

Indian Bands, namely Saugeen and Cape Croker, are attempting to force change and apply the means for dictating resource development within the traditional territory of the Saugeen Anishinaabeg. This is incredibly problematic as it separates the Saugeen Indians from their larger nation, the Anishinaabeg Nation. According to the Environmental Office of the Saugeen Ojibway Nation Corporation, a 2013 amalgamation of Cape Croker Indian Reserve and Saugeen Indian Reserve Chief and Councils, the new Saugeen Ojibway Nation Corporation (Saugeen Ojibway Nation Environment Office, 2011) disregards the history of the area by directing land claim lawyers to construct a new history that supports the authority of the Environmental Office over the authority of the people of those bands. The Saugeen people are adamant that they are the original people of the territory and so hold the authority to make decisions that affect the community and the traditional territory.

The Saugeen Ojibway Nation Environmental Office (SON) is a corporate body created by The Joint Council of Saugeen and Cape Croker and has issued standards and protocols for those interested in resource development within the claimed territory of the Saugeen people. The standards do not include the community's perspective, nor do they source any Indigenous or Anishinaabeg research, consultants, or Elders. The SON Corporation dictates that all interested parties benefit from adhering to SON Corporation policies as they are familiar with land and history. Unfortunately, most community members are concerned with the new history that is being touted. In addition, SON Corporation recommends that negotiations take place with SON Corporation to ensure full understanding of the significance of particular sites. At best, the SON Corporation and their Environmental Office are nothing more than a reproduction of colonial Canadian governance because their policies are identical to provincial and municipal laws and

bylaws. Without a community referendum, this corporation does not have the legitimate ability to negotiate the treaty rights of the Saugeen Band membership with mega projects like the proposed Deep Geological Repository for Nuclear Waste site or to advise on Land Claims. The people have never given up their Aboriginal Title to that corporate body.

SON claims that if physical cultural property is destroyed, there can be no evidence of the history of the original people as if the distinct cultural group of people themselves are not evidence enough. This assumes identity is a manifestation of the physical world for Anishinaabeg which if true would disenfranchise those who continue to see themselves as spirit first and physical form second. The world-ordering principles are at odds with corporate interests even at the community level which it was conceived to serve. Legislation does not mention of the rights of plant-medicine, tree medicine, animals, ceremonial places and spaces, and burial sites that the people continue to access throughout the territory as beings/entities also have life and the ability to have their rights considered. There is no mention of the elements like protecting air, water, and soil. As already stated, protection does not mean banning humans or development. It first means to recognize the right of all things, seen and unseen, to exist. People need to be on the land doing culture, not entombing it within museum vaults or allowing it to be tied up in colonial red tape.

Where colonial organizations do want to work with Indigenous communities, an ideological vacuum persists because the power is held by Canadian institutions under laws created with their ideology and reflecting their values and perceptions of justice. When creating genuine partnerships and collaborating, the imbalance of power must be closely monitored, and resources must be allocated to those with less power. Equity, in both the financial and power realms, must be fully recognized and acknowledged in order to counter entrenched power structures. Projects take more time and resources because all partners must be satisfied with progression and outcomes and the basis for goal alignment. Taking time to understand the many facets of influence of project success

resulted in under-budgeting for this project. Partners had to allocate more resources as the public interest in the project continued to grow. Poor communication among other projects that do exist informed relationship-building within this project. Ideas were growing into areas that were new to the Canadian and Anishinaabeg public and there were few projects like this in Canada and we were embarking on new territory and fear of the unknown guided how we protected our work along the way.

In 2015, Chief Vernon Roote of the Saugeen First Nation, submitted his authorization of the project to Museum London at my request. I wanted the support of my community's leadership for the same reasons as my partners wanted documented community support. This written document helped rest concerns of an Indigenous uproar in terms of the recordings being labelled Medicine Songs and our insight in this proved fruitful in terms of countering legal interference by corporate interest. If indeed these were of medicinal value to the Anishinaabeg, they ought not be used by those seeking to make money from them. The songs needed to be returned to the descendants of the people who once held this knowledge and Anishinaabeg as a whole ought to benefit from its inception. Those who create knowledge ought to be the beneficiaries of it. They ought to decide what and how their culture is accessed, possessed, owned, and controlled. This leads us to a consideration of who owns knowledge and what are the differences in ideas of ownership affect the outcome of this project.

Intellectual Property Rights are concerned with who has the right to own knowledge and to protect the production of knowledge. Cultural differences between colonial institutions' policies, legal protection of corporations and individuals, and Indigenous rights both globally and locally are at odds. However, as differences are exposed, institutional and individual change occurs and aligns with "Native Science" as Cajete proposed (Cajete, 2000, 19). He advocates that change occurs when chaos, or non-linear patterning, is present and that creative solutions lead to a collective truth. "In chaotic systems, even small things turn out to have large scale effects over a period of time" (Cajete, 2000, 18). It is in this realm of chaos, or the unknown, that the museum and I

found ourselves trying to negotiate our way through. The political, legal, and organizational policies had to be explored; the museum contacted federal officials and contacted Elders, Political Leadership, and corporate/territorial information, we each inquired separately about the legalities around digitization and brought our own interpretations to the negotiating table.

The government of Canada protects intellectual property under Innovation, Science and (of course) Economic Development Canada through a Special Operating Agency (SOA). The Canadian Intellectual Property Office (CIPO) administers and processes most aspects of intellectual property namely trademarks, copyright, patents, industrial designs and integrated circuit topographies (Government of Canada, CIPO, ic.gc.ca). Their mandate involves increasing awareness, knowledge, and effective use of IP by Canadians. Looking to the Copyright Act in Canada, this project can be interpreted as a collection of original musical works in which the “maker” is specified as the person who arranges for the first fixation of sound (protecteur) (Copyright Act, Interpretation, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-42>). This protects colonial interests because it protects those who have access to technology and supports the removal of ownership of Indigenous peoples over their knowledge because it is not written down. The legislation does not promote protection of Indigenous intellectual property within as it individualizes ownership of an oral tradition and removes it from communities of interest. Under subsection 6 of this same Act, copyright protection lasts for the maker’s life and 50 years after. However, 6.1 becomes confused by 6.2 in that termination of the term of copyright occurs 50 years after the first publication, for this project 1939, or 75 years if the maker is not publicly known. For this project, copyright expired in 2013 and the recordings entered the public domain. It appears, then, that even First Nations Bands, their Councils and their lawyers must cede their power to the laws of Canada in this respect.

What must be contextualized, however, is that in 1939, the Potlatch Ban (1888-1951) was in effect so that Indians could not sing or dance, nor gather in groups of 3 or more, and could not participate in cultural ceremony. All sacred items, today’s museum artefacts,

were forcefully taken through colonial legislation in order to destroy what was left of the value system. The Potlatch Ban destroyed the Indian economy by removing the ability to distribute wealth, bankrupted relationships as the passing of knowledge through cultural artefacts was obliterated and corrupted the memories of entire Nations of people. It removed the things that people valued, things they held dear to their existence, their positionality in the universe. The replacement of value through colonial oppression has not served the Indian people well. The people who continue to suffer most in Canada are the Indian people on reserves, and repatriation of intellectual property will support resiliency of these communities by building community identity and pride. "...the politics of identity... and of history... the power to reclaim and recontextualize texts and objects "collected" by outside authorities is demonstrated. The gleanings of "salvage ethnography" are recycled." (Clifford, 1997, 132).

The intangible cultural property associated with or contained in a physical object does not equate to a contained or simple explanation. The associated knowledge becomes such a vast area of study that an explosion of information occurs. Tendrils extend into the unknown revealing connections to other dimensions requiring investigation. Much like the potential for a neuron to fire, an aggravation or a vibration must hit a specific threshold for any activity to occur. Aggravating specific actors in a social organization can cause widespread activation that propels an organization or social group to react. If we control the stimulant, we can control the reaction, in this case, of the organization. It was impossible to contain the spreading public interest in this project. Many people wanted access to the information, the oldest known recordings of the Anishinaabeg to date.

Intellectual Property Rights as they relate to Indigenous Culture are only currently beginning to be addressed by those who are in positions of power and control. The people of the Three Fires Confederacy, a term used to describe the Anishinaabeg, exert their interests in revitalizing culture and language to regain access to knowledge systems that were long ago provided the responsibility for safe-keeping of actors, agents, and

institutions for future use but have now become trapped in outdated colonial policy and risk-averse undertakings. Looking to the Canadian Government for direction on this topic, protection of intellectual property takes a business perspective in terms of protecting financial gain concerned with economic development. Patents, trademarks, and other legal parameters do not provide space for Indigenous intellectual property as it relates to cultural knowledge, ideas, and processes. Rather, they certainly protect the ownership of the individual but fail to support a community's right to own their unique knowledge, beliefs, songs, dances, so they may be protected.

Protection has a different meaning for Indigenous peoples. Protecting knowledge is to access it and to ensure it lives and grows with the people. To make space for this arena, Indigenous political groups have produced a collective statement manifested as OCAP Principles. OCAP stands for Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession, and these are fundamental concepts that do more than protect knowledge. They protect Indigenous people and their rights to the benefits from that knowledge, research or participation in the development of mainstream practices. OCAP Principles are spelled out clearly and can be committed to memory quite easily. There can be no excuse for misunderstanding, as was seen in the past with treaties and surrenders. Because concepts of OCAP are reflective of human rights understandings, partnerships in projects that involve specific communities of people hold these as guiding protocols and are non-negotiable. There is no mechanism to enforce OCAP as standards for any organization as they pertain to Anishinaabeg Cultural Strengtheners and appeals must be made to the ethical, moral, and legal obligations within an individual. The Tri-Council Policy on Indigenous Research ought to enshrine OCAP Principles within their mandate and ensure these principles are adhered to.

Canadian legislation ought to concern every socio-cultural anthropologist studying Indigenous culture, history, and knowledge, as it places their work in a sub-standard category not worthy of the protection of law at the federal level. Even more importantly, only physical objects in the environment are considered entitled to protection, thus

creating and promoting a hierarchy of importance locating archaeology at the top of all other anthropology sub-disciplines. Trickle-down effects include what types of research can be financially supported by research bodies in Canada as well as affecting how and why the academy supports anthropological studies. More importantly, this effects attitudes and behaviours within the discipline at a time when many social sciences are being defunded and phased out. This same process was used to delegitimize natural medicine during the late 1800s and into the 1900s as biomedicine and chemical pharmacology organized around politics, education, and law. Medicine is a cultural artefact when viewed from this perspective and so can be used to adjust the perceived efficacy of one form of medicine over another for example natural *versus* western as opposed to natural *and* western methods.

5.2 Voices of Chief's Point, The Exhibit

Ensuring that the Canadian public take some measure of responsibility for their part in any of the mess that Indigenous communities find ourselves in today ought to be built into every research project produced by academia. Research ought to benefit the public and not the publisher. Colonial institutions, such as museums, libraries, and archives have been urged throughout this emerging process to share the resources they have hoarded and sequestered in tombs hidden away from the public gaze. Recognizing a need to celebrate the success of the collaborative approach to addressing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action, and to cause an entry in the collective memory of the public, concerned partners came together once again, this time to exhibit the technological, socio-political, and cultural intersections that brought repatriation of sacred items home to Anishinaabeg families and communities as well as developing organizational growth through collaboration, respectful dialogue, and demonstrated commitment. The educational component was vast for all partners. Sharing knowledge in a positive manner, just as demonstrated by Robert, Elizabeth, and Edwin's commitment to creating the recordings, our partnership modelled the exhibit in the lessons learned

from this research. It must be shared here an example of the difficulty of interdisciplinary partnerships. Dr. Darnell witnessed a strange communication between Museum London and I during project meetings. In the conversation, we both agreed on a statement yet we both understood the statement to mean two very different things. This miscommunication resulted in confused frustration for the partnership. The value associated with the words we use affect cross-cultural communication and thankfully Dr. Darnell was there to support negotiating the space between partners. There is difference in how the museum references the wax cylinders and how the community references them. For Museum London, they view the recordings as Seaborn's Audio Collection but the Anishinaabeg people refer to these recordings as the Medicine Songs of Chief's Point. I have sourced them under Museum London in the References but referred to them as The Thompson recordings within the text in order to find some common ground between the Anishinaabeg community and Museum London.

Bimadoshka A. Pucan Presents



Figure 5.1 Front cover of "Voices of Chief's Point" Exhibit Catalogue. Printed by Imagewerx Advanced, London, Ontario (November 2018). The catalogue contains a condensed version of the family's history. Copies were provided to the family and to interested community members. It has been archived at Museum London. Photo courtesy of Bimadoshka Pucan.

It is necessary to note the private financial sponsorship that bridged the misdirection of the project. Visionary partners within an organization changed soon after government funds were allocated to the digitization and repatriation project, the lost communication within the organization directly affected directional paths for incoming new partners. What is notable here is the recurrent inability to convince partners of the breadth of possibilities because of maintenance of ideology and policy; an organizational struggle to maintain its own cultural continuity became the sole focus of direction for particular

partners. The ability to negotiate the direction of the project became hindered by a personal determination to maintain adherence to past practices. I perceived a particular industry prop up other industries which in turn drove up financial costs and exasperated communication by outside partners. Notion of value was culturally driven for each partner. For the museum, it was through financial security by way of insurance policies that “protect” the financial worth of the physical object. For the Saugeen Anishinaabeg, to protect is to hear the songs again and again to embed them in deep memory. Digitizing allowed each partner to successfully meet their own goals by coming together to attain a single goal. Negotiation and concession occurred for all partners; there were no winners and no losers.

Technologically speaking, the aim is to transform the medium or more specifically, to change an analog signal into a digital signal in order to preserve, protect, and make accessible and sustainable, the information contained within the audio signal. The signal is an analogue signal and requires transformation into a digital signal. The process can take a variety of forms and required a risk assessment in order to choose the best course of action considering the obsolete technology under examination. An environmental scan of the technological availability of project success produced a few options. The simplest way to digitize is to play the wax cylinders on a Dictaphone and record the audio signal to a digital file. Unfortunately, this option damages the wax cylinders as the needle of the Dictaphone cuts into the groove each time the recording is played. In addition, the wax is very old and fragile, and the quality of sound is detrimentally affected each time the recording is played. Thus, we require a more sensitive approach and, fortunately, technology exists that can support a less invasive procedure for sound extraction.

The Northeast Document Creation Centre in Maryland, United States, describes itself as the only facility in the world with the technological capabilities to support this type of digitization project. Incredibly, a laser is used to recreate the sound in digital format followed by statistical analysis with a program called I.R.E.N.E. that replaces missing sounds due to damage. I.R.E.N.E. is touchless optical-scanning technology (NEDCC,

n.d.). Damaged cylinders are restored at the same location and can also be cleaned; wax cylinders can become moldy and dusty. However, the fact that there was no technical standardization in terms of the speed of making recordings, affects whether the recordings are being played back in the correct speed. It may be impossible to know exactly what Dr. Seaborn's voice sounded like or that of Robert Thompson and we cannot know if we are hearing the songs at the intended speed. But with future statistical programs, we may be able to analyze recordings as a collection instead of individually thereby guaranteeing a more representative sound frequency. The fragility of the ancient recordings necessitates an evaluation of partner organization and stakeholder concerns in order to ensure best practices are followed. Within Canada, digitization of cultural artefacts is new territory; this project being the only one ever attempted in Canada to my knowledge. With this in mind, our research took the following measures. The wax cylinders could not be sent to the United States without first consulting federal policy, museum possession concerns and financial responsibility agreements. Community consultation with recognized collaborators was pursued in conjunction.

Once the information is transformed, it can be re-stored and re-shared with those affected by the loss of language and culture and or those interested in hearing a different perspective. More importantly, the return of song and story to the Anishinaabeg Nation supports re-building a national memory by which the imbalance of power from colonial oppression has detrimentally affected community wellbeing and nationhood. Although the Potlatch Ban of 1885 and residential school policy are only two of the methods employed to sever people from their identity, history, and culture, they both affect the time period under study. Other policies include the Ceremonies Ban and the Costume Ban under the Indian Act of 1876 and subsequent revisions. Cultural Bans were lifted in 1951 through revisions of the Indian Act. However, Indian people were not allowed to gather in groups of 3 or more and adherence to legislation was under the close watch of the Indian Agent.

In terms of the physical culture, and yes, western societies also have a culture that can be studied (Latour, 2012, 7). Wax cylinders were created by Alexander Graham Bell in the late 1800s. His design built on Edison's tin cylinders by improving the design to preserve an improved quality of sound. The technology allowed anthropologists of the era to create audio recordings of "The Disappearing Indian", a widely held romantic notion that this anthropologist is quite thankful for in light of its usefulness the current endeavor. Historical greats, particularly Frances Densmore, created thousands of audio recordings of the Chippewa Indians on the US side of the border, as well as publishing a monograph devoted to understanding Chippewa music (Densmore, 1929). Music is framed as shamanistic and mysterious ensuring each song provided power to those singing or witnessing the song. But Densmore went further and depicted the Chippewa as childlike and naïve in thoughts and behaviours when in fact she was witnessing the very same behaviour we feel today when being purposefully recorded: shyness, embarrassment, some gifted singing and some downright horrible singing. So, when Densmore swept her arm wide and included all Chippewa as a homogenous group and indistinguishable from other Anishinaabeg, she actually made a classic mistake in research methods; she failed to recognize her own bias in her analyses. Historical works continue to impact current scholarship.

Ingrained racist attitudes lead to the development of the idea that the Chippewa did not know what they were doing and did not recognize the ramifications of their actions. They did not know that they ought not to commit sacred songs and stories to record nor did they understand the technology that Densmore was using, namely wax cylinders. Is it to be expected then that any historic recordings be destroyed or committed to some dusty cupboard in a museum never to be accessed again? Or, do we accept that it is how the information is delivered by Densmore that suggests there is/was something magical or mysterious about the songs she recorded, and that the Chippewa are/were retarded in technical and intellectual abilities. I argue the Chippewa knew exactly what they were doing and that to believe otherwise would be biased and racist. Unfortunately, decolonizing how we think about Chippewa or Anishinaabeg people and their culture

involves the Chippewa people themselves. As stated above, Basil Johnston's lifelong work tells us to invoke the three ways in which to begin to understand the Anishinaabeg way of thinking in addition to Thomas Norton-Smith's Four Grounding Principles universal among American Indians and many different life forces become apparent in which we can reflect on cultural continuity. It is more than acculturation or transculturation, cross-cultural elements have slipped between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada and North America.

Defining the artefact in order to set parameters for possible project directions creates the first obstacle for reference. The wax cylinders are physical and tangible objects and are held in an underground facility in Vault 54 by Museum London in London, Ontario in an effort to serve the public's best interest of course. They also hold hundreds of wax cylinders, the information shared to me by vault staff at the end of our exhibit. Dr. Seaborn had passed away in 1951 (Figure 5.2). The Medicine Songs and Stories were stored in a family member's basement until donation to Museum London in 1975, the same year I was born. The museum's perspective is the organization owns the physical objects and only need to refer to the Seaborn family for copyright consideration. I do not disagree that if I had their perspective and values, I would have the same perspective but from my perspective, these are containers for Anishinaabeg Intellectual Property which is non-physical. So, the struggle is ingrained in our ideology about the materiality rather than solely the object's significance.

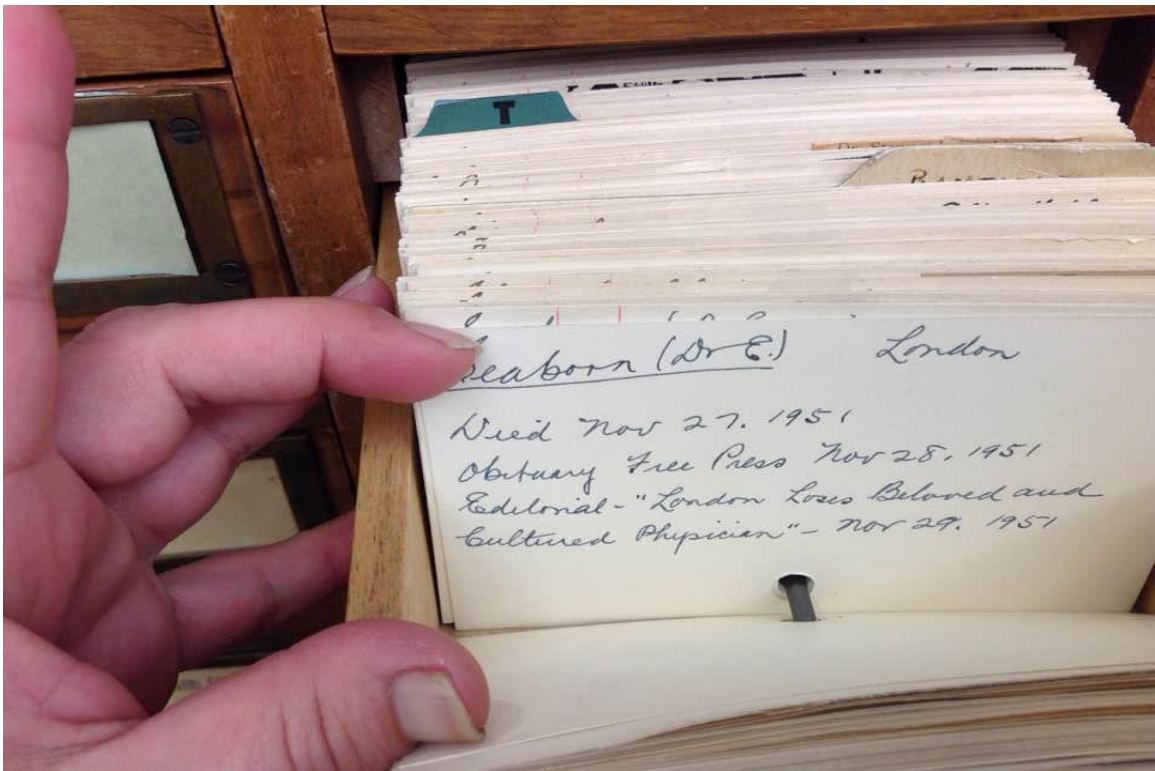


Figure 5.2 Dr. Edwin Seaborn's death reference is found in a card catalogue at the London Public Library, London, Ontario. Photo courtesy of Bimadoshka Pucan, 2015.

In terms of the material and immaterial, these two are separate categories of definition but the two become intertwined after consideration of the non-physical significance. In this perspective, the recordings, being a physical object, do not hold significance for Anishinaabeg as if the concern is for the non-physical. If the recordings do not contain Anishinaabeg songs and stories, the community is not interested in the physical object and so it has no significance to the community whatsoever. There are no written records

associated with the recordings which adds mystery and curiosity. Although there is reference to documentation, records could not be located by archivists and digitization was left as the only option in uncovering what was on the recordings.

5.3 Ethical Responsibilities (Anishinaabeg Ethics)

Robert Thompson passed away on 5 June 1959 of a heart condition. According to the Rolfe Family Cottage Log, Eliza was left in a terrible situation. She had worked off the reserve for most of her life but did not possess the skills to work in towns or cities. She had not lived among her relatives at Cape Coker and so did not fit in there. Elizabeth owned a house in Wiarton and after Robert passed, she had much difficulty financially. The local people and the cottagers all love Eliza and helped find a border to help her. Unfortunately, the choice was poor in Dr. Scofield who appropriated her home. Many people tried to help Elizabeth, but she lost her home to Dr. Scofield. Poor Eliza, the dainty voice on the recordings, soon fell into a sad state and quietly lived out her life alone in Wiarton. With the permission of the family, I share a few pages from the Rolfe Family Cottage Log to evidence how, both Robert and Elizabeth, radiated the spirit of the land (Figures 5.3 – 5.6). According to Ann Rolfe’s entry from 1959,

“Bob... loved his Indian Reserve and gave up comfort and physical wellbeing to live each summer with the free winds and weather of The Bruce. His faithful wife supported him always and despite all the influence of her summer employers remained true to her husband in his decline. This is an embodiment of that which has always been the heritage of the magnificent North American Indian. Bob was great. But his greatness possibly lay in that he was a living example of a race which history records as magnificent, but which in fact has come to mean all that is least looked up to.

For someone else to read this I’ve written is slop stuff. But maybe sometimes I can erect some fitting memorial to a man that I loved dearly, tho’ I never knew

him very well and cannot establish again that contact with a spirit which represented the greatness of a race which has been trampled to extinction. Tho' the winds and wildflowers of Sauble will always be fresh with Bob's spirit, we humans need a visual embodiment of the spirits we love in order to recognize them." (Rolfe, 1959).

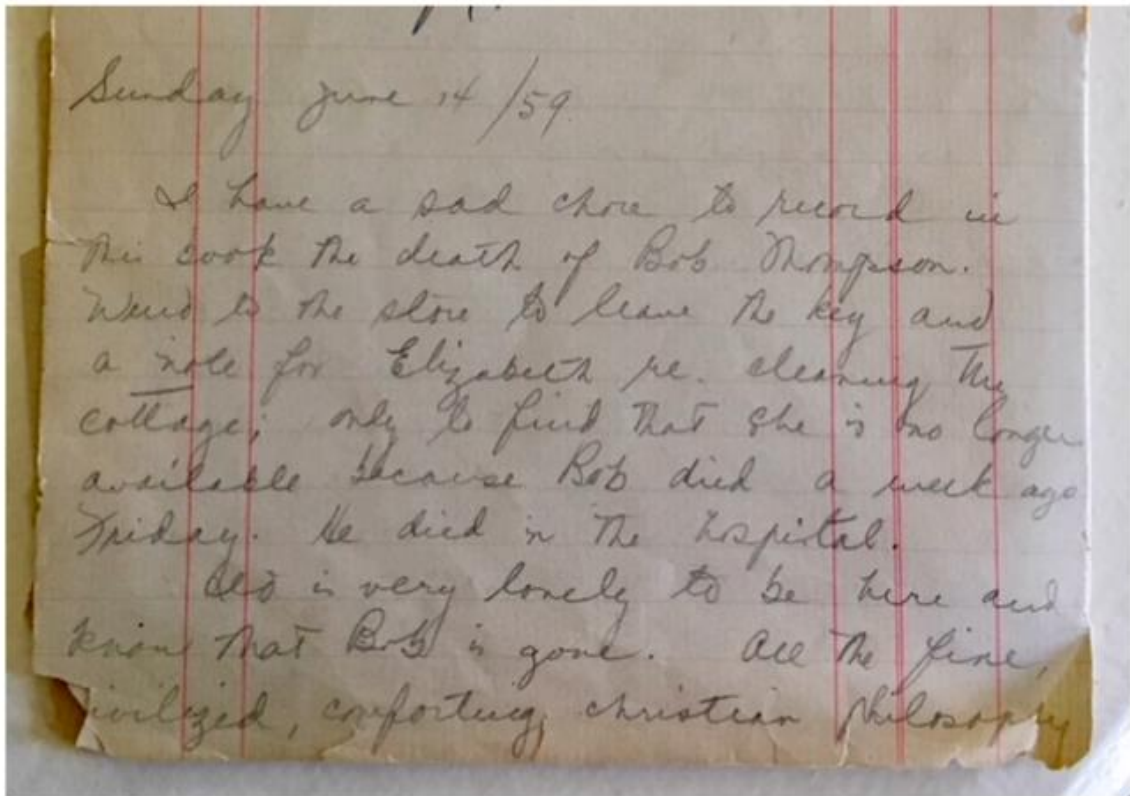


Figure 5.3 A narrative regarding Robert and Elizabeth Thompson found in the Rolfe Family Cottage Log (1959). Courtesy of Ann Rolfe, daughter of Carol, the author.

1959 141

can not establish again that contact with
 a spirit which represented the greatest of
 a race which has been trampled to
 extinction. Tho' the minds and wills
 of humble will always be free with
 Gods spirit - we humans need a visual
 embodiment of the spirits we love in
 order to recognize them.

In the scheme of things this is only
 a moment, but it is very sad to see the
 old die away and is reborn in the
 infantile new.

In 1958, at age 77, 80, 97, 107
 whatever he was. Bob was a Gent over
 apace - parchment-bronzed old man.
 With all his ageing lightness, there
 was always the solidity of his smile
 and good humor which twinkled in
 the eye behind his rimmed glasses.
 He loved his Cuban rum, and
~~for~~ gave up comfort and physical
 well being to his each summer
 with the free winds and weather
 of the Bruce. His faithful wife
 supported him always and despite
 the ill-effects of her summer

Figure 5.4 Page from the Rolfe Family Cottage Log (1959). Courtesy of Ann Rolfe.

was always ~~the~~ ^{the} solidity of his smile
 and good humor which twinkled in
 the eye behind his rimmed glasses.
 He loved his Arabian reserve, and
~~gave~~ gave up comfort and physical
 well being to the fresh breeze
 with the free winds and weather
 of the Prince. His faithful wife
 supported him always, and despite
 all the influence of her summer
 employers remained true to her husband
 in his decline. ~~and~~ This is an embodiment
 of that which has always been the
 heritage of ~~the~~ ^{the} magnificent north
 American Indian. Rob was great.
 But his greatness possibly lay in that
 he was a ~~living~~ ^{living} example of a race
 which history records as magnificent,
 but which in fact has come to mean
 all that a heart looked up to.

For someone else to read, this that
 I've written is slop stuff. But maybe
 sometime I can write some fitting
 memorial to a man that I loved dearly,
 tho' I never knew him very well.

Figure 5.5 Page from the Rolfe Family Cottage Log (1959). Courtesy of Ann Rolfe.

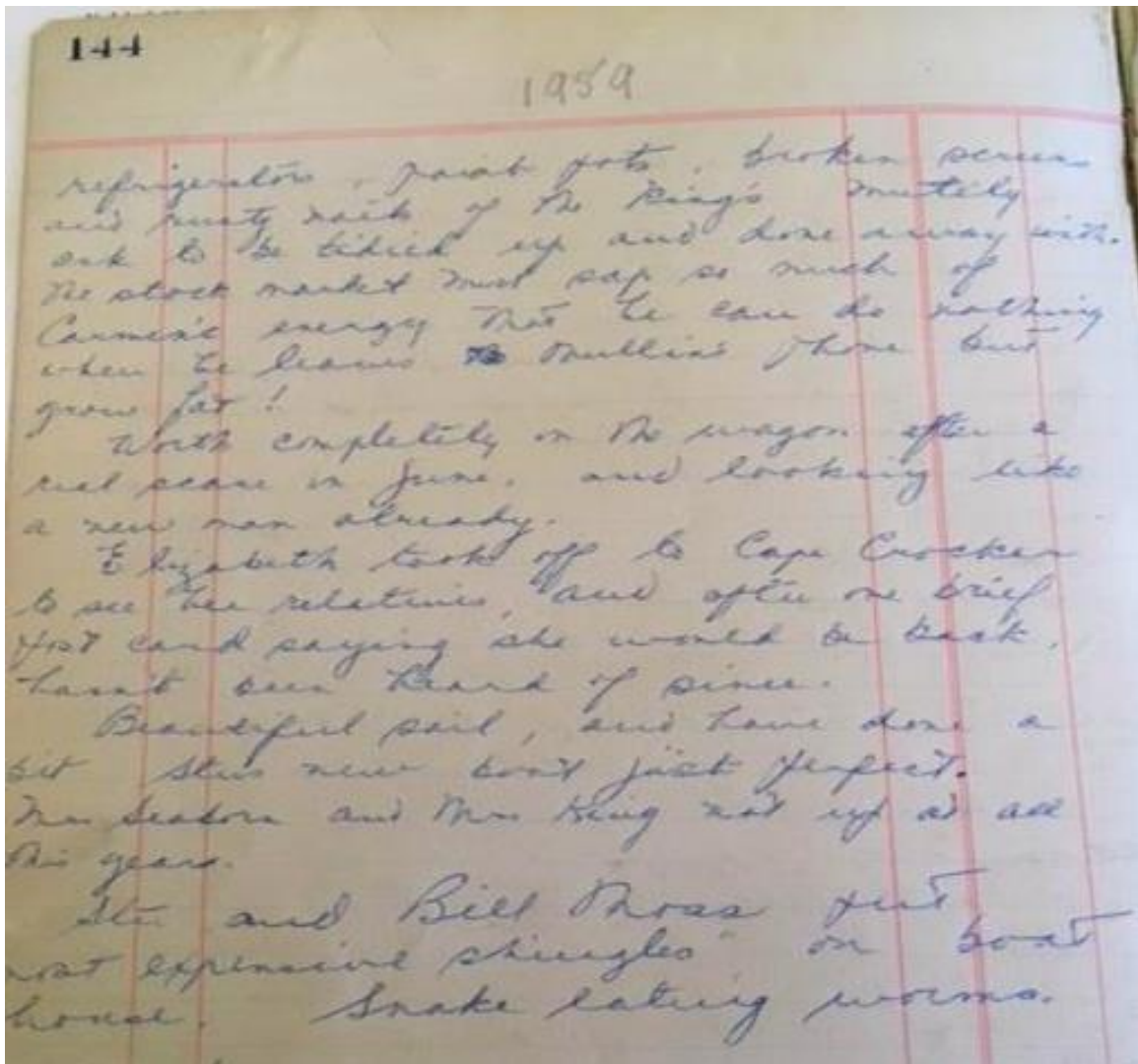


Figure 5.6 Page from Rolfe Family Cottage Log (1959). Courtesy of Ann Rolfe.

The people of Chief's Point, particularly Robert and Elizabeth, were perceived by their friends as remaining a part of the land long after they passed on. The breeze, a call of bird, or a little animal track in the fresh snow breathes the spirit of the land into our perceptions of the land. In fact, when I attend at Oozhoo Odenang [Chief's Point], I feel

the spirit of Uncle Bob, Auntie Eliza, and all of the ancestors who came to live, be, and die at the place where clans gather to cross over to the other side.

Both internal to the individual and moving through their connections to others, consciously attending to ethical responsibilities within a community-based, action-oriented methodology requires one to accept an Anishinaabeg perspective of reciprocity to a human and other-than-human set of partners. Easily enough it is understood that partnerships require constant revisiting of relational roles in order to reflect ongoing changes in individual partner direction. Some issues are easily vocalized and some not at all. It is a relationship that is constantly negotiated, much like having a conversation over a period of many interactions. Partnerships build on the strengths of each participant and recognizes the roles and gifts that each bring to a research project.

Early relationships between the Anishinaabeg and Newcomers were built on an understanding of peace, friendship, and non-interference. Each of these concepts requires ongoing revisiting and re-envisioning to maintain a continuity of commitment. Researchers must ensure relationships with communities are maintained and offering support at the communities' invitation. For me, I continue to work with community-based and grassroots groups within the Saugeen community. Even though I am at the end of my journey through the ranks of academia, the work that has begun around this important piece of the Anishinaabeg story continues to beckon me home and beyond. I recognize I have a certain stewardship to these songs and stories and I'll likely spend the rest of my life listening to and learning from Robert and Eliza just as many other Anishinaabeg will too. It is my responsibility as a holder of knowledge to transmit to coming generations the songs and stories of the Anishinaabeg.

Realizing the importance of ownership, control, access, and possession of knowledge, and to participate in the cultivation processes as full partners, realizes more than just the OCAP Principles discussed earlier. Particularly with Indigenous partners and their communities, the partnership playing field must be equalized by addressing the power imbalance that exists as demonstrated through legal, political, and jurisdictional systems.

This can be accomplished by strategically aligning partners at specific points in project development and delivery that support an equitable power structure. For example, aligning the university with the Indigenous community amplifies the communities' voice at the negotiation table when approaching repatriation projects. However, their necessary intervention begins to relax as the project begins to unfold, although ideally, they remain available for project support.

Indigenous peoples will never truly have control over their own culture as there are many institutions and many people who gain financially from control over Indigenous culture, both material and non-material. Artefact appraisers and insurance companies drive up the costs around digitization projects. It is as if objects are too valuable for people to even bother with, but wax cylinders are so plentiful the "balls of wax" have been valued at \$5.00 each (CBS News, *The Worth of Wax Cylinders*, updated 2002). In fact, they are so fragile and unstandardized, "each requiring a particular needle" that they can be ruined with just one play (ibid). I am unable to verify the treatment of the wax cylinders of this project as I was prevented from participating in a meaningful way during the digitization process. It can be viewed as the museum wanting to maintain control over the object possibly seeing an opportunity to increase the value of their collections. That is just what museums do, there is no judgement made on my part other than that it is too bad. It can be an inexpensive process but when people take a step back and reflect on what is actually occurring, they may see the financial waste as well as the waste for cultural capital inherent in maintaining colonial systems.

Anishinaabeg did not waste anything and that includes opportunity. When an opportunity presents itself, it is the Anishinaabeg duty to consult with the human and other-than-human world to understand the outcome of our actions before we act. And we have to reserve the right to stop a project when it pushes cultural commitments too far. For those who work for organizations, Anishinaabeg recognize that people are just doing their job and that it is not personal. There are rules to follow for very important and specific reasons and that is not the point here. The point is that their personal investment does not

weigh on an equal scale with Anishinaabeg cultural protocols. Perhaps it is all in how one values aspects of their lives. Perhaps there are people who see their jobs as their culture and priorities and so then following the policies of the employer means a certain identity and personal security. For an example, non-Indigenous people are identified by their employment positions whereas Indigenous peoples are consistently identified by their Nation and not by their positions of employment nor their academic status. Anishinaabeg weight the two for one reason. People can get another job but Anishinaabeg cannot get another identity. For Anishinaabeg, the risks of cultural offense are much higher and so pushing the limits of respecting protocols can be too severe a price for people to participate in doing things differently.

We fear making a mistake and so we are averse to change. Mistakes contain meaningful lessons just as they did for Nanabush. The culture hero's adventures give us a template to evaluate our own experiences. I am not advocating haphazard progress; I am calling attention to the natural aversion to change or the fear of the unknown. A fear of change can paralyze people, communities, and organizations particularly when past practices are perceived as threatening or have been severely reprimanded. When the consequences have been severe, a shift in the opposite direction repeats failure. Social policy often imitates this wide swing from the Left to the Right and vice versa. It is likely why many young people do not engage with the current political arena. Reclaiming cultural heroes can provide young people with hope and guidance in terms of affecting positive change within their communities. Anishinaabeg youth are no different from other youth, they need to see themselves reflected in the world around them and see growth and development within their lifetime, and not seven generations from now.

Creation stories ought to be recognized for their own healing properties. For me, each day I am faced with a world flooded by some great looming catastrophe, whether it be the Deep Geological Nuclear Repository or plastic covering us and our planet. We have to find a way to build our world into something better than what we found. The threat to water, our biggest concern, is not the world flooded by water but by our own plastic

culture. This project exposed the changes to the land and how those are felt by the people. The effects on human health have to take precedence in all our future projects. Robert Thompson left us the voice of the land and the water warning us to change before it is too late. Imagine all that water and not being able to drink it. We can know this by fasting in ceremony on the land with the Old People.

Getting to the land again will allow the Anishinaabeg to get to themselves again. Land-based education is healing and solidifies concepts difficult to express in English. The language comes easier through the actions that developed the words and vice versa. Going to Robert Thompson's property at Chief's Point for the first time was strange. A traditional person that I had been in conversation with around the history of Saugeen had asked his older brother where The Thompsons lived. Going by his instruction, the traditional person and I ventured into a snowy covered forest on a wide path. The path eventually split, and we followed it further into the bush. After a distance, the old man apologized saying he lost his bearings and couldn't recognize where we were. We followed our tracks through the snow heading back out. We walked single file, I was following, and I spotted something strange in the bush. The way the light caught something unnatural in the forest signaled like a beacon. I walked straight toward this strangeness. As I stood looking at a mound of snow, the traditional teacher came to the same spot from another direction and commented that I had found it. I continued to stare at the snow hill when it started to take shape, a house with a massive tree crashed in on it. What an amazing feeling to have history come alive before my eyes, the same house from the newspaper pictures. I could hear his songs playing in my head as I wandered around his property admiring a shed made of hand-cut lumber.

I brought the crew from TVO in the spring of 2018 when we filmed the mini-documentary with the community. Chief's Point is so beautiful in the spring and summer. The sun warms the sand and the trees block the wind from lake, deadly in the spring as we were chased out of the bush by a fierce gang of bloodthirsty deerflies and mosquitoes. I don't think I have ever seen anyone run so fast. To tell the truth, I didn't hang around to

help the slower runners. It was very much every person for himself at that moment. Visiting the land at Chief's Point at different times of the year all point to it being a very unforgiving place to live but it feels comforting in its quiet peacefulness. It feels as if time slows down and the noise made by human inventions and overpopulation disappears. The land is certainly very much alive, and it feels like home in the pines of Oozhoo Odenang. The little animals leave their tracks as evidence and the rattlesnakes have always hidden from me. But those bugs are pretty tough protectors of the land today. The birds call to one another letting the trees and the manitowag know we are approaching. The sunsets on Lake Huron burn their beauty in to the hearts and memories of those who count themselves lucky enough to witness one. This connection is what a good Anishinaabe is responsible to and for. Protecting the land so these intimate and unexplainable forces can act to create meaning in a world consistently flooded by all sorts of human creations.

The already antique audio recordings recall a time when the Anishinaabeg identified as one Nation. The songs and stories call out to people to remember a time before identity was tied to the reserve perimeter and the Indian Act. Language, kinship ties, and stories maintained the ability for the Anishinaabeg to ensure longevity and depth of their identity. As demonstrated through this research, identity and kinship can be traced in the stories that families pass down through generations. When families contribute to their specialized knowledge to the community story, the process repairs kinship and familial ties; it confirms the stories the old ones told to little ones. When histories are documented with artefacts and archival documentation, dignity and respect are restored to the past and an appreciation for the longstanding connection to land and place strengthens pride and citizenship. Imagine if this type of project could happen with each family and how that might build community wellness and a reconnection to self and place. There is no question that the Anishinaabeg of the Saugeen Territory hold profound and innate ties to land and how changes to landscape change the relationships one can have with the land. These recordings brought Saugeen women from distant places together around the kitchen of my grandmother.

We sat around very late at night. We are all mothers and so getting together happens late at night when the children are asleep, and the chores are complete. How utterly practical those Anishinaabe-kwewog. They were excited at first. Then the music played, and Robert instantly commanded the women into silence. Quieting a room full of Saugeen women is a pretty big feat. We sat in silence listening and then they began to comment and to question. Our head matriarch that night was Maandaawkwe Jigjigneshikwe Daanson [no translation available]. She is a language teacher by trade, and she shared some important insight into these songs and stories. She said that he [Robert Thompson] was confirming his intention to make the recordings. He knew what he was committing to record and that others were there listening to him. She provided in-depth explanations of particular songs of which I cannot share here. I can state this. She shared that the Buffalo Song that was actually a story about 2 or 3 boys who were going to war. The Beaver Story was about the fur trade and that the Anishinaabeg wanted guns and traded rabbit tail blankets. The rabbit tail blankets were described as crocheted-like; that you could stick your fingers through the soft, supple fur. I could almost feel the velvety quality of the blankets and imagined them of the most exquisite of any in the world. She said Robert warned that people would try to take the recordings away in order to make money off of them. Maandaawkwe said she heard Robert say that the women will do the work. He commented that all the children were going to school and nobody knew how to be Anishinaabeg anymore. At the end of our session, we felt a stronger connection to one another and to our culture. We were also inspired to make changes in our own personal lives around language revitalization, to seek to know more about our cultural and historical knowledge and promised to protect and support our community and each other into the future. The songs and stories left for us continue to inspire communities and people. I quote Matriarch Bernice Thompson when interviewed by TV Ontario about Robert Thompson, “It’s like he has reached from the past, from beyond. It’s awesome!” (TVO, 2018).

The Canoe Song was likely a number one hit for people who crossed vast distances by water. The Chippewa Love Song was probably carried on the breeze at dusk reminding

old people of their own courting days. The other songs we have are ones that are sung in ceremony and are not of the business of an academic dissertation. What good is a life without a few mysteries and a lot of unknowns. Finding these recordings is an absolute blessing and has changed my life for the better. In that sense, they are Medicine Songs because of the positive impact they have had on my life. My children have opportunities they would never have had and their own appreciation of the power of being Anishinaabeg continues to infect their spirit. My son and I heard Robert Thompson on the radio one afternoon while driving in the car. We both felt incredible pride in our history and in our community and my son chuckled and nodded, “Pretty cool.”

Community intellectual property repatriation gatherings were well attended at Saugeen. Community members use this information to reassume their identity by adding their knowledge as the history is shared. Genealogy interested most attendees and some Elders added individuals they knew to be a part of particular families. They shared how some people had come to Saugeen, there were those who left, and marriages extended familial connections across distant geographical areas. The War of 1812 was most helpful as people were awakened to the realization that the Canadian-United States border effected how people identified themselves. It was exciting to see people come to realize their own colonized identity and to awaken as if from a deep sleep. To hear comments around the recognition that stories older than Canada still existed within their own families and to feel their excitement of coming to know just as I did with exposure to these songs and the history of how they have come down to us.

5.4 Revitalizing Identity

The Chief’s Point Anishinaabeg, a powerful branch of the Anishinaabeg Nation, their relatives now at Saugeen Territory, are re-examining the multi-dimensional extent of who they consider themselves to be. It sparked a process within individuals and communities to reconnect to their wider relations and to form a foundation from which people can

locate themselves. Far too long has the misinterpretation of Anishinaabeg understandings created an identity that places people in a deficient role. To see people come to new conclusions about their own history and identity as a people, family, and nation is most encouraging and fruitful as the people begin to offer visions of direction and hope. People see themselves as an extension of the past and as people continue to spend time together listening and exploring the meaning of the messages sent to them from the past brings a positive vision for the future. It is taken as proof that our ancestors saw us coming and loved us so much that they chose to record these messages for us. It provides evidence of reciprocal connections between the non-physical to the physical worlds particularly through land, language, and our ancestors.

This project repositions people and families by re-grounding identity in land after repeated forced removal. The loss of the connection has been brutal and sometimes deadly but access to an Anishinaabe way of thinking and being in the world provides people with a sense of purpose, pride and resilience. It continually feeds a sense of citizenship and nationhood. The repatriation of song and story has provided the people with a real-life hero; knowing that someone broke the rules to ensure the Anishinaabeg would have access to language, history, and a long, deep connection to the land through time. Traditionally stories sustained peoples' hearts and minds through the deadly winters and today these stories can build the same resilience in Anishinaabeg people as we pull through the long, cold season of colonization. People need to have opportunities to hear stories and they need time to tell their stories. It is a part of healing and growth at the same time.

Anishinaabeg identity is a fluid construct and looking back in order to replicate ancient practices without considering the contextual factors that contribute to human development restricts the ability for ancient practices to grow to meet the needs of contemporary peoples. Human and cultural development arise from the sharing of knowledge and ideas, as individuals and as groups. This sharing brings innovation as people and communities incorporate new ideas in ways that meet their needs and improve

their life experiences. Definitions of identity can only exist in the areas they are invented to address. As Elders and language teachers told me over and over, it's right and it's wrong and so I abandon the dichotomy of right and wrong instead recognizing the Anishinaabeg teachings of Balance. This is not one of the "Seven Grand Father Teachings" but a fundamental understanding that Basil Johnston wrote about in many of his books all beginning with Nanaboozhoo [Nanabush]. There are repercussions for each and all of our actions and so we choose the best path, the one that does the least amount of harm and does the greatest good. This is how we ought to understand human beings in general and so that it necessarily recognizes cultural continuity. People and cultures can and do change. It is the battle for resource access and ownership that forces imbalanced directions and pits a culture against itself. Denying cultural continuity is a product of the colonized approach to land as a resource and is an act of genocide as it extinguishes a people's ability to develop and grow in and of themselves. It affects all people including non-Indigenous people. We all have a right to learn from one another and to build each other up as human species.

Repatriation through digitization has allowed the songs and stories to return to the Saugeen people in a way that individuals can access the information on their own conditions. The Elders Advisory Committee at Saugeen First Nation were engaged in genealogical and historical discussions. They were provided with sessions to hear the songs as a group over 3 days. They were provided with their own copies of digital files with reminders that their younger family members could help them with technology if needed. They were encouraged to listen with family members in hopes of reviving language, stories, and relationships between generations. Many made suggestions to me in how I may move forward with my own research interests. A suggestion to engage with professional sound engineers to improve the sound of the recordings would benefit me and the community. Another suggested the Elders attend at all museums to retrieve all objects of cultural significance. I took the opportunity to talk about our lack of resources in the community around cultural protection and implored the Elders to reconsider the timing of this re-collection until we had a follow-up plan. This is how the community

came to see the value of partnerships and sharing colonial resources, but trust was and remains a major obstacle in working with colonial institutions of memory.

The culmination of the partnership between Museum London and Saugeen First Nation was enshrined in the public memory through the creation of the award winning, *Voices of Chief's Point* exhibit. This was not planned initially. When internal funding became available from Museum London, Amber Lloydlangston inquired if the creation of an exhibition would be possible or welcomed. I introduced the idea at a community gathering around genealogy research in January of 2018. I inquired again with the Elders Council and community in March of 2018 at a public presentation of the audio recordings to the community. I invited the community to a rolling public presentation that occurred over a three-day period. The first two days were well attended by many Elders, traditional teachers and language speakers. I asked for their input in moving forward with the songs and stories. The community made many well-informed suggestions including having the songs and stories available to the daycare for the children to access, offering community language classes in the evening with the recordings as the class guide, providing the recordings to the health centre to support health services, and of course to build a cultural centre that could house the recordings and other cultural items. One Elder suggested sending the recordings to a professional to have the sound quality improved. Suggestions of further documenting Saugeen history and publishing in book format would support community growth and wellness into the future. Discussions surrounded mechanism for language revitalization, and the Elders felt the community needed its own school for those who want to learn the language. Land-based education was identified as pertinent to solidifying language retention while still meeting mainstream educational priorities. Elders wanted to be included in the education of young people and felt a community-based school would create a space for Elders to be available in the school. An integrated curriculum based in the community is thought to be the best route forward to promote Mino Bimadziwin at Saugeen First Nation. I was encouraged by the Elders to feel warranted to make decisions on behalf of the community. They trusted that I would always hold the community's interests at heart.

Elders suggested a radio station to play our songs and to hear our language in order to flood our senses with Anishinaabemowin [the original language]. Some felt it important to teach people to speak the particular Saugeen dialect while others commented about Anishinaabemowin being made up of Odawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomi languages. Hence our connection to the Three Fires Confederacy. Speaking Anishinaabemowin is an ever-evolving language and the knowledge from those connecting Nations provided for a secure identity. Language builds resilience. The Elders all talked of Chief's Point as being a place of ceremony and fasting although no one recalled the Anishinaabeg name for that particular place. I inquired of the Elders regarding the oral stories of avoiding Chief's Point because of rattlesnakes. I told them I had been there many times and had never seen a snake. Even when I was poking into holes in the ground or digging into crevices, I had not come across any snakes at Chief's Point. One beautiful Elder, a chef and business owner, told me that in Chief's Point, the snakes live up in the trees. She said, "where there is one, you will find many!" Safety in the field is secured when local specialized knowledge keepers are engaged early on. I had maintained community input and updates over a 4-year period, beginning with an initial introduction of the project from Dr. Darnell and me in 2015, "Two-Stepping" with Employment and Training at Saugeen.

Two-Stepping is a concept I have created and successfully employ in community-based research methods. Two-Stepping at the powwow is a form of social dancing that grows out of the Anishinaabeg Rabbit Dance, Partridge Dance, and Snake Dance. Two-Stepping is a dance of two entities, where the environment is maneuvered in partnership with another, supporting and nurturing a beautiful interaction of resurgence through storied dance. Many partners dance together in harmony and wind their way as a collective, moving over the land and avoiding obstacles. The concept of Two-Stepping in research is put into action by partnering with already occurring community initiatives offering research support, human capital, and networks in order to create a space for new dialogue without being intrusive or overwhelming of the partnership. Securing partnerships with Indigenous communities is first accomplished by giving research support to the

community. Once the community trusts the researcher's initiatives, an academic project can be introduced to the community. However, the community must direct the research process and outcomes. Building in OCAP principles will ensure partnership longevity.

I supported the Stone Masons Project at Saugeen in order to present my project in short spurts to the community during already occurring community events around the Stone Masons Project under Jennifer Kewageshig. Eventually, this led other programs and projects to invite me to participate: The Genealogy Project under the direction of Rachel Mason and Lori Kewaquom, and The Wesleyan United Church Restoration Project under the Kewaquom Family, and the First Nations Day Celebration. I support grassroots groups with historical and political research. I have also attended to the interests of the Anishinaabeg Nation through global projects such as the scientific expedition into the North Pacific in 2018 to investigate the plastic problem effecting the water, animals and, in particular, the effect on women's health (Exxpedition, 2018). For me, water is a living being and entitled to the legal protections enjoyed by human beings.

The *Voices of Chief's Point* exhibit showcases the partnership that produced the repatriation of song and story but also shares the lengthy cultural continuity of the Saugeen Anishinaabeg. The Elders Council along with many of their families attended the exhibit. Amber Lloydlangston and I led a tour of the exhibit and followed by a short lecture on the project. It was incredible to see the people enjoy their community from an outsider's perspective so to speak. "Nishin" [Ever Good] was a resounding word in the exhibit that day. The excitement generated by the media brought the Executive Director and the Curator of the Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre to Museum London. In agreement with Museum London and Saugeen First Nation, the *Voices of Chief's Point* exhibit will be attending at Southampton, Ontario in September of 2019. Many Anishinaabeg communities have agreed that a travelling cultural exhibit would be welcomed in their communities. It is hoped that a part of the interactive exhibit will allow community members to record their own stories and reactions to the exhibit. Their stories can be held by their own communities for their own use. Dr. Darnell and I are working on

making this a reality even though the communities have already received copies of the recordings and which are held by their Elders Councils, Language Teachers, and Cultural Programs and Centres. It is important to me to individualize the travelling exhibit to include each of the community voices and artistic expressions of their lived story. Each of the many communities has developed their own particular expression of their shared Anishinaabeg identity. Anishinaabeg people have their own individual way of understanding who they are and there is no consensus. In fact, the categorization of traditional or Elder is highly varied and hotly debated within Anishinaabeg circles. Some who identify as such do not meet the standards of others. Defined parameters from a Western perspective, such as the age of retirement, do not hold across cultures.

Saugeen Band mandates the age of 55 years as the age of acceptance of Elder status. This community bylaw allows the administration to deliver services to those who experience poorer health outcomes than their Canadian counterparts. It is well known that Aboriginals have lower life expectancies, poorer health outcomes, and face systematic discrimination compared to every other group in Canada. At times, I am completely exacerbated with both the historic and present situation of First Nations people in Canada. We are underserved, undervalued, and completely disregarded in terms of offering anything substantial or meaningful to society. The people who live on reserves are the poorest people in this country, even compared to urban Status Indians and even they aren't doing much better. I get upset particularly when funding is earmarked for First Nation students and it is sidelined to those who self-identify due to fears of discrimination allegations. The people who are self-identifying do not realize that they are taking funding from the poorest people in Canada, the ones the funding has been set aside for.

These proliferations of definitions and categorizations including varying Anishinaabeg perspectives of identity have resulted in the social acceptance of self-identification. Self-identification is causing many problems for individuals and communities as more and more people choose to declare an Indigenous identity citing one of the many definitions

in existence or taking the defensive position of feeling discriminated against. As more and more people identify as Indigenous, the services provided for those who are already underserved are being accessed by these new numbers of Indigenous people. The services or funding do not increase as the number of people requiring services exceed population expectancies. Thankfully, the fallout of self-identification is beginning to be examined. For example, universities have great difficulty administering services earmarked for status Indians, Inuit, and Metis. Those who are self-identifying are taking resources from the people they are set aside to help. It is felt as a form of violence against those who have identified as Indigenous their entire lives. It is one thing to self-identify and another to do so for financial gain.

Perhaps instead, identity ought to be categorized by the behavior and actions of those making the claims. As explained, ethics are morally based. And so foundational knowledge that is land based and shared between families and kinship connections drives how one views the world and where one's commitments lie. This is where Anishinaabeg identity lives. It is demonstrated in the actions of the individual, by the way they exhibit adherence to established moral values and motivations that dictate actions and commitment to communities. These inscrutable core manifestations are built by the stories we hear, the stories we pursue, how we re-share them with others. That is what makes a person Anishinaabeg. It is superseded in the early education of infants and children where the organization of worldview is negotiated. It is then in the things they do that reflects the thoughts that make them unique and distinct; a continuation of the past in order to secure a sustainable future. Blood memory, or epigenetics, understands that I was an egg in my mother when she was in utero of my grandmother. The stories my grandmother told me ought to instigate memory stored in DNA or mitochondrial DNA. Her life is stored in my genes just as her grandmother's is stored in hers. Identity and worldview are passed through women and so this ought to be the recognized manner in how identity and membership is passed to children and not through the men's lineage.

Perhaps we can dig deeper for tangible connections. A published Creation story offered by the Eddie Benton, an Anishinaabe-inni from Minnesota, states that the Creator had a thought that he sent out into the void. There was no response. So, Creator made things that could bounce his thoughts back to him. Although this story has much more to offer outside my own abilities to re-share it, I rely on aspects that influence and reflect this work. The song is what a creator sends out into the universe and the reverberation that is reciprocated is the dance. In this explanation, the song came first; however, if the song was not received, there can be no feedback loop. There is no song unless someone hears it and the song is reverberated through the movements of those that receive it. The song and dance compound the reverberating energy to those who observe it and their own enjoyment produces further energy.

Elder and Chief of the People, Vernon Roote, an Anishinaabe-inni from Saugeen, implored that songs are personal manifestations of natural experience within the Anishinaabeg worldview. Before the digitization project started, I expressed that some individuals might have concerns over the recordings of Pewakanep in that the songs contained something bad, or evil. Chief Roote explained further that the songs of Pewakanep were his own medicine meaning that was how he expressed the reverberations of the natural world that he felt in particular instances. The songs could not be medicine for anyone else but the person who sang them and that perhaps the songs could tell us something about how Pewakanep experienced the world. Chief Roote was absolutely correct in that the audio collection, taken as a whole, does provide a unique connection to the land and people at Chief's Point.

There are funny stories of which the humour is really only evident for those who understand Anishinaabemowin; the English translation is not comedic at all. And there are songs that are only meant for particular Anishinaabeg, medicine songs that really can't be shared across cultures as the divide is still far too great. The colonized mind, the Western Science way of being in the world, does not allow for this Other Way of Being in the World in the public realm. I do not have the authority to speak about such things

outside of my family and my kinship networks because I see myself as still in the learning phase of my life journey.

Even for Anishinaabeg, the degree of connectedness to the secret side of Anishinaabeg cultural affects their openness to connect with The Great Mystery. I think it has to do with a willingness to feel the past because of how much suffering has come to the Anishinaabeg who always want to do the right thing. The Seven Grandfathers are full teachings in the sense that they are equivalent to what is taught during childhood but Anishinaabeg need more. We need philosophers, dreamers, innovators, and debaters to build again that knowledge that has been retarded by colonial policy and laws. Trust, truth, balance, equity, and harmony need to be introduced to young people for them to build on as they enter their adult years; the years they work in service of their people.

Traditional people from Saugeen, who prefer to remain anonymous, explained that these songs were meant for me and that only I could decide what to do with them. They stated that from an Anishinaabeg perspective, the songs possessed an agency of their own and they reached out to me for reasons I had to work to understand. Essentially, I have become the keeper of the songs, and although that was not my intention, I understand this to mean that finding out who Pewakanep was would also indicate how these songs ought to find their way home. When I looked to Robert Thompson's life, and what I could infer about his ethics, I knew it to be a part of his identity to teach any and all who were interested in Anishinaabeg culture and history. He knew it was a way to change how people treated each other in the future. And there are parts of the Anishinaabeg culture that are none of any others' business just as my Elders taught me. We only say what we need to. This lesson has been incredibly difficult for me as I am known in my community as a "Wide Mouth Mason" meaning my family is one that consistently speaks up for what we believe to be true and just. Saugeen's Masons are highly vocal and political; many Masons work in the social field as teachers, social workers, and political leaders. This fire that becomes visible when I speak about Indigenous Issues surprises those who don't know me. Elder Myrna Kicknosway often reminds me that I am only here to spread the

seeds of ideas and we pray that something takes hold and grows. Her words have tempered my fierceness as too much heat can chase allies from the kitchen.

In bringing these songs and stories back to Saugeen, I was honoured with two eagle feathers that were found at Chief's Point by a particular traditional teacher. I was honoured in a very quiet way, after I demonstrated just how much I had learned through this project. This person asked me to keep their name out of the dissertation writing but to include their thoughts. I agreed that I would respect their wishes. When I was leaving their home, they asked to take a picture of the two of us to mark the occasion. This person promptly put it out on social media. I was amused by this dual behaviour at first. Then I realized he was showing our community that he believed in the project and that I had demonstrated my understanding of the tasks at hand. I sought to procure something tangible for my people. He said to hold a feather when I speak as it forces people to tell the truth but also is a symbol of authority on a particular matter.

It was the most beautiful act of honour, respect, humility, bravery, wisdom, love, and honesty. If I may comment here, this was more meaningful than any degree or award I have ever received. The three-hour conversation felt as though I was expected to demonstrate what I had learned and if I had actually interpreted what I was learning through an Anishinaabeg lens. Even more, I demonstrated how much I understood about the families, their histories, and how together this built our present identity and our social conditions as a community. I explained that I saw protection of culture as not of something to be hoarded and kept hidden away. I see protection as being able to know and pass on the knowledge to our children and to our families. Culture should live with the people, be spoken on their lips, acted out daily, and reflect who they are and how they see themselves in the world. Protecting culture doesn't mean we contain it and store it away. Culture is lived and re-lived, and we express that lived culture through the stories we tell and the cultural meaning we take from it.

Think again on Nanabush and his stories. He consistently made mistakes and life continued on. Nanabush was The Great Forgiver, accepting the lessons that come from

making mistakes and recognizing that tomorrow he would have a chance to try it all again. The fact that sun rises every day reminds the Anishinaabeg that hope, and forgiveness are linked, letting go of yesterday's pain but holding on to the lessons. Each and every day we get another chance to do things differently.

Digitization opened the door for community members to communicate with each other across space, both geographically and between and across age groups. Many of the people I grew up with are now married and have moved into other First Nation communities both urban and rural. In fact, the songs were able to travel to band members who are currently residing in other Indigenous Nations around the globe. For these members, they have reminded people of their connection to community and to their ancestors; those two things that maintain and strengthen identity as Saugeen people move throughout the world. People who have received these songs feel a part of a community that recognizes their right to know who they are and their right to connect to each other and to the wider Nation. People need to have access to community language supports and Cultural Strengtheners.

Cultural Strengtheners are artefacts that are both material and non-material and have an ability to inspire and remind individuals of the intricate and deeply rooted ties of people to land and their ancestral past. Take, for example, the Cultural Strengthenener of Smudging. Smudging is a practice that not only involves plant medicine providing the land connection, but the prayer aspects that involve mindfulness and self-soothing. Although Smudging can and does happen anywhere and at any time, people rely on Smudging particularly when stress or trauma or pain are felt. The connection between land and self is deeply imbedded in practices and seeking to increase opportunities to practice behaviors that produce de-stressors such as daily Smudging. The smoke involved with Smudging does affect some people adversely and so I am looking to new technologies to maintain the behavior but improve access would be to introduce vapour Smudging or essential oil Smudging. Personally, I use *Smudge in a Can* which offends and frustrates my sister. My niece thinks it is funny. As I witness small changes, I think

back to my grandfather's instruction. Whenever I see an eagle, I am to stop and lay tobacco and give quiet thanks for the reminder of interconnectedness. He said that it didn't matter that a person only had cigarettes. Tobacco is tobacco and to use whatever type we have access to. He said this about Smudging. We should always try to use the most natural methods for ceremony but if one only has a lighter, then to use it and acknowledge that change in practice. As Anishinaabeg, we use what we have as opposed to doing nothing at all.

Through the words, the sounds, the drum, the song, and the people are reawakening and restabilising a knowing that is deeply imbedded within the Anishinaabeg way of being in the world. It is a knowledge that we are taught as very small children. Our ancestors fought hard to save us something of who we are. It is more than what is enshrined in treaties or government issued status cards. It is more than blood quantum or adoption papers. It is more than words. It is in how our hearts beat, in the messages we receive from the manitowag that guide our work in the here and now. It is what we save of ourselves for the future. Even if no one else cares, our ancestors did and still do. We just have to reach out to the unknown, put our faith in the universe, and follow our original instructions and teachings. Take a risk and dare to bring your dreams into the physical world. In whatever you choose to do in life, always do it in the service of your people. Miigwech Niin'dawaama [All my relatives, Thank you].

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6. Appendices



Saugeen First Nation

Administration

November 7, 2016.

Boozhoo! Greetings!

My name is Chief Lester Anoquot of Saugeen First Nation.

I am writing this letter in support of the partnership created between Bimadoshka Pucan, PhD candidate at the University of Western Ontario, and Museum London regarding the historical audio recordings made by Dr. Edwin Seaborn and Pewekwennep of Saugeen First Nation #29 in the early 1900s. These recordings are sacred medicine songs not only belong to the people of Saugeen but to the wider Anishinaabeg Nation as well. Due to the severe impact of Canada's residential schools on the collective memory of the Indigenous communities, this project will work to rebuild our knowledge base and contributes to remind all Canadians of Indigenous contributions to the development of Canada. This project seeks to repatriate knowledge and to make it accessible once again.

The project intends to preserve, protect, and interpret these recordings, more importantly it serves as a catalyst for a new working relationship between Museum London and Indigenous communities. Holding equity as a foundational pillar in relationship building, this project requires your financial support to ensure all parties commit to a respectful and equally valued partnership. Our project acts as a blueprint for further projects between Saugeen First Nation #29 and Museum London as we look to build a sustainable relationship while moving knowledge forward for all Canadians.

It is absolutely vital that this project begins as soon as possible. The ability to share this knowledge with individuals within the community (particularly Elders of whom there are many are in poor health), with the outside Indigenous communities, and to Museum London staff in terms of re-contextualizing the information. This in turn demonstrates the importance of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission's recommendations.

Figure 6.1: Letter of Support from the Chief of Saugeen, Ogiimah Lester Anoquot. Letter has been altered to meet thesis regulations (re: addresses must be omitted).



Saugeen First Nation

Administration

If you require any further information or clarification, please contact Ms. Bimadoshka Pucan. Ms. Pucan studies under the supervision of Dr. Regna Darnell, Department of Anthropology, at the University of Western Ontario. You may contact Ms. Pucan at bpucan@uwo.ca.

As a representative of the people of Saugeen First Nation, I am thrilled by this project and look forward to seeing it come to fruition. The community looks forward to welcoming these songs home.

We hopefully anticipate further projects in partnership with Museum London.

Miigwech and Thank you,

Chief [Redacted]
Saugeen First Nation #29

Figure 6.2: Letter of Support from Chief of Saugeen, Ogiimah Lester Anquot; page

7. Curriculum Vitae

Name: Bimadoshka Pucan

Post-secondary Education and Degrees: University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2009-2013 Honours Bachelor of Arts

University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2013-2014 Master of Public Health
2017 Certification in Public Health

University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2014-2019 Doctorate of Philosophy

Honours and Awards: Governor General Gold Medal in Social Science 2013
Lieutenant Governor's Ontario Heritage Award for Excellence in Conservation 2019

Related Work Experience Research Assistant
The University of Western Ontario
2014-2019
Guest Curator
Museum London
2018

Publications:
Pucan, Bimadoshka. (2018). *Voices of Chief's Point Exhibit Catalogue*. Includes essay on the History of Chief's Point, 1800-1950. Printed by Imagewerx, London through private sponsorship.
Pucan, Bimadoshka. (2015). *The construction of the Wesley centenary church at the Saugeen first nation, 1891-1892*. Prepared and published at Saugeen First Nation at the request of Minister Kevin Hart, DLM, in support of the Saugeen Stone Mason's Festival, 2015.