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Conduits of Communion: Monstrous Affections in Algonquin Traditional Territory

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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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CONDUITS OF COMMUNION:
MONSTROUS AFFECTIONS IN
ALGONQUIN TRADITIONAL TERRITORY

Monograph

By

Ian Sorjo Grant PUPPE

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN ANTHROPOLOGY

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIRMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIAL/CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO

LONDON, ONTARIO, CANADA

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Abstract

This project investigates the legacies of shifting land tenure and stewardship practices on what is now known as the Ottawa Valley watershed (referred to as the Kitchissippi by the Omamawinini or Algonquin people), and the effects that this central colonization project has had on issues of identity and Nationalism on Canadians, diversely identified as settler-colonists of European or at least “Old World” descent and First Nations, Métis and Inuit (Lawrence 2012). Beginning with the partition of their territory into the jurisdictions of Upper and Lower Canada (now Ontario and Quebec), and continuing through the institution and increased surveillance of Algonquin Provincial Park, the Canadian Nation-State has remained an obstacle barring unification efforts made by various First Nations, local and descendant groups in the area (Lawrence 2012). Now often pit against one another during land claims disputes and over access to resources, these First Nations, local and descendant communities are simultaneously involved in factional resistance to one another’s overt dominance, and in unifying “Nationalist” projects enacted implicitly on local scales and through explicitly “traditional” representations.

Focusing on historical and contemporary political and social issues related to Algonquin Provincial Park and its establishment, this project explores; 1) Competing claims levied by First Nations People, local and descendant communities as well as representatives of the Canadian settler-colonist Nation-State regarding proper relationships to the environment and its stewardship; 2) Popular discursive and practical approaches to conservation, tourism, naturalism, and heritage management; and 3) The complicated entanglements of First Nations, settler-colonist, local and descendant communities and shifting identifications made evident by changes in economic relationships to the territory in and around the Park and in some people’ legal status vis-a-vis the Nation-State.

This dissertation draws on public history and traditional narrative as sources for a reconsideration of history, ethnohistory, and ethnography in relation to studies of the complex contemporary Canadian Nation-State. Contributing to a specifically Canadian anthropology, I develop vocabulary through which to engage the perpetuation of Traditional Indigenous Knowledge regarding the environment, health and relationality, and to counteract Intergenerational Trauma related to dispossession and the breakdown of identity, personal and collective, under settler-colonial pressures.

Keywords: *Algonquin Provincial Park, Canadian Anthropology, Ethnohistory, Indigenous Studies, Intergenerational Trauma, Conservation, Tourism, Narrative.*

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To the Kitchissippi and those who care for it, Chii'Miigwech. I will return.

Lesley, I will never be able to thank you enough. You brought me back to life and made a new one available to me. I love you.

This work is for those past, and for those yet to come; for *Ginawaydaganuc*.

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Preface

On How to Read this Text

This dissertation draws from a variety of genres of writing, art and research in order to expand on the ways that Algonquin Provincial Park has been, and might be, understood. Nominally an ethnohistorical endeavor, this is an effort to historicize the Park and the impact that its institution has had on those who live in and near the area, and who often identify as descendents of local First Nations people (as Algonquin, *Anishinaabe*, or *Omamawinini*). In this work I employ archival research, public and oral history, alongside participant observation undertaken in and around the Park, alone or with family and close friends I consider relatives. The writing style deliberately drifts from critical theory to personal narrative, from surrealism to polyphonic multivocality, juxtaposing different approaches and voices in the process, in order to affect a change in the way that “Canadians” generally conceive of land, and of “themselves.”

In a sense, this work shifts from a concern with Canadian settler-colonial/Indigenous relations, or an “Anthropology of Indigeneity,” towards an “Indigenist” Canadian Anthropology.¹ That is, the tone shifts from a more familiar ethnographic attempt to describe, explain and categorize alternative epistemologies and ontologies, to participating in the formation of experiential knowledge gleaned from purposive actions targeting resurgence; I move from talking about what people do, to showing how it is

¹ The term “Indigenist” is used to describe alliances and collaborations where the interests and goals of Aboriginal/Indigenous people and communities are placed ahead of those of University-based or academic researchers (Simpson 2008: 74-75). Indigenist projects allow Aboriginal and Indigenous people to “steer our own canoe, but we will invite others to help with the paddling” (Manuel 1976: 12). For an excellent discussion of the history and prospects for a specifically Canadian Anthropology see Robert Hancock (1999).

done. Beyond that, the shift in tone parallels a shift in my concerns; from being *about* Indigenous “issues,” to being *for* or *of* Indigenous people, and the persistence of Indigenous cultures.²

In this work I contribute to a redefinition both of history and ethnography as they are generally conceived and written. Combining public history with critical theory, this dissertation is at times an interrogation of the ramifications of common representations of the past (and of one another), and at others, an intensely personal rumination on my own socialization in relation to the Park. In it, I develop a generic vocabulary through which to speak in, and of, *relationality* across disciplinary boundaries and backgrounds imposed by politics, identity and standpoint.

The common vernacular of the area is used as the source for both analytical tools and analogies. Phrases such as, “they say,” and “a friend of mine,” emerge as metonymic expressions involved in a performative ethnographic rendering of “how they talk there.” These phrases have a generic quality that contributes to a non-judgmental way of speaking that also avoids overt conflict, moving towards common understandings (though they may remain terse), obscuring the particular speakers in favor of developing the theoretical implications of what is said on a more public scale. This means I use some common concepts in unusual ways and sometimes, uncommon terms become part of a technical language meant to evoke (and perform) an explicitly “Canadian” way of life; at once heterogenous, complex, considered and conflicted.

² The position that I advocate has been clarified for me by a former student, now colleague and friend, Marcello Herrera, who stated that the anthropology I helped to teach him is not only “*about people*,” but more importantly “*for them*.” (personal communication, 2014)

Fieldwork meant returning to particular locations within the Park and reconnecting with relatives in the area. This meant that my methods for “sampling” were “inductive,” that is, based entirely upon previous relationships, the context of the meeting and the participants’ choice to become involved (Kovach 2009: 126). I have made all quotations anonymous where they have not come from “public” figures, from people who have already been written about elsewhere, or from people whom I did not meet while they were in a professional capacity. More formal “interviews” took the form of informal conversations and undirected storytelling and included only those to whom I had previously established personal relationships. Returns to the “field” allowed me to build relationships with the land in particular places and a large part of the research methodology has been made up of tracing the growing connection between myself and these other “subjects”; trees, waterways, birds, animals and stones.

Ted Chamberlin poses a question that echoes the words of one of his Gitksan informants, “If this is your land, where are your stories?” (Chamberlin 2004) This question, which removes the onus of proof from Aboriginal people involved in land claims, instead placing the burden on the settler-colonial Nation-State to legitimize its authority, reversing the contemporary legal and jurisdictional status quo. It also prompted Chamberlin’s efforts to search for stories, both old and new, that might help “ground” common interests shared by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal “Canadians” alike. I follow these efforts, searching through stories of the past for those that bind people to one another and to particular places, and sometimes telling new stories grounded in my relationship to particular people and places. After all, the question is, “*where* are your stories?”

Some of the chapter titles tease at or make a pun of common phrases I heard in and around the Park during my period of fieldwork and growing up in Southwestern Ontario as a Park visitor. This is done for more than fun and laughs. As a master's student I was told by a mentor, medical anthropologist David Lumsden, to never miss an opportunity for a pun. I see the wisdom of his advice.

This sense of humor is consistent with the kind of joking and teasing I heard from my friends who are (also) of Aboriginal descent. Amongst *Anishinaabemowin* speakers and First Nations people more generally, teasing is a common form of showing affection (Dokis 2007: 62), and J. Randolph Valentine points out that *Anishinaabemowin*, or “Ojibwe speakers in general, and Odawa speakers in particular, are inveterate punsters” (Valentine 2001: 452). Frank Speck noted that during inter-community gatherings of *Anishinaabe*, “it was customary for the speakers to express themselves in figures and similes,” and that, “Some of the old men, on account of their skill in the art of metaphor, were known as *nebaulinowak*, ‘riddle men’” (Speck 1915 [1985]: 499). These skills take practice and their use prompts a different kind of learning in which persistently puzzling things out on one's own becomes a valued empirical toolkit for interpreting the meaning behind the occulted messages of dreams, visions, and visitations. Darren Dokis explains that, “While some First Nations people have succumbed to the temptations of unhealthy coping mechanisms such as alcohol and drug use, others use the most powerful weapon in their arsenal – the First Nations sense of humor” (Dokis 2007: 58).

Divided in two halves, *Part I* deploys a set of essays on central concerns which in content cross-over one another, but work towards different ends in their forms and counter-positioning. The essays discuss diverse themes from historical method and political

economy to conservation biology and public health, and move from the history of anthropological notions of evolution and museum studies to Indigenous resurgence, genealogy, and linguistics, employing the Park as a lens through which to refract these images, and through which to gain new perspectives. The essays work their way through related ethnohistorical materials and representations of the past by juxtaposing these images of public history with contemporary reactions to them, and interrogating them as examples of everyday cultural productions and personal performances with overtly political ramifications.

In *Novice Level*, I explain the thrust of the project as it pertains to the political economy of land tenure and resource extraction in the Park. This piece helps set the stage for the approach that I take in later chapters. *Epauettes and Appellations* provides an outline for my rationale in the use of particular terminology and for my approach to naming practices in the historically complex and often confusing records and discussions of historical occupancy of particular places. *Taking Care* sets out the program for my method, and begins to provide an alternative approach to understanding the Park from those offered by the dominant tropes of nature-as-mystery and the representation of a nature-culture dualism common to Naturalism, conservation biology and environmental studies more generally. It is also an allegory for my desire to circumvent the dominance and primacy of scientific explanations when they are clearly inappropriate for dealing with the task at hand, and to counter assumptions regarding the need (or even the desire) for “objectivity” in the study of culture.

Singing the Same Old Tune pauses to meditate on salient themes that emerge from the juxtaposition of the essays, and to tie them together by allowing each to stand on their

own. Metonymy plays a crucial role in decoding the structure of the text, where in the words of Robin Ridington, “stories function as metonyms; parts that stand for wholes. Each story is connected to every other and to a highly contextualized discourse” (Ridington 1999: 22), which I work to make more familiar for those in the audience who find it distant, while striving to defamiliarize aspects of the dominant contemporary Canadian “national-cultural imaginary” (Ivy 1998: 3), connected as it is to an expression of Eurocentric settler-colonialism.

Fur Coats, Big Boats, and Feeling Remote tracks the shifting regimes of resource (and *knowledge*) extraction and management that have allowed the Park to become a central source of pride for the Canadian national-cultural imaginary (Ivy 1998: 3). It also overlaps with a discussion of the inadequacy of “classical” theories of political economics and human evolution. These early anthropological theories played a role in the instrumental use of conservation and environmental protection as a means of political intervention by the settler-colonial Nation-State, and were marshaled often by authorities (such as A. Kirkwood and J.R. Booth) during the fight to establish the Park. The convolutions of industry and government which conspired against local residents to create the Park are illuminated as ongoing processes entangled with intentional forms of colonial occupation premised on resource extraction and the generation of Capital, at any cost.

In *Splintering Facade* and *No Home on the Range* I interrogate a pair of displays found in the Algonquin Provincial Park Visitor Center and Museum. The first is the figure of “Émile Huard,” a logger who died in the Park along the Petawawa River during a log-drive, and whose name is now connected to the large plastic figure that has a face

projected onto it which tells a tale of working in the camboose camps³ near the time of the Park's establishment. The voice of the display is inflected with a French Canadian accent that belies the "structural violence" (Farmer 2004: 307) of the story he tells, as does the smile on his projected face. Likewise, the frozen figures that make up the "*First Visitors*" display that I discuss in *No Home on the Range* work to elide the presence and persistence of the Algonquin people on the land and to suggest that the Park may have been an uninhabited territory before the arrival of Canadian settler-colonists. This has the damaging effect of obscuring the continued battles of the Algonquin Nations of Ontario and Quebec with the Federal and Provincial governments, and with one another, over a land claim first put forth in 1983 but which few Ontarians seem to know about. In this section I also begin to discuss routes through which the Algonquin people, and Canadians more generally, might come to terms with our shared past.

Blood-Work critically interrogates the current regimes of proof and evidence associated with official recognition of "Indian Status" in Canada. Claims to authentic belonging and heritage that are commonly deployed in the Park which take recourse to the metaphor of "blood" are levied in political causes. Attention to the frequency and intensity of their invocations exposes the work that they are meant to accomplish in altering the perception (and reality) of social and historical circumstances.

Big Pines continues the ruminations on belonging by re-visiting Brent, and the people who made it special for me when I first visited in 2009. Confronting the effects of different techniques of collecting and displaying history by juxtaposing the Visitor Center

³ The name used to denote the early shanty cabins that housed as many as 50 men during the winters while they worked as loggers in the Ottawa Valley.

and Museum with the Brent Outfitters Store run by Jake Pigeon exposes the rifts between official versions of history and local ways of memorializing the past “in an occupied place” (Stewart 1996: 11). The distinction between the two approaches is clarified through an exploration of the Algonquin people approach to reincarnation and of their relationship with the big pines.

Moving from a focus on belonging to a concern with continuity, *Conduits of Communion* explores the potential for Algonquin (or *Omamawinini*.) resurgence in the wake of the establishment of the Canadian-American, Ontario-Quebec, and Provincial Park boundaries. Different perspectives on health and different access to particular forms of treatment (and exposure to risk) are juxtaposed in order to demonstrate the inequity in Canadian discourses of Universal Healthcare and Multiculturalism. The political ecology of the Algonquin people becomes a major focus for countering the detrimental effects these boundaries have imposed on the land and water, and resurgence begins to appear not only likely, but inevitable. As a way of avoiding governmental surveillance, Algonquin Traditional Knowledge has often moved into the shadows and the solidarity produced by this resistance to colonial oppression has allowed for a burgeoning resurgence movement to take hold. The alliances that have developed between various Algonquin (and *Omamawinini*) factions have become a source of strength and cultural continuity as well as a means through which to form even larger alliances, and for those that have been obscured to begin re-emerging. This monstrous solidarity is affected through registers of personal and collective responsibility circumventing the rights-based discourse of the Nation-State, and gesturing towards something new on the horizon (Gaudry 2011: 131).

In *Algonquin Provincial Park and the People without Ethnohistory* I discuss the tension between different approaches to history and truth, and come down firmly on the side of those who would admit oral history as historically valid, and reliable. Beyond this, it would seem that oral history could be invaluable for the re-tracing of familial connections lost to census and archival records. My contention, working from Eric Wolf's research (1982), is that there are no "people without history," nor are there people without culture (or *civilization*), and therefore, there are no people without ethnohistory, without procedures of memory and memorial peculiar to the people from which they emerge. Therefore even the (white male) Liberal Euro-American (settler-colonial) Nation-State has an ethnohistory amenable to certain analytic and investigative interrogations. This requires a practical redefinition not only of ethnohistory, generally understood as the history of Indigenous people's colonial interactions with the State, but also of history, as involved in always culturally and politically situated endeavors. Redefining ethnohistory and history jointly exposes disciplinary claims to "universality" which are situated squarely within Western epistemological frameworks as inherently colonial and implicated in the maintenance of inequitable power dynamics. Another militant stand against claims to scientific objectivity and political neutrality, the concerns set out in this chapter foreshadow the issues that I discuss further in the second section of the dissertation; narratives of experience, genealogies and life-histories are mobilized as both personal coping mechanisms and pathways towards Indigenous resurgence, two sides of the same coin.

In *Part II* of the dissertation I deploy a surrealist ethnographic technique, juxtaposing autoethnography (or perhaps more accurately, reflexive ethnohistory) with critical theory

and Indigenous Traditional Knowledge in order to contend with issues of intergenerational trauma and family disconnection related to the Canadian settler-colonial past and present. This section enacts a reversal of the autobiographical tradition through a narrative of return placed into conversation with theories concerned with the resurgence of Indigenous Traditional Knowledge in Canada, and more specifically in the Ottawa Valley. This is writing in which “Ethnography cut with surrealism emerges as the theory and practice of juxtaposition,” “interested in the making and unmaking of common codes and conventions,” working to recover both ethnography and surrealism’s “early vocation as critical cultural politics” (Clifford 1988: 147).

By providing fragments of memory and counter-narratives that are meant to “speak back” to the master narrative and its attendant occlusions I follow Kathleen Stewart, Norman Denzin and Walter Benjamin, who argue that history when construed as memorial, is never “true,” but a “dangerous” act of recursion; a “flash” of surging nostalgia and shock, painful in its stark familiarity and “revolutionary” in its release of “oppressed histories” (Stewart 1996, Denzin 2005: 10, Benjamin 1968: 263-264). The release of these “oppressed histories” (Denzin 2005: 10) coincides with the formation of what Johannes Fabian calls, “moments of freedom” (Fabian 1998: 133); “the potential to transform one’s thoughts, emotions, and experiences into creations that can be communicated and shared” (Fabian 1998: 20-21). These “moments,” when initiated by “the victims of colonization and postcolonial oppression” whose culture has become “a means of survival as well as a weapon of defense,” work “against the accumulation and concentration of power, which when institutionalized, cannot do without victims” (Fabian 1998: 133). The initiation of these “moments of freedom” requires the execution of “liberatory praxis” (Gaudry 2011:

129); “to help revive the knowledge of what it means to be Indigenous among everyday Native people, to articulate how it remains relevant in terms of decolonization and emancipation,” (Gaudry 2011: 133) in order that this knowledge be “used to further the possibility of community action” (Gaudry 2011: 129). Leanne Simpson goes further, suggesting that these moments and practices help to form “islands of decolonial love,” a powerful unifying concept meant to reinforce solidarities (Simpson 2013).

In the words of legal scholar Gordon Christie, “Aboriginal people engaged in the sorts of activities they did, in the ways they did, for *reasons*. These reasons, and not the activities, would form the core of their cultural identities (and *ex hypothesi*, would form the core of their ‘traditional’ identities today)” (Christie 2003: 85 [italics quoted]).

Likewise, these “*reasons*” are what I wish to discuss in this text, and not the peculiarities of particular pre-contact activities, but I do not limit this discussion to the “reasons” associated with one ontological or epistemological approach or another. Instead I explore the emergence of borders that seem to separate these approaches, and that allow them to perpetually misconstrue and misunderstand one another, appearing incommensurable. This is bridgework.

While racism is easily equated with ignorance and evil, such descriptions and explanations fall short of communicating the complex workings of fear, insecurity, and even love, which motivate displays of racially charged “hatred” (Ahmed 2004: 118). The breakdown in Aboriginal family dynamics, healthy personal coping strategies and cultural safety is directly related to the “cultural iatrogenesis” of the settler-colonial Nation-State (Illich 1975: 42). Cultural iatrogenesis describes how interventions perpetrated by the Nation-State on the lives and bodies of Aboriginal people have had a

“health-denying effect in so far as they destroy the potential of people to deal with their human weakness, vulnerability, and uniqueness in a personal and autonomous way” (Illich 1975: 42).



Plate #1 - Early Fall Color, Big Pines Trail, Algonquin Provincial Park

The Nation-State allows for a particular amount of latitudinal movement within what Bruce Braun describes as “vertical territory,” (Braun 2000: 24) bound by decree, mapped and surveyed through a discursive logic of “instrumentality,” allowing for the instantiation of particular regimes of power (and knowledge) to be expressed through management of the territory’s “biopolitical” makeup. The establishment of these “vertical territories” allows the State to intervene in the life of the biological (and

mineral) constituents of the area, and in the management of the various resources that the territory is composed of and has to offer through “discourses – like geology – [which] are charged with instrumentality” (Braun 2000: 24). While these interventions are often undertaken with the “best of intentions,” the unexpected results of many interventions on the “natural” and “biological” interactions within the Park (including its establishment in 1893) have had devastating effects on neighboring people of diverse backgrounds, which are analogous to the effects of similar interventions through which social and political power has been exerted over other subjugated people in Canada’s past.

These iatrogenic effects are familiar to me, and as I have been taught by Aboriginal elders, I feel the need to explain my own position and background in relation to Algonquin Provincial Park, and to explain my interest and investment in the future of the place (and the rest of what is known as Canada). I was born in Kitchener, Ontario in 1978, my father, a German immigrant who arrived in Canada shortly after the Second World War, and my mother, of Quebecois Métis descent.⁴ I am a blond haired, blue-eyed, Anglophone, and should have fit in well in Canada’s most “German” town, but I have always self-identified as being of Aboriginal descent. A kind of in-visible minority, I was socialized in Aboriginal ways without being able to pin down why my mother’s family was so different from other (mainly Anglophone) Franco-Ontarian families, not

⁴ Our family has no connection to a reserve community, nor do we know our “clan” or even our Aboriginal “ethnic” affiliation for complicated reasons to do with disconnection, denial and abuse. My grandmother told me that we were “Cree,” but this does not line up with her family having come from Matane on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, on the Gaspé peninsula. My grandfather is said to be from Sept-Isle though I have seen no record of this. Family lore holds that his father was a tugboat captain, and that my grandfather’s mother was Native, though she has always been a mystery, and no one in my family seems to remember her unmarried name, though my mother says her first name was “Angelique.” I have been told that my grandfather and his siblings spent a good deal of time with their mother while her husband was away, and that she was a “rough lady.” This is usually suggested as the place where he learned to be the same way with his children. An uncle suggested that my grandfather attended a day school that was later transformed into the Sept-Isle Indian Residential School.

realizing “that a sense of dispossession and homelessness was a common hallmark of urban non-status Native experience” (Lawrence 2012: x). When asked to “check the box” on a survey or questionnaire, rarely do I sign for fear of the inevitable request for “proof,” and the painful insinuation that comes with it; I am assumed to be either not *authentically* Indian enough, lying, or claiming an identity that is not mine to claim.

I often visited the Park and other protected areas with my parents as a child, and spent time there as a camper at a YMCA children’s camp as well, learning how to paddle, portage, and get by in the bush. When I was “searching” for a topic to work on for my master’s thesis, it occurred to me that I should focus on some “culture,” or *somewhere* that I felt attached to. I worried about interjecting myself in *something* that would perpetuate the inequitable power relations that so many studies have been implicated in. The unexpected result of my research on intergenerational trauma, dispossession and resurgence in the Ottawa Valley area was that I was forced to contend directly with the colonial violence of Canadian history and with my family’s history of violence and abuse, while reckoning with the complicated identity politics associated with “mixed” heritage.

The grounding in my own ambiguous and complicated heritage guides my research focus, choice of appropriate methods, and the structure of my writing, as well as providing a window on the shifting perspectives that come with alternating kaleidoscopic identifications; simultaneously “Canadian,” of foreign descent, and still, somehow, Indigenous, *from* and *of* this land, but how? What makes us so sure of these connections, and of the immutability of identity? How can one identify as of Canadian “ethnicity,” when the concept of this nation is so fresh and new in historical perspective? Who has

the authority to make decisions about the land, and its use? From where does this legitimacy arise? *Where are our stories?* These are the kinds of questions that emerge through a reflexive and critically situated perspective that interrogates history, memory and identity as interrelated, co-constituted, and intensely intimate political concerns that mediate (and occasionally interfere with) our relations with ourselves and our environment.

PART I

Novice Level:

“What am I doing here?”

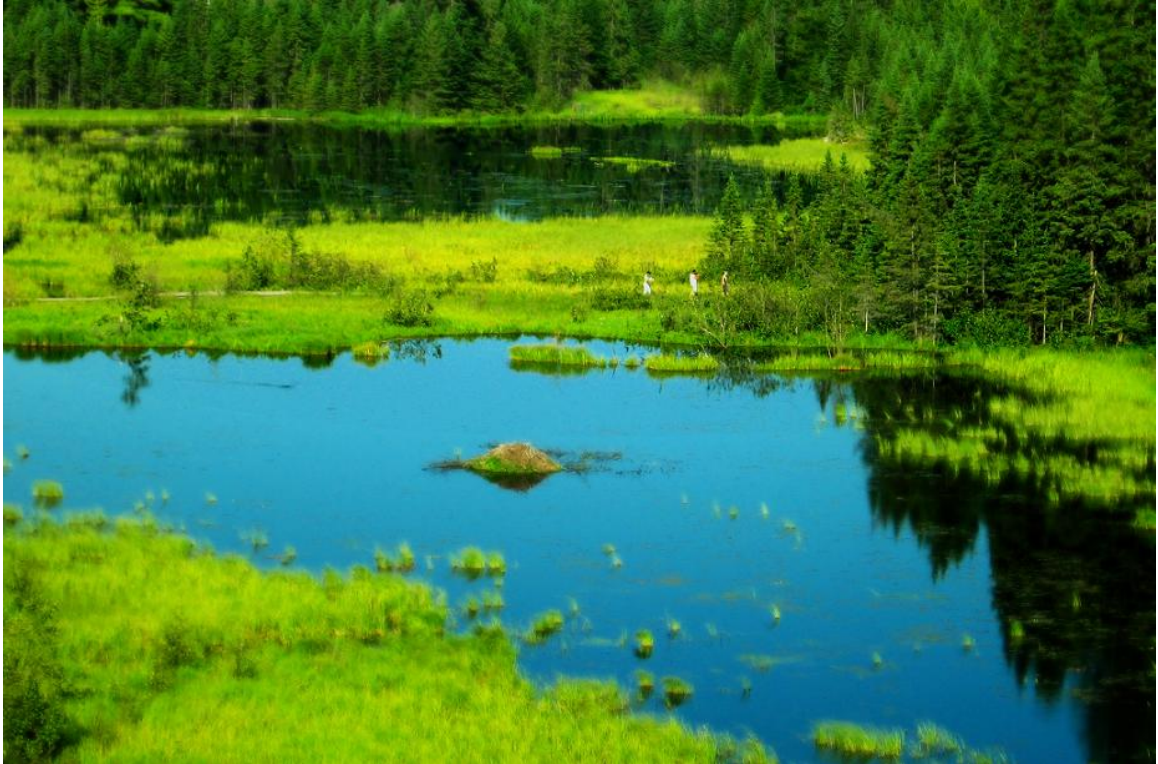


Plate #2 - Spruce Bog Boardwalk, Algonquin Provincial Park

This project investigates the legacies of shifting land tenure and stewardship practices on what is now known as the Ottawa Valley watershed (referred to as the *Kitchissippi* by the *Omamawinini* or Algonquin people), and the effects that this central colonization project has had on issues of identity and Nationalism on Canadians, diversely identified as settler-colonists of European (or at least “Old World”) descent and First Nations, Métis and Inuit (Lawrence 2012). Beginning with the partition of their territory into the jurisdictions of the United States, Upper and Lower Canada (now Ontario and Quebec),

and continuing through the institution and increased surveillance of Algonquin Provincial Park, the Canadian Nation-State has remained an obstacle barring unification efforts made by various First Nations, local and descendant groups in the area.⁵ Now often pitted against one another during land claims disputes and over access to resources, these First Nations, local and descendant communities are simultaneously involved in factional resistance to one another's overt dominance, and in unifying "Nationalist" projects enacted implicitly on local scales and through explicitly "traditional" representations. Focusing on historical and contemporary political and social issues related to Algonquin Provincial Park and its establishment, this project explores: 1) competing claims Levied by First Nations People, local and descendant communities as well as representatives of the Canadian settler-colonist Nation-State regarding proper relationships to the environment and its stewardship; 2) popular discursive and practical approaches to conservation, tourism, naturalism, and heritage management; and 3) the complicated entanglements of First Nations, settler-colonist, local and descendant communities and shifting identifications made evident by changes in economic relationships to the territory in and around the Park and in some people's legal status vis-a-vis the Nation-State.

Through re-engagement with popular notions of nature and nature tourism/naturalism, and comparison with *traditionally informed Indigenous imaginations*⁶ this project aims to

⁵ Following Bonita Lawrence (2012) I use this terminology in an effort to distinguish the local population from "Canadians," more generally, and to include as aligned, a multiplicity of local identities. Under different circumstances these people might be described as "stakeholders," a term that I abhor for its collusion with neoliberal managerial regimes. Many identify themselves differently from the State-sanctioned and officially recognized identities related to Indigenous or Aboriginal descent and "Indian Status," (and some may have no Aboriginal heritage to speak of,) but have remained in the area despite economic and personal hardships which have often disconnected communities and families.

⁶ I use this term to highlight the distinctions between what Marilyn Ivy describes as different "national-cultural imaginaries," (Ivy 1998: 3) which might also be described as distinct ontologies. I use the term in order to draw attention to the constructed and rationalized (though rarely *rational*), procedures of sense-

find productive convergences between conservation efforts and the need for greater recognition of the historical presence and participation of First Nations people, local and descendant communities in Canadian society. Contrary to popular representations of these people as traditionally “nomadic hunter-gatherers”⁷ (Whiteduck 2002: 50), the patterns of return that the Algonquin people practiced helped to maintain civil “orders” between the *Anishinaabe* and the “other-than-human-persons” that they recognized as part of their extended kin-groups (Hallowell 1960, Matthews, Roulette & Valentine 2010, Lévi-Strauss 1966: 60). These civil orders were akin to a common civil “law” (Whiteduck 2002: 144) (yet opposed to “logocentric” legislation by the “State”), and were involved in maintaining particular social relations that were meant to protect local and “dividual”⁸ (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: xiii, 88, Strathern 1988) autonomy, as much as they refracted ontologies that were, through respectful and reciprocal engagements with extended kin, syn-ecologically (Descola 2013: 13-14) oriented towards more-than-sustainable futures (May 2008: 107). Therefore, contemporary concerns with sustainability and conservation are exposed as intimately involved in maintaining particular life-ways and curtailing others subsequently represented as obsolete and as impediments towards necessary economic progress and National development schemes.

making which are always in process and unfinished, and to the synaesthetics of experience which tie bodies to cultural patterns. I have elaborated on Ivy’s concept of the national-cultural imaginary in the Canadian context in my unpublished master’s thesis (2012A) and further on my understandings of this concept and of the “*traditionally informed Indigenous imagination*,” in unpublished conference presentations at annual meetings of the American Society for Ethnohistory and the Canadian Anthropological Society (Puppe 2012B, 2012C, 2013).

⁷ “Nomadic” is often deployed to suggest that certain people wandered randomly in search of food, shelter and other needs. In my understanding this is a subtle suggestion that Indigenous Knowledge of the land, waterways, flora and fauna, was not knowledge, but simple instinct, and that serves to perpetuate notions of Indigenous people as scattered bands of “savages wandering around in the bush” (Simpson 2008: 31) until gaining European civilization.

⁸ Deleuze and Guattari use this term to expose the often fragmented and fractured sense of “self” generated under the pressures of post-modernism and to the “individuation” of discreet bodies from “assemblages” (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 253-254). See also Starthern, 1988.



Plate #3 - Provincial Context Map,

Algonquin Provincial Park Management Plan 1996

Algonquin Provincial Park covers a large section of the eastern ecological contact zone which connects the northern coniferous and southern deciduous regions of the province of Ontario. Since 2009 when I first began investigating and tracing out various connections that I have found in and around the Park, I have come to realize that there are far too many interconnections and involvements for them all to be traced in one work, or

for all of them even to be traceable. In some ways it isn't at all surprising that the Park is often spoken of and written about as a place of mystery.⁹

The Park has become as alive with interactions as any urban metropolis. From historical representations and contemporary practices of forestry and mining that take place in the area, to the over one million tourists who visit each year and the massive amount of scientific research, the land that that Park now rests on may have always been so. Many of those who discussed the history of the area with me spoke of it as a meeting place, where people of all kinds and their ancestors have been in congress with the whole of creation since time immemorial, and for some, since the earth-diver otter first pulled a handful of sand and mud from the bottom of a bottomless ocean and brought it back to the surface that met the sky to begin heaping an island on the great turtle's back, rebuilding the world.

⁹ For examples of the Park being described as a “mysterious” place see Lundell & Standfield (1993), Shaw (1996), Mackay (1996), Clemson (2010), Garland (1994), Quinn (2002), Runtz (1993), Leckie in Euler & Wilton [eds.] (2009). For more information on common conflicts between Parks and local residents see Nepal & Weber (1995), Bennett, Lemelin & Ellis (2010), and West, Igoe & Brockington (2006).



Plate #4 - Rock Lake Cliffs, Algonquin Provincial Park

The 2015 Friends of Algonquin website states that the Park was established as a wildlife preserve. But this claim obscures the central historical importance of logging and settlement on the establishment of the Park, and perhaps more importantly the legacy of re-settlement from land that became part of the Park. The possibility of wildlife conservation is tied directly to issues of forest management as a manner of preserving animal habitats. However, this arrangement remains hidden in popular representations of the Park as a tourist haven. Few know that the rangers themselves trapped and hunted in the Park to the extent that the local population of wolves was put at risk of extinction for a time.¹⁰ Bruce Braun points out that in contemporary Canadian environmental and

¹⁰ From the inception of the Park until December 15, 1972, when the bounty was finally rescinded, wolves were actively sought and killed by Park rangers (Addison 1974: 108). G.W. Bartlett, superintendent of the Park from 1898 to 1922, “never swerved from his belief that all wolves should be destroyed,” (Addison

conservation discourse there is an expressed desire for the protection of pristine natural environments (Braun 2002). But, the current and historical use of the Park for commercial logging has played an important role in the way that the Park has been represented as a tourist site. This is obvious in the Algonquin Park Visitor Center & Museum and the Logging Museum as well as in several of the guidebooks that are intended to accompany the walking trails. This project examines these contradictory claims, and the idea of threat embodied by the co-presence of human occupancy and Aboriginal identity within mainstream Canadian discourses and narratives of conservation, naturalism and environmentalism, specifically regarding Algonquin Provincial Park (Killan 1993, 1998).

The separation of culture from nature has been a dominant trope of settler-colonialism (Taussig 1987, Braun 2002, Descola 2013). The troubling Canadian legacies of French

1974: 107) introducing a program aimed at their eradication which included offering a reward for their pelts and even allowing rangers to use poisoned bait up until 1920 (Addison 1974: 108). Ottelyn Addison, who penned the popular *Early Days in Algonquin Park*, argues that in “1894 man definitely did not consider the importance of the balance of nature,” (Addison 1974: 107) exposing the common occlusion of First Nations people, history, and knowledge in the Park’s oral and written histories, as well as the persistent denial of humanity to Indigenous peoples who chose to live traditionally. In *Mammals of Algonquin Provincial Park* the authors Dan Strickland and Russell Rutter explore the possibility that the current population of wolves in the Park might be new arrivals having replaced the “native” Grey wolves (*Canis lupus*) some 200 years ago. The major food source of Red wolves (*Canis rufus*) is deer and deer were rare in the Park 200 years ago, having moved in more recently with the migration of moose northward due to pressure from logging and forest fires. Biologists now suggest that the wolves in the Park are either a rare “race” of Red wolf (*Canis rufus*) thought to have been extirpated in all areas north of the State of Texas, or a more specifically distinct species called the Eastern wolf (*Canis lycaon*) (Strickland & Rutter 2002: 23-24). Wolves have a large range and many of the radio-collared wolves tracked by Park biologists are killed by humans while outside of the Park boundaries, with up to 50% of the total estimated population killed by humans in one year in order to protect deer in the Round Lake deer yard (the average loss to human actions during the period between 1987-1999 was 24% of the total population annually) (Strickland & Rutter 2002:25). With such dangerous conditions many environmental organizations are concerned that the wolf population in the area may be at risk of collapse. Connected to this is the possibility that the local population has been maintained by “immigration” of wolves from unprotected areas outside of the Park during periods of decline, meaning that the Park which “is famous for its wolves,” (Strickland & Rutter 2002: 23) may in fact depend on “a situation both ironic and undesirable,” (Strickland & Rutter 2002: 26) in that there is no guarantees that unprotected populations can be counted on to maintain stability. Norm Quinn argues to the contrary that there is “no hard evidence” to suggest that the wolves are at risk, and that the plight of the wolves serves as a convenient backdrop through which to motivate celebrity interest in conservation promotion (Quinn 2009).

and British settler-colonialism have played into the current structure and management of Algonquin Park. In turn, through the deployment of the Park's image as a crucial site for the construction of Canadian settler-colonial ideas regarding "wilderness" and "nature," representation of the place as such has helped to frame popular discourse surrounding identity and the ostensibly "responsible government" of resources; animal, vegetable, mineral, and human. What is minimized in the discursive constructions surrounding the conservation of both wildlife and landscapes is the local impact of these plans on those who *dwell* in the areas to be protected, and their reciprocal engagements with the land they have traditionally occupied (Ingold 2005: 503).¹¹ This project attempts to develop a fuller understanding of the impact that the attendant *haunting* effects of human occupancy have had on the area and those who call it home.

Colonial discourses which code behaviors as either wild or civilized have played into the creation not only of the Park, but of Canadian understandings of humanity as well. This immediately draws my attention towards ideas of "humanity" as they are deployed in the philosophical and political discourses of Humanism and the effects of particularly "Canadian" forms of Humanism which remain conciliatory towards further colonization and dispossession of Aboriginal People, remaining silent on the effects of the active representation of Natives as less civilized or closer to nature. This project explores how efforts aimed at the conservation of "wildlife" in Ontario help to define and invigorate discussions of what it means to be "civilized," and the impediments that are imposed by this polarizing institution. Local First Nations presence and issues of contact between the

¹¹ For further examples of tension between local and descendent communities and the Nation-State over protected resources see Tsing (2005), Agrawal & Chhatre (2007), Lawrence (2012), LaDuke (1994), and L.T. Smith (1999).

Algonquin, other members of the Three Fires Confederacy¹², other neighboring Indigenous people (such as the contemporary Six Nations), both French and British settler-colonists and Métis People, provide fruitful points of historical entry. How do cultural contact and different understandings of resource extraction and land tenure play into Canadian constructions of identity and notions of jurisdiction, or into the constitution of dominant Canadian self-images? Through an investigation of a site where colonial history helps construct a version of nature from which Canada's "First Nations must either be erased entirely or collapsed into," (Braun 2002: x) this project hopes to find fruitful convergences between apprehensions of tradition and relationships to the land, (and to one another,) that are not predicated on exclusion and "hysterical blindness" (Gordon 1997: 15) towards First Nations heritage and presence, nor on the denigration of traditional ontologies as *superstition*.

This project began with archival research and camping visits, including stops at the Park's Visitor Center and Museums, and includes visual and discursive analysis of historical representations found in local museums and historical texts, as well as semi-structured interviews with friends, visitors, "locals" (such as cottagers and employees) and non-status, off-reserve First Nations People who claim local *Anishinaabe Algonquin* heritage (and who are for me *kinsmen*). Representations of the Canadian past located in the Mattawa Museum, the Tom Thompson Gallery in Vaughn, and various other sites in Peterborough, North Bay, Ottawa, and along the Kitchissippi were explored and their "voices" brought into conversation with the complications of historical representation,

¹² The Three Fires Confederacy is a treaty relationship that was established between the Potawatomi, the Ojibwa and the Odawa (Ottawa), which includes many other "Algonquian" nations from the Great Lakes region, and which pre-dated European contact with North Americans. For more of the Three Fires Confederacy see Simpson (2008), Lytwyn (1997), and Bohaker (2006).

cultural and natural resource management that come together in places such as Samuel de Champlain and Algonquin Provincial Park, at places such as Canoe Lake, Rock Lake and the Big Pines Trail. Aesthetic interpretation of artists' renderings and authors' recollections of the history and natural features of the Park became another important source of knowledge.

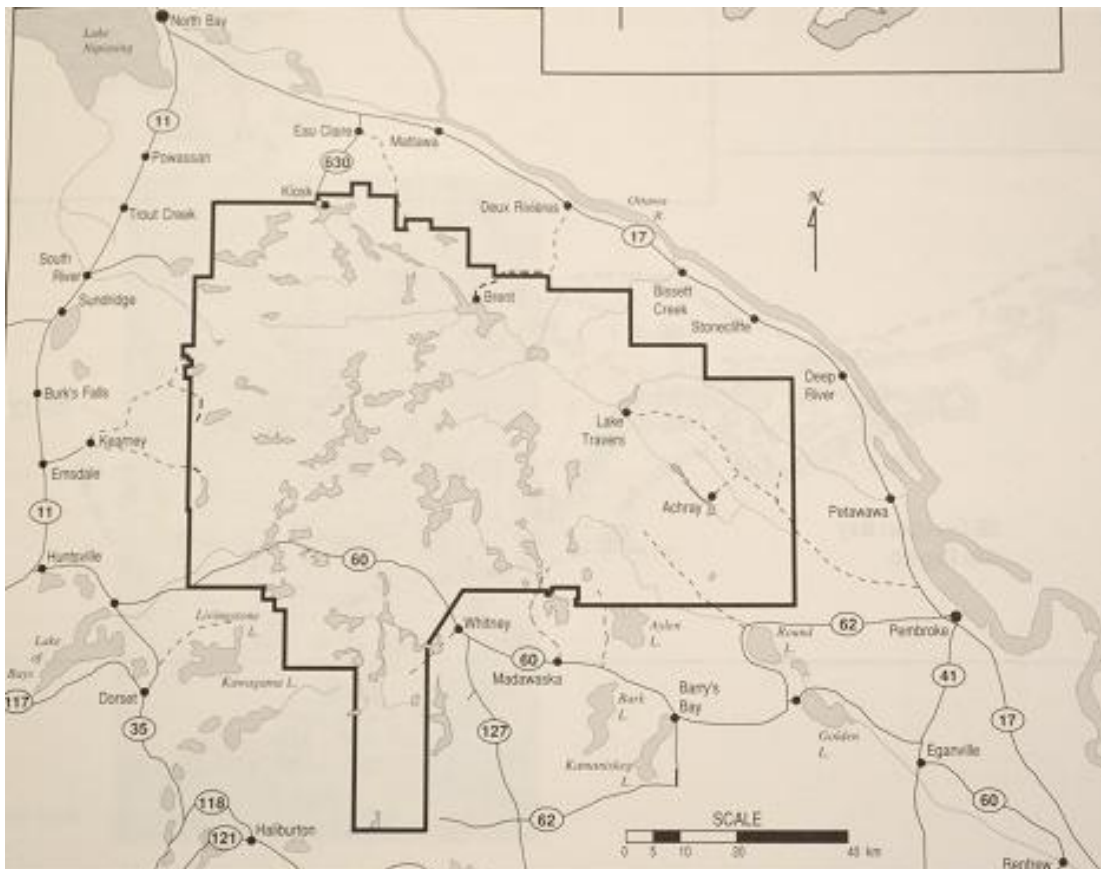


Plate #5 - Park Map, Algonquin Provincial Park Management Plan 1996

Radical re-interpretations of images hung in the Park's galleries opened a view into official representations of "nature," and popular divisions between the cultural and natural worlds. Speaking with historians of the Park and the surrounding areas provided traction for an expanded view of socio-cultural developments and the "shifting

configurations of discourse and practice” (Braun 2002: 3) that help to sustain the conservation areas’ operation and central importance to Canadian national identity.

Internationally distributed images help the Nation-State to articulate legitimate forms of belonging and Algonquin Park is one of Canada’s most famous conservation areas and sites for biological/ecological research. Tourism helps to construct what is imagined as the Nation (or national identity), and what is offered as a worthy tourist site demonstrates what Canadians value in their heritage and “nature,” as well as in themselves (Braun 2002, Deleuze & Guattari 1987, West, Igoe & Brockington 2006). This also exposes what Canadians seek to forget, to obscure, and are therefore *haunted* by, in their daily lives, reconnecting nostalgia with practice while instantiating self-sustaining pools of miscommunication.

Fieldwork for this project required multiple visits (since 2009 to 2015), to areas in and around the Park, but most pertinently required me to return to Brent where I undertook my Master’s thesis research in order to re-connect with some of the people I met there, and whom I still consider to be friends. Their earlier willingness to contribute to my research gave me the hope that they may have new stories to tell about their relationship to Park authorities and any new developments concerning the leaseholder’s agreement (set to expire in 2017)¹³ that exists between the cottagers and Ontario Parks. Beyond this, these visits reaffirmed the effort to (further) expel the image of the distant and disengaged

¹³ At the time of writing (July 1, 2015) the agreement is being re-negotiated (and has been agreed upon in principle) and may extend for another twenty-five years (until 2032) at which point all ownership of the cottages would be returned to Park authorities with the express purpose of allowing the plots to “return to nature,” often through demolition of the buildings. Some of these cottages have been in place since the “square timber era,” (Tozer & Strickland 2012: 4) long before the Park was founded, and have been passed down through families for generations. Some are former railway cars transformed into houses and others are large farmhouses with as many as five bedrooms, but no running water or electricity. The vast majority of cottages have been well maintained and remain in use.

colonial-handmaiden anthropologist by countering the claim made by so many that “researchers come and take, but they never come back. We never see them again,” as I was told by Rob (who worked in the outfitters store) during my first visit to Brent. I would like to unsettle this image, and to take advantage of the further potential that any re-vitalized or re-imagined relationships might offer for expanding understandings of local autonomy and contingent responsibility towards the land and its inhabitants. Beyond this though, my fieldwork entailed re-connecting with relatives of mine who are of Aboriginal descent, and reconnecting with my own “mixed” heritage as well.

Due to the Park’s age and location,¹⁴ investigations of past and present uses of the area expose popular settler-colonist notions of “nature” and “human impacts” (Euler & Wilton [eds.] 2009) that rely on technologically-centered approaches to the rational management of the land and its “resources.” Providing a counter-narrative to the oppressive colonial myth of pristine or untouched nature common to many of the representations of the Park by offering other approaches to stewardship found in some of the traditional and revitalized cultural movements of local Indigenous people provides new frameworks through which to interpret our responsibilities toward the environment and towards one another. Current administrative efforts to resolve the decades old land claim lobbied by the Algonquin Nation of Ontario often fail to consider the traumatic effects of the Park’s formation and the variable impacts of colonial and neo-liberal approaches towards the First Nations/settler-colonist relationship. By exploring the traditional rules of civility that governed interactions between people, the land and its inhabitants, this project

¹⁴ The Park was founded in 1893 and has been expanded several times to include areas that were formerly active settlements. The land in the area is largely unfit for commercial scale farming and has been a source of timber and other forestry products since the 1830’s when settler-colonists first began to move into the area in large numbers, though this never became a densely populated part of the country.

demonstrates the intermingled and co-productive relationship that continues to characterize interactions between distinct people in Canada, and which has since the time of early colonization and perhaps even long before the *en masse* arrival of European settler-colonists. It also works to reclaim these ways of knowing and being-with the land as critical paths towards more ecologically sound approaches to daily life, inter-personal health and well-being.

Kirmayer & Valaskakis note that “traditional healing is also healing through tradition” (2009: xiv). This suggests that traditional practices must be re-claimed, re-evaluated and re-invigorated for them to take effect. Taking “as axiomatic that the health of any human population is the product of a complex web of physiological, psychological, spiritual, historical, sociological, cultural, economic, and environmental factors” this project aims to expand the possibilities for the integration of Traditional Knowledge with contemporary healing practices (Waldram, Herring & Young 2004: 3). This speaks to the efforts towards well-being and being-well articulated in the work of Naomi Adelson, but also to notions of Traditional Knowledge as expressed in the work of Winona LaDuke, Paula Sherman, Leanne Simpson, Julie Cruikshank, Margaret Kovach, Bonita Lawrence and a whole host of others (Adelson 2009, Sherman 2008, Simpson 2008, Cruikshank 2005, LaDuke 1994, Kovach 2009, Lawrence 2012). This project expands on their focus by broadening access to these traditions of being-well and ways of knowing that may provide new opportunities for re-aligning nationally and culturally informed actions and self-apprehensions along more healthful and cohesive trajectories.

Moving from a large body of theoretical and ethnographic literature which includes Michel Foucault, Jane Bennett, Bruno Latour, Henri Lefebvre, Bruce Braun, Jacques

Derrida, Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari, Regna Darnell, Philippe Descola, Anna Tsing, John Ralston Saul and many others, I intend to contribute to seemingly disparate conversations - academic, political and inexorably local. The essays in this dissertation work to bridge gaps between the language of critical theory, legality or jurisdiction, and ethnography understood as a method of writing experience with the simultaneously tripartite goals of describing, explaining and evoking the diversity and disjuncture found within and between various distinct cultural milieus. The Enlightenment opposition of nature and culture, wildness and civility, nonsense and reason, has left a legacy that shapes the ways that Canadians imagine themselves. This has in turn shaped the relationship between the dominant settler-colonial society and the Indigenous inhabitants of the country. Examining these anthropological themes in Canada turns the focus back onto one of the dominant Nation-States implicated in current discourses of globalization and economic growth that depend upon extractive industries by demonstrating the impact of these arrangements on First Nations, local and descendent communities over long periods of time with an eye towards contemporary effects and the opportunities they may provide.

This project also aims an anthropological lens at an under-theorized area of the “developed” or “First World,” demonstrating the diffuse interconnections between this “safe” space and the overlapping and ostensibly “dangerous” “Fourth World” of Indigenous people seated within settler-colonial Nation-States across the planet. While there are histories of Algonquin Park and a good deal of quantitative scientific research on animals, vegetation, minerals and social interaction takes place there, there have been

few anthropologically informed and culturally sensitive studies of the Park and its past.¹⁵

Further, it would seem that anthropologists, ethnohistorians and ethnographers have not often focused on the Ottawa Valley region due to the apparent “acculturation” of many of the local Indigenous people, obscuring both their persistence and the crucial importance of this central colonization project as a matter of national security (both for the Canadian Nation-State and for the *Omamawinini* Nation) (Speck 1915 [1985], Service 1985: 211-213). This elision couples with the intense current focus of the federal and provincial governments on the Arctic and “Northern Ontario,” (or *Pimachiowin Aki*) as new sites of focus for extractive industries. The convergence of these issues suggests that there is a need to further both conservation and environmentalism as they pertain to the outright protection of environments, without a naïve insistence on nature as untouched, unoccupied, or somehow pristine and pure. There is also an obvious growing need for better communication between Indigenous and settler-colonist people if there are to be any effective efforts made towards mitigating the intensity of social inequity that persists between these variously identified communities and people, and this project explores the decolonizing potential for innovating and expanding on what could prove to be more ethical “ways of staying” (Asch 2014, Bloom 2009).¹⁶

¹⁵ Barring my own unpublished master’s thesis, geographer Marijke Huitema’s work (2005), references contained in the unpublished PhD dissertation of Shiri Pasternak (2013), and in the work of Bonita Lawrence (2004, 2012) and Paula Sherman of the Ardoch Algonquin (2010).

¹⁶ While I borrow the phrase from Bloom’s work on South African “whites” relationship to a fraught and inequitable system post-apartheid, this notion aligns nicely with that of Canadian anthropologist Michael Asch’s explorations of “being here to stay,” which suggest that “we are all treaty peoples” (Asch 2014).

Epauettes and Appellations:

A Note on Inconsistent Terminologies

The name “Algonquin” has been a cause of confusion for many scholars over the past several hundred years. While members of contemporary Algonquin Nations often use either Algonquin or *Omamawinini* to denote their ethnic and Aboriginal identities scholars have used many terms, sometimes lumping these people in with other Aboriginal groups indiscriminately. Names (and spellings) such as Algonkin, Algonquian, Odawa, Ottawa, Adirondack, Mississauga, Chippewa, and Ojibwa/Ojibwe/Ojibway have all been applied to the Omamawinini, and they have also been confused with Potawatomi, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi, Huron-Wendat, Mi’kmaw, Tetes-de-Boules, Abenaki, Penobscot, Maliseet, and even some Iroquoian groups (there are Algonquin living at the reserve at Akwesasne) (Day 1972).

The confusion only gets worse when exploring French records, or when one considers that each band of *Omamawinini* likely had a different self-appellation (this was the name likely given to them by the Nippising) (Ratelle 1996, Clément 1996, Hessel 1987). Chief of the *Pikwakanagan*/Golden Lake Algonquin First Nation, Kirby Whiteduck recounts some of these in his Master’s thesis entitled “Algonquin Traditional Culture” listing “six known Algonquin historical bands”; Onontcharonon (the people of the Iroquet) along what are now the South Nation and Rideau Rivers, Matouweskarini (Matouchkarini) throughout the Madawaska River-shed, Otagouttouemin (Kotakoutouemi) along the Petawawa and Ottawa (Kiji Sibi/Kitchissippi) Rivers westward to the head of the

Mattawa River and perhaps as far north as Lake Timiskaming, Kichesipirini at Morrison's Island and northward along the Black River, Keinouche (Kinouchipirini) on the Ottawa and further west along the Bonnechere River, and the Weskarini (Ouskarini or Petite Nation) who ranged from the Ottawa River north along all of the rivers between the Gatineau and the Rouge to their heads (Whiteduck 2002: 2). Whiteduck also makes mention of two other groups, the Sagahiganirini (Sagaiguninini) who occupied the lakes at the head of the Rideau and Mississippi Rivers and land south towards Lake Ontario, and the Sagnitaouigama who likely ranged from the St. Maurice River along the Ottawa past Lake of Two Mountains and southward along the Richelieu River as the eastern guard against intrusion, and who may have been the first to be largely displaced and fragmented during early colonization of the area along the St. Lawrence (Whiteduck 2002: 2).

Frank Speck suggests in his classic study of the "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley" that the Algonquin are a modified "group of the Ojibwa" (Speck 1915 [1985]: 2). He also reports that "[t]he Temiskaming Indians regard as belonging to their own dialectic and cultural group: the Lake Abitibi Indians, 'Blue Water people'; the Grand Lake Victoria Indians, 'Big-outlet people'; the Quinze Lake Indians, 'Long-sand-point people'; the River Desert and Maniwaki Indians, 'Hungry-river people'; the Mattawa Indians, 'Mouth-of-river people'; and the various bands along the Ottawa river, known as 'Big-river people'" (Speck 1915 [1985]: 3). Speck concludes that "this embraces practically the whole of the division classified as Algonquin" (Speck 1915 [1985]: 3).

Confronted with this multiplicity, scholars are left with an unenviable choice regarding how they will chose to call these people. I am no exception. I've been confused since I first became fully aware that the word Algonquin referred to more than the Park that I visited as a child. When I began my fieldwork and became consciously aware that there were people who went by the name Algonquin and who still lived in the area I mentioned it to someone who grew up in Mattawa and who worked in Brent for a time (the now campgrounds in the northern end of Algonquin Park where I first began research). I was told that he was "Indian," but I didn't know what his "affiliation" was or from what group he was a descendent. It became immediately clear when I suggested how difficult it was to distinguish between the Algonquin and the name for the larger language family Algonquian and he stopped me mid-sentence.

"No! Not Algonquian! We're Algonquin, and we've been here forever!"

His words still stick with me, and they guide my choice of terms and names.

It is for this reason that I will generally refer to the *Omamawinini* as the Algonquin. I understand my friend's desire to reclaim the name that his people are usually called and to reclaim linkages to traditions that have been threatened and obscured. I also understand that this name is for many an ethnonym, or a name applied to a people and not the one they would have used for themselves.

However, my research has also led me to reconsider the importance of the name "Algonquin" and this will become clearer as the story proceeds. In short, the name does not seem to derive from the generally cited source and nor does it translate as is commonly suggested, "to spear fish (or eels) from the bow of a canoe" (Day 1972: 226).

It may more accurately be translated not from a speculative version of “Micmac,” but instead from a dialect of Malecite as linguist and anthropologist Gordon Day explains that it more accurately translates to mean “our relatives,” or “our allies” (Day 1972: 228). Day argues that the translation should not include “our relatives” since the statement then would have included Champlain and thus he labels this translation “a grammatical lapse” (Day 1972: 228), referring to a relationship rather than a bounded group. I am less inclined to agree and will elaborate further in later chapters.

However, if we are to understand the word Algonquin to mean “our allies” then reclaiming the name should be of top priority to those who would like to pressure the Crown to recognize its fiduciary duty, or more, to acknowledge that Canada’s claim to authority and jurisdiction over the Algonquin Nation(s) and their un-ceded territory has neither merit, nor legal standing. If the Algonquin are “our allies” then the Canadian Crown has betrayed their trust and “dishonored itself” as Paula Sherman of the Ardoch Algonquin argues (Sherman 2010). This is more than rhetoric. Celebrations of National pride mask the denial, shame and grief that pervade Canadian society. The name Algonquin must begin to register this *unsettling* discomfort in order for the traumatic colonization of the country to find an end, and to begin rebuilding relationships with Aboriginal people and Nations.

Readers will also note that I use the words “recognition,” and “imagination” while speaking about various culturally situated and constructed perspectives. This usage is not an endorsement of the failed and futile “politics of recognition” (Lawrence 2012: 79-82, Coulthard 2008: 188), nor of the smiling (neo-) liberal position of the middle-right-pseudo-left wing of the Canadian political scene. Nor is the use of the word

“imagination” meant to diminish the importance, or to challenge the “reality,” of different and distinct ways of understanding the world and relating to it. This use follows the theoretical train of phenomenology and as such I employ these words to gesture towards the arbitrary and fashioned nature of culture and its prescriptions, but also in order to make sense of the varying approaches of drastically different perspectives to the Park within the same piece of research.

“Imagination” in this sense is meant to summon an image of the more-than-conscious workings of thought and emotion, and “recognition” becomes its partner in registering “cognisance,” “awareness,” or “acknowledgement,” terms often employed in the discourse of the anthropology of consciousness. This means that each is concerned with the appearance of particular images, icons, and phantoms that haunt the edge of the visible, playing across the symbolic apprehension of the divide between presence and absence insisted upon by the “politics of recognition” that precludes and prevents *sincere*¹⁷ relationships between people differently identified.

¹⁷ The term *sincere* has a long history in philosophical thought, generally used to juxtapose two temporally distinct moments, or events, where one becomes the measure of the other’s validity by avoiding change. I use the term to describe a heuristic method through which to determine the degree of confluence found between (externalized) expressions of identity and (internalized) apprehensions of experience, derived not from the appropriation of an image synchronically reduced, but from obviated identification with a set of concerns which *evolve* over time. Sincerity in this sense requires transparency regarding the effects of actions and agency and, as an intuitive heuristic, lays bare obfuscated political undercurrents. The concept of sincerity is a potentially useful tool in the development of models of “cultural consonance” and “dissonance” which describe a person’s ability to meet the expectations, and to fulfill roles and responsibilities set out for them by their own perceptions of a socio-cultural code or standard, as well as tying these perceptions to health effects (Dressler 2005, Dressler et. al. 2007, Dressler 2011, Snodgrass, Dengah & Lacy 2014). This is also an example of Avery Gordon’s “politics of accounting” (Gordon 1997), and a refinement of Henri Bergson’s “intuition” as the basis for “understanding duration,” or the continuity of life, time and existence (Prigogine & Stengers 1984: 92).

Taking Care:

Notes on Methodical Progression and Progressive Methods

When one undertakes to tromp through the bush it quickly becomes clear that care must be taken in making each and every footfall. The uneven terrain, the sharp sticks and rotten logs that pile up and leave each step an adventure eventually lead to the development of new techniques for walking in such spaces. When it comes to these developments, two approaches become obvious. The first is to armour the body against the threats, allowing for the maintenance of a faster and perhaps more “efficient” pace but sacrificing a reciprocal engagement between the ground and the foot for the protection of isolation. The armour that appears in the form of boots and hard soled shoes works to insulate the flesh against the attacks that are really nothing more than the persistence and endurance of non-human agents, or what Bruno Latour calls “actants” (Latour 2005). But there is another way and this alternative does not immediately reach for armour and protection, reifying a defensive reaction to threatened individuality, instead proceeding with more caution.

As peter kulchyski¹⁸ notes; “the bush is calling to some of us. it invites us to add, multiply, and supplement its signs and texts; to write straight off the trail that is written through it; to continue that trace that meanders and guides some of us through its multiplicities, its polymorphic playfulness, its multivoicedness; and, of course, to leave that track and create others” (kulchyski 2013: 157). In this sense I deploy the bush as an

¹⁸ peter kulchyski employs lower case spellings at all times following the example of bell hooks.

analytic and “as an allegory for something some of us desire, something some of us, those who carry western culture with us every step of the way, can almost touch but never quite reach” (kulchyski 2013: 157). I do this because the “bush, unlike wilderness, allows us to think a lived relation to and in this landscape” and because “some part of canadian culture, that non-existent that pretends to claim ‘us’ all, is also of the bush” (kulchyski 2013: 158).

I’ve spent a good deal of time in the bush, and much of that time barefoot. I’ve preferred having my feet in the sand or the mud to the feeling of my toes being squished together by the tight casing of shoes. And while my feet have become accustomed to the grit and rocks that others find intolerably uncomfortable, my pace is never as quick as those who chose to armour up. I am forced to slow my steps in order to accommodate the requirements of my feet’s sensitivity, but also to acknowledge the impediments and offers of purchase that varying terrains provide. A stick or the edge of a stone speaks, saying “I am not yet worn and willing to engage without violence. I need time to come to terms with my impending dissolution.” Fallen needles woven together on the forest floor and sand spread out on beaches and shorelines ask for further contact, praying that friction will grind difference into the bliss of admixture and indifference, oblivion. Booted feet run through forest and over sharp and jagged terrain, isolated from the returns. Unguarded feet must move more slowly, taking more care, obliged to accept that the world talks back, sometimes with force.

I take the extra effort and care in this dissertation to walk barefoot. This means I am obliged to accept that the subjects I found my discussions upon might at any time make themselves felt; that the pressures I exert may in turn become re-pressed. Slowing down

the steps in this case allows for attention to the reciprocal pressures that come back around, and allows for the tracing of such procedures of repression in the act, exposing them as always unfinished and as having methods of their own. This is, as kulchyski notes,

a mode of social being that enters the bush, that is of the bush... [and] at a minimal level, a bush culture involves an ethic of speech. not a freedom of speech that remains sacrosanct to the exact degree that nothing important can be enunciated. but a freedom to listen, a speech that is responsible, that circulates around some notion of respect. a bush culture does not involve an end to repression, a universal abandon, a forsaking of law and rule, but a different modality of law and rule, a different order of repression, even. (kulchyski 2013: 164)

Attending to this difference means taking different and more carefully selected paths, a selection more attuned to the next step than to remaining on the path most often trod, less focused on the horizon than on the task of moving forward, of *making* progress. Armour allows for distraction, mediating the relationship between bodies imagined and apprehended as separate entities, obscuring the labour that the separation requires. Slowing down the steps draws out the labour required for each step to become grounds for further progress, and allows progress to become a more methodical (and methodological) matter.

To progress along a trail or waterway then is a matter of methodical selection and “repetitions with a difference” (Schleifer 1979: 49). In order to evoke the affective dimensions of return visits to the Park I deploy a similar logic and method. Just as walking the same trail twice requires two different approaches, in effect producing two very different experiences that seem to overlap one another, I tell the same story twice for

very different reasons, and sometimes I find that the same interpretation that arises from one story proceeds from another at another point in time, as if their paths crossed and I chose to move forward based on the comfort of each step rather than through fidelity to the pre-existing trails. Memory spirals back onto consciousness and for some the memory of return visits blur into one another becoming indistinguishable.



Plate #6 - Trash Spiral, Brent Crater Trail, Algonquin Provincial Park

For those more traditional Algonquin people that I know it is common to apprehend time as circular and interconnected to seasonal occurrences. Their stories echo this temporal apprehension, and many re-tell stories in new contexts to new audiences and old in order to offer very different teachings that come to us from the past with novel significance. Their traditional ways of telling stories destabilize the linear meta-narrative of the “disappearing Indian” common to “Salvage Anthropology,” and popular histories of the area sold in the local bookstores. For this reason recurrent analogies and metonymic

advances are scattered throughout this dissertation in order to draw attention to the effects of what is perceived as repetition, or return, and to explore the connections this perception has with notions of selfhood in a Canadian context. I use the term “notes” to show the unfinished nature of such ruminations, and to build bridges between the language of science and the recursive strategies of orally transmitted traditions. This is also the impetus behind embedding many of the more linear arguments that I deploy in footnotes, subordinating their “finality” to the unfinished story of the Park and all of its reciprocal relations. This as well motivates my awkward “afterward” aimed at crystallizing many of the major thematic and emotional issues (and *opportunities*) encountered throughout the text, which offers no pretence of closure. This is relationality in action.

The decision not to subordinate the circle to the line in this context becomes both a part of my storytelling method and a political move as well. Tracing connections and identifying patterns in this method is about re-deploying analogical reasoning, providing a counter to the pre-dominant linear logic of objective difference or negation, instantiating culturally appropriate logics and traditional knowledges that simultaneously describe, explain and participate in the construction of the culturally inflected subjectivities that they enact (Massumi 2002: 12-13, Spencer 1990). The move towards the circle or the spiral then is an attempt to *shake* the status quo of inequity through *vibrant, moving* accounts, stories that claim experience, rather than statements that claim comprehensive or holistic explanation, always remaining *sincere*, though presenting only “partial truths” (Bennett 2010: 23, Clifford 1986, Stewart 1996).

Yet, an honest account of the variety of stories, and of voices, that the Park presents requires more than simply telling or re-telling other's stories through a singular voice. Allowing various perspectives to emerge requires more than reportage and description. It requires that this variety of voices is given the space to express “‘distinct perspective[s] on the world that needs [sic] to be acknowledged,’ or ‘as the means whereby people give an account of the world in which they act’” (Couldry in Brady 2011: 203). Beyond this, voice must be recognized as a “process” with “social value conditioned by its political, economic, social, and historical contexts. Voice is ‘socially grounded, performed through exchange, reflexive, embodied, and dependent upon material form’” (Couldry in Brady 2011: 203). Shifting voice allows for different stories to emerge in counter-point and juxtaposition to one another. I do this, not in an effort to nullify dissent but rather to open further spaces of conversation and more openness to hearing the stories told by those who hold alternative perspectives, and who may speak differently.

Storytelling is a manner of voicing concerns and demonstrating how matters of personal interest organically, or rhizomatically, interact with social and cultural expectations and work to support or stifle alternatives, drowning out other voices and sometimes unexpectedly harmonizing, or synchronizing rhythmically, with voices that may at first seem dissonant or “out of time” (Deleuze & Guattari 1987). Listening carefully to these voices requires “listening out” beyond conventional limits of logic and taste, and it takes time (Lefebvre 2005). Polyhythmic multi-voicedness can be heard as chaotic, or as a form of productive agonism through which syncopation emerges, and likewise for the dissonance of emerging harmonization. Timing is crucial, as is attention to scale and register. Polyvocal recursive storytelling is research (or ethnography) *with a difference*,

meant to evoke the possible, and to produce other wisdom from ways of living and being *otherwise* (Povinelli 2013: 441).

Following Norman Denzin (2005), who in turn follows the example set forth by Walter Benjamin (1968 [2007]), I deploy storytelling as a way of forcing History to “talk back” to its self, opening fissures in the image of the seamless meta-narrative. This takes more than “revision” of an historic veneer. It means that dominant voices must be put in conversation with those of less volume and strength, and it requires that they be given equitable, if not equal, consideration. I have invited many to sit around my campfire, and to speak to one another, and some choose not to stay for long, or to say much, but it is my hope that the chorus deployed in this ethnography adds to a more complex and nuanced way of approaching the Park than any single voice could express, and that the moments of dissonance and asynchrony become productive spaces through which alternatives might be glimpsed, heard, or perhaps even grasped as they are felt; to develop a taste for something new that may at the same time be more ancient than memory.

“Story as method is decolonizing research” (Kovach 2009: 103). That is, when story is deployed as a form of research it provides a counter to the hegemonic meta-narrative of linear progress and colonial dominance, while deploying its content in a way that is inseparable from its form. Telling traditional stories *perpetuates* the knowledge that they embody. This is why Margaret Kovach refers to “Story as Indigenous Methodology” (2009: 94). In some sense, the form of an oral narrative is its content, as the effect of storytelling is to bring people together in the act of sharing experience and memory and of working together towards shared understandings. As Regna Darnell notes, “In an oral tradition, people value the hearing and rehearing of the ‘same’ stories over a lifetime. But

these stories are both the same and not the same – their audiences, contexts, expressive features, and moral implications vary with the occasion of telling” (Darnell 2014: 178). “[R]epetitions with a difference”; Stories are conduits of communion (Schleifer 1979: 49).

Singing the Same Old Tune in Algonquin Traditional Territory

For those who follow in the philosophical footsteps of the Greeks, Heraclitus has made it eminently clear that to step into the same river twice is impossible as the water will not be the same, having moved on. For others, those who follow the Algonquin traditions local to the Ottawa Valley for example, it is obvious that nothing ever really changes, even five hundred years after the first contacts with European settler-colonial societies. These two views seem at first opposed to one another, however a further examination of what constitutes the notion of a river in each view works to bridge gaps and to show that things can be both constantly changing and still stay the same as they always have been, without contradiction.

Juxtaposing the two adages, “The more things change, the more they stay the same,” and “You can never go home again,” opens a space to show how the persistence of memory and commitment to relations both allows for and necessitates different approaches towards cultural and psycho-social continuity. Rather than expressing the material **reality** of their surroundings, each statement makes claims, reflecting and exemplifying perceptions of the world that obviate the distinctions between “dividual” (see footnote #8) and relational ontologies; those that first proceed from distinction or difference, the fragmentation of identity and “episodic” consciousness, reliant upon linear logical patterns, and alternatively, those that first gesture towards similarity or shared experience, relying on a cyclical logic of “perspectival” metonymy to make sense of interactions and transformations, always premised upon interdependence and reciprocal engagements (De

Castro 1998). For those more reliant upon the concept of the individual in the recreation of their subjectivity, and who are more intensely “dividuated” in their approach to relations, a boundary-based apprehension of the world requires the suppression of particular threats (Deleuze & Guattari 1987, Strathern 1988).



*Plate #7 - Barron Canyon Cliffs, Petawawa River,
Algonquin Provincial Park*

In this overtly linear ontology the eruption of cyclically occurring or recursive affects threatens the integrity of the individual by implicating them in the co-production of socially condoned oppression enacted in daily routines. This means that the river is, for them, nothing more than the particles of water, the rest of the stuff in the area being understood as rocks, soil, sand or other sedimentary materials. The alternative is to understand the river as the relationship between the water, the banks and the bed, the source and the terminal that allows it to be a river and not a lake, pond, stream or ocean;

that is, the river is more of a “*rivering*,” than it is a set of distinct objects or things. The river is a way for water to express itself, and a chance for the Earth to instantiate its ability to shape relationships, to transform or act on other forms of life, understood as a circle, a relationship, or an *order*.

Archaeologist John Creese has pointed out an interesting “convergence in the ontological perspective of recent theory concerning the role of landscape in human experience, and the cognitive orientation of contact-traditional Northern Algonquian people” (Creese 2011: 5). Suggesting that, “This convergence is one example of a more general relationship between relational ontologies and non-western ‘animistic’ worldviews” (Creese 2011: 5), Creese argues that this “monistic,” “relational ontology of landscape” (Creese 2011: 4),

stands in contrast to the typical western dualisms of environment:culture, material:ideational, natural:supernatural, etic:emic, space:place, that have tended to dominate anthropological epistemologies concerning cause and consequence. (Creese 2011: 5)

Rather,

A relational ontology of landscape recognizes that landscape emerges through the ongoing interrelations of entities (be they human or non-human), and that both materialist and idealist approaches have failed to adequately conceive landscape formation as a generative social and historical process. (Creese 2011: 4)

Emphasizing the continuity of historical trajectories and processes, and countering the discontinuity insinuated by attempts to, “dichotomize nature from humanity, event from event, and space from place” (Creese 2011: 5), might lead to the acceptance of the

agential and reciprocal potentialities of entities that are too often seen as inert “objects,” or at least inanimate “things” (Creese 2011: 5-6).

Many scholars and Aboriginal people have explained the importance of “other-than human persons,” for those who exemplify traditional Algonquian ontologies, or *traditionally informed Indigenous imaginations*.¹⁹ In Leanne Simpson’s edited volume *Lighting the Eighth Fire*, “French River Girl,” Renée Elizabeth Mzinegiizhigo-Kwe Bédard clarifies how the acceptance of this agential or reciprocal potentiality is related to the knowledge that,

‘all my family’ includes not just our human family, but the animals, plants, birds, fish, the water, air, and the earth, which all form part of the great interdependent web of life. Even the things that are considered inanimate, we call our relatives. (Bédard 2008: 96)

More directly, “Traditionally, the Nishnaabeg [*Anishinaabe*] people consider[ed] water to be our relative” (Bédard 2008: 96), meaning that the naming of water systems, and the apprehension of their ability to affect changes in the world, was (and continues to be) intimately inter-related to the political and “sacred” geography (Bohaker 2006: 46-47) of the *Anishinaabe* people. The river may be understood as a set of discreet molecules and particles, each different from one another, providing a discontinuity of internal consistency over time. Or it may conversely be understood as a manner of expressing the relationship between these bits which affords continuity of form and significance of content through mutual affection (or “co-evolution”); “Just as a stream not only flows

¹⁹ For an explanation of this term please see footnote #6. “Other-than-human persons” play a critical role in the work of A.I. Hallowell (1960), Leanne Simpson (2008), Paula Sherman (2010), and Heidi Bohaker (2006), amongst others.

between its banks, but also forms them, people not only follow a path, but create it” (Creese 2011: 5).

In his work on the family hunting territories of the Algonquian people, Frank Speck described how amongst the Penobscot (close “relatives” of the Algonquin), “the family bands possessed paternally inherited hunting territories which were referred to by the individual as ‘my river,’” further explaining that, “These were marked by boundary signs, either blazes or birch-bark representations of the animals from which the proprietors derived their names” (Speck 1917 [1985]: 94). Linguist J. Randolph Valentine further explores how in *Anishinaabemowin*,

possessed nouns have themes formed by a suffix *-(i)m*, to which possessor inflections are then attached; *ziibiins* ‘stream’ forms the possessed theme *ziibiinsim*, to which is then attached the third-person prefix *o-* to produce *ozibiinsim* ‘AN.SG’s [animate singular’s] stream.’ (Valentine 2001: 449)

However, these “possessed nouns,” are employed practically as “verbs of possession,” which have parallel deployments in, “Verbs of possession formed from kinship terms, [which] in addition to meaning ‘have an N’ (where N refers to a kin relation), also have the meaning ‘have as/for an N’” (Valentine 2001: 449).

Further complicating issues, Bohaker follows Valentine in explaining that, “All *Anishinaabe* kinship terms are grammatically possessive, dependent nouns” (Bohaker 2006: 47). As Valentine states, “This usage blurs the distinction between existence, equation, and possession, blending together meanings ‘have an X’ and ‘be in such relationship to X’” (Valentine 2001: 450), suggesting that in some sense *to exist* is registered as the ability *to relate* in particular ways. Here, it becomes more obvious why

for traditionally informed Indigenous imaginations, “Possessions are [viewed as] a means for helping others” (Gray & Rose 2012: 84), and are understood to be parties to reciprocal relationships which must be attended to regularly, and *carefully*.



Plate #8 - High Falls, A.Y. Jackson Trail, Sudbury

Thus, “*riverings*,” as an English translation of “*ziibii-ganan*” (Bédard 2008: 89), is more consistent with the verb-based priorities of *Anishinaabemowin*, and these *riverings* would always be described in relative terms (that is, through registers of personal relationship and responsibility); “*the rivering to which I am obliged.*” Remembering that traditionally extended kin-groups formed the basis of the family unit for *Anishinaabe* and that these kin-based relationships to waterways were “expressed in terms of personhood” (Creese

2011: 8), relative to the speaker, “It is possible to discern here the manner in which the economy of the landscape interrelates with Algonquian ethics of reciprocity” (Creese 2011: 8); “Morality, then, is entrenched in landscape, since morality is the ‘reason’ governing the inter-subjective relations of persons, human or ‘other-than-human’” (Creese 2011: 8).

For Bédard, “The calling of all Creation (including the sky, water, lands, animals, fish, and birds) into our family describes a relationship of trust, love, and faithfulness between human beings and the natural world” (Bédard 2008: 96), and reminds people of their responsibilities since, “good governance and political relationships begin with individuals and how they relate to each other” (Simpson 2008: 32). The stories which held the keys to these relationships were called “*aadizookaanag*, or the grandfathers” (Bohaker 2006: 32), and were re-told during annual cycles of return to the traditional “hunting territories” of particular “families” in the winter months after dispersing from summer gatherings (Speck 1915 [1985]). Families, or “houses,” were known by their “seal,” or “*nindoodem*,” which connected them to extended-kin, territory, descent from an ‘other-than-human’ progenitor, and obligations to relations (which in different cases may or may not parallel the behaviour of what the *nindoodem* “represents”) (Bohaker 2006: 32-33).

The formal agreements which united these “houses” as “nations” were marriages (which amounted to adoptions) between those of different *nindoodem*, and these agreements were the earliest form of treaty making (Simpson 2008: 30). Thus, a treaty relationship is one in which a party enters into a relationship reckoned through registers of kinship premised on previous presence and reciprocal obligations; the “*aadizookaanag*, or the grandfathers” (Bohaker 2006: 32), relate to the *Anishinaabe* as their grandchildren, and

expect them to behave as such. Leanne Simpson and Cree elder Harold Johnson each articulate understandings of settler/Aboriginal treaty relationships as predicated on the same logic of adoption, and for this reason many of those who are concerned with Indigenous “issues” and the resurgence of Indigenous people find it important to repeat these stories of our relationship to one another in order to remember histories too often silenced and ignored (Simpson 2008: 30, Asch 2014).

Quoting Gaston Bachelard, Rick Fehr describes how,

the voices of water are hardly metaphoric at all; ... the language of the waters is a direct poetic reality; ... streams and rivers provide the sound for mute country landscapes, and do it with a strange fidelity; ... murmuring waters teach birds and men to sing, speak, recount; and... there is, in short, a continuity between the speech of water and the speech of man... human language has a liquid quality, a flow in its overall effect, water in its consonants. (Quoted in Fehr 2008: 238)

Water is the first voice of the land and the oldest voice in the chorus. Time has come to listen differently, to re-tell these stories of the Grandfathers and for their wisdom to continue to reshape the landscape.

Fur Coats, Big Boats, and Feeling Remote:

Changing Perceptions of Nature and Otherness in Algonquin Provincial Park

Some have used Herbert Spencer's phrase "survival of the fittest" to justify the idea that certain forms of life have evolved further than others, and it is this continued advancement up the evolutionary ladder which has allowed for humans to surpass the other forms of life on this planet in so many ways. Some would say that the raven or crow has stopped at a point much earlier, or lower, on the evolutionary scale than have apes or humans.²⁰ Some would say that the raven, crow and ape are less evolved, lower forms of life. Extrapolated to explain the differences between groups of people, some have used these theories to argue that some people have not evolved beyond primitive forms of social organization, that they are living remnants of the singular human past left behind on the trajectory towards a perfected civilization, and that they are doomed to extinction by their limitations and obsolescence.

In contrast to this idea of lineal evolution, in the collection of essays entitled *Ever Since Darwin*, Stephen Jay Gould places Darwin's ideas within their historical context (Gould 1977). Although often credited with the equation of fitness with success, Darwin himself argued that evolution affected all beings equally and at equal rates and that the formation of new species or shifting developments that affected an entire species would be signs not

²⁰ For further references on the phylogeny and evolution of ravens (*Corvus corax*) and crows (*Corvus brachyrhynchos*), and the confusion involved in determining the differences between "species" and "races," see Davis (1958), Jollie (1958), Saino & Villa (1992), Omland et. al. (2000), and de Kort & Clayton (2006). For material on the use of anthropogenic water sources and the innovative use of resources by *Corvus* see Hanks et. al. (2009). See Erin Manning (2007) and Elizabeth Grosz (2008) for reviews of the complications offered to classical evolutionary theory by contemporary theoretical challenges.

of success or failure, but of fitness in the sense of having best fit circumstances determined ecologically (in the broadest application of the term). Gould states flatly that “Natural selection is a theory of local adaptation to changing environments,” and that it was unpalatable for many Victorians of Darwin’s time due to its avoidance of “perfecting principles, [and] no guarantee of general improvement”; that is, the theory of natural selection does not include the necessity of progress inherent to the Victorian socio-political (and colonial) worldview commonly known as “Social Darwinism” but which should be more precisely accredited to the influence and popularity of Herbert Spencer’s ideas (Gould 1977: 45). And so I argue against this Spencer-ian linear evolutionism that the raven has continued to evolve alongside humanity, contemporaneously, just as the ape has not been subject to some kind of retardation that has left it as a frozen form of an earlier stage of primate evolution that Homo sapiens has evolved beyond. Rather, the way that each organism fits its available and chosen niche allows for “descent with modification” that either maintains or alters forms of life previously fit to their surroundings, and which allows some “descent with modification” to leave an uncanny similarity of form in its wake (Gould 1977: 36).

As Gould explains, the word evolution had already gained a popular meaning in British vernacular when Darwin’s theory began to make waves (Gould 1977: 36). Evolution was often associated with ideas of progress, and for many Victorian thinkers of the 19th century progress was an essential component of an evolutionary theory eventually used to legitimize ideas of racial superiority (Gould 1977: 36). So where Darwin’s ideas, published in 1859, maintained that evolution must be thought of as non-linear in its path of development (or unfolding) it was in this earlier sense of linear progress that Marx and

Engels became aware of evolutionary theory. The models of economic development that they articulated in 1848 in *The Communist Manifesto* described a sort of linear progression from simpler, more “primitive” economic forms towards more complicated Feudal and then Capitalist systems of exchange, and posited that this progressive evolution would ultimately lead to an emancipation from these earlier more oppressive forms to an utopian Communist end as the culmination of civilized society (Marx & Engels 1848 [2004]). In this way, a Hegelian dialectical negation would occur where the preceding economic system would be made obsolete by the evolution of the next and on to perfection.

Early anthropological adoptions of Marxist political economic theories and methods often understood economics as the “base” of social structures (Williams 1977: 75-77). The base-structures of economic and environmental conditions were thought to “determine” the development of the then “determined” super-structural (or ideological) formations which were based in/upon the prevailing means of production found in a given society (Williams 1977: 75). These ideological formations were recognized in cultural and political forms differently articulated in different societies, and were thought to exemplify the stage of economic advancement and social evolution of a given society (Pinkoski 2008: 178). The dualism of the separation of base- from super-structure in this theoretical formulation has been attacked on several fronts (Gramsci 1957: 78, 93, Pinkoski 2008: 178-179).

Gramsci opposed the use of the terms base- and super-structure as they led to the errant belief that economic forms somehow preceded the ideological forms that very well might have necessitated them in the first place, a logical impossibility (Gramsci 1957: 113).

Rather, he suggested that shifting developments in the prevailing means of production and their possession of or by certain classes could be made to alter economic and political arrangements leading to progressive developments in cultural and economic realms, which in turn would (or at least should) lead to the dissolution of Capitalism(s) and the formation of more equitable Communism(s) (Gramsci 1957: 113-115). If this progressive evolution was held back by anything, it would be the influence of the ruling classes in the form of hegemony that would limit the imagination of those who made up the dominated classes of a society, preventing their advancement (Williams 1977: 108). Gramsci's work argued that history did not proceed on some pre-determined path based upon the economic/environmentally "basic" conditions that a people had evolved from (Gramsci 1957: 93). He also did not assume that a people would continue to evolve in a linear trajectory towards a utopian Communism (Gramsci 1957: 59). In order for the prevailing forms of class based discrimination in a given society to be dissolved, the active intervention of those who had been made acutely aware of the local structures of inequity was required. Politically effective action would be required, as would political awareness of the structures and systems of inequality, and it would be the act of disseminating this type of awareness that would characterize the "intellectual class" of a revolutionary society (Gramsci 1957: 121-122).

This meant that, for Gramsci, the determination of hegemony was not based on, but interrelated with, the economy of a society, producing social arrangements that helped to sustain class based inequality by representing the interests of the upper and lower classes as somehow in alignment where they clearly served the interests of one and not of the other. Where "vulgar Marxism" had accepted the basic economic determination of

ideological super-structures (in turn understood as the “false consciousness” of the ruled), this more nuanced Gramscian interpretation allowed for an interplay between economic and socio-political (read *cultural*) forces rather than positing an original or basic determinant (Williams 1977: 77, 109). In this manner, Gramscian scholars have been able to follow research patterns that begin with an analysis of power structures that affect a given society rather than beginning with an evolutionary ranking scheme from which to make sense of the society at hand based solely on the means of production they possess or their apparent “levels of sociocultural integration” (Pinkoski 2008: 180). Because the base is not seen to determine the ideological forms of a given society it is possible to imagine socio-political arrangements that contradict the apparent determination of the “underlying” economic system, or that trouble less nuanced interpretations of certain cultural groups by destabilizing the implied connections between economic and socio-political orders.

More importantly this allows space to open for the possibility of imagining different economic systems co-evolving alongside and in relation to one another rather than simply leading from one step to another. Thus, while a “vulgar Marxism” is compelled to imagine an essential connection between simplified forms of exchange and less complicated (and therefore less evolved) societies, more subtle approaches offer the possibility that earlier forms, although more simple in appearance, may be better suited to the niche they are found in. This non-linear evolutionary model suggests a type of “descent with modification” that in no way necessitates the Euro-centric notions of progress and advancement usually associated with linear forms of evolution, and that in many ways avoids the totalizing aspects of Marxism implied by a Communist utopian

pinnacle of civilization, but remains grounded in historically “determined” contexts without implying a pre-determined future (Gramsci 1957: 59). Rather, as Gramsci notes, “it happens that social groups which in some ways express the most developed modernity, are retarded in others by their social position and so are incapable of complete historical independence” (Gramsci 1957: 59). Logically then, the opposite should hold as well, that those who express the least “developed modernity” are advanced in other ways by the same socio-cultural conditions which seem to hold them back.

Troublingly, these theoretical interventions were not heard soon enough for many of the earliest anthropological works undertaken in North America to have adopted their direction. Marc Pinkoski discusses the impact of Julian Steward’s “*cultural ecology*” model on North American anthropology, and specifically outlines the very political impacts of certain theoretical formulations that have suggested Indigenous forms of social organization were less evolved than those of the European inspired settler-colonist societies of the United States and Canada (Pinkoski 2008: 177). Steward, perhaps the most prominent North American anthropologist of his time (1930’s - 40’s), and a teacher of such notable scholars of anthropological political economy as Eric Wolf (1982) and Sidney Mintz (1985), made explicit use of an evolutionary model to argue how “only sociopolitical entities that reached a certain level of organization on an evolutionary scale could have developed concepts of holding land as property” (Steward in Pinkoski 2008: 178). Pinkoski argues that in the anthropological “gospel” of Steward’s cultural ecology there is an implicit endorsement of his ideas regarding “multilinear evolution”; that some groups had not developed beyond primitive forms of relating to their environment and therefore were unable to claim communal rights owed only to those who knew what they

were granted and able to fulfil the corresponding responsibilities of improving the land (Pinkoski 2008: 180-181). This equation carries another implication in the North American case where arguments based on these sorts of theories and their Victorian precedents allowed for many First Nations to be denied their claims to traditional territory based on their inability to demonstrate a proprietary relationship to the land, or a continuity of cultural form (Clifford 1988: 277-346, Pinkoski 2008: 196).

While Pinkoski writes of how Steward's work directly impacted the Shoshonean people of the American Great Basin, helping to deny them claim to traditional territory, similar forms of evolutionary racism masquerading as pure and apolitical science prevented Canadian groups from establishing effective claims to land they had traditionally lived, worked and played on. In what is now called the Ottawa Valley (previously known as the *Kitchissippi*), Algonquin People experienced a painful and often occluded expulsion from the territory now known as Algonquin Provincial Park, which continues to haunt relations between the government, the settler-colonist society and the First Nations of the area. In examining the history of the place and the different people who use and claim it, particular attention should be paid to the shifting focus of (post-) colonial economic and political interests that have shaped and been shaped by the representation of nature and ethnic difference in the territory now encompassed by the conservation area.

Following the work of geographer Bruce Braun, the prefix post- attached to the term colonisation is not meant to refer to sometime after the end of colonial relations, but in some necessarily ironic ways it should refer to the institution of colonial relations and their continuation by other means, often in unrecognizable forms with new names (Braun 2002: 9). This is particularly salient in relation to Pinkoski's charge concerning the

legacy of Steward and his students that “what the discipline calls apolitical theory, demonstrates a propinquity to colonialism more intimate than any of the British social anthropologists implicated in their own nation’s colonial projects” (Pinkoski 2008: 179). That is, “Objectivist” North American anthropology in the train of that put forth by Steward has participated in the colonial endeavors of both the Canadian and American Nation-States without explicitly outlining how it has remained complicit in the continued oppression of specific communities, remaining silent about its collusion in many quarters by remaining silent on the topic of colonization (Pinkoski 2008: 181).

Early ethnographers of First Nations people who lived in the territory claimed by Canada such as Diamond Jenness and A. Irving Hallowell are both implicated in this direction of scholarship, although they are separated by years and paradigms. In the article “Diamond Jenness’s Arctic Ethnography and the Potential for a Canadian Anthropology” Robert Hancock discusses the outdated Victorian evolutionism found throughout Jenness’s work on the Inuit and Eskimo of Northern Canada and Alaska (Hancock 2006: 159).

Throughout his observations Jenness repeats the presumption that the people he is living and working amongst are at best silly children in adult bodies, and at worst feeble anachronisms rightfully dying out amid the influx of European influence (Hancock 2006:167). Hancock suggests that Jenness’s statements are out of touch with his more innovative contemporaries such as Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, and in North America, Boas and his students (Hancock 2006: 155).

During the 1920’s the Boasian School was particularly interested in developing alternatives to linear evolutionary schemes, which they attacked under the general rubric of “Darwinism.” As presented much later by the words of Ruth Benedict in her celebrated

1934 work *Patterns of Culture*, the Boasian critique of evolutionary schemes still held its own internal contradictions as it was they who put forth the first “salvage” paradigm in anthropology, assuming that cultural contact led in some inevitable ways to cultural disintegration for the colonized (Benedict 1934 [1959], Hancock 2006: 155). Exemplary of the Boasian engagement with evolutionary ideas, Benedict argued that,

[e]arly anthropologists tried to arrange all traits of different cultures in an evolutionary sequence from the earliest forms to their final development in Western Civilization. But there is no reason to suppose that by discussing Australian religion rather than our own we are uncovering primordial religion, or that by discussing Iroquoian social organization we are returning to the mating habits of man’s early ancestors. (Benedict 1934 [1959]: 18)

Benedict argued that any speculation on the original state of man would reflect what the speculator desired of it. However, it seems that the habit of speculation and grand theorizing was all too common to “early” anthropology and *Patterns of Culture* is an attempt to systematize the ethnographic data available regarding Indigenous people of North America and the types of personalities that the cultures they developed were capable of producing, or had a propensity to produce (Benedict 1934 [1959]). By applying typologies derived from the characteristics of ancient Roman deities (Apollonian/Dionysian) Benedict failed to acknowledge that she had performed an implicit transposition of the past into the present by suggesting that the Indigenous people she characterized could be understood through a lens of European development and that they were in some ways archetypal reproductions of the European past (Benedict 1934 [1959]). This theoretical baggage has echoed throughout the course of the disciplines’ continued history, heard often in the work of such well-known scholars as Canadian

public anthropologist Wade Davis, but also echoing in the relative silence that surrounds scholars such as Jenness, whose evolutionary baggage and the complicity that he and others showed with Canadian colonialism has had major impacts, both on the progress of the discipline in Canada and on the international perspective of Canadian anthropology (Davis 2009).

Hallowell's work, as a sometime student of Boas', was far more sensitive to these concerns than Jenness, although in many ways his writing reproduces some of the same troubles by remaining within a "salvage" mentality. In his ethno-history *The Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba: Ethnography into History*, Hallowell's first chapter is entitled "The Living Past in the Canadian Wilderness" (Hallowell 1967 [1992]). Although he remains one of the most sensitive early ethnographers to discuss the First Nations of Canada, as the editor of this text Jennifer S.H. Brown stated, his ideas often,

contain sedimentary deposits from all his prior decades of reading, research, and interaction with scholars of his own and prior generations. As a consequence, he at times typologizes the Ojibwa along cultural and social-evolutionary gradients that would have seemed less problematic to older audiences than they do now. (Brown [ed.] in Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 112)

So while his concerns went beyond the simple application of anthropological knowledge to the problems of administration, Hallowell in some ways maintained a complicit silence about the colonial changes he witnessed, not because of some desire to keep a secret, but because of the limits of anthropological discourse at the time. The opening two paragraphs of "The Living Past" discuss the impact of contact on First Nations people and cultures, specifically stating that any study of people who have traditionally lived in what is now central Canada must accommodate

this interdependence with Canadian society. At almost every point, understanding of their way of life is only possible when it is viewed against a backdrop of Euro-Canadian contact... It is foolhardy to attempt to study these people as though they lived in a vacuum. (Rogers quoted in Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 3)

What he fails to note through all of this is the omission of the terms colonization, colonialism, or even colony, and the implication that these interactions took place in the absence of power differentials.

Hallowell's studies of cultural contact did not explicitly account for the types of colonial violence that had shaped the relationship between Aboriginal people and the settler-colonist society, although he was comfortable stating that due to the amount of contact between the groups during the fur trade, "it was evident that there were no strictly Aboriginal people in this northern wilderness" (Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 5). In the 1960's Hallowell continued to employ an "acculturation gradient" that sought to measure the amount of cultural Indian-ness found in those who had been exposed to Euro-Canadian (sometimes rendered as *white*) culture and technology (Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 112). This scale reproduced the same embedded evolutionism found in Julian Steward's work from a decade earlier by supposing that the introduction of outside influences (and technologies) in some ways decayed the authenticity of a culture.

Steward argued, during a hallmark land-claims case in which he appeared for the plaintiffs, that since the horse had not been introduced in North America until the mid-sixteenth century it was a major disruption to traditions of "the Ute of Western Colorado" and that when they had acquired horses it not only allowed for the first "political consolidation" of the group to occur but that "when they did acquire horses they were no

longer ‘Aboriginal’” (Pinkoski 2008: 185). This argument was used to deny Ute title based on the idea that they had been forced to take an evolutionary leap by the introduction of the horse and that prior to this they had no capability to evolve beyond their primitive state, thus leaving them without an Aboriginal concept of land tenure on which to base their claims. But to counter this unilateral vision of acculturation and cultural loss, Brown recasts the work of Hallowell suggesting that an alternative reading of certain narratives may in fact open up new ways of understanding the negotiation of tradition through novel forms. Regarding Hallowell’s conversations with Chief William Berens, Brown states,

The Berens reminiscences themselves may be read in different ways. The chief’s account of his successes in commercial fishing, fur trading, and other activities could be seen as a picture of an Indian entering the white man’s world and leaving his heritage behind him. But it could also be viewed as an example of a traditional native literary genre widespread among adult males, the ‘coup tale,’ recounting personal achievements and honors. In older times, warriors would recount their exploits and strikes against their enemies, as a means of impressing and attracting followers; the Berens narrative might be taken as a moderate recasting of that mode of discourse. (Brown [ed.] in Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 113)

While owning a fur coat may have been a status symbol in European or Canadian urban society for its exotic ruggedness, selling them may have been a sign of urban connection and a type of trade-based cosmopolitanism (Stengers 2010).

Here it would seem prudent to remember the words of Lévi-Strauss concerning Freud and Marx discussed by Firth in his 1975 article “The Sceptical Anthropologist?” that “both history and myth are selective, serving special interests” (Firth 1975: 38). In the words of Gramsci,

Philosophy cannot be separated from the history of philosophy nor culture from the history of culture... Philosophy in general does not in fact exist: various philosophies and conceptions of the world exist and one always makes a choice between them... That is why we cannot separate philosophy from politics. On the contrary, we can show that the choice and criticism of a conception of the world is itself a political fact. (Gramsci 1957: 59, 61)

In this way, attention to the “political fact” of criticism of one way of life or another and the ability to have an impact through such criticism should direct researchers to investigate the consequences of such power differentials on the continued possible coexistence of “many philosophical systems and trends, how they originate and how they are propagated, because in their propagation they divide and follow certain directions” (Gramsci 1957: 62), which should then alter anthropological assumptions about colonial impacts on studies of cultural change and what Hallowell and others described as “acculturation” (Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 5).

Hancock recounts how Jenness was involved in helping the Canadian government to come up with alternative ways to administer Aboriginal populations and was as much a civil servant whose specialization was anthropological as he was an anthropologist (Hancock 2006: 157). Hancock quotes kulchyski who argues that Jenness was at the forefront of “a Canadian national project of definition that excluded Native people” and in which Canadian intellectuals participated to an alarming degree (kulchyski in Hancock 2006: 157). This exclusionary mindset towards First Nations people has been identified in many ways with the same fear of the wilderness that some have called the “garrison

mentality.”²¹ Bruce Braun points out that the representation of the landscape has been a tool in the representation of ethnic difference with very political consequences (Braun 2002). The characteristic Canadian approach towards First Nations people and cultures taken by the settler-colonist society in what might be understood as the master narrative of national history and identity follows what Gaile MacGregor identifies as the “Wacousta Syndrome,” (MacGregor 1985) and what John Ralston Saul describes as the persistent and irrational fear of “dangerous savages in a dangerous country” (Saul 2009: 13). This anxious approach towards First Nations People and cultures finds a counterpoint in the representation of nature and as Braun suggests; “the rhetoric of wild, or external, nature can easily become complicit in the displacement of people for whom these places were once or still are home” (Braun 2002: 12).

Examples of this master narrative and its characteristic occlusions abound in Canadian history texts, art, and literature, but the poignant refusal of contemporaneity found in the popular representation of Algonquin Provincial Park’s past also echoes forms of “structural violence” (Farmer 2004: 307) present in anthropological theories that deny “co-evolution” (Creese 2011: 7) to various cultures (Fabian 1983). This extends to include those theories of political economy that accept linear evolutionary schemes in their willingness to classify various cultural patterns using categories such as “primitive communalism” and “primitive accumulation” (Firth 1975: 31, Burawoy 1979). These categories suggest that in some ways similar contemporary forms are both anachronistic and obsolete, but also that earlier socio-economic forms were inherently and unilaterally

²¹ First coined by Northrop Frye in 1971 [1995], later used extensively by Margaret Atwood (1972), and John Ralston Saul (2009). Gaile MacGregor (1985) parallels this concept in her work on the “Wacousta Syndrome” following the novel written by John Richardson in 1832 [1991].

more oppressive than those which demonstrate signs of greater evolution, an argument that holds true to Marx's linear interpretation of the improvement of Feudalism over slavery and of Capitalism over Feudalism (Firth 1975: 35-36).

Marx's theoretical linearity has been challenged by ethnographic evidence that documents many societies understood to be "primitive" who in practice demonstrate great degrees of egalitarianism in their social relations. As it is applied by Burawoy, the concept of "primitive accumulation" may actually describe the despotic actions of "monopoly capitalism" more accurately than it would apply to "primitive societies" in general (Firth 1975: 36, Burawoy 1979). In some ways the developing patterns of monopoly capitalism described by Burawoy in the Chicago area factory that he studied in the 1970's echo those undertaken a century earlier by such notable capitalists as J.R. Booth, who owned some of the largest logging operations in the Algonquin Provincial Park area during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the year 1867 J.R. Booth would buy the,

'Egan Estate, a timber limit which took much of the south-central portion of the Park area. Booth became one of the wealthiest men in Canada by 1900 and played an important part in many decisions which later affected Algonquin Park.' The Algonquin's [*sic*] on the other hand were eventually forced out of the Park area and were excluded from any decision making process. (MacKay [1980] quoted in Whiteduck 2009: 52)

In the same year a petition by the "Algonquin Chiefs" stated that,

The Lumbermen and the trappers are constantly encroaching on our borders, whilst white trappers in considerable numbers enter our hunting grounds in the interior, Killing [*sic*] off the Deer, Beaver, and Muskrat, which are the principal source of our subsistence and we look forward with fear and apprehension to the few years only which must elapse

until the animals of which we speak, and which furnish our principal food will be exterminated. (Quoted in Whiteduck 2009: 47)

This plea came forty years after another that had said the furbearers in the region were threatened by white trappers, the actions of lumbermen, and the settlers' habit of clear-cutting and burning massive swaths of forest that often left both hunting areas and grazing areas devastated.

Since 1791 the band has filed 20 petitions with the Governor General that support its claim, reminding the Crown of the guarantees they were promised in the Royal Proclamation and requesting protection and compensation as outlined in that document. (Hodgins & Cannon 1998: 57)

In many ways, the “threat from outside” that seems to drive capitalism, monopoly capitalism, and the inverse relationship towards the threatening “internal enemy” (Hardt & Negri 2004: 20-21) of what David Harvey, Aihwa Ong, and Hardt and Negri describe as neoliberal forms of economic and social organisation (such as the pressures on the factory organisation described by Burawoy), echoes the fear characteristic of the garrison mentality; that is, the defence and entrenchment of neoliberal capitalism in some quarters has become assimilated into the post-colonial evolutionary discourse that continues to exclude First Nations people and cultures from the stewardship and territorial management of contemporary North American Nation-States, denying their coeval development by suggesting that cultural continuity equates to sameness and that any discontinuity equates to a loss of culture.²²

²² For examples of ethnography and theory that deals with the themes of Neoliberalism and resistance to it see Burawoy (1979), Asch (2002), Pinkoski (2008), Harvey (2005), Ong (2006), and Hardt & Negri (2004).

The history of the Park as it is told in the guidebooks, in the Algonquin Provincial Park Management Plan (published by Ontario Parks in 1998), and in the newsletter *The Raven* (published since 1960) describes an area largely devoid of human impacts before the advent of the North American fur trade and the settlers who followed this newly developing economic opportunity (Ontario Parks 1998, 2010-2015, The Friends of Algonquin Park 1960-2009).²³ Lundell and Standfield describe how the Algonquin people had been displaced by the Iroquois Wars of the 1600's and how this has caused the historical record to remain fuzzy on their past until they were able "to trickle slowly back into the area only during the 1800's (Lundell & Standfield 2000: 12). This led one historian's brother, a member of the "ad hoc committee to SAVE THE PARK," (MacKay 1992) to charge that the group that now describes itself as the Algonquin Nation of Ontario, and who lobbied a land claim that encompasses most of the Park's territory, are not Algonquin people at all, but "Ojibwa" who had pressed the Iroquois back out during the late 1700's (MacKay 2002: 23). The Park Historian's brother authored a publication on behalf of the "ad hoc committee" in 1992 entitled *More Historic Research Indicates that the Golden Lake Claim to Algonquin Park is Invalid* (Tozer & Checko 2002). The effort to save the Park from the Algonquin Nation of Ontario first, employs a proprietary understanding of stewardship to suppose that the territory will be irrevocably "lost" if Aboriginal involvement is allowed, second, relies on a discursive construction of First Nations people as threatening, and third, denies the possibility that what the First Nations are requesting is the opportunity to participate alongside the settler-colonist and not either outside of, against, or in opposition to the settler-colonist society. The garrison mentality

²³ *The Raven* was first published from 1960 until 1974 by Russ Rutter, then from 1974 until 2009 by Dan Strickland. It was taken over by Ontario Parks in 2009 and is still published five times annually.

is marshalled to defend the territory from the very people the place takes its name from, supposing that their “return” could only be at odds with the continued progress of Canadian civilization as it would threaten the protected “resources” of the state.

During the creation of the Park by the commission headed by Alexander Kirkwood, a statement issued in 1893 described how the name Algonquin Provincial (then National) Park would “perpetuate the memory of one of the greatest Indian Nations that has inhabited the North American Continent” (MacKay 2002: 8, 10). This statement came with the knowledge and previous involvement of the same commission members in designating the Algonquin reserve at Golden Lake/*Pikwakanagan* in 1876 almost twenty years before the formal incorporation of the Park (MacKay 2002: 8).

Throughout the Park’s evolution, few changes were made to accommodate the needs of the Algonquins of Golden Lake. Algonquins assert, however, that as an Aboriginal right they continued to ‘poach’ and trap illegally in some eastern parts of the Park; the province has ‘allowed’ them limited trapping rights there since 1958. (Hodgins & Cannon 1998: 59)

This makes the statement that the Park was named to remember the Algonquin people look less as if it was in reverence than it was an insistence that they remain excluded, an action meant to occlude the very real presence and resistance of Algonquin hunters and anglers in the Park who had continued to use the area regardless of governmental restrictions forbidding them to (Hodgins & Cannon 1998: 59). In the description of the Park’s “evolution” there is an idea that somehow it is an organism separate from human activity and involvement, that to set the territory aside is to remain uninvolved in the natural life it contains.

Contrary to the claims made by MacKay, the Chief of the Algonquin Nation of Pikwakanagan, Kirby J. Whiteduck, conducted a survey of the archaeological and ethnographic evidence supporting the presence of the Algonquin people in the *Kitchissippi* area before contact with European explorers and provides compelling evidence that they were actively displaced in favor of colonial interests. His argument explains the continuous presence of the Algonquin people in the area and their impacts on the environment, no matter how subtle, describing a practice of leaving particular hunting grounds alone for some years to regenerate after having somewhat exhausted one space or another (Whiteduck 2009). This land management practice, however, meant that sometimes an area left by hunters might become occupied by lumbermen in their absence, suggesting that a difference in land tenure, and not a lack of it, was partly responsible for conflicts that arose between First Nations and settler-colonists. The desire for a fixed location on the part of those who best exemplify the garrison mentality counter-punctuates the movement characteristic of the social organisation of the Algonquin people. While the settler-colonists sought a place on the land, barricaded and safely secured from external threats, the First Nations found comfort by being in and with the land, which does not imply a lack of economic organisation, but instead (now that we are more acquainted with the extreme biodiversity of the North American boreal and coniferous forests) a complexity of knowledge about how to manage the area in more sustainable ways than it currently might be.²⁴

²⁴ See Wolverton, Nolan & Ahmed (2014), and Bowern et. al. (2014) for the relationship between Ethnobiology, political economy, and ecological conservation issues; Wolverton, Chambers & Veteto (2014), Veteto and Carlson (2014), and Reid et. al. (2014) for Indigenous approaches to climate change and biodiversity management; Nolan and Pieroni (2014), Nabhan (2014), and Kuhnlein (2014) for ways that ethno-biological approaches can contribute to research and action on food security; Welch (2015) for an ethno-biologically informed exploration of connections between fire-tending and learning to hunt. Also see

Whiteduck suggests that the Algonquin people, other than the “Kitchissippirini located on Morisson’s and Allumette Islands” were ‘nomadic’ (Whiteduck 2009: 38). The archaeological data he examines supports the interpretation that the Algonquin people “followed and went where the game and other resources were plentiful depending on the season” but then returned to hunting grounds that had proven successful in the past (Whiteduck 2009: 38). This offers an image of cyclical itinerant movement connected to the rhythms of seasonal change, and not ‘nomadic’ wandering, per se; instead it is more consistent with a continuity of transition and perennial return, or transhumant migration which must have included trade as well and it was this type of rhythmic return that characterised Algonquin land tenure practices (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 411, Whiteduck 2002, 2009, Wolf 1982: 163-168). This is what Whiteduck means to suggest when he says that the Algonquin people were “part of the environment, a part of the ecosystems in which they lived”; not that they had remained some un-evolved animal embedded in nature rather than social relations, but that they participated in a social relationship with the environment that necessitated movement and could only be understood through concepts of continuity rather than stasis (Whiteduck 2009: 38).

Foucault’s inversion of “Clausewitz’s proposition” states that “politics is the continuation of war by other means,” which draws attention back to the historical development in Europe of war as an analytical tool employed in the dissection of history (Foucault 1997 [2003]: 15). This rising trend, prevalent in both French and British societies at the time of their conflicts in North America, allowed the growing garrison mentality of the settler-colonist occupiers to percolate into the European perspective of racial difference, as, in

Fortier et.al. (2013) for a discussion of some collaborative arrangements between the Canadian forestry industry and First Nations.

the words of Foucault, “it was racial binarism that led the West to see for the first time that it was possible to analyze political power as war” (Foucault 1997 [2003]: 18-19).

The impact of this development cannot be overestimated in the context of North American colonialism, the relationship between settler-colonists and First Nations people, as well as on the history of North American colonial interactions (including the common tack of silence on ethno-racial issues and the contemporary implications of this on continued unbalanced power dynamics).

The big boats that brought settlers to North America and fur and timbers back to Europe also brought ideas about the colonial other, and the definition of a European self structured against an ethnic other never before seen over Europe’s high walls. The garrison mentality fostered a view of First Nations that represented them as “savages” at war with civilization and in the ethnographic pages this became translated into stories about dying races and theories of acculturation. But if we import the Gramscian propositions that doing philosophy is a political act and of the inherent ties between doing history, doing culture and doing philosophy, then it seems evident that in many ways to write the history of North America is to declare a position regarding the post-colonial struggle. To choose to not discuss, or acknowledge, the political effects of evolutionary “Objectivist” schemes which represent Indigenous people and cultures through the lens of Western civilization (including theories of political economy that deny the possibility of non-linear coeval social and economic forms of cultural change and organisation) is to participate in the war by supporting the master narrative put forth by the colonial state.

Kathleen Stewart states unequivocally that “[m]aster narratives speak a war of positions” (Stewart 1995: 97). What this suggests is that the entrenchment of the state is entangled

with the telling of particular histories that instantiate the hegemonic order by naturalizing class distinctions. Gramsci described three (or perhaps a “circumscribed” fourth in the “commando tactic”?) forms of war; that of position, that of manoeuvre, and the underground war of preparation and plotting (Gramsci 1992: 229-230). He suggests that during the interwar period of the 20th century there was a general hegemonic shift in European thought and identity towards a war of position that brought about siege-like conditions reminiscent of those he describes under colonial war (Gramsci 1992: 238). I interpret this as parallel to the spread of the garrison mentality, each offering the image of a position that requires defense from the outside threat. Likewise, I interpret the use of political economic theories that employ evolutionary typologies to participate in the same anxious perspective towards both nature and colonial ethnic “others.” But I also identify the growing trends in anthropology during the interwar and post-WWII moments that sought to define the essence or “state” of Indigenous being through firm definitions of character as complicit in the post-colonial “war of position” that sought a victory over the “savage” that was “decisive definitively” (Gramsci 1992: 239).

The hegemonic dominance of the garrison mentality, then, comes into sharper resolution in light of Gramsci’s perceptive statement that “[i]n politics, the siege is a reciprocal one, despite all appearances, and the mere fact that the ruler has to muster all his resources demonstrates how seriously he takes his adversary” (Gramsci 1992: 239). To quote Gould again,

[the] fallacious equation of organic evolution with progress continues to have unforeseen consequences. Historically, it engendered the abuses of Social Darwinism (which Darwin himself held in such suspicion). This discredited theory ranked human groups and cultures according to their assumed level of evolutionary attainment, with (not

surprisingly) white Europeans at the top and people dwelling in their conquered colonies at the bottom. Today, it remains a primary component of our global arrogance, our belief in dominion over, rather than fellowship with, more than a million other species that inhabit our planet. (Gould 1977: 37-38)

This hubris has not only led to the ranking of beings, but also to the supposition that some beings can be considered resources, characteristic of the ideas that allowed “conservation areas” to become thinkable solutions to problems of economics and human health, often erasing the political implications of such utilitarian approaches towards the land. As a further result of this spreading anxiety, particular forms of naturalist appreciation have become entangled with the discourse of evolutionary racism that is heard in the fear of the Algonquin people’s possible participation in the stewardship of the parklands.

The question then becomes how to decolonize anthropological theories and ethnographic renderings of political economy? The denial of co-evolution amounts to the denial of revolutionary possibility and a certain resolution to be ruled by circumstance rather than to enact revolutionary interventions in, through, and of, neoliberal orders. The recognition of co-evolution may foster a form of decolonisation by destabilizing the master narrative and de-centering the locus of “authentic” Canadian identity.

Authenticity is produced through a legitimization/naturalization of presence and affirmations of identity/belonging present in practices of remembrance. However, the nostalgic operations of the garrison mentality require that the “savage” not only be displaced, but that they also become replaced by an alternative presence. It is this equation of substitution that allows the tourist to imagine becoming more Canadian by sleeping in a tent, paddling a canoe, and washing a freshly caught fish off in the water next to fire it will be cooked on. Here the desire to “get away” coincides with a desire to

prove oneself against the threat (external to urban civilization) that nature is conceived as being; feeling remote in the imagined wilderness confirms the borders of the urban environment while confirming the borders of a civilized subjectivity.

This form of cultural re-appropriation has been described by Richard Handler as “possessive individualism” and the propensity of anthropologists to accept this formula implicitly is part of what drove Handler’s usage of the concept to describe the search for authenticity with which the discipline has too often been complicit (Handler 1984: 4). In order to move away from this colonial complicity it is important to maintain a certain eye for how some Indigenous ways of understanding relationships, either to the land or towards one another, cannot be broken down/up into discrete economic, political, and cultural distinctions or institutions such as land tenure and subsistence activities. And it is just as important to recognize the implications of cultural and ethnic mixing on the Canadian identity and psyche, as Saul reminds us, although he is quick to remind the reader to “step back from the idea of measurement – so flawed by the measurer’s point of view, by what is measured, by what elements are included, by what is left out” (in spite of the assimilationist tendencies his “Métis civilization” displays) (Saul 2009). I heard more than once while talking with cottagers in the Brent area that “most of us here are Indians,” which had an interesting ring when I heard one man talking about an annual hunting “pilgrimage” through Manitou Lake in the Park’s north-west corner (personal communications 2010). While the guidebooks and historical texts claim that Brent’s last year round resident died in 1997, it seems there are still those who at least pass through to help keep the spirit warm.

Just as the traditional Algonquin ways of relating to the land required people to move over and across it rather than to entirely alter it through their involvement, it is incumbent upon anthropologists engaged in a relationship with First Nations people (as active interlocutors or as members of the settler-colonist society actively involved in education or governance) to resist the temptation to participate in the war of position by helping Indigenous people to maintain some “room for manoeuvre” in seeking alternative “ways of staying” on the land together (Christie 2007: 3-4, Stewart 1995: 97, Bloom 2009). This requires the recognition of the coeval development not only of different, equally “evolved” societies and forms of social organisation, but also of the ethnographic propensity to seek a consistent (political) position or identity when the pragmatic negotiation of life requires nothing less than the ability to adapt through “descent with modifications.”

Evolution is not the progression from one lower, less complex state to the next, higher, more complicated form. “Evolution is violent, all-consuming, world-altering” (Manning 2007: 98). Beings do not evolve, life itself does. “Species cannot be understood as entirely separable from the milieus in which they find themselves, for these milieus are involved in a kind of coevolution” (Grosz 2008: 40). Survival (and cultural continuity) is not a sign of success, but of a sustainably negotiated relationship with the surroundings and a well fit niche. To quote Lynn Margulis and René Fester,

In representations of standard evolutionary theory, branches on “family trees” (phylogenies) are allowed only to bifurcate. Yet symbiosis analyses reveal that branches on evolutionary trees are mushy and must anastomose; indeed, every eukaryote, like every lichen, has more than a single type of ancestor. Such analyses also reveal rampant polyphyly (e.g., more than eight independent origins of parasitism in dicotyledonous

plants...). The fact that “individuals” – as the countable unities of population genetics – do not exist wreaks havoc with “cladistics,” a science in which common ancestors of composite beings are supposedly rigorously determined. Failure to acknowledge the composite nature of the organisms studied invalidates entire “fields” of study. (Margulis & Fester 1991: 10)

To put it even more succinctly, “We live on a symbiotic planet” (Manning 2007: 99), contrary to the popular imagination of life as competitive. In Algonquin Park this has meant the coexistence of crows and ravens for generations. But, as the guidebook *Birds of Algonquin Provincial Park* states,

Even experienced observers sometimes have trouble distinguishing Common Ravens from American crows. Both birds are all black and shaped more or less the same, and, while ravens are definitely bigger, it is still hard to be sure which you are looking at when there is no suitable size reference...

But the differences go far beyond this. Crows are usually restricted to areas of high human occupancy, and they leave the Park each fall. Ravens, on the other hand, are true permanent residents of Algonquin. No winter is so severe and no place so remote that we will not hear the harsh voice of passing ravens as they scour the country looking for the remains of wolf-killed deer. And every year, well before the snow has gone, long-lived raven pairs still refurbish their traditional rocky nests on rocky cliff ledges or high up in tall trees. There they will raise their raucous broods on carrion gleaned from miles and miles of surrounding wilderness. By the time most birds have even returned from the south, the ravens have finished their nesting and are back in the sky soaring and croaking over wild landscapes. (Strickland 2002: 36)

Identifying the ravens amongst the crows requires no less than watching for the positions of the crows’ congregations and for the corresponding manoeuvres, as the raven flies.

Splintering Facade:

The Technological Reproduction of National-Cultural Intimacies



Plate #9 - “Emile Huard” Display,

Algonquin Provincial Park Visitor Center & Museum

Emile Huard died during a log drive down the Petawawa River in 1903, on June 12th. Emile was one of the thousands of loggers who have worked in Algonquin Provincial Park since its inception in 1893. A French-Canadian man of about 29 years old, a re-imagining of “Emile’s” biography is repeated throughout the historical representation of the Park’s past. However, the way that Emile is deployed as a representative of all the loggers who worked in Algonquin’s earlier timbering eras conjures a particular vision of authentic Canadian history that relies on ethno-racial and gendered divisions. These

divisions perpetuate structures of inequity in contemporary Canadian society through the conferral of naturalized feelings regarding who may be considered legitimately Canadian, and who belongs on this land as a result of their confirmed authenticity. In this way, attending to encounters with Emile opens space to investigate the colonial complicity of the Algonquin Visitor Center and Museum, which serves to erase the traces of Algonquin heritage and presence in the area while providing clues as to how the construction of authentic pasts and identities shore up the anxieties of settler-colonist “structures of feeling” (Williams 1977: 128).

When I first wandered through the Park’s Museums I was interested in watching people’s reactions to the displays as much as I was interested in what the displays had to say about the Park’s official history. This “master code” (Jameson 1981: 22), “metanarrative” (Lyotard 1984: xxiv), or “master narrative” (Stewart 1996: 29), works to clearly define the borders of a Canadian “national-cultural imaginary” (Ivy 1998: 5) by managing and manipulating the manner in which “authentic” (Handler 1986: 4) Canadian “subjection and subjectivities” (Gordon 1997: 20) take form by constructing boundaries around the “thinkable” and the “possible” (Stewart 1996: 96). Richard Handler and others have discussed the seeming alignment between nationalists and anthropologists in their search for the authentic slices of a culture. Inasmuch,

for both anthropologists and nationalists, authenticity is a function of what has been called ‘possessive individualism’... which makes individual existence dependent on the possession of private property... In the ideology of possessive individualism, the existence of a national collectivity depends upon the ‘possession’ of an authentic culture... And an authentic culture is one original to its possessors, one which exists only with them: in other words, an independently existing entity, asserting itself ... against all other cultures. (Handler 1986: 4)

This redirects my attention to the question posed by Jonathon Spencer, “Is nationalism... always and everywhere a source of intolerance that must be criticised and opposed?”

(Spencer 1990: 298)

More importantly in relation to those who lived and died like Emile, under extreme conditions related to the industrial “modernization” (Chow 1992: 101) of the Canadian settler-colonial Nation-State, the issue of an intolerant nationalism comes back around to align with an investigation of how communities form or are denied the grounds on which to do so (a process known as “ethnogenesis.”)²⁵

These loggers in many ways participated in a colonial “war of positions” that both excluded First Nations people and helped to form a hierarchy between and amongst various Canadian sub-national (or ethno-linguistic) communities (such as the British and French), simultaneously legitimating their own oppression on economic grounds by participating in the industrial modernization of the Nation-State (Stewart 1996: 96). But this hierarchy did not prevent the discursive construction of a pan-national Canadian identity. As Benedict Anderson states,

regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. (Anderson 1983: 7)

²⁵ Ethnogenesis describes the formation and construction of ethnic and racial identities, often under colonial duress, which can be formed through consensus, conquest, conflict, or resistance. See Singer (1962), Sturtevant (1971), Matsuda (2001), Moore (1998), Sidbury & Canazares-Esquerro (2011), Anderson (1999), and Hill [ed.] (1996) for important discussions of ethnogenesis in anthropological and historical context.

(Notwithstanding the elision of the “genocidal” approach towards the white pine²⁶ and the wolves of the area displayed by the early settler-colonists, and the ethnic cleansing of the Park during the creation of the First Nations reserve system) Emile’s “biography” raises the pressing question of why it was that “far too many brave young men” were willing to do the “incredible,” making their way,

out onto quivering mountains of logs, sometimes backed up for miles upstream, to find and cut through the one or two ‘key logs’ responsible for keeping back all the others. When a jam shuddered, groaned, and started to go, those brave souls headed back for shore, leaping from log to log, but far too often they didn’t make it.

In the year of 1846 alone, 130 men died on 20 tributaries of the Ottawa, including the Petawawa and the Bonnechere rivers... (Strickland 2008: 22)

And beyond this, why is it that the master narrative must reconstruct these men as “brave,” and not foolhardy or reckless, for having done such dangerous work and under conditions of such deprivation? Why obscure the likelihood that they were often left without other alternatives?

It was my first impulse as an ethnographic “observer” to pay attention to how the master narrative came together through the voices of the various photographs, artefacts and texts displayed in the Museums, and to how this harmonization affected imaginations of the Park’s history. This outward attention became disorientation however when I rounded the corner of a set of wall sized photographs and came face-to-face with the hulking plastic giant holding an axe that I realized must be a representation of Emile. I was

²⁶ Some researchers suggest that current fire-fighting techniques and standards place the continued replenishing of the white pine in jeopardy. In particular, Dan Strickland (2001) notes in the guide to the Big Pines Trail that without the type of forest fires that used to rage in the area prior to the arrival of the loggers the preservation of favorable conditions in which the white pine flourish may disappear. For more on white pines and fire see Clark and Royall (1996), and Thompson, Simard and Titman (2006). For more information on controlled burning practices and Indigenous peoples see footnote #24 above.

stunned into confusion. The thing was eight or nine feet tall, and intermittently the projection of his smiling face would vanish, leaving behind only a smooth pink plastic glob. But when the face returned I wasn't made any less uneasy, as the loud and proud voice that accompanied the projection returned as well with a thick Franco-Canadian accent that was eerily familiar.

In the haunting description of a harsh life which ended in the Park this giant figure retold a pattern that came together with the descriptions of other lives given in guidebooks, which spoke of necessary risk and deprivation. And in another moment I was shocked into confusion again, but this time a more chilling feeling hit my skin and the goose-bumps rose up on my arms and neck as Emile told me about how he died, crushed under the weight of hundreds of giant timbers bearing down after the release of a log jam in icy spring-time river water. His body was buried near the shore where it was retrieved, a simple wooden cross driven into the earth and his boots hung nearby from a nail struck into a tree. Someone carved his name and the date of his death into the cross, and now there is a picture of the grave that hangs in the Visitor Centre's Museum section.

Through an immersive ambiance summoned by the face-to-face intimacy reproduced by the personified logger, a feeling of contact with an intensely physical memory comes to awareness, simultaneously displacing this character's authenticity into the past, effacing the same presence required for communion to be fulfilled (Ivy 1998: 5). The relationship with the past created by the mannequin's tale and demanding gaze works to materialize what has gone, while employing a phantasmic illusion of authenticity that overpowers the fantastic impossibility of an encounter with a long dead Emile. The Museum's

phantasmagoric effects (Buck-Morss 1992: 22) come together through Emile's voice and expressive face; projected light that adorns the pink plastic below.

The phantasmagoria is a theatrical combination of technologies based on the manipulation of light and sound invented during the late 1800's as a form of entertainment (Buck-Morss 1992: 22). Walter Benjamin described the phantasmagoria as signifying the development of a particularly "modern" way of thinking that preferred the anaesthetizing immersion of the overwhelming phantasmagoric theatre to the "reality" they had previously been limited to (Buck-Morss 1992: 22). Stating that, "[b]eginning in the nineteenth century, a narcotic was made out of reality itself," Buck-Morss describes the application of the phantasmagoria's "technoaesthetics" on a sweeping scale,

The goal is manipulation of the synaesthetic system by control of environmental stimuli. It has the effect of anaesthetizing the organism, not through numbing, but through flooding of the senses. (Buck Morss 1992: 22)

These "means of social control" (Buck-Morss 1992: 23) helped to create the collective experience of an altered perception of the immediate environment that would have lasting sensory effects and political implications. The creation of a "'tourist bubble' (where the traveler's 'experiences' are all monitored and controlled in advance)" (Buck-Morss 1992: 22), was one of the founding actions of the Park's formation and it is this type of sensory management that the Museum perpetuates. The overwhelming intensity of Emile's technologically reproduced likeness works to maintain the visitors' distraction from the strategic silences left unelaborated by his story's collusion with the Park's master narrative, simultaneously conferring an authenticated "personal experience" of the past through the visitors' re-appropriation of Emile's tale, which in Handler's words confers a

“magical proof of existence” (Handler 1986: 4, Buck-Morss 1992). However, this “magical proof” is nothing less than the repeated invocation of a past accepted as “original,” and therefore attention should be paid to the rhythmic structuring of such “originary repetitions,” in both their discursive enunciations and (dis-) embodied performances (Ivy 1998: 3).

The technological reproduction of a personage imagined in some way to be representative of the experience and identity of the earliest Canadians, Émile brings to the fore the uneven and roughshod pace of Modern progress and development in the “originary repetition” of the Canadian “national-cultural imaginary” (Ivy 1998: 3). Each time the device is activated it repeats the tale constructed to satisfy the patriotic narrative and communicates on an intimate and face-to-face basis the demands of Canadian identification and authentic belonging, while simultaneously obviating the elision of various other histories and identifications, no less “Canadian” in their roots and shoots (Herzfeld 2005).

A singular personification of the national-cultural imaginary, the figure signals ethnically and racially codified divisions as well as insisting on a gendered division of labour. Émile’s francophone accent provides traction for the feeling that the hard work of the past was done by the French-Canadians, and that “they” are either then discursively collapsed as a part of the past of the Nation (and somehow no longer contemporary), or that “they” can be seen as somehow better suited to hard labor than other ethno-linguistic communities. At the same time, his masculinity, and the stories of men sleeping head-to-toe, two to a bunk, in camps where there were “no women,” reproduces the gendering of hard labor common to many European inspired and influenced patriarchies.

Thus, the nation is not only rendered as being without threatening internal differences by its inherent entanglement with a shared language base, but there is a shared sense of coeval development and progress amongst those who share an identification with such nation-state forms. The expanded awareness of colonial others coincided with transitions in how history was recorded (and in who these histories chose to include), and led to a defensive posture on the part of Europeans (and colonial subjects). And while some argue that the racial mixing that was ubiquitous during Canada's expansion "should" have led to a different way of thinking about the differences between people, it seems rather to have intensified the drive to purify the settler-colonists Eurocentric notions of race by actively forgetting the traces of Indigenous presence in contemporary images of Canada and "authentically" composed Canadian selves and subjectivities (Saul 2009: 13). Foucault suggests that it was this growing awareness of "racial binarism that led the West to see for the first time that it was possible to analyze political power as war," (Foucault 1997 [2003]: 18-19) allowing for the growing exercise of what he elsewhere names "biopolitics"; that is, the regulation and discipline of bodies in support of Statist power operations that seek to reduce biological threats to the population, and therefore legitimate biological interventions in the defense of the nation and on the individuated bodies who personify it (Foucault 1994 [2003]).

When the Park was founded in 1893, hunting was banned (almost throughout the territory), without consideration of the impact it might have on Aboriginal people. Although many members of the Algonquin Nation of Ontario say that hunting has continued 'illegally' for generations, Emile's tale begins with an expansive and empty wilderness, ripe for harvest, eliding the traces of Algonquin presence, a pattern repeated

in the references to “poachers” elsewhere in the museums’ texts about early Park rangers. More than this, Emile’s statement that he is going to relate the “real story of logging in the Park” in many ways erases the possibility of alternative tales told by other loggers, settlers, and First Nations people who may have lived and worked alongside Emile himself, leaving aside all of the other “eras” of logging in the Park. The singularity of his tale overrides the multiplicity of experience that must have occurred in the territory since contact between First Nations and settler-colonist societies and people, just as the experience of Emile’s tale works to actively erase the alternatives and to sublimate the unsettling anxiety that the ground settler-colonists find themselves so comfortable “defending” may in fact not be theirs to claim.

A humorous anecdote in a chapter of Gregory Bateson’s *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* asks, what does it mean when a Frenchman’s arms stop waving about while he is talking? (Bateson 1973) This elicits a response from the daughter in the tale that it seems as if it is a lot of work to wave one’s arms about while they talk so that they can tell you that they are angry by no longer waving their arms. “Daddy” responds that it does seem like a lot of work, but that he’s sure that’s “why” they do wave their arms. As I stood in front of Emile I thought of my own grandfather who was born and raised in Quebec and who gesticulated wildly while discussing everything from family issues to baseball. That is, until he became upset.

This makes me wonder, is Emile angry? Is he angry at me? Have I done something? How can he sound so pleased while he stands so still? He begins to take on a looming, threatening presence, and it seems that this threat lurks just below the surface of

awareness. I was made uneasy, but it wasn't until re-reading Bateson long after the encounter that I noticed how still Emile had been.

Yet, Emile's penetrating gaze and convivial humour belie the illusory separation of the body from the environment (and the mind from the body) that the technology of the mannequin-golem is built on. The technoaesthetic function of Emile's likeness only begins to make sense when one considers the actual extensivity of the nervous system. Rather than an isolable body, containing an equally isolable mind-brain amalgam, the nervous system is in fact characterised by a radically open prosthetic synaesthesia, and it is consciousness and the culturally framed apprehension of reality that limits our experience of the environment by placing discursive limits on our imaginations, practically defining the borders of the imaginable, and the unthinkable. This is Michael Taussig's "nervous system," constantly patrolling the borders of consciousness for the unexpected irruptions of what was thought previously to be "unimaginable" (Taussig 1991).

The impact and effect of Emile's presence comes into sharper resolution in light of Massumi's work concerning the half-second-gap between that which impacts upon the body and the conscious apprehension of or ability to respond to that impact; between the autonomic resonance of affect and the conscious response (Massumi 2002: 29). In this way the parallel that Massumi draws between affect and intensity brings to light the "*limitative, derived functions* that reduce a complexity too rich to be expressed" to a fractured, yet transposable "consciousness" (Massumi 2002: 29). This intensity in excess of meaning described by Massumi might parallel the earlier Lacanian reference to the imaginary made by Ivy's work as the actualization of a "presymbolic identification with

the image” (Ivy 1998: 4). This “presymbolic identification,” or sympathetic resonance, helps to explain the power of Emile’s presence if the word itself is broken down to indicate its construction; pre-sense, meaning that which comes before sensation as it is apprehended, understood or *felt* through the discursive construction of reality.

It is this same understanding of the body’s radical extension that Buck-Morss describes in her elucidation of the phantasmagoric modulation of subjective experience, as “perception becomes experience only when it connects with sense-memories of the past” (Buck-Morss 1992: 18). By overwhelming the “synaesthetic system” through the method of targeting a particular sense the phantasmagoria achieves its anaesthetic effect of numbing the other senses and under these “conditions of modern shock – the daily shock of the modern world – *response* to stimuli without thinking has become necessary for survival,” and therefore consciousness must constantly “parry” the shocking impacts and traumatic effects of a “technologically altered environment” (Buck-Morss 1992: 16). In this sense the impact of the projected face and the seemingly disembodied voice that told the tale of Emile can be understood to demand a particular response of sympathy that entails a rational turning away from the seething return of the past in favor of a present affirmed through absence.

The stillness of Emile’s frame erases the embodied impacts of hard labor. But the friendly and good-humoured expressions on his face demand affective responses that efface the pain he experienced. This is why most of the people who come into the exhibit remain transfixed by kind eyes and crow’s feet projected across a smooth plastic glob that leave them walking out reminiscing about their Grandfathers who worked, and some who died in or near the Park, with smiles on their faces; willfully blind to the violence of

Canadian colonialism and environmental degradation; willfully blind to the pain of their ancestors re-appropriated in the construction of a master narrative entailing necessary progress and then offered as a “magical proof” of the nation’s existence. The trouble is that the Emile-monster insists, day after day and each time another visitor sets off the speech, that he holds the “real story of logging in the Park,” and that all others remain counterfeit. Though it seems the smooth face first displayed in the Museum over twenty years ago has begun to weather. As more tales of deprivation and displacement begin to emerge the cracks in the master narrative widen and the splintering facade of a nation threatened begins to decay, moss, lichen, and crab-grass, rooting in the crevices.

Resurfacing -

In the summer of 2014 I returned to the Visitor Centre and Museum and took a walk around the museum displays with an eye for changes and updates. I found very few. There was a triangular placard standing in the midst of the taxidermy displays on the lower floor which described the story of the Passenger Pigeon’s eventual “extinction” during the early colonization of North America, and as a counter-point, the story of a Potawatomi Chief who had taken the bird as his totem animal and who had changed his name to Pigeon while travelling through the area that would later become the Park during a westward migration of his people. Meant to consciously evoke the difference between the unrestricted violence unleashed by settlers who killed the birds for leisure and the respectful approach towards “nature” that Indigenous People are often rhetorically

connected with by settler-colonist representations of their culture and practices, the display carries with it other (more sinister) symbolic meanings. The counter-positioning of the demise of the pigeons and the abrupt dismissal of the Potawatomi on the placard multiplies the irony that the Algonquin people themselves are mentioned only as historically present in the area, obscuring their enduring presence in the Park and eliding the conflicted relationship between the Park and many of its neighbors.

But more, when I rounded the wall of photo-placards that the animatronic Emile hid behind I was prepared for the uncomfortable presence of the projected face, but when I looked up at the giant figure that I knew as Emile there was nothing but the pink plastic glob the face was meant to project onto and a rope slung around his neck with a sign that read,

OUT

OF

ORDER



*Plate #10 - "Emile Huard" Display, Out Of Order,
Algonquin Provincial Park*

**No Home on the Range: Ruin, Reclamation,
and Revitalization in Algonquin Provincial Park**



***Plate #11 - “The First Visitors” Display,
Algonquin Provincial Park Visitor Center & Museum***

Three figures, frozen in time, make up a tableau depicting “authentic Indians” going about their business. Clad in buckskin, drying fish on stick structures and picking their feet, these are the “First Visitors” according to the plaque that sits next to the display in the Algonquin Park Visitor Center and Museum (located in the southern end of the Park on the Highway #60 corridor). The plaque holds the words of the Park Historian Roderick MacKay and those of a Chief of the Algonquin people of *Pikwakanagan* (also known as Golden Lake), Kirby Whiteduck. On the plaque MacKay describes how “(s)uccessive native cultures have lived in Ontario for about 9000 years, including the

Algonquin nation that Champlain met along the Ottawa River and some of its tributaries in the early 1600's." (Algonquin Visitor Center and Museum 2010) The troubling implication here is that the place is assumed either to have not only been home to the Algonquin people but also to other Indigenous people and Nations, or to have never been home to anyone at all. The trouble with these implications is that they threaten to nullify the over thirty year old land claim lobbied by the Algonquin Nation of Ontario (based at *Pikwakanagan*) on the grounds that this place is not now, never was, and could never be, exclusively their *home*, in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary. What this also denies is the possibility that the land claim is not an attempt to wrench control away from the state, or to ruin conservation efforts. ***Instead, I suggest that the land claim is in part an effort to be welcomed again to participate in the responsible management of the area, while this increased participation might at the same time serve to revitalize the bonds between the Algonquin People and their homeland through the reclamation of kinship ties articulated by traditional place names.***

Roderick MacKay's brother Rory was a prominent member of the "Ad Hoc Committee to SAVE THE PARK" and part of his early response to the land claim was to issue a pamphlet entitled *More Historic Research Indicates that the Golden Lake Claim to Algonquin Park is Invalid* (MacKay 1992). The two have worked closely on other projects together since then including a video that plays a prominent role in the displays at the Algonquin Park Logging Museum (located at another site further west down Highway #60). MacKay's current position as Park Historian allows him open access to

the Park Archives housed in the basement of the Visitor Center and Museum,²⁷ however there are some who have provided a counter-point to MacKay's argument. In his framing of Whiteduck's words on the plaque, MacKay states that "many of these people dispersed for the winter to individual family hunting territories" suggesting that there was much consistency to the migration of people before colonization of the Ottawa Valley (also known as the *Kitchissippi*). The idea of a hunting territory refers here to a temporary place of stay, or a camp, similar to those set up by campers in the conservation area these days in that it is assumed to be something other than a home. The implication of this discourse is that nomads have no homes at all; that is what defines them as nomads.

This plays into the traditional Western legal definitions of North American Aboriginal land tenure practices that deny the right to land based on the assumption that the people present were unable to maximize the resources of the area and therefore required "civilization" to make use of the land more efficiently. In this case, evidence of Aboriginal presence in the area is interpreted in ways that suggest seasonal occupation, allowing the Canadian nation-state to deny that there was any continuity of presence on the part of the Algonquin people due to their nomadic lifestyles. Here MacKay's words echo the statements of Joseph Trutch, Commissioner of Crown Lands, recounted in the work of Queen's University Geographer Marijke Huitema, that due to their inability to make use of the area efficiently, the territory that became Algonquin Park was "land 'of no actual value or utility to them,'" meaning the Algonquin and Nipissing Indians of the area (Joseph Trutch, cited in Berger (1981) quoted by Huitema 2003: 238). Huitema

²⁷ I was not permitted access to the Park's archives during my fieldwork period. Access is controlled by Ontario Parks and the Friends of Algonquin Park. Some of my colleagues have attempted to gain access to the archives and have found their messages unanswered after clarifying their research interests.

further quotes Trutch who argued that the area which was to become the Park should be seen as “land of which the savages stood in no particular need” (Trutch quoted in Huitema 2001).

The distinction or dichotomy set up between “the civilized” and “the savage,” long the interest of anthropology, is a misleading one in that any society depends on rules of civility, even when these rules seem to defy the logic of Western rational calculation. Further, while Huitema takes the tack of explaining how the Algonquin people of the area stood very much in need of “the land,” it seems to me that a much more lofty goal, yet one that must eventually be undertaken, is to explain how it is that these people were never “savage” to begin with, and to expand upon these differing notions of civility in order to work towards more ethical ways of contending with the politics of the past, and of the present. Following Bruno Latour, this might be understood to suggest that “We have never been modern,” and that the difference between “primitive” and “civilized” societies is one based on a combination of individual agency, collective aspiration, and the given means at hand (both technical and physical), and not inherent or evolutionary biological “superiority” (Latour 1993). Thus it is my contention that although the ways of life common to the Algonquin people during the period of early Canadian colonization do not fit the traditional Western definitions of civilization this is because of radically differing understandings on several registers, many based on the apprehension of the surrounding environment.

Kirby Whiteduck made an honours thesis project out of collecting and interpreting the evidence of Algonquin occupation that he found in the records he was able to survey during his time at York University. On the “*First Visitors*” plaque, Whiteduck’s text

states that the tableau represents a “family encampment,” which brings more clarity to the manner in which different interpretations of space and place (particularly concepts of “natural” spaces and “dwelling”) demonstrate different ways of apprehending one’s surroundings in places less directly modified by human action; places often referred to as the “bush” or “forest”. In particular, there was an understanding amongst early colonists, which persists in the dominant contemporary Canadian view of nature, that the environment is made up of various resources, mineral, vegetable, animal and human, which must be managed rationally in order to maximize their efficient use by humans (and here there is an implicit acceptance that the market both demonstrates and moderates human desires according to the needs of the civilized). This aligns with the current designation of the Park as a “conservation area,” a concept based on the perceived inevitability of expending all of the resources the place now holds. The creation of the Park as a place set aside for the conservation of the “nature” found within its boundaries also has the effect of restricting people from choosing the area as a home. What this means however, is that while the Park was named for the Algonquin people who inhabited the area since long before contact, and perhaps for as long as people have been in the area, those same people were refused access to the Park as a “dwelling” (Ingold 2005: 503).

Whiteduck suggests something different in his thesis and in his assertion that the tableau represents a “family encampment” (Whiteduck 2002). The idea of a family in this context alludes directly to relationships composed through the frame of kinship and Whiteduck’s comment from the plaque that “Our Mother, Mother Earth, knew what she was doing,” refers to the belief that the natural world is composed of various “other-than-

human persons” (Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 59) who require the kind of respect and dignity that human persons do and who in many ways are related to as if they were a part of one’s “kin group” (Whiteduck quoted on the “*First Visitors*” plaque in the Algonquin Park Visitor Center and Museum 2011). Likewise, Whiteduck argues in his Honours Thesis that the Algonquin people were “a part of their environment,” but this in no way means that they were animals as they were so often characterized in statements made by government officials, bureaucrats, and others who represented business interests (Whiteduck 2009: 38). In the words of one of these authorities, “[y]ou know the predatory habits of these people, how they roam about, and how difficult it is to keep watch of their movements in the forest’,” and also offered the supposed insight that “Indians had no more rights to land ‘*than a panther or a bear*” (Trutch quoted by Huitema 2003: 239 [italics quoted]). Rather, Whiteduck’s proposal offers the possibility that over long periods of time and through meaningful and respectful engagement with the environment the Algonquin people were able to develop relationships with the territory expressed in kinship derived terminologies. That is, the relationships that people built up over generations often took the form of caring for a loved one and differences in the apprehension of who and what might be considered “persons” are evident in the Algonquian family of languages, including Cree, Ojibwa, Nipissing and Algonquin (often rendered “Algonkin” in early literature) amongst many others.

A.I. Hallowell discusses this in his elucidation of Ojibwa ontology and kinship in the chapter “Ecological Adaptation and Social Organization” from his ethnography *Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba* (Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 43-59). Here, he first states that “[t]he face-to-face group that was the effective unit of social and economic organization

at all seasons was the extended family” (Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 44), and then later suggests that “other than human persons were referred to as ‘our grandfathers’”

(Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 59). Hallowell explains further that,

the Ojibwa believed that they came into direct personal contact with other than human persons in their dreams. The dreamer and these persons used the kinship terms *grandfather* and *grandchild* in direct address, and the dreamer benefitted from experiences of this kind.

Consequently, the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren leads directly from a consideration of the interrelated roles of the Ojibwa social structure to their traditional worldview. (Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 59)

While this may seem a digression, the words of Whiteduck emphasize how the Algonquin people shared a very similar belief system and way of speaking. Beyond Whiteduck’s reference to the Earth as “Our Mother,” which exemplifies the kin-centered social patterning identified by Hallowell (though it deploys a New Age idiom not yet popularized in Hallowell’s time), there are other statements that demonstrate similar discursive framings within Whiteduck’s work (Whiteduck 2002).

An 1840 plea made by the Algonquin and Nipissing people of the Kitchissippi and Lake Nipissing to the Governor General of the time (the Crown’s proxy), described how loggers and trappers, mostly colonists, had pushed into their traditional territory and how this had led the beaver and deer previously in abundance to begin dwindling in numbers (Whiteduck 2009: 36, 46-49). The plea makes reference to this and the lumber taken “from those very hunting grounds, which by Our Great Fathers order, were to be reserved for us” (quoted in Whiteduck 2009: 36). A common assumption is that the phrase “Our Great Father” is a title that refers directly to the Governor General. In this case it would

mean that an apostrophe has simply been forgotten. However, the apparently absent apostrophe alludes to another possible interpretation rarely addressed in historical research, but open to ethnohistorical investigation in light of other pluralized Algonquin references to “the ancestors”; perhaps the apostrophe is not missing, but was never meant to be included in the first place?

This would suggest a reading of “Our Great Fathers order” that depends on the kind of pluralist logic common to the Algonquin and Nipissing at the time that these pleas were first lobbied. Whiteduck argues that “the Algonquin, were bound by social and political customs so strong that it was considered to be the law for all of the country” (Whiteduck 2002: 144). Elsewhere he quotes an Algonquin political statement from July 14th, 1791 that asks,

Do we not have the right to claim the possession of lands that we hold from our ancestors [...]... Even though we cannot prove [written] title that these lands belong to us, would one have the cruelty to take them from us? Have we not always been the quiet possessors of it? Would one abuse force to take the lands from us that our father’s transmitted to us and that we had hoped to pass on as our children’s heritage? (Quoted in Whiteduck 2002: 88)

While “order” might be interpreted to mean a command or direction, this statement taken in context suggests instead the idea of an order as a system; one with a pre-determined manner of proceeding; a social order, or rules of civility that determine the perception and performance of proper relationships between people and their surroundings. This is a reference to a social order that is determined by the pre-existing respect between “Our Great Fathers,” which is another concept that deserves explanation.

Now I should say that this is a topic of some gravity. As Hallowell notes, “‘our grandfathers’ were never talked about casually or lightly,” because it was possible for “moral obligations [to] arise between the Ojibwa and ‘our grandfathers,’ as in the case of hunters and the ‘owners’ of animals species” (referred to by the same designation) (Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 65, 67). I argue that the Algonquin people of the *Kitchissippi* basin share a similar ontological apprehension of their surroundings, and that the relationship referred to in the plea is one agreed upon between the hunters’ “grandfathers” and the “owners” of the animals, sometimes collectively referred to as “Our Great Fathers”; in effect, indistinguishable from one another. Whiteduck recounts in his thesis that the Algonquin people of the *Kitchissippi* were known to practice a variation of the “shaking tent,” a ritual whereby other than human persons were summoned and communed with, and where prescriptions for healthy living, and cures for illness might be sought (Whiteduck 2002: 69, Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 68). Hallowell describes the shaking tent as a place where people come into direct personal contact with other-than-human persons. One elder he spoke with reported meeting as many as, “the ‘owners’ of 22 different species of mammals and fish, five prominent characters in the myths, and several semihuman entities such as *Memengweci* and *Windigo*” (Hallowell 1967 [1992]: 69-70).

Hallowell also recounts how the drum used by a learned Ojibwe elder named “*Kwititc*” was called by the name “*kimikomisanan*, meaning ‘our grandfather,’ a term which *Kwititc* himself explained as due to the fact that it is one of the ‘oldest’ things known to the Indians” (Hallowell 2010: 420). “But,” Hallowell continues, “since ‘grandfather’ is commonly used, not only as a term of respect for any old man, but also in addressing, or

referring to, spiritual helpers of all types, it probably has a deeper significance in this context” (Hallowell 2010: 420). The “deeper significance” that Hallowell hints at here is that “our grandfathers” constitute a continuum and are not separate categories of the same concept.

All of this suggests that the traditionally informed Indigenous imagination of the Algonquin *accounts*²⁸ for more than biologically “human” persons, and that these other-than-human persons demand respect; the kind of respect that the Algonquin people often found lacking in the relationship between the settler-colonists and the land that the natives had looked after for as long as memory could permit.

Indeed, another plaque in the Algonquin Park Visitor Center and Museum holds a picture of Alexander Kirkwood, head of the commission that was in charge of establishing the conservation area, and who was an advocate of the name. Kirkwood stated elsewhere that by taking the name Algonquin, the Park “is perpetuating the memory of one of the greatest Indian Nations that has inhabited the North American Continent,” (Whiteduck 2009: 36) insinuating that the Algonquin people, who had been previously relocated to the reserves at Golden Lake (*Pikwakanagan*) and River Desert/Maniwaki (*Kitigan-Zibi*), no longer existed by the time the Park was founded. But the Museum mentions neither the Reservations, nor the land claim. Instead there is a careful silence on many of these topics and in some other cases a careful omission of certain details also guides the wording of the text of the Museum’s plaques.

²⁸ See Avery Gordon regarding the need for an expanded understanding of the “politics of accounting, in all its intricate political-economic, institutional, and affective dimensions” (Gordon 1997: 18), for use in the social and cultural analysis of memory, nostalgia and haunting.

The late Jack D. Forbes, a Californian scholar of Powhatan-Renapé and Delaware-Lenápe heritage, discussed the importance of naming and its impact on the ability of people to feel at “home” in new places, or in old places that have been given new names during the process of colonization (Forbes 2006: 1). Forbes’ discussion covers the general impact of the re-naming of the continent after Amerigo Vespucci, but this process was pervasive and persists in many parts of the colonized world. In the Park, and beyond the name of the Park itself, many lakes, rivers and streams have undergone a process of re-consecration akin to the re-naming ceremonies that often ran congruent with the “conversion” of native people to Christianity in the area. In the pamphlet issued by the Friends of the Park (an organization founded by interested locals) entitled *Names of Algonquin: Stories Behind the Lake and Place Names of Algonquin Provincial Park*, the author G.D. Garland recounts several local histories that demonstrate Algonquin legacy and presence in the area at the time of its colonization (Garland 2008). One prominent waterway in the Northwest corner of the Park is called the Amable du Fond River after a,

hunter of the region who was active at the time of Alexander Shirreff’s trip in 1829. Shirreff, who did not meet him, referred to him as ‘Map Di Fong.’ Two descendents of Amable, Ignace and Francis du Fond, established farms, first at the south end of Lake Kioshkowki and later at the north end of Manitou Lake. Members of the du Fond family continued to live at the latter farm for over twenty years after the establishment of the Park in 1893. (Garland 2008: 8-9)

The “Zoning Map” released by the Park Authorities states that the “briefly prosperous” farm was abandoned when Ignace died in 1916 (Ontario Parks 1998). And in the Museum there is a plaque with some pictures of farms and farmers that says they are all just “memories” these days. But, during interviews with some descendents of Amable du

Fond, Huitema heard tales of how at some point government representatives came looking for a deed to the property, which of course the descendents of the Algonquin hunter could not produce. Now Lake Kioshkokwi, the lake of many gulls, is the site of a campground and a set of cabins, the leftovers of a logging village. Brent, another former logging village and current campground at the end of a long gravel logging road and located on a spit of land that juts out into Cedar Lake, still has cottages, but the cottagers have a precarious deal that means they have no right to alter the land, and are still held responsible for the maintenance of the property, a typically bureaucratic double-bind. It was during my fieldwork there that I heard of how Lake Manitou's history held so many complications.



*Plate #12 - Downtown Brent Business District, Brent Campgrounds,
Algonquin Provincial Park*

One of the villages that supposedly faded to memory, Brent is an active community of about fifty at any given point during the camping season, a place enveloped by a sleepy atmosphere. This population drops dramatically in the winter now though, as ever since the passing of Adam Pitts in 1998 authorities claim that there are no longer any year round residents. Mr. Pitts was known as the Mayor of Brent, an unofficial title that poked fun both at his constant presence and the lack of official leadership in the community. The decisions for the area are made much further south on the Highway #60 corridor where all of the Park's offices are centralized, mostly around the town of Whitney and it could be for this reason that the complicated position of the cottagers has remained unremarkable until recently.

While in Brent I was told by a man that the cottages had mainly passed within families due to the difficulty of obtaining a lease. He said that most of the cottages had been built as houses for the loggers and that the families that stayed on as leaseholders had all been there for generations. While he spoke I heard the echo of a friend's voice in my ear saying, "We're Algonquin, and we've been here forever." He told me that most of the loggers had been Algonquin Indians who left in need of work after they had been forbidden from hunting in the area. And after telling me all of this he said proudly "Most of us here are Indians!"

The complication is that, due to the intricacies of early Canadian Law, Indian men who took paying employment became "enfranchised," no longer carrying the official designation of "Status Indian." Likewise, Indian women who married whites became officially white in the eyes of the law (or at least in the eyes of the Tax-Man, as Status Indians are exempt from paying federal and provincial taxes in Canada). Status Indians

were also forbidden from owning land and as such, in order to obtain leases for the cottages the ancestors of the current crop of cottagers in the Brent area were unable to maintain official ties to the Algonquin Nation of Ontario. But this has not prevented many from remembering their heritage and participating in the cultural and traditional revitalization movements now underway on the reserve at *Pikwakanagan* amongst other places. Some cottagers attend the annual pow-wow held in the south end of the Park near the Rock Lake road. One man in particular told me of his adherence to what he called “a very old tradition” that brought him back to Brent every winter.

Hannah Arendt argued in the article “We Refugees” that “Refugees driven from country to country represent the vanguard of their people – if they keep their identity” (Arendt 1943: 119). At first this condition may not seem to apply to those people of the Algonquin Nation who live at the reserve at Golden Lake or who never moved to a reserve but maintained households in places such as Mattawa, Dieux-Riviere, Petawawa, and Haliburton. However, their removal from traditional territories and their displacement, although within the borders of Canada, and sometimes even Ontario, along with the ‘off limits’ status of the Park’s geography and the disorientation that comes with the replacement of old names for new, constitute a violation of their access to what might be understood as “national” places of origin as well as to sources of cultural continuity in the form of land tenure practices now made illegal and names intentionally erased from memory. In this vein, the ‘poaching’ of game that has been undertaken illegally by the Algonquin people since the inception the Park stands as a vital reminder of resistance to the settler-colonist state and simultaneously as a form of communal project of territorial reclamation.

Attendant to this process is the affirmation of communal belonging and identity for those who take part in the hunt and for those who share in its bounty, but also for those who help to maintain the networks of hunters as a form of collusion against the state. This form of communication between and amongst hunters has helped in some ways to maintain familial connections that have made it easier to organize the Algonquin Nation as a legal entity in support of the land claim. I was told by a cottager who claimed Algonquin heritage that hunting moose in the Brent area was something that brought his cousins out once a year to the families' cottage for an annual hunt that includes a pilgrimage of sorts to Manitou Lake in the north-west corner of the Park. In an echo of history, Alexander Shirreff made the statement that “[a]t the Cedar Lake I remained nearly three days, partly delayed by bad weather, but chiefly waiting the arrival of a son of the Algonquin Chief, named Constant Pennaissez, who had established his winter quarters here” (Quoted in Whiteduck 2009: 50). And further, a surveyor recounted that during an 1879 expedition some “Algonquins that he met... were very familiar with the waterways around Manitou Lake (in the northwest corner of the park)” (Quoted in Whiteduck 2009: 47). The continuity of tradition represented by the hunt actually stands as an example of a form of diasporic identification that has strengthened Algonquin claims to the land and to traditional cultural practices, such as those handed down by hunters over generations, regardless of where the hunters currently reside.

While in some ways the ‘poaching’ undertaken by some Algonquin people in the Park represents a direct confrontation with the Park Authorities, in other ways it is an instantiation of Algonquin identity and represents a form of reclamation or re-appropriation of land thought of as set aside in the settler-colonist imaginary. As an

affront to the values of the State, this form of cultural “survivance,” as it is called by *Anishinaabe* activist Gerald Vizenor, also represents a type of home-coming that attempts to counter the trauma of loss (Vizenor 1998: 165). A similar form of “survivance” is found in the name of the lake that these hunters feel compelled to visit annually in their affirmation of Indigenous heritage, Manitou Lake. The source of the lake’s name is recounted by Garland who states that when Amable Du Fond’s “forebears first came to the lake they saw a very large water snake (‘serpent’) and believed the Great Spirit (manitou) was in it” (Garland 2008: 35). In 1931, “the official name of the lake was” changed to “‘Wilkes Lake,’ after the township” it was now a part of (Garland 2008: 35). However, the name was changed back to Manitou in 1973 when the logging-town’s population began to dwindle after changes in logging and railroad techniques (Garland 2008: 35). Garland says that “[b]y restoration of the original name an interesting glimpse of history has been preserved” (Garland 2008: 35), beyond this though, another point on the map has been reclaimed by Algonquin “voices” and this “aporia” (Stewart 1996: 37) cleaves space for alternative commemorations that affirm Indigenous heritage rather than simply providing a point of interest for a settler-colonist tour of the bush.

In a similar fashion, the reservation at Golden Lake, now officially renamed *Pikwakanagan*, provides a sense of ownership through a voicing practice that carries with it deep political implications for the reclamation of Indigenous ontologies and for the re-formation of community under the threats of settler-colonist erasure and silencing.

Perhaps the reclamation of place names can open space for alternative forms of remembrance that simultaneously affirm connections to ancestral homelands while affirming connections between people displaced in the formation of the contemporary

Nation-State. And while diaspora may not necessarily describe the exact condition of the Algonquin people now or in the past, the practices that they use to re-affirm their identity as Indigenous people are found in a broad range of places and relationships, most of which seek to re-consecrate the ground, re-affirming the respect that members of one's family deserve by pursuing responsibility for the places they share a love for.



*Plate #13 - Sunshine over the Amable Du Fond River,
Samuel De Champlain Provincial Park*

Blood-Work:

Registering Claims of Authenticity in Algonquin Traditional Territory

"No, a proof is a proof. What kind of a proof? It's a proof.

A proof is a proof, and when you have a good proof, it's because it's proven."

- Jean Chretien, former Prime Minister of Canada

Belaboring Metaphors -

There are various scales through which claims to authentic identification are made in relation to the territory referred to as Algonquin Provincial Park. Most prominent amongst these is the invocation of “blood” as a register of effort, ownership and stewardship, a legitimizing proof, or a sign that authenticates history, memory, genealogy, and contagion even while these understandings compete and conflict with one another. In common discursive constructions of the Park, blood is loaded with semantic content and made to do the very political work of both legitimizing, and providing a register through which to resist, the pressures of the Nation-State. Therefore, the concept of “Blood-work” brings attention to the labour that blood is made to perform in discourse, and in politics, through and against the actions of the State and the people who make it up and resist its actions in equal order. This might offer a chance to destabilize the contemporary Canadian political status quo in its neo-liberal and neo-colonial dimensions by formalizing references to blood as political labour as it interacts with and informs the

emergence of economically, politically, and culturally situated knowledge, or “power/knowledge” in Foucault’s terms (Foucault 1980).

While blood-shed and bloodstains are often appropriated by official history in the effort to legitimize colonial claims through elision, blood-lines are invoked by cottagers, campers and First Nations differently to re-affirm their sense of stewardship over time, authenticating multiple identifications with the past. Alternatively, references to how the Park gets into “your blood” speak of contagious nature, vulnerability, symbiosis, and parasitism; simultaneously moving to destabilize the authority of “sanguinity” (or descent), while affirming the legitimacy of affiliation and participation based in/on persistent relationships. Regarding the settler-colonist approach, patterns of appropriation and naturalization often intersect, ameliorating the anxiety of modern compartmentalizations of the past, nature and enchantment, while re-confirming the same bounded perceptions that propagate these anxieties through their binary opposition with the present, culture, and rational contemplation. There is a parallel here as well in the opposition of urban and rural, or of civilized and wild.

Reconfiguring these segregations by reflecting on the potential for a participatory ethics of responsibility and reciprocity (one which harkens back to traditionally informed Algonquin perceptions) offers new ways of imagining/orienting ecological relationships that move beyond meagre contemporary efforts focused on sustainability (or “Green” technologies); what geographer and architect John May describes as a minimum condition for survival (May 2008: 107). Rather than settling for what Gerald Vizenor (following Derrida) calls “survance,” the ability to maintain contact with cultural tradition therefore keeping “culture(s)” *alive* (a similar minimum condition for “sur-

vival”), this may afford an opportunity for “*Thrivance*,” a stimulation of well-being not explicitly tied to an ethic of competition but of symbiotic prosperity (Derrida 1994 [2006]: 185, Vizenor 1998: 152, May 2008: 107).

On more than one occasion I was told by cottagers and campers that “the Park gets into your blood.” There is something about the conservation area and its representation as a place named after the Algonquin people of Ontario and Quebec that seems contagious (Whiteduck 2009, Huitema 2005, Leckie 2009). People talk about their time in the conservation area in ways that confirms not only the importance of the memories, but that serves to re-affirm their sense of ownership over a place they have only visited, or perhaps worked in and stayed in for a little longer. I met a woman in Chicago who told me that her family had returned year after year to the Park when she was a girl and that she thought it was “the best part of Canada” because it taught her why “Canadians were closer to nature than Americans.” I’m still puzzled by which Canadians she was talking about and why for her, nature had to be something imagined as distant and foreign.

Few people now spend the whole year in Algonquin Provincial Park. There are some cottagers, but there are no year-round residents recognized by the Park authorities, save a few employees who joke that they never really get to leave. There are also those who claim that land within the boundaries of the conservation area is theirs; that they own it by right of inheritance, by the demonstration of the land’s “improvement,” or by the care that they and their families have shown for it. I heard from some people that their blood, tied by generations to the land, gave them authentic claim to sovereign ownership over it. And beyond all of this, I saw the representations of history that the Park authorities marshal to prove their jurisdiction over the territory; histories that deploy death to

demonstrate the nationally inspired improvement of the land and the State's commitment to the rational management of the populations contained within their borders; loggers killed in the pursuit of timber necessary to build the national infrastructure, and rangers celebrated for stopping poachers and killing off wolves and loons, threats to safe enjoyment and good fishing.

Although by now they are beyond cliché, references to blood work to make political claims resonate as natural. This process of naturalization has a long history in racialized Canadian discourse regarding the purity and impurity of bloodlines in relation to the official recognition of Indian Status for some Indigenous people. James Waldram recounts the issues that surround contemporary claims to Indigenous heritage and rights that make reference to the blood quantum of certain individuals (Waldram 2009). In his work he discusses the evolutionary pre-conceptions of researchers and health care professionals and their propensity to suggest that "bloodedness" was a sign of racial inheritance that might explain some of the social dysfunctions many Aboriginal people experienced in Canada (Waldram 2009: 59).

Waldram argues that "blood quantum was really genealogy dressed up in biological garb," and that by insisting on this connection researchers were "implicitly suggesting that Indian biological heritage was somehow an important predisposing factor for mental illness," presumably passed down genetically (Waldram 2009: 58-59). The inherent reductionism and determinism of biological description and explanation often leads to the interpretation of cultural or social patterns as racial or ethnic difference (Goodman & Leatherman 1998: xi). The confusion of biology and culture has persisted in insidious ways through the endeavours of sociobiology and patterns of environmental management

that incorporate Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) only as it can be assimilated by a language of rational, empirical positivism (Corntassel & Gaudry 2014: 169, Cruikshank 2005: 256). The centralized style of governing from a distance commonly employed in conservation areas has had profoundly troubling implications for local populations who often carry on far more sustainable practices traditionally, sometimes even explicitly stating a belief that “it is in their blood” to be connected to the land (Agrawal & Chhatre 2007).²⁹

The common understanding of “mixed” bloodlines as proof of cultural or personal impurity has also had the profound effect of allowing for the formation of the Métis, a civilization and cultural expression of both European and First Nations derivation recognized as officially “distinct people” by the Canadian Nation-State. The Métis were born of intermarriage, adoption and adaptation to local social expectations and cultural expressions by some Europeans during the height of the fur trade in the 1700’s. But not all mixed people were or are legally recognized by the government (or by one another) as Métis, further complicating the status and identity of some with mixed parentage, but who were not recognized as members of either “original” society. This paradoxical relationship to origins both sought and refused at each turn plays a foundational role in the establishment of authenticated subjects and subjectivities identified as Canadian, both from within and without.

²⁹ See Agrawal & Chhatre (2007) on the difference between centralized State-management and Indigenous and/or local decentralized co-management of forests, and the prospects for co-governance of forest-dwellings. See Fortier et. al. (2013) for an “Inventory of collaborative arrangements” between Aboriginal communities and the Canadian forestry industry.

While the formation of the Métis Nation as a legal entity provides a necessary affirmation of identity and ethno-national solidarity for many, it also plays along with, and into, the desire to find and defend pure bloodlines, affirming the purity of each “original race” (European and native) by affirming that the Métis are neither due to the mixed-ness of their blood, or because of a perceived “kind of blood-poisoning,” (to follow an idiom popular around the time the Park was established, and related by Nietzsche in *The Genealogy of Morals*) (Nietzsche 1887 [1956]: 169). “They” are distinctly not only Indian, and not only European, and are to be treated as neither and separated as a “new original,” unique. It is this complex search for the original, the unique, that characterises the relationship of the Canadian national-cultural imaginary to a practice described by Marilyn Ivy as “originary repetition” (Ivy 1998: 13); the repeated invocation of an origin or authentic source of “our” difference, simultaneously the anxious confirmation of a bound and bordered subject/ivity and an effective “cultural anaesthetic” (Feldman 1994: 405) against the awareness of personal culpability in the reproduction of social and economic inequalities and inequities (endemic of contemporary settler-colonialism and late capitalism more generally).

Here blood-work brings to mind a measure through which to register the pulse of conversational, as well as experiential, rhythms relating to origins and authenticities, a method that falls in line with Henri Lefebvre’s rhythmanalysis (something I explore further below) (Lefebvre 2005, Stewart 1996). Borrowed simultaneously from multiple fields, blood-work carries the (sometimes) heartening connotations of its use in the field of health care (taking the pulse of bodies, checking for various “poisonings” and disease, and also diagnosing the need for transfusion or “purification”), but also the uglier

connotations of some slang uses of the word. Blood-work can be used to describe the mercenary actions of those who do violence for pay, those who take blood-money, those people who participate, at the most vulgar level, in the fetishized commodification of labor and the alienation of the “human” from the human body (Hardt & Negri 2004: 49, Marx 1867 [1994]). In the European feudal use of the word, blood became an idiom for descent as it pertained to the inheritance of social status and material wealth, immediately involving claims regarding blood in a field of sovereign politics (Ignatieff 1993). In this way, claims involving blood as proof of authenticity legitimize violent and defensive postures through the naturalization of the threat represented by the impurity of the “others” bloodline, simultaneously linking these postures and dispositions to practical re-territorializations of space and the need to defend one’s place in it (Ignatieff 1993). Blood-work as a heuristic device for the qualitative analysis of such “immaterial labour” marshalled on behalf of the Nation-State draws my attention to the violence of these enunciations.

The trouble with these affirmations as they pertain to contemporary claims to the rightful and righteous ownership or stewardship of the Park is clarified by bringing them into conversation with the appropriative and incorporative claims made by John Ralston Saul regarding Canada as a Métis Civilization of both European and native inspiration (Saul 2009). While this assertion in many respects cannot be refuted, it is made in a style that gives away his desire for stability as he consistently returns to the need for a strong Canadian Nation-State able to compete in a global Capitalist economy. Saul argues, perhaps justifiably, that it was not the blood quantum of a Voyageur or Métis person that

gave them entrance into a syncretised society of admixture and adaptation, but their participation in traditional patterns of civil behaviour (Saul 2009).

In his strongest argument he points out that marriages in particular intensified bonds between settler-colonists and First Nations people while continuing traditions that had joined communities in ongoing relationships based on reciprocal engagements for generations before the arrival of Europeans. Marriage, Saul suggests, provides the primary idiom through which First Nations people understood the obligations and relations that should follow the signature of Treaties, a vastly different way of imagining the resulting relationship than that which arises out of a consideration of European notions of contractual legality (Saul 2009: 27-30, Ignatieff 1993). Rather than handing over the sole ownership rights to territory, Treaties were understood to be the basis for mutually recognized obligations towards one another, but also towards the “land” as it was imagined traditionally to be densely populated by other-than-human-persons with whom reciprocal relations might also develop (Simpson 2008, Bohaker 2006).

In the case of un-ceded territory such as the area in and around Algonquin Park it is likely that Treaties were never signed because the personal relationships between settler-colonists and First Nations in the area were already firmly established by marriage and co-habitation (Pasternak 2014, Crosby & Monaghan 2012). But Saul’s thesis (which falls in line with earlier neo-liberal arguments put forth by Michael Ignatieff in *Blood and Belonging*) seems intent on proving that Canadians generally do not recognize the inheritance they have received from First Nations people and cultures (Saul 2009, Ignatieff 1993). It is this lack of recognition in Saul’s opinion that has led to both the fracturing of tradition and community for First Nations people on and off reserve and to

the assimilative and contemptuous relationship between those identified as settler-colonists and/or conversely as First Nations, Métis, or Inuit. Quoting Joseph Gosnell, Saul states that the “double denial” of Canada comes through the failure of Canadians “to enter [First Nations people] into our image of ourselves” (Saul 2009: 21).

Saul’s ideas are partly supported, but also somewhat destabilized, by the recreational practices commonly associated with the Park, things like hiking in the woods, paddling and fishing in the rivers, lakes and streams, and participating in educational and entertainment programs that make an effort to impress upon visitors the central importance of the place to the formation of Canada as a modern Nation-State. The appropriation of practices first credited to native people by the settler-colonist society allows for the naturalization of a relationship between selves and surroundings that perpetuates the founding mythology of colonial wilderness, pristine, empty and ready to be subdued while perpetuating the dissonance between the simulation that is the “*indian*” and the continuity of native presence (Vizenor 1998: 145). While traditionally First Nations people often piloted boats of bark and hide, contemporary materials such as fibreglass have replaced them for the vast majority of Park-goers. This means that rapids have undergone a transformation from places that might threaten not only the integrity of the vessel but also the life of the pilot, to a thrill to be challenged by weekend warriors and adventure seekers (Kruzich 2011).

Stories that used to be told about the Petawawa River by those who lived in the area made reference to things that lived in, or more accurately, *as* the rapids, and that were not to be tested or taken lightly. People would recount stories about the folks who had been killed by the rapids and the need to demonstrate a respectful relationship with these places by

not disturbing them with the bottom of the boats and the thundering of paddles against the stones. This relationship is not the usual approach taken by the crowds of tourists who ride inflatable rafts and shout obscenities at one another in an effort to affirm the distance they put between themselves and their surroundings, encoded as “natural.” Boots and moccasins exemplify different relationships between feet and turf, and these relationships impact upon how we imagine our-selves.

These distinguishing features of an “authentic Indian-ness” are appropriated in an effort to confirm ownership, and to prove the absence of any legitimate challenge in the form of more authentic relationships (Raibmon 2005, Madsen [ed.] 2010). Appropriation thus takes place on an uneven political terrain as those of mixed ancestry are forced to either deny or to prove their authenticity by quantifying their connection through the tracing of bloodlines (Lawrence 2004, Powell 2010: 90-92). For those who have the privilege of visiting the Park (that is, those who can afford gear, travel expenses and the cost of a pass) exemplifying a type of “Métis ethic” suggests that camping, paddling, hiking and fishing help one get closer to the land. In this circumstance the appropriation of these acts naturalizes the memorial possession of the place as a thing to be owned, not a rhythm to be a part of. This is why visitors so often go after experiences that “really get your blood pumping,” internalizing the intensity of encounters with “nature” by embodying the effort appropriated from earlier settler-colonists in the “blood, sweat and tears” that they shed to “protect” this place and all of its mythical qualities.

The meta-narrative or official history of the Park begins with the “once upon a time” of a vast and empty wilderness ready for loggers, hunters, trappers and other settler-colonists to capitalize upon. In the Algonquin Park Visitor Centre & Museum and the Logging

Museum the focus is on people who worked in the area and who often suffered or died as a result “of their commitment to the Park,” as it is often said by guides. The perpetuation of the anonymity of so many of these people serves another purpose however.

Throughout the Park there are graves, marked and unmarked, left to decay and “return to the forest” as Park authorities so often repeat. These are the resting places of loggers and others who spent their final moments in the area and who were buried in shallow graves, sometimes with wooden crosses, but always with their boots nailed to a tree nearby.

While it is a surety that many of these people were driven to become loggers by poverty the museums make little to no mention of the general state of Canadian pocketbooks while they emphasize that “nearly half the able-bodied men in Canada worked in or in places like this one.”

Their deaths are made to symbolize the national effort to civilize the place, and “to subdue the wilderness” (Taub 1997: 602), through the appropriation of their lives as signs of loyalty to the Nation-State. “These men died so that Britain could get the lumber they needed for the masts of tall ships,” is how it was put to me by a guide at the Logging Museum. What this suggests is that these men did not then die on behalf of their own families and friends, or in the hopes that they themselves might gain by their labour, but instead on behalf of people they hadn’t met who lived somewhere across the sea, that they died representing their nation.

In the Brent campgrounds and site of a now defunct logging village and divisional railway point there is a mass grave with a placard, newly installed. The text says that there are nine bodies buried in the grave, and that they were loggers who were killed during drives down the Petawawa River. But when I was wandering around one morning

I came across a man and his two nephews and the man told a very different story about who lied in the earth there. He said to the two young boys,

“There weren’t no nine bodies in there... No. There’s one though.

He’s my uncle. I know ‘cause I buried him. This is all just memorial.”

This counter-narrative, regardless of the actual number of bodies in the grave, speaks to another way of claiming ownership or righteous stewardship over the area by linking the effort of past evidence of stewardship to the right to continued presence. The meta-narrative employs the bloodshed by people identified after their deaths and through the erasure of their individuality as authentically Canadian subjects to legitimize the claims of the State to the ownership of the territory. This transforms their bloodshed into bloodstains which obscure the alternative histories that might destabilize the claims of the State. But the old man at the grave said something else to his young nephews. He turned to them and said,

“That’s your blood over there.

That’s my uncle and I buried him and you’re my nephews so that’s you over there.”

His counter-claims make reference to bloodlines as legitimizing proof of belonging and as such, his own identification becomes integral in understanding the veracity, but also the very different implications, of the claims lobbied by individuals and the State to the rightful ownership and stewardship of the territory. I never found out his last name, and I wasn’t able to figure out his background, but my work did let me know that there was a very common pattern amongst those who held leases to the cottages in the area, the buildings that used to be called homes by people who worked, went to school, played,

lived and died in Brent. It was told to me by many that the only way to get a lease was to have it passed down by inheritance, and here is where the claims made by Uncle circle around to make something very interesting of Saul's "Métis" hypothesis.

While it is likely that Uncle thought of himself as "British," "French" or simply "Canadian," he might just as well have known and celebrated a "Métis" identity. I was told by one cottager in Brent that while many of the people there shared Algonquin heritage, none of the people who held leases held official Indian Status. The reason for this can be found in the approach of the Nation-State toward determining official recognition of "Indian Status" and the consequences of shifting legalities and jurisdictions (Pasternak 2014).

Until 1985, First Nations women who married white men lost official recognition of their Status, and likewise, First Nations men who took paying employment often lost Status as well.³⁰ This means that when hunting and trapping were made illegal in the Park many of the Algonquin people who chose to remain in the area were forced to either take paying work and lose their official Status or to subvert the law by poaching, simultaneously resisting the State and perpetuating traditions. Further, in order to hold a deed or lease one must have given up official recognition of Status, meaning that many of those who had passed down leases in Brent were Algonquin people, not by officially recognized Status, but "by blood," as I was told.

³⁰ I have heard people with officially recognized Status describe those who have regained Status through this change in the laws as "C-31'ers" after the name of the bill that made their regaining Status possible, Bill C-31. Many consider them less "authentically" Aboriginal and suggest that their experience of colonialism has been vastly different from one another. For more explanation see Bonita Lawrence's discussions of "*Real Indians, and Others*" (2004).

In one case, the descendants of Amable Du Fond, a prominent “Métis” Algonquin, were asked for a deed to property inside the Park that they had farmed for generations (Huitema 2005, Saunders 1946 [2003]: 95). When they could not produce one, they were effectively evicted. Rather than mention this history though, the Zoning Map sold as part of the Algonquin Provincial Park Management Plan says of the farm, “[b]riefly prosperous with logging camp market, it was abandoned when Ignace died in 1916.” (Algonquin Provincial Park Management Plan Zoning Map 1998) Audrey Saunders recounts the tale in *Algonquin Story* stating that, “Lot 25 in the 12th concession of Wilkes, Algonquin Park, was patented to Ignace in 1888,” and that by 1910, due to a failure to pay taxes required under the Mining Act “the land was forfeited to the Crown” (Saunders 1946 [2003]: 93). A letter from 1917 clarified that “Susanne and Francis Dufond” were to be paid “\$1000 compensations for the improvements on the Indian farm,” allowing Saunders to conclude that “the Department officials had tried to treat these old Indians as fairly as they could, while realizing that they must leave the way clear for the inclusion of this land in the Park itself” (Saunders 1946 [2003]: 95). Now there is a detailed set of pictures and texts in the Visitor Centre and Museum that describes farming in the Park, instead choosing to emphasize Irish immigration by referring to “Potatoes and High Wines,” employing one bloodstain to obscure another.³¹

Blood-work is a concept that allows claims of various bloody tropes to enter formal dialogue with one another, demonstrating the labour each invocation of blood is made to

³¹ Irish immigration to Canada was a dangerous affair, with vast numbers dying en route in “death ships” or shortly after arrival following their placement in quarantine zones which amounted to concentration camps. Grosse Isle south of Quebec City is said to hold as many as 5000 bodies in unmarked, and sometimes, mass graves (Corkery 1981: 155). In 1847 the first of 83 fever stricken boats landed, and a year later in 1848 1900 Irish immigrants who died of “ship’s fever,” a form of “typhus,” were buried in a mass grave near Kingston (Corkery 1981: 155).

perform, the leverage that enunciation accomplishes during inter-subjective encounters. As such, blood is exposed as a vehicle in the search for authenticity. However, authenticity, although often characterized as such, does not always seem to be a longing for the real, immutable, stable essence of a thing to show itself, but instead the institution of trust and the recognition of legitimacy as sincerity of identity; it is to recognize that the one confronted is who they say they are, and that they possess certain qualities promised by this identification upon which expectations may be established.

Here we might think of blood brothers promising loyalty to one another (a tradition that does not seem to have been all that different in Europe and North America at contact), or to the more occult and sometimes sinister blood pacts sworn between a sorcerer and their familiar. It was partly the relationship between the witch and the cat or raven that most threatened the individual locus of authenticity in Medieval Europe by suggesting that trusting and sincere relationships might be established between any socially available entity, even threatening the anthropocentric notion of culture and society as authentic proofs of “Man’s” difference and distinction amongst animals (Descola 2013: 66-68). Each brings to mind the discursive capacity of blood to metaphorically bind lives in compassionate union through admixture and contagion, but also summons the capacity of secret loyalty to work against the stabilizing efforts of the Nation-State.

But if this is so, then authenticity is not a quality in itself. It is non-existent as such. What does carry existential import though is the process of *authentication* that one undergoes during inter-subjective communication, such as that which takes place in a face-to-face situation. Authentication expresses longing as well, but it is a longing for a relationship stabilized through the reciprocity of sincerity, honesty and trust, not through

refusal, lack and fear; confidence gained through an orientation towards further sincere engagement. This helps to explain why the search for the “authentic,” the object that exudes the quality of authenticity, always fails, and is always subject to a deferral of mourning on behalf of a conferral of authority on the self after experience conforms to expectations; the pride of ownership or as Handler suggests, a “possessive individualism,” stems from the reflexive capacity to first expect, and then to reconcile expectation with experience (Handler 1986: 4). In effect, as Deloria argues, for *Americans* (Canadians included) to define themselves, they required an authenticated image of the “*indian*” as counter-point (Deloria 1998, Vizenor 1998, Wall 2005).

Paige Raibmon explains this clearly in the description of settler-colonists who intruded upon the private lives of “authentic Indians” in Puget Sound, only to be offered ever more “authentic” experiences by these same folks who borrowed and bought Euro-American gear to be used in private (Deloria 1998, Raibmon 2005). The ability of the native to play along depends in some part upon their understanding that they are playing a game, and this recognition provides a demonstration of the reciprocal nature of social engagement; “between you and me, we are three” (source unknown).

This description of a mutually produced authenticity is actually a matter of authenticated experience. It is not the Indians who are authentic or inauthentic, but the experience of relating to another who performs daily life in a way that conforms to expectations, hopes and that reconciles desires; it is the establishment of a Trust in the sense conveyed by its connotation in the field of accountancy, the sense that speaks to stewardship of shared resources and a continuity of civil, reciprocal relations; held in trust, a wealth held in common, not a possession to be owned but a responsibility to care.

Uncle's voice comes together with Saul's ideas again if we interpret his words not as another bloodstain employed in obscuring the presence of other claims, but instead as the institution of a blood pact between himself and his kin. A pact expressing his desire that his relatives should continue to show the same care and respect for the place that he had regardless of the ways that others might attempt to define their relation to the land.

Subverting both the bloodstains employed by the Nation-State in the construction of the meta-narrative and the pulsing invocation of bloodlines-as-biology, the establishment of a blood pact between generations requires reciprocal actions that extend the responsibility of respectful stewardship over time and space by re-aligning trajectories and orientations.

Handler suggests that the search for authenticity parallels the desire for a "magical proof of existence" that confirms individuality (Handler 1986: 4). But Handler's modern's search for an elusive thing that does not exist disguises the effort and duration that the search requires. As Chretien says, "a good proof is one that is proven," meaning that it must be continually demonstrated, that if proof is given, there must be someone behind the offering and that it cannot therefore exist "in a vacuum," but depends on social interactions to materialize as real. Saul quotes the *Delgamuukw* decision, calling it the "most important statement we now have of our reality – one that embraces 'a relationship of mutual trust and loyalty.'" (Saul 2009: 26) The reality that Saul refers to here is the continuity of tradition which has allowed for a re-introduction of oral memory as a basis for legal decision making.

While the decision contains many "errors," to quote Asch, it does work towards establishing a relationship between settler-colonists and First Nations people that aligns

them all as “Treaty Peoples” (Asch 1992).³² So while I appreciate the effort that Saul undertakes in redeeming the mixed, or hybrid identity of the “Métis,” the suggestion that Canada is a Métis society or civilization flattens this mixture rather than exposing the inequalities and inequities that produced and maintain these uneven political relations between differently identified “Canadians.” Michael Asch’s passionate insistence that “*we are all Treaty Peoples*” (Asch 1992) instead gestures towards the negotiation of mutual loyalties that look towards the future of high fidelity relationships by authenticating sincerities, orienting hopes, and establishing trusts, rather than circling back on past proofs of authentic identity and the anxious contemporary preoccupation with personal distinction and uniqueness in blazing new trails.

³² This is a term I first learned from Mary Lou Smoke, but which was coined by Michael Asch in a text published in 1992. For an enlightening discussion of treaty responsibilities and the notion of “Treaty Peoples” see Aaron Mills Waabiski Ma’iingan (2015) and Asch (2014).

Big Pines:

The Limits of Feeling A/Part in Algonquin Traditional Territory

I slid right out the back door, and I don't think that anyone ever took notice of my entrance in the first place. The three teenagers behind the counter had their interests focused on one another and were likely pre-occupied by their performance in front of a waiting customer, not noticing that they had a larger audience than first assumed. After leaving this outfitters store in the "southern" end of the Park I thought about Jake and his watchful eyes, and how in these "southern" stores there wasn't the same attention to the personal and immediate interactions that took place between customers and employees in Brent where I had done most of my prior fieldwork. The anonymity that accompanies a greater influx of tourists impacts upon the tourists and employees self-presentation in strange ways that allow some to abandon their habitual politeness and others to slip into a habitual quiet, slow-moving consumer-mode with an attentive eye for the best deal in the place, but a myopic lack of consideration for other people.

Queues are interrupted, heels are kicked, voices can become raised, and sometimes books and other things on offer are brushed to the floor with a shrug, or a total lack of awareness for the fate of the fallen. The architecture of the southern stores is so familiar for so many of the visitors who come from urban areas, with their bright fluorescent lights and clean floors, that many behave as if they are in the center of a large urban shopping complex, although they seemed often to be searching for the right way to memorialize their visit to the Park by appropriating something to connect them to the

history of the place, the distinct geography, or the primordial origins of the Park's natural features.

The contrast with the intimate setting of the Brent Store, dim natural sunlight that streams in through the open door, smells of must and dust and rust in the air, and the collage of photos and newspaper clippings, is unmistakable. The Brent Store conjures an atmosphere of personal connection and rustic strength, embodied by Jake's furrowed brow and the weathered skin around his bright eyes. People come into the stores in the southern end of the Park, wander around, pick things up and check the prices, and all of this happens without much of an eye for needs (although I found myself in the southern outfitters shop looking for a travel mug that would keep my tea warm). But in the Brent Store people seem somewhat hurried, last minute gathering the equipment they might have forgotten and might need for a few nights in the interior away from the campgrounds and maybe even deep "in the wild," or picking up blocks of solid ice to keep meat cool enough to save for a few more days or small Coleman propane canisters, or birch campfire wood in large plastic mesh bags to cook it before it goes rank. Shoppers show a certain bold command of themselves while in the southern stores, but in the Brent Store there is a muffled deference for Jake and his words, and a seemingly less confident, more anxious hustle bustle.

"It was never like this before, so commercial," Jake pined aloud after proudly showing me an arrowhead he said came from the southern shore of Cedar Lake. I looked around the Brent Store at the rusted antique machinery rescued from the bush, the faded photographs pinned to the wall with thumb tacks, and the newspaper clippings tattered at the edges from the gnawing teeth of wind and moisture that crept in through the mostly

wide open door. The wooden structure had worn spots on the floor and a few of the ceiling beams had a bow to them that made me nervous about their strength and their ability to keep the roof held up. The crowded shelves full of paddles, lifejackets, first aid kits and other miscellaneous supplies hardly stood out against the backdrop of history Jake had assembled in the only outfitters shop within a two hour drive of the Brent campground and former village often referred to as a “ghost town” by tourists, Ontario Parks’ and the Friends of Algonquin’s employees alike.

But the weathered, curly white-haired, bare-chested man of about 60 years old wasn’t referring to the store, he was talking about the way that the authorities in the head offices at Whitney (on the Highway #60 corridor often referred to as the “southern end of the Park”) had been consistently expanding the number of campsites, making the road more passable, and attracting larger numbers of visitors who had little to no prior connection to the place. When asked about his past, Jake willingly narrates memories of growing up on Lake Kioskokwi, working as a guide and outfitter in the Park, and coming to Brent to take over the store after the passing of his friend and Brent fixture “Smiling Gerry” McGaughie. His first connection to Brent, as far as I can figure at least, came through his participation with his brother in a challenge called the Brent Run, and it seems they still hold one of the fastest records for the canoe trip from Lake Opeongo in the south of the Park to Brent in the north, and back. Jake has taken over more than the store though. He’s also taken on the unofficial title of “Mayor” after the passing of another of his old friends, Mr. Adam Pitts.

A figure in some of the faded photos, Mr. Pitts was a lifelong Brent resident who died in 1997 one year after the trains stopped coming through and the electrical service to the

village was shut off. He had earned the nickname of mayor for his persistence since he was the only resident who stayed through the harsh winters for about the last ten years that Brent was “active” as a year-round community (meaning the electricity had not yet been shut off and there was still a railroad running through the village) (Lundell & Standfield 1993). But the title itself came from the children who used to run through his yard stealing apples from the trees he tended so carefully for years.

When Jake came up in a conversation with a man who grew up in Brent attending classes in the small schoolhouse there as a young child, he griped that he didn’t “even know who that guy is,” and that he had “never seen him before the eighties. He’s a newcomer.” And then gesturing towards Marie Joyce (the “host” of the campgrounds and onsite representative of the Park authorities, although not an official employee) the man said, “You’ve been here longer. You should be the mayor.” Jake grew up in the Park, later taking work there as a guide, outfitter and for a time as a teacher in a small town on Highway #11. But Jake’s family had a connection to the campgrounds and former village at Kiosk (on Lake Kioshkokwi, the lake of many gulls) and he first came to Brent as an outfitter for the Swift Canoe Company in the mid-nineteen-eighties. For many in Brent who have a generational connection to the village, Jake is seen as a kind of mediator for the authorities. Jake claims to represent the place though when he talks with the folks “who come up [from the Highway #60 corridor] trying to change things.”

Jake speaks proudly about the people that he’s helped while working in the store, and about what he’s done to protect the village from what he calls “outsiders.” He tells of people he’s pulled from Cedar Lake during choppy conditions, people he’s offered a meal to after days of nothing but freeze dried omelettes, and other more nuanced tales about

the effort he's put in trying to make this place somewhere that people can come and enjoy themselves, if only for a few nights. I spent an afternoon with Jake in the store while it rained hard outside. He told me about how more than once he had driven from the store all the way to North Bay, or further to Toronto, to return a box of travel mugs or other merchandise that he found less than satisfactory. He told me that he tried every piece of equipment that he sold, and for a long time, I couldn't figure out why he felt the need to spend three hours talking about this stuff. I couldn't hear what he was really saying, but I knew that it had something to do with the way he had transformed the store from a simple shop into a museum that told a very different history from the one the Park authorities wanted visitors to hear, and that contrasted so sharply with the stores in the south end.

In her text *Invisible Genealogies* Regna Darnell addresses what she calls the anthropological propensity to "philosophize with the other" (Darnell 2001). I was aware of this idea when I first travelled to Brent and I was on the lookout for the kind of person that might help me understand what was going on in the area, at least from the perspective of someone who "likes to think about things" (Darnell 2001: 155-157). Jake, it seemed, was that kind of person. The kind of man who would spend hours talking about local history, ideas, politics, as well as more immediate concerns such as how to navigate the rivers and streams in the area, and where to find the more interesting and spectacular views and ruins in the northern end of the Park.

I hoped that Jake would be the person that could help me understand what it felt like to *belong* in the Park, to have a recognized place in the local community (if there was one), and to feel at *home* there. Belonging is never so simple though, always an unfinished desire, a pining for a stabilized place-time in which to find "oneself" and an amelioration

of the nervous instability of the present through the enchanting and nostalgic obfuscation of the unsettling, the uncanny, and those things we choose *not* to see.³³ This notion of belonging gestures towards the idea of being native in ways that hark back to earlier etymological connections with the French roots of the word *naïf* (simultaneously meaning born of, and naive to the common assumptions of, a place), from which both of the English words *native* and *naive* derive (King et al. 1987: 9, Williams 1976: 215). Belonging-as-possession might be further complicated by the notion of naïveté, suggesting that these assemblages of heritage, history and identity come together in ways that simultaneously become *of* a people, and overtake them in currents of affective intensity that, following Latour, exemplify how “actants... make things thinkable,” and *sensible* as well (Latour 2005: 54, 217). This provides a tangible method for delimiting the imaginable and exploring what recedes beyond the edges of the thinkable, the sensible, and the possible, by mapping the rhythmically territorializing interactions that allow relationships to endure, or that conjure irruptions of the past to unsettle the certainty of the status quo.

As he mentioned to me when I first met him and told him about my research interests, Jake was the self-appointed authority on local history and spent much of his time in communication with authors and others like me “trying to help them get it right.”

Following Kathleen Stewart’s work in the Virginia hollers though, I had no such expectations about explaining a culture comprehensively or properly, about setting things

³³ The construction of the self, or the “modern subject,” through the obfuscation, or elision of particular threats is a theme common to many works of “theory.” For examples of this “haunting” discussion of self-consciousness see Derrida (1994 [2006]), Gordon (1997), Holloway (2010: 634), Huyssen (2006), Ivy (1998), Thrift (2000), and Thrift & May (2001). For a discussion of “haunted recreation” in the Park see my unpublished master’s thesis (Puppe 2012A).

“straight” (Stewart 1996: 9). From my understanding (and particularly in relation to the Park), the anthropological project was not about getting culture “right,” (a logical impossibility) but about tracing the intensities and resonances that accompanied competition and collusion between differing claims to the authenticated histories of the place, and how to work past the effects of the divisive political boundaries that had been erected with the institution of the Park, the provincial boundary between Ontario and Quebec, as well as the effects of shifting economic interests on the people who had called the place home. This meant that I was implicated in the production, not only of the text, but also in my access to certain information and people and, on occasion, in the “interpretation” of what had been told to me. The “Truth” of my story would be “partial” (Clifford 1986: 7) at best, but this didn’t mean I was doomed to failure (although it may feel that way), only (as so many other ethnographers have “concluded”) that the ethnographic project was an open ended and ongoing processual one, in which dialogue and conflict are essential ingredients, and where the ethnographer must be reflexive about the impact their presence can have on the flow of events, and about the effects of their pre-conceptions, expectations and biases on the collection and presentation of what they learn in the field and elsewhere, in order to provide a sincere evocation of the memories they have accrued, of the territory that they have mapped (Aull-Davies 1999: 178, Darnell 2001, Ricoeur 1965).

In this essay I discuss the various troubled and troubling convolutions of belonging that are registered through competing historical claims to the righteous stewardship and legitimacy of current management arrangements in and around the area known officially as Algonquin Provincial Park. Traditional relationships between and amongst the

Algonquin people of the area and the “land” are counter-posed to the State-affirming claims of the Canadian settler-colonist national-cultural imaginary (Ivy 1998: 4). While the settler-colonist imaginary recognizes the need to sustainably develop the various resources (natural and human) the environment is ostensibly made-up of through rational management (read as quantitative accountancy), traditional Algonquin imaginaries understand the environment to be made-up of various other-than-human-persons of many types with whom respectful and reciprocal engagements must be maintained in order to guarantee or warrant continued belonging. I invoke this counter-positioning in an effort to destabilize (through “immanent” (Povinelli 2013: 441) cultural critique and deconstruction) the perpetuation of Eurocentric assumptions and divisions that help the political status quo of inequity and inequality to be maintained, but also to explore how the entangled political projects of belonging, identity construction, history making, and land tenure might be re-aligned through “affirmative augmentation”³⁴ towards more

³⁴ I borrow the notion of “affirmative augmentation” from Kenneth Little, the supervisor of my master’s thesis, who in turn derives the program in part from Brian Massumi’s “productivism,” “constructivism,” “inventionism” and “radical empiricism” (Massumi 2002: 12, 13, 19). The term refers to a program of promiscuously appropriating the workings of various and sometimes opposing, theories, theorists, and methods, in order to devise tools that can add to our understanding of life’s complexity through the evocation of possible life ways, rather than critically digging to the bottom of an illusory depth for a shiny nugget of non-extant truth or constructing a blueprint of reality. Bergson refers to this program as additive, constructive, and *intuitive* in the vein of art or poetry, rather than subtractive, deductive, or *intellectual* as in the patterns of “normal” post-Enlightenment science (Bergson 1911: 237).

The critical plan of the Western philosophical endeavor fails to capture the wholeness and fullness of things as its discursive framework requires that inevitably the overwhelming semiotic load of affective contact with an external reality must be reduced to the intelligible, or sensible; experience must be rationalized and the excessive and irrational denigrated as non-sense, beyond the limits of reasonable understanding, useless. Affirmative augmentation does not reify the divisions between things nor their definitive character, but affirms the immanent potential connectivity of life; tracing the *potent* flows of intensity that affect and are affected by involvement, investment, interest, and attention, and adding to experience rather than attempting to add experience up to something. This requires methodological, as much as (anti-) theoretical, commitment to not simply providing cultural critique or objective descriptions of culture, but also to the “*ethical*” implications of what Spencer refers to as “writing within” a national-cultural tradition, or to what Massumi calls the “fostering” of “reality” (Spencer 1990, Tyler 1986: 122, Massumi 2002: 13). Giving in to the probability of feeding-back in to the reality it seeks to explore, this method proceeds

healthful and respectful engagements between *people*, and for their *dwellings* (Ingold 2005: 503). Taking the implications of the Algonquin people traditional memorial practices and ancestral relations seriously complicates simplistic interpretations of mobile life-ways, as well as religious animism and Totemism, re-introducing theoretical concerns germane both to Boasian/Americanist Anthropology (in the need to recognize the inextricability of ontological, aesthetic and political questions from ethnographic projects), and the “Bergsonian” concern with the inextricable connection between theories of knowledge and theories of life (Darnell 2001, Bergson 1911, Deleuze & Guattari 1987, Massumi 2002, Morrison 2002).

Whenever he was questioned about the title of Mayor, Mr. Pitts would suggest that at best it was an ironic joke, and at worst a jab at his constant presence and his defensive responses to intrusions and trespasses. Mr. Pitts seemed to recognize how the construction of an iconic image involves a power play between what is presented and what is obscured in the construction of authority, and that the image of an icon involves a

through example, not explanation, and through description that does not seek comprehensive holism, but “transformative” and “therapeutic” “evocations” (Darnell 2001: 24, 74, Tyler 1986: 123).

Working from the hypothesis that Boas resisted not only unfounded generalizations, but also the all too common practice of offering explanations for the behaviour and beliefs of the “primitive” that proceeded from ideas of their inferiority or “lack” (lack of social organization, lack of individual intelligence and awareness, and lack of technological insight), this style of collecting examples and fostering their connection to others, proceeds through evoking “culture” as it is understood from the “inside,” *ethnologically*; chaotic, complex, un-systematized, and anti-synthetic in its resistance of holistic explanation or interpretation, but not without meaning or pragmatism of its own (Darnell 2001: 134, 269-271). This also means taking seriously the advice given by Lefebvre that the Rhythmanalyst should start “with full consciousness of the abstract in order to arrive at the concrete” (Lefebvre 2005: 5). The genealogy of this theoretical approach is long and convoluted, but it is also made “invisible” in many ways, (to borrow another of Darnell’s terms) and to haunting effect (Darnell 2001). Here I would argue that “experimental” ethnographers who “are deeply grounded in the ethnographic writing of the Boasian anthropologists and in the collaborations they established with Native American communities and individuals,” rather than being “far from radical,” have the opportunity to exemplify a “radical” approach in the tracing, following, and fostering of rhizomatic (dis)organization through historically conscious ethnographic writing that avoids a return to “so-called roots” in favour of “coming to terms with our routes” (Darnell 2001: 273, Hall 1996: 4).

conjuring trick played with the appearance of things (Derrida 1994 [2006]: 157, Hebdige 1979). In the case of Brent this idea proves fruitful in describing how Mr. Pitts, although called the Mayor, was hardly responsible for the entirety of the work and upkeep, or even the planning of the upkeep of the place. The title itself points to the absence of local input in the management plans and to the lack of respect that the locals feel they have been afforded by Park authorities in spite of their obvious efforts. This kind of ironic humor is common in the areas in and around Algonquin Provincial Park, and it gestures towards the desire of people to “get away from *it* all.” I take “*it*” to be the seriousness of everyday life in the urban environment most of the visitors call home; I met people in the Park who said they were from Toronto, Vancouver, Quebec City, Chicago, New York, Dresden, and Tokyo, and so many of them were quick with a smile and relaxed, most walking slower than the pace of an average urban street, a more casual and comfortable gait that allows one to appreciate the surroundings by losing focus on the goal of the stroll.

The style of irony most often employed in the areas where I’ve visited is entangled in a complicated matrix of anxiety, refusal, excitement and retreat that looms large over the master narrative of the Park’s history (Haraway 1991: 1, Stewart 1996: 96). This history, displayed prominently in the Logging Museum and the Visitor Center and Museum (both located along the Highway #60 corridor) is constructed with an eye to the impact of the shifting economic relationships that Canada has had towards the land. Early colonists made use of timber, pelts, and other goods that could only be procured outside of Europe, and settlers sought the land itself as a new home, and a place where safety might be guaranteed. The involvement of each of these founding figures with the Native people

they came into increasingly close contact with (as discussed above) has led to the complicated and intertwined culture(s) of contemporary Canada, but these relationships are fraught with troubles as often as they bring people together and affirm their feelings of belonging in a place they imagine as home. This means that just as often as these practices of affirmation are caught up in procedures of memory they enact a “forgetting,” where memories become repeated until they become accepted as *truths*, and where those same memories depend on the erasure of the troubled, the “false,” and the haunting; all that seethes on the edges of consciousness and desire, and that threatens to tear it all apart (Derrida 1994 [2006]: 154, Ivy 1998: 13, Stewart 1996: 71-72 {on Heidegger’s “*unforgetting*” as an ethnographic procedure}).

“Are you lost?”

It’s Marie Joyce’s favorite question when she sees someone pull up on the beach at the Brent campgrounds only to get out and look around for the “village” that gets mentioned so often in tourist brochures. She begins stories with conspiratorial whispers of “You know...” only to follow them up with an obligatory refrain of “you didn’t hear it from me though, eh?” And her timing is like that of a masterful comedian. She never speaks over anyone and she always gets her words in edgewise. There are patterns to the rhythm of her speech that align with those of the people around her. She sings counter-point to many of the men’s rhythms in a way that demonstrates her own authority and autonomy.³⁵ Marie has been married to Jim, another masterful jester, since she was

³⁵ Simultaneously borrowed from the field of music and from the parlance of construction workers and carpenters, the term “Counter-point” expresses several ideas at once. Counter-point as a technical term denotes the rhythmic “jointing” of conversation through ironic refusal and the release of digressions that foster further connections; carpenters use the term to refer to the intersection at which a ledge meets a wall,

eighteen and the two have been coming to Brent since the seventies. Jim makes jokes about the road, the heat, the bugs, the fishing, other campers, but he never makes fun of Marie. He “knows better than to pick a fight he can’t win, and wouldn’t want to,” his words.

It strikes me now that Marie and Jim each feels as though they belong together, and that feeling helps to obscure all of the hard work that they undertake each time they trust in the other to remain sincere to the words they have promised. They redirect their attentions to the trials of the 40km long Brent Road, with its gravel and loose stones, and the relative hardships of living far from one’s home in a trailer. However, in this case the obfuscation of “immaterial labor” (Hardt 1999: 89) is not primarily performed on a capitalist scale of appropriation and alienation, but rather on affective scales of sincerity and trust as the basis for a building intensity of affirmed responsibility and reciprocal engagement, or “care,” that allows the relationship to thrive, change and grow without concluding its continuity, a way that helps people “hold *it* together.” For Jim at least, there doesn’t seem to be any mystery to why they remain together, and if there is, it is his

or where a functional *fixture* meets and connects to the *structure* of a building, becoming in some way a/part of the whole. Different from the traditional synthetic theory of social science aimed at the deductive effort to critically juxtapose, “compare and contrast” peoples, cultures, and societies, counter-point (and the attendant notion of counter-positioning) refers to the harmonic (or refractive) production of further intensities through the proffer of singular examples that illuminate *correspondences* and relations “of motion and rest; *affect*,” in their “Rhythm, relay, arrival and departure” (Massumi 2002: 19-20). Gesturing towards the desire to take a new “line of flight,” counter-point describes the spatializations and temporal expression of digressions (the “territorialisation, and re-territorialisation” of becoming) in action, thought and discourse that refuse to be pushed aside, yet nevertheless add to reality in a “constructive” or “inventive” way (Deleuze & Guattari 1987). I follow the understandings of Jacob von Uexkuell and Elizabeth Grosz who argue that nature itself can be understood “as counterpoint,” suggesting, “music is not just a useful metaphor for understanding highly context-specific relations between living elements within given milieus, it is a literal form by which nature can be understood as dynamic, collective, lived rather than just fixed, categorized, or represented” (Grosz 2008: 40).

“interrogation of the mythical by the matter-of-fact” that makes the trust they build a matter-of-practice as much as it is a practical matter (Kiberd in Joyce 1922 [1992]: lxxx).



*Plate #14 - Sunset through Pines,
Samuel De Champlain Provincial Park*

Dell Hymes addresses Boas’ “ethnopoetic” methods of collection and description in his chapter from *Theorizing the Americanist Tradition* (Hymes 1999). This way of working requires treating narrative “as though an intelligent Indian was going to develop the forms of his own thoughts by an analysis of his own form of speech” (Boas 1911: 81 quoted by Hymes 1999: 104). Textually, this means giving the rhythms of talk that are common to local conversations the space that they require on the page to be conveyed with a practical legibility, and to evoke the timing, if not the voices, of those who are quoted. The obvious confluence of these ideas with the work of Henri Lefebvre in *Rhythmanalysis* (Lefebvre 2005) allows for the development of a rigorous, yet an-exact, manner of tracing

what Mark Seem refers to as the “economy of flows” (Seem in Deleuze & Guattari 1977: xviii) that brings together seemingly disparate concerns with “political economy (the flows of capital and interest) and the ‘affective’ economy of the libido (the flows of desire),” generally treated as distinct and separable issues (Darnell 2001, Hymes 1999, Hardt 1999: 89, 100, Valentine & Darnell 1999). Therefore the notion of ethnopoetics remains open to extension far beyond this textual focus to include the “hodgepodge” visual style of material culture “display” that Boas preferred (Darnell 2001: 45) and that Jake deploys in the Brent Store, opening another confluence with “*Hauntological*” (Derrida 1994 [2006]: 162, 165) methods of tracing phantasmic apprehensions of modern identity and “subjectivization,” that emerges through reflection on Benjamin’s work regarding the difference in kind between “spectacle” and “collection” (Benjamin 1968 [2007]: 60).

The spectacle, concerned as it is with the presumptive effort to educate and inform reproduces representations that multiply indefinitely forever slipping past presence in favour of appearance and employment, significance of meaning and usefulness. The collection is composed instead through the immaterial transmutations of *possession* that do nothing to “emphasize their functional, utilitarian value,” instead expressing the “collector’s attitude toward his possessions [which] stems from an owner’s feeling of responsibility toward his property,” opening onto the possibility that “ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects. Not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them.” (Benjamin 1968 [2007]: 60, 66-67)

Jake’s collages in the Brent Store put forth a vision of local history that troubles the unilinear master narrative presented in the Museums so commonly frequented along the

Highway #60 corridor by maintaining a local tradition of back-talking the authorities and doing what seems best in spite of distant efforts to control what goes on so far from the main offices. Hymes' notion of Boasian ethnopoetics aligns nicely with Kathleen Stewart's take on how local ways of "talking back" in the face of "occupation" (Stewart 1995: 3-4, 10) exemplify a style of discursive construction that both participates in a political conversation and in the procedures of self-construction that Foucault analyzed through the framework of Governmentality; "understood in the broad sense of techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour. Government of children, government of souls and of consciences, government of a household, of a state, or of oneself" (Hymes 1999: 103-104, Foucault (1979-80) in Rose et al. 2006: 83³⁶).

³⁶ Nikolas Rose, Pat O'Malley & Mariana Valverde discuss Foucault's notion of Governmentality as a supplementary method in the investigation of selves, subjectivities, and subjectivization processes in an article that goes by the same title (Rose et al. 2006). The alignment of this method with the additive anti-theory of affirmative augmentation may at first seem odd, however the move beyond binary notions of "structure" and "resistance" towards more difficult questions of action and involvement presages the advice given by Latour in *Reassembling the Social* (Latour 2005). Following the traces of "governmental" logics requires mapping out how "Every practice for the conduct of conduct involves authorities, aspirations, programmatic thinking, the invention or redeployment of techniques and technologies," and therefore has much in common with Latour's Actor-Network Theory in its myopic attempts to step cautiously through the mazes of bureaucratic, economic and social interactions that all-ways happen through empirically situated interactions and flows (Rose et al. 2006: 101, Latour 2005).

Rose et al. caution that when applied as an "explanatory" tool, analyses of governmentality often fall into the traps that Latour warns of when taking leaps between practical and empirically investigable actions to "contexts" meant to get one to another theoretical location more quickly, often obscuring the actual relationships that oblige, allow, and insist on, the endurance of particular attachments, arrangements and assemblages (Rose et al. 2006: 98-100, Latour 2005: 218, 221). Here I would suggest that endurance is a matter of temporality as much as spatialization (or "territorialisation" in a Deleuze-ian vocabulary) and therefore attention to the rhythmic intensities, not only, of "visibility" (with all of the attendant troubles and Enlightenment baggage), but also, of pre-sense and absence, density and weight, brings theories of governmentality together with Lefebvre's Rhythmanalysis and also with the spectral (and therefore "measured") "apparition of the inapparent," which Derrida is so concerned with (Deleuze 1987, Bergson 1911, Lefebvre 2005, Latour 2005, Foucault 2003, Rose et al. 2006, Derrida 1994 [2006], Gordon 1997, Ivy 1998). Broadly, this conceives of the issues at hand as *subjective* "matters of concern," rather than reaching towards explanations that would resume an objective distance from "matters of fact" (Latour 2005: 255-256).

In the local parlance it might be said that his way of presenting text is about “making it work without getting worked over by the powers that be.” This means however, that often the ironic humor deployed by locals is defensive response to a phantasmic absence as much as “resistance” to oppressive external interests and pressures and in this way evades the grasps of efforts to control behaviour by assuming responsibilities and minimizing the extent to which the authorities become aware of dissention. Quoting people from my time in the Park often requires paying attention to the gaps between their words as much as the tone in which the words are delivered. And so the style of rugged individualism that is most often advertised as a part of the way that the Park impacts upon individuality becomes deployed as a way of resisting the same distant authorities who work so hard to maintain this imagery.

“You know they say you should always ask the local ranger before you go changing something about your cottage?”

“They do say that don’t they?” is often the last phrase uttered during a conversation regarding the chances that someone might get caught and face some level of prosecution for doing a necessary repair that has some obvious visual impact; new roofs require permits so that they don’t contradict color codes, or so I was told.

“Maybe I should clean my ears out, eh?”

“Nah. Then you’d hear us talking about you.”

“Wouldn’t listen...”

Marilyn Ivy discusses the implications of “originary repetition” (Ivy 1998: 20) on the formation of the national-cultural imaginary, and the entanglement of these practices with the production of subjects and subjectivities considered “modern” (Hacking 2002). The images of anonymous loggers, rangers, farmers, visitors and others who are employed in

the representation of the master narrative of Canadian settlement, development, and the successful subjugation of the supposed “wild” territory through the institution and rational management of places excepted from the regular order, such as conservation areas, become embroiled in the conjuration of the phantasmic absence of the elusive “authentic Canadian” and help perpetuate the drive to capture the essence of Canadian difference constantly re-affirmed in the obscuration of any alternative presence, (such as that of the local First Nations people from whom Algonquin Provincial Park takes its name) (Derrida 1994 [2006]: 157, Vizenor 1998: 145). Contiguous with the image of the conservation area as an exceptional “place at once diffused and intensely localized, incorporated into a national imaginary and left out, intensely tactile and as ephemeral as the ghostly traces of forgotten things” (Stewart 1996: 4), runs the constitution of an official historical narrative that requires the appropriation of First Nations traditions in the affirmation of authenticated expressions of identity and heritage. This means that in the Visitor Center and Museum the Algonquin people are represented as “*The First Visitors*,” erasing both the historical traces of their prior occupancy of the land and any traces of contemporary connections even though there has been a comprehensive land claim under negotiation between the Province of Ontario and the Algonquin Nation of Ontario since the early 1980’s.

The historical presence of the Algonquin people in the area traditionally titled the *Kitchissippi* is attested to, not only in the archaeological record, but also by oral tradition which says that they “*have been here forever*” (Whiteduck 2002).³⁷ For the cottagers in

³⁷ As I mentioned above the area was not ceded in any treaty by the Algonquin people and they maintain that the presence of the State on these lands is to some degree due to their “grace” (Whiteduck 2002, 2009, Huitema 2005).

Brent who hold leases passed down generationally, but who also recognize to some degree their own Algonquin heritage, a difficult situation arises in regards to their ability not only to claim First Nations Status, but also to create and maintain relationships with the federally recognized groups such as those at *Pikwakanagan*.³⁸

Strangely though, it is through the appropriation of practices first credited to First Nations people (things like sleeping in tents and paddling canoes) that campers affirm their sense of belonging, even while their efforts become subsumed by the master narrative and its erasure of contemporary First Nations presence. It is this complicated recursion that allows some to paddle out beyond the view of the campgrounds in search of images left stained on the rocks all the while wondering paradoxically, “what Algonquin would have been like with just the Indians? Their spirits must still be in the forests and rocks, showing themselves on those cold misty mornings.” (*Artist/Rock Lake Cottager*, Mike Taylor quoted in Lundell & Standfield 1993: 86³⁹)

Comments such as these belie the obscurantism of the state in its dealings with local First Nations people, as well as the “hysterical blindness” inherent in the “fetishistic disavowal” (Gordon 1997: 15) of contemporary First Nations presence as authentic; thus the common posture of refusal to accept Indigeneity as a sincere expression of identification always requiring “proof,” and in jeopardy of dismissal (Ivy 1998: 13,

³⁸ Some of the contentious, and contemptuous, relationships, between those who are recognized as band members and those who have been for one reason or another put in the position of not being federally recognized, are elegantly detailed in Bonita Lawrence’s (2012) text *Fractured Homeland*, and will be discussed further below in *Conduits of Communion*.

³⁹ Rock Lake is one site in the Park where there are paintings on the rocks visible from the water. These pictographs date from at least one-thousand years before contact. There is also a former “Indian campgrounds” near the ruins of J.R. Booth’s home which stood on the shores of Rock Lake (Strickland 2004). In 1947 archaeologist Kenneth Kidd undertook an excavation of the site noting that it must have been in use for generations (Kidd 1948). Other excavations have taken place along the Petawawa and Amable Du Fond Rivers. For a comprehensive listing of archaeological digs in the Park and relevant reportage see Tozer and Checko (1996).

Lawrence 2004). The paradox is doubled in that the leaseholders' organization was one of the major proponents of the ad hoc committee to "SAVE THE PARK" (formed in response to the land claim lobbied by the Algonquin Nation of Ontario) *from* native control, and that if there were only the "Indians" present there would be no "Park" at all, recognized as a different territory from the land it sat next to and therefore worthy of some distinct form of reverence and protection (not that they did not revere the "land" although this took place on very different ontological grounds as we will explore shortly). The Park itself was formed in part due to the assumed threat that native hunters posed to the reasonable enjoyment of settlers and business interests in the area, with some early authorities referring to the Algonquins as "savages" and complaining about "the predatory habits of these people, how they roam about, and how difficult it is to keep track of their movements in the forest" (Huitema 2005: 239), as late as 1895.

Differences from the past are enacted in the construction of histories and memories differently and in this way "the relationship between the historical erasures effected by industrial capitalism... and the ongoing reinscriptions of those lost differences as identities... is phantasmatic" (Ivy 1998: 21-22), which is not to say that these identifications do not happen, but that they happen in ways that construct an image of the present through the effacement of past colonial violence and loss during the constitution of "the vanishing"; "the movement of something passing away, gone but not quite, suspended between presence and absence" (Ivy 1998: 20-22, Husserl 2005). Derrida suggests that these traces of what has passed, but not quite past memory, might be followed through the an-exact rigours of "*Hauntology*" (Derrida 1994 [2006]: 9); ways of mapping the shifting (non-) presence of spectral apprehension and "virtual" orientations

(Massumi 2002: 21, Bergson 1911: 367). Invocations of the past simultaneously gesture towards that which is described through absence and notions of originality appropriated in the recreation of authenticated selves thought of as *modern* (Handler 1986: 4, Gordon 1997: 6-7) (as in the connotation of the pre-sent, or pre-sense, that which is given before sense is able to be crafted from a body's entanglement in an event; what Ivy describes as the "prediscursive" (Ivy 1998: 21)).

In this way, the emergence of "an event across a relay of temporal deferral" means that "an originary event can never be grasped in its punctual thusness" but rather that "The second event – when the originary moment emerges as an event to consciousness – is thus the *first* instance: the origin is never at the origin; it emerges as such only through its displacement" (Ivy 1998: 22) and the concurrent erasures effected "at-tension" (Bergson 1911: 244). "The event, the origin (or the origin as event)... never simply exists as such, but produces its effects only after the fact, in a repetition that becomes its own spectral origin," an understanding that "opens the way for a consideration of lived temporality as retroactive, of origins as events known only in their later construal," (Ivy 1998: 22, and note 49, p. 22) and of the "present" as "virtual," or not yet known (Massumi 2002: 21).

The nostalgic evocation of authenticated origins is intimately connected to the construction of modern identities that "enact a difference from the past as they seek to reduce that difference" through efforts that can take "the guise of mourning, sometimes of recursive repetition, sometimes of remembrance or memorialisation. And it also appears in the mode of forgetting, through moments of fetishistic disavowal," an insistence on the obsolescence of what has been lost as a further relief from personal culpability in the violence of "progress" (Ivy 1998: 13). As I noted in *Blood-Work*, the

concept of originary repetition is also useful in discussing the formation and persistence of a Canadian settler-colonist national-cultural imaginary that finds itself through a complicated appropriation of phantasmic origins, sought in an effort to affirm the legitimacy of settler-colonist presence and sovereign possession of place and through the construction of a master narrative of Canadian history thought to ameliorate anxieties; anxiety produced through affective proximity to another phantasm, the “*indian*” (Husserl 2005 [collected works 1898-1925], Vizenor 1998: 145, King et al. 1987: 9, Berkhofer 1978: 3, Hill 2008: 177).

“I don’t know who they think they are coming around trying to change things.”

Jake is usually the first to take control of the story of Brent’s logging past, adding tales about the railway and the schoolhouse that he is also responsible for maintaining and pointing out the inadequate portrayal of Brent in the Visitor Center and Museum as “just a memory.” “If you ever want to know anything about this place you just come to me,” he told me when we met. His centrality as the source for the best stories and the most “authentic” history betrays a certain sense of anxiety, and his position in relation to many of those in the community who hold leases to cottages passed down through several generations is a precarious one. There was an underlying tension that was never explicitly voiced between the cottagers and the people who visited the campgrounds, Jake being the one who made the campgrounds feasible through his choice to maintain the store. For the campers, Brent is a place that they can escape to where there is almost no one else around in comparison to the more tightly packed campsites in the south end. But for the cottagers, the campers are to some degree considered outsiders and a somewhat necessary trespass on their privacy. Without the campers the Park would likely not

maintain the road, and although the cottagers visit the store frequently, without the campers it would not do enough business to stay open, leaving the cottagers without a place to get ice and wood and other supplies anywhere within a two hour drive.

And so, Jake's attempt to belong is haunted by the authority of Mr. Pitts, "Smiling Gerry," and the needs and desires of the community, but also by his own sense of identity as a historical authority and as a person with a generationally established connection to the Park who feels profoundly responsible for the future of such places. Jake's father Lorne was a forest fire ranger and his mother Mary grew up in the Park renowned for her "J-stroke." The Pigeons (the family name,) have been in the Park, mostly around Kiosk, since the 1800's, and have been cooks, loggers, guides and railwaymen amongst other occupations. Some of the people who call Brent home suggest that Jake is an outsider as well and that his desire to tell the "real" story about Brent comes from his desire to erase "the bad taste in his mouth" from the buy-out of the outfitters shop in Kiosk that he had previously worked in by a larger corporate interest. But it also comes from the hope that he might be able to lead things in a different direction than what he saw happen elsewhere, and from the nostalgic attraction to memories of happier times in places that used to feel slower and further "out of the way," as much as the dread of losing this place and its quiet pleasures.

The history of Brent that is (albeit peripherally) constructed in the Visitor Center and Museum as "just a memory" is predicated on a linear narrative that begins with loggers and trappers entering the mostly "empty" territory in search of wealth, but who, by falling in love with the "wildness" and "pristine nature" of the place came to value the area differently and to appreciate the connection of the area to the health of waterways that fed

the larger urban areas to the south and east (Toronto and Ottawa) (Findlay 2000). This helps to perpetuate the mythology of decreasing human impacts on the land by furthering surveillance efforts aimed at conservation of the local resources (Euler & Wilton [eds.] 2009). The complication is the assumption that a natural environment requires a certain level of human involvement in order to remain pristine, paradoxical surely, but also anxious in that it assumes on some level that conservation is a failing effort and that the expenditure of local resources is inevitable and somehow desirable as a sign of further progress, designated as a necessary loss in the march towards modernity.

Jake's collage of artifacts and images in the Brent Store works through a different register than the master narrative, allowing for a less structured experience to develop during time in the shop that somehow seems to evoke the tensions and the comforts of Brent as a place that many share a long-time connection to. Pictures of Jake, Mr. Pitts, "Smiling Gerry," and Jake's friend and co-worker/employee Rob and his family (his son was the local ranger for a time) hang next to pictures of the "first black mayor in Canada" (Mattawa's Dr. Fermin Monestine) and a former Chief of the Algonquin Nation of Ontario, *Ojshigkwanang* "Morning Star" William Commanda. There is no text hanging nearby explaining why or how the pictures are there, their arrangement, or who many of the pictures are depicting, beyond simple labels such as "Me and Rob," and what some of the newspaper articles say about the images they present. No mention of the land claim, or of the displacement of many of the Algonquin people during the formation of the Park. Sitting beside a book about logging in the area, and on top of a picture of Rob's son when he was about ten holding a fish almost as big as him caught in Cedar Lake, sits an arrowhead, framed and hung carefully, but no words to say where it was found, who

made it, or where. Jake said it came from the south shore of Cedar Lake and that a camper gave it to him. He picked it up from its place in the collection to show it to me, but he never held it out for me to hold, making sure I got a good view without putting my hands on the frame.

The troubling distinction between the presentation of things in the Brent Store and the unilinear narrative that gains more prominence further to the south (and the resultant implications effecting the construction of a historically situated “self”) is brought out in the contrast between Jake’s “collection” and the spectacular story told along the Big Pines Trail. Here a circular trail is made to tell a linear tale of the entrance of loggers into the area, the innovation of new and more efficient techniques for the extraction of the area’s resources, and the interconnections between these developments and economic shifts that were happening in distant urban centers “during the earlier eras of forestry in the Park.” The corresponding guidebook for the trail carries the subheading of *Ecology and History of White Pines in Algonquin*, was written by Dan Strickland and released by the Friends of Algonquin Park, an organization that is responsible for much of the actual work done in relation to what is called “interpretation” of the local “nature” (Strickland 2001). Their volunteers and employees often share an image of nature as a place that holds “wonder” and “treasures” that exemplify the “timelessness” of the “wild” Canadian landscape [for a complication of the Group of Seven’s implication in this heritage⁴⁰]. The

⁴⁰ Much of the work produced by the Group of Seven is involved in the pronouncement of a terrific absence at the center of the national-cultural imaginary that simultaneously searches for and refuses an authenticated origin presented as an emptied landscape deployed as a source of national-cultural difference and a mystical resource for the “re-creation” of selves (Puppe 2012A). But the depopulated landscapes of many of the most famous and sought after paintings they produced are not alone. There are many paintings by Lawren Harris, A.Y. Jackson, and J.E.H. MacDonald that quietly embed the signs of human presence as the backdrop for a natural foreground as is done in MacDonald’s “Tangled Garden” and Jackson’s “Road to

guidebook states that these rare old growth white pine stands are in danger of local extinction due to an influx of parasites that threaten to dramatically reduce the lifespan of these giants, and that due to a lack of the right conditions there is little hope that such clusters might be propagated nearby (Strickland 2001). Further, more recent concerns regarding the introduction of such invasive species as the pine beetle (*Dendroctonus ponderosae*) put the sustainability of the white pine in question.

The popular walking trail is laid out on the north side of the highway #60 corridor between Kearney Lake and the road north to Lake Opeongo. Along its route there are trees with a diameter of over 1.14 metres and a height of 37 metres said to have first sprouted over two hundred years ago after a large forest fire cleared out the area enough for the little seedlings to find purchase without a canopy for competition (Strickland 2001: 4). The posts along the trail tell of the logging history of the Park, explaining how the largest and oldest white pines were sought by loggers to be used as masts for Britain's giant warships. They explain how much waste was created by felling and preparing a log for export and how the recklessness of loggers leaving shaved wood and sawdust all over the forest floor had created the perfect conditions to ignite forest fires. They explain how increasing technological advancements had allowed loggers to increase their efficiency while decreasing the "long term impact of logging on the forest." And they explain how

Saint-Hilarion." This is not to say that the most often remembered images are those of an empty landscape, but it does complicate the simple interpretation of the movement as a gang of colonists-without-conscience (Grace 2004). Rather, it places the onus on the interpretation of the image which simultaneously participates in and constructs the national-cultural imaginary. Re-interpretation of the images these artists produced through the frames of the traditionally informed Algonquian imagination opens space to re-populate the pictures in radical and potentially revolutionary ways, "personalizing" the landscape both through the tracing of "inapparent" human relations and in the apprehension of the other-than-human-persons these pictures might represent (Latour 2005: 207, Hallowell 1960). Similar "decolonizing" space opens to re-populate the iconic work of Tom Thompson as well, affirming the "collective" effects of evoking windswept pines and "overfull" landscapes of the Algonquian imaginary, rather than acceding to the "spectacular" demands and emptied landscapes of the settler-colonist imaginary (L.T. Smith 1999).

much foresters have learned over the years about sustainably managing a forest that is used for more than tourism and naturalist appreciation [I address this issue further below]. Now the Algonquin Forestry Authority makes sure that the woods are cleared of stray brush and that the amount of timber taken annually does not exceed the capacity of the forests to “regenerate” an economically sound base, and that there are no untended stands of giant old white and red pine left to cause trouble deep in the bush. The guidebook for the Big Pines Trail suggests that smaller, “second growth,” pines are just as suitable for any other forest dwellers as the old, giant, “first growth” white pines, and that the giants may soon be no more (Strickland 2001: 12-13). But there is a haunting elision in the suggestion that the “truly large white pines are not outstandingly important” (Strickland 2001: 13), concerning the apprehension of the place and its revenant residents.

Trees play a sensitive role in the Algonquian imagination. In the area of the *Kitchissippi* (Ottawa River Valley or Watershed Basin) that is now a part of the Park the Algonquin people engaged both red and white pines, and cedars, amongst other species of trees as medicines and as metaphors. They also met them in dreams, visions and rituals, sometimes playing the roles of ancestors and participating in sacred relationships that affirmed Algonquin heritage, stewardship and presence in the area over many generations even as these people maintained mobile lifestyles that made them appear “nomadic” to the colonists. Missionaries recorded that the Algonquin and Nippising people upheld the “superstition” that some trees were possessed by the spirits of ancestors, referring to them as “genii” and describing the ways in which these trees were “anthropomorphized” by the “Indians” (Whiteduck 2002: 58, 104), and records indicate that many Algonquin people

still maintained “hunting territories” well into the 1930’s that demonstrated a seasonally associated pattern of return to certain well-tended “groves” (Strickland 2001, Neusius & Walker 2003, Linares 1976, D. Smith 2005). But an exploration of these understandings and ontological considerations leads directly back to the often made assertions that for Algonquian people the “[t]he face-to-face group that was the effective unit of social and economic organization at all seasons was the extended family” (Hallowell 1960: 44), and that,

The distinction between natural and supernatural, between flesh and spirit, which was implicit in the doctrines of the medieval church, and the beliefs of the Jesuit missionaries in New France, was not recognized by traditional Aboriginal people... The Indian:

[P]eopled his world with numerous ‘powers,’ ... gave them such anthropomorphic traits as speech and knowledge, even ascribed to them human or partly human forms. So the ‘power’ of the cataract became its ‘spirit’... The ‘power’ of the cataract was only an attribute, but the ‘spirit’ was a separate existence. It carried the same name as the cataract, and the name heightened its individuality, giving it the status of a definite supernatural being. (A.G. Bailey 1937: 133 quoted in Whiteduck 2002: 97)

In a discussion paper detailing the reasons for establishing a UNESCO world heritage site in the *Pimachiowin Aki* region Maureen Matthews, Roger Roulette and Rand Valentine outline the “perceptual” implications of linguistic conventions of “Animism” amongst *Anishinaabemowin* speakers and the ways in which these apprehensions impact upon the formation of identity and relationships towards “places” and supposedly inanimate objects (Matthews, Roulette & Valentine 2010: 12-15).

Citing A.I. Hallowell however, the authors make the argument that “anthropomorphization” is not the proper term because it suggests that the “objects” are first apprehended as *things*, and then credited with “spirit”; that they first understood

these objects to be inanimate and then later “deliberately imagined them as animate,” and that it is not so simple a matter (Hallowell 1960 [1992]: 29 quoted in Matthews, Roulette & Valentine 2010: 15). Recounting a certain ritual, *Omishoosh* Owen, grandson of Hallowell’s friend and “informant” *Naamiwan* “Fair Wind” of Pauingassi, told Roger Roulette how he carried his “ritual brother,” a poplar pole, to a special spot and stood it upright next to a large “grandfather tree” after taking part in very important songs and dances (Matthews, Roulette & Valentine 2010: 20-21). Kirby Whiteduck, chief of the Algonquins of *Pikwakanagan* (Golden Lake Reserve) describes in his *Algonquin Traditional Culture* the tale of a man who was transformed by the mischief of “Wiskedjak” into a cedar tree (Whiteduck 2002: 141-142). Earlier in the same text, after suggesting that the Algonquin shared some of the ideas of their neighbors Whiteduck describes the perpetuation of identity after a person’s death, and how certain rituals were undertaken to ensure that important people would not be lost from their relational spheres, described as processes of reincarnation or “resuscitation” (Whiteduck 2002: 32, 102-103).

The Algonquin people were known to bury their dead at the base of giant white pines, and would return periodically to these spots in order to allow the dead a chance to participate in social intercourse, carrying out certain rituals, a tobacco offering amongst them (Whiteduck 2002: 56-57, 102-103). It seems that after some time, certain trees were treated as ancestors, and the care that one showed through visits became a common subject of personal narratives. Through this care, relationships between hunters and the animals that they pursued could develop.

Taking care of the trees means remembering their names, and at the same time taking care of the habitat of the animals, and this was understood to be a further extension of relationships that had been established between the ancestors and the “other-than-human-persons” who were the “owners” of the animals, ensuring greater success in the hunt, not by asking for the help of the deceased, but by showing care for their abodes (or bodies) and continued reciprocal engagements with their surroundings; this is a radical departure from the sense of *dwelling* usually associated with a feeling of belonging, and a twist on the convolution of belonging that is mired in the *devotion* of *possession* (Hallowell 1960: 62-63, Ingold 2005, Latour 2005: 217, Lévi-Strauss 1966: 60).

This explains why the loggers were the most offensive of the colonists for many Algonquin People as they always sought the largest and oldest trees for the masts of British warships. When settlers arrived and began rapidly deforesting the “timber limits” (of prominent industrialists like J.R. Booth who lived in far off places like Ottawa, Toronto, New York, Chicago and London) meted out by the government that fell within Algonquin traditional territory they were often ignorant of the hidden “beliefs” of the “savages,” meaning that few of them could have understood the cataclysmic impact of the seemingly random slaughter of “trees,” as well as people, on Algonquin families and on their relationships to the territory never ceded to Canadian authorities (Huitema 2005: 239). After unearthing a cache of bones near the construction site of the “wire suspension bridge at Bytown” in Ottawa in 1843, a man recounted how the discovery,

at once demonstrated a fact handed down to us by tradition, that the aborigines were in the habit, when they could, of burying their dead near running waters... added to this, the fact of a huge pine tree growing directly over one of the graves, was conclusive evidence of its [sic] being used as a place of sepulchre long ere the whiteman in his progressive

march had desolated the hearths of the untutored savage. (*Notice of An Indian Burying Ground; E. Van Courtland, in The Canadian Journal: A Repertory of Industry, Science, and Art, a Record of the Proceedings of The Canadian Institute, February 1853*, Scobie, Hugh [pub.], Toronto, O.N., pg. 160, quoted in Whiteduck 2002: 56-57)

Whiteduck recounts how after an Algonquin had been killed by an enemy there was a social demand for some form of revenge or exaction that would be sought in the amelioration of guilt and mourning (Whiteduck 2002: 144). Upon returning from battles, warriors would count coup; describe their exploits, their kills, and take names that they had earned through acts of bravery and that were shared only under ritual circumstances where protection could be guaranteed by *distant* relatives. Coup tales are often interpreted to detail the ability of the teller to undertake extraordinary acts of violence in the exaction of vengeance (Brown [ed.] in Hallowell 1960 [1992]: 113). But it was not the ending of relationships with strangers that was celebrated by the pride expressed in the tales. The importance of the coup tale comes not in its reflection of actual events or of *truth* in the Western sense (Ricoeur 1965). They are important because they express the ability of the teller to establish new social connections through their involvement in violence that helps to defend their established relationships and to guarantee further reciprocity; that is, to prevent violence as a response in the first stead (made evident by the horror which child abuse was met with) (Whiteduck 2002: 56-57). Names taken memorialized those lost, not those killed, and collecting names was common amongst many Algonquian and Iroquoian People (Trigger 1969, Whiteduck 2002). The difference between *given* names (both *nindoodem* (Bohaker 2006, Simpson 2008) and conferrals) and *taken* names comes through in the words of Lévi-Strauss;

It is clear that the problem of the relation between proper names and common names is not that of the relation of naming and signifying. One always signifies, either oneself or someone else. It is only here that there is a choice, rather like that open to a painter between representational and non-representational art, which amounts to no more than a choice between assigning a class to an identifiable object or, by putting it outside a class, making the object a means of classing himself by expressing himself through it. (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 182)

The violence of the coup tale is here interpretable not as an outlet or a relief (an active *forgetting*), but as a further example of commemorative devotion and dedication and the willingness to take further responsibility on behalf of one's relations, thereby strengthening the sense of connection that accompanies a relationship which requires mutual protection, and compassionately motivates revenge as well as mundane trust and sincerity.

This suggests that coup tales were actually instantiations of personal culpability and prideful demonstrations of the ability to make and maintain close personal relationships over long distances and periods of time; a form of cosmopolitanism based on relationships of reciprocity, or exchange, that should never be resolved, but should remain open to recurrent engagements that would take place through idioms of extended kinship. Extending this sense of trade-based cosmopolitanism to Jake's stories about mugs and long drives helps show how his construction of Brent's "real history" comes through the pride and devotion of a *collector*, and how the Big Pines Trail (amongst other sites that help to construct the Park's master narrative) gives away the very different approach to stewardship put forth by authorities, one haunted by the spectacular elision of hyper-violence and reliant on aggregation of the anonymous.

Conduits of Communion:

Monstrous Affections in Algonquin Traditional Territory

In 2008 many Canadians were alarmed by news that there were plans to stop production of some important materials at the Chalk River Nuclear Research Laboratory without plans to resume operations any time soon. This was at the time the only place in the world producing a particular molybdenum isotope employed in screening for cancers of many types, most prominently, breast cancer. Responses to the news story ranged from sarcastic quips about how Canadians seemed to be caught in the middle of the measuring of “dollars versus sense,” with their health and well-being left behind in the pursuit of profit, to outrage that the health of so many Canadians was being “put at risk” in such a reckless fashion and that the administrators lacked foresight.

It seems however, that the excitement was all for naught, as the supposed closure was in fact a scheduled shut-down for re-tooling and retrofitting of certain infrastructural components. Lost, in all of the news reports and fears that Canadian health concerns were being ignored, was the location of the reactor along the banks of the Ottawa River (*Kiji Sibi/Kitchissippi*) upstream from Canada’s capital city of Ottawa as well as the proximity of this place to another important site that had become the focus of protests by members of the Ardoch Algonquin Nation of Ontario; the proposed uranium mine located on their traditional territory. Beyond this, there was neither mention of how close the reactor was to Algonquin Provincial Park, one of Canada’s most prominent conservation areas and tourist attractions, nor of the threat that nuclear science and experimentation

might pose to the long-term health of the local ecology, and therefore the long-term health of Canadians as well.

In 2007 members of the Ardoch Nation assembled a protest against plans to begin production of uranium at a proposed local mine. The First Nation was itself only one of several Algonquin Nations that resided on the banks of the waterways of the *Kitchissippi* watershed (which was renamed the Ottawa River by the British colonial administrators of the area) “forever,” as I was told by a friend. As Bonita Lawrence notes poignantly, the “fracturing” of Algonquin traditional territory that took place during the formation of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, renamed later Ontario and Quebec, has fragmented the once great and unified Algonquin Nation into several reserves, organizations and representative groups that are often forced to compete against one another (Lawrence 2012: 2-3).

The central importance of the *Kitchissippi* colonization project to national modernization and progress means that from the perspective of the Government of Canada there was until recently, only one federally recognized Algonquin Reserve in Ontario, at *Pikwakanagan*/Golden Lake, and that the rest of those who claimed Algonquin heritage (almost two-thirds of the total of those who linked themselves to the title) should find ways to demonstrate their genealogical connection to either this reserve or the other Algonquin Reserve at Maniwaki/*Kitigan-Zibi* as a manner of reclaiming their official Status as band members otherwise demonstrating that they had been “assimilated” (meaning they had either lost official recognition of their Indian Status or had in some cases been forcibly enfranchised by their commitment to fight for the military, or to take paying employment). The *Pikwakanagan*-based Algonquin Nation of Ontario has been

embroiled in a contentious comprehensive land claim since 1992 that includes the Parliament buildings in Ottawa and most of Algonquin Provincial Park, as well as sections of both Ontario and Quebec that include the full extent of the Ontario side of the *Kitchissippi* watershed.

This land claim, first greeted with derision and racist opposition by some members of local communities and organizations, has been troubled by the various inclusions and exclusions that haunt a people whose territory, nationhood, language and identity, has been greatly fragmented, dispersed and hidden. Most notably, the Algonquin Nation of Quebec (based at *Kitigan-Zibi/Maniwaki*) has launched legal action against the Algonquin Nation of Ontario for their exclusion from negotiations regarding their traditional territory. However, the troubling colonial entanglements of the political and legal barriers between the contemporary Algonquin Nations of Quebec and Ontario become more clear through an historical investigation of the manner in which barrier erection served to dismantle families and language simultaneously in such a way that some traditional dimensions of extended kinship (or perhaps affinity?) seem to have become obscured intentionally by the Canadian Nation-State. Addressing these claims to land requires addressing the ways in which the land is constituted in the traditionally informed Algonquin imaginary through commitment to respectful and reciprocal relationships with the various beings that at once populate and constitute the places they call home and that are often thought of as the source of the Algonquin people's language,

origins, identity and nationhood; the focus of their *affections*⁴¹ and the sign of uniquely Algonquin expressions of continuity.



*Plate #15 - Barron Canyon Cliff Relicts, Petawawa River,
Algonquin Provincial Park*

⁴¹ The term “*affections*” is used as a double-entendre to signal both the personal sentiment of responsibility towards reciprocal relations and the use of the term in the technical vocabulary of Deleuze & Guattari (1987). In their use, *affections* imply the “prepersonal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body’s capacity to act. [*Affection*] is each such state considered as an encounter between the affected body and a second, affecting, body (with body taken in its broadest possible sense to include ‘mental’ or ideal bodies)” (Massumi in Deleuze & Guattari 1987: xvi). *Affection* signals the always already reciprocal character of interactions and augmentations involving contact between “bodies” (Massumi in Deleuze & Guattari 1987: xvi). *Affections* might be thought of as the consonance found between the targets of agency and the effects of such actions, and in this sense helps to refine the concept of *sincerity* as the sublimation of “cultural dissonance” (Snodgrass, Dengah & Lacy 2014). *Monstrous affections* overwhelm the status quo of contemporary neoliberal and nationalist orders, unsettling the expectations and exceeding the presumed limitations of individuality, transgressing the territorial segmentation of the Nation-State with mutant “segmentarity” (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 209).

Since the first groups of loggers and trappers came up the rivers into the heart of Algonquin traditional territory, conflicts relating to the use of the land have been central to legal and social relationships between representatives of First Nations (both Status and Non-) and the settler-colonist Nation-State. Pleas lobbied by unified congresses of Algonquin and Nipissing people as early as 1791 argued that the encroachment onto their lands by white trappers and loggers was leading to rampant and unpredictable forest fires and warned of the eventual collapse of several local animal populations which they depended on for winter foodstuffs (Whiteduck 2001: 48-50). Already by the 1640's many rivers were so clogged in the spring from the logjams that had been left on the ice by lumberjacks that some communities downriver complained about missing the early hunt upstream, destabilizing their prospects for future successes (Whiteduck 2002: 47-50, Lawrence 2012: 36-40, 52).

From the perspective of these hunters the future of their relationships with particular territories depended on a respectful and reciprocal engagement with the “owners” or “bosses” of various species, who could be encountered during dreams, visions and rituals, and who were thought to impart sentience amongst other powers to the species they engendered (Hallowell 1960 [1992]: 81, De Castro 1998: 479-480). These “owners” were often referred to as “Our Great Fathers,” or “our grandfathers,” and were treated as if they played the same kinship role as grandparents might towards their grandchildren, implying that similar respect and care must be shown by the grandchild in order to maintain the relationship with the ones who came before, and therefore to hang onto the power bestowed by the relationship to powerful names derived from contact with other-than-human-persons (Hallowell 1960 [1992]: 57-58, 65, 81).

In a petition lobbied by one representative of the Algonquins this arrangement (between themselves, the animals and the “spirits”), which was “never talked about casually or lightly,” (Hallowell 1960 [1992]: 57-58, 65) was called “Our Great Fathers’ orders,” suggesting the formation of this relationship in the recesses of “time immemorial,” by the ancestors of the various human and other-than-human-people that they recognized as extended kin (1847 Petition to the Governor General quoted in Whiteduck 2001: 50, Lawrence 2012: 3). The maintenance of these relationships guaranteed that the Algonquin people would remain entrusted with the protection of these species best interests, but the implications of these “orders” extend the complexity of what Eduardo Viviero De Castro refers to as “Native American perspectivism,” and considerations of Anishinaabe “animism” as addressed in the work of Matthews, Roulette and Valentine (De Castro 1998, Matthews, Roulette & Valentine 2012).

The linear master narrative of the Park’s history begins with the entrance of loggers who always sought the largest white pines for the masts of the great British warships, and follows on through a predictable tale of modern progress detailing the invention of increasingly more efficient styles of logging and forest management, and the increasing relief of the environment from the pressures of earlier inefficiencies. Many of the tourists in the Park are surprised to learn that logging has been taking place there since before the conservation areas inception in 1893. Recently, while talking about my research with a new acquaintance at a barbeque I mentioned the history of logging in the Park and his response was incredulous,

Let me get this straight. Not only are you talking about land claims and relations between Canada and First Nations in Algonquin Park; which when I hear the name the hair on my

arms stands up and I think that's mine, I'm Canadian, and that's mine. But you're saying they've been logging there since before it was a Park? You're not serious.

But as the Museums and guidebooks that are meant to enhance the experience of the Park's "nature" insist, the place was set aside as "exceptional" for many reasons, and almost 75% of the Park is open to forestry activities (Agamben 1995, Minca 2006, Strickland 2008: 32). Records from the time of the Park's creation contain the words of many of the men in charge of determining the feasibility of the project. The rhetoric employed in these records justified the Park's establishment by suggesting that it would protect the forests from reckless forestry practices, protect the waters that fed some of the most populous Canadian cities of the time; Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal, and protect the economic bases of many of the local communities whose major industries consisted of forestry, mining and tourism (Algonquin Provincial Park Management Plan 1998, Huitema 2005, Whiteduck 2009).

Obscured in this tale of modern nation-building is the displacement of many of the Algonquin people from their traditional territory and their treatment as poachers when they attempted to practice traditional hunts inside the conservation area. After the establishment of the reserve at *Pikwakanagan*, many felt that the only way to provide for themselves and their families was to hunt in the area that became the Park or to take paying employment, since by 1880 the reserve was made up of only 1400 acres and could not support traditional hunting practices as a general subsistence pattern for the whole community (Lawrence 2012: 42). For many off-reserve Algonquin this meant the loss of Status either through employment as loggers, or simply by remaining away from the reserve for more than five consecutive years (often because they were serving prison

terms for poaching, or serving in the Canadian Forces) (Kruzich 2011, Lawrence 2012: 5-7). The severing of familial relations, as well as the inability for many First Nations people to openly employ their languages due to pressures levied by settler-colonists, meant that, for many, traditional names were Gallicized, Anglicized, or forgotten entirely, and that ways of understanding the land were either lost or obscured over generations of isolation from traditional communities. This sense of disconnection has been profoundly traumatizing for many First Nations people in Canada; Status and Non-, Métis, and those who pass for white, knowingly or not (Hobbs 2014).



*Plate #16 - Coon Lake Sunset, Coon Lake Campgrounds,
Algonquin Provincial Park*

In *Algonquin Traditional Culture*, Chief of the *Pikwakanagan*/Golden Lake Algonquin Nation of Ontario, Kirby Whiteduck describes the pain that accompanied the death of a loved one, and the common traditional practice of “resuscitating” those lost by imparting their name and station upon another (Whiteduck 2002: 32, 102-103). It seems that this was accompanied by another set of beliefs and practices that were meant to help revivify the dead by allowing for the persistence of their loved ones’ soul in a new body, and not always a biologically “human” one (although it may be experienced as such *subjectively*⁴²) (De Castro 1998: 476, Rose 1996, Mills & Slobodin [eds.] 1994). Burials often took place “near running waters,” and with “a huge pine tree growing directly over” the graves (Whiteduck 2002: 56, 102). Archaeological excavations in the *Kitchissippi* valley indicate that it was not unusual for there to be as many as twenty bodies interred in each grave (Whiteduck 2002: 56).

Here it is important to remember that Jesuits recounted how some people might “bear as many names as the various titles and divers qualities with which some Europeans are encumbered,” (Jesuit Relations quoted in Whiteduck 2002: 33) implying that sometimes new names did not replace, but were added to the other names a person already held, some of which were to be spoken only in ritual situations in order to minimize the potential that their power might cause harm. Beyond this, it seems that in a practice similar to that described by Julie Cruikshank in *Do Glaciers Listen?* some of these forces, things and places (the sun, wind, thunder, rocks, trees, rapids and waterholes) were

⁴² This requires a far more involved discussion than space permits. Exploring the development of subjectivity and perspective for a *person* who apprehends the world through the biological and sensual apparatus of, for instance, a white pine, and who understands their identity to consist of as many as twenty or thirty distinct personalities, is a baffling prospect, and may remain beyond the capabilities of the human biological and sensual apparatus.

known as, and related to, as sentient beings and that many of them did “listen” to their surroundings, as well as “talk back” in profound and unsettling ways (Povinelli 1993, 1995, Cruikshank 2005: 3, Stewart 1995: 5). These relationships were voiced through registers of “extended kin” (and Hallowell describes how this is the primary idiom through which reciprocal obligations were understood) with places becoming repositories for the identities, memories and personalities of those who had been buried there, and becoming known by the names of the “dead” as well, ensuring their survival by providing a route through which they might come to voice their interests (Hallowell 1960 [1992]: 44, Whiteduck 2002, Lawrence 2012). A Jesuit quoted by Whiteduck points out that some Algonquin,

say that the souls do nothing but dance after their departure from this life; there are some who admit the transmigration of souls, as Pythagoras did; and the majority of them imagine that the soul is insensible after it has left the body: as a general thing, all believe that it is immortal. (Whiteduck 2002: 124)

It becomes more obvious under these conditions why for traditionally minded Algonquin people, “it must be noted that nothing could give them greater offence than to ransack and remove anything in the tombs of their relatives” (Sagard quoted in Whiteduck 2002: 102), and it brings about questions regarding how the perspective of a tree or a river might be experienced *subjectively* (that is, in the first person) (De Castro 1998: 476-477). The great white pines that loggers knocked down so frequently not only marked places as distinct, or served as tomb-markers, but also embodied and “cached” (Whiteduck 2002: 32) the souls of the ancestors, and so when the trees were felled more than just a grave was lost.

Through patterns of seasonal return these people who are often referred to as “scattered bands” of “foragers” and “hunter-gatherers” (Mann 2005: 330), maintained ritual relationships with ancestors and kept souls in communion with *Anishinaabe* society by undertaking cyclical returns to visit with them in their new abodes (Trigger 1969).

Whiteduck describes how in the fall, after annual congregations at Morrison’s Island and Lake of Two Mountains (near present day Montreal), hunters would disperse into the uplands along with their traditional “family hunting groups” (Whiteduck 2002: 49).

Their highways on these circular pilgrimage routes were the waters of the *Kitchissippi* valley.

It is important to remember that in *Anishinaabemowin* water is understood to be grammatically animate (Valentine 2001: 449).

The elders stated that *sah-kemah-wapoye*, which translates as “spiritual water,” refers to the living water. In the spiritual sense, water is an entity that can be damaged by humans who are manipulators. We can make things happen, we can move things, we can throw things, and we can break things. They characterized water as more passive in that it will accept things done to its essence. Water will accept those changes and will undergo the same changes. It will mirror the climate or mood that we, as human beings, are in. It becomes the quality in which we shape it. We humans, in turn, are affected by the changing quality of the water, and say that the water is “hurting us.” It is only giving us what we have asked of it. (Sherman 2008: 43 quoted in Lawrence 2012: 194)

Living water, in this ontological concatenation, becomes a conduit for the affirmation of familial relations that are simultaneously “supernatural” and mundane and therefore intimately intertwined with the ability to demonstrate reciprocity and respect for “Our Great Fathers” through return that maintains a cosmological and nomothetic order, one which provides a way of imagining origins and determining “laws” (Darnell 2001: 43,

Lawrence 2012: 193). Rather than conceiving of Algonquin seasonal patterns of travel and migration as “nomadic” or even “intransigent,” as they have been called before by Park authorities, this formulation of kin-based responsibility and return (Simpson 2008) suggests that the apprehension of water as a conduit between “kin” at once transports both physically and imaginatively through places conceived of as consciously aware (Cruikshank 2005: 3), and therefore able to re-cord, or string together, experience and memory into ducts of communion with the sacred, maintained, sustained and instantiated through reciprocal contacts with the mundane; the binary distinctions between natural and supernatural, or natural and cultural, break down here, and it becomes apparent that dealing with spiritualized matter is a heavy thing (Huitema 2005, Latour 2005: 63, Matthews, Roulette & Valentine 2012: 46).

For researchers then, it becomes obvious how attention to the spectacular rhythms of presence and absence conjured through “Naturalism,” (Descola 2013: 174) that is, through immersive visits to spaces represented as natural, imbues places with a sense of what Holloway (following Jane Bennett 2010) describes as “modern enchantment”; the employment of the transformative power of the unknown, the unsettling and the uncanny in the recreation of selves and subjectivities understood as distinctly modern (Holloway 2010: 618). This makes the phantasmagoric effects of the architecture and design that accompanies the representation of the Park’s official historical narrative, which employs a story of necessary loss and unplanned obsolescence in a nation-building project that rests on a notion of progress and a linear apprehension of time, more obvious as well (Buck-Morss 1992).



*Plate #17 - Cedar Lake Sunset, Brent Campgrounds,
Algonquin Provincial Park*

In contrast to the traditional understanding of the Algonquin people of spatio-temporal experience as cyclical, and the way that personal narratives and traditional stories exemplified this spatio-temporal continuity and “circularity,” the official history is premised upon the architectural obfuscation of the manner in which the linear narrative is constructed; through circular routes, or “loops,” like those found at the Algonquin Visitor Center and Museum, at the Logging Museum, and at the Big Pines Trail (Strickland 2008: 1). While the legitimacy of the linear historical narrative depends upon the invisibility, historical disappearance and erasure of the Algonquin people and maintains silence regarding their continued presence in the area they have called home for “*forever*” (as I was told by one Algonquin friend), opening gaps that permit the escape of such

subjugated knowledge allows for an opportunity to revitalize the discursive/imaginative dimensions of these simultaneously, and inseparably, political and aesthetic ontologies, but also to re-establish the basis for a revitalization of practical ways of relating to and caring for these other-than-human-persons (who might better be called more-than-human or even *super*-human in a nod to the powers these differently embodied investments or “clothes” are thought to confer) (De Castro 1998: 482, Foucault 1978, Hallowell 1960 [1992], Matthews, Roulette & Valentine 2012: 45).

Rhetoric accompanying the dispossession and appropriation of Algonquin traditional territory that occurred during the formation of the conservation area often mentioned the inability of the Algonquin to “improve” the land (MacKay 1996: 67). *The Bagot Commission* from 1840 points out in regard to the Algonquin and Nipissing people that,

The tribes at this post do not possess any lands from which a revenue is derived and have hitherto depended upon the chase for the principal part of their support... [T]he Algonquins and Nipissings differ very much from the Iroquois... The two tribes lead a roving life, dwelling in huts and wigwams during the greater part of the year, and some throughout the year; the majority, however, resort to the Lake of the Two Mountains for about two months annually; ... only the women and aged men, who are unable to follow the chase, and are consequently left at home, cultivate small patches of land to a very limited extent... [They] have not increased their tillage for many years. (*Bagot Commission*, Section 2:17 quoted in Huitema 2005: 15)

This understanding of “improvement” (MacKay 1996: 67) still common amongst settler-colonist societies is entangled in a group of assumptions regarding progress, evolution, and development that “ignore[s] the real cost of mining or energy resource development, which are absorbed by Indigenous people and therefore remain hidden” (Lawrence 2012: 192). Lawrence suggests that in the face of such pressures it is essential for Algonquin

people to connect any nation-building efforts to the land and its re-consecration, arguing that interested parties such as governments and corporations,

being forced to repair the damages from extractive industries (or being required not to incur the damages at all) would make corporate profits so minimal – and would make the violence and danger of such technologies so truly visible – that green technologies would certainly become the wave of the future. (Lawrence 2012: 192-193)

I'm reminded of all of those logs, lying in rows, and of those displayed at the Logging Museum, and of all the names, and *souls*, that might have been lost in what must have appeared to some as rampant and senseless genocide. But it also brings to mind the role of tales and images used in the representation of the Park's linear master narrative; of the mass grave in the Brent campgrounds where I did my master's fieldwork, and of the claims I heard from guides that not only did "more than half the able-bodied men in Canada" work as loggers in places like Algonquin, but also of how the guidebooks almost brag about how "in the year of 1846 alone, 130 men died on 20 tributaries of the Ottawa, including the Petawawa and the Bonnechere rivers" (Strickland 2008: 23). The most common causes of death were being crushed under sleighs and jams of logs, or of drowning in ice water, but the stories also recount how men went to bed in their filthy clothes, two to a bunk, and how they ate sand and ashes in their pork and beans under the illusion that it was pepper, and I'm reminded of Holloway's point regarding how easily the "playfulness of ghostly enchantment gets serious, delight turns to concern over the ethics of making a spectacle of torture, and the pleasurable deceits of modern enchantment fall away" (Holloway 2010: 634).



Plate #18 - Giant White Pine, Algonquin Provincial Park Logging Museum

Architect and Geographer Jon May suggests that in order to come to terms with our impacts upon the environment and the role of urbanist (re)development campaigns advertised through slogans related to “greening” that, “we should take the idea of sustainability to task not because it is a bad idea; precisely the opposite in fact. We should care for it because it needs constant reconceptualization. The threshold for its application should be absurdly high” (May 2008: 107). The basis for conservation efforts is the recognition of particular threats to the well-being of ecosystems which people, animals and plants depend upon for survival, but when one considers the dystopian shadows cast in the wake of contemporary designs and programs haunted by modernist nostalgia and utopian longing, survival seems a far cry from satisfying (Gordon 1997, Ivy 1998). As May notes, “to invent the ship is to invent the shipwreck” (May quoting

Virillio 2008: 107), and in the case of the *Kitchissippi* colonization project, the invention of a provincial boundary has led to the increased use of the area as a “national sacrifice zone” (Churchill 1992: 52), and to the “evisceration” of the environment by roads, electrical conduits, railways, pipelines, propellers, poisons, and chem-trails.

The situation of the provincial boundary along the *Kitchissippi* has transformed a conduit of communion into a strategic waste disposal zone by allowing it to remain beyond the control of any one authority and therefore obscuring the continuity of its pollution by nuclear and other industrial wastes, along its route, and from one bank to the other (Lawrence 2012: 271-273). In a different fashion, the “exceptional” status of Algonquin Provincial Park makes its simultaneous employment as a source of phantasmic national-cultural identification and distinction and as a zone of national sacrifice (Churchill 1992: 52) where biopolitical interventions increasingly undertaken by agential representatives of the Canadian Nation-State appear more problematic from the perspective of a traditionally informed Algonquin imaginary (Agamben 1995: 71, Minca 2006: 388, Foucault 1978, Rose 2007, Ivy 1998).

For the Algonquin people, not only has most of the Park been considered off limits for hunting, leading many to become prosecuted for “poaching” on their traditional land, but it now costs money to visit sacred places such as the pictographs, drawn in red ochre by (and of) “our grandfathers,” that rest on the stones that line the shores of Rock Lake near the campgrounds (Kruzich 2011, Huitema 2005). Worse, traditional routes have been disconnected by the institution of Park surveillance so travel by water between the communities of Temiskaming, *Pikwakanagan*, Mattawa, and *Kitigan-Zibi* has become impractical. For this reason, practices that connect Algonquin communities to the land

have become central to the construction of pan-Algonquin unity, and members of other communities, as well as their allies, showed up in support of the 2008 Ardoch organized protests of the proposal to begin uranium mining, and more recently, to their protests in 2012 concerning the plans of the Canadian government to transport a shipment of highly-enriched weapons grade uranium from Chalk River along the *Kitchissippi*, past their reserve, out the St. Lawrence seaway and down the eastern seaboard to a destination somewhere in the Carolinas (Global News Website Feb.11, 2013, Lawrence 2012: 271-273).

These resurgence movements, suggests Lawrence, have allowed many to avoid questioning what it means to be Algonquin in the face of such historical dispossession and erasure, and instead to relate their struggles to “questions about what it means to be *Omamawiniwak*” (Lawrence 2012: 196). A quote from the website of the Ardoch First Nation argues:

The Algonquin language offers one way to approach the issue around identity. Who are we as people in the language spoken by our ancestors? We are not Algonquin that is for sure. In fact the term does not even originate from our homeland or our people, and yet we continue to use it. In the language we are called *Omamawinini*, which translates as the people of the lower river. In the language it is not a noun oriented description of the lands we traditionally occupied but rather refers to a state of being and relating that is much more substantial. The term reflects the fact that our collective identity as distinct people comes from the Land and those relationships that our ancestors established and maintained within the Kiji Sibi.

Over those thousands of years of relating, our ancestors developed social and political structures based upon the natural law they observed. From that process our ancestors developed *Omamawinini* Law and Guiding Principles which guided individual behaviour and interactions with the Natural World. Even language itself is thought to have emerged

from the land and from those relationships with other parts of the Natural World. The term *Omamawinini*, like the rest of the language, reminds us of that original relationship between our people and the land. It speaks to us about our responsibilities as human beings and how we need to maintain our identity as *Omamawinini* people.

Elder William Commanda has offered guidance in this respect, reminding us that our ancestors know who we are and they recognize us when we speak to them as *Omamawinini* people and use the language in our daily lives and practices. So the choice is up to us to make. Do we want our children and great grandchildren to be Algonquin or do we want them to be completely *Omamawinini*? (Quoted in Lawrence 2012: 1995-196)

The importance of these ideas is manifold. De Castro describes how,

[W]ords which are usually translated as ‘human being’... do not denote humanity as a natural species. They refer rather to the social condition of personhood, and they function (pragmatically when not syntactically) less as nouns than as pronouns... they are personal pronouns registering the point of view of the subject talking, not proper names... they can be used for – and therefore used by – very different classes of beings. (De Castro 1998: 476)

The name Algonquin Provincial Park, meant to perpetuate “the memory of one of the greatest Indian Nations that has inhabited the North American Continent” (Whiteduck 2009: 36), applies “ethnonyms” that do not imply ‘I’ or ‘we’ (De Castro 1998: 476), instead offering what Vizenor calls an “ascribed name” (Vizenor 1998: 145), an appellation that while *simulating* (Baudrillard 1994) an authentic presence, offers instead the absence of *real* Natives.

Reclaiming self-referential names (alongside the rest of the language (Gaudry 2011: 130-131)) holds the potential to empower different forms of self-apprehension that do not limit sentience and animate potency to human beings, extending them instead to a whole

host of ancestors and other-than-human entities that are more than capable of responding to what they hear, and of opening avenues to make “triumphant self-affirmation” (Nietzsche 1887: 170) from an ecologically oriented “*mutual self-care*” (Seem in Deleuze & Guattari 1983: xxii, Matthews, Roulette & Valentine 2012: 40, Vizenor 1998: 15, De Castro 2011: 31). Sincere consideration of the Living Water and its ability to answer through reflection gives way to the force of communion derived through respectful relations with an entity imminently present and in this sense, one whose voice *resounds* amongst a chorus of ancestors.

What Vizenor calls “survivance” (that is, something “more than survival, more than endurance or mere response; the stories of survivance are an active presence... survivance is an active repudiation of dominance, tragedy and victimry” (Vizenor 1998: 15, Derrida 1994 [2006]: 185) holds much promise for the building of *Omamawinini* trusts oriented towards communion, in its connotation of a jointly given gift, or of a *collection*.⁴³ But in order for unity and continuity to be re-established in stewardship of the area through local frameworks of reciprocal engagement it is necessary to move past the “politics of recognition” (Lawrence 2012: 79-82, Coulthard 2008: 188, 196), with all of the attendant probability of “misrecognition,” towards a “politics of experience” (Seem in Deleuze & Guattari 1983: xix), that avoids treating the experience of the *supernatural* as *superstition*.⁴⁴ This “combination of three modes of knowledge – the *intuitive*, the *practical*, and the *reflective*” (Seem in Deleuze & Guattari 1983: xix), brings out the

⁴³ See *Big Pines* for a more complete discussion of *collection* in contrast to *appropriation*.

⁴⁴ Hinted at in the works of A.I. Hallowell, and made more explicit by Mark Seem in the introduction to Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari’s *Anti-Oedipus*, this approach towards a “politics of experience” moves away from the identity politics and self-production through negation of the “other” so heavily critiqued by Theodor Adorno under the label of negative dialectics. For more explanation of these ideas see Adorno (1973 [1992]), Hallowell (1960 [1992]), Buck-Morss (1977: 67, 74), and De Castro (1998, 2011: 31)

importance of Lawrence's point that "Connecting people's histories to specific lands clarifies that being Indigenous is not about blood-quantum – it is about establishing connections to the ancestors" (Lawrence 2012: 287).

Moving beyond "survivance" (and the meagre sustainability it proposes) towards what I would consider *thrivance*, John Ralston Saul notes,

The continuity in Aboriginal arguments has been remarkable. In the 1970's Grand Chief John Kelly pointed out to a royal commission that 'We have proved that we will not be assimilated. We have demonstrated that our culture has a viability that cannot be suppressed... [A]s the years go by, the circle of the Ojibway gets bigger and bigger. Canadians of all colors and religion are entering that circle. You might feel that you have roots somewhere else, but in reality, you are right here with us.' (Saul 2008: 29)

The prophetic words of the Kitchissippirini Chief Tessouat (at least thrice resurrected), seem an early example of similar claims to continuity and resilience when he stated,

"I am like a tree - [my people] are the branches thereof, to which I give vigor."

(Tessouat quoted in Whiteduck 2002: 73)



*Plate #19 - Giant White Pine, Brent Campgrounds,
Algonquin Provincial Park*

“It’s like déjà vu all over again.”

Recent news stories lament the aging fan-base of Major League Baseball in North America, and the waning interest of younger people in being spectators of, or even playing the sport. For a time the dwindling number of fans occupying seats, and paying for them, caused some to speculate that the audience of the “American Church of Baseball” (Newman 2001: 46) might be losing their faith. There is a parallel in the similarity that this situation bears to that of the Park in that it also seems to have an ever aging population of returning visitors, and that the numbers of young people who have been visiting in recent years is declining sharply. Fewer visitors results in less incoming revenue, and while it is not a savory topic of discussion (as evidenced by the quiet mention of revenue streams in the Algonquin Provincial Park Management Plan) the costs of keeping the Park in operation have always been a concern for the authorities.

The fear that is commonly cited is that as fewer visitors come to the Park (or analogously to the ball diamond) the operation becomes less sustainable requiring authorities to seek other revenue sources (Van Sickle & Eagles 1998, Eagles 2014A, Eagles 2014B, Eagles & Bando 2009). A tension thus arises between those who view the Park as a place to “preserve,” or “protect” “nature,” and others who begin to view it as a place of personal recreation, or as a tourist destination (McKercher 1996, Fresque & Plummer 2009).

Here, Park naturalists and biologists find themselves caught between the desire to maintain conservation efforts and the need to support their efforts (Brussard & Tull 2007, Vasarhelyi & Thomas 2006). Often this means that experts in biology and ecology spend

their evenings trekking along the highway corridor and nearby trails with large groups of visitors in tow, attempting to elicit responses from wolves by howling loudly into the night, sustaining the sense of mystery that so many associate with the “legendary” predators and with the wilderness (Quinn 2009). Since beginning my research on the Park I have heard several people refer to the place as “God’s country,” but I have never had any of them explain to me what they meant by the term, or what this meant about the rest of the country-side and landscape.

In the 1960’s a particular lake in the southern area along the Madawaska River system became a haven for the “interpretive staff of the Algonquin Park Museum” (Garland 2008: 40) while seeking quiet and solitude away from the guests who were often inexperienced in the woods and considered burdens. This lake became known by the name that the Park guides, interpreters and caretakers had started to call themselves in private, “Muslims,” and they called their retreat Muslim Lake, as it is still called on the maps to the Park (Garland 2008: 40). They called themselves this because as the caretakers of Algonquin Park, the country’s most famous protected area, the Museum staff thought of themselves as devotees of the “One True God,” a parody of the Muslim faith and the religion of Islam that placed Nature as a monotheistic deity and its worship as the only “true” religion.

The irony of the Park’s naturalist interpretive staff, responsible as they are for explaining and teaching about the “natural” aspects of the Park as well as its “history,” referring to themselves as Muslims is made more apparent in light of the common atheism of Naturalist approaches to the world premised upon the dualist ontological framework of biological science (Descola 2013: 185). This prevalent “regime of a separation between a

more or less immaterial mind and an objective physical and corporeal world” (Descola 2013: 185), still reigns even in the discipline of anthropology where too often it is forgotten that ““cognitive structures emerge from the kinds of recurrent sensorimotor patterns that enable action to be perceptually guided”” and are not “reducible to a representational interiority that gives form to passively received stimuli” (Descola 2013: 185). Algonquin Park rendered as “God’s country,” (one friend called it “untouched virgin nature,” thus unsullied by the hand of man) is a place that people come to commune with them-*selves*, and to recreate a particular set of relations premised upon the separation of nature from culture, a division based in a faithful adherence to Naturalist dualism (Rottschaefter 2001).

The ironic and often quoted comment made by Yogi Berra that “it’s like déjà vu all over again” seems at first quixotic and redundant, but it is meant to highlight, through example and the evocation that comes along with any performance, the affective and embodied reaction to irony, and to the “out of place” irruptions of memory and uncanny intensity referred to as déjà vu; that is, it exemplifies what it produces, or to be more blunt and in line with Berra and many of my friends in the Park area, “it is what it is”; a strange collusion of material and ideal substance and an interpenetration of thing-ness with the body, in short, a denial of “substantivism” and an assertion of “vitalist” monism (Bennett 2010). Contrary to the treatment of irony in the work of Soren Kierkegaard which suggests that it is an end to dialogue, or a refusal to move past a sudden blockage in verbal/logical communication, this understanding of irony relies on “immanent critique” (Povinelli 2011:35) of each performative enunciation and each affective apprehension of the ironic, always locating the effects across relationships and in embodied processes of

reduplicative intensity (Schleifer 1979). Perhaps communication in the strictest sense, meaning the intelligible transmission of information (the written or oral transmission of knowledge), is foreclosed by irony; there is clearly an interpersonal, inter-subjective dimension that is left open; communion, sharing of affection, participation in the rhythms and currents of life common to ontological and epistemological trends of various societies, and registered through the “politics of experience” (Seem in Deleuze & Guattari 1983: xix).

Irony is a way of establishing shared experience exposed in the pattern of Marie Joyce’s repeated opening line; “Are you lost?” As Darren Dokis points out in his poignant elucidations of the uses of First Nations humour as a coping mechanism against pervasive racism in Canadian society, teasing takes two prominent forms,

permitted disrespect and self-deprecation. Permitted disrespect implies you have the other person’s permission to joke about them or to tease them. This form of teasing requires a level of intimacy between individuals; only those that know each other well and have a close relationship tease each other in this way. (Dokis 2007: 62)

By taking the initiative to introduce herself this way to every stranger that visits, Marie took the upper hand, making a stranger into an equal by usurping the traditional power dynamics associated with mystery. Marie confronted mystery with a matter of fact empiricism that went beyond words; she tested people based against her own experience by how she felt about their answers, or lack thereof. The irony is that as an ethnographer doing research on “my own country” I was likely motivated by some search for something, or time, in which to “find” *myself*, and that I was reaching outside to find my

place. I was searching for a conduit through which to commune with the person I had been told I was and who I might become, and I had it all along.



Plate #20 - Pine Pollen on the Amable Du Fond River,

Samuel De Champlain Provincial Park

Algonquin Provincial Park and the People without Ethnohistory

To my friend, the stakes were obvious; “If they don’t do something about it I’ll burn it all down myself.” When he said it, I wasn’t sure if he was talking about the all-but-abandoned former Canadian National Railway bunkhouse that stood on the shoreline of Cedar Lake blocking much of the most prized waterfront or if he was talking about his own cottage. We had been speaking about the impending end of the leaseholders’ agreement that allowed outfitters, children’s camps and lodges to operate inside Algonquin Provincial Park, but that also allowed private leases which were often passed down through families over the past hundred years or so. During the same conversation he told me that most of the leaseholders in the former railroad divisional point and logging town called Brent were descendents of local Indigenous people, but that none of those who held leases in the area had official Indian Status. Most had given up their Status in order to maintain leases and therefore had to find ways to pay for them. Some had worked for the railway, but many more had worked as loggers, a nuance that is absent from many representations of the area’s past that are displayed in the Museums and guidebooks tourists rely on for entertainment and education.

The development of new logging and transportation techniques and technologies meant that Brent had become less important to the railroad and in 1997 the tracks were ripped up, and the power was shut off, leaving the cottagers in the dark and the rail-bed a polluted ruin. The debate continues about who should be responsible for cleaning it up. Due to the immense costs associated with environmental remediation, there is a chance

that the Canadian National Railway may simply re-lay the tracks on the empty rail-bed and begin using the right of way again, a provision guaranteed to the company by the commercial leaseholders' agreement. I wondered what might happen to Brent when the cottagers' agreement expires in 2017 and how my friend might gain recognition of his poignant connection to the area and to the people who had called this place home *“forever.”*

Later in the conversation the same man's son told me about a “pilgrimage” he and his cousins made each year by canoe that took them past Manitou Lake on their way to the family cottage at Cedar Lake. I didn't grasp the importance of it at the time but he told me that they often “took a moose” on the trip and that they could get in “big trouble” if they got caught since hunting in that area of the Park was illegal for all but Status Indians. Manitou Lake's documentary history intertwines with the presence of Algonquin people in the area since the first French “explorers” paddled their way up the Ottawa and Petawawa Rivers, recording the name and the presence of “Algonquin Indians” as early as the 1600's (Garland 2008: 35). As the name Manitou suggests, there is an air of mystery surrounding the place and past. At a juncture between the Petawawa and the Amable Du Fond Rivers, Manitou Lake was known as Wilkes' Lake from 1931 until 1973 when, as one Park historian notes, the name was changed back suggesting that, “By the restoration of the name an interesting glimpse of history has been persevered” (Garland 2008: 35). But, there is more to the story than is often told by Park literature and ephemera which tend to conceal a more insidious history of dispossession and appropriation; a concealment that obscures, and thus threatens the promise of revitalization for many non-Status Algonquin people.

The Amable Du Fond River was named after an Algonquin man who set up a depot farm on Manitou Lake that sold and traded food to loggers and other settlers in the area until the death of Amable Du Fond's son Ignace in 1917. In 1902, the Superintendent of the Park, G.W. Bartlett "visited the family" and was told that when Amable's ancestors "first came to the lake they saw a very large water snake ('serpent') and believed the Great Spirit was in it" (Garland 2008: 35). When Ignace passed away Park authorities approached the family for a deed and unable to produce one the farm was left by the authorities to rot and their descendants were prevented by a contract from returning as year round residents (Sanders 1946: 94-95). Some of Ignace's descendants are now recognized members of the Maynooth area band with official Indian Status and Amable Du Fond is listed on a "preliminary list of ancestors" made to be cited as evidence of Algonquin heritage (Huitema 2005, Draft Schedule of Algonquins 2012).

The list clarified something else for me as well, as it seems there had been two people named Amable Du Fond (who were brothers) living in the area during the censuses of 1831 and 1865, and the census takers had been less than consistent with the spelling of the name, recording at least four different spellings. Further I found the names of an Alexander and a Bazil Dufonds on the 1865 census, and a man named Jean Baptiste Desfonds listed on a census taken in 1836. Looking further into these names led me to another place that used to be called Manitou Lake further southwest along the Petawawa River where a "Nipissing grand chief" named Jean Baptiste Kijicho Manitou, who had begun to accommodate an influx of newcomers near what's now called Baptiste Lake in Bancroft, had a son named Jean Baptiste Dufond in 1842 (Lawrence 2012: 242). There are at least twenty one different spellings of Kijichi Manitou's name and this, combined

with what Lawrence, Huitema and others imply as the almost intentional obfuscation of names and family lines, led some scholars to claim that tracing these genealogies may be impossible (Lawrence 2012, Huitema 2009).

Bonita Lawrence has described this pattern of losing track of names and familial relations as a part of the colonial fracturing of Algonquin community, territory and tradition, and details the dispossession and (dis)enfranchisement of various groups throughout the Ottawa (*Kiji Sibi/Kitchissippi*) Basin during the periods of most intense colonization. Lawrence suggests that as many as two-thirds of those who may have Algonquin ancestors do not have official status (Lawrence 2012). After detailing the destruction of some priceless archaeological evidence of local Algonquin presence on the land, Lawrence goes on to note that “silencing constituted a more profound erasure than the loss of ancient artifacts. Overwhelmed by settlers, forced into the wage economy, and pressured to keep silent about their identities, they survived at the cost of not passing on their extensive knowledge of Algonquin culture and history” (Lawrence 2012: 242).

This silence and erasure has been a major impediment towards the settlement of the 1992 land claim filed by the Algonquins of *Pikwakanagan*/Golden Lake, the only federally recognized Algonquin Band in Ontario at the time, now the largest of the many Algonquin Bands throughout Ontario and Quebec (Comprehensive Land Claim, Preliminary Draft, Agreement in Principle, Executive Summary, 2012). Filed almost one-hundred years after the establishment of the Park in 1893, the land claim is troubled as well by the difficulties of discontinuity in the transmission of Traditional Knowledge often resulting from the loss of elders who could share memories of the names and

importance of different places that lay within the Park's contemporary boundaries. One man of Algonquin descent described to Lawrence how he could,

remember hearing stories from ... grand-uncles; they were loggers working in the bush, and they would find stones, up in the middle of huge trees, nests of stones. Having never seen them because they cut the trees down, you don't know whether they were burial platforms or what they were. (Tinney quoted in Lawrence 2012: 242)

Later on in the interview he stated that,

in the whole land claim area, hunting and fishing has been a way of life for generations. And that's probably the only contact that most non-status people have with their history. I don't know anyone that does bark work anymore. There are no basket-makers that I'm aware of. I don't know anyone who does handmade bows or anything like that. All of the old crafts and skills are no longer required. So the only real attachment they have to the old ways is hunting and fishing.

They don't see the big picture – or a big enough picture... They see trees, fish, and moose. (Tinney quoted in Lawrence 2012: 247)

There have been a variety of other responses to the land claim from various Algonquin groups and interested others. The least heartening came from the “ad hoc committee to SAVE THE PARK” which was formed by local community members in Whitney and elsewhere, but which also included some members of the Leaseholders' Association from Brent who were likely descendents of Algonquin people. The committee's first response was to issue a pair of pamphlets directed against the Algonquin claims to historical continuity and presence in the area (MacKay 1992). In each, the archaeological record was employed to suggest that the people who now laid claim to the names and titles of the Algonquin people employed almost none of the traditional tools or crafts that their supposed ancestors had, and in this way demonstrated a lack of continuity with the past

“authentic” Algonquin people. Further, these pamphlets marshalled the lack of comprehensive and synthesized archaeological work on the area as proof that there had been no people who had ever called the area home, remaining silent on the reasons why the literature regarding a conservation area the size and age of Algonquin Park was thin on archaeological evidence for past Indigenous occupation (Whiteduck 2009: 7).

In the Algonquin Park Visitor Center and Museum there is a plaque resting next to a frieze depicting the Algonquin as “*The First Visitors*,” and on it the words of the chief of the Golden Lake/*Pikwakanagan* Algonquins Kirby Whiteduck are quoted explaining how each winter families returned to places far to the interior of what is now the Park. In his other work Whiteduck suggests that many of these places were not only “family hunting territories,” as suggested by the plaque which echoes the seminal work of Frank Speck, but were also the resting places of ancestors marked by stone nests placed high up in giant white and red pine trees, often next to running waters (Speck 1923 [1985], Whiteduck 2002: 57). The Museum’s reference to the Algonquin as “visitors” is at odds with the notion that they may have called the area home, and the plaque introduced by Park Historian Roderick MacKay re-appropriates the image and in some ways the voice of the chief himself as a sign of the neo-liberal failure to incorporate Indigenous perspectives in a “decolonized” and reciprocal fashion (Lonetree 2012).

Whiteduck suggests that these territories held an importance to the families that returned to them, but this is obscured by MacKay’s framing of historical Algonquin presence as “*The First Visitors*,” and therefore not the first residents of the area. Amy Lonetree discusses the frequency of this framing pattern in several prominent museums throughout North America and concludes that Indigenous perspectives are often included only when

properly “sanitized” and presented in a non-threatening manner, which often means erasing any threats related to Indigenous presence (Lonetree 2012). It seems that many of the museum curators and funding agencies Lonetree investigated assume that reminding visitors of the possible threat posed by Aboriginal land claims disturbs the educational and entertainment potential of historical displays (Lonetree 2012). Decolonizing such institutions requires destabilizing the traditional Liberal tolerance of difference and the neo-Liberal propensity to re-appropriate the image of authentic Indigeneity that conveniently avoids the creation of a platform for Indigenous voices to be heard.

Whiteduck explains his initial reticence to undertake a survey of the archaeological record as

due not only to its technical nature and its broad scope but also to what those in the field admit is the uncertainty of the profession. Many have stated that for most prehistoric sites they cannot say with certainty which cultural group or people established the site and developed or used the objects found at such sites. (Whiteduck 2002: 7)

In contrast, he argues,

Given that the Algonquins were known to have been present throughout the Kitchissippi Valley at the time of European contact it is quite safe to assume that the Woodland people of the valley were the immediate predecessors and ancestors of the Algonquins, in other words they were Algonquins. (Whiteduck 2009: 41)

More mainstream archaeologists prefer not to make such claims even when arguing for historical continuity. Suggesting instead that “there is a huge conceptual difference between archaeologically defining cultural traditions and linking these with temporally specific sociopolitical designations,” some prefer the use of standardized terminology (such as “Woodland” or “Pre-Woodland”) as a way of promoting more “archaeologically

‘neutral’ designations” (Ferris 2009: 6). A troubling consequence is that both those for and those against the land claim mobilize the archaeological record to support their own political agenda. The archaeological preference for supposedly “neutral” language or terminology proves inherently divisive, not only in its tendency to inhibit rather than enable consensus, but also in how the resulting fractures of Indigenous community and the fragmentation of local history and memory align with the purposes of the colonial enterprise.

This supposed neutrality is at odds with the stated purpose of some “historical archaeology” studies to think “of contact as continuum, attuned to place, time, local agency and specific historical context, but also contextualized within the deeper time depth only archaeology can access” (Ferris 2009: 27). It is difficult to avoid the implications of such language when it is precisely these ways of talking about past Indigenous occupation that are marshalled by the opponents of land claims. Drawing on an archaeological record constituted in that very language the “ad hoc committee” went so far as to suggest that the Algonquin are not the same people as the Woodland Indians, and indeed that data renders the entire notion of historical continuity in the area tenuous (Hodgins & Cannon 1996, MacKay 1996). More troubling perhaps is that Park Historian Roderick MacKay, who introduced the words of Whiteduck by stating the Algonquin were “*The First Visitors*,” is quoted both by Whiteduck who notes that there were “Archaic and Woodland Indians” (Whiteduck 2009: 46) that lived in the area, and also by his brother Rory MacKay who authored the committee’s pamphlet *More Historic Research Indicates that the Golden Lake Land Claim to Algonquin Park is Invalid* (MacKay 1992).

In his foundational text *Europe and the People without History* Eric Wolf attempted to counter common understandings of so-called primitives as societies that were without a way of verifying and creating written records of the past and who, in the absence of such documentation, were imagined as somehow immune to the effects of time and history, fixed in a pre-historical state (Wolf 1997, Hancock 2011: 191). For many scholars, including the majority of archaeologists, anthropologists and historians, due to the lack of written records this “prehistoric” period is one that does not come to a conclusion until the first contacts with Europeans and their forms of historical accountancy (MacKay 1996, Ferris 2009). Some of these scholars were dubbed “ethnohistorians,” and were often involved in land claims research. As such, “the formal, legal need for these studies privileged historic documentary sources over informant-based ethnographic data...” which led to “the reliance on written records to document the impact of contact and colonialism [meaning] that some portion of ethnohistorical research largely adopted the conventions of standard historical research” (Ferris 2009: 12-13).

This form of history typically was assumed to be an objective exercise; revealing fixed ‘truths’ by the act of uncovering data from archives and presenting that data within a deterministic narrative,” ending with Indigenous dependency or assimilation, and always coloured by the involvement of “individual Europeans. It encompassed their personal reaction and was based on their imperfect knowledge of the meanings of Indigenous behaviours and ways of life” (Ferris 2009: 12-13). Wolf has been accused of providing just such a deterministic historical narrative by Hancock and others who suggest that his history largely confirms the decline of Indigenous society worldwide and stands as “a constraint on his conceptualization of Indigenous people and their encounters with

Capitalism” (Hancock 2011: 191). There is another constraint that emerges through this conceptualization, not at all limited to Wolf’s work, but which proliferates across the sub-disciplines of anthropology. This constraint can be heard in the insistence from some quarters that other approaches to history are unable to “reach beyond” their own purview, or that they “can do so only more ‘imperfectly’” than whatever approach is being defended (Ferris 2009: 22).

In my interpretation however, the hunt undertaken by the Algonquin cottager I spoke of earlier stands as evidence of continued Algonquin presence in their traditional homeland, but it seems the Park authorities and even some other Algonquin see things quite differently. Rather than suggesting that all these folks have left of their traditions are hunting and fishing, I would argue that the seasonal return displayed by my friends’ pilgrimage also presents an opportunity for the revitalization of traditional relationships towards the land that are embedded in the Algonquin language. The annual pilgrimage enacts a continuity of tradition in patterns of return that have been followed by local Algonquin people since “time immemorial,” when “our Great Fathers’ orders” were first set forth as Whiteduck argues on the “*First Visitors*” plaque.

Ethnohistorical research, as I approach it, is meant to promote the understanding of the interrelated production of historical narratives and the co-production of inter-subjective relations between and amongst entities who shared colonized and imperially situated spaces. An ethnohistorical perspective that seeks to expand this understanding cannot ignore the other half of the research by ignoring the ethnohistory of the State. This necessarily includes an analysis of the awkward premise that “deep” historical continuity is to be judged and defined by European immigrants and their descendents. The people

who undertook the census and the dialects of French or English that they spoke are of critical import when tracing out genealogical connections, or when recognizing that for some Algonquin people knowing the names of ancestors is central to knowing how to approach them. Many recognize that not to speak the language of the ancestors is to risk not being heard by them, putting one in exile at home. In this case, to ignore the ethnic specificity of State agents is to ignore the impact of language, culture and history on the formation of historical perspectives; oxymoronic at best, supportive of a colonial status quo at worst.

An ethically motivated and theoretically robust and rigorous ethnohistory must recognize not only that all people/s have histories, as well as ethnicities, but that they also have ways of remembering, and passing on those histories, traditions, and knowledges that they feel define them; it must proceed, not from the assumption that this knowledge constitutes little more than stories that natives and traditionalists tell themselves about how they got to where they are today, but rather from the axiomatic position that oral history maintains a socio-culturally viable “ethno-logic” that remains in contrast to an overreliance on either documentary or material evidence of the past. This form of ethnohistorically conscious endeavor eschews the impossible, divisive reduction of positivist proof and surety, or a kind of perfected knowledge of the past, instead working towards more ethical, reciprocal and respectful engagements with those whose history, and therefore future, is at stake in these present debates.

The stone nests will not speak for themselves, even if we ask the books what they are trying to say. If we do come across one, we will only learn of its significance to Indigenous people by asking them. This means avoiding the habit of trying to get to the

bottom of things so common in studies that claim to reveal “deeper,” more perfect histories, and recognizing that all historical claims are claims; oral history is history, not just Native American verbal art and therefore questioning the integrity of oral histories amounts to questioning the integrity of the one who speaks, a deeply insulting premise that harms further relationships. Rather, this ethnohistorical effort engages with the contemporary effects of conjured historical narratives through the conscious accounting of voices that have been too often silenced, by moving past the materialist presumption that what people say is nothing but talk and instead directing attention toward the violent and painful effects of colonial and Imperial policies and practices that continue to divide descendent communities from the ancestors and lands they revere, as often as they divide these people from one another.

PART II

In Part I, I worked towards a vocabulary through which to describe, explain, and evoke the density and texture of experience relating to affective interactions with Algonquin Provincial Park and its popular representations. This involved an implicit reconsideration of motivation and intentionality as fraught concepts when employed in cultural and social analyses, terms in need of replacement. It has also involved a redefinition of both history and ethnohistory. History no longer takes precedence as the authoritative and *true* version of events, as a master narrative or meta-history,⁴⁵ exposed instead as an ethnocentric hubris akin to the dismissal of alternative epistemologies and often engaged in the perpetuation of colonial power differentials with very real *effects*.

By reckoning with the ubiquity of the “messy terrain of culture, its discontents, and its competing modes of representation” (McClary 1994: 73), ethnohistory becomes the new cover-term for a reflexive historicism; the construction of narratives which attend to the co-production of historically, culturally, and politically situated representations and understandings constituent of national-cultural imaginaries. To obscure the ethno-logic of any historical narrative is to obscure its cultural, social, and political relevance.

Claiming objective neutrality amounts to denying personal responsibility for the effects of historical claims on those whose future is at stake. I have made an effort to shift attention to the *effects* of such constructions by attending to “how language actually operates in the world” (McClary 1994: 73). In a sense this is a warning to both history and ethnohistory that, “When disciplines refuse to undergo such shifts, they render

⁴⁵ Just as much as ethnography, History, writ large, is a fiction of Western discourse (Clifford 1986: 6). Meta-history signals the image of a history of history which is presumed to unify all historical discourses under a single master narrative. This is the claim made by the exemption of the discourse of Western or Euro-centric History from reflexive recognition of its cultural, political and subjective contexts. See Linenthal & Englehardt (1996) for a discussion of the “revisionist” nature of *all* historical claims and the reliance of historical conservatism on claims to universal Truth and objective history (understood to be a *science*).

themselves obsolete, for other groups simply take up and perform the tasks rejected by more traditional scholars” (McClary 1994: 79-80).

In the following section, entitled *Paddles, Pigeons, and Passing on Knowledge*, I take a different approach from that of the first part of the text. This section enacts an ethnopoetics that simultaneously evokes what it describes, and while I occasionally provide some explanations, they never work to explain away the experience within which they collude. Part II is a fugue in sixteen pieces, braided together through four recurring strands, meant to spiral around the themes of intergenerational trauma, Indigenous ways of coping and healing, and the need to build bridges between different epistemological and ontological divides, juxtaposing varied and contrasting approaches to life in and around the *Kitchissippi/Ottawa Valley* over time.

This is an ethnohistory that delves into ethnopsychology, autoethnography, and genealogy, in which I deploy historical and personal narratives in an effort to demonstrate the futility of competition between those who identify as sensitive to issues of health, well-being, and environmental stewardship, while provisioning new avenues through which to imagine spaces of collaboration, cooperation, and collusion against the hegemony of settler-colonialism.⁴⁶ This is an effort to “historicize” (Jameson 1981: 9)

⁴⁶ Qualitative methods for disseminating health promotion and research have been expanding recently, as have calls for the formation of new methods and techniques to help people maintain their own health and well-being (Aguiar & Halseth 2015, Marmot et. al. 2008, Marmot & Friel 2008, Eyles 1999, Edwards & Cohen 2012, Skinner et. al. 2013, NCCDH 2010, Hilmi et. al. 2012, Minore et. al. 2014). Chantelle Richmond notes that social support networks and individual perceptions of access to strong social support networks found in narratives and life-histories have profound effects on community and individual health and well-being (Richmond 2007). The spreading use of genealogy as a therapeutic tool is discussed by Inna Leykin in an excellent article about “Rodologia,” and the employment of these methods in countering State-sponsored terrorism and violence (Leykin 2015). Joao Biehl demonstrates how the documentation of life histories provides a manner through which to contend with both “zones of social abandonment” and personal trauma in his ethnographic renderings of the health-based interventions of the Brazilian Nation-

Algonquin Provincial Park undertaken through surrealist “presentism” and allegorical allusions. Part II is a performative effort in “mimesis” (Taussig 1993), an evocative demonstration of intergenerational trauma, dread, hope and healing. In short, this is an experiment, “a series of juxtaposed paratactic tellings of a shared circumstance,” a “text consisting of fragments of discourse intended to evoke in the minds of both reader and writer an emergent fantasy of a possible world of commonsense reality, and thus to provoke an aesthetic integration that will have a therapeutic effect” (Tyler 1986: 125-126).

State (Biehl 2005 [2013], 2007). This section brings these efforts together while maintaining attention to the specifics of the Canadian context.

Paddles, Pigeons & Passing on Knowledge

“Navigation delivers man to the uncertainty of fate; on water, each of us is in the hands of his own destiny; every embarkation is, potentially, the last. It is for the other world that the madman sets sail in his fools’ boat; it is from the other world that he comes when he disembarks. The madman’s voyage is at once a rigorous division and an absolute Passage.”

Foucault, Madness & Civilization, 1973: 11

Packing In -

I woke around quarter to six in the morning, had a quick shower, and began to pack the Honda CRV. It looked much less full than on a usual trip to the Park. A tightly packed black knapsack, a blue barrel pack with its black lid snapped shut, two paddles, two lifejackets and a cooler that was suspiciously empty as well; one can of beer, two cans of ginger ale, four bottles of water and a small bag of fruit, mostly berries. It also contained my meat for the three night trip; a frozen sausage and a New York strip steak, each wrapped in paper that would later be burned. In the trunk there was a bottle of red wine that I planned to fill a wineskin with to bring with me into the interior. I thought the beer might come in handy as a trade if I came back from my trip too tired to lift the canoe onto the car alone.

I trundled into my yard to get the final and most important piece of equipment; a canoe recently given to me by a good friend. It had been in his family since before he was born and had been resting outside unused for almost ten years. I bought a steel feeding trough at a hardware store and filled it with a variety of beer, all local and mostly from “micro-brew” companies that specialize in small batches and unusual recipes. His response was,

That wasn't necessary. The canoe is just rotting away there anyways. You'll need to do some repairs before you can use it but it's in good enough shape and it's built like a tank.

I bent down and rolled the canoe onto its side with the bottom facing my right knee, reached my left arm across to the far gunnel, and rolled the boat up onto my shoulders. I turned and walked up the steps from the bottom of my backyard and carefully slid the canoe onto the vehicle's roof racks. I used five ratcheting cargo straps to tie the boat down, checked them for tension and once I was satisfied they were secured I set out on the road at about seven in the morning for a familiar drive to Algonquin Park. My hope was that I would arrive no later than noon and be able to have my "paddle in the water" by one o'clock in the afternoon with plenty of time to reach a campsite and set up before dusk.

Passing I -

The Highway #401 from London to the Kitchener-Waterloo area was fairly clear, but the traffic became much heavier the closer I got to Toronto and in the interest of time I took the exit to the #407 east. Twenty five minutes or so later I was merging onto the northbound #400 and well on my way to the Park. As usual, the #401 had been busy with transport trucks on that Friday morning, but just before 11 o'clock in the morning the Highway #400 northbound became as dangerous as ever.

Notorious for hosting a wide variety of drivers, some of them with little experience driving under high-speed conditions and some with much less confidence or awareness of other vehicles, the three lane highway was becoming clogged in the middle lane. With

the canoe on the roof I didn't want to go much faster than the speed limit not wanting to see what happens when the straps come loose at a high speed. The pace had slowed to seventy kilometres an hour and the lane to the far left (generally the "passing" lane) had slowed noticeably as well. The heavy line of traffic prevented me from seeing the cause of the blockage, but the slowdown had only agitated some of the drivers more familiar with the road or more inclined to a faster pace to make the far right hand lane into the fastest, causing the line on the right to pass at an unnervingly quick rate. Eventually the blockage eased, but not before a pickup truck going roughly thirty or forty kilometres over the speed limit of one-hundred kilometres an hour ran off the edge of the shoulder and into a ditch when another vehicle tired of the slow movement had changed lanes without taking into account the speed of the vehicles in the lane they were entering.

The driver of the pickup was not visibly hurt, jumped out of the truck and raised his right fist to show the other driver the back of his middle finger. Colloquially this is called flipping the bird. I saw a few more instances of this gesture on the drive, part of what makes it so familiar for me I suppose after years of highway driving. In a similar fashion the ubiquitous Canadian flags stuck to the bumpers of cars rarely register in my consciousness.

It seems now to be an apt allegory for the daily operation of what might be described as the Canadian "national-cultural imaginary" (Ivy 1998: 3) that there are obvious rules and expectations regarding how the lanes on the road should be used, but in practice, they are used as people choose under the duress of the moment. The circumvention of these regulations by otherwise patriotic and law abiding citizens enacts an ironic parody of sovereign authority and demonstrates the thinly veiled illusion of Governmental control.

In some ways this seems to contradict the “governmentality” proposed by Foucault (Foucault 1994 [2003]: 229, Rose et. al. 2006: 99). But in another manner, this behavior enacts just what it attempts to circumvent, instantiating the very “intimacy” that support for the State requires (Herzfeld 2005: x). The premise that the failure of others to obey the regulations pertaining to road speed and lane use provides grounds for personal exemption from the same regulations allows for the creation of “states of exception” which call for the demonstration of the authority of the Nation-State to exact its punishments (Agamben 1995, Minca 2006: 387).

After two stops at five to twelve I became stuck in the midst of a long line of traffic again going well under the speed limit. We crested the hill to see the giant Canadian flag that flies over the Information Centre at the West Gate of the Park along Highway #60, or the Frank MacDougall Parkway as it’s called between the Park’s gates. MacDougall is one of the most often mentioned Park Superintendents, the man credited with beginning the airborne firefighting regime that still combats brush fires in the area. It took another twenty minutes to get to the Portage Store and the Park Office on the shores of Canoe Lake where I bought my pass and asked for the easiest place to drop in. I was hoping to begin somewhere that wouldn’t be too far from Parkside Bay where I hoped to find a site before dark. The employees behind the counter said that it was easy enough to put in from the shore in front of the office, make my way out westward towards Smoke Creek and then back up the creek to Smoke Lake, where I would paddle south to the short portage taking me to Ragged Lake, and then on to Parkside Bay.

Paddling I -

It sounded simple enough, so I backed up to the water's edge and began to unload. I had everything strapped into the canoe and the vehicle parked in the lot on top of the hill by five to one o'clock in the afternoon. I felt good about the paddle ahead. The sun was shining and though there was a slight breeze, it was warm even though it was early September. I sprinkled a pinch of tobacco into the water and said thanks quietly. I knelt down in the centre of the boat as I was taught so long ago and began to paddle first a few strokes on one side and then a few on the other, stretching out my shoulders after the long drive.

I noticed a few people on the shoreline unloading a canoe from the roof of their car. There were four of them, and they seemed to be having a hard time, banging the canoe into the roof several times before plunging the boat into the water upside down. Their radio was playing a familiar song called "Beds are burning," written by a band named Midnight Oil. I saw another man walking towards the Park Office who saw this and turned, shaking his head and smiling towards the ground. There was a young woman and man standing about twenty metres further away from the water who both began laughing loud enough that I heard them. I saw another group on the other shoreline in front of the Portage Store who didn't notice the calamity, or me, or anything beyond one another. Four teen-aged girls were sitting at a park bench laughing and making loud exclamations. Behind them there was a woman wearing a lifejacket over her shoulder and carrying a paddle who was watching me paddle out. She noticed me notice her and waved to me. I don't think that I had ever met her before, but all the same she seemed familiar. I smiled and gave a wave back and she gave me the thumbs up gesture.

As I made my way out of the protection of the bay on Canoe Lake (the place of Tom Thompson's infamous death) I began to encounter a strong headwind that was making it difficult to reach the creek that would take me back around to the south. There was enough of a breeze that the waters began to chop and fight my progress. I kept working and after quite a while made my way down the creek with a headwind pressing me the whole time. When I made it to the junction that would lead me towards Smoke Lake something else became clear. Although I would now have the wind at my back, I would be paddling upstream, and the current was not in a forgiving mood.

I thought to myself that it would have been nice to have been able to set out along the Madawaska River, putting in at Rock Lake or even at Whitney. I was more familiar with the waters there, and with the canoe routes. Or if I could put in near Brent at Cedar Lake or even North River, places I've been to or paddled more than a few times, I might have known better than to fight both the winds and the currents after the fight I'd had with the highway.

Instead I made it to Smoke Lake an hour and fifteen minutes after putting in. It would have taken five minutes to drive to the other dock and parking lot, and to put in directly at Smoke Lake. I chuckled to myself that the folks at the office must have known that it wasn't an easy paddle and thought it would make a safe test to have a soloist stay close enough to the office while proving that they could keep the boat from overturning. Now that I was out on the open water I was thankful that the winds had died down and had decided not to test me further, yet.

I made it to the portage at the southern end of the lake in good time and backed my gear out onto the shore as another group arrived to make the hike overland. Two men in their forties and a boy about 12 years old with packs piled high above the sides of the canoe hit the rocky bank hard. As we talked it became clear they were surprised that I was alone, asking me several times if I was serious. One of the men asked me “what made you want to come out here alone?” and his compatriot’s response was confused. He turned from me to his friend and asked, “What made you want company out here?”

“Bears!”

Passengers I -

When I first began considering a lone canoe trip into the interior it was initiated by the feeling that I had been excluded from some conversations by those who seemed to express the opinion that I “couldn’t understand” what it would be like to be alone in the bush, without anyone else to depend upon. Although I had spent a good deal of time in the bush, and even done a few overnight trips as a camper at summer camp, not having gone alone was a sign to some that I wasn’t “*really*” capable. I was not interested in adventure, and for that reason had resisted for several years, insisting that I had nothing to prove. I was of course mistaken, as many of those I spoke to about tripping in the Park felt that I still had much to prove about my abilities to “*get by*” alone in the woods, and about my ability to understand those who identified themselves primarily through their relationship to “bush culture.” When I did finally make the decision to head in alone though, the responses that I heard from friends and family surprised me.

“Aren’t you frightened?” My mother asked.

“Of what?”

“I don’t know, of animals? Bears?”

“Why?”

“Cause you’d be alone in the middle of the night!”

“How is that different than being alone near my car in the middle of the night mom?”

“I don’t know! At least you could get in the car for shelter if it rained or something.”

“It’s been raining all summer?! That’s what my tent is for” I said.

It was an accurate statement. The weather had been unusual to say the least. My partner and I spent several evenings earlier in June and July huddled near our campfire under the awning of our large tent in four or five degree Celsius temperatures while the rain came down without cease. The weather had been unusually cold even for Canada. I spent a lot of time tending fires in the rain, and making sure that I could get one lit with wet firewood by using the right bunches of kindling and birch bark. I had become used to the cool temperatures and wasn’t worried about cold, though I didn’t consider the possibility of wind when I first set out on that sunny afternoon in early September. I packed an extra sweater and a raincoat, though I didn’t think I would need them.

A change occurred over time. When I first began fieldwork in Algonquin Park and I told people that I was spending several nights in an isolated northern campgrounds they were

surprised that I would go alone. I hadn't considered this to be any more dangerous than being with a group and this came in part from my experience and comfort in the bush, or at least outdoors. While "nature" is often represented as threatening, I grew up much of the time outdoors and my parents were careful to instill in me a sense of curiosity and appreciation for "nature." Annual camping trips and stints at overnight camps allowed me to spend time sleeping in tents and paddling on rough rivers, and to learn the necessary tricks and tools for getting by in a campgrounds if not an isolated bush. This was different from preparing for time without access to a car, or where the campsite would be at a different spot night after night. When I began preparing for my "solo" as they are called by experienced paddlers, I noticed that I wasn't feeling nervous.

Although I was going to be moving sites nightly and sleeping alone in a tent out far from help and paddling across open water, I felt calm.

The more I thought about what this meant, the more obvious it had become that "nature" was not a threat from my perspective... it was in some sense "home." I felt disoriented.

But things also began to fall into place for me. Things I had not thought much about before this trip. This was the last trip of the last summer of field work for my dissertation and it had been five years since I first began visiting the Park for research. Previous trips I had taken to campgrounds that were not always very full but were almost never solely "mine."

When I arrived at my first site I was tired and the sun was setting fast. I put up my tent and hung my food pack before it got too dark, and then I began to collect firewood.

Minutes later I was cooking my steak and watching the sun set behind the stand of trees

that lined the edge of my site. The rain that had fallen over the past few nights left some of the wood wet and it smoked and steamed under my steak. It tasted like the birch wood that I cooked it over.

While I sat and ate I thought about how quickly I was able to set up camp. For the past few years when I arrived at a site I was careful to scout it out for the high point of ground, and to position the front of my tent towards the fire while placing it between the spot I wanted to spend the most time in and wherever the nearest neighbor happened to be camped. This was so that I would have privacy while camping in the stalls that sit so close to one another in so many of the campgrounds. Out on the southern shoreline of Parkside Bay I could barely make out the nearest tent in the distance, and all I heard of other campers was the occasional loud laughter or angry exclamation...

“Why won’t you cooperate?!?!?!?”

“DAMN IT!!!!!!...”

Ouch!”

In some of the campgrounds there is no escaping the roads constantly packed with foot-traffic on their way to the beaches. At some of the campgrounds the sites sit so close that the employees in the Park offices make sure not to put campers beside one another who are not already part of the same group. Some of the sites are close enough to one another that strangers end up sharing meals and spending days together looking after one another’s children. This was a much more common practice when I was a child, and not something I saw all that often during my fieldwork in the area. The place that I saw it

most often was in Brent, the campgrounds and former town site where I did the majority of my Master's research.

Brent is one of the most isolated campgrounds in the Park situated at the end of a long gravel logging road. Many of those who visit Brent do so as they pass by along the Petawawa River from Kiosk to Achray, or when they undertake the ever popular children's camp routes from the lakes Opeongo, Tanamakoon, Source, South Tea, Canoe and Cache in the south to Cedar Lake, where Brent sits as a bastion of supplies and luxuries counter-pointing the isolation of the night(s) it often takes paddlers to arrive. Average daily progress during a canoe trip is 15 to 25 km over the course of four to six hours. This often drops when considering obstacles such as winds, currents and necessary portages around dangerous rapids and falls. This is the rate for two paddlers in one boat, suggesting that a lone paddler may go considerably slower. Portages are a particular hassle for the soloist as they are responsible for carrying what is often more weight in gear than they themselves weigh, making for multiple trips across rough terrain.

I had arrived at my site on Parkside Bay at six thirty in the evening, five and a half hours after setting out from the shore in front of the office. My shoulders were sore, and my knees were bruised from kneeling on the canoe's bottom in order to stabilize the boat from the rocking caused by wind and wave. Mostly my hands hurt from gripping the paddle so tightly as a result of stress and not need.

I looked through my backpack for the flask of wine and found that I had dropped it on a rock during the portage, bursting the seal at the top and leaving my spare sweatshirt soaked. I took the sweater down to the water's edge and washed it out, leaving it to dry

on the line beside the bag of food I had strung up out of reach of bears, raccoons and other animals. This was, from my past experience, the easiest way to avoid any uncomfortable confrontations with the other Park users, rangers and animals. There were a few drops of wine left in the flask so I used the remainder to make gravy from the steak drippings and made the most of an unfortunate situation.

I finished dinner, washed up the dishes, made some hot chocolate and watched the stars emerge from behind the dwindling clouds until my eyelids were heavy and I trundled off to bed. I woke the next morning to the caw of a raven and came out of the tent to find a sunny morning full of bright golden mist. I packed up while boiling some water for oatmeal and coffee and I pushed my canoe off at a leisurely ten in the morning. I arrived on the south shore of Ragged Lake about an hour later exhausted from the previous day's struggle against the wind and current, and the added stress of the drive. Before I even set up my tent I had fallen asleep on the beach watching an eagle soar across the open sky above the lake.

Pigeons I -

Jake Pigeon had been working in the outfitters store in Brent for decades before I arrived, yet some there insisted that he was still an "outsider." The cottagers are often descendents of loggers and railwaymen who first built homes in the area. Many of their homes are now the cottages that their children and grandchildren spend their summers in. Many return to Brent every summer and many haven't let go of the memory of one of their old friends, "Smiling" Gerry McGaughy, the former proprietor of the outfitters

store, which was at one time a restaurant. Some seem to resent Jake and his connection to a few of the central figures of the local oral histories. Jake's family had been working in the Park for generations, and both he and his brother had found work in the area after their beloved Cache Lake had become too popular with tourists for their tastes and most of the cottagers had moved away. Jake first went to Kiosk at the northwest corner of the Park but it didn't take long for the Park authorities to decide that Kiosk should be left to return to the bush, and they denied the renewal of many cottage leases in the area. Once all of the cottages in the area had been reclaimed it became impossible to support the outfitters station and when it closed Jake was forced to relocate.

The story of how the Pigeon family came to the area is obscured in the records and Jake never discussed his parents with me, though I never asked about them to be fair. Lorne was a firefighter and ranger in the Park and beyond, having spent several years combating blazes north of Sault St. Marie but he was born in the Park area shortly after its establishment. Jake's mother Mary had grown up on Brulé Lake and her father Tom McCormick had been Chief Ranger in the Park for some time. (Standfield & Lundell 1993: 108, 112) Lorne's father Tom Pigeon was a camboose camp cook and a tough character from the Madawaska area who worked for the McLachlin Brothers Lumber Company for years "up the Kippaway' {Lake Kipawa} [sic] north of Mattawa" and at the depot farm on Big Trout Lake "on the upper 'Peetaway' {Petawawa River} [sic]" (Saunders 1946: 35). He was born in or around the year 1861 and first arrived in the camps in the 1870's as a "cookee" at the age of sixteen, quickly learning the ways of the logging camps (Saunders 1946: 35). Big Trout Lake is not too far downstream from Brulé Lake and it was more than likely that the two elder Toms were well acquainted

with one another, Tom McCormick having been employed at the McLachlin camp on Brulé for a time. Both lakes were home to lumber companies and had villages on their shores during the height of the log drives. In or around 1937 Jake's parents moved to their cottage on Cache Lake. Soon Lorne and his new wife Mary (née McCormick) had two sons, first Tom (named for his grandfathers and an uncle, Mary's brother) and later Jake.

The two brothers have transformed themselves into legends in the lore of the Park's various children's camps and the surrounding literature beginning with their terms as guides at Camp Northway. The trophy given to those who complete an annual paddling competition known as the Brent Run posts the names of the two repeatedly with some of the most impressive times recorded for the feat (Standfield & Lundell 1993: 112). Their familiarity with some of the routes must have come from the numerous trips they would have taken into the interior with their parents. As famous as the two are for their paddling skill, their mother has gained even more renown for her canoeing talent in Algonquin lore beginning with her own visits to Camp Northway as a girl. Beginning in 1926 her father took her to the annual Highland Inn regatta where she consistently won the ladies singles competition. The perennial winner from the men's side, Aubrey Dunne, became her paddling partner and the two outmatched their competition in the mixed doubles for years (McCormick Pigeon 1993: 22).

Camp Northway was founded by Fannie L. Case, a famous educator, naturalist and suffragette, on the shores of Cache Lake in 1908 (Saunders 1946: 138). At least fourteen years before women were allowed to vote in the United States in 1922, it was "her firm conviction that class-room walls were not the ideal background for the learning process"

(Saunders 1946: 138), and she had led groups of young American women on canoe trips along the Magnetawan River the two previous summers. Camp Northway became a place to which wealthy parents would send daughters who were to learn how to be self-sufficient and competent people regardless of their gender. This meant employing capable guides and folks who were familiar with the local geography, and many of the locals made decent wages guiding wealthy and unprepared children of privilege through the bush and along the waterways.

The camp was, for its time, quite radical and the effects of the encouragement it offered to young women can still be seen in the persistence of the camp and its traditions, as well as in the work of past attendees. Alumna Gaye Clemson is one of the Park's most prominent oral historians. I met her at the Algonquin Park Visitor Centre & Museum during the summer of 2014 and she told me a few anecdotes about her family and their time in the area. A long time cottager on Canoe Lake, Clemson now writes and records oral "feminist" histories of prominent people from the Park's past who were responsible for founding now defunct logging towns or campgrounds and who have inextricably altered the contemporary experience of the Park. From Ms. Case to Taylor Statten, and from Tom Thompson to J.R. Booth, Clemson describes the "early days" in the Park through a biographical idiom and often elucidates the presence and practical impacts that prominent women have had on the Park and its past. The Feminist oral tradition represented by Clemson's work reclaims a subjugated history however. It is common to hear guides argue that "there were no women in the Park" during the early days of logging and settlement and I find it important to question why they feel the need to perpetuate this elision rather than specifying that women were uncommon visitors to the

camps, and that many women did live in the area before it became a Park (Guide at the Algonquin Park Logging Museum, personal communication 2011, 2014).

As I've pointed out elsewhere, in line with Clemson's arguments, the presumption that there were no women in the Park belies the desire of some to maintain a sanitized meta-history regarding the Park's past, and in the area before the Park was established. The meta-history works to obscure the presence of native women, of women who passed for men, and of the companions of some of the earliest farmers in the area, themselves quite capable in the woods and on the waters. It works to hide the ways in which both settlers and natives alike were dispossessed of their properties during the Park's establishment and consolidation, and it elides the profoundly disturbing effects of this dispossession on the Algonquin, Mississauga, and people of Métis heritage who had previously called the area home. Many of these folks had given up official recognition of their Status in order to maintain their leases and over time their heritage had become obscured, leaving many without knowledge of their Aboriginal descent.

Alternatively, an anecdote told by Tom Pigeon to one of the Park's earliest historians Audrey Saunders makes the absence of women seem less problematic on the surface. Although it was standard for the mess halls to be places where no one spoke, on Saturday evenings, after the dinners were done and the dishes were cleared, the fiddles and strings and whiskey were brought out, and the youngest and thinnest of the boys and men of the camps dressed in nothing but their long white shirts and tied belts around their waists to emulate the dresses of women, dancing the night away with their drunken mates (Saunders 1946: 35-38). Here it is important to remember that some of the "men" who worked in these camps were twelve or thirteen years old, many unprepared for what the

bush and the camps had in store for them. And while the guidebooks and guides repeatedly describe the tough conditions of living in the camboose camps, here the meta-history stumbles as the often repeated mantra that “the men went to bed two to a bunk” alludes to homoeroticism and the probability that at least some of the men in the camps found comfort and love in the absence of women. But some also found pain and loss as so many of the men who worked as loggers were killed by hypothermia, logjams, sleighs, disease, dismemberment and drowning.



Plate #21 - “Crazy Wheels” Display, Algonquin Provincial Park Logging Museum

There were many ways to die in the Park during the logging era, some more horrifying and elaborate than others. In the guidebook that accompanies the trail at the Logging Museum along Highway #60 there is a mention of how the “crazy wheels,” or Barringer’s

Brakes, that were used to slow the descent of heavy sleighs of lumber on their way downhill often went out of control. It took great skill and practice to handle the brakes and their nick-name derives from the shear steel handles and inch-thick cables that spooled around sets of large gears. These cables often caught on legs and loose clothes, and once the gears were set in motion they couldn't be stopped. The handles themselves were set so closely to one another that during operation they had to be let go of when they passed otherwise the operator would have no fingers left to grasp them with. Being injured deep in the bush far from help often meant bleeding out in the snow. When the brakes gave way it often meant dealing with the wreckage of the heavy sleighs and the unfortunate business of tending to mortally wounded horses and people. Many of the men must have seen the effects of poor operation and some would never forget what they saw. Some would have walked away with traumatizing souvenirs, though some of these would be little more than inescapable memories, much less tangible and visible than scars, flesh wounds, and severed limbs, digits and appendages.

In the guidebook there is a mention of how some men would spend their nights awake, whittling miniature models of the crazy wheels, having become fascinated by their workings (Strickland 2008: 13). I don't think fascinated is the most accurate or sensitive word to apply in this circumstance. Some men were said to have "gone crazy" trying to thread the miniature gears with string, spending their evenings wrapping and re-wrapping the little wooden wheels, slicing and splintering their fingertips in the process (Strickland 2008: 13). But some would have already been profoundly traumatized by witnessing the violent, painful and gruesome deaths of friends, comrades, and sometimes, lovers.

Passengers II -

I awoke with a start, and a moment after I opened my eyes a strike of lightning blasted towards the lake directly ahead of me in line with where the eagle had been before my eyes fell closed. The crash of thunder was near deafening and echoed several times off the trees on the other side of the lake. No sooner had it stopped reverberating than the sky opened and a deluge fell. I scrambled to set up my tarp and under it my tent, becoming soaked in the process. I sat under my tarp for the next seven or eight hours drying off and waiting for the rain to stop. Just before the downpour subsided the sun began to set on the horizon and the pine needles beneath me became alive with salamanders crawling towards the shoreline.

Pigeons II -

When I first began fieldwork in the Park in the summer of 2010 I visited the Algonquin Park Visitor Centre and Museum along the Highway #60 corridor. At that point the displays had not been altered since they first opened the centre in the early 1980's and they were the same as I remembered from childhood visits with my parents. When I returned in the summer of 2015 the only new display was a triangular placard that stood amongst those highlighting prominent Park animals and birds on the lower level. This new display focused on the plight of the passenger pigeon, the once numerous birds that had occupied the skies above North America during the time of contact, and up until their extinction in 1914.

During the 1870's there was a great drop in their numbers due to over-exploitation and deforestation, but before this time the massive flocks had been made up of billions of birds, with one record suggesting as many as 3.5 billion in one flock alone (Sullivan 1986). This flock entered Southern Ontario sometime in the summer of 1866 and took over fourteen hours to pass by, clouding the sky so intensely that their shadow covered an area one mile wide and over 300 miles long (Sullivan 1986). In the same summer a Potawatomi Chief was leading a group of his people westward towards the homeland of a distant ally and passing through the area that was to become Algonquin Park became so impressed by this flock that he "changed his name" to Pigeon (or perhaps more likely to a Potawatomi variation of the Algonquin word for Pigeon, "*Omimi*") and took the bird as his "personal totem animal" (Algonquin Provincial Park Visitor Centre & Museum 2014). His previous name is not mentioned on the new placard, nor is there any sign of a source material for the claims it makes, but it does mention the Chief and his fascination with the birds, and makes a far more sinister allusion through its juxtaposition of the two stories.

The Potawatomi were and are still known as one of the members of the Three Fires Confederacy, a political alliance that pre-dated the arrival of Europeans to North America attested to in oral histories of the Ojibwe, Potawatomi and the Ottawa (often rendered as *Odawa*), and which persists today in some Great Lakes communities (for example, members of all three groups occupy the *Bkejwenong* or Walpole Island Reserve near Detroit) (Nin.Da.Waab.Jig. 2006: 12). There is some confusion amongst historical scholars about who the Ottawa are, and where they came from, as some records state that they are simply a branch of the Ojibwe who had always lived along the northern shores of

Lake Superior and Georgian Bay, and others argue that they were Algonquin who arrived in the lands of their Ojibwe neighbors after being forced out of the St. Lawrence and *Kitchissippi/Ottawa* Valleys by the pressures of colonization. In the foundational and often neglected works of Frank Speck, one of the very few anthropologists to undertake studies in the *Kitchissippi/Ottawa* Valley and the North Eastern areas of North America, there is a reference that provides some clarity on the matter.

In a paper from his *Northern Algonquian Source Book* Speck outlines how the Abenaki, and the Wabanaki Confederacy more generally, refer to the Algonquin as “*Oda-wag...* designated as their grandfathers” (Speck 1929 [1985]: 106). This would suggest that the name Ottawa (as well as the cognate term *Odawa*) travelled with the groups of “refugees” (White 1991: 18) who fled westward during early colonization and later, during the onslaught of Iroquoian aggression in the mid-1700’s, becoming known by a neighbor’s appellation, or an ethnonym given to them by another group, but not by the same name they had previously called themselves. Heidi Bohaker has noted in her work that these ethnonyms have caused confusion in Western circles when attempting to discern the distinctions between two “nations” which may be more carefully traced by recognizing the connections between naming practices and the passing down of “*nindoodems*” (or what have become known to the anthropological community in a more generalized form as totems) through descent and marriage, as has the misrecognition of these “displaced” Algonquin as “refugees” in alien lands (Bohaker 2006: 36). Speck recounts that “the western or Mohawk member embraced the Ottawa, *Uda-wak*” (Speck 1915 [1985]: 494), but fails to provide a meaning for the term, elsewhere explaining that, “The Ottawa,

denoting collectively the Algonquin inhabiting the *Kitchissippi/Ottawa* River valley, were held in the highest esteem by the tribes of the confederacy” (Speck 1915 [1985]: 495).

Noreen Kruzich undertook an exhaustive genealogical and historical study of her ancestor Constant Penancy (a “Chief” of the Algonquin at Cedar Lake) and his legacy in and around the Park in her book *The Ancestors are Arranging Things* (Kruzich 2011). In this work she makes several references to the source of the name Ottawa, stating that in the Ojibwe dialect of the Nipissing the word connects to the term “*adawewinini*” or trader, and suggests that this explains the source of the Ottawa River’s name as it was the designation given to the Nipissing and the Algonquin by those neighbors who spoke similar dialects of Ojibwe and who had been traditional trading partners (Kruzich 2011: 46). Further, she points out that some of the Algonquin people who fled the *Kitchissippi/Ottawa* Valley westward during the Iroquois incursions of the 1600’s were called Odawa by those who they came to settle with (on Mackinaw Island in Northern Michigan [which is named for a corruption of the word “*Mikinaak*,” or Great Turtle] and at *Bkejwanong*/Walpole Island [meaning, “where the waters divide”]) and “consolidated” to become the contemporary Ottawa (Kruzich 2011: 47). Beyond this, Hallowell mentions “*atawagani ogimakan*,” or “barter chiefs,” corroborating Kruzich’s reference to “*adawa*” as “trader” (Hallowell 2010: 573, Kruzich 2011: 46).

The name “*Algonquin*” shares a similarly contentious origin, possibly stemming from the name given to the inhabitants of the *Kitchissippi/Ottawa* Valley by the Malecite (or Etchemin) who referred to them as “*alaegomogwik*,” a term that best translates to mean “they are our relatives or allies,” according to linguist and anthropologist Gordon Day (1972: 228). Further, Speck points out that the Penobscot refer to them as the

“*Kewitanksena*” meaning “our fathers” (in a sense that is inclusive of those listening, that is “yours, mine, and our grandfathers”) (Speck 1915 [1985]: 495). What all of this suggests is that the Algonquin were viewed by many of their neighbors as “the most venerable of the eastern nations,” therefore a powerful authority who were never to be disrespected (Speck 1915 [1985]: 493). Speck suggests in his paper regarding the oral history of the Wabanaki Confederacy that the Algonquin were regarded as the “master” of the allied tribes (which included the Iroquois at the time) and were known for their ferocity in combat (Speck 1915 [1985]: 494). Every three years each member of the Wabanaki Confederacy was to send a delegate to a meeting, and failing this, the Algonquin who sat at the head of the council at *Caughnawaga/Kanawake* (Kruzich 2011: 44) would send out a war party to bring back the head of the offending chief (Speck 1915 [1985]: 493-494). The warriors would embark naked except for their scars, tattoos and weapons and fed only on the bodies of the fallen when at war. The head of the council sat in front of his tent between poles of scalps and heads and was depicted as holding a whip symbolizing the control he exerted over the arrangement (Speck 1915 [1985]: 493-494).

On the placard that sits in the Visitor Center and Museum amongst the other displays that talk of threats to animal and ecological well-being, this story of a Potawatomi Chief who was so taken by the strength displayed by the numbers of the passenger pigeons that he took the bird as his own personal “totem” seems out of place to me. While it may be an inclusion put there for simple interests sake, the allusion made by the juxtaposition with the extinction of the passenger pigeons has the effect of suggesting that the Potawatomi too met their end not long after passing through the area; a patently false assumption. At

the very least this allusion suggests that there are no more Native people in the area, as they all passed through on their ways elsewhere.

It may seem a matter of interpretation, but the intimation of their “disappearance” is strengthened when one considers the etymological origins of the passenger pigeon’s name. The word “*passager*,” from the French verb “*in passing*,” was applied to the birds in reference to the time it took for the huge flocks to pass by, and for the likelihood that they would most often be encountered “*en passant*,” rather than resting as other doves were prone to do (such as the habits of their close phylogenetic relations mourning doves (*Zenaida macroura*), named for their mournful “coo-ing”). For those who are familiar with colloquialisms of the area the terms “to pass” and “passed away” are often used as polite synonyms for dying or having died, and the connection inevitably drawn between the explanation of the pigeon’s name on the placard with the story of the Potawatomi who “passed by” seems at best subliminally sinister.

These allusions are most troubling in relation to the display that sits at the top of the ramp on the walk towards the second level of the museum section of the building. Here a frieze depicting three buck-skin clad Indians milling about near the water’s edge presents the Algonquin people as “*The First Visitors*” according to a plaque that rests in front of the tableau. The suggestion that the same people who the Park gains its name from were somehow visitors to the place and not its first inhabitants is a sticking point for many Algonquin who now spend time in the Park, and for their allies.

Paddling II –

When paddling a canoe there are a few common strokes that are used in order to maintain control of the vessel under different and sometimes difficult conditions. Describing them and describing the differences between some of them can be quite challenging, but knowing which to use and when can be essential for surviving rapids, or even just keeping the boat from overturning during heavy winds and in choppy waters. For many canoeists it takes several years of practice in order to gain mastery over the various strokes, but for some others the difficulties associated with learning the differences between strokes, or of mastering certain strokes held to be more challenging, melt away. Some seem to paddle by instinct, and some others seem born to the task.

The first stroke that most paddlers learn is called the j-stroke and it is used to keep the canoe headed in a straight path while paddling alone or with a partner. In his classic manual *Path of the Paddle* (which contains an introduction written by Pierre Elliott Trudeau, former Prime Minister of Canada) Bill Mason describes the four cardinal canoe strokes;

Near the end of the power stroke, the power face of the paddle, which is the side that pulls against the water, turns out and is pried away from the canoe bringing the canoe back on course with a minimum of zigzagging. The path of the paddle describes a 'J'. Steering is accomplished at the end of the stroke. The clue to whether you are doing the j-stroke correctly is to freeze at the end of the stroke and look at your upper hand. If the thumb is pointing down, you're doing it right. If your thumb is pointing up, you're doing the goon stroke. (Mason 1980: 18)

Mason alludes to the importance of instruction and practice when he writes;

You just pick up the paddle and go where you want to go, right? Well, not quite. Each time you take a stroke the canoe veers away from the paddling side. To compensate for this problem, most beginners change the paddle from one side to the other every few strokes. You get where you want to go, but you cover a lot of extra miles because of the zig zag course. You also waste a lot of energy in the constant changing of paddling sides. (Mason 1980: 18)

And further he points out that,

A much better way to travel a straight line is to pry away from the canoe at the end of each stroke. The canoe still zigzags because without instruction, you almost certainly will pry away with the wrong side of the paddle blade. This called a stern pry and is not the best way to steer a straight course. It's been named the "goon stroke" because of its inefficiency... so for now let's just say that the goon stroke is to be avoided like the plague. (Mason 1980: 18)

The last two strokes require a different level of skill, and for some they remain forever elusive. The "Canadian stroke,"

used to be called the knifing J but American canoeists began referring to it as the Canadian stroke. Most Canadians are happy to go along with this name because it is such a beautiful stroke. Although it is only a variation of the j-stroke, it is rather difficult to describe.

At the end of the j-stroke, the paddle is knifed forward underwater with the power face of the paddle almost flat and facing up. Steering is accomplished by pulling up on the blade as it is brought forward. About halfway through the recovery, the paddle is allowed to slip out of the water in readiness for the next power stroke. The trick is getting a very slight angle on the blade as it comes forward. If the angle is wrong the paddle will plane out of the water or dive too deep. The angle is controlled by the upper hand.

Most people require personal instruction to master this stroke but... You might be one of those natural paddlers capable of mastering this stroke on your own. Just remember most of the steering action comes from pulling up hard against the water as the paddle is knifed forward. It's a very efficient stroke since you have to bring the paddle forward to begin

the next power stroke, so why not do your steering along the way. The j-stroke works fine but with the steering done at the end of the stroke, time and effort are wasted. A well-done Canadian stroke is the pinnacle of perfection in motion; however, it can take years to master perfectly. Some people never do get it quite right. (Mason 1980: 20)

The J-stroke, its variation the Canadian stroke, and the “Indian” stroke, all produce whirlpools in the wake of each paddle dip, but the goonie leaves little other than turbulence, and often, chaffed handles and gunnels from the paddle banging against the side of the boat. Both metaphorically and literally, the spirals left in the wake of the more practiced strokes exemplify and instantiate the spiral style of oral and experiential pedagogy found in *Anishnaabe* traditional culture. Mason describes how,

There is one other stroke for paddling a straight course that should be covered here. It is a very useful stroke for paddling in a strong wind, running rapids, and paddling silently to sneak up on animals. It is called the Indian stroke or underwater stroke and it is an extension of the Canadian stroke. As the paddle knifes forward, the grip of the paddle is rotated in the palm of your upper hand. The rotation makes it possible to bring the paddle around, ready for the next power stroke without taking the paddle out of the water. It’s a very nice stroke to know because with the paddle remaining in the water, the canoeist is in control throughout the entire stroke.

If done slowly and carefully, there is no sound from the paddle. It’s a fun stroke for sneaking up on turtles, beaver, muskrat, and even deer or moose. (Mason 1980: 24)

While it may seem innocuous, attention to the subtle characterizations made by such seemingly innocent language draws out the implications of suggesting the Indian stroke is an “extension” of the Canadian. Here, the propensity of the Canadian national-cultural imaginary (Ivy 1998: 3) to appropriate not only the image of Indigenous people, but also their knowledge, is exposed as both an a-historical and intensely political colonization

project. The aesthetic rendering of the two strokes also makes the author's preferences more clear, as he suggests that the Canadian stroke is the "pinnacle of perfection in motion," while later stating that the Indian stroke, which provides more control and efficiency for the paddler, is little more than "very nice to know" (Mason 1980: 20, 24). From my own experience the so-called Indian stroke is more than "nice to know" however, it is essential for survival on the open waters.

Pigeons III –

In her elucidation of *Anishnaabeg Nindoodemag* Heidi Bohaker describes the importance of connections between naming practices and territorial or jurisdictional title (2006: 36). Noting how various *nindoodem* identities were recorded on Treaties which date as far back as the first interactions between settler-colonists and natives in the area that would become known as the Great Lakes Basin, Bohaker points out that many of these *nindoodem* were also "metaphors" for the animals that they represented (Bohaker 2006: 35-36). One of these early *nindoodemag* was "*Passinouek* (echo maker or crane)... in reference to 'the loud, far reaching cry of the Crane'" (Warren quoted in Bohaker 2006: 35). More generally, Bohaker explains how "people took as their identity that which they shared with their apical, or first, other-than-human ancestor... by extension they gave the name of the *nindoodem* to their villages, in reference to 'the animal which has given its people their being'" (Perrot quoted in Bohaker 2006: 32). A.I. Hallowell explained how amongst the Ojibwe of the Berens River area these other-than-human ancestors were generally referred to as "*Pawaganak*," meaning "guardian spirits – dream visitors – a

synonym for ‘our grandfathers’” or “*atisokanak*” meaning more literally “our grandfathers” or “our ancestors” (said in a sense that is meant to include the listener) (Hallowell 2010: 574, 590). But he also notes that stories and narratives known as “*dibaaJimowin*” can be understood as “news, narrative, as opposed to *aadksookan*” (Hallowell 2010: 592). The root form of “*dibaaJimowin*” is closely related to the word “*djibai*,” or “*djibaiyak*,” meaning “a person’s ghost,” or “souls of the dead,” and Hallowell mentions that these are equivalents to “*kete anicinabek*, ‘old Indians’ (‘Ancients’)” (Hallowell 2010: 419, 592).

Stories of these ancestors hold the keys to understanding the pre-contact and “Aboriginal” forms of land tenure that the Algonquin undertook in caring for their relations with these other-than-human ancestors. These are critical not because they help to prove or disprove the presence and ownership of the land by the Algonquin, but because they are the source of traditional ways of thinking, knowing, teaching and relating to one and other and to our surroundings. And also because they may present alternative approaches to hegemonic Canadian notions of evidence, ownership and proof that have helped justify environmental degradation and “cultural genocide” (TRC 2015). Bonita Lawrence states in her book *Fractured Homeland* that, “Connecting people’s histories to specific lands clarifies that being Indigenous is not about blood quantum – it is about establishing connections to the ancestors” (Lawrence 2012: 287). More specifically, Bohaker suggests that,

In the Great Lakes region, it is souls, not shared blood, that create the ties that bind. The *aadizookaanag* (sacred stories) teach that *Anishinaabe* political geography cannot be separated from the spiritual landscape of the region. These stories ground firmly in the physical realm what Westerners would perceive as belonging to the spiritual and

imagined realms... The *aadizookaanag* are the key to understanding the spiritual significance of landscape. (Bohaker 2006: 38)

Bohaker describes the distinction between stories told about “historical” or “ordinary” time, “*dibaajimowin*,” and those of the realms that exist without time, or beyond it, known as “*aadizookaanag*” describing these a genre of “sacred stories” (Bohaker 2006: 34). While this in no way suggests that the *aadizookaanag* are not important for understanding identity and tradition, but this is a subtle way of suggesting that we will not, as scholars, historians, or genealogists, be able to trace out the critical importance of *nindoodemag* for living descendents by paying special attention only to those stories that can be described as part of a culture or people’s “folklore,” “myths” or “traditions,” (to their *aadizookaanag*) and that the form, as well as the content of these *dibaajimowin* (histories) is critically important too (Bohaker 2006: 33-34). Names and their connections to territories and family lines are embedded not only in the distant or immemorial past (*aadizookaanag*), but also in the more recent reminiscences of people’s connections to the land, and to one another (*dibaajimowin*), and may be traced more carefully by attending to the sometimes shabby and mundane marks that we leave behind in the process of “scraping by.” But tracing these names out is difficult work since so many of them have been recorded by French or British Canadian hands, and translated through their ears and linguistic conventions, or have been made in traditional idioms often referred to as “pictographs” or even simple “x-marks” totally disconnected from actual names (Lyons 2010: 123).

On a preliminary list of Algonquin ancestors the names “*Passinjiwa*,” and “*Pisendawatch*” appear as early as the 1825 census, but the second is recorded as having

several other orthographies attached to it, including one that ultimately allows for the reversal of the order of the syllables that make up the name; “*Pesin, Dawatch*,” listed on the 1865 census, is written as if the phoneme “*Pesin*” designated the surname of the family, and “*Dawatch*” was the person’s given or personal name (Draft Schedule of Algonquins 2012). Firstly, many of the alliterations of *Pisendawatch* share a very similar pronunciation as the *nindoodem* given earlier by Bohaker; “*Passinouek*” (Bohaker 2006: 35) suggesting that this was a local variant for the word “crane,” and perhaps unique to the Algonquin *Anishnabemowin* dialect. Secondly, there is a listing of a “*Pichens, Pien (Pierre)*” without a date and of a “*Petrin*” from 1997, suggesting that the ancestors of “*Pesin, Dawatch*” may have had their names altered and shifted over time as well (Draft Schedule of Algonquins 2012). Thirdly, the name of “*Pierre Shawanapinesi*” is noted by Kruzich as having been recorded as the alias of “*Pierre Stevens*” but also as the source of the “Algonquin” names “*Pigeau*,” “*Pidgeon*,” and “*Pigeon*” (Kruzich 2011: 80).

Kruzich’s project of tracing out the trail of her ancestor *Pinesi* (more commonly known as *Constant Penancy*) emphasizes the way that genealogical connections have become obscured over time in the *Kitchissippi/Ottawa Valley* (perhaps a more literal example of Darnell’s “invisible genealogies”?) (Kruzich 2011: 13). The word “*pineshi*” translates from the Algonquin dialect of *Anishnaabemowin* to mean “largest bird,” and the root “*pine*” means “ruffed grouse” or “partridge” (Kruzich 2011: 104). *Shawanapinesi* (which seems to be best translated as “Thunder Bird who soars on the South Wind”) is noted as having a residence on the Madawaska River in Nightengale township during the 1820’s, which was later made a part of the Park’s lower arm (Kruzich 2011: 237-240). The pictograph most commonly used to represent *pinesi* on the earliest treaties is sometimes

understood to be an image of a ruffed grouse, but they are also often interpreted as taking the form of eagles and there is an obscure connection between the two species and the Thunderbirds of so many “legends” (Kruzich 2011: 104, Hallowell 2010: 593).

In Bohaker’s work the Thunderbirds are referred to as “*animikeek*,” and their counter-part is the “*migisi*” or eagle, named such for its “*migiskan*,” or “fish hook” feet (Bohaker 2010: 21). Hallowell notes the word “*migazi*” as “bald eagle,” and the word “*animaki*” as thunder, but there is no mention of the “*animikeek*” in his work, specifically noting the “*pinesi*” as the “Thunder Bird – a spiritual ‘owner’ who controls thunder and lightning,” (Hallowell 2010: 573, 584, 592). Hallowell points out that during a Drum Dance ceremony “two eagle skins are attached to the south posts of the dancing ground,” connecting the drums, the four posts of the dance grounds, the direction south, and the *pawaganak* (who include the Thunder Birds and the *djibaiyak*), stating that these skins “represent *pinesi*” (Hallowell 2010: 419). The south is said to be the land of the dead, and also the home of the Thunder Birds, and during the ceremony the dancers must enter through the northern door and exit towards the south. “The drum used in the ceremony is called *kimicomisanan*, meaning ‘our grandfather,’ ... due to the fact that it is one of the ‘oldest’ things known to the Indians,” and this is the root word used to designate what he describes as “our grandfather rock,” or “*kimi comissab kunan*” (Hallowell 2010: 420).

Elsewhere however, Hallowell recounts a common phrase used by storytellers long ago to mark the end of a story which gestures towards the connection between the ruffed grouse and the Thunderbirds. He records that “*pinewitis kagotik*” means “and so the gizzard of the ruffed grouse now hangs aloft,” suggesting that there is more than a coincidental relation between the two birds, and underscores the importance of the grouse as another

“grandfather” (Hallowell 2010: 592). Some draw a connection between the way that the ruffed “grouse beats his wings, creating a thunder rumbling on the forest floor,” (Kruzich 2011: 104) the Thunder Birds, and the thunderous sounds of the drums which reach across the boundaries that under normal circumstances might serve to divide the living from the spirits. Here it should be “mentioned that the drumming of human beings can be heard in *djibaiaking*, [the land of the dead] and that the spirits of the dead themselves sing, dance and drum” (Hallowell 2010: 420 [parentheses mine]).

Kruzich notes that “*Kigonz*” *Constant Penancy* (the former *Penisi*’s son) moved from Cedar Lake in or around the year of 1830 to the Madawaska River (named the *Madweyashka* in Algonquin, either for the sound of the rapids and falls found along its route, or due to its shallow depths) somewhere near the small village of Bagot (now named Springtown) to live out the rest of his life (Kruzich 2011: 190). This seems unfortunate now as many of his descendents have been left with the difficulty of attempting to re-establish their connections to these places due to their relative isolation and the trouble encountered in passing the rough gravel logging route that serves as a conduit between Highway #11 and the village of Brent on the shores of Cedar Lake (Kruzich 2011: 190). But it seems likely that rather than being a descendent of Irish immigrants, Tom Pigeon, the tough character from the Madawaska River area who became chef to camboose camps and loggers, was a descendent of this Algonquin *Kigonz*, whose name means fish, and of the man known as *Shawanapinesi* (Kruzich 2011: 103). This would mean that Tom’s great-grandchildren Forrest and Sky Pigeon now likely spend their leisure time away from the outfitters store on the shores of Cedar

Lake that their father Jake still manages fishing in their own traditional territory, and likely have no knowledge of their Aboriginal heritage.

Passing II –

Kigonz's cabin at the foot of the Little Rapids on the Madawaska River became a well-known stopping place for many of the lumbermen and travellers who made their way north-west from Bagot (Springtown). Kigonz's daughter, known as Maggie Constant (or Margaret Consta), ran a "shebeen," or "an unlicensed drinking establishment" where she sold shots of liquor to folks preparing to traverse the Long Rapids ahead (Kruzich 2011: 217). This meant that "An abrupt knock at the door was not uncommon" (Kruzich 2011: 216). However, many of the lumbermen were "rowdy raftsmen," and often trouble arose (Kruzich 2011: 221).

In the year 1873 Mary Jane Ferguson of Bagot died of wounds incurred at the hands of unknown assailants who had been drinking in her house (Kruzich 2011: 221). Her husband who had also been beaten was said to have been paid off by those who were responsible, but soon after on Friday, August 1st, a local newspaper called The Renfrew Mercury ran a story describing,

Another Outrage

A number of raftsmen on the same timber drive as that on which the men were employed who committed the recent outrage in Bagot, to keep their hand in, last week, went to a small shebeen kept by a squaw of the name of Maggie Constant, near the foot of the Little Rapids, on the Madawaska; and after demolishing what furniture, glasses,

decanter, and other utensils it contained, tore off the roof of the building; thus literally turning the unfortunate woman and her aged father and mother, who were living with her and who must both be upwards of 80 years old, out of house and home.

(Quoted in Kruzich 2011: 221-222)

The following year, after finishing repairs to the house, two young men dropped in and drank late into the night. A man named Robert Jenkins, who was the son of the woman who had been killed the summer before, became frustrated with Maggie after she refused to pour him another. When he became violent his fellow Neil McLellan tried to restrain him, but after breaking loose he returned with a large tamarack limb and swinging it at McLellan, missed and hit Maggie's mother Jane [Anastasia], killing "the life-long wife of Kigonz" (Kruzich 2011: 222-223).

The Mercury published another story describing the investigation leading up to Jenkins' trial, including some embellishments;

It is the general opinion that it was not for the sake of getting whiskey, but merely because the place where the old squaw was killed was resorted [sic] to be a house of ill fame... the disturbance occurred and it is to be hoped at the trial, the rumour that the quarrel originated over a dispute for the possession of one of the wretched younger female inmates, may be thoroughly investigated. (Quoted in Kruzich 2011: 223)

And later published the verdict,

Robert Jenkins, tried for killing the old Indian squaw at Springtown on the 19th of May last, was found guilty of manslaughter and was sentenced to five years imprisonment in the Penitentiary. (Quoted in Kruzich 2011: 225)

The guilty verdict was apparently based not upon the word of Maggie Constant, but on the testimony of McLellan and of her daughter, Mary Marcotte (Kruzich 2011: 224).



Plate #22 - White Pine Roots, Big Pines Trail, Algonquin Provincial Park

Paddling III –

The transmission of intergenerational trauma (sometimes described as intergenerational Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder or PTSD) is an ongoing and devastating issue for Canada's Indigenous people (Aguilar & Halseth 2015).

For Aboriginal people, centuries of colonial policies and practices aimed at suppressing and undermining cultural identity while simultaneously assimilating children into Euro-Western culture through the residential school system have led to severe trauma that is being passed through the generations {Ross 1996}... This chronic exposure to trauma has manifested in individual symptoms such as anxiety, grief, addictions, and self-destructive behaviours within generations of Aboriginal people {Bombay, Matheson & Amisman 2009}. (Aguiar & Halseth 2015: 7)

The sources of this trauma are many, including the disconnection from parenting practices and traditional teachings related to family wellness, but importantly, combating these issues takes much more than treatment of individual symptoms (Aguiar & Halseth 2015: 7-8). Breakdowns in the transmission of traditional knowledge accomplished through the fragmentation of Aboriginal families has prevented many from learning their “clan” or “totemic” identities, and has thus prevented many from participating in practices associated with particular places and times considered as sacred. Beyond this, the racism and derogatory comments that many Aboriginal people dealt with historically (and that many still continue to deal with) have combined with the effects of trauma and abuse (Bombay, Matheson & Amisman 2009, Aguiar & Halseth 2015: 10).

In families where there is a strong history of abuse, as with many residential school survivors and their families, this abuse can manifest as shame which can become entrenched through repetitive behaviour that can contribute to the perpetuation of a shame-bound regime. (Aguiar & Halseth 2015: 10)

This shame has led some to go so far as to deny their heritage entirely and many Canadians are surprised to learn that names thought to be of French (such as Pichens or Penancy), Irish (such as Pigeon or Stevens) or Italian (such as Pinesi) origin are more likely to be corruptions or alterations of Aboriginal names. Kruzich recounts the surprise that one man with the last name Green showed when he learned he was the distant

ancestor of local Algonquin Chief Kigonz, stating “Because of [my grandfather’s] name, you know. There’s got to be an Irishman in the woodpile somewhere” (Kruzich 2011: 250). Kruzich also points out how rare it was in the 19th and early 20th centuries for someone to be “driven to prove his native ancestry, quite the opposite of the pretence of the day,” citing several circumstances where folks denied accepting Indian Status in order to remain in their homes and to avoid moving to reserves (Kruzich 2011: 185). Often forgotten is that many issues which follow individuals, families and even communities of ostensibly “white” or European descent, and whose members may think of themselves as little more than “Canadian,” may stem from the same forms of intergenerational trauma which they continue to perpetuate by furthering colonial regimes of power and knowledge, disconnecting themselves from their ancestors in the process; an ironic and poignant coincidence, as well as an expression of the “timelessness” of the Canadian “national-cultural imaginary” (Ivy 1998: 3) and its attendant “settler governmentality” (Foucault 1994 [2003], Crosby & Monaghan 2012: 423).

It should be remembered that this “settler governmentality” (Crosby & Monaghan 2012: 422) is just one (albeit one particularly prevalent) expression of the Canadian “national-cultural imaginary” (Ivy 1998: 3), and that it describes a set of postures and attitudes, practices and prejudices, that are accessible to all Canadians regardless of ethno-racial background or heritage. That is, the perpetuation of “shame bound regimes” (Aguilar & Halseth 2015: 10) amongst non-Aboriginal communities should be considered in light of the historic integration of Aboriginal communities with their new neighbours, and the effects of both segregationist and assimilationist policies such as the institution of Reserves and the Indian Residential School system. These “shame bound regimes”

(Aguiar & Halseth 2015: 10) are in no way exclusive to Aboriginal people and their communities, and some Canadian identities are predicated on a “logic of elimination” (Crosby & Monaghan 2012: 422, Wolfe 2006), aimed squarely at elements of one’s own heritage and identity. Paula Sherman of the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation reminds her people,

that we have been cognitively colonized to live in the shadows of our former selves goes without saying; the ability to recognize the fact that we are colonized and in need of cultural and linguistic retraining is the first step down the path to making that happen. (Sherman 2008: 124)

Though it should be recognized that it is not only Aboriginal people who have been “cognitively colonized” (Sherman 2008: 121), the effects of this psychodynamic in ostensibly “Canadian” communities range from individual denials, to lateral violence and outright racism, often directed at distant relatives.

“Given the complexity of Historic Trauma,” in Canada (and these considerations should not be limited to include only Aboriginal people but expanded to potentially include all settler-colonial “subjects”), and other settler-colonial Nation-States,

it is clear that disrupting the intergenerational transmission of trauma will require holistic and multi-faceted approaches to improving health and well-being. The deep shame that is felt by many Aboriginal people is rooted first and foremost in the process of colonization, which denigrated Aboriginal culture and values leaving many with a poor sense of self-worth. The effects of this are acutely felt by individuals, families, communities and nations, and play out through all facets of life. As a result, interrupting the intergenerational transmission of trauma will require approaches aimed not only at treating the symptoms of this trauma, but will require the healing and rebuilding of individuals, families and communities. A central component of this will be re-establishing pride and sense of individual and collective identity through ‘culture as

treatment' options (Gone 2013). These approaches must involve not only the health domain, but other domains like education as well. (Aguiar & Halseth 2015: 23)

Put another way, “traditional healing is healing through tradition” (Kirmayer & Valaskakis 2009: xiv). As, “it is difficult for individuals to break the cycle of intergenerational trauma in an environment that views dysfunction as the norm, and where strong role models and community support are lacking,” (Aguiar & Halseth 2015: 21) it is important to provide avenues through which to break such crazy wheels.

“Traditional values vary from tribe to tribe and region to region,” therefore attention to values and the differences between different value systems, differently derived, becomes an important focus (Gray & Rose 2012: 83). In the context of development initiatives and modernization schemes, “tradition” is often equated with obsolete and even dangerous fixations on the past and “traditionalists” have been implicated in ethnic and nationalist violence in many post-independence contexts. However, this interpretation of the word “tradition” follows from the assumption that to “define’ the nature of these ‘traditional’ people” (Christie 2003: 85) the continued practice of particular activities must have been maintained since before contact with Europeans, and that there is a quotient of authenticity that must be adhered to in claiming this continuity. Since “authenticity” is always judged from the perspective of the dominant Euro-Canadian observer and through the lens of “settler governmentality” (Crosby & Monaghan 2012: 422), the image of the “Indigenous,” or “Aboriginal” “tradition,” has a tendency to degenerate into a parody of traditional crafting and artistic endeavors, or hunting and fishing techniques (as in the case of R. V. Sparrow). The Canadian Judicial System exemplifies this troubling propensity. As Gordon Christie explains,

There are two general problems associated with this approach. First, by distancing *contemporary* Aboriginal people from their “true” identities, fixed at a distant point in the past, removes what the Court fixes as the “cultures” of Aboriginal people from their contemporary identities. Second, and more importantly, even were we to accept that the “true” culture of Aboriginal people is found at that point in time moments before contact with Europeans, Aboriginal people engaged in the sorts of activities they did, in the ways they did, for *reasons*. These reasons, and not the activities, would have formed the core of their cultural identities (and *ex hypothesi*, would form the core of their “traditional” identities today). An Aboriginal people – as with any cultural community – should be defined... on the basis that they carried out these activities at certain times and in certain ways because they believed and felt certain things. (Christie 2003: 85)

Tracing “those forms of identity that underlie transformation over time” (Christie 2003: 86), helps to explain the importance of reinvigorating traditions, and traditional connections (both to one another, and to the land) that helped to unite communities and nations, and that constituted their most critical “protective factors” (Aguilar & Halseth 2015: 21, Chandler & Lalonde 2009, Hallett, Chandler & Lalonde 2007, Edwards & Cohen 2012, Eyles 1999). This means that learning traditional stories, and learning through traditional stories and stories told in traditional ways holds the potential to destabilize colonial hegemonies, and to re-establish pride, both cultural and individual, by reaffirming identities long dismissed and devalued by settler-colonial society.

In *Decolonizing Methodologies* Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that,

Indigenous people want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes. It is not simply about giving an oral account or a genealogical naming of the land and the events which raged over it, but a very powerful need to give testimony and to restore a spirit, to bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying. The sense of history conveyed by these approaches is not the same thing as the discipline of history, and so our accounts collide, crash into each other. (Smith 1999: 29-30)

History here becomes a matter of concern not only for scholars and those afflicted with nostalgic obsessions, but also for those who wish to move beyond “shame bound regimes” (Aguilar & Halseth 2015: 10) which perpetuate the transmission of intergenerational trauma. Cherokee scholar Jeff Corntassel points out how,

our ceremonies are cyclical, as our stories need to be re-told and acted upon as part of our process of remembering and maintaining balance within our communities. It is the stories that sustain us and ensure our continuity as people. (Corntassel 2012: 89)

No doubt, “Indigenous people inevitably confront the ongoing legacies of colonialism that have disrupted their individual and community relationships with the natural world” (Corntassel 2012: 87), but increasingly this insidious degradation encroaches on the lives of “non-Indigenous” Canadians as well and these issues should not be considered in isolation. Likewise, the importance of storytelling is emerging as an essential component of many therapeutic regimes throughout the contemporary world.

Doing interesting anthropology in spaces like these, however, does require a willingness to work across disciplines on a goal that is not conventionally anthropological in nature. It requires the capacity to balance critique and invention, deconstruction and reconstruction. Colvin 2014: 102

Citing Foucault and bell hooks, Métis scholars Adam Gaudry and Robert Hancock explain that there is a likely convergence of Feminist, anti-colonial and decolonizing pedagogies, and the strategies that they employ in fostering these techniques hold promise in relation to the need to personalize experiences of historical trauma, and to narrate those personal experiences in novel ways that allow for the further reclamation of Indigenous cultures, traditions, and voices (Gaudry & Hancock 2012: 17-18). “From a feminist perspective, it is imperative that evidence informing health promotion for

women take into account their perspectives, self-reports and lay-knowledge,” and this stands for the knowledge of most subjugated communities in the settler-colonial world, including Aboriginal communities in Canada, (though I strongly caution against the use of terms such as “lay-knowledge” and “unskilled labor” in relation to those who demonstrate alternative skill-sets and knowledge-bases not founded on Eurocentric or Western ideals, such as traditional healers, herbalists and midwives) (Pederson et. al. 2010: 260). In this situation, “voice” becomes much more than a personal expression, but becomes an expression of Indigenous “power/knowledge” (Foucault 1980: ix, 112) with political and therapeutic potential. “Due to their consistency with Aboriginal oral traditions and practices, narrative approaches may be a particularly useful means to teach about the culture, to offer counsel about traumatic life-events, or to conduct qualitative analysis” (Iarocci, Root & Burack 2009: 97). Therefore, storytelling and practical instruction focused on “*Experiential and place-based learning*” (Corntassel & Gaudry 2014: 182 [italics original]) is central to

renewing our roles and responsibilities as Indigenous people to the sustainable praxis of Indigenous livelihoods, food security, community governance, and relationships to the natural world and ceremonial life that enables the transmission of these cultural practices to future generations. Corntassel & Gaudry 2014: 182

Learning this way takes patience, persistence and great attention, and it requires carrying out Indigenous approaches in the face of dismissals, challenges, confusion and even outright aggression.

Passing III –

Horace Beck, folklorist and colleague of Frank Speck, accompanied Speck to the Algonquin community of Maniwaki (also known as River Desert) in 1943 to help record oral histories and traditional tales told by the people at the reserve in order to prevent it from being lost to memory (Beck 1947: 259). One of the tales that Beck recounts provides an allegorical example of traditional Algonquin pedagogical approaches, and illuminates a very different interpretive paradigm from the “settler governmentality” (Crosby & Monaghan 2012: 422) of the Canadian “national-cultural imaginary” (Ivy 1998: 3). A tale related to Beck by Jean Paul Bras Coupé begins,

Wisekedjak was a great fiddler. One time he went for a walk in the woods and met a rabbit. Rabbit said, “Wisekedjak, teach me to play a fiddle.” After a while Wisekedjak said all right, and told rabbit to get in his deerskin bag and listen. Rabbit said it was dark in the bag. “Dark before knowledge,” said Wisekedjak. Then he hung the bag on a poplar tree and went on.

By and by he met a bear. The bear said, “Wisekedjak, teach me to play the fiddle.” Wisekedjak said all right. Then he took his axe and split a pine log and jammed the bear’s paws in the log. “Ow,” said Bear, “this hurts.” “Knowledge is painful,” said Wisekedjak, and walked on.

By and by he met a fox. The fox said, “Wisekedjak, teach me to play the fiddle.” Wisekedjak said all right. This time he cut a little maple tree into a stake and jammed the fox down on it. “Oh,” said Fox, “this hurts.” “Knowledge is always painful,” said Wisekedjak and walked on.

After a while Wisekedjak got tired and went to sleep.

By and by Rabbit gnawed his way out of the bag. He was mad. He followed Wisekedjak’s tracks until he came to the bear. “What you doing like that?” asked the rabbit.

“That Wisekedjak is a bad fellow,” said Bear. “He did this to me to teach me music. Now he’s gone and I can’t get loose.”

The rabbit gnawed until the bear got loose and the two followed Wisekedjak’s tracks ‘til they came to the fox. “What you doing like that?” asked Rabbit.

That Wisekedjak is a bad fellow. He did this to me to teach me music and Now he’s gone and I can’t get loose.

Then the rabbit got the fox loose and all three followed Wisekedjak’s tracks. Rabbit went first. Then came Bear. He couldn’t go so fast because his paws hurt. Fox came last because he felt good and sick.

After a while they came to Wisekedjak’s camp, but Wisekedjak had gone. They went on and got close to him. Wisekedjak heard them and ran. He ran ‘til he came to a mountain. He jumped into the mountain and was saved.

(Jean Paul Bras Coupé [Beck, ed.] 1947: 263)

This story is about the establishment of solidarity between unlikely allies created through the pursuit of shared interests, and not only about the pursuit of justice or the expression of tropes of trickery or hyper-violence as the establishing characteristic of cultures as some have suggested (Carroll 1981: 301). The common propensity to focus on the trickster as the main character obscures the moral teaching that underlies the tale. In the tale, relationships are established between particular animals and the abodes of particular species of trees. Skills, though not those sought by the protagonists, are learned in the act of building alliances that straddle species barriers and that build unexpected relationships. Through the seemingly irrational and anti-social actions of Wisekedjak, the rabbit is moved to free his natural predators, and to lead them in a charge that includes learning to track, and to speak to other species. What appears as the violent rupture of moral and physical boundaries and the unleashing of chaos gives way to an uncanny reversal,

suggesting that breakdown, rather than leading to atomization and social dissolution, presents opportunities to align diverse identities and to bridge superficial differences while working for common interests. The animals do not learn music, but they do learn harmony; “*pinewitis kagotik*,” “and so the gizzard of the ruffed grouse now hangs aloft” (Hallowell 2010: 592).

Pigeons IV –

Leanne Simpson explains the tradition of treaty making amongst the Ojibwe and other *Anishinaabe* people that has persisted in the Great Lakes region since long-before contact with Europeans (Simpson 2008: 32). Clarifying how, “First and foremost, treaties are about maintaining peace through healthy collective relationships,” Simpson describes the relationships between various “nations” in the region, which include social relationships with fish, bird and animal nations (Simpson 2008: 34-35). Further, “This was the foundation of a set of ethics, values, and practices known as *Bimadiziwin* or ‘living the good life’” which is understood as “carried out through the Seven Grandfather teachings, embedded in the social and political structures of” *Anishinaabe* culture and tradition (Simpson 2008: 32, Gray & Rose 2012). Simpson states that, “clan members held and continue to hold specific responsibilities in terms of taking care of a particular part of the territory, and specific clans hold particular responsibilities related to governance” (Simpson 2008: 33). Central to knowing one’s role in this order was knowing one’s clan lineage, and therefore knowing personal obligations and how to live up to the

expectations of society, understood to include “*Ginawaydaganuc*,” “all of our relations” (Kruzich 2011: 28).

From this vantage, “the Aboriginal notion of land rights ‘is essentially the right to be responsible” (Monture-Angus quoted in Koschade & Peters 2006: 302). Each family was associated with one of the Seven Grandfathers, and was understood to embody particular qualities exemplified by the animals and their abodes, and which were passed through the generations as *nindoodemag* identifications associated with particular places and activities (Simpson 2008, Bohaker 2006, Kruzich 2011). Augie Fleras, an expert on Indigenous-State relations, advocates for a new understanding of jurisdiction that would work towards “combining the two ideas of jurisdiction into one cooperative relationship through a system of ‘*multiple yet overlapping jurisdictions*”” (Fleras quoted in Koschade & Peters 2006: 302 [italics original]). The hope is that in doing so, “a new space [could be] created in the exclusive network of federal-provincial jurisdictions to legitimize Aboriginal ideas of jurisdiction pertaining to land, identity and political voice” (Koschade & Peters 2006: 302).

However, as Shiri Pasternak notes in her work on Algonquin issues of land title and tenure,

Decolonizing law requires both recognition and repudiation. Identifying and respecting Indigenous people’ jurisdiction over their lands decolonizes Canadian law, in the important sense that it challenges Canadian law’s claim to be being the only legal order and foregrounds the multiplicity of forms of governance across the country embodied in Indigenous culture, language and politics. (Pasternak 2014: 147)

By affirming notions of Algonquin jurisdiction and responsibility passed on through the Seven Grandfather teachings (and *nindoodemag*) there is potential to reinvigorate pathways towards *Bimadaziwin* in the face of the seemingly insurmountable obstacles offered by settler-colonial stubbornness.

The teachings pass on the values of “respect, honesty, truth, wisdom, bravery, love, and humility” (Simpson 2008: 33), and correspond to general representatives and their responsibilities; “Birds [spiritual leaders], Crane [external leadership], Bear [justice], Fish [intellectuals], Marten [warriors], Deer [gentle people], Loon [internal leadership]” (Bailey 2009). “[D]escribed as collective sources of meaning... Values are the activities that provide meaning to families, communities and whole cultures” (McCormick 2009: 349). This is important for individuals since, “failure to find meaning can result in existential anxiety” (McCormick 2009: 349), often leading to a sense of hopelessness, and a cycle of desperation. As Brock Pitawanakwat points out, living on the edge of *Anishinaabe* “oblivion,” and “being (almost) assimilated” is related directly to an inability to answer the critical question of clan affiliation; a frustrating and embarrassing situation for those whose response is “that I cannot because I do not know the answer” (Pitawanakwat 2009: 171). This is also related to the development of a healthy sense of self in that these values have been taught through “relationships with children that embodied kindness, gentleness, patience and love” (Simpson 2008: 33), values which, for many who have been raised outside of their traditional communities, have been conspicuously absent in their up-bringing.

Marriage in circumstances exhibiting this type of “totemic” affiliation is strictly exogamous, with two partners of the same *nindoodemag* identity being prohibited from

entering matrimonial relations (Bohaker 2006: 29). For the Algonquin these *nindoodemag* seem to have been passed down through matrilineal descent, and therefore a child whose mother is of the Bear “clan” would pass this identity down to her children regardless of the father’s identification, and the children would likely take some variation of the mother’s name (often a variation of the word “*Makwa*”), though some scholars and other experts disagree on these issues of inheritance (Kruzich 2011: 103). Confusion arises again, as Bohaker notes that for the French-allied *Anishinaabe* tribes that entered the Great Peace of Montreal,

who may be more familiarly known to scholars of these periods as Ojibwa (or Chippewa), Ottawa (or Odawa), Potawatomi, and Algonquin... people inherited their *nindoodemag* identities from their fathers; they conceived of themselves as related to and having kin obligations toward those who shared the same other-than-human progenitor being. (Bohaker 2006: 25-26)

Tracing out descent in this context becomes critical for those interested in reclaiming and revitalizing connections to traditional roles, responsibilities and territories. But as Kruzich makes clear, “not enough research has been done yet to answer whether members of a single family used one mark or whether these totems are passed on in some tribes via the father and others via the mother” (Kruzich 2011: 103). Patricia Kennedy, an employee of Library and Archives Canada who helped Kruzich with her research states that, “Practice may have differed even over time and between different communities” (Kennedy quoted in Kruzich 2011: 103).

Noting that since, “husbands and wives had different *nindoodemag*, every family was by definition intertribal” (Bohaker 2006: 46), Bohaker argues against Richard White’s characterization of the *Anishinaabe* experience of colonialism as one of widespread

displacement and confusion in the face of expanding diversity. Bohaker instead suggests that many were comfortable with exogamous marriage, and indeed preferred it, as this variety of out-marriage helped to establish diffuse political alliances and long-distance trade and resource-based relationships which would provide security in times of need, and which were registered through idioms of extended kinship (Bohaker 2006: 46).

“Kinship networks not only shaped political behaviour but also militated against crisis” (Bohaker 2006: 46).

While Bohaker argues that for *Anishinaabe* people *nindoodem* were passed on through paternal lines, it would seem the Algonquin people were engaged in a variety of naming practices which helped to structure inheritance and resource use, and sometimes these patterns are more akin to those of the *Anishinaabe*'s neighbours, the *Haudenosaunee* people. The “*Iroquet*'s people” mentioned by Bohaker as the “*Ononchataronon*” were a group of *Anishinaabe* who spoke an Iroquian language and who participated in cultural traditions more akin to those of the *Haudenosaunee* people fostering a different approach to land, and who may have carried on the matrilineal descent of *nindoodem* identities as the *Haudenosaunee* do (Bohaker 2006: 41, 44).

This form of “culture borrowing,” or “acculturation,” has often been understood through hegemonic evolutionist frameworks that suggest the adoption of more “advanced” customs by a “lesser evolved” group, and that this situation inevitably leads to the more evolved eventually subsuming the lesser culture entirely (Ferris 2009: 11). A process far more complex seems to be going on however, as the “adoption” of agricultural activities thought of as being of Iroquian/*Haudenosaunee* origins (such as the cultivation of the “Three Sisters,” corn, beans, and squash, at Morrison's and Allumette Islands) did not

follow the same stages in other Algonquin communities, and did not lead to the abandonment of other traditions and practices associated with hunting and seasonal movements. The unidirectional flow of such acculturation processes has come under fire as the movement of knowledge across cultural boundaries seems to go both ways.

More literally, Charlotte Sussman discusses the underlying colonial anxieties found in Henry Smollett's popular novel *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* (published in 1771), which expose the bi-directional flow of such "acculturative" processes in Lismahago's experience of captivity (Sussman 1994: 598). During his period held as captive amongst the Algonquian people (the "Miami") of the North American north-east Lismahago undergoes a radical physical and emotional transformation that parallels his experience of torture and piece-meal cannibalism during a ritual adoption (Sussman 1994: 599). Sussman argues that the book exposes the fears and trepidation of English society, which through its importation of foreign goods during colonial expansion put its purity and cultural singularity at stake, motivating a "compensatory defense of English national identity" (Sussman 1994: 598). This defense has become mobilized in the Euro-Canadian context as the "logic of elimination," (Wolfe 2006, see also 1999) and drives the desire to "resolve" land claims through the "extinguishment" (Lawrence 2012: 72) of Aboriginal rights and title. I have heard Aboriginal elders refer to the land claims process as taking a seat at "the elimination table."

Frustratingly for the English who considered syncretism as degeneracy which leads to the corruption of morals, "the northeastern tribes were disconcertingly capable of absorbing" outsiders through the procedures of the "bastinado" (also known as 'running the gauntlet,') and the "subsequent practice of either adopting such prisoners into the tribe or

cannibalizing them” (Sussman 1994: 600). “These two possibilities – cannibalism or adoption – seem to function as positive and negative versions of the same event in the eyes of European victims,” exposing the anxiety that “when two cultures meet, one must be incorporated, whole, inside the other” (Sussman 1994: 602), and obscuring any further possibilities. While, “Europeans saw these rituals as evidence of a tribe’s ability to retain its social cohesion in the face of a colonizing invasion... on the other hand, [these possibilities] outline the threat of the literal disappearance of European culture into the belly of America” (Sussman 1994: 600, 602). This composition of threat exposes the ironic paradox that “the very wealth that streamed into British cities... became a sign of Britain’s dependence on her colonial subjects,” and a source of (often subliminal) anxiety (Sussman 1994: 607).

Here, rather than deciding if the Algonquin, who were known to “have been very fierce, embarking naked and without provisions upon their war expeditions and depending upon the flesh of their fallen enemies for subsistence” (Speck 1915 [1985]: 495), were either matrilineal or patrilineal in their reckoning of *nindoodemag* identifications and heredity it seems likely that they were, as the records indicate, both (Speck 1931 [1985]: 562). That is, these folks who were known amongst their allies and rivals equally “as the oldest tribe,” and who held “a great reputation as magicians” (Speck 1915 [1985]: 495), incorporated the patterns of their neighbours in order to enjoy the benefits of internal social diversity, often marrying or adopting outsiders in the effort to maintain peaceful and healthy relations with others, and appropriating their ways in the process. This would suggest that the incipient potential exists to revitalize naming practices associated

with *nindoodemag* through careful attention to genealogical traces and “ecocentric” (Kirmayer, Fletcher & Watt 2009: 292), place-based ontologies.⁴⁷

This is why the name “*Omamawinini*” is so important for the self-identification of so many Algonquin people. According to the Ardoch Algonquin the name Algonquin does not originate from the language of the ancestors, and instead the people known commonly as Algonquin should recognize themselves as the “*Omamawinini*, which translates as people of the lower river” (quoted in Lawrence 2012: 196). Lawrence cites the “need to rebuild their confidence in themselves as *Omamawinini* to honour their side of the ancient wampum belt in building good relations with others,” following Paula Sherman’s call (Lawrence 2012: 154). But the continuity of *Omamawinini* presence in the area, even during the onslaught of Iroquoian aggressions, should be remembered as well, as the wampum belt itself is a living record of the expanding diversity of the *Omamawinini* and their position at the head of the fire at *Caughnawaga/Kanawake*. Thus, this expansion should not be seen as a sign of the breakdown of social or cultural cohesion, but rather as a further assimilation of difference by the most “venerable of eastern nations” (Speck 1915 [1985]: 493).

Properly understood, the *Omamawinini* never disappeared or went away, but simply swallowed the influx of settlers and their cultures whole, only to remake them through their own traditional views and practices, incorporating new tools, techniques, territories and even religious ideals without compromising the integrity and continuity of *Omamawinini* culture and tradition, nor their presence on and title to the lands they have

⁴⁷ See Harkin & Lewis [eds.] (2007) for an interesting and considered discussion of the “ecological Indian” and the fraught politics of representing Native people as always and everywhere “closer to nature.”

claimed since time immemorial. Recognizing this strength could provide a route towards the dream of *Omamawinini* resurgence.

Passengers III –

A.I. Hallowell describes the importance of dreams in Ojibwe (and *Anishinaabe* more generally) “ontology, behaviour and worldview” in his seminal essay of the same title (Hallowell 2010: 535). In this work he describes how in dreams, knowledge, medicines, and sometimes even disease or illness, might be come upon. Explaining the centrality of contact with other-than-human persons for hunters, Hallowell describes the experiences of several *Anishinaabe* dreamers from locations throughout the Great Lakes region and beyond.

In one often recounted piece Hallowell relates a story told to him by his friend and informant William Berens which clarifies that, “When we think autobiographically we only include events that happened to us when awake; the Ojibwa include remembered events that have occurred in dreams” (Hallowell 2010: 554). In dreams the *Anishinaabe* could meet *pawaganak* (and) *atisokanak* who were capable, if they took pity upon the dreamer, to bestow powers that would emerge from their continued reciprocal relationships (Hallowell 2010: 454). William Berens recounts how resulting from a “dream fast,” he experienced a dream which,

would have enabled him to become a *manao* if he had so desired. A *manao* is a doctor who dispenses medicine, which he obtains from the *memengweciwak*. The latter look very much like human beings, but they belong to the other-than-human category. They

travel in canoes and make their home in the rocky escarpments that border some of the lakes. W.B. dreamed that he was out hunting and met one of the *memengweciwak*. He asked W.B. to visit his home. “On the northwest side of the lake there was a very high steep rock. He headed directly for this rock. With one stroke of the paddle we were across the lake. The fellow threw his paddle down as we landed on a flat shelf of rock about level with the water. Behind this the rest of the rock steeply before us. But when his paddle touched the rock this part opened up. He pulled the canoe in and we entered a room in the rock.” In this dream the geographical details are very precise. W.B. said that some time later, when awake and out hunting, he recognized the exact spot he had visited in his dream. He could go back any time in the future and obtain the special kind of medicine for which the *memengweciwak* are famous. (Hallowell 2010: 454-455)

The motivation for the “dream fast is to secure ‘blessings’ that will augment his limited human powers and enable him to achieve ‘*pimadaziwin*,’ (also rendered as “*Bimadaziwin*”) exceptional powers can be obtained which may be exercised for the benefit of other human beings” (Hallowell 2010: 455). Further, Jennifer Brown and Susan Gray explain that, “through powers granted in dreams, people predicted the future, sought revenge, or saved their families’ lives. Through dreaming, one cultivated strength of mind and, thus, strength of spirit and power” (Hallowell {Brown & Gray [eds.]} 2010: 362).

Dreams were not considered separate from waking experience, and anthropologist Sally Cole explains how in *Anishinaabe* “custom an elder dreams a name that gives a person an identity linked to the powers of an ancestor, animal or spirit. Such bonding between a living person and a spiritual realm is believed to guide and assist the individual in life’s joys and troubles” (Wilson {Cole [ed.]} 2009: xlii). Thus, while this may be true for all people, *Anishinaabe* people recognized that “*everything* that happens to us, everything we think, everything we envision, imagine, conceive, perceive, dream, and intuit is a real and

vital part of our lives” (Price-Williams 1992: 255). Thus the connection between dreams and a hunter’s prospects becomes clearer as well, in that powers bestowed during dreams might aid in the hunt, and for people who depend on what subsistence the bush provides, the hunt is a central arena for teaching and learning. To quote Inuit leader Sheila Watt-Cloutier,

Young people are prepared for life through the hunt, how to be patient, to be bold under pressure, to withstand stress, to focus, be tenacious, how not to be impulsive, to be courageous, to exercise sound judgements and ultimately, how to be wise. (Quoted in Kirmayer, Fletcher & Watt 2009: 292)

In many of the stores and “trading posts” that surround the Park there are items for sale that emulate traditional crafts, often made by people from nearby reserves. Made from leather, tanned hides, furs, and other traditional materials gained through hunting, one of the most popular crafts is the ubiquitous dream-catcher. These small and pretty tools are not simply decorations, though this might be hard to discern from the prepackaged craft kits sold in many of the stores that allow tourists to “make your own dream-catcher.”

I’ve heard a story that explains the relationship between dreams, dream-catchers, and the dangers of leaving oneself unprotected. Souls could easily be lured away by conjurors and sorcerers if one was unprotected while sleeping. It was said, that amongst the many forms that these experts in transformation might assume, the spider was common, and that when they took this form they often snuck in to steal powers away from those who had gained them in dreams while they slept, and sometimes to steal their souls.



Plate #23 - Spider Web, Brent Campgrounds, Algonquin Provincial Park

A girl who slept a lot was napping under a willow tree full of webs when she encountered a giant spider. The spider caught her off guard, and when she tried to escape, the spider stepped into her path, tangling her in the webs. She called out, but for a long time no one heard her. She got tangled up so much that she couldn't run anymore and the spider made its way towards her. She gasped and recoiled and as she did she saw from the glint in his eye that the spider had eyes like a man. She shouted at the spider to let her go, and told him that she recognized his eyes. She called him by name and the spider was so shocked that she managed to slip free of the webs with the help of a much smaller spider

that cut a few strings and she ran to safety away from the willow tree, shouting back her thanks to the little spider.

When she arrived back at her family's camp she told her grandmother about her dream, and grandmother told her that the man she saw was a known sorcerer who was known to lure spirits away to make them his helpers. They devised a plan to weave thin strings of gut around the bough of a willow tree which they tied in a circle and hung from the centre of the tent with a feather dangling on each side. When they went to sleep that night the angry sorcerer crept through the roof of the tent after changing into a spider and, finding the dream-catcher, became ensnared in the gut strings. The girl never saw the spider in her dreams again. That is how the spider taught the people how to protect themselves from sorcerers.

In another account related by Hallowell, a boy,

had been paddled out to an island by his father for his puberty fast. For several nights he dreamed of an anthropomorphic figure. Finally, this being said, "[My] Grandchild, I think you are strong enough now to go with me." Then the pawagan began dancing and as he danced he turned into what looked like a golden eagle... Glancing down at his own body as he sat there on a rock, the boy noticed it was covered with feathers. The "eagle" spread its wings and flew off to the south. The boy then spread his wings and followed. (Hallowell 2010: 556)

Paddling IV –

When I awoke on the last day of my time alone in the bush it was nearly nine o'clock in the morning and I could not see a cloud in the sky. It was a bright sunny day and I felt

good after spending most of the day before relaxing. I knew that it would be a time consuming paddle back to the dock at the Smoke Lake parking lot. I planned to paddle to there, stash my canoe for ten minutes or so, and run across the highway and up the laneway on the opposite side in order to fetch my vehicle and pick up the canoe and gear I would be leaving behind.

I leisurely boiled a pot of lake water and made some tea and oatmeal. After eating I washed my dishes off in the lake without even thinking of soap and packed everything back up along with the rest of my gear which I took down earlier. As I tucked the kettle into my knapsack I came across a small package and realized that I had forgotten about the little piece of chocolate I had packed before leaving home. I fished it out of the bag, my only catch during the trip, and broke a piece off of the bar. I tossed the remainder back into the dry sack in the top of my pack, and too excited and distracted by the sugars now pulsing in my hungry veins neglected to close the bag.

I sat down in the sand on my small sheet of birch bark that I used as a mat and nibbled at the piece of chocolate. A moment later I noticed a scuffling noise and turned to see where it was coming from. I expected to see a squirrel or maybe even a raccoon that had been urged to wake by the wafts of cooked oatmeal and sweet smelling candy in its sensitive nostrils. Instead, I saw nothing but the brush staring back at me. The noise came again though, and I realized that it was coming from much closer than I had first guessed.

I picked up my knapsack and peeked into the dry sack to find a chipmunk with a small piece of chocolate jammed into her cheeks staring directly back at me with an indignant

glare, as if it was obvious that I should have known to share such a tasty and rare treat this far out in the bush. It was as if the chipmunk was saying “don’t you know that I love chocolate too?”

I dropped the bag and the critter dashed out towards the brush-line with her cheeks jammed full. I sealed my pack, and took this as a sign that I was getting sloppy and should shove off for the dock. If I judged it correctly the paddle would take three and a half-hours and I would be able to get back to the car with enough energy to drive back to London before it got too late in the day.

I set out for the Smoke Lake dock at five minutes before eleven o’clock in the morning and the sky was still clear and blue, with just a slight breeze. I noticed that a slight chill had picked up on the wind and switched to my long-sleeved shirt for the trip. Within five minutes of setting off though, the wind had picked up and there was a dark cloud emerging from behind the trees to the south. I was headed north when I set out, but within minutes I could only tell my direction from the compass I had brought. The clouds had turned to heavy rain, and the drops were coming down into the lake with such intensity that a mist was being driven back up from the water’s surface hiding the shoreline from my view and kicking up turbulent waves on the open sections of the lake.

I paddled through this deluge for almost four hours, losing my way several times in the process as the waves were cresting so close to the edge of the boat that I couldn’t take time to check my compass, and when I did have time it often did more to confuse me than it did to help as the shoreline was difficult to follow with the heavy rain and thick mist. I reached the portage from Ragged Lake to Smoke at roughly three in the afternoon just as

the rain let up. The wind kept on though and it felt good to have it at my back during the climb up the hill with my gear as I was sweating from the time-consuming and treacherous paddle.

After lugging my gear and the canoe over the portage and preparing to set out I was caught by another group of Park visitors who had apparently been behind me. Nine young men who seemed to have little experience set out just before I did having carried their rented canoes full of gear between them without unloading. As they left a second group came from near the rapids next to the portage after having gone for a swim, made up of a mother and father with three children, one not theirs. They had a small motorboat tied to a stump and by the time I had made it out of the bay on Smoke Lake near the portage they were steaming past me, leaving me in their wake. They waved in a friendly way and slowed their progress as they passed trying not to stir the waters too much which I appreciated, and I waved back with a big smile. After days in the bush without talking to anyone I found myself shy and somewhat lonely, but without much to say.

Packing out –

Though the rain had let up, the wind had not, and as I emerged from the protected bay I found that the waves were much less predictable on Smoke Lake than they had been on Ragged. They also seemed larger somehow and at some points water splashed the gunnels and fairly drenched me in the process. As I paddled out across one section of an inlet in order to cross to the opposite shore I was struck in the broadside of the canoe by a wave tall enough that its crest cleared the edge of the boat and made its way over me as I

crouched low to the bottom for stability. Even after having lost sight of the shore, and gotten lost several times, this was the only time that I was truly nervous during my trip.

I thought about the eagle that had been soaring above the lake before I fell asleep on the beach, and about the storm, and how there had been no thunder. To me this meant that the Thunder Birds had not been speaking, and that they were far from where I was. And then I remembered the stories that spoke of the Thunder Birds hunting the giant water snakes known as "*Mishegonebitch*" (Beck 1947: 263-264). Beck recounts that amongst the Algonquin of Maniwaki, "everyone has either seen, or knows someone who has seen this beast... As to what harm *Mishegonebitch* can do a man is not certain, although he is held in almost the same dread as *Windigo*" (Beck 1947: 263-264).

I wondered, I admit, whether or not some of the waves were kicked up by something more than wind and currents. I was keenly aware of every sound on the bottom of the boat, and took care to steer as far away from the rocky shoreline as I could. While passing Molly's Island, I failed to steer far enough away from the point, and the waves and currents split as I moved past a large rock. As I did, a whirlpool hidden behind the rock pulled me towards its spiral and as the nose of the boat came near to it the bow dipped forward, almost going beneath the surface. I leaned back hard, and keeping the paddle in the water, pressed outward against the current and twisted the nose of the boat to the left using the "Indian stroke," shifting the body of the canoe over the spiral, and luckily, making my way past the harrowing experience without overturning or going under.

I wondered how the three boats with the less experienced paddlers had done at this section of the lake, and if they had been as frightened as I had. Though I had been canoeing most of my life, and was comfortable enough in the little vessels to go along into the bush with no other form of transportation, or way back out, I was still surprised by the danger of the lakes. It is often thought that novice paddlers are safer on the water than some who have a little too much experience, as they can become over-confident, and take unnecessary risks, putting themselves in danger. This is one reason why some say not to paddle alone, but as Bill Mason points out,

it can be dangerous, almost as dangerous as driving your car down the highway at 50mph (80km/h) and passing within six feet (2m) of another car going in the opposite direction at 50 mph. Every time you do this you are six feet away from a 100 mph (160km/h) impact. (Mason 1980: 6)

When I did finally make my way to the dock at Smoke Lake it was six in the evening, and I was exhausted. After the half-an-hour it took to complete the portage, and the break that I took before setting off again, it had taken close to two hours to cross Smoke Lake. When I arrived, the crew of the three canoes were loading up their gear and preparing for the drive home. I'm not sure if they had taken their time, or if they had as much difficulty as I had making the journey. The motorboat was there as well, tied to the dock and the family, minus the child that wasn't theirs, was walking back down the hill towards it. The nine men had not made eye contact with me, but the mother of the family gave me a huge smile and as she walked past said, "You made it! That was as choppy as I've seen it in years. Brave soul!"

I was set aback by the comment. I didn't really know what she meant by brave. After hearing that the conditions were so bad that a cottager who had likely spent much of their life in the Park thought I was "brave" to paddle through it, I admittedly felt less brave than I did irresponsible, reckless and foolish. Under normal circumstances I suppose it might have been a compliment, but all I could think of was the chipmunk who, for a piece of chocolate, clamored inside of a bag with only one open end, and soon found itself carried aloft by a being capable of ending its life.

After jogging to the car and driving back, I loaded up and as I was preparing to load the canoe onto the roof one of the nine men glanced my way. I smiled. I turned and lifted the boat and walked it to the CRV, sliding it forward onto the roof racks. As I did so, one of the thwarts caught on the antenna and the canoe slid backwards on my shoulders. I made a noise in discomfort and as I responded to the recoil by putting more strength into the effort found that this stranger had come over to add his strength to the effort.

Afterword

“The forest for the trees”:

Listening to the Ancestors

“How’s about a stick in the eye?”

In the summer of 2014 I returned to Brent to see what had changed, what had stayed the same, and who was still hanging around during the summers. The first thing that I noticed was that where Jim and Marie Joyce’s trailer used to be, there was an empty lot. I thought that maybe they just weren’t there for a few days, but over the course of my visit I learned that the campgrounds no longer had a “host,” and that Jim and Marie had stopped visiting, when the Park authorities decided to move the rangers back into the cabin in the campgrounds. I’m not sure what prompted the shift, but I can’t help but feel it may have had something to do with my Master’s research in the area and my critical stance towards the official history of the Park. I worry that my work had somehow made the cottagers or campers appear more in need of supervision, rather than demonstrating that those who maintained the cottages and worked in the shops were the most capable of taking care of the place. Or worse, that I had succeeded in showing that they were intimately involved in caring for the place to the degree that they became more threatening for the authorities as they put the sovereign power of the Nation-State’s nervous system in jeopardy (Taussig 1991).

Either way, the changes in Brent didn't all feel good. The presence of several rangers provided an atmosphere of insecurity, ironically making the space seem more dangerous rather than putting minds at ease. With so much surveillance, some of the campers seemed to be nervous in the outfitters' shop, and there were fewer people visiting and milling about out front to eat popsicles. Beyond that, I didn't see Jake (who is still said to run the outfitters' shop) or Rob (who worked with Jake), the two other people I had interacted with most while doing my first stint of fieldwork.

The first time I had come to Brent, Marie Joyce greeted me by asking if I was lost, and it had made me feel at home to have someone include me what might be called an "inside joke" so soon after arriving. Ironically, when I returned in 2014 the campgrounds felt less welcoming, and although I knew the layout and even recognized trees and certain large stones, there was something very different, and less comfortable about the place. It felt sterile, and I felt watched. Also ironically, while I had not heard or seen any power tools being used in the campgrounds on my first visit, (other than a lawnmower out front of the store one hot afternoon,) on this return I heard two chainsaws being used to clear brush, and saw a man walk from his trailer, past my campsite and into the bush behind a site a few spaces away from mine and heard him begin to cut a pathway through the undergrowth. He was prompted, as I overheard, by his children's requests. One had come back from trying to walk to the water through the bush and complained that the branches were too low hanging,

"Daddy, they're scratching me!"

"Fix it!"

Obituary for a Paleface –

When British travel writer Bernard Wicksteed published his account of “an eight-day canoe trip in the Canadian woods,” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 5) it became an instant success with Park visitors and wilderness enthusiasts. After it went out of print the Friends of Algonquin Park began reprinting copies due to the high demand. In this adventure Wicksteed relates all that he learned from his guide during the trip, basing the text on a set of notes jotted down while hiding in the brush from his travelling companion, who was sure that Wicksteed suffered from serious “innergestion” [sic] (Wicksteed 1948: 5). The book is more than just an account of a trek through the bush though, as Wicksteed states that, “what began as the report of a canoe trip became also the obituary of a Red Indian” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 5). Wicksteed’s guide on the journey was Joe Lavally (or Lavallée), an Algonquin man who spent years working in and around the Park as a fire fighter, guide and trapper, and Wicksteed’s account is entitled *Joe Lavally and the Paleface in Algonquin Park* (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]).

Wicksteed says of the time he spent tripping with Mr. Lavally in the Park,

When I set out on the trip I took a notebook to get down local color in case I ever wanted to write a story with a Canadian background. And how glad I was I did, because I soon found a wit, an illiterate savant who spoke hardly a word that wasn’t worth recording.

I didn’t like to take notes in his presence. I was afraid he’d either dry up or turn self-conscious and silly. So I had to keep retiring to the bush, as if answering the call of nature, and there hastily scribble down as much of what he said as I could remember. (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 5)

The proprietor of the Highland Inn who connected Wicksteed with his guide said that Mr. Lavally was, “about the best man in the Park... and he’s the most amusing. You could write a book about Joe” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 13). Stating that, “Joe wore no feathers when he came into the manager’s office,” the two men discussed terms for the trip and then “cemented the deal with firewater,” though Wicksteed neglects to mention if it was rum, whiskey or brandy, presuming they must all be the same to the “Indian” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 13). Wicksteed’s writing is mired in ethnocentric turns of phrase that were common to the time of its publication, but there is an underlying tension that makes the derisive language in his text unsettling and out of place, and that evokes a genuine sense of respect and admiration for Mr. Lavally on Wicksteed’s part. In some ways Wicksteed perpetuates the Western tradition the “noble savage” in his writing, playing up Mr. Lavally’s skills and exploits during the First World War, and participating in a regime of racialized representation of Aboriginal people (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 8-9). In another sense however, Mr. Lavally remains a mere foil for Wicksteed’s heroic efforts to transcend the limits of a sterile “civilization,” going back to the primeval roots of human experience by returning to the primeval wilderness, and conquering it.

The tension produced by Wicksteed’s vacillation between admiration of Mr. Lavally and celebration of his own endurance exposes an underlying anxiety regarding the author’s relation to the text and its content. Wicksteed evokes the image of Mr. Lavally’s ghost appearing to him while he sits at his desk in his office, and states that he, “sometimes wondered if these visitations were more than fancy, and then in the spring I [Wicksteed] learned that Joe [Lavally] had died a few weeks after our trails had crossed” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 191). The irony of Mr. Lavally’s passing “on in the night to happier

hunting-grounds” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 7), was that before “turning in early,” Joe had complained about his “innergestion” bothering him again (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 7).

Wicksteed never mentions feeling guilty about feigning the same illness that Mr. Lavally died from, or about recording their interactions and publishing them without his permission, (and after his death), but he does express the feeling that somehow their bond was a special one, made evident by his experience of “visitations” by Mr. Lavally’s ghost (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 191). However, Wicksteed’s visitor could have arrived with less charitable intentions than simply dropping in on an old friend. Wicksteed describes how towards the end of their trip, “There were a hundred questions I should have asked Joe, to fill in the gaps in our experience, but for him it was clearly over. He was starting his repertoire again at the beginning” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 189). One of those questions should have been to ask for permission to use Mr. Lavally’s words.⁴⁸

Wicksteed notes that Mr. Lavally had “four grandchildren,” and a “brother Mat,” who outlived him. But curiously, Wicksteed suggests that his own work was Mr. Lavally’s obituary. Wicksteed’s desire to become closer to Mr. Lavally is obvious, but so too is the retreat of Mr. Lavally from the kind of intimacy sought by Wicksteed. The dissonance between the two men’s understanding of their relationship is exposed in Wicksteed’s interpretation of the ghost’s appearance. Taken as a sign of mysterious connection, or of genuine affection, another interpretation of the apparition is made available through a consideration of the meaning of the word “nostalgia.”⁴⁹

⁴⁸ I have made it a habit to ask before quoting my friends’ speech.

⁴⁹ Coined in 1688 by Johannes Hofer (1669-1752), nostalgia translates from the original Greek to mean “homesickness,” and was first thought of as a mental illness which left Swiss mercenaries unable to cope with participation in foreign expeditions.

As it was first composed the concept of nostalgia described a failure to move past the recurrent images of the past which would flash before a traumatized person, leaving them unable to cope with the moment, *haunted* by what was pushed to edge of consciousness under “normal” psychological conditions. The trouble is that under these “normal” conditions Wicksteed and Mr. Lavally were not on equal footing. There was a distinct power differential between the two. Mr. Lavally was Wicksteed’s guide and employee, a qualifying relation between the two which not only perpetuated a colonial division of labour, but also worked to prevent reciprocity.

The word *haunting*, when interpreted as an emotional response to the resurgence of unsettling memories, helps to illuminate how these irruptions of memory evoke the *uncanny* (Freud’s early sense of the “*unheimlich*,” or “the un-homely”; discomfoting, or unsettlingly familiar, recurrent, yet exotic) (Freud 1921 [1957]: 198). Wicksteed’s expressed desire for a greater intimacy between himself and the deceased Mr. Lavally demonstrates the sublimation of guilt associated with the manner through which Wicksteed effaces his own implication in the inequitable dynamics of power, denying his complicity while re-presenting the rhetoric of ethnocentrism and racism tied into colonial arrogance and anxiety.

Wicksteed ameliorates his own guilt regarding the betrayal of Mr. Lavally’s confidence by suggesting that there had been a special connection between them, rather than recognizing that they had unfinished business. Wicksteed hints at this guilt when he foreshadows Mr. Lavally’s death. Stating that his guide refused to paddle to a new site before a storm, citing his “innergestion,” Wicksteed suggests that that he “thought at the time this was just an excuse for staying comfortably in camp where we were instead of

paddling across the lake and setting up again in the dark,” avoiding “the work involved” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 184). Later, Wicksteed states that Mr. Lavally, “belonged to the woods so securely that civilisation could not shake his spirit” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 190), but it seems far more likely that Mr. Lavally preferred the bush where he always had the upper hand, and where he was never thought of as someone who was without the necessary “advancements” of so-called “civilization”; in the bush he was never just a “Red Indian,” an “Indian trapper,” or a “Chief” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 8-9).

Noting Mr. Lavally’s accomplishments and deeds, Wicksteed recounts that,

The first war caught him up as an illiterate Indian and he emerged with a medal; the “great compression” ruined lesser men but left Joe with his values unchanged, the end of the second war saw him return to the woods unscathed after helping to build an atomic bomb factory. (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 190⁵⁰)

Before this, he grew up trapping and doing construction with his father, “a French carpenter” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 8), later claiming to have been an officer with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, after the end of the First World War. He worked as a forest fire-fighter and a guide for a long time, but lost his licence and spent ten years in jail after “punching a Park ranger in the jaw” (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 9). After he was released Mr. Lavally found work,

at a Jewish summer camp teaching boys to make birch bark canoe and wigwams. They dressed him up in Indian clothes and with a feather head-dress and called him “Chief.” That was the part he couldn’t stand. It was “Chief, this” and “Chief, that” all day long until in the end his head rang and he couldn’t sleep at night for hearing childish voices calling “Chief, Chief, Chief.” This, and the fact that he didn’t get any bacon or lard all

⁵⁰ Mr. Lavally had been awarded a British Military Medal after his time as a sniper in the First World War.

the summer through led him to sever his connection with the Jewish camp. (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 9)

After this he mainly worked as a trapper until, as Wicksteed relates,

Sixty miles north of his trap line the Government were [sic] putting up a new war plant at Chalk River and Joe made good money hauling timber for the buildings, without knowing anything of the atom bomb or the part that Chalk River was to play in its development. His contract finished, he returned to the woods and his trapping quite unaware that in his small way he had helped introduce to the world of to-day something just as revolutionary as the coming of the white man had been to the world of his mother's people. (Wicksteed 1948 [2003]: 9-10)

Contact between the two men, rather than mitigating differences and bringing them closer, seems to drive the two further from one another (Denis 2015: 235); while Wicksteed imagines a growing fondness, Mr. Lavally retreats from the continued prodding. Without the tools, desire, or feeling of responsibility to engage with Wicksteed to help him reflect on his continued use of insulting terms, Mr. Lavally is left with few options other than the refusal of Wicksteed's friendship. And left without the continuance of the relationship, Wicksteed is left to ponder the seemingly incommensurable distance between them alone without being forced to reflect on his own position, how his words are heard, and on how his relationship with Mr. Lavally implicates him in violently oppressive colonial power dynamics. In this vacuum Wicksteed is left to imagine himself as an obituary writer, and to avoid his implication in the appropriation of Mr. Lavally's life story from his family. Now the Friends of Algonquin Park (one of the most vocal groups involved in opposition to the Algonquin land claim), publish Wicksteed's text, enjoying the profits from the sale of the title, while

Mr. Lavally's descendents fight for their access to the land, and to their own identity as Algonquin people.

Ironically, Mr. Lavally's relative, Jane Chartrand, a member of the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation (a descendent of Joe's brother Mat Lavally), was closely involved in arranging the protests which brought together local First Nations and their "allies" that surrounded the proposal of a new uranium mine on Algonquin traditional territory and to a shipment of weapons-grade enriched uranium down the Kitchissippi to the Carolinas for incorporation in weaponry. But these alliances seem to fall short of eliminating racism and ethnocentrism between differently identified "Canadians," in part by shifting the focus from historical issues to environmental issues, and thus missing the opportunity for dialogue regarding the ongoing effects of ethno-racially motivated settler-colonialism.

The importance of this silence is made clear in an article written by Jeffrey Denis, who explains that, "By not talking about racism, residents maintain a balance whereby prejudice and discrimination coexists with daily positive contact" (Denis 2015: 235). Chartrand provides a poignant account of dispossession that coalesces in an argument against particular forms of resource extraction and occlusions of Aboriginal presence in the Park, exposing the tensions between and within Algonquin, local and descendent communities and families:

There are real old men, who, when they were trying to hunt, the Ministry of Natural Resources would take their rifle or they'd take their snowshoes. You know, they would do everything so they couldn't go in there. But meanwhile, they probably hid a pair somewhere back in an old crevice in the rock or something. But that's what happened. They made it so hard. But our people stayed there. And that land is so important to me because my ancestors went up that river, because my ancestors were in that park...

And then J.R. Booth came in... He was a lumber baron and they had these people come in, the surveyors, and they saw the people...

But what they said was... that the Indians could stay but they couldn't have the timber. They couldn't have the timber rights. Indians didn't cut logs. They didn't need them, so therefore they left the Standing People, as we called trees, alone, and that's what we always called ourselves as well – the Standing People... It broke people's hearts when this J.R. Booth came and cut all the white pine...

J.R. Booth raped the white pine. We have a stand of pine in the interior of the park, and they're white pine and those are the grandfathers. They're the only ones left...
(Chartrand quoted in Lawrence 2012: 236-237)

In order to maintain traditions many, “still did what they did to earn a living; it was their way of life. But they had to go underground” (Chartrand quoted in Lawrence 2012: 236).



Plate #24 - Pine Roots Growing through Stone, Big Pines Trail,

Algonquin Provincial Park

“Hiding the Signs” –

A good friend told me of how he used to hunt near the Park, and for years I had little idea of how important what he said had been. He told me several stories, and afterwards told me to tell those stories to other people as often as they would listen. After tracking a moose outside the Park for hours and sometimes longer the hunters would follow even if they knew it was headed inside the conservation area’s borders in order to not waste their efforts. He said during the first conversation we had about Brent that there were "trees that had big nests in them." He said that over time some of the trees the rangers had marked to outline the Parks boundaries had grown so tall that they hid the signs and that by pointing this out they would sometimes convince the rangers to let them keep their hunt. But when he said it, he said that “the trees were hiding the signs. They were taking it back, eh?”

Now after reflecting more carefully, I think he meant this literally; he meant that the trees were hiding the signs on purpose, making the choice, and erasing the boundary while taking back the land for the Algonquin people. Some of those trees are, as we speak, waiting to become the ancestors, singing their songs in the wind. If you take what many elders say seriously, and accept that the language comes from the land, it follows that as the pines, the Standing People, become giants, they revitalize the language, they make old medicines available again, and they hold our shared memories, which they sing out to us, if only more of us were listening.

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Curriculum Vitae

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Education – The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2011-2015 PhD. Anthropology

York University
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
2009-2012 M.A. Anthropology

York University
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
2001-2009 Hons. B.A. Anthropology

Employment – Instructor [Social & Cultural Determinants of Health, Aboriginal Health]
Interfaculty Masters Program in Public Health,
Schulich School of Medicine & Dentistry,
The University of Western Ontario,
London, Ontario (September 2014 – August 2015)

Teaching Assistant [Anthropological Theory, Queer Studies, Introduction]
The University of Western Ontario,
London, Ontario (2011-2015)

Teaching Assistant [Representation]
York University,
Toronto, Ontario (2010-2011)

Publications & Honors –

2014 **Co-Editor** (with José Sanchez) of *TOTEM: the Journal of the Anthropology Department of Western University, Volume 22*.

2013 **Won, as Second Author, the Barbara Lawrence Award for Best Student Paper and Presentation** for “*Ancient DNA in archaeologically charred *Zea mays L.: Prospects and Limitations for Ethnobiologists*,” presented by C. Armstrong at the 2013 annual meeting of the Society of Ethnobiology.*

2013 **Student Travel Grant** American Society for Ethnohistory (ASE).

2013 **Student Travel Grant** Canadian Anthropological Society (CASCA).

2012 **Won the Helen Hornbeck Tanner Prize for Best Student Conference Paper** for “*No Home on the Range: Ruin, Reclamation, and Revitalization in*

Algonquin Provincial Park,” at the annual meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory.

2012 **Student Travel Grant** The University of Western Ontario, Department of Anthropology.

Presentations & Public Lectures –

2015 **Panel Organizer of Executive Panel “A Familiar Stranger: Franz Boas in Contexts,” (with Joshua Smith) & Paper Presentation “On Being Frank in Algonquin Traditional Territory: Speck’s ‘Salvage Anthropology’ as Political Demonstration,”** to the American Anthropological Association (AAA) annual meeting entitled “*Familiar/Strange,*” Denver, Colorado.

2015 **Public Lecture ““Unexpected Consequences’: Intersections of Being-Well, Conservation, and First Nations Heritage in Algonquin Provincial Park”** to the Schulich School of Medicine & Dentistry, The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

2015 **Paper Presentation “Kitchissippi Burning: Conduits of Communion in Algonquin Traditional Territory,”** to the Canadian Anthropological Society’s (CASCA) annual conference entitled “*Landscapes of Knowledge,*” Quebec City, Quebec.

2014 **Paper Presentation “Algonquin Provincial Park and the People without Ethnohistory,”** to the Canadian Anthropological Society’s (CASCA) annual conference entitled “*Promising Uncertainties,*” Toronto, Ontario.

2013 **Panel Organizer of Editor’s Session “Water Weighs” & Paper Presentation “Kitchissippi Burning: Conduits of Communion in Algonquin Traditional Territory,”** to the American Society for Ethnohistory’s annual conference entitled “*Water Ways: The Ethnohistories of People and Water,*” New Orleans, Louisiana.

2013 **Paper Presentation “Of Pride and Pre-Judgement: Exploring Mobility and Trade-Based Cosmopolitanism in the Algonquian Imagination,”** to the Canadian Anthropological Society’s (CASCA) annual conference entitled “*Unsettling Records,*” Edmonton, Alberta.

2013 **Paper Presentation “Blood-Work: Registering Claims of Authenticity in Algonquin Provincial Park,”** to the Collective Anthropological Project (CAP) & the Western Anthropology Graduate Society (WAGS) graduate student conference entitled “*Working Anthropology,*” London, Ontario.

2013 **Paper Presentation** “*The Equivalence of Risk: A Duelists’ Honor and the Canadian ‘Homo Sacer,’*” to the Social Anthropology Graduate Association’s (SAGA) annual graduate student conference entitled “*Risky Business: Risk, Recovery, Relapse,*” Toronto, Ontario.

2012 **Paper Presentation** “*No Home on the Range: Ruin, Reclamation, and Revitalization in Algonquin Provincial Park,*” to the American Society for Ethnohistory’s annual conference entitled “*Apocalypse Now,*” Springfield, Missouri.