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The Meaning of Mount McKay: Anemki-waucheau and Settler Colonial Reterritorialization in Thunder Bay, Ontario

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This article interrogates the settler colonial history of Thunder Bay through place names and argues that gendered forms of anti-Indigenous violence are part of the city's social architecture. Between 1860 and 1910, settlers produced vast amounts of wealth and built a local industrial economy founded upon land-based resources such as silver, timber, and shale; at the same time, settlers forcefully relocated Anishnaabe peoples to multiple reserve sites, prevented them from participating in the emergent industrial economy, and used their sacred mountain as a quarry for brick-making and as a stop-butt for a settler rifle range. The article deploys the concept of settler colonial reterritorialization to critique the ways in which this history has been sanctioned and celebrated through local place names such as Mount McKay, Fort William, Port Arthur, and Simpson Street. Ultimately, I show that the material violence of enfolding the land and its resources into an exploitative and exclusive settler colonial economy emerged in tandem with the power to name the land in honour of white men who played primary roles in that very violent historical process.

Le présent article étudie l'histoire du colonialisme de peuplement à Thunder Bay sous l'angle des noms de lieux et soutient que les formes sexospécifiques de violence anti-autochtone font partie de la structure sociale de la ville. Entre 1860 et 1910, les colons ont produit de grandes quantités de richesses et ont développé une économie industrielle locale tirée des ressources de la terre telles que l'argent, le bois et le schiste. Ce faisant, ils ont déplacé de force des populations anishnaabe vers de multiples réserves; ils les ont empêchées de participer à l'économie industrielle émergente et ont transformé leur montagne sacrée en carrière pour la fabrication de briques et en butte pour un champ de tir. L'article utilise le concept de reterritorialisation colonialiste pour critiquer la façon dont

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cette histoire a été sanctionnée et commémorée par des noms de lieux locaux tels que mont McKay, Fort William, Port Arthur et rue Simpson. En fin de compte, il montre que l'importante violence engendrée par l'exploitation de la terre et de ses ressources dans une économie au bénéfice exclusif du colonisateur a été accompagnée du pouvoir de nommer la terre en l'honneur des hommes blancs qui ont joué un rôle primordial dans ce processus historique très violent.

IN JANUARY OF 2019, Ontario Court Justice Frank Valente ruled that Brayden Bushby—a white settler teenager from Thunder Bay, Ontario—will stand trial for second degree murder in the death of Barbara Kentner, an Anishinaabe woman and member of Wabigoon Lake Ojibway Nation. Two years earlier, in January of 2017, Bushby is alleged to have thrown a trailer hitch at Kentner from a moving car and to have shouted "got one!" after the metal object struck her in the abdomen.[1] Barbara died in July of that year due to complications related to the attack, which took place near the intersection of Cameron and McKenzie Streets in Thunder Bay.[2]

The social politics and spatial arrangements of the hate crime are stark even without situating them historically within local processes of dislocating violence: a young white male in a vehicle with three friends (embodying white affluence, mobility, and rowdiness) commits a vicious and deadly assault against an Anishinaabe women who was not in a vehicle, who was with family, and who was walking near an intersection named in honour of a series of Scottish fur traders.[3] If we apply a similar analysis to the crime as Sherene Razack has in her work on "unmapping" the gendered, racialized, and spatialized violence of Canadian settler colonial societies, we can read both Bushby and Kentner as consistent with broader histories of violence associated with formal and informal modes of anti-Indigenous violence that position young white men as affluent and mobile and Anishinaabe women as vulnerable to various forms of social violence.[4] That Bushby was *driving* and attacked an Indigenous woman *walking* near Cameron and McKenzie Streets with a trailer hitch—itself a symbol of social mobility, masculinity, and intergenerational wealth in Thunder Bay—speaks volumes about the histories of racialized, gendered, and spatialized violence that characterize my hometown. As settler Canadian men of Anglo-Scottish descent, both Bushby and I drive our vehicles on city streets named in honour of men in our subject position. Significantly, many of these men helped create the city and its social relations as a space with few safe places for Anishinaabe women.

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[1] Nancy McDonald, "Waiting for Death in Thunder Bay," *Maclean's*, June 21, 2017, http://www.macleans.ca/news/waiting-for-death-in-thunder-bay/.

[2] "Woman Struck by Trailer Hitch has Died," *Soo Today*, July 4, 2017, https://www.sootoday.com/local-news/woman-struck-by-trailer-hitch-in-thunder-bay-has-died-661072.

[3] McKenzie Street is not only named in honour of Alexander McKenzie of the XY and North West Company (not the famous explorer Alexander Mackenzie, who was his uncle), but also in honour of other fur traders: Roderick McKenzie, chief trader in charge of Fort William from 1829 to 1830; Donald McKenzie, fur trader and governor of the Red River settlement; Hector McKenzie, clerk in charge of Fort William; and John McKenzie, chief factor at Fort William in 1846. Cameron Street, originally named Argyle Street, was renamed in honour John Dugald Cameron, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. Cameron helped administer the Lake Superior District for the HBC between 1841 and 1844. See Diane Grant, *The Street Names of Thunder Bay* (Thunder Bay, ON: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1999), pp. 20 and 78.

[4] Sherene Razack, "Gendered Racial Violence and Spatialized Justice: The Murder of Pamela George," in Sherene Razack, ed., *Race Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002), pp. 127-156.

Historians of the region have long-noted that "Scottish street names like McTavish, McPherson, McLeod, McDonald, McLaughlin, McIntosh, and McBain" are frequent in Thunder Bay, even though these "Hudson's Bay Company officials … had little or no connection with the place."[5] What I offer below is an argument grounded in the methods of social history and informed by archival records at the City Archives of Thunder Bay that diagnoses a co-constitutive relationship between the emergence of settler colonial place names and socioeconomic structures of Indigenous dispossession, dislocation, and exclusion. I will do so primarily by focusing on the history of the mountain that settlers renamed McKay, but will prefigure this archival-based investigation with a section informed by secondary sources that offers readers unfamiliar with the region a survey of its settler colonial history through a historical reading of the place names of Fort William, Port Arthur, Simpson Street, Red River Road, Squaw Bay Road, and The Sleeping Giant (that is, names common to the geographical lexicon of any local resident). In my conclusion, I will return to the hate crime of Brayden Bushby against Barbara Kentner and argue that Thunder Bay remains a city firmly trapped in its history.

Thunder Bay has become synonymous in Canadian news media with homicides, hate crimes, and acute forms of anti-Indigenous racism. Recent reports from the Ontario Independent Police Review Director (OIPRD) and the Ontario Civilian Police Commission (OCPC) have made extensive findings of systemic racism within the Thunder Bay Police Service (TBPS) and the Thunder Bay Police Services Board.[6] Criminal charges brought against the former mayor and former Chief of the TBPS also signalled a crisis of confidence in city administration and leadership.[7] As discussed by Tanya Talaga in *Seven Fallen Feathers*, between 2001 and 2011, seven First Nations youth who had come to Thunder Bay from northern reserve communities to pursue educational opportunities lost their lives in tragic and mysterious ways.[8] A provincial coronial inquest into these seven deaths concluded in July of 2016. Though it lasted eight months and issued 145 recommendations, it found that all seven deaths had accidental or undetermined causes, which left many questions and community concerns unanswered. In May of 2017, two Indigenous youth named Josiah Begg and Tammy Keeash—aged 14 and 17—died in circumstances starkly similar to the "Seven Fallen Feathers."[9] The city continues to have Canada's highest homicide rate, far exceeding larger cities such as Toronto and Vancouver.[10]

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[5] Roy Piovesana, "The Fort William Coal Docks: Image of an Ethnic Enclave," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records*, vol. 37 (2009), p. 30.

[6] Gerry McNeilly, *Broken Trust: Indigenous People and the Thunder Bay Police Service* (Office of the Ontario Independent Police Review Director, December 2018), accessed March 23, 2019, http://oiprd.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/OIPRD-BrokenTrust-Final-Accessible-E.pdf. Also, see Murray Sinclair, *Thunder Bay Police Services Board: Final Report* (Ontario Civilian Police Commission, November 1, 2018), accessed March 23, 2019, https://slasto-tsapno.gov.on.ca/ocpc-ccop/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2018/12/TBPSB_Investigation_Final_Report_-_EN-FINAL-1.pdf.

[7] Gloria Galloway, "Hate and Hope in Thunder Bay: A City Grapples with Racism Against Indigenous Peoples," *Globe and Mail*, March 23, 2019, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-hate-and-hope-in-thunder-bay-a-city-grapples-with-racism-against/?fbclid=IwAR1O0BoSQr2nmqTrBoYLABOeGahVzwAavaXxcGFmal-OCjjuUecHLIYp6xE.

[8] Tanya Talaga, *Seven Fallen Feathers: Racism, Death, and Hard Truths in Northern City* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2017).

Clearly, the media attention given to Thunder Bay is warranted. For my own part, I also believe the city's depiction as a largely racist and dysfunctional municipality in dominant media discourses is fair and accurate. At the same time, as someone who was born, raised, and still resides in the city, I feel the need to underscore that the acute forms of anti-Indigenous racism in Thunder Bay are neither exceptional nor inexplicable. Indeed, readers who grew up across the Canadian Prairies may well recognize the patterns that emerge and the pictures that are painted by the media coverage of racism and losses of Indigenous life in Thunder Bay. The losses of Tina Fontaine and Colten Boushie were felt strongly in Thunder Bay: at numerous rallies for justice held throughout the city—at Hillcrest Park and at the Thunder Bay Courthouse—the murders were placed into direct conversation with local losses of Indigenous life. Cree philosopher, scholar, and poet Erica Violet Lee, who recently spoke in Thunder Bay at a function titled "Never Was Yr Good Little NDN," made explicit these connections between losses of Nêhiyaw and Ojibway life in Ontario and across the Prairies.[11] And as the deaths of Barbara Kentner and Colten Boushie demonstrate, these losses share similarities across historical time in addition to geographical space.

This article discusses the ways in which social relations in Thunder Bay are embedded in an ongoing history of settler colonial violence against Indigenous peoples in general and Anishinaabe women in particular. It does so by looking primarily at the history of Mount McKay, a land formation known locally as *Anemki-waucheu*.[12] Sometimes referred to in translation as the Thunder Mountain, *Anemki-waucheu* is a sacred site to Ojibway and many other Indigenous peoples.[13] Settlers in the Thunder Bay region (some of them my ancestors) renamed the land formation Mount McKay in honour of a mythic Scottish fur trader celebrated as a founding father in a legend that has him marrying an Ojibway woman after murdering her lover. In 1905, settlers forcefully relocated the Fort William band to the base of this mountain so that a grain terminus could be built on the original reserve site. The relocation was extremely devastating to the band and forced them to split in two and exhume the remains of ancestors. To make matters worse, settlers did not end up building the proposed grain terminus in this location and soon expropriated more reserve land to build the Mount McKay and Kakabeka Railway Company; thereafter, the city allowed the Mount McKay Pressed Brick Company and the Mount McKay Rifle Range to establish operations on reserve land. Thus settlers in Thunder Bay renamed and repurposed the sacred mountain to service a booming home-building industry in the region. Shockingly, the rifle range, which used the face of the sacred site as a stop-butt for rifle practice, stayed open until the mid-1990s.[14] Such historical violence to both the Fort William band and Anishinaabe land underpins the more contemporary schematic of violent social relations.

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[9] McNeilly, *Broken Trust*, 25.

[10] Galloway, "Hate and Hope in Thunder Bay."

[11] Erica Violet Lee, "Never Was Yr Good Little NDN: Toxic Pleasures, Painful Kinship, and the Indigenous Sacred" (lecture, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, ON, March 13, 2019), https://moontimewarrior.com/contact/.

[12] Fort William First Nation explains on their website that the spelling "Anemki-waucheu" is a place-based spelling; see Fort William First Nation (website), accessed March 15, 2019, https://fwfn.com/community/history/wikipedia/.

[13] Though "Ojibwe" is a much more common spelling in the literature, this rendering of "Ojibway" once again reflects a more place-based and local spelling. For example, the city of Thunder Bay and its residents often have friends and loved ones who reside in or come from communities such as Wabigoon Lake Ojibway Nation or the Ojibway Nation of Saugeen.

Settler Colonial Reterritorialization and Canadian Tartanism

The concept of de/reterritorialization attempts to describe the historical processes through which new and foreign understandings of place are inscribed upon Indigenous locales through the imperial and capitalistic enterprises of European expansion and colonization.[15] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guatarri describe these two interlinked and co-constitutive concepts as a "twofold movement of decoding or deterritorialization on the one hand, and their violent and artificial reterritorialization [or recoding] on the other."[16] In adapting this theoretical framework for application to the colonial situation, it is useful to recall (as Robert Young has) the following passage from Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*: "the violence which has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world … has ceaselessly drummed the rhythm for the destruction of native social forms and broken up without reserve the systems of reference of the economy."[17] Thus "reterritorialization" as a historical category of colonial critique seeks to capture the dynamic relationship between the material and symbolic violence of European colonial projects and their enfolding of Indigenous lands into a global market system. To speak of *settler* colonial reterritorialization is to address this concept in a slightly different socioeconomic system.

As Lorenzo Veracini and Patrick Wolfe have theorized, a settler colonial society is distinct from a colonial society in that the latter is based upon an exploitation of Indigenous labour whereas the former arises by and through the elimination of Indigenous peoples and the destruction of their national patterns.[18]

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[14] I was unable to determine through archival research the closing dates for the railway and pressed brick company.

[15] For foundational articulations of de/reterritorialization, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guatarri, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia Vol. I*, trans. R. Hurley, M. Seem, and H. Lane (New York: Viking Press, 1977) and *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia Vol. II*, trans. B. Massumi (London: Athlone Publishing, 1988).

[16] Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004), p. 5.

[17] Robert Young prescribes this reading of Fanon into de/reterritorialization in *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 170-171.

[18] See Lorenzo Veracini, "Settler Collective, Founding Violence and Disavowal: The Settler Colonial Situation," *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 4 (November 2008), pp. 363-379. See also Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2006), pp. 387-409.

This "logic of elimination," as Wolfe terms it, shapes the social and economic activities within a given settler colonial locale around the immediate and eventual disappearance and displacement of Indigenous peoples.[19] For example, the French fur trade and era of New France in Canadian history is, within this framework, rendered as a colonial configuration in which Indigenous labour was necessary for the production of European wealth; similarly, the fall of New France and the shifting of Indian policy from military to civil administration after the War of 1812 signify in this framework the rise of a settler colonial project in which Indigenous peoples began to be structurally excluded from settler labour economies and relocated to reserves.[20] It is for this reason that settler colonial societies have been theorized as "by definition premised on the traumatic, that is, violent, replacement and/or displacement of Indigenous others."[21] Speaking broadly, Canadian histories of Miqmaw scalp bounties and Acadian expulsions certainly suggest that a settler colonial project structured on ruthless and racialized logics of white Anglo supremacy began to emerge in the mid- to late eighteenth century.

The totality of these foundational forms of settler colonial displace/replacement can make them difficult to theorize as they include both literal and symbolic forms of violence. For example, embodied forms of foundational settler colonial violence include but are not limited to forced relocations, military massacres, mass starvations, residential and day schooling systems, Indian hospitals, scientific experimentations on Indigenous bodies, and other Draconian measures well-discussed by historians of Indian policy and settler colonialism. On the other hand, symbolic forms of violence attending the success of settler colonial projects regularly involve the destruction of languages and the severing of place-based networks of cultural meaning that can distort and disrupt Indigenous ways of knowing and relating to the land. Writing in this vein, Kevin Bruyneel has suggested that "settler memory" functions by "habitually invoking settler colonialism in a manner that blurs the line between past and present, thus further re-inscribing the practices of present day settler violence and dispossession."[22] In what follows, I use "settler colonial reterritorialization" to refer to the way in which settlers in Thunder Bay have renamed and repurposed Indigenous lands and resources to their own ends (with Mount McKay constituting my primary example). What is particularly appropriate about this framework is the way it critiques settler colonial place names as socially mnemonic devices that celebrate, sanction, organize, and reinscribe violent social relations that are by definition rooted in dislocating violence. Under such a framework, it is possible to read contemporary hate crimes and murders as properly situated in their settler colonial histories and trajectories.

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[19] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism."

[20] While this settler colonial framework is effective in discussing place names in Thunder Bay, it is necessary to note that it can also serve to erase actual histories of Indigenous waged labour; for an antidote to these forms of erasure, see Mary Jane McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History, 1940-1980* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014); and John Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).

[21] Veracini, "Settler Collective," p. 364.

[22] Kevin Bruyneel, "Codename Geronimo: Settler Memory and the Production of American Statism," *Settler Colonial Studies*, vol. 6, no. 4 (2016), pp. 349-364.

Because the vast majority of settler colonial place names in Thunder Bay celebrate and commemorate Anglo-Scottish men, it is necessary to further theorize the settler reterritorialization of Anishinaabe lands in Thunder Bay as an instantiation of what Canadian historians have called tartanism. Described most completely in Ian McKay and Robin Bates's *In the Province of History*, tartanism is defined as "the system of signs testifying to the supposed Scottish essence" of a given Canadian locale; "tartanism," McKay and Bates explain, "suggest[s] a form of multiculturalism that could harmonize particular identities within a hierarchy … with Scots on top."[23] It is only by a lucky coincidence that the historian McKay (along with Bates) so keenly theorized the social dynamics that reterritorialized the sacred mountain as McKay (though the pronunciation differs). In other words, what the following history of Anglo-Scottish place names in Thunder Bay demonstrates is the emergence of a settler ideology (and perhaps hegemony) of tartanism wherein Anglo-Scottish settlers celebrate themselves as occupying the highest historical place of honour in the story of Thunder Bay's emergence despite what is objectively a very violent and ongoing history of dispossession. Recalling once more the concepts of settler colonialism, reterritorialization, and tartanism, it is to this history that we now turn.

The Naming of Fort William and the Banning of Country Marriages

The city of Thunder Bay formed in 1970 as the coming together of two rival cities: Fort William and Port Arthur. The former began as a fur-trading outpost in the early nineteenth century and the latter a booming transport town following Confederation and the creation of railway infrastructure at the Lakehead (the northern crest of the shore of Lake Superior). In this section, I offer a history of the naming of Fort William that introduces the long-standing relationship between Anglo-Scottish place names and the rise of social structures founded on violence against Anishinaabe women.

On July 31, 1807, a group of Anglo-Scottish men in the employ of the North West Company (NWC) met at Fort Kamanistiquia—an outpost in the Thunder Bay region that had been created by French colonial travelers in the previous century. The fort (alternatively spelled Kaministiquia, Kamantiquia, Caministiquia, Kamanistiguia, etc.) was arguably established by Daniel Greysolon, Sier du Lhut as he travelled through the area in 1679.[24] What is certain is that, in 1685, du Lhut placed his brother Claude Greysolon de la Tourette in command of two trading posts at Lake Nipigon and at Kaministiquia.[25] Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers were also rumoured to have passed through Thunder Bay in the mid-seventeenth century.[26] The French explorer Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de La Vérendrye recorded that he travelled through "Fort Caministigoyan" in 1731.[27] And though it is difficult to discern with exact detail the scale of French presence and activity in the Thunder Bay region between 1679 and 1731, it is clear that Fort Kaministiquia became an important outpost that assisted in the movement of furs to the St. Lawrence valley during this 50-year period.

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[23] Quote from Ian McKay and Robin Bates, *In the Province of History: The Making of the Public Past in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), p. 256. Also, see Ian McKay, "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954," *Acadiensis*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 5-47.

[24] The American city of Duluth, Minnesota, located just across the border from Thunder Bay, bears the name of this explorer. See Thomas Dunk, *It's A Working Man's Town: Male Working-Class Culture* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2003), p. 48.

After the fall of New France and the beginning of the American Revolution, the proximity of these fur trade routes to rebelling colonies became a major problem for a British imperial project seeking to reorder the fur trade in the region to better suit the Crown's purpose. As local historian Joseph Mauro recalls, British efforts to claim the area lay behind the 1805 construction of a new fort "at the mouth of the Kaministikwia River."[28] As NWC records reveal, however, the name did not sit well with the company (perhaps because it was based on the Anishinaabemowin word *Gaaministigweyaa*, meaning a "river with islands" or, alternatively, "the river which goes around.")[29]

During a NWC meeting on July 31, 1807, NWC partners (mostly Anglo-Scottish men) reached the following agreement: "The Wintering partners having proposed that the name of this place should be changed & that of Fort William substituted in its stead as being more simple and appropriate the Agents gave their assent and the name 'Kamanistiquia' is accordingly discontinued and abolished forever."[30] The "William" being so honoured by this name change was none other than William McGillivray, Director of the NWC.[31] And while a fort by any other name is still a colonial formation, it is important to note here that this name change did not take place in isolation from much deeper changes in the fur trade pursued by Anglo-Scottish (as opposed to French) administrators. For example, one year prior to the name change from Kamanistiquia to William, the NWC meeting at the fort reached the following agreement:

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[25] *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* Vol. 2, *(1701-1740)*, s.v. "Greysolon Dulhut, Daniel" by Yves F. Zoltvany, accessed March 23, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/greysolon_dulhut_daniel_2E.html.

[26] Germaine Warkentin, introduction to Germaine Warkentin, ed., *Pierre-Esprit Radisson: The Collected Writings, Volume 1: The Voyages* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), pp. 3-104. In 1925, the district of Thunder Bay commissioned a monument to Radisson and Groseilliers and placed a massive cairn in front of St. Andrew's Church that read: "Radisson and Groseilliers were the first Europeans on Thunder Bay, 1662." See Joseph M. Mauro, *The Golden Gateway of the Great Northwest: A History of Thunder Bay* (Thunder Bay, ON: Lehto Printers Limited, 1981), p. 16.

[27] Tales of mutiny at Grand Portage and the heroism of La Vérendrye render these accounts questionable (or at least prone to fits of fancy and romanticist exaggerations). For example, see Mauro, *The Golden Gateway*, p. 17; and Mary Lethert Winegard, *North Country: The Making of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), pp. 30-32. The quoted historian who believes the story is "certain" is Thomas Dunk in *It's A Working Man's Town*, p. 48.

[28] Mauro, *The Golden Gateway*, p. 22. Mauro mistakenly suggests that the name of the fort was "William" in 1805, though the NWC archives reviewed in this paper demonstrate that it remained named "Kaministiqua" until July 1807.

[29] Alan Rayburn, *Naming Canada: Stories about Canada's Place Names* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 182.

[30] "Minutes of the Transactions of the North West Company at Fort William, 1807-1814," in W. Stewart Wallace, ed., *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), p. 249-250.

[31] Mauro, *The Golden Gateway*, p. 22.

> It was suggested that the number of women and Children in the Country was a heavy burthen to the Concern & that some remedy ought to be applied to check so great an evil.… It was therefore resolved that every practicable means should be used throughout the Country to reduce by degrees the number of women maintained by the company, that for this purpose, no Man whatever, either Partner, Clerk, or Engagé, belonging to the Concern shall henceforth take or suffer to be taken, under any pretence whatsoever, any women or maid from any of the tribes of the Indians now known or who may hereafter become known in this to Country to live with him after the fashion of the North West,… every proprietor who shall transgress against this resolve or suffer any other person or persons within his immediate charge or direction to transgress it—shall be subject to the penalty of One Hundred Pounds Hx. Cy. For every offence so committed to be forfeited to the rest of the Concern.—It is however understood that taken the Daughter of a white Man after the fashion of the Country should be considered no violation of this resolve.[32]

Readers familiar with this particular period of the fur trade (roughly 1800-1821) will recognize quite readily this extended passage as a country marriage ban characteristic of British imperial forms of fur trade-era social engineering. Well-theorized by such historians as Sylvia Van Kirk, Jennifer Brown, Susan Sleeper-Smith, and Sarah Carter, these country marriage bans sought to create a socioeconomic system that had no place for Indigenous women.[33] As is evident from the language in the ban, the company was seeking to reduce its own expenses by marrying off the mixed-blood daughters of company men to other traders, lest they remain at outposts where they required company assistance until (and if) their husbands returned from furlough.

Situating this marriage ban within the literature can help parse out its broader meanings. For example, in *Making the Voyageur World*, fur trade historian Carolyn Podruchny addresses this marriage ban in its specificity and brings texture to this history by noting that a NWC clerk named Robert Logan was indeed charged with an infraction of this company rule in 1809.[34] Nonetheless, Podruchny notes that "enforcement of the rule was selective" and was often subordinated to class considerations or other contexts, as bourgeois, clerks, and voyageurs continued to marry First Nations women and stage their own forms of resistance at company attempts to police their relations with Indigenous peoples in the voyageur world.[35] Moreover, as Van Kirk demonstrated in *Many Tender Ties,* the merger of the

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[32] Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, p. 211.

[33] Sylvia Van Kirk*, Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983); Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997). See also Sarah Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008); and Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004).

[34] Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), pp. 268-269.

[35] Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World*, pp. 268.

Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) with the NWC in 1821 was another watershed moment in the history of gender, colonialism, and the Canadian fur trade; in this period, company rules expressly stated the logic of reducing company expense by ensuring that marriage to a European man contractually absolved the company of economic responsibilities to mixed-blood and First Nations women.[36] As Van Kirk painstakingly detailed, this legislation animated a very precarious space for Indigenous women who were widowed or abandoned. Van Kirk recalls, for example, the story of HBC Governor Thomas Thomas, whose daughter smothered her two children after being abandoned by John George McTavish.[37] Such individual stories speak to a larger structural reality wherein marriage bans were used as a way to shape fur trade society at a formative period in the history of what was to become Thunder Bay.

The clichéd question of "what's in a name?" has a particular relevance and context in the history of Anglo-Scottish place names in Thunder Bay: mainly, as these NWC and HBC origin stories show, place names are not simply labels in Thunder Bay. Rather, they are signifiers of (settler) colonial power relations that become inscribed and encoded upon the land as place names. The marriage ban passed at the annual general meeting of the NWC at Fort Kaministiquia was certainly such an effort at a socioeconomic restructuring of the fur trade that fit a larger pattern of reshaping relations with Indigenous land and communities in a way that promoted British imperial power. Just one summer after the ban, the very name Fort William was declared much more "simple and appropriate" than the Anishinaabe name of Kaministiquia. In underscoring this as a keynote example of de/reterritorialization and decoding and recoding of Indigenous spaces, we can see that the symbolic violence of Anglo-Scottish place names emerged in tandem with the structural violence of settler colonial social engineering and gendered forms of dislocating violence. Though, as Adele Perry notes, "the downward trajectory of mixed-race relationship was neither linear nor consistent" in nineteenth-century Canada, it is evident from the primary and secondary sources cited in this section that marriage bans began to animate very precarious spaces for Indigenous women in the Thunder Bay region around the same time Anglo-Scottish place names arose.[38]

Simpson Street: Another Unsettling Example

As the fur trade waned, settlers in Thunder Bay began to look to the land for other sources of potential profitability. Mining was seen as a primary economic possibility, particularly given the discovery of vast veins of copper in northern Michigan in the so-called Copper Boom of the 1840s.[39] H. V. Nelles noted in his expansive history of natural resource development in Upper Canada that the only regulation that governed mining in the region "consisted of the reservation to the crown of gold and silver contained in each land patent"; in 1845, however, "when the search for copper spread … to the north shore of Lake Superior, the government passed a series of order-in-council regulations to license prospectors, to fix the boundaries of claims, and to establish a price for the sale of lands bearing base metals."[40] This acute stimulation to mining activity in the 1840s saw the rapid emergence of a long series of mining companies such as the Upper Canadian Mining Company, the Canadian Mining Company, the British North American Mining Company, and the Montreal Mining Company.

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[36] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, p. 120.

[37] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, pp. 117-119.

[38] Adele Perry, "Historiography that Breaks your Heart: Van Kirk and the Writing of Feminist History," in Robin Jarvis Brownlie and Valerie J. Korinek, eds., *Finding a Way to the Heart: Feminist Writings on Aboriginal and Women's History in Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), p. 90.

[39] See W. Robert Wightman and Nancy Wightman, *The Land Between: Northwestern Ontario Resource Development, 1800 to the 1990s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

The aggressive prospecting that followed from the striking of such companies foreshadowed the way in which settlers in the region came to treat the sacred mountain. For example, Graeme Wynn observes that "the government ignored the provisions of the Royal Proclamation to grant mining leases before land surrenders were negotiated in this area."[41] What is more, much of the mining activities of the above-named companies extended far beyond any of the boundaries of agreed-upon Anishinaabe territory. Nancy and W. Robert Wightman report that "this fact was brought to the government's attention at least as early as the Spring of 1846 by the Indians through their senior chiefs, Shingwauk of Garden River, Nebenaigooching of Batchawana and Peau de Chat of upper Superior."[42] Accordingly, the Robinson-Superior Treaty, signed on September 7, 1850, in Sault Ste. Marie, included particular provisions preventing Indigenous peoples from interfering in mining operations.[43]

Seeing the writing on the wall, so to speak, in terms of a diminishing fur trade, the Fort William band of Anishinaabe petitioned HBC Governor George Simpson in 1841 for some agricultural land in the Kaministiquia River Valley. As Thomas Dunk recalls, Simpson "refused on the grounds that a settlement there was not in the interest of the fur trade" nor had mining surveys been taken to ensure that this land did not contain the kinds of minerals that the settlers wanted.[44] It is useful at this juncture to focus briefly on the personal figure of George Simpson in the context of this social history of Thunder Bay, as he is an Anglo-Scottish man who embodied in both personal and professional life an emergent settler colonial order that had no place for Indigenous women. Recall that George Simpson abandoned his country wife Margaret Taylor at Bas de la Rivière, returned to London without her knowledge, and married his first cousin despite the fact that Margaret had just given birth to George's son.[45] As Sylvia Van Kirk showed in *Many Tender Ties*, Simpson referred to Margaret as a "commodity" in his correspondence with McTavish, leading Van Kirk to conclude that "the Governor regarded mixed-blood women primarily as objects for sexual gratification."[46]

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[40] H. V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines, and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2005), p. 20.

[41] Graeme Wynn, "Strains of Liberalism," foreword to David Calverley, *Who Controls The Hunt? First Nations, Treaty Rights, and Wildlife Conservation in Ontario, 1783-1939* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), p. xviii.

[42] See W. Robert Wightman, "'A Most Promising Mining Country': Northwestern Ontario, 1845 to 1900," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records*, vol. 19 (1991), p. 37.

[43] The exact line from the written text of the Robinson-Superior Treaty that is of relevance here is as follows: "The parties of the second part further promise and agree that they will not … at any time hinder or prevent persons from exploring or searching for mineral or other valuable productions in any part of the territory hereby ceded to Her Majesty as before mentioned." See *Copy of the Robinson Treaty Made in the Year 1850 with the Ojibewa Indians of Lake Superior Conveying Certain Lands to the Crown*, September 7, 1850, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (website), accessed March 24, 2019, https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100028978/1100100028982.

[44] Dunk, *It's A Working Man's Town*, p. 49.

In 1890 Scottish-born HBC Governor Donald A. Smith and President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Sir William Cornelius Van Horne approved Ministry of Transport Ontario Regulation Plan #W54, which officially named Simpson Street in Fort William in honour of Sir George Simpson, who had passed away 30 years previous.[47] As readers familiar with the city of Thunder Bay (at least in the 1990s) will already know, Simpson has a dark legacy in the city. For many decades in Thunder Bay, Simpson Street was a bustling core of locally owned businesses. For example, my paternal grandmother Rae Hay ran her own fur coat business—*Rae's Furs*—on Simpson Street in the 1950s, as did many European settlers (of Anglo-Scottish descent and otherwise). In my own childhood and adolescence, however, Simpson Street was stigmatized and synonymous with the "stroll"—or the area of town frequented by sex workers, drug dealers, and emergency service workers. Though there was at one time a local push to change the name of the street, such grassroots agitations have taken a back seat to more pressing and urgent matters of community safety. The uncomfortable truth of Simpson Street, then, is that it treats women the same way as the man after whom it was named: it is a place of socioeconomic exclusion wherein the gendered, racial, and sexually violent politics of settler colonialism are arranged on full display, often putting Indigenous women in harm's way. The legacy of George Simpson—that is, as a man who personally and professionally orchestrated the abandoning of Indigenous women at a formative time in Canadian history—is unsettling and points to the very long-standing but still ongoing settler colonial politics of place names in Thunder Bay. To prefigure my concluding argument, the place names of Fort William and Simpson Street have foundational forms of dislocating and gendered violence embedded in them, and this doubled decoding and recoding of Indigenous spaces has historically celebrated Anglo-Scottish men and denigrated Anishinaabe women. Though the history of Squaw Bay Road is a rather striking and overt representation of this dynamic between place names and social relations in Thunder Bay, the naming of Port Arthur and Red River Road are also important parts of this history.

The Naming of Port Arthur and the Making of Red River Road

To induce settlement in the region and support the now dwindling Fort William, colonial authorities began loosening restrictions on the Crown's claims to mineral rights in the region following the signing of the Robinson-Superior Treaties in 1850. Though small changes were made in the early 1860s, it was the General Mining Act of 1869 that promised settlers the most unrestricted opportunities for profit-seeking by effectively removing all royalties from precious metals in the province. In 1870 Peter McKellar—widely thought of as the "founding father" of Thunder Bay[48]—opened up operations at the Silver Islet mine, which proceeded to produce over 3.5 million dollars worth of silver processed in a refinery in Detroit.[49] It was in this same year that the man who named Port Arthur arrived on the shores of Thunder Bay.

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[45] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, pp. 161-163.
[46] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, p. 161.
[47] Grant, *The Street Names of Thunder Bay*, p. 108.

The Red River Expedition, or the Wolseley Expedition, was a military force authorized by Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, to travel to the Red River colony to confront Métis people resisting Canada's annexation of Rupert's Land and restore the Crown's order to the so-called rebellion. The expedition was led by Colonel Garnett Wolseley and left Toronto in May of 1870. Though it did not travel as a singular unit until much later in the expedition, it included "two battalions of the Canadian militia, a detachment of Royal Engineers, and a detachment of Royal Artillery, with seven-pounder-guns."[50] Arriving in Thunder Bay by the 25th of that month, the expedition was supposed to embark on its journey to Red River via the Dawson Road, which was supposed to stretch from the shores of Lake Superior to the interior. However, the governmental official charged with the survey and creation of this road—Simon J. Dawson of the Department of Public Works—had failed to meet the deadline of the expedition's arrival, which caused Wolseley to linger in Thunder Bay longer than expected.

Local legend and mainstream historical texts hold that Wolseley named the shores of the Thunder Bay region Prince Arthur's Landing upon his expedition's arrival. To be clear, however, the Prince was not in the expedition or in the company of the colonel (though he was in Canada in the summer of 1870).[51] Judging from his journals, Wolseley did not view the region very fondly, and he wrote in his own memoir that Prince Arthur's Landing "was an ugly looking spot" and that he had "never looked upon a drearier or less inviting prospect in any of my many wanderings."[52] Wolseley's reterritorialization of the region was thus accomplished not merely through inscribing upon the land a new name but by repurposing it as a strategic military outpost on the way to Red River.

As local historians note, the shoreside community of Prince Arthur's Landing grew in the decades following the 1869/1870 Riel Resistance and the subsequent expansion of Canada's national railway. This growth created tensions with the nearby settlement of Fort William, which were only exacerbated when the first Canadian Pacific Railway car arrived in Prince Arthur's Landing in July of 1882. In 1884 Port Arthur was incorporated as a city. Fort William and Port Arthur were hardly harmonious and always competitive with one another. Fittingly, in both cities, "Arthur Street" was a main vein of business and commercial space.

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[48] For example, Thunder Bay has named McKellar Street, McKellar Hospital, and McKellar Confectionary (a popular burger joint for locals) in honour of the silver-mining founding father.

[49] For further reading on Silver Islet, see Dianne Newel, "Silver Mining in the Thunder Bay District, 1865-85," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records*, vol. 13 (1985), pp. 28-43.

[50] Mauro, *The Golden Gateway*, p. 44.

[51] Frederick Brent Scollie, "Falling into Line: How Prince Arthur's Landing became Port Arthur," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records*, vol. 13 (1985), pp. 8-19.

[52] Garnet Wolseley, *The Story of a Soldier's Life*, vol. 2 (London: Constable, 1903), p. 187.

Interestingly, seven years after the amalgamation of Fort William and Port Arthur in 1970, the latter's Arthur Street was renamed Red River Road. This was accomplished by municipal By-Law #145, which celebrated the stretch as historically significant because it "formerly led to the Red River settlement."[53]

If the naming of Fort William signified the emergence of a new settler colonial order founded on the social and economic exclusion of Indigenous women from imperial orders of belonging, so too did the naming of Prince Arthur's Landing; it, along with Port Arthur, Arthur Street, and Red River Road emerge in tandem with the constitution of a national economy and statehood founded on military expeditions against Métis, Plains Cree, and other Indigenous peoples. Thus, while I will now turn more directly to the history of Mount McKay and its treatment by settlers in the Thunder Bay region, I think it is important to underscore the foundational way in which settler colonial racism is quite literally mapped onto the place names of Thunder Bay.

The Legend of Mackay's Mountain

As a young boy growing up in Thunder Bay, I was often told by my paternal grandfather that Mount McKay (*Anemki-Waucheau)* was named after my ancestors. Quipping that the Scottish are quite fond of adding "Mc" to their names, my grandfather told me that the mountain's name was in actuality a derivative of "Mc-Hay." Taking his teasing for truth, I grew up with this impression rather firmly embedded in my consciousness; however, when school teachers or local historians clued me in to the folkloric nature of my grandfather's account, they were nonetheless unable to tell me who McKay was, what he had done, or why he had a mountain named in his honour. I found this perplexing: though the name of the mountain was extremely important to the Indigenous community, settlers in Thunder Bay seemed to have no grasp upon the origins of the name McKay. For some time, this was its own answer; however, I eventually came across something like a more definitive answer to the question of "Who was McKay?" in a 1921 collection of historical papers put together by the Thunder Bay Historical Society (TBHS).

The "Legend of Mackay's Mountain" was originally published in the *Fort William Times Journal* in 1906 and was reprinted in the 1921 TBHS collection. It was offered by a Mr. E. Robin, who claimed that he heard the story in "the early [18]70s … from the lips of the participants."[54] In this legend, two Scottish fur traders—Mackay and Fraser (no first names are given)—met a young Indigenous woman named "Sun Kissed the Dawn," who travelled with them to an Ojibway encampment. Though Mackay and Fraser sought trade, Sun Kissed the Dawn sought to locate "Big Wolf"—an Indigenous man who is described as "her lover."[55] After failing to find Big Wolf, Fraser, Mackay, and Sun Kissed the Dawn left the encampment; however, in the dead of night, Big Wolf and a small party search for and locate Sun Kissed the Dawn and make an attempt to steal her away in a canoe. Upon seeing this, Mackay "unslung his gun, brought it to his shoulder, and put its contents through the canoe causing it to fill up."[56] When the Ojibway party swam to shore, Big Wolf and Fraser began to fight. At the very moment before Big Wolf sunk his tomahawk into Fraser's chest, Mackay shot him down—killing him. As the legend has it:

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[53] Grant, *The Street Names of Thunder Bay*, p. 38.

[54] E. Robin, "Indian Legend of Loch Lomond," *Thunder Bay Historical Society Twelfth Annual Report: Papers of 1921*, pp. 84-86.

[55] Robin, "Indian Legend of Loch Lomond," pp. 84-86.

> Mackay during the winter made the Indian girl his bride, and next spring, when stores were getting low, he used to take a trip up what is now known as Mackay's Mountain every morning looking for supplies promised them from the east. That is how Mount Mackay came to be known under its present name. Mackay soon after his marriage moved with his wife to Sault Ste. Marie where many of their descendants now reside.[57]

The race and gender motifs in this myth are rather stark. Notably, they conform closely to what Canadian gender historians have written of captivity narratives and their creation of social boundaries in late nineteenth-century Canada: mainly, that the deployment of colonial narratives of gender have long been used to shape Canadian society according to changing attitudes toward mixed-blood families, miscegenation, and matters of socioeconomic prudence. In *Capturing Women*, Sarah Carter argues that representations of female vulnerability "in the Canadian West of the late nineteenth century … persisted and proved resilient to change," and that such "representations were useful to those who exercised power and controlled knowledge in the non-Aboriginal world of the emerging West."[58] In killing Big Wolf and taking Sun Kissed the Dawn for a bride, Mackay is rendered as a legendary figure whose symbolic act aligns with the gendered mythologies of late nineteenth-century Canada well-theorized by Carter in *Capturing Women* as well as in *The Importance of Being Monogamous*.[59] And because Mackay is a Scottish figure, his murder of Big Wolf and marriage to Sun Kissed the Dawn is also an example of tartanist mythology as it secures for the Scottish settler subject a foundational and founding place at the origins of Thunder Bay that is inscribed into the nomenclature of the region. Though the legend of Mackay's Mountain was not remembered by settlers and learning it was a laborious act of archival retrieval, it nonetheless makes sense that settlers would forget this legend because it speaks to a socioeconomic era in which economic and intimate relations between European men and Indigenous women were sanctioned, not outlawed, by colonial power. In any case, it is clear that the name Mount McKay remains in alignment with names like Simpson Street, Fort William, Red River Road, and other examples of the settler colonial reterritorialization in that it reflects the same gendered and racialized motifs that inform Thunder Bay's public staging of its own history.

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[56] Robin, "Indian Legend of Loch Lomond," pp. 84-86.
[57] Robin, "Indian Legend of Loch Lomond," pp. 84-86.
[58] Carter, *Capturing Women*, p. 10.
[59] See Carter, *Capturing Women*; and Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous*.

Anemki-waucheau is the original name of the sacred mountain: it is invested with place-based meanings and sociocultural values that correspond to an Ojibway experience and knowledge of the land. Though I am not a carrier of these teachings, my argument does not require their full articulation here, as my social location corresponds to the history of Anglo-Scottish settlers in Thunder Bay and the way in which we have reterritorialized the region to reflect our own presence, values, and experiences. Of course, the meaning of Mount McKay, which is a very different thing than the meaning of *Anemki-waucheau*, has many more layers that we will mine presently (to use an unfortunate metaphor); however, it is important to underscore here the way in which the doubled process of decoding and recoding associated with de/reterritorialization finds a rather fitting example in the legend of Mackay's Mountain—a sacred site that was renamed in honour of a captivity narrative wherein an "Indian bride" was fatally stolen by a Scottish trader who then repurposed the mountain into a lookout for incoming settler supply networks. To borrow Fanon's words, this "reordering of the [settler] colonial world" reflects on its face "the destruction of the systems of reference of the native economy."

The Forced Relocation and the Construction of Squaw Bay Road

In 1892 the annual report of the Department of Indian Affairs discussed the Fort William band and other Indigenous peoples in the Thunder Bay region as precariously positioned on the margins of a fur trade economy. This document held that Indigenous peoples in the region ought to be encouraged to discontinue hunting and trapping because of the

> important consideration that when white people become more numerous, and the present hunting grounds of the Indians, which have all been ceded by them, excepting their reserves—are monopolized by settlers, the game and other animals on which they now subsist will disappear, as they have done elsewhere from similar causes, and the Indians must therefore look to the products of the soil for their subsistence.[60]

In this same year, Indigenous access to fish in Ontario was greatly reduced by the passing of the *Act for the Protection of Provincial Fisheries.* Not only did the act introduce the need for fishing licenses that were prohibitively expensive and difficult to acquire for non-English speakers, it also necessitated the hiring of four full-time game wardens and "392 deputy wardens … [who] were not paid a standard salary but, instead, received half of the fines they secured."[61] The 1892 act therefore created a legal mandate and market opportunity for the harassment and over-policing of Indigenous hunters in the Thunder Bay region (which continues in the present day). As Steven High noted in his own research into Thunder Bay's colonial history, this situation was exacerbated by the commercial fishing of white settlers in the region who were keen to export the water's resources to American markets. The extractive logic of the emergent Canadian national economy disregarded, disempowered, and dispossessed Indigenous peoples, as "the bands located on Lake Superior saw their livelihood threatened by white fishermen."[62]

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[60] Thunder Bay Museum Archives (hereafter TBMA), G 2/5/2, reel 17, Letterbook, December 27, 1909.

[61] S. J. Kerr, *Fish and Fisheries Management in Ontario: A Chronology of Events* (Peterborough: Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources – Biodiversity Branch, August 2010), p. 18.

Ten years later, in 1902, the Fort William band sent a letter to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to report on the ways in which provincial and local colonial policies and processes were running counter to the terms of treaty. It read:

> We the Indians of the Fort William Band earnestly beg of you to help us, and we trust you will do so. We do not like how the white people are disturbing us for our property that we have left for ourselves. When we last sold our land to Mr. Wm. B. Robinson [of the Robinson-Superior Treaty], we had swore that we would not sell another acre, and the Indian Department had agreed, and also promised us that we would not be disturbed anymore to the last of an Indian.[63]

What happened thereafter is shameful beyond description.

In 1905 the Fort William band was forcefully uprooted from their original location on the Kaministiquia River and split in two, with half of the band moving to the base of Mount McKay (where the community of Fort William First Nation still resides today). The ostensive reason for the forced relocation was so that settlers could build a grain terminus for the Grand Trunk Pacific railway, which never happened. The intervention was pursued under the auspices of the Indian Act, which granted the Governor in Council the power to expropriate lands for the purposes of building public works and securing settler economic development. As historian P. Whitney Lackenbauer recalls, "when the Grand Trunk Pacific indicated that it wanted 1600 acres of prime reserve land to build terminals, and initiated expropriation plans, the Surveyor General at the DIA told the band that he wanted the entire reserve and that it would be moved elsewhere."[64] Though the grain terminus was never actually built, the settler intervention was supposed to plug the Thunder Bay region into the prairie wheat market and resuscitate what was at that time a fledging local economy by constituting the region as an important transhipment hub.

By any measure, this dispossession was violent and traumatic; the Fort William band, which had been using the land for farming, was relocated to rocky and swampy land unfit for agriculture. Further, members of the band were forced to exhume a graveyard located on the original reserve site that held the remains of their loved ones so that they could be buried elsewhere. Still further, the relocation split the community in two; as Fort William First Nation (FWFN) Chief Peter Collins recollected, "about half of our members moved to Squaw Bay and the other half to the Mountain Village."[65] "Squaw Bay Road," the construction of which began in 1907, is to this day the name of a major vein of travel on the FWFN reserve.[66]

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[62] Steven High, "Responding to White Encroachment: The Robinson-Superior Treaty and the Capitalist Labour Economy: 1880-1914," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records*, vol. 22 (1994), p. 29.

[63] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Sessional Papers 1892*, Paper no. 14, "Annual Report for the Year Ended 31st December 1891," p. xxi.

[64] P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "'Of Practically No Use to Anyone': Situating a Rifle Range on the Fort William Indian Reserve, 1905-1915," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records*, vol. 34 (2005), p. 11.

The term "squaw" is a racist and sexist epithet long used to construct Indigenous women as abject, licentious, wretched, and unclear. As David Smits writes, the term is itself a "prime index of savagism" that emerged in seventeenth-century American constructions of Indigenous women as overworked and undervalued by their male counterparts.[67] In the Canadian context, such constructions were so frequent (particularly in the Plains context) that one historian noted that "descriptions of Indian women as beasts of burden do not appear to alter over time," as rather straight lines can be drawn between the representational regimes of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.[68] To my mind, the most important study of the term in the Canadian context comes from Sakimay Métis scholar Janice Acoose, whose *Iskwewak Kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak* critiqued Indigenous women as perpetually positioned between the polarities of "Indian princess" and "easy squaw" in the settler colonial imaginary of Canadian culture and society.[69]

To put it mildly, the term is an offensive one. What is more, consistent with the history of place names in Thunder Bay, Squaw Bay Road contains a more material history of marginalization; as Steven High recalls, during the road's construction, "the Agent decided to replace the entire workforce with whites because he claimed they [the Ojibway of the Fort William band] performed poorly with pick and shovel."[70] We can see here in this historical moment the symptom of a settler colonial society that no longer structures socioeconomic relations on the basis of interaction with Indigenous peoples; rather, as the late Patrick Wolfe noted, settler colonial societies do not ask for the labour of Indigenous peoples, but their disappearance.[71] It is within this frame that we can read the name and history of Squaw Bay Road as an acute example of settler reterritorialization in Thunder Bay, as the land becomes not only renamed but rearranged to reflect an emergent industrial order that is exclusive to Indigenous labourers. And as we shall continue to see in what follows, the symbolic violence of place naming in Thunder Bay always emerged in lockstep with a more material and economic form of violence and marginalization.

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[65] See "Fort William First Nation Offered $99 Million," *The Chronicle Journal*, March 31, 2016, http://www.chroniclejournal.com/news/local/fort-william-first-nation-offered-m/article_448f8b74-f784-11e5-9ec3-838aa61f62b8.html.

[66] High, "Responding to White Encroachment," p. 38.

[67] David Smits, "The 'Squaw Drudge': A Prime Index of Savagism," *Ethnohistory*, vol. 29, no. 4 (Autumn 1982), pp. 281-306.

[68] Katherine Weist, "Beasts of Burden and Menial Slaves: Nineteenth Century Observations of Northern Plains Indian Women," in Patricia Alders and Beatrice Medicine, eds., *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women* (Boston: University Press of America, 1983), p. 29.

[69] Janice Acoose, *Iskwewak Kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princess Nor Easy Squaws* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1995).

[70] High, "Responding to White Encroachment," p. 38.

[71] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," pp. 387-409.

The Mount McKay Rifle Range and Pressed Brick Company

In 1907 a land surrender exchange (later found to be illegal and against the provisions of the Indian Act) appropriated further land from the Fort William reserve for the purposes of building a rifle range to train militia forces that might be tasked with defending the grain elevators that now dotted the skyline of Port Arthur.[72] This particular agreement gave the Fort William band $10,000 in exchange for "that certain parcel or tract of land and premises, contained by admeasurement one hundred (100) acres, more or less, being composed of a location for Rifle Range, situate, lying and being in the Fort William Indian Reserve in the District of Thunder Bay and Province of Ontario."[73] Lackenbauer explains, "the surveyor's boundaries of the range had been wrongly described in the legal documents, meaning that the targets had been placed outside of the area acquired by the military. The steep face of Mount McKay, which acted as a natural stop butt, also fell outside the boundaries."[74] Nonetheless, the rifle range stayed open until the mid-1990s, with many of my own family members and friends having discharged rounds into the rock-face of the sacred site. In any case, what needs to be stated quite clearly here is that even if the 1907 purchase had fallen within the bounds of the provisions of the Indian Act and the Honour of the Crown, the desperation felt by Fort William First Nation in 1907, so soon after the forced relocation, ensures that the creation of the rifle range was nefarious and riven with settler self-interest.

In 1908 the *Statutes of the Province of Ontario* included description of further plans "for a railway to be run from, in, near or through lot 10X, Kakabeka Falls, in the District of Thunder Bay, in an easterly direction along or near the Kaministiquia River ... to a point at or near Squaw Bay in the said District."[75] The company listed as privileged in this act of governance was the "Mount McKay and Kakabeka Falls Railway Company."[76] Made possible by the Ontario Railways Act of 1906, these expropriations of reserve land for industrial development were enacted while settlers prevented Fort William band members from joining in on the booming municipal market. For example, in 1909 members of the band requested from the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) the release of funds to purchase a rock-crushing machine that would have allowed the community to use the clay and shale deposits at the base of the mountain to start a pressed brick company. Unsurprisingly, given the historical frame of relations between the federal government and the Fort William band at this point, the DIA flatly denied this request.[77] And yet non-Indigenous settlers were not prohibited from this type of development.

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[72] The federal government paid a $2.9 million compensation payment to Fort William First Nation in 2002.

[73] City of Thunder Bay Archives (CTBA) 0087-17, series 4, file "526 – Industries Mount McKay Pressed Brick Company," 1909-1913.

[74] Lackenbauer, "'Of Practically No Use to Anyone,'" p. 5.

[75] Province of Ontario, "An Act Respecting the Mount McKay and Kakabeka Falls Railway Company," in *Statutes of the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: King's Printer, 1908), p. 774.

[76] Province of Ontario, "An Act Respecting The Mount McKay and Kakabeka Falls Railway Company," p. 774.

[77] High, "Responding to White Encroachment," p. 36.

City archives reveal that on November 19, 1912, a physician named William Henry Hamilton, a "barrister-at-law" named William Arthur Dowler, and a "manufacturer" named James Gowanlock (a Scottish name if ever there was one) signed a memorandum of agreement with the Corporation of the City of Fort William under the collective company name of "The Mount McKay Pressed Brick Company."[78] These three businessmen wrote to the "Chairman and Members of the Works Committee" of the City of Fort William expressing interest "in securing power for its plant on the Fort William Indian Reserve."[79] In another letter submitted to the mayor of Fort William, the Mount McKay Pressed Brick Company explained that "they are commencing an industry of great importance to the City of Fort William" and suggested they would "before long [become] one of the prominent industries of the City and vicinity."[80] Still further, the three men insisted "that we might put these applications in a different category from any other applications which may be made for any other Indian lands."[81] Interestingly, a letter from the City Solicitor of Fort William dated December 3, 1912, and addressed to the Chief of the Fort William First Nation noted that the latter "object[ed] to the Mount McKay Pressed Brick Company using the power from the city's lines on the reserve."[82] It is clear that little came from this objection, as the three Anglo-Scottish settlers were successful in securing their power lines for what was to become a lucrative business that supplied a fast-growing construction business in the Thunder Bay region. Put simply, many settlers built their homes with bricks taken from Mount McKay while at the same time preventing Fort William First Nation from participating meaningfully in any of this foundational economic activity. This pattern was visible in terms of waged labour during the construction of Squaw Bay Road and it was repeated in terms of the control of the means of production in the history of the Mount McKay Pressed Brick Company. Put simply, even though Fort William First Nation was forcefully relocated to the foot of the renamed mountain, they were forbidden from using it to join settlers of Port Arthur and Fort William in their journey to prosperity.

Making Mount McKay into a Pioneer Village

Seeing fur-trading as a nation-making activity, local elites decided that a pioneer-village style historical park ought to be constructed in honour of the region's history. As Patricia Jasen recalls, "the idea of constructing a replica of old Fort William was promoted whole-heartedly by the [Thunder Bay Historical Society] between 1937 and 1939" but wartime economic pressures shelved the project for some time.[83] In December 1960 the citizens of Fort William rejected a plebiscite that proposed to raise funding for the creation of a historical park via a five-year plan of increased mill rates.[84] Following the nationalist wave of the centennial and a renewed interest in heritage history, however, an archaeological project headed by faculty at Lakehead University unearthed palisades and other materials from the original site of Fort William in 1968. With local interest in the heritage of Fort William reaching a fever pitch following centennial celebrations, the Thunder Bay Historical Society and other municipal bodies were successful in securing funding from the Province of Ontario.

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[78] CTBA 0087-17, series 4, file "526 – Industries Mt. McKay Pressed Brick Company," 1909-1913.

[79] CTBA 0087-17, series 4, file "526 – Industries Mt. McKay Pressed Brick Company," 1909-1913.

[80] CTBA 0087-17, series 4, file "526 – Industries Mt. McKay Pressed Brick Company," 1909-1913.

[81] CTBA 0087-17, series 4, file "526 – Industries Mt. McKay Pressed Brick Company," 1909-1913.

[82] CTBA 0087-17, series 4, file "526 – Industries Mt. McKay Pressed Brick Company," 1909-1913.

[83] Patricia Jasen, "Imagining Fort William: Romanticism, Tourism, and the Old Fort, 1821-1971," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records*, vol. 28 (1990), p. 14.

In January 1971 Premier John Robarts announced that the Ontario government planned to fund the excavation and rebuilding of the Fort William outpost as a historical park. Following the announcement, Lakehead University helped to conceive of and carry out a plan wherein settlers returned to *Anemki-waucheu* and took more stones to ensure the "authenticity" of replicas at the Old Fort William Historical Park (FWHP), which is now the region's most celebrated tourist attraction.[85] As Jasen writes of the FWHP, "when imaginatively pictured, the fort becomes a metropolis of the wilderness, frequented by hearty voyageurs of superhuman courage and endurance, presided over by Highland adventurers who hold the fortunes of a vast fur trade empire in their hands."[86] Speaking from experience, I can also affirm that the FWHP is a primary pedagogical tool in teaching young children in Thunder Bay the city's history.

The problems with the FWHP certainly extend far beyond the reach of this paper, which mentions it only in the context of Mount McKay and the long pattern of repurposing the sacred mountain in a way that coheres and constitutes the settler colonial locale of Thunder Bay as such. Of course, it bears mentioning here that the scale of investment by both the city of Thunder Bay and the Province of Ontario in the creation and continued maintenance and operation of the historical park is rendered rather obscene when put alongside the historical and ongoing forms of violence to which Anishinaabe peoples have been subject since the founding of the original Fort William in the early nineteenth century.

A Counter Example: The Legend of *Nanibijou*

Perhaps the most widely recognizable feature of the Thunder Bay region is the Sleeping Giant—a massive rock formation set in Lake Superior resembling a giant human form sleeping on their back as if in a coffin. The Sleeping Giant figures prominently, for example, in the City of Thunder Bay's Coat of Arms, which has a voyageur holding a paddle standing on the neck portion of the rock formation.[87] As readers are likely aware or can guess at this point in the paper, this is not the formation's original name.

In *Seven Fallen Feathers*, Tanya Talaga tells the story of *Nanibijou*—a giant who roamed the shores of *Gichigami* (Lake Superior).[88] In this narrative, the giant had a close relationship with the Ojibway, who closely guarded the secret of the silver deposits located on his shores until a Sioux scout learned of their location. Before he could return to his own people, however, the scout was set upon by a group of settlers who plied him with drink and thereby extracted the location of the silver. As Talaga narrates, "a falcon flying overhead watched the whole scene unfold. When he heard of the betrayal, he quickly flew to warn Nanibijou. But Nanibijou had known as soon as the Sioux man's words were spoken. Suddenly, he began to feel heavy, so heavy he could barely move. His limbs seized and all he could do was lie down. He turned from warm flesh and blood to solid stone. The Ojibwe were now on their own."[89]

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[84] Jasen, "Imagining Fort William," p. 17.

[85] Jayson Childs, "Stone Construction at Old Fort William," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records*, vol. 27 (1995), pp. 17-33.

[86] Jasen, "Imagining Fort William," p. 7.

[87] For an image of the Coat of Arms for the City of Thunder Bay, see City of Thunder Bay (website), accessed March 28, 2019, https://www.thunderbay.ca/en/city-hall/thunder-bay-coat-of-arms.aspx.

[88] This is a local spelling; often "Nanabozho" is a more common rendering.

The legend of *Nanibijou* is unsettling and powerful in that it mourns both the coming of the settler colony and the rise of extractive industries that bleed the earth and scar the land. When placed alongside the legend of Mackay's Mountain, the history of the forced relocation and the construction of Squaw Bay Road, and the creation of the Pressed Brick Company and Rifle Range, the story of Nanibijou is all more meaningful. In this manner of speaking, the Sleeping Giant is an always-already reterritorialized and deanimated rock formation and place name that can be used to represent the essence of Thunder Bay on the city's Coat of Arms; on the other hand, *Nanibijou* represents an Indigenous place name and contested reality that uses the land to remember the history of Thunder Bay otherwise. Scholars located on the other side of the Robinson-Superior Treaty are well positioned to speak more properly and appropriately to these contested meanings of the Sleeping Giant and *Nanibijou*; for my part, I choose to conclude by once again turning to the present realities of gendered and racialized violence in Thunder Bay and connecting these histories to the present-day reality.

Conclusion

The reordering of the colonial world in Thunder Bay, Ontario, has been a historically relentless process that combined the symbolic violence of renaming the land with the material violence of inscribing it within a settler colonial market system that produces wealth for non-Indigenous elites. The banning of country marriages and the pathologizing of intimacies between Indigenous women and white men is an example of a more immediate form of settler colonial violence, whereas the commemoration of figures such as George Simpson (of Simpson Street) or the legendary Mackay (of Mount McKay) signal a more symbolic violence consistent with a social sentiment that celebrates settler colonial histories of municipal and state formation. The creation of the Mount McKay Rifle Range and the rise of the Mount McKay Pressed Brick Company demonstrate that the power to name the land emerged in tandem with the power to determine land use and economic arrangements. More broadly, the ubiquity of Anglo-Scottish place names in Thunder Bay testifies to the tartanist inflection of these stagings of public history in Thunder Bay, which celebrate the Anglo-Scottish masculine subject while (I argue) implicitly devaluing Anishinaabe peoples in general and women in particular. A city with a history like Thunder Bay—with streets that honour men like Simpson, moments like the Wolseley Expedition, and legends like Mackay's—is exactly the kind of city that produces and positions young white settler men as committers of violence against Indigenous women in both the immediate and more structural sense.

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[89] Talaga, *Seven Fallen Feathers*, p. 1.

I recall here once more the crime of Brayden Bushby, who threw a trailer hitch at Barbara Kentner in January of 2017 near the intersection of Cameron and McKenzie Streets in Thunder Bay. Kentner's family, who watched her slowly slip away from complications due to the injury, will be seeking justice in future criminal proceedings in which Bushby will stand trial for second-degree murder. Though Bushby's crime is exceptionally grotesque in the immediacy of its settler colonial violence, I think it is important to note that it is not necessarily exceptional in the history of the settler city that produced him. Thunder Bay is, at its core, a city built from bricks and stones stolen from a sacred mountain—a sacred mountain still scarred from the rifle practice of settlers. The reterritorialization of the region, the emergence of Anglo-Scottish place names, and the economic marginalization of the Fort William band in the years following their forced relocation to the foot of Mount McKay all point to the fact that Bushby's individual crime is also a socio-historical act that reproduces much of the same dislocating and gendered violence that settler men have visited upon Indigenous women in Thunder Bay. To risk oversimplification: gendered and racialized acts of violence against Anishinaabe women is how Thunder Bay got here in the first place. And while I submit this reading as a productive historical explanation for hate crimes and anti-Indigenous violence in a settler colonial locale, I simultaneously retract it as an individual excuse in Bushby's case on the basis that many white male settlers grow up in Thunder Bay without reproducing so readily our historical conditions of possibility.

And while Thunder Bay remains a city firmly trapped in its history, there is of course much cause for hope and many leaders to follow. In 2016, the *Ogima Mikana* Project, which erected billboards across Ontario that affirmed and reclaimed Indigenous place names, had multiple billboards placed in Thunder Bay that reminded residents the real name of the mountain is not McKay. More recently, the *Wiindo Debwe Mosewin* (or Walking in Truth) Patrol Group, led by Ivory Star Tuesday, has taken to the streets to ensure community safety in areas of Thunder Bay that are either over- or underpoliced.[90] Sandi Boucher—an Anishinaabe CEO and member of Seine River First Nation—has opened Mishkwe Enterprises to assist in "improving Canada, one relationship at a time."[91] Celina Reitberger, a member of Fort William First Nation, has become the Chair of the Thunder Bay Police Services Board following a 2018 finding of systemic racism in this organization by the Ontario Civilian Police Commission.[92] Regina Mandamin, a band member of Wiikwemkoong Unceded Territory, has also become the City's new Manager of Indigenous Relations and Inclusion.[93] Thus, in the face of historical and ongoing forms of settler colonial violence arrayed against them, Anishnaabe women continue to survive, thrive, exist, and resist within the city of Thunder Bay.

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[90] Jon Thompson, "Inside the Controversy over Thunder Bay's Indigenous Community-patrol Group", *TVO News*, March 7, 2019, https://www.tvo.org/article/inside-the-controversy-over-thunder-bays-indigenous-community-patrol-group.

[91] Eric Andrew Gee, "Three Warrior Women: Three Visions for Thunder Bay and Its Future", *The Globe and Mail*, September 9, 2019, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-three-warrior-women-three-visions-for-thunder-bay-and-its/.

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[92] Rick Garrick, "Fort William First Nation Anishinaabkwe appointed Chair of Thunder Bay Police Services Board", *Anishinabek News*, December 14, 2018, http://anishinabeknews.ca/2018/12/14/fort-william-first-nation-anishinaabekwe-appointed-chair-of-thunder-bay-police-service-board/.

[93] Warren Schote, "Wiikwemikoong's Regina Mandamin named Manager of Thunder Bay Indigenous relations and Inclusion", *Manitoulin Expositor*, July 24, 2019, https://www.manitoulin.ca/wiikwemkoongs-regina-mandamin-named-manager-of-thunder-bay-indigenous-relations-and-inclusion/.