

**Anishinaabe Giikeedaasiwin – Indigenous Knowledge:  
an Exploration of Resilience**

A Thesis Submitted to the College of  
Graduate Studies and Research  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Department of Sociology  
University of Saskatchewan  
Saskatoon

By

Patricia Danielle McGuire

© Copyright Patricia Danielle McGuire, Fall 2013. All rights reserved.

## PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis/dissertation titled *Anishinaabe Giikeedaasiwin – Indigenous Knowledge: an Exploration of Resilience* in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for the copying of this thesis/dissertation in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised my thesis/dissertation work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department or the Dean of the College in which my thesis work was done. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis/dissertation or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis/dissertation.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other uses of materials in this thesis/dissertation in whole or part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of Sociology

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 5A5

Canada

## ABSTRACT

There is a need to explore how Indigenous knowledge(s) relates to Anishinaabe ongoing resilience. I do this by telling the story of my home and privileging Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin, which means Anishinaabe knowledge. This study investigates socio-cultural knowledge(s) of the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior region in Northern Ontario by using storytelling as a culturally specific research method. A multi-layered reflexivity approach combined with grounded theory act as the basis for a discussion of Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology. The sociology of knowledge provides the framework for critiques of modernist hegemonic knowledge.

This study offers a nuanced view of Anishinaabe ways of knowing and being in the world by considering Anishinaabe writers from Lake Nipigon, Patrick McGuire Sr. and Norval Morriseau. Conceptual thematic understandings included: The land and relationships to the land are foundational. Eshkakimikwe Giikeedaasiwin – Relational understandings and this is land based knowledge; The relationship between land, spirit and the Anishinaabe - Kiimiingona manda Giikeedaasiwin are part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe: There are multiple realities which are accessible by physical and spiritual means. Manidoo Waabiwin – seeing in a spirit way and Kiimiingona manda Giikeedaasiwin are part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe are evident; There are cycles of life and the land is sustaining to people. Muskiki Aki means medicine land which provides life; Anishinaabe values of responsibility and obligation are recognized. Gnawaaminjigewin is the responsibility to look, to see, to witness; There is a need to maintain and continue relationships in the world. Bzindamowin is learning by listening and the relational practice of a good life, Meno Bimaadiziwin; and Anishinaabe values relating to transformation, renewal, reciprocity and sharing to maintain life. Manitou Minjimendamowin means spirit memory, teachings on how to live life and Bzindamowin, that is learning by listening, is reflected.

This study argued that exploring the survival and resurgence of Anishinaabe knowledge(s) can set different directions for the social renewal and transformation of Anishinaabe societies. This is an important understanding in any future development and social change, and especially resource development directly involving the land. Contributing to resource development dialogues will be the challenge, yet, how Indigenous resilience is tied to Indigenous knowledge can help create understandings.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the course of writing my dissertation, my thesis supervisor and friend, Dr. Patricia A. Monture died on November 17, 2010. She left a message to contact Dr. Colleen Dell, who willingly agreed to help me continue. Without this guidance, support and assistance by Dr. Monture and Dr. Dell, I would not have completed this dissertation. My supervisory committee, Dr. Wotherspoon, Dr. Dell, Dr. Cannon, Dr. Carlson, and Chic Akiwenzie, Walter Linklater helped me more than they realize. The ability to laugh, to offer welcome, to offer kindness, to open understandings and other ways of seeing were all enabled by these Nii Gekinoo'amaagedwag, my teachers. My editor, Fred Vokey offered assistance and expertise to me when needed, and to the external examiner, Dr. Jill Doerfler, my appreciation to your knowledge of Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin. I thank each of you for your considered reading of my writing. I see a deepening understanding based on the critiques and guidance you have provided to me. This attention to detail from each of you is appreciated.

My thanks to Dr. Andersson and Dr. Shea at CIETcanada for the personal support and for facilitating the financial assistance provided by the Canadian Institute of Health Research. For the student help, laughter and friendship, Chi Miigweetch to Mark Sault, Heather King, Delbert Horton and the Board of Directors at Seven Generations Educational Institute. Miigweech to Chief Laura Airns and Council of Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabe.

What I was attempting was to write a dissertation by telling a story and attempting to use aspects of storytelling. With the Anishinaabe, uncertainty exists in the stories about the world and contradictions are inherent in stories of knowledge. Knowledge appears to be on shifting ground but it is not; the core of knowledge is stable. Anishinaabe need to author their own stories but also examine Anishinaabe stories already written by other Anishinaabe for future use and to analyze such stories for purposes other than for which they were intended.

My mother and father, Anne and Patrick McGuire, who guided me on becoming a human being with all of the opportunities, responsibilities, obligations, and potential this demands, gratitude is given to you. My children, Cora Lee McGuire-Cyrette, Tony McGuire and my grandchildren, Andrew, Tyra, Jordan, Victoria, Audie, Winner, Trisha and my great-grandsons, Grayson and Jayme enrich my life. They remind me life is children so this cycle of life

continues. My children, Cora and Tony, have taught me to be better person. They are accomplished, hardworking and kind people with inherited humour and love of who they are. Chi Miigweech to my friends, Frances Trowsse, Shuan Boo, Susan Bebonang, Alice Sabourin, Joanne Fisher, Theresa Linklater, Maria Linklater and friends who have gone back to spirits, Sandra Kakeeway, Ramona Nobis, and Anne Wilson. Lastly, special thanks to my sisters, Elsie, Agnes, Maureen, Pamela, Julia, Kathleen, Cecilia, and brothers, Patrick, Michael, Russell, Henry, Daniel, Sullivan and twin brothers, Nate and George who are with our family in the next world.

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Patrick McGuire, Sr. and Anne McGuire, maternal grandparents, Daniel and Julia Shelling LeGarde, paternal grandparents, Patrick McGuire and Agnes Fisher Natawaasang McGuire, and to the Morriveau grandparents, Moses Potan Nanakonagos, Theresa Grace Potan and to Norval Morriveau for maintaining stories of Lake Nipigon so that Anishinaabe can know and continue these for future generations. It is dedicated to future Anishinaabe generations, especially my grandchildren, great grandchildren, and other future generations. It is my hope that these stories help you remember who you are, your responsibilities and obligations as an Anishinaabe and Wiisaakode.

Chi miigweech Chi Manitou whaa hay ii oh whaa hey ii oh  
Chi miigweech Chi Manitou whaa hay ii oh whaa hey ii oh  
Way oo way hey waa oo way hey  
Way oo way hey waa oo way hey  
Whaa hey ii oo whaa hey ii oo  
Whaa hey ii oo whaa hey ii oo.

*Song of Thanks given by Jeff Chief to Walter Linklater,  
later given to Sandra Kakeeway and Patricia D. McGuire  
in 1995.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PERMISSION TO USE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DEDICATION	v
SONG OF THANKS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
<b>1 CHAPTER ONE</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Reflexivity	5
1.3 Sociology of knowledge and grounded theory	6
1.4 Indigenous knowledge	7
1.5 Resilience	11
1.6 Overview of dissertation	12
GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED	14
GLOSSARY OF ANISHINAABE WORDS USED	16
<b>2 CHAPTER TWO - KNOWLEDGE</b>	<b>19</b>
2.1 Introduction	19
2.2 Anishinaabe knowledge and place	20
2.3 Multidisciplinary approach	24
2.4 Contextual knowledge and sociology	26
2.5 Colonialism and modernity	27
2.6 Canadian sociology	30
2.7 Sociology of knowledge	31



2.8	Views of knowledge	32
2.9	Hegemonic knowledge and the Indigenous	35
2.10	Multi-Disciplinary Indigenous knowledge	39
2.11	Challenges	41
2.12	Indigenous knowledge(s) and colonialism	44
2.13	Assaults on ceremonial world and Anishinaabe knowledge	47
2.14	History and colonial discourse	51
2.15	Storied past and coming to know Indigenous knowledge(s)	54
2.16	Conclusion	56
3	<b>CHAPTER THREE - RESILIENCE</b>	58
3.1	Introduction	58
3.2	Indigenous resilience	62
3.3	Anishinaabe history: a short overview	64
3.4	Anishinaabe resilience	67
3.5	Resilience and the relationship(s) to land	69
3.6	Social change, Indigenous knowledge and resilience	71
3.7	Coming to know and the creation of Anishinaabe gikeedaasiwin	72
3.8	Reflexivity - finding knowledge	78
3.9	Eshkakimikwe-kendaaswin (land-based knowledge)	83
3.10	Foundations of family, community and land	86
3.11	Lake Nipigon and displacement of land	90
3.12	Indigenous knowledge and Anishinaabe knowledge	96
3.13	Conclusion	101
4	<b>CHAPTER FOUR - METHODOLOGY</b>	103
4.1	Introduction	103
4.2	Righting the balance: stories and research	103
4.3	Reflexivity	107

4.4	Grounded theory	111
4.5	Reflexivity and grounded theory complementary	112
4.6	Knowledge - Patrick McGuire Sr. and Norval Morriseau	113
4.7	Selection of stories	120
4.8	Indigenous knowledge, resilience, reflexivity and grounded theory	122
4.9	Knowledge and stories	123
4.10	Ceremonial world: Anishinaabe philosophy, ontology and epistemology	132
4.11	Stories as an Indigenous methodology	143
4.12	Application to this study	151
4.13	Stories in this study	153
4.14	Research assumptions	154
4.15	Conclusion	154
5	<b>CHAPTER FIVE – THE STORIES</b>	155
5.1	Presentation of stories	155
5.2	Patrick McGuire, Sr.	155
5.3	Norval Morriseau	172
5.4	Conclusion to presentation of stories	196
6	<b>CHAPTER SIX – ANALYSIS OF THE STORIES</b>	197
6.1	Introduction	197
6.2	Recognized knowledge keepers	198
6.3	Gii dadibaajimoowin - our stories	199
6.4	Contextualized experiences	200
6.5	Analysis and Contemplation	202
6.6	Conceptual thematic understandings	203
6.7.1	The land and relationships to the land are foundational. Eshkakimikwe Giikeedaasiwin – Relational understandings and this is land based knowledge	205

6.7.2	The relationship between land, spirit and the Anishinaabe - Kiimiingona manda Giikeedaasiwin are part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe	206
6.7.3	There are multiple realities which are accessible by physical and spiritual means. Manidoo Waabiwin – seeing in a spirit way and Kiimiingona manda Giikeedaasiwin are part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe are evident	209
6.7.4	There are cycles of life and the land is sustaining to people. Muskiki Aki means medicine land which provides life	211
6.7.5	Anishinaabe values of responsibility and obligation are recognized. Gnawaaminjigewin is the responsibility to look, to see, to witness	212
6.7.6	There is a need to maintain and continue relationships in the world. Bzindamowin is learning by listening and the relational practice of a good life, Mino Bimaadiziwin	214
6.7.7	Anishinaabe values relating to transformation, renewal, reciprocity and sharing to maintain life. Manitou Minjimendamowin means spirit memory, teachings on how to live life and Bzindamowin, that is learning by listening, is reflected	214
6.8	Conclusion	216
7	<b>CHAPTER SEVEN - CONCLUSION</b>	219
7.1	Introduction	219
7.2	Sociology of knowledge	224
7.3	Resilience	226
7.4	Challenges	227
7.5	Anishinaabe knowledge	230
7.6	Concluding comments	230
	<b>REFERENCES</b>	234
	<b>APPENDIX A - Archival files used</b>	275
	<b>APPENDIX B - Anishinaabe chic akiwenzie chim dimoyweya (learned old Anishinaabe men and women)</b>	276

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES		Page
2.1	Norval Morriseau - Shaking Tent and Manitouwag with Sacred Beaver on birch bark scroll*	19
4.1	Sacred Circle - Circle of Life – Medicine Wheel	138
5.1	Norval Morriseau - Mizhi Bizshou*	172
5.2	Norval Morriseau - Lightning and Thunder Birds*	177
5.3	Norval Morriseau - Rock drawings of Sacred beings*	180
5.4	Norval Morriseau - Mizhi Bizshou*	184
5.5	Norval Morriseau - Sturgeon*	187
5.6	Norval Morriseau - A Sacred Man*	189
5.7	Norval Morriseau - Piece of original Morriseau manuscript dealing with sweat lodge*	192
6.1	Norval Morriseau - The relationship between land and spirit* <sup>1</sup>	206

---

<sup>1</sup>\* Please note: Permission to use the writings and pictures of Norval Morriseau was received from his estate. This format for citation was suggested: *Norval Morriseau. Selwyn Dewdney Manuscript located at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Art Collection. Permission granted by Gabe M. Vedas for use in May 07, 2010.*

In these approved materials, the pictures were not named. I have offered my understanding based upon the Anishinaabe knowledge I have been given in my life and based on the stories in this dissertation. Others may have other understandings.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 Introduction

In this dissertation, Indigenous knowledge(s) is related to Indigenous ongoing resilience. This is done by exploring the specific case of the Anishinaabe and the ongoing survival of Anishinaabe knowledge(s) in the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior areas. This specific focus on one area of Ontario illustrates aspects of Indigenous knowledge and resilience. In order to discuss Indigenous knowledge and resilience, a multi-layered reflexivity approach was combined with grounded theory. This theoretical base enabled an exploration into Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology. Emerging from this is a nuanced understanding of Anishinaabe ways of knowing and being in the world, such as specific Anishinaabe land-based knowledge as a distinct form of Indigenous resilience.

This exploration into Indigenous knowledge becomes critical when current resource developments in Northern Ontario are considered. Related to and of equal importance to these developments are demographic shifts occurring in both Indigenous and Canadian populations. The contention is that a consideration of Indigenous knowledge and resilience can set different directions for the social renewal and transformation of Anishinaabe societies, especially during periods of rapid developmental change.

Monumental social, economic and political changes are apparent in Ontario, especially in the northern areas of the province. A focus on extractive resource industrial development, particularly mining, is evident. Some of these developmental shifts were anticipated and some have recently come about unexpectedly. What is certain is that these changes in the North will affect every aspect of society for Indigenous people(s) and in many cases, have already done so.

Ontario is the most populous province in Canada. About 13.5 million people are in Ontario, most are located in the southern and eastern regions of the province. According to Statistics Canada (2006), Northern Ontario has more than 88% of the land mass of Ontario but the population only represents about 6.5% of the total Ontario population. Northern Ontario is located on the Canadian Shield, which is thought to be the most stable rock in the world. Lake Superior, the largest of the Great Lakes, is located in the North. Lakes, rivers, springs and streams are abundant. There is water in the air, on the land and underneath the earth. There is less population in the North but more land and water mass. Being sparsely populated, this area has more flora and fauna than other parts of Ontario.

There are about one hundred and thirty First Nation communities in Ontario. Approximately 70% of these federally recognized communities are located in the North. There are ninety First Nations covering four different treaty areas: the Robinson-Superior Treaty #60 (signed in 1850), Treaty #3 (signed in 1873), Treaty #9 (signed in 1905) and a portion of Treaty#5 (which covers part of Manitoba but is affiliated with Treaty #9). There are numerous land adhesions to these treaties and treaty land entitlement is an on-going process for many of the communities covered by these treaties. Aboriginal communities in Northern Ontario are comprised of mostly First Nations (Indian Reservations) and Metis populations. Both of these communities contribute to a large and growing Indigenous population in Northern Ontario. There are varying estimates of these populations, but demographics such as Statistics Canada (2011) agree these are young populations with the highest birth rate in Ontario.

According to Statistics Canada (2011), the largest concentrated population of Aboriginal people continues to be in Ontario. Of this Aboriginal population, the (2006) Census found a quarter (about 60,000) live in Northern Ontario, in remote, rural and urban municipalities, hamlets, and unorganized township(s). Aboriginal, (First Nation and Metis) peoples comprise 8% to 20% of the overall population(s) and these populations are rapidly increasing in the North. In some cases, like the City of Thunder Bay, the Aboriginal population is the only population that is growing; other populations have stagnated or have rapidly declined. According to Germain, Costa and Kelly-Scott in 2006, the growth rate for Aboriginal peoples in the North was estimated to be 28% between 2001 and 2005 and is anticipated to continue growing for at least another decade. This prediction has been proven accurate with the release of the 2011 census data.

What does this mean for Northern Ontario? In terms of current socio-political structures and processes, as well as individual and group interactions, there are significant shifts occurring in the relationships between municipalities, Indigenous communities, social and health organizations, educational institutions, industries and other groups concerned about rapid developmental changes. There is a degree of uneasiness with the changes and potential challenges these developments will bring to this area. It is not business as usual, although rarely is it business as usual in northern Ontario as it is an area that has experienced rapid resource development throughout its entire history.

In many Indigenous communities in Northern Ontario, a critical analysis of trickle-down economics or externally-based resource-based development or other alternative corporate structures amenable to Indigenous ideas of growth are not evident. There has been a proliferation of development corporations sanctioned by either the provincial or federal government. The global economy is affecting Northern Ontario, and in some ways Indigenous communities are ill-prepared for the accompanying changes this economic perspective entails. The provincial and federal governments continue seeking economic development deals with businesses and developers from China, India and other parts of the globe. There are some Aboriginal communities that have negotiated agreements with business partners in these countries. It is difficult to determine what effects these agreements will have on economic development of the region. The resource development happening in the mining sectors in Northern Ontario will change the landscape forever. The accompanying social, economic and political changes will affect every Indigenous community in this area, especially those already in precarious circumstances. Indigenous communities will be at the forefront of all of these rapid developments.

Resource developments, especially in mining, are a palpable presence in Northern Ontario. In this dissertation, I maintain that Indigenous knowledge(s) and resilience are needed to properly address these developments and the subsequent social changes that will entail in Indigenous communities. In order to place this discussion within the current social context, an examination of salient aspects of the colonial history of Indigenous peoples and Canada will anchor this discussion. Localized socio-cultural community Indigenous knowledge(s) will be presented. Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology will be woven throughout these stories. This intellectual journey is similar to finding, exploring and travelling unknown trails. As with travel, I have found guides who have directed, redirected and misdirected my journey; yet, each has brought me closer to reaching the end of this trail.

As a graduate student, I exercise reflexivity in this grounded inquiry. I am a researcher as well as a subject in this journey for discovery of knowledge of my home community; this journey towards how we view the sources of our resilience and how we view social change. In this study, the sources enabling this search for Indigenous knowledge were Nicholls's (2009) multi-layered reflexivity, a grounded inquiry of Indigenous contextualized knowledge, a multi-disciplinary literature review of distinct aspects of Indigenous thought, and an examination of

written works critical to understanding the Anishinaabe from my home territory. In many respects, questions raised throughout this study have forced reconsideration and re-direction of substantive aspects of this journey.

Why would I choose an exploratory study while discussing Indigenous knowledge and resilience? An exploratory study is done when something has not been either studied as well or as extensively as other subjects. This means either little is written or known about a specific subject or what is known is inaccurate or distorted. In the specific case of the Anishinaabe of Northern Ontario, I have found instances where all apply, during the course of researching this dissertation. This of course is rapidly changing as scholars from Anishinaabe societies are writing about their community's experiences on Turtle Island. Many of these scholars and other scholars external to communities are discussed throughout this dissertation.

Existing knowledge on the Anishinaabe is included as part of this dissertation. When I searched for information about my home area, Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, there was scarcely any material available. What knowledge was found, which was largely focused on Canadian development, fur trade history and resource use, was descriptive of Indigenous peoples and communities, explored specific societal aspects such as political structures or were about knowledge transmission, such as storied traditions. For the most part, most studies examined past Indigenous societies and peoples. The perspectives used treated Anishinaabe perspectives from an external manner. They were in some cases like traveler narratives but travelers with authority and privilege to define and promote lasting accounts of Indigenous peoples and Indigenous societies.

I contemplated scholarship to provide understanding of why Anishinaabe in Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior were still on their ancestral lands and still identified as Anishinaabe. I looked for expressions of Anishinaabe resilience. I found some limited information, but my queries went unanswered. Because of finding limited information, I sought to add a different layer to this scholarship of the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior regions by investigating selected aspects of Indigenous knowledge. My dissertation is a nuanced and layered exploration of specific Anishinaabe knowledge, especially such knowledge as it relates to Indigenous resilience. This is done as a member of an Indigenous community, and it is also an exploration of how I found Anishinaabe Gikeedassiwini. The writings I used for this discovery were Patrick McGuire Sr. and Norval Morriveau, Anishinaabe originating from the Lake Nipigon area.



## 1.2 Reflexivity

As an Indigenous scholar, I am intimately aware of the problematic nature of discussions with Indigenous knowledge(s) and sociology in Canada. Indigenous knowledge(s) are usually not seen as sociology. Where it is given space within the discipline, Indigenous knowledge(s) is usually positioned somewhere between ethnicity studies or cultural studies or identity politics. In sociology, Indigenous voices in regards to knowledge and resilience are limited, yet, Indigenous knowledge(s) are an important concern for the study of sociology. My aim is to investigate Indigenous knowledge on its own terms by engaging with multidisciplinary Indigenous scholars concerned with how to present and engage Indigenous knowledge(s) within the academy. My intent is to present a discussion of Indigenous knowledge in the hope that doing so can provide a basis and understanding of the need for Indigenous knowledge within sociology.

Within a qualitative research orientation, Nicholls (2009) maintains reflexivity is how the researcher's identity, social location and contextual background are at the core of the production and analysis of knowledge created. Reflexivity demands social, political and historical context(s) of the researcher are brought to bear on situated knowledge creation. Archer (2010) suggests reflexivity shifts the focus of privilege as well as sustains focus on socialization processes of the researcher within their specific societal context(s) and that this directs the research process. It is the context of people's experience that brings meaning to what Nicholls (2009) refers to as a multilayered research process. It is this reflexivity which is a meaningful richness and nuanced understanding; that I hope to bring to this inquiry.

I wanted to present my story of coming to know despite the contradictions, complexities, and challenges of doing so. I present who I am as Anishinaabekwe (Anishinaabe woman) and as a Wiisaakodewikwe (Metis woman), but I will not engage with discussions of my legally defined identity as a treaty Indian or as a status Indian or my supposed hybridity or my Metis-ness or my Aboriginality or my Indigeneity. In Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, community members know my family and accept me as I am. I live with my contradictions on a daily basis. Indigenous scholarship at times becomes mired in discussions of identity. In my view, this would distract from this discussion of Indigenous knowledge and resilience.

Yet, in writing my dissertation, I wanted to include who I am and introduce my communities within an Anishinaabe perspective. Doing this required me to think differently. I thought about what I would have liked to see when I first attended postsecondary education in

the 1980s. What would have made me feel part of the schooling, not just subjected to it? In some ways, attending college and university in the late 1980s was unique. Yet, I could sense something else underlying my educational experience as well as those experiences of other Indigenous peoples who I spoke with. Was this knowledge process I was undergoing a remnant of colonialism that both Indigenous people and Canadians must contend with, as referred to by Cannon in a personal conversation in 2011. My previous thesis supervisor, Dr. Monture, and I talked about my dissertation and about Indigenous knowledge, she said, “Focus!” She also mentioned family and creation. I have been thinking of family and creation and how this could begin this story of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. Starting at the beginning with family and creation stories allows me to think of the responsibilities given to the Anishinaabe at the time of creation. It brings me back to thinking differently about stories and thinking about relationships as the basis for knowledge(s).

### **1.3 Sociology of Knowledge and Grounded Theory**

The sociology of knowledge explores how knowledge is created but also the purposes to which knowledge(s) are directed within societies. Within the sociology of knowledge, theoretical frameworks and methodologies become focused on unique societal environments. Theoretical frameworks and methodologies reflect the concerns existing within the societies in which they are based. Within the sociology of knowledge, pluralities of knowledge systems exist within diverse societies. The sociology of knowledge acts as a focus for discussions of knowledge in this dissertation as does key aspects of grounded theory. Berger and Luckmann (1967) said, it is in the sociology of knowledge where concepts and ideas about contextualized knowledge arise and an examination of how knowledge(s) are created, transmitted and maintained occurs. The sociology of knowledge looks to the purposes to what knowledge(s) are directed and how knowledge is reflective of societal realities. The sociology of knowledge offers space for discussion of development, exploration, examination of diverse epistemologies and understanding, in this particular case, of Indigenous worldviews. The ideas of theorists such as Bhabra (2007), Hill-Collins (1992, 2000a, 2000b, 2002), Kusch (2010), Denzin and Lincoln (1998), Smith L. (1999), Sitas (2006), Bhabha (1995, 2009), Olutayo (2012) and Dei (2012) are highlighted in this dissertation. Their thoughts are scrutinized because they are representative of the critiques of conventional theory and methods and of the future of Indigenous based scholarship.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed grounded theory as a process of building theories of the social world. Grounded theory is developed by close observation of the social world as such is it adaptable to diverse settings. Morse, Stern, Corbin, Bowers and Clarke (2009) state that each time, “grounded theory is used [it] requires adaptation in particular ways, as demanded by the research question, situation and research participants for whom the research is being conducted” (p. 14). This is an inductive process. Grounded theory requires developing theoretical ideas from the data as you are collecting and organizing it. It is the adaptive nature of grounded theory coupled with concepts of the sociology of knowledge that offer lenses in which to view contextualized Indigenous knowledge(s). I do not know if what I attempt to do is create theory. I do want to tell a story of my home community and to communicate how we, as Anishinaabe, see the world. The sociology of knowledge, grounded theory and reflexivity offers space for me to do so.

#### **1.4 Indigenous Knowledge**

In the process of telling a story of my home area, I used Anishinaabe writers from Lake Nipigon, as these were the knowledge stories I was most familiar with. The stories I selected arose from multiple readings over time of writings left for future generations. These writings are Anishinaabe understandings of the Anishinaabe world. These are Anishinaabe Chic Akiwenzie, telling and recording in their own words, of their experiences in their communities, and of the Anishinaabe stories which informed their lives. These writings captured fundamental aspects of the Anishinaabe worldview, manner of teaching, and philosophy. These stories accentuate a fluid and dynamic society, an Anishinaabe society in a process of excessive social change, but still maintaining core Anishinaabe knowledge(s).

I seek to provide some understanding of how these stories relate to Anishinaabe resiliency and to specific Indigenous knowledge(s) from the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior areas. In this case, as I was reading the knowledge of Patrick McGuire, Sr. and Norval Morriveau, I attempted to analyze the knowledge stories (or data as it were), to make sense of why these stories are important knowledge for the Anishinaabe of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior and additionally, for the Canadians who remain as our neighbor(s) to understand us a little more. As this was occurring, thematic theoretical considerations arose. As grounded theory is concerned with analysis being done as data collection is ongoing, my exploration into how I

sought to understand Anishinaabe resiliency by the writings and pictorial representations of significant Anishinaabe Chic Akiwenzie certainly applies.

Like other Indigenous peoples, over the course of my academic career, I have been forced, coerced and reproached into reading other scholars, even when all I wanted was to understand my society, discover what made us who we were and how we changed our societies. Yet, repeatedly I experienced someone else's knowledge, experiences, and ways of being in the world. In each course I have taken, if I had not spoken, there may not have been any Indigenous content. If there was Indigenous content, I was placed in the position of responding or being asked about it or correcting the information or defending how this limited information was relevant to other students in the class. I had long conversations about this state of affairs in Canadian post-secondary education with other Indigenous academics, especially Dr. Monture. Even today this experience is not an uncommon one for many Indigenous students. Kuokkanen (2007) observed that only when there are Indigenous students attending universities and colleges will Indigenous ideas, philosophies, processes and issues be addressed, usually at the initiation of the Indigenous student. Kuokkanen argued that this allows decolonization to become individually based and as such it is not addressed as a structural process within academia. The undercurrent is that discourses of decolonization only apply to Indigenous peoples, not to all Canadian people.

Colonial ideas, philosophies, processes, agents, and violence in Canada meant certain knowledge(s) were legislated and enforced on Aboriginal peoples. West-Newman (2004) says germane to this is an examination of settler complicity and responsibilities, although, like Cannon (2012), I believe, a more extensive discussion of how Canadians can take responsibility for colonialism and become an ally of Indigenous nationhood and sovereignty is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Willow (2010) discusses the need to create common ground. I do agree that substantive meaningful changes in the relationships between Canadian and Indigenous peoples will not occur with only Indigenous peoples talking about discrimination and colonialism. Like Cannon and Sunseri (2011) I maintain Canadians must take up these responsibilities as well.

Like Young (2005), Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin, Anishinaabe knowledge, will be privileged in this dissertation. Privileged brings Indigenous knowledge(s) to the forefront so these knowledge(s) are center stage and inform the discussion to follow. The realization that

Indigenous knowledge(s) were important to me and my communities enabled my learning. It is equally important to other Canadians who made have ignorance of Indigenous peoples and unawareness of diverse Indigenous knowledge(s). Responding to colonial ideas is not exclusively an Indigenous struggle; Like Martin (2012), I take the position; Canadians need to take responsibility for how the structures and processes of colonialism benefited them and enabled the creation of Canada (p. 21). Canadian settlers and their complicity in colonialism must be addressed by Canadian people.

Writing a dissertation meant I needed to depict the knowledge stories of my community as a doctoral candidate. Once a decision was made about privileging Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin, Anishinaabe knowledge, this was discussed with both of my thesis supervisors, Dr. Monture and Dr. Dell. I began a process of shaping how to do this. Fortunately, other Indigenous scholars were thinking about how this can be done and acted as guides on this path. McPherson and Rabb (2012) said, in many ways, the philosophies of Indigenous peoples are attacked as false beliefs, myths or as non-existing or assimilated knowledge(s). Yet, scholars maintain this is necessary work to do. Marker (2004), in particular, discussed one of the main challenges. Marker said, “It is exceedingly difficult to make Indigenous knowledge, which is place and experience-based, relevant in an academy that exalts the most abstract and placeless theories about reality” (p. 108). Marker elaborated on this when he discussed spatial and storied knowledge and how “Aboriginal ways of knowing elude more universal theorizing because they are usually conveyed through oral tradition, which frames reality around the storied features of the landscape” (p. 108). Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior are focal points in this effort. Like Geniusz (2009) and Young (2005) discussed in their stories about the Anishinaabe, the stories of my community constitute specific knowledge(s) that have been ignored, marginalized or considered to be cultural superstition. Indigenous knowledge(s) are not viewed as scholarly knowledge and as such, Belanger (2010) argued are not taken seriously.

Anishinaabe knowledge(s) have not been considered academic knowledge(s) in mainstream learning institutions although significant changes are occurring due to ongoing changes and discussions within the post-secondary education systems in Canada. For example, in 2011, the Ontario government released a comprehensive framework on Aboriginal postsecondary education. The Ontario 2011 framework on post-secondary education complements work done at the elementary and secondary levels of education. These policy

changes reflect the changing demographics in Ontario and as well express a need to teach other Canadians about Aboriginal peoples in what has become Ontario and Canada.

Geniusz (2009) said, “Anishinaabe –gikendaasowin, our own specific knowledge, unique to the Anishinaabe people...includes not just information, but also the synthesis of our personal teachings” (p.11). Geniusz expresses a concept of knowledge as being more than just information but also informing to your life as you are living it. Relational understandings, you, your family, community, and other relationships, including the spiritual world, are fundamental to Anishinaabe knowledge. The basis for truth within Anishinaabe communities is personal. You are an active agent within the story, hence the use of first person narration throughout this dissertation. This Anishinaabe idea is central to decolonization efforts in our communities.

There is a personal basis for many Indigenous knowledge(s). My story of knowledge and how I have come to know both in my Anishinaabe community and in my academic community are included in this dissertation. My story as an Anishinaabekwe Wiisaakode (Anishinaabe Metis woman) informs this work. People in my community continue to be a significant influence in the work that I do. In this dissertation, I am both a native observer of my culture as well as being native. I am both an insider as I am from the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior area and outsider as I am a doctoral student in sociology completing a dissertation. This indicates responsibility to ensure that I have prepared this academic ground for the next generation of Indigenous scholars.

This responsibility shapes my social and cultural context as much as the primary sources that I used, who happen to be either my immediate family or members of my extended family. This responsibility means an obligation as well as caution in telling these stories. Lazarre (1996) in discussing her Jewish history wrote that this telling “could never just be academic history to me. (It is) lodged in the deepest layers of my psyche.” As I look back at colonial history, I examined our shared past as a family and as community members in this northern area of Ontario. Waterston (2005) warned that looking back on family history is exhausting work. Yet, this intimate relationship to doctoral research is necessary for understanding, especially peoples who have suffered repeated traumas. I could not ignore the histories Aboriginal peoples have in relation to Canada’s colonial past. I think of and feel the results of this history each time I hear of another tragedy in my community having historical roots dating back to either residential school or Indian Act legislation or child welfare policies.

## 1.5 Resilience

Indigenous resilience occurs within an Indigenous knowledge framework. Anishinaabe resilience is explored in a socially and culturally relevant manner. Resilience has become a common concept for discussing more positive or strengths based aspects of survival, despite difficult circumstances of various societies and/or groups operating within societies. Generally, resilience is grounded in individual, psychological and human development, attributes relating to coping mechanisms in difficult circumstances. Dion-Stout and Kipling (2003) contended resilience is a fairly recent term in social theory that dates from the 1970s. The definition of resilience is elusive as it can mean many things. The common meaning is that resilience is the ability to recover from and survive adversity. To Fleming and Ledogar (2008), it was seen as a positive adaption to life despite harsh conditions. Yet, as Andersson and Ledogar (2008) stated, resilience is seen as a positive lens through which to view Aboriginal communities. Resilience is seen as an approach that is based on community strengths, although Newhouse (2006) cautioned that resilience can also be based upon Social Darwinist ideas about survival of the fittest.

If resilience is a concept that is to be used as a social lens through which to view Aboriginal communities, Merritt (2007) argued it must be defined from an Indigenous context. The Ajunnginiq Center (2007) described resilience as “the ability to keep, regain and build hope, emotional wellness, and positive ways of coping through times of difficulties in life” (p. 2). Dell, Dell and Hopkins (2005) described resilience as part of their work with Aboriginal treatment centers as a blend of Western and Aboriginal philosophies; and in keeping with the treatment centers modalities resilience is based on cultural holism and balance within community contexts. Others such as Grieves (2008) stated resilience is a legacy of the spiritual and ceremonial world affecting Indigenous peoples. In this sense, resilience is based on our spiritual understandings and ceremonial life. Defining resilience from an Indigenous basis is intriguing. Indigenous societies are resilient. What does a concept such as resilience mean in an Indigenous context? What are sources of Indigenous resilience? I contend Indigenous resilience is related to foundations of particular Indigenous knowledge(s) in specific knowledge areas.

It is important to stress that meaningful knowledge creation requires discussions of worldviews in order to accurately portray Indigenous social life. Social realities reflected in Indigenous knowledge(s) can enable the creation of knowledge(s) that can set the basis for social transformation and empowerment of Indigenous and Canadian societies. For example, Ray

(2011) described the impacts of how other histories such as Indigenous histories act as “destabilizing the academic consensus” (p. 154). Until the Calder decision in 1973, Ray argued, “both the legal system and academic scholarship concerning Aboriginal people largely supported their dispossession and economic marginalization” (p. 154). Aboriginal people have challenged these colonial legacies by bringing new research both into the court and into academia. Despite Aboriginal story telling traditions being disregarded as ritual practice and philosophies seen as superstition, Ray argued older narratives of empire, colonialism and Euro-superiority based on self-defined civilization are slowly being replaced by more balanced narratives (p. 154).

In order for meaningful change to occur, Canadians need to be aware that Indigenous nations in Canada were healthy and robust societies. Canadians need to be aware of our shared history as Indigenous peoples and Canadian people. In Anishinaabe society, examining our knowledge and how they were maintained could restore a sense of pride as Anishinaabe. Anishinaabe knew this land and did so for thousands of years. Exploring the basis for knowledge and Anishinaabe resilience may be a starting point in this process.

## **1.6 Overview of Dissertation**

Overall, this dissertation is rooted in ontological and epistemological frameworks coming from the Anishinaabe. It is an examination of Anishinaabe knowledge(s) of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior related to the continued resilience of both the people and their knowledge. A continuing goal of this study is to respect Anishinaabe ways of knowing and being in the world as relevant and necessary for all community people in the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior areas, including other Canadians.

The literature review occurs in Chapter two and Chapter three. Chapter two is a multidisciplinary examination of knowledge issues within the sociology of knowledge approach, while the third chapter focuses more directly on ideas about resilience. This will set the stage for Chapter four which examines a social and culturally based methodology, Anishinaabe storytelling. Chapter five is a presentation of the stories written by Patrick McGuire Sr. and stories written by Norval Morriseau (edited by Selwyn Dewdney) with an illustrated pictorial representation from Morriseau. Chapter six is both an analysis and a contemplation of these stories. Chapter seven discusses issues for further consideration as well as future challenges.

For many Indigenous communities, knowledge creation is both a personal and collective process. For the Anishinaabe, knowledge creation is a collective activity based on personal



responsibility and is relational within the society. The statement, Anishinaabe Nandagikenim Daabibaajimotaw, is active, and means that I am taking the responsibility to seek and learn Anishinaabe stories of knowledge wherever they are found. These knowledge(s) are rooted in how the Anishinaabe view their understandings of this area. It is rooted in our knowledge(s) of our land and what we hold as important for continued Gii Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin (collective Anishinaabe knowledge).

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED

- Indians is a legal term in the *British North American Act 1867*. This term refers to powers of parliament and legislative authority for “Indians and lands reserved for Indians” (S91-24). Under the consolidated *Indian Act* in 1876, Indians were Indigenous peoples who signed treaties with the British Crown and eventually Canada.
- The system of Indian Status based on blood quantum came from the *Indian Act 1876* definitions of who is and is not an Indian for the purposes of the Indian Act. As Cannon described in 2008, non-status Indian came into being as a legal category.
- Aboriginal peoples are defined within Section 35 of the *Constitution Act 1982* as Indians, Metis and Inuit peoples.
- Aboriginal rights are communal rights grounded in the existence of a historic and present community. Continuance of these rights is based on ancestral membership in an Aboriginal community.
- Anishinaabe Anishinaabek Metis is a term for the people who originated from the Anishinaabe and various European people; they originate from the geographical area surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, the Aboriginal people covered by this definition of Metis are part of the historical Metis, a term that has relevance in Canadian courts and legal systems.
- Epistemology is a branch of philosophy that deals with the study and definition of knowledge as well as the process of knowing.
- Indigenous is a political concept developed by the international movement for the world’s Indigenous populations to specify land of origin and original people from the land.
- Indigenous Peoples is an international term that refers to peoples who are continually living either in one geographical territory or a number of similar territories. According to the *World Health Organization* (2003), Indigenous peoples are:
  - ...communities that live within, or are attached to, geographically distinct traditional habitats or ancestral territories, and who identify themselves as being part of a distinct cultural group, descended from groups present in the area before modern states were created and current borders defined. They generally maintain cultural and social identities, and social, economic, cultural

and political institutions, separate from the mainstream or dominant society or culture (located on page one).

- Indigenous peoples have specific languages and ways to describe one another, in the case of this dissertation, this name is Anishinaabe, Anishinabek, Nishnabek, Nishnabe, Nishnawbe as well as others.
- According to the *United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues* 2006 factsheet on Indigenous Peoples and Identity, the diversity of Indigenous peoples in the world has prevented any UN system body from an official definition of Indigenous. What the *United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues* has done within UN systems is develop a modern understanding, which is similar to the *World Health Organization* (2003) based on the following characteristics:
  - ∞ Self- identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member.
  - ∞ Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
  - ∞ Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
  - ∞ Distinct social, economic or political systems
  - ∞ Distinct language, culture and beliefs
  - ∞ Form non-dominant groups of society
  - ∞ Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities (third paragraph).
- Ontology is a branch of metaphysics that studies the nature of being or existence.
- Other is a word in this study that denotes peoples that are usually the studied. These people are usually considered to be the opposite of the dominant majority.

## GLOSSARY OF ANISHINAABE WORDS USED

\*Please note that there is no commonly accepted way to spell Anishinaabe words.

- Aamik refers to beaver.
- Aamikwag abinaaniwan refers to beaver(s) house.
- Aasiin is a stone or rock.
- Aasiinwag are stones or rocks.
- Aawechige refers to teaching by telling a story.
- Adizookaanaa means old stories as well as the spirit of old stories. Sometimes the past is referred to as adizookaanaa.
- Aniikii Binesii means thunder birds.
- Aniikii Binesii waziswanan refers to a place where the thunder birds nested. A place where these thunder birds lived and cared for their young.
- Animipeegoong Animbiigoo Zaaga'igan means refers to Lake Nipigon. Animipeegoong has two meanings that I am aware of. McGuire, C. in a personal conversation April 1993, said that Lake Nipigon meant deep water lake and Johnston, B. (2003) may have interpreted this to mean where the pipestone is (although he may have been referring to Biinjitiwaabik Zaaging Anishinaabek (Rocky Bay). In the Weshki-ayaad, Lippert & Gambill (2000) online Ojibway dictionary, Lake Nipigon is spelled Animbiigoo Zaaga'igan.
- Animki Binesiwag means Thunderbirds.
- Aniikii Binesii waziswanan is where the Thunder Birds had a nest.
- Anishinaabe, Anishinabek, Nishinabe, Nishinabek is the original name of the people who came to be called the Ojibway, Ojibwa, Ojibwe and Chippewa.
- Anishinaabeinini/ Anishinaabekwe means respectively, meaning first man and first woman.
- Anishinaabe Nandagikenim Daabibaajimotaw means actively taking the responsibility to learn Anishinaabe knowledge.
- Anishinaabemowin: language of the Anishinaabe.

- Anishinaabe gikendaasowin means Anishinaabe knowledge(s).
- Baawating meaning at the rapids. This is where Sault Ste Marie, Ontario is located.
- Chic akiwenziewag means old men with acquired Anishinaabe knowledge and wisdom and are recognized for being this way.
- Chim dimoweeyaaag means old women with acquired Anishinaabe knowledge and wisdom and are recognized for being this way.
- Chi Onigaming can mean a large lake or a sacred large lake. This is usually taken to mean Lake Superior. According to Ningewance (2006), another spelling for Lake Superior is Gichigamiing. Gichigami is another spelling for Lake Superior retrieved from University of Minnesota (2012) Ojibwa dictionary.
- Chii Aamikwag refers to many sacred beavers.
- Daabajimo. Daabajimowin are stories. According to Johnston (1976, 1990, 1995) teachings refer to life stories that can specify lessons in learning for other peoples; they can be traditional stories informing one how to behave in the world; they also can offer specific instructions to individuals to hold sacred stories. These stories are usually based on personal and/ or community truth.
- Debewin means truth. Nii debewin means I am telling truth. This means that you are literally telling the truth. The way the concept of truth is used in this work is one that recognizes that there are many truths.
- Gwayakwaajimo means to tell a story correctly, tell the truth or make a true report of something.
- Jiisakiiwigamig, the shaking tent ceremony is conducted in a small tent that fits one person. Drum songs and contact with spiritual helpers of the person conducting the ceremony are components of this ceremony.
- Manitou Manitoo refers to spirit.
- Manidoo-waabiwin means revealed knowledge and spirit memories
- Mewizha izhi-bimaadiziwin is another word referring to the past but meaning how someone lived life.

- Michi Bizhiw refers to a giant lynx or cougar with horns that lives in deep waters such as Lake Nipigon or Lake Superior.
- Miskwi onaman is red sacred clay. Usually called ochre and used for painting on rocks and other objects. Miskwi also means blood. Onaman means sand.

## CHAPTER TWO – KNOWLEDGE

### 2.1 Shaking Tent and Manitouwag with Sacred Beaver on Birch bark scroll



Figure 2.1 These are depictions of different sacred ceremonies and spiritual beings. *Norval Morriseau. Selwyn Dewdney Manuscript located at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Art Collection. Permission granted by Gabe M. Vedas for use in May 07, 2010.*

#### 2.1 Introduction

The undated birch bark scroll by Morriseau, above, depicts spiritual ceremonies specific to the Anishinaabe applicable to Northern Ontario and to other areas of similar people in Canada as well. In Figure 2.1, this depiction of ceremonial knowledge(s) describes continued land relationships of the Anishinaabe. Despite being outlawed by colonial governments in Canada, this ceremony, the *jiisakiiwigamig*, the shaking tent ceremony, has been conducted on a regular basis in Northern Ontario on the land.

Kuokkanen (2007) situates her work on knowledge on the Deatnu, a river in her homeland that serves as a border between Norway and Finland. This idea of writing from a space of land intrigued me. The work of Kuokkanen enabled me to see a way to present discussions of Indigenous knowledge centered in the landscape and waters of my home area. The painting by Morriveau, which begins this chapter, is a reminder of the fact that any discussion of Indigenous knowledge is grounded in the geographical landscape of home territories, such as Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. The Indigenous peoples surrounding these lakes and land have created and maintained specific knowledge(s). This chapter focuses on issues relevant to Indigenous knowledge, which begins with stories that highlight key elements such as land knowledge, including those stories about how the land was created. Creation stories how the people came to be figured predominantly in these understandings.

A multidisciplinary approach is used in this review of different aspects of knowledge and contextualized understandings of knowledge. This dissertation concerns Indigenous knowledge and resilience, but it also offers guideposts to the challenges, contradictions and difficulties of writing Indigenous knowledge(s). It represents my journey of coming to know and understand my own resilience. I do this by first discussing knowledge and contextualized knowledge. The sociology of knowledge offers the theoretical basis for this discussion as well as for the critiques of modernist knowledge and colonialism that enable this discussion of Indigenous knowledge.

## **2.2 Anishinaabe Knowledge and Place**

An understanding of community knowledge, in the context of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, is problematic as there is no one identifiable Indigenous community associated with these lakes. Yet, it is the lakes that are the defining place for the communities. Lake Nipigon is a large spring-fed lake that has seen many changes since this land became known as Canada. Some of the water that was here when the French and English first arrived may yet survive; likely the water that was here has replenished the lake a few times, but the water remains part of a cycle of growth and change. Animipeegoong or Animbiigoo Zaaga'igan is now called "Lake Nipigon". Animipeegoong or Animbiigoo refers to the deep water of the lake. Lake Nipigon flows into Lake Superior by way of the Nipigon River. Lake Superior is called "Gichigami" or "Chi Onigaaming". "Chi" has two meanings: one is "large" and the other is "sacred". "Onigaaming" means "a lake". In Sinclair and Pollock (1979), Norval Morriveau shares a story about the



creation of Lake Superior, Aamikwag abinaaniwan (a beaver house) and miskwi onaman (red ochre/ sand). Morriseau uses this story to explain a story he had painted called “Onaman”.

One time in our past, Chi Aamikwag (sacred beavers) lived together in groups of about ten or twenty. The Animki Binesiwag (thunderbirds) knew these beavers were in Lake Superior and often tried to hunt them. The beavers had to make sure they were not caught on the open waters of the lake. Each day the beavers would surface and sun themselves on the water when the weather was good. No one knew when the thunderbirds would be out on the water since they could materialize fast so the beavers had to keep watch. Morriseau (1979) said,

Then one day a very Sacred (sic) beaver, a huge white beaver, comes to the surface. I don't know exactly how it happened. But there he was, and maybe he made a mistake. He must have done, because if he hadn't made a mistake there would be no story (cited in Sinclair and Pollock, p. 78).

This sacred white beaver was grabbed by the thunderbird, who had transformed into the form of an angry cloud. The beaver was carried into the sky and his miskwi (blood) spilled from the wounds made by the claws of the thunderbird. The huge red sand blotches (miskwi onamon), come from the blood of the sacred white beaver. Morriseau concluded this story by stating, “The Indians still tell this story about the Sacred Red Sands” (p. 78).

This is one of a series of stories describing the creation of the landscape in this area of Ontario. Some of these stories were recorded in stone. According to Rheault (1999), when the Anishinaabe speak of their history they include both temporal and spiritual aspects (p.66). Brown and Brightman (1988) talk about the use of miskwi onaman (red ochre) in religious and spiritual stories. It is used as paint when it is mixed with the fat from boiled sturgeon membrane located at the back of the fish. Some Anishinaabe say this red ochre is also used with sturgeon oil and that other fish oils can be used for the paint. I have heard that some people have used turtle blood, although this may be a metaphor. Red ochre could be called turtle blood because it comes from the earth, which is called Turtle Island.

Conway (1979, 1993) describes how red ochre is used to make rock paintings, used as a medicine and, at one time, was used for burials. Miskwi onaman was used to make stories painted on rock. In some communities, it is used to renew the stories painted on rock. Zawadzka (2008) implies the landscapes were sacred and rock art sites were sacred places. Zawadzka describes rock art sites as being “located at the junction of the layers of the universe” (p. 5), that

is, a space of upper and lower worlds. Communication between humans and spirits occur in caves and crevices where manitous (spirits) live (p.5). In a comprehensive 1994 study on rock paintings in Northern Ontario, Rajnovich states that rock painting sites are important places on the landscape where cultural stories are recorded so they can be remembered. Feld and Basso (1996) maintain places carry meaning. Feld and Basso argue that Indigenous values, morals, identity, and culture became embedded in Indigenous landscapes, and as this occurs the landscape becomes a cultural mnemonic device. For Zawadzka, Rajnovich, Feld and Basso, landscapes reminded Indigenous people of events and the significance those events held for their relationships with one another and with the land.

The spaces on land and close to waters where rock paintings are located serve as cultural memories of Anishinaabe being on this land as well as the continuance of Anishinaabe knowledge. Morton and Gawboy (2000) wrote an integrated history of the creation of land in northern Minnesota, (which is close to Lake Superior by the Ontario and Minnesota border); they argue that many of these rock painting sites depict aspects of creation of the land. Harris (2003) considers the context for rock art paintings as sacred reference points for Indigenous identities; and Conway (1993) contends that these rock painting sites are critical for Anishinaabe cultures as these sites are considered sacred spiritual places where Manitouwag (spirits) still live. In a structured Anishinaabe world, Conway maintains, these sites contain a richness including connections with Indigenous oral history, were associated with historical individuals, delineated specific family hunting territories, and were connected to local stories, including relationships to the land and to land shared with other Anishinaabe peoples (p. 32). The aasinwag (rocks) and red ochre paintings help Anishinaabe maintain and renew relationships with one another, with their spirituality and with Anishinaabe histories.

To illustrate a recent example of Miskwaa Onamon and the importance within Anishinaabe societies in Northern Ontario, it was reported in *Archeology Daily News* in 2010, at Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug, Big Trout Lake, that a burial site was uncovered as a result of water receding from the shoreline by Bug Lake, Ontario. This burial was estimated to be 4600 years old, and the body was covered with red ochre. On June 28, 2010, Lakehead University archeologist, Scott Hamilton was quoted, by Jodi Lundmark of the Thunder Bay local news, saying the man was buried at the same time Egyptians were building the Great Pyramid.

Miskwaa Onaman (red ochre) was used as a ceremonial substance in this man's burial. I have not been gifted with the knowledge of which onaman (sand) was used and for what purposes, although I know different sand was used for ceremonies and in some medicines. I do know that places on the landscape where certain colours of onaman, especially red, were used are considered places of life. Gnecco and Hernandez (2008) maintain that "the archaeological ruins left by ancient cultures are not inert or dead objects: they have a reality which actively influences our lives both individually and collectively" (p. 441). Red ochre sites are considered animate spaces on the landscape.

The most well-known red ochre rock painting in Ontario is near Agawa Bay outside of Sault Saint Marie, Ontario. Some families at Batchawana, an Anishinaabe community close to this site, are responsible for taking care of these paintings, maintaining them and renewing the stories depicted on this rock face. Agawa has different drawings, one of which is a Michi Bizhiw (the great lynx/ the great cougar). Similar stories are told throughout Ontario, especially around the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior areas. Stories of Michi Bizhiw, like those of the giant beavers, are told as a series that involve the creation of changes to the landscape and to the waterways surrounding the lakes. Sometimes this great cat has a lynx tail, and sometimes it has a longer tail like that of a cougar. One story says the Michi Bizhiw with the long tail changes the world by hitting its tail on the water. Pictorial histories grace the landscape around these areas of north western Ontario. Petro forms, that is, rock carvings on the land, are also present, although these carvings and formations do not require the care rock paintings do. There are many stories painted on rocks and portrayed with rocks around the lakes in this northern territory.

Anishinaabe, Anishinaabek, Nishinaabek, Anishnabek, Anishinaabeg, Nishnabe, Nishnawbe and variations of these spellings are what people from my society call themselves. Anishinaabe has different meanings. The most common meaning is "the original people who are following the instructions given to them." Johnston (1995) defines "Anishinaabe" as meaning "human beings who derive their goodness from their intent." Benton-Banai (1988) says Anishinaabe means "first man that was created or dropped to earth". In a personal conversation with Walter Linklater in March of 1988 at Weendaamaagen, Linklater relayed a story given to him by Noel Ducharme, a Chi Akiwenzii (learned old man) from Fort William First Nation. The story described how the Anishinaabe was the first human being created and was given the responsibility to name creation, the waters, lakes, plants, animals, etc. by the Creator. Once this

obligation was completed, the Creator visited this Anishinaabe in a dream and gave him the name of Nanabouzhoo. In this story, Nanabouzhoo was the first Anishinaabe created, but he was also a spiritual being with extraordinary powers. Nanabouzhoo stories start usually from the point when he was given his name by the Creator; although sometimes Nanabouzhoo stories begin with him living with his grandmother. These stories and others make the Anishinaabe who they are and provide a sense of historical continuity on the land.

Each time the Anishinaabe in the Lake Nipigon, Lake Superior areas greet one another they use the greeting “Bouzhoo” (sometimes “Bouzhoo, Bouzhoo”). Linklater, in the same personal conversation, said that Anishinaabe greet one another this way in memory of Nanabouzhoo and in remembrance of Nanabouzhoo taking his responsibility for his part in creation. Johnston (1976, 1990, 1995, 2003), the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation (2010), and Pheasant (2010) have documented, as part of preserving and teaching Anishinaabemowin, the Anishinaabe language and Nanabouzhoo stories, which contain many elements familiar to the other Anishinaabe living around Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior today. These stories describe core values existing in our societies. Responsibility, spiritual guidance by dreams and creation memories are crucial qualities, although they are by no means the only ones. Other than these two descriptive stories, there will be no other Nanabouzhoo stories in this dissertation.

### **2.3 Multidisciplinary Approach**

The history of the Anishinaabe is one of the knowledge(s) detailed in this dissertation. Anishinaabe history is not discussed like other histories, particularly Western-based models. Anishinaabe historical stories will be presented as a way to illustrate some aspect of Anishinaabe knowledge or as a way to make an Anishinaabe concept clearer. In this dissertation, history is presented in a manner that supports the privileging of Indigenous knowledge as informing Anishinaabe resilience. Weshki-ayaad, Lippert, and Gambill (2000), - say “gwayakwaajimowin” is closest to what history usually means, except, that history, in this sense, refers to statements considered true and sincere declaration(s), that is, true histories. Statements of ganawenjigewikwe are descriptive and active. The term refers to a woman who is taking the responsibility to preserve history. Amongst the Anishinaabe, history is alive and informs our lives. History is who we are, and Anishinaabe were given the responsibility for carrying, sharing and renewing these stories.

Dickason and McNab (2009) take an interdisciplinary approach by combining knowledge(s) from history, sociology, Indigenous studies, anthropology, archaeology, biology, and political science to tell Indigenous histories. This approach captivated me when I was searching for an approach to help me explore Indigenous knowledge(s). My pragmatism told me that such an approach would allow me to explore the multi-disciplinary approaches of other scholars in order to study parts of the Indigenous experience on Turtle Island. This multidisciplinary approach meant focusing on scholars who are supportive of exploring Indigenous-based knowledge(s).

*On the River*

I have long been between landings  
Sometimes glimpsing a distant shore

All the while the sounds of rushing rapids grows (Hunter, 2001, p.23).

This poem speaks to how I see Indigenous peoples speaking about social change in their societies in Canada. Indigenous-based art, poetry and stories express the worldviews and ontological understandings more clearly than I could. These artistic endeavours enabled a space, this dissertation space, where I can tell a story about Indigenous knowledge and resilience. Cruikshank and Arqounova (2000) say all people in some way lead storied lives that are “locally grounded, highly particular, and culturally specific” (p. 97).

Stevenson (2000) and Cruikshank (1998, 2000, 2002) contend that story-telling and stories are like good theories, since they make connections which may not at first glance seem straightforward. I chose to begin this literature review with a ceremonial picture and by telling stories about creation told and written by other Anishinaabe. This has been done both to privilege my Anishinaabe voice (or voices as the case may be) and to highlight the difficulty of bridging different worldviews and conceptual understandings of the world within standard academia. This dissertation concerns Indigenous knowledge and resilience, but it also offers guideposts to the challenges, contradictions and difficulties of writing Indigenous knowledge(s). It represents my journey of coming to know and understanding my own resilience.

## 2.4 Contextual Knowledge and Sociology

Sociology developed as a discipline that studied social life, particularly changes in social interactions, processes and structures. It is a unique discipline, as sociology both critiques the development of Western modernity and is part of the development of Western modernity itself. This means sociology is seen as having a commitment to studying within a specific social context(s) so as to understand changes in the social world, and this requires contributing to these changes.

Sociology's theoretical foundations are based in the examination of issues and problems associated with the growth of the Western world. Generally, Western modernity has been the basis for discussion on the definitional issues, principles and significance of approaches addressed by sociology. According to Bhambra (2007) sociology's concern with understanding modernity presupposes a new form of society that is defined by both a break with past societies as well as its distinct cultural differences. Bhambra says, "What was to be understood was a new form of society defined by rupture and difference – a temporal *rupture* that distinguished a traditional, agrarian past from the modern, industrial present; and a cultural *difference* between Europe and the rest of the world" (italic in original, p. 7). The meaning, scope, methods, and relative importance of sociology as a discipline and the relevance of sociology to other societal developments stem from this basis in Western modernity and similar ideas of rupture and difference. Although there were other thinkers and scholars concerned with similar subjects (foremost being Ibn Khaldun and Harriet Martineau), it was the early European male sociological theorists whose perspectives became well known.

Sociology's concern was with the study of the modern, industrialized societies of the Western world. An early scientific movement in sociology sought to emulate the theories and methods used to study the natural sciences. Early sociology developed as a social science similar to the so-called hard sciences, which are in part defined by their commitment to rationalism, neutrality, rigor, and distance. Ideas such as those of Spencer (1969) about the innate superiority of dominant white populations and inferior savages became a large part of scholarly discourse. Bailey and Gayle (1993) maintain that Spencer's contribution to sociology "in general has perhaps more impact than many would either like to admit or perhaps suspect" (p. 105). Ideas of technological advancement, scientific rationalism and formal education were considered features

of a superior culture, which contrasted sharply with the perceptions of those members of cultures subjected to colonialism.

These beginnings of European hegemony, Stanfield (1998) says, are apparent in the definitional power. He says there is a "...historical Euro-American dominance in defining and constructing the organizational configurations of social science knowledge production and disciplinary public culture" and this influence continues to endure (p. 338). As Stanfield notes, "The ethnic hegemonic character of American and other Eurocentric traditions in the social sciences has made quite problematic the legitimization of competitive, empowering research questions and strategies in work with" other populations (p. 337). Hill-Collins (2002) considers the structural aspect of this hegemony; she says, "...racist and sexist ideologies permeate the social structure to such a degree that they become hegemonic, namely, seen as natural, normal, and inevitable" (p. 5). In this sense, the hegemonic nature of dominant Eurocentric traditions in the social sciences becomes taken for granted and unquestioned. It was only when those marginalized by these existing power processes and structures called these structures into question that a change in focus became possible.

## **2.5 Colonialism and Modernity**

During the major growth period of sociology, developments were occurring in Europe which were not discussed by early sociology theorists. Bhambra (2007) states, "The period of sociology's disciplinary formation was also the heyday of European colonialism, yet the colonial relationship did not figure in the development of sociological understandings" (p.1). This failure to address colonialism as central or at the very least part of modernity, Bhambra continues, is evident by sociology's non-engagement with and neglect of decolonization and/or post-colonialism (p. 3). European modernity has been set as *the* modernity and as such excludes the diverse non-European elements from adding to the modernity dialogue. Bhambra argues these non-European modernities are considered only when they can be subsumed within the existing Western-dominant discourse. Bhambra is concerned with what she terms "missing revolutions" in sociology, which involve the struggles for equality and recognition surrounding issues of gender, sexuality and post-colonialism. The practice of imperialistic and colonial policies by European nations towards many other societies and nations in the world was an on-going process. Wide-scale colonizing missions and the construction of colonial settlements were occurring with administrative and other structural elements designed to influence and, in many

cases, subjugate local populations. The issue Bhabha raises is that there is barely a mention of this occurring within sociological theoretical history which has been preoccupied with understanding Western modernity.

Bhabha (1995) questions the nature and scope of modernity when she asks, “What was modernity for those who were part of its instrumentality or governmentality but, for reasons of race or gender or economic status, were excluded from its norms of rationality, or its prescriptions of progress?” Bhabha asks about people who do not form part of Western modernity. Bhabha says, “What contending and competing discourses of emancipation or equality, what forms of identity and agency, emerge from the “discontents” of modernity?” (cited in Mitchell 1995, p. 82). Both Bhabha and Bhabra (2007) argue that the modern has become defined by European modernity with no other modernity being considered. Sociology’s focus on Western societal structures and processes does not mean that all people at all times are subject to this same modernity, although this has been the case for a long time. Furthermore, this sociological focus on Western modernity and societies does not mean all people have either the same or similar experiences of people in Europe.

There are different social processes and other modernities, Bhabha and Bhabra contend, growing in some non-Western societies, which results in varied ideas of social change. Sitas (2006) discusses ideas of “alternative modernities with their own momentum and logic of emergence and continuation” (p. 366). Sitas, in examining African thought, argues for “multiple trajectories of modernity.” Doing so, Sita says, shifts the “agency of change” to Indigenous cultural and social formations (p. 367). As they decide what comprises their modernity, Indigenous populations then become social agents exercising their agency despite any lingering remnants of colonialism. Bhabra maintains the postcolonial critique is not substantially different from that made by feminist and queer studies theorists, but the nature of its location outside of the dominant understanding of the “modern social” enables this critique to resist assimilation into the domain of the socio-cultural and open up discussions of general categories. Bhabra brings forward the critique of the reception post-colonial ideas have had with the sociological mainstream. Bhabra says,

My argument is that mainstream sociology insulates itself from thorough-going reconstruction in light of the critical perspectives presented by feminism, queer theory,



and postcolonialism by distinguishing the system and the social (or the structural and the cultural) and assigning the critical position to that of the particular. (p. 17).

Bhabra says the postcolonial revolution highlights “what is missing in sociology: an engagement with difference that makes a difference to what was initially thought” (p. 13).

Bhabra argues “postcolonial thought truly threatens to provide a revolution in thinking that would make sociology genuinely dialogic by making its fundamental categories part of that dialogue” (p. 13).

It has only been since the late 1970s that these influences on sociological theories and methods have been critiqued in this fashion. Clifford and Marcus (1986) maintain that social scientists are observers of the social world they participate in. Social theorists make their observations within a socially-mediated framework of their own cultural meanings and symbols. Social scientists describe and make sense of their world within their reality to develop their theories. This dissertation is based on the idea that all scholars come from somewhere, in some space, in some time and are influenced by their social and economic position in society. It must be noted that all scholars come from situated lives and this impacts the work they choose to do. This is the case in regards to Indigenous scholars as well as Western trained scholars. In this dissertation, it is recognized all scholars come from situated social lives and this could have been an expanded focus of this study, and especially for Western scholars, as we all search for our understandings of our societies.

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) conclude that chosen research methodologies impact researchers’ work as they help in the process of “making sense of experience” (p. 501). Other scholars such as feminists, postcolonial and Indigenous theorists, such as hooks (1996), Denzin and Lincoln (1998), Smith L (1999), Kusch (2010), Hill-Collins (1992, 2002), and Sitas (2006) have argued that this process was developed to rationalize and extend a distinct cosmology to all societies and to all peoples. It is these kinds of concerns that lead to a questioning of not only how social theory (knowledge) is generated, but also questioning by whom is it generated and for what reasons?

## 2.6 Canadian Sociology

There have been symbiotic relationships between Canadians and Indigenous peoples since the time of first contact, a fact that is largely unacknowledged or unrecognized by the larger society, including academia. It is only in response to changing demographics in Canada that there has been a renewed interest in Indigenous people and in their ongoing relationships with Canadians which are being re-assessed. Some Canadians are doing this work because they see it as the right thing to do in light of the demands of social justice.

Sociological thinkers are part of this discourse, as the subject matter of sociology involves examination of the changes, processes, interactions and structures of societies. Some sociological thinkers, for instance, are taking a lead role in figuring out ways to either assist Indigenous peoples (Satzewich and Wotherspoon 2000, Wotherspoon and Schissel 2003, Wotherspoon 2009), or develop strong relationships with Indigenous peoples (Southcott 2009, 2010). Others seek to develop postcolonial critiques (Cannon and Sunseri 2011) or prepare new academic ground (Denis 2011, McGuire 2009, 2011). Other sociologists, like Steckley (2003), examine the treatment of Indigenous peoples in sociological texts or others like Dell (2011) argue for the inclusion of Indigenous ideas. Frideres (2011), to cite a particular example, examines diverse cosmologies and knowledge paradigms in relation to Indigenous peoples and issues surrounding Indigenous knowledge(s). However, this does not mean all is well within sociology concerning Indigenous peoples and their societies.

Although there are changes afoot in Canadian sociology, Indigenous peoples in sociology are usually either absent from theoretical discourse, portrayed through a deficit-based lens, or relegated to anthropology, or seen as social research. A search of Aboriginal sociological knowledge and theory produced the following representative range of issues commonly discussed in Aboriginal sociology: mobilization from rural communities to urban (Ramos 2008), as ecological (Holst 1997), as cultural production (Buddle 2004), as political protest (Ramos 2006), as self-determination (Moreton-Robinson 2006) and as an under-developed possibility within sociology (Butler-McIlwraith 2006). There is a range of different either deficit- or pathology-based writings as well.

Although there are changes afoot due to changes in Indigenous demographics in Canada as well as the Canadian ideas of fairness and social justice, there are still few works that address Indigenous societies, let alone works that address the positive attributes or strengths of

Indigenous societies. Much sociological research about Aboriginal peoples in Canada, ranging from health to criminology, is deficit-based. The sociology of knowledge opens room for developments of Indigenous knowledge(s) and the creation of theories and methods. Because Indigenous philosophies, perspectives, ontologies and epistemologies have been neglected, denied, contested or viewed as little more than a set of eccentric or superstitious beliefs by Western scholarship, these grounds are fertile for Indigenous development and the growth of ideas about change. In sociology, this means that ideas, perspectives and other thinking foundational to the discipline become sites of examination, re-examination and eventually growth.

## **2.7 Sociology of Knowledge**

A tradition within Western sociology addresses concerns about knowledge by adopting a constructivist view of knowledge. This theoretical perspective asserts we are social agents situated within our societies, and our knowledge practices are founded on our unique contextualized nature. Knuttila (2005) develops this definition; according to him the sociology of knowledge,

...studies the relationship between the social conditions and structures that exist at a given time and place and the process of the production of knowledge. The sociology of knowledge attempts to place the producer of knowledge and the process of knowledge production within its historical, cultural, political, economic, and religious contexts (p. 12).

The sociology of knowledge, generally, examines how information, ideas, perspectives, and philosophies are relative to the society in which they arise. Weeks (2003) describes the sociology of knowledge as dealing “with the broad, underlying questions about the extent and limits of social influences on people’s lives and the socio-cultural foundations of our world” (p. 1). There is a concern within the sociology of knowledge about how thought is influenced by the social context and how such thought becomes influential within societies. Foundational to this perspective is the idea that unique social locations of people within societies shape knowledge and knowledge practices.

Swidler and Arditi (1994) discuss a new sociology of knowledge, one that “examines how kinds of social organization make whole orderings of knowledge possible, rather than focussing on the differing social locations and interests of individuals or groups” (p. 305). This

sociology of knowledge is concerned with the social sources of knowledge and examines the development of ideologies and other discourses as well as the role they play in this sociology. Swidler and Arditì argue for an examination of “political and religious ideologies as well as science and everyday life, cultural and organizational discourses along with formal and informal types of knowledge” (p. 306). Given this, sociology of knowledge is tied to “the investigation of forms and practices of knowing.” A basic tenet within the sociology of knowledge is that all knowledge is socially constructed. If all knowledge within societies is socially constructed, it becomes difficult to argue that Western sociological processes, structures and interactions are the pinnacle to which all other societies must aspire. In the sociology of knowledge, Western sociology loses its privileged status and becomes one of a plurality. This being the case does not mean Western sociology has nothing to teach other societies.

## **2.8 Views of Knowledge**

Understanding knowledge as ideological, hegemonic, and involved in both the subjection and eventual social transformation of peoples informs many sociological perspectives on knowledge. Some of these ideas originate with Marx and Engels (1978), who regard the purpose of knowledge as being ideological. The vested nature of knowledge would concur with the sociological theses of Mannheim (1936) and Mannheim and Kecskemeti (1952). For Mannheim, knowledge “cannot be adequately understood as long as their social origins are obscured” (Mannheim: 2). In his view, knowledge must be understood in its societal and historical context. Mannheim looks at the contextual relationships that can only be understood within the structural features of specific societies. Mannheim argues ideas, facts, and events have to be, “understood contextually, that is, in the relation to the dominant historical forces and trends. There are no eternal or universal truths but only truth claims that always reflect a particular social interest or perspective” (cited in Farganis 2000, p. 193). This perspectivism implies that “all views must be related to the standpoint of the observer within the socio-historical totality” (Bailey and Gayle, 1993: 51). This view of knowledge is bound to particular places within social structures and within particular historical processes. For Mannheim, social location and generational factors influence the lenses through which one sees the world. Others have examined how this perspective can be applied to the analysis of social theory itself.

Our unique social circumstances define us and act as a social frame for our interpretations of our world. For Mills (1976) this social frame gives us a particular way of viewing,

understanding and critiquing our particular social surroundings. The first lesson “is the idea that the individual can understand his own experience and gauge his own fate by locating himself within his period, that he can know his own chances in life only by becoming aware of those of all individuals in his circumstances” (Mills: 275). This sociological awareness examines the linkages between history and biography. Mills further maintains that social structure and individual consciousness are links to be explored, as are knowledge and its socio-cultural contexts. It is in the exploration of these linkages that facilitate analysis and theory about our social world. These linkages act as frames for exploring how knowledge is created, continued and generated in the social world. “The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. That is its task and its promise” (Mills: 6). Consideration of social structures and how they shape us in a particular time and place can contribute to theory development. Other theorists have elaborated on these ideas and developed distinctive ways of looking at social life.

Smith D (1990) states that we, as scholars, can only understand our socially constructed world(s) by knowing from within. We can never stand outside it. This forms part of her critique of sociological theory and objective analysis. For Smith, sociology is situated in and is part of the world in which it studies, and this should be reflected in the writing of sociology. She says,

Rather, sociologists’ investigation of our directly experienced world as a problem is a mode of discovering or rediscovering the society from within. We begin from our original but tacit knowledge and from within the acts by which we bring it into our grasp in making it observable and in understanding how it works. We aim not at a reiteration of what we already (tacitly) know, but at an exploration of what passes beyond that knowledge and is deeply implicated in how it is. (23).

This concern with the situated nature of knowledge practices and its relation to power concerns Hill-Collins (1990, 2000a, 2000b, 2002), but she examines the standards used for knowledge. Hill-Collins says the social theorist must scrutinize the standards we use “to assess knowledge or why we believe what we believe to be true. Far from being the apolitical study of truth, epistemology points to the ways in which power relations shape who is believed and why” (Hill-Collins: 325). These practices of knowledge are based on power relationships that determine the purposes and the placement of such knowledge. Hill-Collins says,

The level of epistemology is important because it determines which questions merit investigation, which interpretative frameworks will be used to analyze findings, and to what use any ensuring knowledge will be put (p. 324).

Both Smith D (1990) and Hill-Collins (2000) are adamant that the connection between power relations in knowledge validation and the acceptance of truth claims form part of a theory of knowledge. This theory of knowledge is rooted in daily experience with the result being that one's identity becomes critical to knowledge claims. Clearly, there are different ways of knowing, being and doing when exploring social theory.

Hill-Collins (1990, 2000b, 2002) has written about decolonizing Western sociology with the inclusion of diverse perspectives. Hill-Collins places Black women's experiences and ideas at the center of her sociology. By doing so, Hill-Collins presents her own "individual struggles as emblematic of Black women's collective struggles to claim a similar intellectual and political space" (p. xiii). Hill-Collins argues that this centrality created discomfort for those unfamiliar and unaccustomed with this central framing of Black women's knowledge(s). She says,

Oppressed groups are frequently placed in the situation of being listened to only if we frame our ideas in the language that is familiar to and comfortable for a dominant group. This requirement often changes the meaning of our ideas and works to elevate the ideas of dominant groups (p. vii).

Hill-Collins (2002) has added to her original ideas regarding the intersection of different types of oppression (e.g., those based upon race, gender, class, etc.) as they relate to framing and analyzing Black women's experiences. In her 2002 work, Hill-Collins has added the increased dimensions of sexuality, social class and culture. Yet, these oppressions are seen as powerful forces for Black women's knowledge. Hill-Collins continues, "...the knowledge gained at (the) intersecting oppressions of race, class, and gender provides the stimulus for crafting and passing on the subjugated knowledge of Black women's critical social theory" (p. 8). Hill-Collins says, that this broadened view is intended to enable other groups concerned with empowerment and social justice to "recognize dimensions of their own thought and practice" (p. xi) as oppressive structures and practices become analyzed. The treatment of knowledge is clearly connected to societal power relations within dominant societies. Scott (1985) argues, "suppressing the knowledge produced by any oppressed group makes it easier for dominant groups to rule because

the seeming absence of dissent suggests that subordinate groups willingly collaborate in their own victimization” (cited in Collins, 2002, p. 3).

For some marginalized people, this inclusion is a critical part of continued identity and cultural survival. Hoare, Levy and Robinson (1993) state that if knowledge is fundamental to understanding, interpreting and establishing values within a society, then control over its production is essential component of cultural survival for society. There are challenges to this inclusion within the academy, Brown and Stega (2005) argue that the ways of knowing of those considered on the margins, their histories, experiences, cultures and languages have historically been devalued, misinterpreted, and omitted by the academy.

For Aboriginal peoples, colonialism is a pervasive factor in this process. As Kana’iaupuni (2005) states, traditional social theory and research has silenced the experiences of those on the margins of society and instead looks at a deficit-informed approach to explaining their lives and experiences. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) maintain that examining knowledge and developing knowledge from different perspectives will require an openness to other ways of seeing and doing. Maina (2003) discusses how Indigenous peoples need to tell their stories about knowledge to balance what has already been written about them, and the purposes of these stories may differ from standard accounts. The sociology of knowledge can contribute to the discussion of Indigenous knowledge and resilience by examining how knowledge is produced, by whom and for what reasons. Clearly, other ways to view knowledge that privilege respective societies need to be explored.

## **2.9 Hegemonic Knowledge and the Indigenous**

Much of what is written by authorities outside of Aboriginal societies, as Deloria (1969) has a dehumanizing effect on Indigenous peoples. In writing about the dehumanization of Indigenous peoples, it is difficult not to fall into dichotomous, mutually-exclusive exchanges about social systems of knowledge. In order to illustrate purposes of knowledge, however, a broader discussion is necessary. This discussion is done with the caveat that some form of broad presentation is necessary. Academic knowledge in Canada is privileged. Knowledge constructs the world that it professes to describe and study. Dion (2004, 2009) and LaRocque (1999, 2008), argued that in examining such knowledge when it concerns Aboriginal peoples, the humanity of Indigenous people is forgotten, they maintain this should be questioned.

Although there are some scholars writing about my home areas, for a long time there has been a lull in such research; an overview of recent scholarship covers only the following areas: fur trade archaeology (Hamilton, Morriseau and McCrady 1995), clan systems (Schenck 1997), education (Farrell 2008), botany and knowledge (Geniusz 2009), the land and law (Ariss and Cutfeet 2012) and worldview (McGuire 2003). In the specific cases of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, most of the archaeological, anthropological and historical research of the Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon regions occurred between the 1920s and the late 1980s. During this early period, as with the study of other Indigenous peoples in Canada, there were disturbing archaeological and anthropological research practices. These practices mainly involved Anishinaabe graves and the cataloguing of grave items taken from graves, such as those described in the writings of Dawson (1970, 1976, 1983) and Arthurs (1981, 1983), who were employed by the Province of Ontario as archaeologists. Dunning begins his 1958 study on the northern Ojibway by saying that they were referred to as “Bungees” because of their habit of begging (p. 3). Later, Dunning discusses how the northern Ojibway could not be considered as Aboriginal peoples because of their fur trade interdependence with Europeans (p. 4). Bedard (2003) discusses how Anishinaabe, like other Aboriginal peoples were often viewed as objects to be studied. Archaeological, anthropological and historical writings such as those of Landes (1937, 1969) and Densmore (1929) discuss the lives and cultures of Indigenous peoples as unchanging relics of another time.

Jeness (1932, 1977) writes of the Ojibwa north of the Great Lakes: “so, civilization, as it flows past their doors, seems to be entrapping them in a backwash that leaves only one issue, the absorption of a few families into the aggressive white race and the decline and extinction of the remainder” (p. 260). Our Indigenous societies, in spite of centuries of change, became viewed as static and stagnant. Teillet (2011) argues that these assumptions about Aboriginal peoples in Canada have clear consequences in the courts. Teillet, in discussing litigating history, for example, argues that it “is fraught with problems” (p. xx). She maintains there are two main problems. The first is that since the judge already knows the history of Canada, Aboriginal histories will most likely challenge and contradict what the judge already knows. The second problem Teillet raises is that judges already have a view of history that is “coloured by the assumptions and prejudices of European perspectives” (xx). Teillet says,



The earliest Europeans came to America saw Aboriginal people through their own lens... They assumed that the Aboriginal peoples of North America were primitive and could be civilized and assimilated into greater and better Euro-Canadian cultures” (xx). It is not only judges who are affected by the problematic nature of Indigenous knowledge(s) that Teillet identified within the law.

Indigenous peoples have to learn and use these same scholarly tools to talk about ourselves if we want other Canadians to know about our knowledge(s) within Canada. According to King (1997) Indigenous peoples have “been observed, noted, taped, and videoed” and we “have been recorded in every possible way to Western science” (p. 118). King said,

...I suppose we could learn to live with this if we had not become imprisoned in the anthropologists’ words. The language that anthropologists use to explain us traps us in linguistic cages because we must explain our ways through alien hypothetical constructs and theoretical frameworks (p. 118).

King speaks to the ideological purposes of academic knowledge creation when he articulates what Indigenous scholars must do to initiate change. Yet, it is in the law that Teillet says we find evidence of how this marginalization plays out in Canadian society. Hutchins (2011) argues that strategic misunderstandings, based on unrealistic and biased assumptions about Aboriginal peoples, resulted in Canada saying that Aboriginal peoples may not have valid claims to land and resources. The linguistic cages King discussed are evident in what Hutchins refers to as the paradox of Indigenous State relationships. Hutchins explains this as,

the court’s insistence on Indigenous claimants’ proving the continuity of a cultural practice in order to establish an Aboriginal right under prevailing legal tests while modern society and governments require Indigenous peoples to swear off many of the traditional ways in order to “deserve” economic support and be eligible to conclude “modern treaties” (quotes in original, p. xxv).

It is to social theorists that Hutchins turns for a remedy to these situations. Hutchins argues that “social science, with history, at the forefront, is capable of shattering this paradox” by presenting Aboriginal cultures as “fluid and tenacious - the umbilical cord linking and feeding the past, present and future” (p. xxv). This includes, according to Hutchins, presenting the perspective that “present-day Indigenous peoples *are* their Indigenous ancestors” and as such “have the right to remain so in the process of reconciliation and contemporary relations with the state” (italics in

original, p. xxv). Hutchins clearly articulates a responsibility and obligation of social scholars to social change.

There are choices available. Indigenous people could remain trapped in these words or take this space and claim it as our own, as E. Baker (2009) suggests. We, as Indigenous scholars, do this work so that the next generation of scholars will have Indigenous spaces to build upon. We tell our stories to balance what has already been written. These stories will differ from standard accounts and may be explained and informed by “alien hypothetical constructs and theoretical frameworks” as King so eloquently stated (p. 117). Clearly, in academia, there is a need to appreciate other ways of knowing, seeing and doing. As Biolsi and Zimmerman (1997) remind us, power and privilege are joined together in intimate ways in studying other peoples. Biolsi and Zimmerman say,

...the history by which Indian people were made primitive Others, conceptually and materially, subject to economic exploitation, political colonization, and scientific scrutiny—in a word, their *disempowerment*—is the same history by which generally elite white intellectuals became authorized to study the primitive...in a word, their *privilege* (italics in original, p. 13).

The hegemony of Western science enables it to depict its findings as universal knowledge, i.e., knowledge that applies to all places and all times. D. Smith and Hill-Collins discuss the hegemony’s ability to determine what legitimate knowledge is, to advance this legitimate knowledge and to ignore or disregard other knowledge(s). This view of knowledge, while dominant, is only one of many knowledge(s) in the world. Semali & Kincheloe (1999), L. Smith (1999), Doxtator (2004), Shahjahan (2005), Burnett and Read (2012) have maintained that the modernist way of producing knowledge and constructing reality is one of a multitude of local ways of knowing. Yet, this knowledge claims hegemony and universal knowledge that is true regardless of context. Yet, different knowledge in different societies continues to exist.

## 2.10 Multi-Disciplinary Indigenous Knowledge

Kanaiaupuni (2005) says knowledge, in order to be meaningful, needs to be rooted in the very realities that it is attempting to explain. The process King (1997) advocates as coming back “to our own words” (p. 117) becomes a basis for change, as it is the definitional power of privilege that Indigenous peoples continue to challenge. King speaks of this when he says, Indigenous peoples “have been redefined so many times we no longer quite know who we are” (p. 117). King suggests we engage in a process of coming back to ourselves, of defining what we want of our future. He says, “We want to come back to our own words, our own meanings, our own definitions of ourselves, and our own world....Most important, we want to appraise, critique and censure what they feel they have a right to say about us” (p.117-118). It is the process of coming back “to our own words” that will lead the way to change because there are multiple sites where changes can be made.

Indigenous knowledge is diverse. Wilson (2004) insists “Indigenous knowledge...might be a thing or a body of knowledge, but to Indigenous peoples, it is much more” (p. 363). Indigenous knowledge(s) are both a relationship with life as well as a way of life. For Cajete (1994, 2000), Battiste (2000, 2002), Battiste and Henderson (2000), Brant-Castellano (2000), Barnes (2003), Atleo (2004), and Bastien (2004), Indigenous knowledge(s) are the combined thought of the land, the people, and metaphysics, that is, dreams, vision, spirit, and the emotive. Dei, Hall, and Rosenberg (2000) maintain Indigenous knowledge comprises traditional norms and values, as well as the mental constructs that guide, organize, and regulate people’s ways of making sense of their worlds. Kuptana (2006) explains what Indigenous knowledge meant within the Inuit context. Kuptana stresses Inuit knowledge “is rarely communicated in a direct manner” but “is communicated in stories, events, dances, songs and dreams...” (p. 43). Kuptana continues, “The very premise underpinning (sic) Inuit Indigenous Knowledge is that it must be shared; otherwise it is no longer knowledge.” The nature of Inuit knowledge, Kuptana says, “consists of finely tuned observations that include information about the environment, wildlife, humans, and information about the whole system....There is a place for Indigenous Knowledge” (p. 43).

Dei, Hall and Rosenberg profess Indigenous knowledge to be a body of knowledge diverse and complex due to diverse and complex histories, cultures, and lived realities of Indigenous peoples. For some scholars, such as Battiste and Henderson (2000), Indigenous

knowledge provides a counter-discourse that completes and fills in the gaps of Western knowledge while contributing to the resilience and continuation of Indigenous philosophies and peoples. In this case, Battiste and Henderson say, Indigenous knowledge(s) are not just a binary opposition to Western knowledge.

As a concept, Indigenous knowledge benchmarks the limitations of Eurocentric theory – its methodology, evidence, and conclusions – reconceptualizes the resilience and self-reliance of Indigenous peoples, and underscores the importance of their own philosophies, heritages, and educational processes (p. 5).

Indigenous knowledge(s) are evident in Canada. The main differences between Western and Indigenous knowledge(s) are recognition, authority and place.

Indigenous peoples have critiqued the production, processes and results of knowledge. In Canada, the main criticism is that only one form of knowledge is accepted, and this modernist knowledge is used as a measure for all societies. In many ways, this is a contradiction, as knowledge is an ongoing process for all societies. Several scholars, Wilson S. (2003, 2008), Atleo (2004), Bastien (2004), Kovach (2005, 2006a, 2006b), Kumar (2008), and Frederiks (2008) have maintained that Aboriginal people need knowledge to be based in Indigenous realities. Knowledge production is a basic feature of research and academic work; yet how this has developed has not been generally been discussed in relation to Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

How Indigenous societies generate, create and transmit knowledge(s) for their societies needs to be considered. This social frame of being Aboriginal creates a particular way of viewing, understanding, and critiquing social surroundings. Agrawal (1995), Monture-Angus (1995, 1999), L. Smith (1999), Semali and Kincheloe (1999), Little Bear (2000), Battiste (2000), Graveline (2000), Battiste and the National Working Group on Education (2002) and Stone-Mediatore (2003) have all contemplated how the socio-cultural context acts as our social framing of the world and how this means an Indigenous lens would lead to different knowledge about the world as well as different methods to transmit this knowledge.

## 2.11 Challenges

In Canada, there is limited awareness of how Indigenous peoples view the world. This lack of awareness results in a limited understanding of how Anishinaabe societies understand, negotiate and re-negotiate how they live in their social world. Compounding this situation is the limited understanding of how knowledge of Anishinaabe experiences is transmitted. In some instances, Indigenous scholars ensure accurate and effective representations of Indigenous peoples in Canada and elsewhere. Yet, in mainstream curriculum in colleges and universities, in books, articles, and other writings, there is still the impression that Aboriginal peoples are invisible or they living in static cultural states. Kuokkanen (2007) discusses universities being contested sites of knowledge production and reproduction. Kuokkanen specifies that “middle-class, Eurocentric, patriarchal, and (neo) colonial values are produced and reproduced” in post-secondary education (p. 156). Because of this, Kuokkanen further elaborates, it is not surprising that “the studied silence and wilful indifference surrounding the ‘indigenous’ continues unabated in most academic circles” and that “indigenous scholarship remains invisible and unreflected (sic) in most academic discourses, including that of some of the most progressive intellectuals” (p. 156).

Kulchyski, McCaskill and Newhouse (1999) describe most scholarship on Indigenous peoples as a “search for ‘cultural purity,’ (sic) to assume that this purity existed only in the past, and therefore tended to treat Aboriginal cultures as ‘dead’ cultures” (p. xiii). Smith A. (2010) discusses how Aboriginal peoples are treated as ethnographic objects. Smith A. states,

...the context of colonialism always places Native peoples within an anterior relationship to humanity itself such that they can exist only as ethnographic objects, assimilated by discourses presumed to be owned by those in the dominant culture rather than as actual producers, shapers, and theorizers of those discourses (p. 572).

A related notion about Aboriginal peoples is Aboriginal peoples cannot contemporize their cultures because to do so means that they would have to change who they essentially are and this has potential legal consequences. As Hutchins (2011) states, Aboriginal peoples have to prove “the continuity of a cultural practice in to order to establish an Aboriginal right under prevailing legal tests” (p. xxv). Hutchins argues that the “law of ‘organized society’ (sic) requires proof that Aboriginal ancestors lived in a ‘rational and recognized society’” (p. xxiv). Dion (2004) seeks to challenge and disrupt the idea of Aboriginal cultures being based in the past and objectified as

part of the natural world. Dion states, “We are telling the stories of our ancestors in response to the need for ‘tellings’ that will disrupt the ‘taken for granted way of knowing’ about First Nation people that we see produced and reproduced in the school curriculum” (quotations in original, p. 56). Dion’s work in education seeks to reaffirm the “humanity” of Aboriginal peoples (p. 56).

In my view, these are some of the ideas and mindsets that influence discussion about Aboriginal social life and portray such cultures as invisible, marginalized, static and objectified cultures, and these are some of the challenges faced by Aboriginal scholarship conducted by Aboriginal scholars in a Canadian academic system. Yet, as Dion (2004) claims, there is a need to express the humanity of Aboriginal peoples. The paucity of information may be connected, as LaRocque (1999) and Dion (2004) contend, to the invisibility of marginalized Indigenous peoples in Canadian society that is related to the ongoing colonization of Aboriginal peoples. In any case, this situation needs to be remedied in Canadian academia by both Canadian and Indigenous scholars.

Kumar (2008) and Denzin (2010) recognize the existence of a global social movement surrounding ideas of anti-colonialist discourse. Denzin says that this movement is apparent in the growth “of critically grounded indigenous epistemologies and methodologies” (p. 303), which are, Denzin continues, “forms of critical pedagogy; they embody a critical politics of representation. They fold theory, epistemology, methodology, and praxis into strategies of resistance unique to each indigenous community” (p. 303). The anti-colonialist discourse Denzin is referring to is based on resistance to the theoretical perspectives of status quo colonialism.

Some theorists also see Indigenous knowledge as a postcolonial emancipation exercise. Olutayo (2012) and Dei (2000, 2010, 2012) write about incorporating Indigenous knowledge into sociological theoretical frameworks. Olutayo bases this discussion on the failure of Western-directed developments in Africa and argues for a contextually relevant discourse on development. “It is pertinent to put development into context because how individuals exploit their environments, satisfy their basic needs, and improve their lives has direct implications for their development” (Olutayo, p. 2). Both Olutayo and Dei continue by considering the scope of development. Olutayo claims that “the search for development in Africa may be unachievable unless the context of African social relations, social structure and development is taken into consideration” (p. 1). The sociological discourse of *verstehen*, that is, everyday sociology, is the

focus for Olutayo's entry into examining the standpoint of African philosophies and how these have influenced African context(s) and development(s).

Modernization and its relation to development is critical for understanding Olutayo's discourse on contextual-based Indigenous philosophies. Olutayo's work offers an insight into why it is important at this moment in time to discuss Anishinaabe ideas of land and of resilience to develop critical awareness. Balagopalan (2011) discusses the critically aware dialogue necessary for social change by Indigenous peoples within their contextual realities and for an examination of how Indigenous people view change and development. Balagopalan says,

Through developing the power to see critically the ways in which they exist in the world and thereby developing a new understanding of the world not as static reality but as something that can be transformed through their efforts, dialogue holds the possibility of recovering the voice of the oppressed (p. 208).

Bishop R. (2005) maintains that social change within Indigenous societies cannot come from the outside but must arise from a consciousness within those societies. Bishop says, "empowerment cannot be stimulated from outside by means of material repositioning; it must be subjective and emergent from within" as a form of consciousness (as quoted in Nicholls 2009, p. 119). Weber-Pillwax (1999, 2001) holds the view that the role and responsibilities of Indigenous scholars and scholarly research is to contribute to social change within Indigenous societies. Weber-Pillwax (2001) states, "If my work as an Indigenous scholar cannot or does not lead to action, it is useless to me or anyone else" (p. 169). Weber-Pillwax emphasizes the role and responsibilities of Indigenous scholars towards the collective societal orientation of Indigenous knowledge.

Maaka and Andersen (2006) maintain that all Indigenous societies possess local "distinctive cultural traits and mores manifested in common dialect, custom and symbols," and furthermore, this distinctiveness extends to "language, history and sense of place" (p.10). Additionally, Little Bear (2009) argues that culture has important roles to play in the creation, acquisition and transmission of knowledge. Little Bear says, "One must have a thorough understanding and appreciation of culture if he/she is going to educate or otherwise impart knowledge to another" (p. 8). According to this view, knowledge is contextualized, as one may have significant knowledge being external to the culture and still know nothing about the culture. If these particularized aspects of Indigenous societies were discussed, I contend these local stories and unique societies have much to tell and ought to be heard.

## 2.12 Indigenous Knowledge(s) and Colonialism

Within Indigenous societies, colonialism is considered a part of Indigenous histories across Canada. The effects of colonial policies are lived each and every day. Colonialism is not disputed. The concept is accepted as a reality. With colonial structures, processes and agents of the developing Canadian state, no areas of Indigenous life were more targeted than Indigenous knowledge(s), languages and ceremonial life.

Cannon and Sunseri (2011) argue that colonial structures, processes and agents attempted to construct a template of the identities of Indigenous peoples that distorted who Indigenous people were. The generalized notion of Indigenous peoples is challenged by local stories. LaRocque (1999) begins writing with the recognition that colonization of Aboriginal peoples in Canada is the ground on which we, Aboriginal and Canadian peoples, have built our discourse. LaRocque argues that this is where Indigenous stories have been erased, falsified, slandered or stolen. LaRocque maintains that stories about Indigenous peoples and their societies have been grossly misrepresented and dehumanized in both Canadian history and academia. LaRocque presents a counter-discourse of Aboriginal resistance literature that sought to balance Indigenous thought in mainstream history and academia. LaRocque calls for new intellectual traditions that “move beyond ethnological typologies and ideological paradigms” and argues for deeper treatments of Indigenous history in all its complexities, dimensions and contexts (p. 301). LaRocque contends that it is these new developing intellectual traditions that are challenged to contend with decolonization for Indigenous and Canadian peoples.

Indigenous knowledge(s), languages and ceremonial lives were targeted for extinction under colonial policies in Canada. Generally, these efforts result in policies of civilization and assimilation disguised as humane treatment of Indigenous peoples and the protection of civil rights of Indigenous peoples. There was a conceit and arrogance that British cultures were far superior to Indigenous cultures and that Indigenous peoples needed their charity and protection. Adding to these ideas of civilization and assimilation were scientific ideas stemming from Spencer’s ideas of social evolution by promoting the idea that white Europeans were superior to others. Blackstock (2000) examines the British “Aborigines Protection Society and the Society of Friends” and how they “concentrated their efforts on the humane treatment of North American Indians” after a report filed in Britain about the state of colonies and the condition of Indigenous people being colonized (p. 67). For example, the Aborigines Protection Society proposed a



system of legislation in 1840 "... for securing protection of the aboriginal inhabitants of all countries colonized by Great Britain; extending to them political and social rights, ameliorating their condition, and promoting their civilization" (p. 82). This suggested any legislation developed should include dual measures of protection of civil rights and instruction to ameliorate conditions of Indigenous people. The theme of Aborigines Protection Society proposal was to encourage and develop[e], not to damp or destroy their native ardour and energy; to direct, and not to weaken their physical character; to enlighten their minds by reason, and not to darken their understanding by deception or mystification; to help, and not to oppress, should be our object; so as to cultivate and promote mutual dependence... [which] would infallibly lead them to be moral, intelligent, peaceful and happy, attached friends and allies (p.p. 83-84).

The underlying thrust of these discussions in Britain was the civilization and assimilation of the Indians through paternalistic legislation such as the consolidated *Indian Act 1876*.

Indigenous people considered to be Indians, as defined by the *Indian Act 1876* were, men, the wives of men and the children of men. Devens (1992) argues that Indigenous women were considered to be less than citizens within the *Indian Act*. Indians were to be forced and manipulated into becoming Christians and British subjects. Blackstock argues that civilization and assimilation policies, including recruitment of Christians among Indigenous peoples, were conducted under the guise of the betterment of Indigenous peoples in Canada and were carried out as an offer of assistance to former allies. Haebich (2011) argues that the main vehicle for these ideas of civilizing and assimilating Indigenous peoples was partnerships between colonial governments and different Christian churches. These partnerships resulted in the residential school system. There were lasting consequences for Britain's former Indigenous allies and for Indigenous generations to come.

In 2008, the Prime Minister of Canada acknowledged the Canadian government's duplicity and culpability in the face of thousands of lawsuits against Canada by former students of Canadian and Christian-operated residential schools. The Canadian government's apology to Aboriginal peoples in Canada was given in the House of Commons, televised nationwide and posted on the Prime Minister's website; it recognized the long term multi-generational impacts of residential schools' policies, personnel and practices in Canada.

The Prime Minister conceded that this policy was wrong and had terrible consequences. It is startlingly similar to what the Aborigines Protection Society in Britain proposed in 1840.

Mr. Speaker, I stand before you today to offer an apology to former students of Indian residential schools. The treatment of children in Indian residential schools is a sad chapter in our history. In the 1870's, (sic) the federal government, partly in order to meet its obligation to educate aboriginal children, began to play a role in the development and administration of these schools. Two primary objectives of the residential schools system were to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture.

These objectives were based on the assumption aboriginal cultures and spiritual beliefs were inferior and unequal. Indeed, some sought, as it was infamously said, "to kill the Indian in the child" (sic). Today, we recognize that this policy of assimilation was wrong, has caused great harm, and has no place in our country (second and third paragraph).

Even though the head of the Government of Canada delivered this apology and admitted governmental policies were based on forced civilization and assimilation, there is still a residual sense that the residential schools were set up to help educate Aboriginal children, and not as agents for the forced social integration of those children into developing Canadian society.

This idea is contained in Harper's speech as an "obligation to educate Aboriginal children." Education was never the goal of the residential school system. Social assimilation was always the main purpose of this policy of education as well as the enforced practice of civilization. It is no surprise that the schooling Indigenous people received was a massive failure; as Collections Canada (2010) stated regarding the residential school system of Canada, as "agents of cultural genocide, they were phenomenally successful."

The consolidated 1876 *Indian Act* in Canada is unique legislation. It is a body of legislated systems with the direct purpose of controlling Indigenous social structures, processes and the agency of those affected by the *Indian Act*. The *Indian Act* was carried out under the constitutional authority of the *British North American Act* (1867) with the provision under Section 91(24), that Canada is "responsible for Indians and lands reserved for Indians." The purposes of colonialism were refined and directed by the *Indian Act*. According to Belanger

(2010) there were two stated purposes, "one to protect Indians on reservation land from predatory White society and the other was to promote assimilation into Canadian society" (p.106).

Barron (1984) and Dickason (1992, 1997a, 1997b) describe Canadian society as comprised of Christians practicing democracy and Christians practicing wage-based economies. Berkhofer (1979) and Dickason recognize that Indigenous peoples, called "Indians," existed outside these views of Canadians. Belanger (2010) in his critique of these views says that Indians, in the simplest form, practiced barbarism and savagery (p. 106). Indigenous peoples were viewed as the mirror opposite of the positive attributes of those who were in the process of becoming Canadians. The forced assimilation and integration policies of the Canadian government meant Indians were to become Canadian; and being Canadian meant being Christian, practicing democracy and becoming involved in the wage labour economy. The colonial hegemony of Canada was developing on a strong foundation.

### **2.13 Assaults on Ceremonial World and Anishinaabe Knowledge**

The *Indian Act* as a social and political control mechanism banned certain activities considered damaging to the stated views of whoever happened to be the Minister of Indian Affairs. The ceremonial worldviews practiced by a diverse group of Indians were affected by bans on ceremonial activities and cultural practices such as songs, dances and economies based on reciprocity such as the potlatch and Anishinaabe give away ceremonies. In particular, the Indian reservation system served to isolate and remove the important relationships Aboriginal societies had with one another.

Ceremonies and the knowledge(s) passed through them were banned. It was not just ceremonial knowledge affected by this ban; also included were the banning of spiritual, political and economic structures, the attempted erasing of oral transmission of knowledge and the prohibition on speaking Indigenous languages, all of which were related to erasing Indigenous societies. Pettipas (1994) concludes that this ban on ceremonies had a more direct target and that was Indigenous worldviews that were once tolerated by Canadian governments were now to be erased. The sanction against social and cultural practices was deliberate. Pettipas maintains such sanctions were "based on a belief on the part of the Department officials — and it was correct — that there existed a direct connection between indigenous worldview, ceremonial life, and the

social, economic, and political structures of the community" (p. 3). Indigenous people(s) were to be assimilated into developing Canadian society, by force, if necessary.

According to the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (RCAP) in 1996, the Canadian government banned ceremonies in 1884-1885 after the Metis resistance in Western Canada. This ban was reinforced in 1923-1925 as a directive from the Department of Indian Affairs, which represented the force of the Canadian government. This prohibition stayed in place until the 1951 amendments to the *Indian Act*. Scow commented in 1992 in a brief to the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* that legislation prohibiting ceremonials had long-term repercussions on many Indigenous societies. Scow maintains this was a destructive action that was in place for almost 75 years. These actions prevented the transmission of oral stories and histories. Scow says,

It prevented the passing down of our values. It meant an interruption of the respected forms of government that we used to have, and we did have forms of government be they oral and not in writing before any of the Europeans came to this country. We had a system that works for us. We respected each other. We had ways of dealing with disputes.

Scow highlights what the Canadian government accomplished by the banning of ceremonial practices in Indigenous societies across what was becoming Canada. Indigenous knowledge(s), histories and cultural practices surrounding specific local communities were impacted by the implementation of these bans.

In Ontario, these prohibitions were coercively enforced by the police forces, most notably the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Ceremonies such as the Anishinaabe give away could not take place in the open. Ceremonies such as the Midewiwin, Sweatlodge, Shaking Tent and Wabunowiwin could not take place as community events. Anishinaabe sacred objects such as drums, pipes, rattles, birch bark scrolls and other objects could not be used. Pettipas emphasized the sentencing of Midewininin (ceremonial man) who lived by Dryden, Ontario; in the 1930s, he was charged when found practicing a Mide ceremony. I understand Mide ceremonies occur as part of a yearly cycle of renewal, change and cultural stability. These ceremonies ensure that Anishinaabe knowledge(s) are transmitted and remembered.

It was during this time when Anishinaabe societies were being targeted by the Canadian government that ideas of Indigenous cultures disappearing began to emerge. Many sacred objects

were either taken or given to various government officials and their collaborators through religious orders and under threats of imprisonment. Many of these objects, now considered artifacts, found their way into museums, family collections of government officials and collections of religious people who collected artifacts of the vanishing Indians of North America. Buddle (2004) maintains the taking of sacred objects necessary for ceremonial and social life in this colonial enterprise was enabled by ideas of the vanishing Indian as well as developing nationalism in Canada.

There were many reactions Indigenous people had to this active and enforced assault against their societies, communities and especially lands. Boyle and Sheen (1997) relate this history to a combination of religious discrimination and colonialism in the years 1884-1951 in Canada as part of a colonial strategy that included dispossession and appropriation of lands and even cemeteries (p.105). Many Indigenous societies continued their ceremonial practices and knowledge(s) despite being suppressed by colonial governments and officials. According to the Legacy of Hope Foundation (2009), ceremonies were still practiced, as some Indigenous peoples held them in times and places when Indian agents would not be around to detect the ceremonies. The Legacy of Hope suggests that many of the Indian agents "were not as opposed to the ceremonies as they were expected to be"; and instead, "concern over the holding of the ceremonies came from the church, because the ceremonies were in direct opposition to their teachings and missionary work" (p. 5).

Christian churches and ministries were influential in directing policies of civilization and assimilation. In some areas (present day southern Ontario, for example) Indigenous peoples indoctrinated into Christian ministries continued the colonial enterprise in other areas of the province of Ontario in 1867. For example, Belanger (2005, 2010) details the activity of the Grand General Indian Council of Ontario and Quebec in 1870. The Grand Council reviewed the *Indian Act* before it was last consolidated in 1876. Belanger argues these activities were part of a broader strategy to establish a political dialogue with Canada, which ultimately failed (p. 110). Some Indigenous men became missionaries and attempted to influence government policies through their involvement, as is maintained by D. B. Smith (1987) and Warren (2009). The colonial power structures did not allow these efforts to influence policy direction to come to any lasting fruition. Instead, colonialism became a fact of life for Indigenous peoples in Canada; its tentacles reached into every part of Indigenous life and brought with it many long-lasting effects.

The colonialist structures, policies and agents of the Canadian government forced, at the local level, the transformation of Ojibway societies in the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior areas. Indigenous societal structures such as gender, family, social rules of conduct, spirituality, political systems, and economies were judged on the basis of European standards of civilization. One way of life was allowed and land was to be controlled by Canada. Long and Dickason (2000) maintains that colonial ideologies about primitive savages and indolent Indians provided the ideological framework to justify the practices necessary for the seizure of Aboriginal lands to occur. As Finzsch (2005) contends, these colonial discourses form part of an apparatus of power relations that is supported by types of knowledge and, in turn, is supported by them. Finzsch stresses,

...any policy of genocide, extermination, colonialism or expansion rests on two pillars. It needs agents and perpetrators who serve as carriers of the policy, and it needs a discourse that endows these agents with the knowledge/ power, justification and rationale for their practices (p. 101, 102).

In Canada, both agents and discourses are evident in historical and contemporary manifestations of colonialism. European social and cultural ideas acted as a support for ideas of civilization that were required of Indigenous societies in Canada. Hofstadter (1955), Berkhofer (1979), Horsman (1975) and Belanger (2010) claim that assimilative government policies of progress and civilization were based on racial evolutionary social theories, as espoused by Spencer in the early eighteenth century. This social theory held in little regard the societies and cultures of what it deemed savage and backward peoples; hence, forced civilization and assimilative government policies bolstered these views into common sense understandings.

## 2.14 History and Colonial Discourse

For national reconciliation, as proposed by bodies such as the *Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission* in 2012, the numerous ways and places of historical knowledge(s) in Indigenous societies need attention. For Indigenous peoples, Indigenous knowledge, such as history, can be part of a continuing practice of being on the land while at the same time promoting robust worldviews. Both LaRocque (1999), Kovach (2009) and Burnett and Read (2012) discuss how Indigenous people practice history serves as evidence of how indigenous people survived the onslaught of colonization. The Indigenous practice of history was considered evidence of the continuing efforts of Indigenous peoples to maintain their stories, which delineate who they are on their respective lands.

Historical knowledge(s) are critical to a renewed sense of the viability and healthiness of societies for Indigenous peoples today. The social devastation and fragmentation evident in Indigenous societies across Canada amounts to on-going evidence of the Canadian colonial project. The past, as Friedman (1994) theorizes, "...is always practiced in the present, not because the past imposes itself, but because subjects in the present fashion the past in the practice of their social identity" (p. 141). Indigenous societies in Canada identify with a nation re-building process while many are still on their lands with their knowledge intact. This speaks to the failure of the considerable assimilation efforts undertaken by colonial governments. Indigenous knowledge(s) did not disappear despite massive colonial forces being directed against them and the people who held these knowledge(s).

Champagne (1989) discusses the role of historical processes in explaining American Indian social change. Champagne observes that historical events occupy a "central role in the survival of any particular group; to merely classify a society's economic or social organization is not an infallible predictor of its survival or of the way it will respond to Western impacts" (p. 2). Talbot (2002) examines why what he called, "the Indian story" was written out of the history of the United States. He considers this a perplexing feature of mainstream historiography. Talbot says, "Not only have American Indians been written out of North American history generally, their role...in colonial history is especially ignored by mainstream historians" (p. 77). Champagne discusses the central role history plays in the complexity and variety of Indigenous societies and the cultural, social, and political organizations that constitute such societies. He suggests it is these variations that provide a way to understand the different changes in

Indigenous societies. Champagne states that, “In order to understand these variations, we should first observe their institutional orders and then study their changes over the historical events of contact with Western economic, political, and cultural institutions” (p. 2). The relationship of history to social change in Indigenous societies needs to be considered in a more complete manner. The stories that inform who Indigenous peoples were before colonialism and are after colonialism need to be conveyed.

The relationship between the practices of Canadian colonial agents and Aboriginal peoples is long standing and complicated. Nock (1988) examines the nature of the colonial relationships between Aboriginal peoples and Euro-Canadians. In their introduction, Haig-Brown and Nock (2006) argue that seeking knowledge of the past may be a way to “challenge existing understandings of our colonial history as a nation.” In this view, Haig-Brown and Nock contend, “Aboriginal peoples are active agents negotiating complex sets of relations with Euro-Canadians engaged in many layers of colonization and its accompanying reciprocal cultural change” (p. 2). This means that only by Euro-Canadians recognizing that colonialism is an on-going process in Canada can decolonizing work begin. For Haig-Brown and Nock, that colonial discourse continues unchecked is made evident by, “the persistence of Euro-Canadian dominance in social structures and the exclusion of perspectives of the original peoples and immigrant groups other than Europeans indicate that we are still in colonial mode” (p. 6). Some of the structural frameworks of colonialism exist in the form of legislation(s) such as the *Indian Act*; but as Haig-Brown and Nock detail, it is the ideological basis for colonialism that is still informing relationships between Canada and Aboriginal peoples.

The pervasiveness of colonial discourse affects knowledge production. In their 2008 work, Gnecco and Hernandez explore how colonialism shapes the symbolism of the societies it dominates. Gnecco and Hernandez delve into the possibility of contesting and transforming colonial meanings. This is centered on the way the colonial historical apparatus works. Gnecco and Hernandez state that the history imposed by colonialism does “not simply erase the history of the conquered but distorts, conflates, and confuses it” (p. 439). Gnecco and Hernandez says, “Colonialism constructs more than it destroys, and this construction is insidious and far more effective than simple destruction; the symbolic universe of the conquered takes a new form. The historical disciplines further this process” (p. 439). The symbolic universe as a reflecting pool for Indigenous societies has almost been emptied. The symbolic universe is found in our stories



of our histories on our lands. This symbolic universe illustrates and acts as rootedness on the land.

The *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (1996), Volume One, maintains history has purposes and roles to play in Canada and involves Indigenous and Canadian people who are the main parties to this shared Canadian history. Social histories are intimately tied to the societies producing them and are informed by present contextual societal issues. Histories are about people as much as they are about how people choose to see themselves. Deloria (1994) expresses this when he writes:

The nation's stories reflect what is important to a group of people as a group. Historical events were either of the distant past and regarded as such or vivid memories of the tribe that occupied a prominent important place in the people's perspective and understanding of their situation (p. 100).

History is written by many people who recorded their thoughts and experiences in journals, letters, books, and other media. History is based on context. Nies (1996) observes that all historians choose which events will be included in the resulting historical narrative and that these events will take their meaning in relation to other events, and as such historical narratives are always in a state of revision. The 1996 *Royal Commission on Aboriginal People* (RCAP) maintains that historical stories require a respectful portrayal of Indigenous and other people(s) experiences in Canada. There are many histories from many different perspectives. History is not just about past events. Complete histories of the founding peoples of Canada can inform the present and change the future. For example, in 2009, the *Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission* began collecting stories about the Canadian-directed system of residential schools for the purposes of reconciliation between Indigenous peoples and Canada. The chairperson, Murray Sinclair and Commissioners, Wilton Littlechild and Marie Wilson, announced at an Assembly of First Nations meeting on July 22, 2009, how this history will be collected,

*I promise you that we will seek out the stories of all those connected to the schools who are still alive, from the students and the teachers, to the managers and the janitors, as well as the officials who planned and carried out the whole thing* (italics in original document, paragraph one).

The *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* is not just collecting the testimonies of Indigenous people(s). There is a massive effort to find as many people as possible who were connected to

the long and shameful history of the Canadian residential school era. The residential school system is not just based on Indigenous histories; it is Canadian history. Written history has been privileged; yet, history has been recorded in other media. Sioui (1992, 2008) argues that in Canada difference arises when one considers whose view of history has dominance and acceptance. In this dissertation, I have included pictures Morriveau completed as depictions of the history of the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior areas for this purpose. Storied traditions and history represent the collective voice for communicating knowledge of the world to societal members.

### **2.15 Storied Past and Coming to Know Indigenous Knowledge(s)**

Indigenous and other scholars have challenged the way history has been portrayed in North America. These scholars recognize this critical juncture in our collective history as Indigenous peoples and are making space for Indigenous people's views of history. Cochane (2009), Ariss and Cutfeet (2012), for example, recognize that tribal stories are powerful for both Indigenous people(s) and Canadians. Canadian history needs a critical reexamination of its treatment and neglect of Indigenous peoples, and Indigenous peoples in our communities need histories that reflect them and respect their ways of looking at history. In the case of the Anishinaabe, this view is just emerging.

Wilson M. (2008) portrays George Copway and William W. Warren as Anishinaabe writers who offered historical narratives that, while written within a linear tradition of European historiography, offer a very different interpretation of the past. Like Wilson, Boyd (2006) argues that stories about the past offer important clues for understanding how people articulate the role of history within different cultural contexts (p. 331). Wilson M. (2008) claims that Indigenous peoples voiced immediate resistance to government policies and colonial attitudes by using the writing tools necessary to appeal to the audience that they wanted to reach. As Wilson observes, "In most cases, Indigenous resistance writing uses both the conventional language and form that is acceptable to a general American readership: essays, histories, newspaper writing, sermons, autobiographies, short stories and novels" (p. ix). Wilson highlights Copway, who is recognized as the first Indigenous person to be published in North America, and Warren, who is recognized as the first Anishinaabe to write a history based on Anishinaabe understandings.

Other scholars have argued for the development of Indigenous theories. One example is Howe (2002), who coined the term "tribalography" to describe an Indigenous-based way of

writing history. She argues that the development of America was informed by Indigenous stories of governance, relationships, mutuality and change. Tribalography was a way to describe an Indigenous view of history, relations and interconnections. Howe said, “Native stories, no matter what form that they take (novel, poem, drama, memoir, film, history), seem to pull all the elements together of the storyteller’s tribe” (p. 42). Howe says this means “the people, the land, and multiple characters and all their manifestations and revelations” are apparent and these are connected “to past, present and future milieus,” (p. 42). Howe says this included others from outside the communities.

Tribal stories are transforming and powerful to both tribal peoples and others. Howe submits that “Discourse is the maker of the world, not its mirror...The world is what we say it is and what we speak of is the world’ (p. 39). Howe argues that “story creates culture and beliefs, the very glue which binds a society together (p. 40). In their 2002 work, Peacock and Wisuri (2002) would concur with this view of tribalography as a method of discovering and writing history from a tribal perspective, as this is what they accomplished in their history of Grand Portage Indian Reservation located in Minnesota. Although Peacock and Wilson do not refer to his work as a tribalography, their historical work resembles what Howe describes:

“Tribalography comes from the Native propensity for bringing things together, for making consensus, and for symbiotically connecting one thing to another’ (p. 42). For Doerfler (2009), it is this textual weaving that occurs with the construction of tribal histories that brings different understandings to different audiences. Doerfler employs Howe’s tribalography as a method to investigate conceptions of identity at the White Earth reservation. The metaphor of weaving a sweet grass basket is used by Doerfler to discuss how these disparate ways of doing history can be blended together to form new understandings. This weaving together of a sweet grass basket is a metaphor for examining Indigenous knowledge. Like Doerfler, using a metaphor as a way to create knowledge helped me as I was writing this dissertation.

## 2.16 Conclusion

Beginning this chapter with Figure 2.1, the art of Morriseau, the poetry of Albert Hunter and stories I have heard serve to illustrate the difficulties in bridging different conceptual understandings of the world into standard academia. There are challenges and contradictions. This dissertation represents part of my journey of coming to know and understanding my own resilience. This began with concepts of contextualized knowledge used in the sociology of knowledge. These concepts form the nucleus of the critique of modernist knowledge and colonialism.

In this chapter, social theories were positioned as reflective of unique social, cultural and political realities. In particular, sociology's concern with Western modernity was examined. Sociology's interest in ideas associated with development, progress and technological dominance were presented as being based in a unique context. The sociology of knowledge discusses ideas of how contextualized knowledge(s) are created, transmitted and maintained. In addition, the sociology of knowledge looks at the purposes to which knowledge(s) are directed and how knowledge is reflective of societal realities. The sociology of knowledge makes issues emanating from Indigenous knowledge(s) apparent.

Canadian governmental legislation, such as the *Indian Act*, sought to control the social, cultural and political development of Indigenous societies. Civilization and progress for many Indigenous societies were tied to the oppressive and coerced social changes initiated and maintained in continued relationships with Britain and Canada. Progress became something forced on Aboriginal peoples by external governments and larger societies. Ideas of progress were a yardstick for Indigenous people, but progress meant being forced off of your ancestral land and severing the relationships between your family, your community, the spirit world and yourself. It was a severing of people from whom they were and who they are.

This discussion demonstrates the need for the development, exploration, and examination of diverse epistemologies in order to expand sociological knowledge and understanding of Indigenous worldviews. Much of the postmodern, postcolonial, and multicultural critiques of theories and methods are concerned with these types of discussions. The ideas of such theorists as Bhabra (2007), Hill-Collins (1992, 2000, 2002), Smith D (1990), Denzin and Lincoln (1998), Smith L (1999), Sitas (2006), Olutayo (2012) and Dei (2012) are highlighted in this literature review. Their thoughts are scrutinized because they are representative of the critiques

of conventional theory and methods and of the future of Indigenous-based scholarship. Understanding what happened to Indigenous peoples in Canada under colonial structures, processes and ideas is needed for change to occur. Indigenous commitments to social justice and empowerment of Indigenous societies are evident in discourses surrounding decolonized structures, practices and knowledge(s). Stories and ideas of Indigenous-based resilience can form the basis for this, and this is the focus of chapter three.

## CHAPTER THREE - RESILIENCE

### 3.1 Introduction

Throughout the period of time I was in the doctoral program, events happened which required not just a discussion of resilience but an active practice of resilience within my family and community. This continues to impact how I think about my writing. These situations are not unique amongst many scholars who identify as Indigenous peoples in Canada. The high rates of death amongst Aboriginal people mean multiple funerals. These tragedies often become facts of life and unfortunately, some tragedies can be traced to colonialism and historical traumas experienced by Indigenous societies in Canada. This chapter will begin with a story of resilience within my family and community. These stories of death and renewal will help with the discussion of Indigenous resilience, Indigenous knowledge and my personal coming-to-know process.

What does resilience look like? What does it feel like? In the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior region, before Anishinaabe funerals even begin, community support is expressed by people in the community who begin and continue to cook for nightly family and community visits. There are conversations, laughter, stories of the person, stories about the family, and stories about ancestors of the family and always in some way songs and music are involved. Some funerals, depending on the community, are ceremonial where cultural teachings are conveyed over a period of time and drum songs are heard. Some funerals are Christian and include the singing of hymns and the recitation of scripture. Some funerals are a hybrid between both of these practices. Anishinaabe visitors from other communities who choose to come to support the family and community are treated like honoured guests. Visitors usually bring gifts of food or supplies that are not readily available in that specific community.

At funerals, Anishinaabe friends, family and community members come together to celebrate life and to treasure the future. Funerals are a social practice where community members support one another and practice traditional values of sharing, reciprocity, forgiveness and laughter. It becomes a way to show Anishinaabe communities the remembrance of cultural teachings of death and rebirth. Such teachings are not Christian, but because our histories are circular processes there are similarities shared with Christianity. Death is similar to choosing to live, that is, being reborn as an Anishinaabe spirit; in death your spirit chooses the life that spirit

wants to live. Always at funerals there is a sense of a supportive web of people surrounding not only the family but the community as well.

In 2005, during my first year at the University of Saskatchewan, my best friend, Ramona Nobis died. Ramona Nobis and I had been friends for as long as I can remember. We met as toddlers, my mother has told me. I spoke at her funeral. I think of her almost every day. Shortly after this, in the fall, my uncle Stanley LeGarde and the uncle Joe Veilleux died during my second semester in 2006. I was unable to attend these family funerals as I was in Saskatchewan. At the end of my second year, my Uncle Con McGuire and my Aunt Florida Veilleux died unexpectedly. My Aunt Lillian died that same year. She was my Uncle George McGuire's wife. My uncle took care of her for many years before she died. My Uncle George died unexpectedly in February 2011. I was in Saskatoon and came back early to attend his funeral. He was the last McGuire to live at the Nipigon House Trading Post on Jackfish Island in Lake Nipigon, Ontario. My uncles Con and George were involved with the Metis movement in Ontario as well. Experiencing the deaths of all of my remaining paternal aunts and uncles and my mother's brother, sister and brother-in-law throughout this process of learning has affected me and my family as well.

It has affected how I think of these stories about Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior and how I think about knowledge and resilience. I wanted to talk to my aunts and uncles about stories they maintained. As I talked at my Uncle George's funeral, I talked about my regret in not being able to do this. These are people who possessed stories about Lake Nipigon. My Aunt Florida and Uncle Stanley were from Sandpoint First Nation and were in a residential school together with my mother. They both raised families and actively participated in their communities. I have wonderful memories of them when I was growing up in MacDiarmid. I last saw my Uncle Stanley before I left Thunder Bay, Ontario. He was so happy that I was going away to school, and I told him I would see him when I got back. He looked embarrassed and said no, he might not be there.

My Uncle Con McGuire's death was a blow that I was not expecting. I wanted to listen to his stories. He spoke fluent Anishinaabemowin and was in the army with four of his brothers. They all came back after the Second World War. Like all of my uncles and aunts, he worked hard supporting his family and made sure they survived. He was the oldest surviving member of my father's family, and one of the last that lived on Jackfish Island in Lake Nipigon. His first

wife, my Aunt Eileen, was from England and unexpectedly died young. He lost his second wife, Carmen, the year before he died.

My friend's deaths were as unexpected as the deaths in my family. I always considered myself fortunate with my friends. After my best friend, Ramona Nobis died in 2005, my other long-time friend, Sandra Kakeeway died in 2007. We were friends since my early teen years. These were the friends that had always been supporting, encouraging and dreaming with me. I talked to Ramona Nobis and Sandra Kakeeway before I applied to graduate school, and we made plans about what we were going to do when I graduated. In the fall of 2007, my twenty-one year old nephew, Kroy Hagar, died. He had just returned home from working out West. The last time I saw him was at his brother's shag (which is a party before the wedding to support the groom and bride); and we were laughing together, and I hugged him. It stills feels like he is coming home, and it is hard to believe such a beautiful young man is gone.

In 2008, I had health and medical issues that took six months to resolve. These issues are managed on an on-going basis. I took time off from my studies at the university during this period of time. I had to evaluate and reconsider what I was doing and the impact that it was having on my health. These medical issues most likely stemmed from coping with all of the deaths that were occurring. Not being able to attend funerals meant that I was unable to respond within the supportive weavings of my family and community.

It was during this time that I began to write about my experiences. The issues my friend, colleague and thesis supervisor, Dr. Monture was undergoing—the death of her sixteen year old daughter and her ongoing health issues—concerned me. It was this young woman's death in 2009 that made me realize that as a community of Indigenous peoples in Canada, we have a long way to go before we are free of the shackles of colonialism. Ongoing racism and marginalization of Aboriginal peoples in Canada continue to impact our children no matter how successful or driven they are. Dr. Patricia A. Monture died in November 2010.

My niece, Natalie, died in the fall of 2010. She was going into grade eight. She was excited about this. Her mother spoke and told beautiful stories at her funeral. Natalie was thirteen years old and had been living with liver disease all of her life. She was waiting for a liver transplant when she died at Sick Kids Hospital in Toronto, Ontario. This little girl lived her life. Two weeks before she died she was climbing trees with her brother. Her funeral impacted all of the family, as we experienced grief at someone being taken too soon. Some deaths are easier to



deal with. The deaths of young people and children stay with you a long time and are not easily forgotten. Death is part of life. It impacts us all.

As I was in the later stages of editing my dissertation and generating various drafts, death visited once again. In 2012, a suicide of a young man, the suspicious death of my grandson's father and the death of a beautiful spirit and friend, Rita King, cause me to once again review my understanding of death. In the last part of this winter in 2013, in rapid succession, unexpectedly, a Chim dimoweeyaa, a respected old woman, Anne Wilson, a friend, Patsy Friday, my cousin, Constance Michon left this world and a beautiful spirit, my nephew, Draydon LePreton McGuire made the decision leave us, and one of our family's Chim dimoweeyaa, my maternal aunt, Agnes (Baby) Hardy who had significant health issues died right after him. These last two deaths jolted my family. In my family, we had never experienced someone taking their own life. My nephew, Draydon, just turned eighteen in January 2013, and he made this decision to end his life a month later. His amazing spirit we saw as family members is somewhere else now. My Aunt Agnes died shortly after of continued heart complications. She was my mother's youngest sister and was my favourite aunt. As a Chim dimoweeyaa, my Aunt Agnes (Baby) Hardy was active in Thunder Bay and surrounding area. She was an Anishinaabemowin language teacher and consulted widely on her knowledge of the language. My mother and her sister, Agnes, would sometimes spend hours together figuring out Anishinaabe words and old stories.

My own resilience, the resilience of my family and community are once again highlighted. I travel back home to the land and the people who know me. The strengthening of bonds with family and other community members is needed. The laughter and joy we express at seeing one another, the greetings and respect we offer one another are evident as signposts of strength and flexibility. The stories we tell and share with one another means another generation of Anishinaabe grow to become as strong and resilient as their ancestors were. The gathering together for a community feast and the gifts to accompany travelers remind me that we and our ancestors are present. The feast and sharing of food, laughter, teasing and telling of old stories enable us to continue.

### 3.2 Indigenous Resilience

Despite centuries of marginalization and ill treatment, Indigenous peoples continue to have resiliency. Shultz, Kelly & Weber-Pillwax (2009) assert that “the vitality of knowledge systems is tied directly to survival and quality of life...” (p. 336). Robust collective knowledge systems contribute to the resiliency of Indigenous peoples. Koptie (2009) discusses how our ancestors may have found it necessary to have “... spun webs of stories to encourage Indigenous scholars to explore and express our survival of vicious, traumatic and intentional cultural upheavals” (p. 144). In this exploratory study, I stress that this collective resiliency is founded upon Indigenous knowledge and stories of the land, responsibilities towards the land, maintenance of these stories and respect for ancestor histories. In my view, it is these aspects of Indigenous knowledge systems that require recognition and attention by both Anishinaabe peoples and Canadians, especially given the challenges associated with this period of rapid change and development.

Like Scapina (2007), when I explored ideas, perspectives and definitions of resilience there was not much that reflected my circumstances or the circumstances of Anishinaabe from my home communities. Scapina maintains that the perspectives of Indigenous populations “have often been absent in the resilience literature, and much of the research” with Indigenous populations “that has been undertaken has been problem-focused (p. 24).

Baskin (2007) discusses how terminology can set the dialogue about resilience and historical trauma. Baskin argues intergeneration trauma puts Indigenous peoples in a pathological position “as it tends to focus on individual families”; instead, Baskin substitutes “historical trauma” for “intergenerational trauma.” Baskin says, “The deliberate choice to use the term ‘historical trauma’, rather than intergenerational trauma, is an act of resistance in itself” (p. 3). This act of resistance by naming Indigenous historical trauma is furthered, Baskin maintains, because “this naming takes the stand that the state is responsible for the pain that Indigenous peoples struggle with today. It acknowledges that legislation, social policies and laws – both past and present – have been deliberately set up to annihilate Indigenous peoples”(p. 3).

Kirmayer, Sehdev, Whitley, Dandeneau, Isaac (2009) discuss how Aboriginal societal disasters are substantively different in many ways from other disasters such as those caused by nature. Kirmayer, et al., argue for a structural basis. Kirmayer says,

The adversities that Aboriginal communities face are not sudden, impersonal events like natural disasters but the persistent results of long historical processes borne of deliberate human actions and policies aimed at cultural suppression, oppression and marginalization (p. 63).

Kirmayer, Dandeneau, Marshall, Phillips, and Williamson (2011) argue there was a substantive difference between sudden disasters and long-term historical traumas.

Kirmayer, et al., says,

Unlike a disaster that disrupts or destroys existing infrastructure, many Aboriginal communities have undergone radical changes, displacements and reconfigurations in response to colonization and have had to improvise ways to cope with continuing marginalization and external control (p. 63).

This idea of structural violence directed at Aboriginal peoples in Canada underlies social issues impacting these societies. These ideas about resilience will be discussed in relation to the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior regions of Northern Ontario.

It has been about 380+ years since the first European was seen by the Anishinaabe in Northern Ontario and just over 160 years since the signing of the Robinson-Superior Treaty. The Union of Ontario Indians (1978) discusses the challenges the Anishinaabe faced and the many disruptions to their lives. It is surprising that the early developing resource economy was not a major disruption, as many Aboriginal people around Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior participated in it. It was only after the introduction of federal legislation and the imposition of the Indian Act, the residential school system, and the provincial child welfare system that Anishinaabe societies were truly challenged. A short overview of salient events in Anishinaabe history in Northern Ontario will illustrate the continued resilience of the Anishinaabe of the areas surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior.

### 3.3 Anishinaabe History: A Short Overview

The Robinson-Superior Treaty was signed in 1850 between the British colonial government and various Anishinaabe communities in the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior areas. In negotiations leading up to the signing of the Robinson-Superior Treaty in 1850, the headmen (leaders) who attended this signing repeatedly mentioned that Anishinaabe Wiisaakode (Metis), or Half-breeds, (to use the language of the times), should be included. The treaty commissioner Robinson specifically excluded them from the signing of the treaty. The majority of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior communities were also excluded, as only three communities signed this agreement. Many of these communities are now included as part of this treaty, although the Anishinaabe Wiisaakode (Metis) still have not been dealt with. It was not until after 1876 when all Indian-related legislation was consolidated into the current Indian Act that the full force of colonialism was brought to bear on Anishinaabe communities.

Canada as a developing nation targeted Indigenous cultures like the Anishinaabe. Legislated efforts were taken to force Anishinaabe to undergo civilization and assimilation processes in order to be more like the people who were becoming Canadians. Indian reservations were set up. Some Anishinaabe communities were recognized by the colonial government, and some were not. *Indian Act* chiefs and councillors were imposed on Anishinaabe governments based on population. The colonial government dictated who could and could not be a citizen of Anishinaabe communities. Traditional land use, including hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering, was controlled by the colonial government in Canada and only allowed in certain land areas.

Anishinaabe children were required to attend residential schools. This requirement was supported by the police forces in Canada. St. Joseph's Boarding school, located in Fort William, Ontario, closed in 1963. Other residential schools in Fort Frances and Sioux Lookout, Ontario closed in the early 1970s. Residential schools targeted Anishinaabe young children. For example, my Aunt Florida, attended St. Joseph's Boarding School when she was four years. My grandfather, Daniel LeGarde, registered his children in boarding school. He maintained a relationship with the priest and nuns by providing wild meat, fish and money for this children to go to school. My mother can speak and read Latin because all Anishinaabe children had to learn to speak Latin for church services despite the fact English was the language of instruction at the school. Some children were badly mistreated and many other forms of abuse were present. My

mother remembers sibling relationships were prevented by the Christian nuns at St. Joseph's Boarding school. These schools followed a policy of discouraging children from maintaining relationships with their siblings at school. Anishinaabe languages were not allowed, so students could not speak their languages to one another.

With the current focus on residential school abuses in Canada more stories are beginning to emerge about the abuses that took place at these schools. *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* chaired by Justice Murray Sinclair began collecting stories and conducting hearings into such abuses in 2009. In 2012, Justice Sinclair called this genocide and asked that educators include the study of residential schools in Canadian curricula. Yet, it was not just residential schools that affected Aboriginal peoples. The underlying ideologies of assimilation and civilization continued in other guises, such as with the Ontario child welfare authorities.

After the *General Welfare Agreement* was negotiated between the federal and provincial governments in 1965, the Ontario government was allowed to apprehend Anishinaabe children based on provincial child welfare guidelines. Whole generations of children from Anishinaabe families disappeared with some families having multiple generations of children removed. Yet, in spite of these overwhelming state-sanctioned forces, Anishinaabe still maintain their identities, languages and cultures. The survival and continuity of the Anishinaabe in spite of these atrocities speaks directly to Anishinaabe resilience.

What is this Anishinaabe resilience based on? There are intriguing indicators when consideration is given to broader conceptions of resilience and how this is related to Indigenous knowledge. Upon examination, the basis for a discussion of Indigenous resilience is set by understanding how ideas about land are not necessarily restricted to a community setting. In the case of the Anishinaabe, land resilience may be supported by territorial integrity as some treaty areas have boundaries that mirrored the original confederacies boundaries, such as Three Fires confederacy, the Odawa, Pottawatomini and the Anishinaabe. The Canadian colonial government targeted the control and possession of land after the signing of treaties. Recognizing the colonial impacts on Aboriginal people and their remaining land can be a starting point for understanding how the Anishinaabe have managed to remain as a people in spite of considerable long term external state-controlled violence. Understanding processes of resilience and tenacity in maintaining their culture can help with decolonizing efforts.

Many Indigenous peoples in Canada were forced off of their traditional lands and forced to survive in strange lands. While the most extreme cases of this were the experience of the Inuit, this forced relocation occurred across Canada. Later, I discuss the displacement that occurred with my mother's community. Unfortunately, displacement of Indigenous people in Canada is a common story. Erikson (1976) regards the resulting ill effects suffered by entire communities as collective trauma. Erikson says, "By collective trauma [...] I mean a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality" (p. 154). Furthermore, Erikson maintains that characteristics associated with this type of trauma, "works its way slowly and even insidiously into the awareness of those who suffer from it, so it does not have the quality of suddenness normally associated with 'trauma'" (quotations in original, p. 154).

Duran (2006) speaks to this historical trauma or holocaust and the resulting wounds to the spirit and psychology of Indigenous people that is caused; he argues that "the holocaust" is not over for many Indigenous people (quotes in original, p. 17). Duran claims that trauma affects Indigenous perceptions on a daily basis and can impinge on their psychological and physical health (p. 17). Duran further maintains there is a need to obtain knowledge about the "systematic genocide" inflicted on the Indigenous people of this hemisphere (p. 7).

Shkilnyk (1985) recognizes that while all societies experience continuous social change, when such change is rapid, the confidence in the community's ability to control its own destiny erodes. If the source of those changes is external to the community and there is no sense of control, the results can be devastating. Shkilnyk demonstrates how forced colonial relocations coupled with environmental disasters, such as mercury contamination, impacted the Anishinaabe communities of Grassy Narrows and White Dog Indian reservations. The consequences of such large-scale social changes ranged from changing dietary patterns to displacement from traditional lands to economic subsistence patterns. The impact on these communities was immense.

Every area of society was affected. Such large-scale damage caused to the resource base is central to an understanding of the wider social and economic problems that resulted from these disruptions. For example, traditional knowledge(s) of the harvesting of berries, roots, edible plants, herbs, animals, fish, that is land use harvesting is important economically, culturally and socially. It is food-based, and it reaffirms the continuing vitality of Indigenous social systems

and strengthens the kinship links through which harvesting is organized and the food distributed within communities. Berger (1985) emphasizes the centrality of harvesting to Indigenous identity as essentially linked to subsistence patterns, which are tied to the economy (p. 184). The survival of Indigenous peoples, in the face of overwhelming pressures is resilience. It is the resilience of the Anishinaabe as a collective who have survived repeated traumas which speak directly to the strengths of the Anishinaabe. This also speaks to the need for a broader discussion and a reconceptualization of resilience from individual to collective forms in sociology and other venues.

### **3.4 Anishinaabe Resilience**

Dion-Stout and Kipling (2003) state that just as Indigenous resilience is influenced by Aboriginal-based philosophies and cultural traditions, so too is it influenced by discussions of spiritual components. Kirmayer, et al. (2009) argues that the concept of resilience itself is problematic. Resilience is often discussed as an individual trait, but within Aboriginal communities this individual focus is minimal. Indigenous peoples have highlighted how the community contributed to resilience. According to Kirmayer et al. (2009), “This new focus on ‘community resilience’ looks at how people overcome stress, trauma and other life challenges by drawing from the social and cultural networks and practices that constitute communities” (p. 63). This idea of resilience based on community shifts focus away from resilience as being solely a characteristic of the individual.

Dell, Dell and Hopkins (2005), in partnership-based research with Aboriginal treatment centers, view resilience as a blending of Western and Aboriginal philosophies. Resilience, according to Dell, Dell, and Hopkins and the Aboriginal treatment centers who participated in crafting this definition, is a holistic concept “consisting of a balance between the ability to cope with stress and adversity (recognizing the consequent creation of a skill set of positive coping strategies) and the availability of community supports” (p. 5). Furthermore, Dell, Dell and Hopkins compare Wolin’s (1998) discussion of resiliency dynamics and its related components of morality, humour, creativity, initiative, relationships, independence and insight, with traditional teachings. They compare, for example, the Aboriginal dynamics that involve interconnectedness, humour, teasing, survival, quality of life, holism, relationships, reciprocity and spiritual development. These ideas about resilience are similar to those espoused by the Ajunginiq Centre (2006, 2007) which discussed Inuit traditions that enabled inner strength,

hope and belief in the future. In Ajunnginiq Centre's work with Inuit elders "traditional values and coping skills" are emphasized (p. iv).

Scarpino (2007) provides indicators of Aboriginal resilience arising out of her research with urban Aboriginal women. These indicators of resilience include culturally-based aspects of resilience, symbolism and spirituality, which is a point similarly made in the research Dell, Dell and Hopkins conducted with treatment centers. Scarpino defines resilience as a process of "symbolism, the ability to grow despite adversity, and a universal energy that has been characterized as God or the Creator" (p. 44). Scarpino says, "These factors can be explained by the symbolism of each of the four directions (East, South, West, North) and the lessons that each direction offers within the Medicine Wheel" (p. 44).

Grievés states resilience is an Aboriginal legacy of the spiritual and ceremonial world that encompasses Indigenous peoples. Grievés says, "life is as it is, a mixture of good and bad, of suffering and joy, and it is celebrated as sacred. Living itself is religion" (p. 367). The role of ceremony, in her view, becomes a "commemoration of the actions" (p. 376) occurring at the point of creation. Some of the contemporary manifestations of these ceremonial worlds that express spiritual connections include pictorial representations such as paintings and carvings, storytelling in spoken and written form, specific dances and songs, and, of course, actual spiritual ceremonies. For example, in the case, of the Anishinaabe, pipe and drum ceremonies, sweat lodges and shaking tents serve as manifestations of ceremonial worlds.

The spirit and ways of living expressed in these ceremonies focus on the time of creation and the individual's relation to the community. Grievés (2008) describes how Aboriginal art is imbued with a sense of spiritual understanding and responsibility to self, community, earth and life; such art represents the spiritual, social and culture traditions of Aboriginal peoples (p. 378). Conversely, Denomme-Welch (2008) explains how historical trauma can be expressed as art that is based upon Aboriginal biography, heritage and relationship to land and how these artistic expressions can contribute to the healing of the self, the family and the community.



### **3.5 Resilience and the Relationship(s) to Land**

Warner (2006) expresses the fear many feel about the generational transfer of Indigenous languages, knowledge and ceremonial understandings, when he said, "With the passing of generations, more and more of the language and the experiences, knowledge, culture, and traditions associated with the language have been (and will be) lost" (p. 135). Furthermore, Warner maintained, this being so "will make subsequent attempts to reclaim and revitalize the language and culture more and more difficult..." (p. 135). Oliveira (2009) examines cultural clues contained within the languages in regards to the land. Oliveira says, "while our knowledge of the past will always be incomplete, through the examination of the words of our ancestors" and names given to particular places, locations and spirits on the land, "we can get a sense of what the physical and spiritual landscapes were like in traditional times" (p. 102). This process of naming is a humanizing process that offers past voices and presences of Indigenous peoples. It tells of how people viewed the landscapes and how they viewed themselves as part of that landscape. Oliveira states, "By naming a place we are able to claim a space; by living in a place, we are able to humanize a place." Furthermore, Oliveira says, "Through the process of claiming and humanizing places, places become encoded with information about the people who originally gave them meaning" (p. 107). This naming process enables hints, glimpses and guideposts of the past to shine. Oliveira continues, "...through place names it is possible to envision the landscape of that time complete with plants and wildlife. It is also possible to get a sense of the culture, traditions, values and spirituality of people who lived many generations ago (p. 107).

Indigenous social lives are living processes. Discussions of Anishinaabe resilience and land may be interconnected and difficult to separate. Smith L (1999) outlines some of these themes of Indigenous ways of knowing as well as the challenges they face in her discussion of how Indigenous peoples first presented worldviews based on "spiritual relationships to the universe, to the landscape and to stones, rocks, insects and other things, seen and unseen" (p. 74). Like Meyer (2003), one of the challenges Smith recognizes is the fact these spiritual understandings "have been difficult arguments for Western systems of knowledge to deal with or accept" (p. 74). Yet, Smith says, these Indigenous "arguments give a partial indication of the different world view and alternative ways of coming to know, and of being, which still endure within the indigenous world."

Relational understandings are embedded in the land (Marker 2004, Kovach 2006b, Atleo 2004, Toulouse (2001) and Dei et al. (2000). Indigenous place-based knowledge requires understanding the traditions and long-sustained relationships with the land. As Meyer (2003) maintains land-based knowledge requires practiced knowledge, knowledge that has to be used on the land. Basso (1996) states that "knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of self, to grasping one's position in the larger scheme of things, including one's own community and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person " (p. 34). Indigenous place-based resilience requires understanding the traditions and long-sustained relationships of people with the land. Simpson (2011) is emphatic "that the land, reflected in Nishnaabeg thought and philosophy" compelled the Anishinaabe towards a resurgence of Anishinaabe knowledge. Anishinaabe land-based knowledge is the source of our resilience. Indigenous resilience is concerned with the interconnected relationships between a people and a specific place. Simpson (2004, 2008, 2011) maintains that this needed sense of place enables the conceptualization of broader perspectives. Hart (2002) similarly discusses a relational worldview including spiritual practice and ceremony as part of a daily cycle of renewal based on relational ideas about land.

Kuokkanen (2007) claims Indigenous knowledge(s) is based on specific lands and are relational to this within their knowledge systems. Kuokkanen summarizes the main aspects of these relational understandings of Indigenous peoples. Kuokkanen says, "People are related to their physical and natural surroundings through their genealogies, their oral traditions, and their personal and collective experiences with certain locations" (p. 32). This interrelatedness, Kuokkanen articulates, is reflected in systems of Indigenous knowledge. Kuokkanen expresses the structural formation while explaining some Indigenous systems of knowledge. Kuokkanen says, "These systems are commonly explained in terms of relations and are arranged in a circular format that consists mainly (if not solely) of sets of relationships whose purpose is to explain phenomena" (p. 32). The interrelatedness of Indigenous knowledge means that, to quote Kuokkanen, "In many of these systems of knowledge, concepts do not stand alone; rather, they are constituted of the elements of other ideas to which they were related" (p. 32). Systems of Indigenous knowledge then reveal contextual foundations of Indigenous ontologies, that is, Indigenous ways of being in the world and seeing the world that serves as a basis for understanding.

There is little doubt the social ideologies, policies and processes that underlie colonialism continue to affect Indigenous societies in Canada. Yet, resilience is evident in many Indigenous societies. This resilience is compelling and needs to be explored when looking at the colonial project in specific areas of Canada. Distinct stories can emerge contesting the ideologies of civilization and assimilation. These ideologies, as Hickerson (1970), Innis (1970), Bishop (1974), and Danziger (1979) argue, have limited the agency of the Anishinaabe in Northern Ontario. The history of these ideologies in this land represent the Anishinaabe as either passive victims of progress and natural resource capitalism or as weak cultures that disappeared due to assimilation or as savages in need civilizing. Dion (2009) argues that long standing notions such as these can be countered by telling culturally-mediated stories about social change in Indigenous societies. Exploring Indigenous knowledge(s) is the starting point for this journey.

### **3.6 Social Change, Indigenous Knowledge and Resilience**

Societal changes introduced by various religious denominations, colonial economics, and government agents such as Indian agents, affected Ojibway societies at both the structural and agency levels. Shepherd (2008) draws connections between history, memory and space in challenging colonial notions of Indigenous land and peoples. Shepherd argues decolonization practices of Indigenous peoples will not only include interactions with the developing capitalist states, laws, regulations, science, technology, scholars, liberalism, Christianity, rationalism, etc. but must also include considerations of how various Indigenous societies subverted these interactions. This moves beyond ideas of resistance to Indigenous notions embedded in history, memory, and space. Formalized education systems and scholarly disciplines at different levels enabled the erasure of Indigenous knowledge(s) deemed to be less valuable. As Shepherd observes, colonialism included "the construction of the very notion of 'the West' (sic) and its material and ideological manifestations such as the printed word, science, rationality, objectivity, Christianity, private property, and the individual as superior forms of human existence" (p. 16). Shepherd looks at academia, which "worked in tandem to delegitimize Indigenous conceptualizations of space, place, and the past" (p. 16). In addition to the rationalization of Indigenous displacement from land and resources by colonial authorities, Shepherd argues that "top-down assimilationist policies and structural changes in the national and global economy have undoubtedly influenced Native patterns of movement"; but, he continues, "many scholars have failed to investigate spatiocultural (sic) considerations, the persistence of Indigenous

knowledge of place, and geographical continuity and the layers of meaning that frame Native identities and sense of place” (p. 15-16).

It is critical to explore the idea of cultural considerations of space, continuity on the land and what this means to Indigenous peoples and how these ideas frame Indigenous knowledge systems and Indigenous resilience. As Shepherd further adds, “...the sum total of the individual process of remaining in place and the collective experiences that constitute a tribe's (sic) spatial memory help them understand their past and future in a decolonial manner” (p. 16). These ideas provide frameworks for decolonizing governance policies and promoting sustainable social and cultural practices within communities.

### **3.7 Coming to Know and the Creation of Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin**

Writing my dissertation made me realize I had to include the worldview and ways of learning of my community. Doing so offered a different understanding of the ways of learning of my society. One's dissertation is considered an intellectual process divorced from the heart and spirit. Yet, I could not divorce these aspects from my efforts to explore, educate and learn about Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin (Anishinaabe knowledge) and resilience if I wanted this dissertation to be a credible account of my coming to know. In this case, gwayakwaajimowin (historical knowledge) amounts to true and sincere declarations based on my understanding of Anishinaabe truth. Nii Kishebakabaykwe, Biizhii nii. This means my Anishinaabe name is Kishebakabaykwe and my clan is lynx. It was given to me after I had been sick for a long time. Ningwiimenz, Jeff Chiefabun was a respected medicine and spiritual man from Waabigoon, Ontario. I have placed “abun” at the end of his name, an Anishinaabe gesture of respect to indicate that he is spirit again. He was a special person and recognized throughout all of Ontario for his work. Jeff Chiefabun, Gwiimas is the one who named me.

It is important part of Anishinaabe protocol in telling story to talk about who your teachers are. This sharing of teachers and teachings is part of our oral tradition and the authenticating of stories. My parents, Anne and Patrick McGuire were my first teachers. My paternal family were known as assertive peoples who did not back down from controversy. My uncles Nate and Con McGuire and my aunts, Amelia, Kathleen, and Agnes told stories about life on Jackfish Island and about my paternal grandparents, Patrick and Agnes McGuire, who died before I was born. My maternal aunts living in MacDiarmid—Florida Veillieux and Agnes Hardy—would talk about life with my grandparents, Julia and Dan LeGarde who I rarely saw.

Other old people in the community, such as Netdo and Kathleen Nobis and Charlie and Ahgut Nickleson, also talked about life around Lake Nipigon. Norval Morriveau visited my father, and I would listen to their discussions. When our relatives and friends visited from Gull Bay, the storytelling traditions of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior became evident as they were told by Sam and Jeanette King, Peter and Veronica King, Jack and Hilda King, Allan King, Stanley and Madeleine King. As a child, I visited Sam and Jeanette King and stayed with them in Gull Bay, Ontario. In this way, I maintained relationships with relatives on my paternal side. When I did this, I visited other friends and distant relations of my family as well, especially Peter and Veronica King, Stanley and Madeline King, and Allen King and their children.

I lived in MacDiarmid, Ontario until I was eleven. This is where, as children, my friends and relatives whispered Anishinaabe names and the names of other Manitoussiwuk (spirits beings) of our land to one another. We knew Chi Manitou, Nanaboujou, Windigo, and various other Manitou including Maemaegawauhssiwuk (little rock beings), and Nebaunaubaewuk (merpeople). As children we were told stories by some of the older people or we would listen to adults telling stories amongst themselves when we were not supposed to. How we knew to whisper these names I have no idea, but we knew that some names were not spoken out loud, especially Windigo. We also knew that some stories were only heard in winter months.

My parents and my Uncle Nate and Uncle Con McGuire, Netdo and Kathleen Nobis, Charlie and Ahgut Nickelson instilled a sense of story that helped me define who I was. My childhood friends, Ramona Nobis, Roseanne (Gay) Hardy and I would talk about the stories that we heard. The years, when my family was living in the bush harvesting blueberries, I listened to older people like Mrs. Sawceence from Gull Bay and Mrs. Gray from Jellicoe, Ontario. My parents shared stories about our genealogy and other relationships around Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. My family, with the exception of one grandfather from Ireland, had always lived by Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. My father's people originally lived on Jackfish Island by Gull Bay, now called Kiashke Zaaging Anishinaabek. My mother's people were from Sandpoint, now called Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabe, which was close to MacDiarmid, on the opposite side of Lake Nipigon.

My grandfather Patrick McGuire was from Ireland. He emigrated with his family when he was about three years old. The Irish McGuire family settled in Arnprior, Ontario by the Ottawa Valley. My grandfather was working with the University of Ottawa. He was employed

surveying the Canadian Pacific Railway when he met my granduncle, Donald Murchison (who was the manager of the Nipigon House Trading Post and his wife, Ella). They introduced him to my grandmother Agnes Netawaasaang.

Ella Murchison and Agnes Netawaasaang were sisters and daughters of Kigishabun, whose mother was Pikaagooseekwe, Otter Woman (Fisher) from Heron Bay. Natawaasang would have been the husband of Kigishabun. His family was from communities surrounding Lake Nipigon. Pikaagooseekwe came to Lake Nipigon when her grandmother outfitted her with food and a birch bark canoe to travel there. She and her grandmother were living by Lake Superior in what is now Pic Heron First Nation. Her grandmother did not want her to get married this man, as she would have been his second or third wife. Pikaagooseekwe was about fourteen years old when her grandmother prepared her to go on this journey. She may have agreed with her grandmother's decision to send her to her relatives. It took Pikaagooseekwe about two weeks to travel by water from Heron Bay, which is close to Lake Superior and Marathon, Ontario to Lake Nipigon. She travelled on her own and was able to avoid fur traders and other dangers in the process. Pikaagooseekwe arrived safe at her relation's home on Nipigon House, which was a Hudson Bay trading post on Lake Nipigon. She made certain her grandchildren knew of this journey and the reasons why it was undertaken. She also told them how she avoided the fur traders and remained undetected on her trip.

My parents and other family members taught my siblings and me about our relatives from around Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. Through this, I discovered my family had close relationships with other families that spanned generations. Our families would camp in the same areas at different times of the year. We practiced Eshkakimiwe Gikeedaasiwin (land-based knowledge) in our everyday living practice. My uncles and brothers fished Lake Nipigon, and my father fished Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior commercially for about 35 years. My father and my brothers had trap lines close to MacDiarmid; sometimes, we were allowed to come along and stay in the trapline cabin. I watched my father and brothers, (but mainly my father) skin animals and cut up meat. My mother took care of the smaller animals, like rabbits and partridge. My parents taught me how to take care of meat. In the summer, my family had a cold space that we dug by our camp sites and within our home to store our food. As a family, in the summer, we would leave and go out in the bush, picking blueberries, raspberries and hunting in the fall.

Crooked Green was where we picked berries and fall camped. During some summers there was an entire community out on both sides of the river. Each family camped in their own space. This space was where their family usually camped. Anishinaabe and Anishinaabe Metis came from Kiashke Zaaging, Rocky Bay, now called Biinjitiwaabik Zaaging Anishinaabek, Lake Helen, Red Rock, Geraldton, Jellico, Long Lac and other communities in the Robinson-Superior Treaty area. We attended family funerals and supported one another if other tragedies occurred. We celebrated children, and we helped one another. Our families maintained close connections and friendships. My father and his friends and relatives could tell stories and laugh for hours. In the early 1960s, our house, mainly the kitchen, was filled with music and laughter frequently. I heard stories that most children would not have heard by listening when I was not supposed to. My family was and is known for our ability to laugh with life. This is part of our resilience as a family. Having these experiences with my family, I knew Anishinaabe has knowledge, histories, land-based knowledge and spiritual knowledge not associated with formal schooling. My friends and relatives knew when we whispered Anishinaabe names and talked about various Manitoussiwuk (spiritual beings) to one another as children in school.

When I went to university in the 1980s, I looked for stories that reflected the identity of myself and my community. I found little but discovered some troubling hints in works of anthropology, archeology and history. Anthropological and archeological descriptive surveys and reports, such as Dawson (1966, 1969, 1970, 1982), Wright (1972, 1974) and Arthurs (1981, 1983) impacted my learning the most. These were academics who were studying sites located either at Lake Nipigon or at Lake Superior. These materials were disturbing, incomprehensible and in my eyes constituted grave robbery. Some of the sites studied were known burial sites of relatives and other community people. These anthropological and archeological works reduced Anishinaabe to objects of study and were condescending either to the community I was from or other communities that I knew. These scholars are still mentioned in land claim and treaty entitlement research. In some written works, like Danziger (1979), Indigenous communities were ignored altogether or only portrayed in negative stereotypes. In some studies such as those by, Dunning (1958), Hickerson (1970), Bishop (1974), and Trigger (1985), Northern Ontario history made sense only if you were interested in fur trade, resource extraction, roads, railways or planes. Walker (1983) discusses how the Indian was portrayed in most historical writings and the insignificant place reserved for their understandings of history. Men were only mentioned in

relation to Europeans and were rarely seen as active agents in these relationships. Van Kirk (1983) and Brown (1980) demonstrated how Indigenous women and children were absent in most histories.

These scholarly materials were not based on Anishinaabe relationships with one another, and how alliances were made and maintained for generations was not considered. For example, close relationships existed between the Cree, Assiniboine and Anishinaabe in this area of Ontario and with the Three Fires society of the Odawa, Pottawatomi and Anishinaabe. These political confederacies were absent from history books or only mentioned in a cursory fashion (see Jenness, 1937) and were divorced from accounts of Anishinaabe understandings. Hickerson (1970), Danziger (1979), and Bishop (1974) discuss the importance of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior to the fur trade and other explorations but fail to mention the relational nature of these societies. There were discussions of the Indigenous peoples when it was beneficial towards the people, who were in the process of becoming Canadians.

How these accounts discussed the land was not how the Anishinaabe discussed the land, though the writings of Tanner (2003) and Peacock and Wisuri (2002) are notable exceptions. In historical understandings of the signing of the Robinson-Superior 1850, also referred to as Treaty #60 and the resulting impacts on Anishinaabe lands, no nuanced understanding was presented about this pivotal event in Anishinaabe history in this area. The Anishinaabe philosophies of life and ways of living were not reflected back to me in the texts I read, and how the Anishinaabe flourished and overcame challenges and struggles was not discussed in these scholarly accounts. The strengths I witnessed and experienced in Anishinaabe communities were not in those materials. In my university research about my homelands of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, the Anishinaabe remained on the remote periphery of such accounts if they made an appearance at all.

Written histories were presented as positive portrayals of progress over savage and backward cultures. Widdowson and Howard (2008) argue Indigenous cultures in Canada are so simplistic that the wheel was not even invented. Tiellet (2011) and Hutchins (2011) critique such ideas and discuss how persuasive these ideas about Indigenous people as primitives are and the purposes such ideologies serve. Berkhofer (1979) illustrates how national histories glossed over millennia of Indigenous histories so as to maintain that the land was empty and could be used productively by other peoples. If Aboriginal peoples were there, they did not use the land



productively, and therefore it could be taken from them. As Harris (2003) contends, this way of doing history did not include Aboriginal communities in Canada in meaningful ways; it did not reflect who we were. Instead, national Canadian histories reflected values about progress, civilization, and taming of the wild and primitive peoples and environment. It reflected values Canadians could feel good about. Dickason (1992, 1997a, 1997b) and Dickason and McNabb (2009) discuss how Indigenous cultures were demeaned and destroyed systematically by various colonial and Canadian governments and these troubling aspects of national history in Canada are not widely discussed. Haebich (2011) in relation to the government of Australia's apology to the Indigenous populations talks about settler denial and forgetfulness in relation to Australian history. This forgetfulness, as discussed by Haebich, resounds in Indigenous histories in Canada. The "issue of collective forgetting and its connection to issues of historical justice" (Haebich, p. 1034) as well as the denial of this justice to Indigenous peoples, is a familiar refrain in Canada. Dion (2004) argues Canadians would rather continue to ignore these histories because they cause discomfort and challenge the foundations of Canadian identities.

Dion (2004, 2009) discusses the idea of braiding histories as part of a de-colonial project that offers social justice to Indigenous peoples in Canadian education and aims to change the nature of Canadians' relationships with Indigenous peoples. Yet, there are distinct challenges to exploring history between Aboriginal peoples and Canadians. Dion argues that critical aspects of the Canadian past are denied, especially in the education systems, which "supports the reproduction of dominant ways of knowing" (p. 177), rather than disrupting these ways of knowing. Dion says,

Although their work is structured by "rules of reason," (sic) it is necessary to pay attention to the agency of teachers. Even as discourses and knowledge shapes their thoughts, they are not without purpose and accountability. As agents teachers premise their interpretations and actions on their experiences, investments, and understanding of their place in the socio-political world of teaching. In some ways, their understanding of their relationship with Aboriginal people permeates their practice. In some ways, it is the hidden scaffolding that structures their approach (p. 178).

Dion presents the idea of "the perfect stranger" as a way to discuss a "critical pedagogy of remembrance" (p. 178). Dion says this critical pedagogy of remembrance can act as a way for teachers and other Canadians to recognize and confront their relationship and biography with

Aboriginal peoples. Dion argues that doing so will enable teachers to interact with different ways of knowing and to imagine new relationships based on this re-appraisal of their past.

Dion's idea of the "perfect stranger" in Canada points to an ignorance of Aboriginal peoples, issues, and perspectives and a lack of knowledge of Aboriginal peoples in the education system. Additionally, this perfect stranger has no Aboriginal people who are seen as friends, colleagues, or students. Dion examines the ease with which this position is claimed by teachers and says the result is the lack of introducing realistic Aboriginal content in the classroom because it is controversial as it contradicts the portrayal of Aboriginal people that a vast majority of Canadians have come to accept as true. Dion argues teachers wilfully and consciously adopt the role of the perfect stranger in regards to Aboriginal people, but that this adoption is false because many teachers do have relationship with Aboriginal people. Dion said, teachers' experiences and interactions "with Aboriginal peoples informs both their understanding and their practice" (p. 180). Dion's work seeks to confront and "to challenge the hegemony of Western regimes of knowledge and representation" (p. 182).

There is recent scholarship about Northern Ontario that challenges this state of affairs and offers alternatives to it. These scholars include MacLeod (1992), who discusses an Anishinaabe view of history; Ariss and Cutfeet (2012), who discuss land, mining and legal rights; McGuire (2003, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011a, 2011b), who discusses aspects of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior Anishinaabe stories; Angel (2002) who discusses in general the Midewiwin; and McPherson and Rabb (1993, 2012), who discuss Indigeneity, the sacred and survival. Overall, the scholarship is beginning to change.

### **3.8 Reflexivity - Finding Knowledge**

Generally, the knowledge I encountered within university libraries revealed little to me of my home and family. Anishinaabe society was not a part of the historical knowledge of Canada. We were silenced in these studies and books, yet stories were still told about Anishinaabe history within my family and community. Monture (1995) discusses these contradictions; and like Monture, the contradictions have caused me to research the written past and discover why whole populations, like my community, were not present. My father once again helped me in this by writing his life stories and other Anishinaabe stories in a manuscript before he died in 1987. In this dissertation, I selected stories from his manuscript to highlight Indigenous knowledge(s) and how these knowledge(s) relate to Anishinaabe resilience.

There was no library in my community of MacDiarmid, Ontario. In the 1970s and 1980s, my father bought books that he was given or picked up in his travels around the country. These books were different. These books told a different story about Canada and about the history of Indigenous peoples and Canadians. Campbell (1973) enabled me to see that Aboriginal peoples in Canada were creating stories that reflected their experience in Canada. Some aspects of this book I had no experience with, but I knew that feeling of difference that she spoke of. People who claimed and recognized all of their ancestors, particularly Indigenous ones, faced consequences. I was particularly affected by this book because Campbell was Metis, and she told even tragic stories with humour. There is an innate dignity that is apparent in this book that speaks to how the Metis were forced to negotiate the world and this speaks to me and to some of the experiences of my family. In 1965, Norval Morriseau gave my father a written work, he wrote, which was edited by Selwyn Dewdney. This book influenced and provided a basis for critique of all other histories to which I would eventually be exposed. In this work, it was demonstrated that the Anishinaabe from Lake Nipigon were strong and resourceful in overcoming challenges. It is a book respectful of the Anishinaabe. It is a visionary book about the future of Indigenous scholarship. The Morriseau stories are foundational for connecting Anishinaabe values to the land surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. It must be noted the close relationships which still exist between Indigenous communities in the areas surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior.

A local Thunder Bay, Ontario writer who maintained relationships with Aboriginal communities in this area of Ontario is Stevens. Stevens collected interviews from Anishinaabe from the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior areas. He shared these interviews with me in 2010. Stevens and Ray (1971) documented different stories from Cree and Oji-Cree communities in the Treaty #9 area. Although not academic, what makes his work important is that the men who related these stories could be tracked down for further consultation. Their names and communities were mentioned and recorded. The stories themselves spoke to a world that was based on Indigenous knowledge with intimate knowledge of land. These are the main writings that offered a different way of viewing the writing of knowledge. Campbell (1973), Morriseau (1965) and Stevens (1971) offered a different lens on Indigenous peoples, familiar to me as my parents advocated a similar approach.

There has been a growth in the number of scholars who have written and considered contemporary Indigenous experience. Some of these scholars, including Little Bear (2000), Graveline (2000), Meyer (2001, 2003), Barnes (2003), Foley (2003), Atleo (2004), Marker (2004), Kana'iaupuni (2005), Wilson S (2003, 2008), Frederiks (2008), and Kovach (2005, 2006a, 2006b), advocate for perspectives supported by socio-cultural contexts, that is, knowledge(s) based in Indigenous realities. The work of these scholars created more opportunities to explore Indigenous knowledge(s) within the academy. These scholars come from a variety of disciplines, and their efforts have ushered in an era of openness to looking at other ways of perceiving and understanding the world around us. For example, McPherson and Rabb (1993, 2012) began an examination of Indigenous philosophy as a way of making sense of Anishinaabe knowledge and experience in Northern Ontario. McPherson and Rabb discuss this philosophy as a valid and unexplored field of study.

Ermine (1995, 1997) discusses relationships that begin with the recognition of different worldviews. "Ethical space" was a concept created by Poole in 1972, which Ermine applied to Indigenous and Canadian knowledge systems. For Ermine, ethical space involves two disparate worldviews in separate societies. Ethical space for engagement is created when these knowledge systems attempt to understand one another. It is the space created by different knowledge systems that acknowledge both systems. This cooperative ethical space is one of appreciation of one another and can be a space for the creation of new knowledge.

Cameron, Andersson, McDowell, and Ledogar (2010) argue for the validity of similar concepts when they examine the need for epistemological systems of thought to engage with one another despite noticeable distinctions between these different ways of thinking. Cameron et al. (2010) discuss cultural safety and cultural integrity as needed components between different societies. Cameron et al., say, something similar to Ermine, when they talk about different systems meeting with mutual respect, including the idea of non-interference with one another, especially regarding sacred knowledge and intellectual property (p. 99). They say, "It is possible to establish an interface in which neither indigenous nor Western scientific protocols are compromised. This might be called culturally safe space, akin to what others have called ethical space" (p. 99). Cameron et al. claim that relationships do not need to be based on undermining cultural integrity (p. 99). This discussion about how different knowledge systems within the safety of their worldview can understand Indigenous worldviews underlie how this can be done.

It means accepting that Indigenous peoples have distinct knowledge and systems for transmitting these knowledge(s). Little Bear (2000) illustrates the potential difficulty of this shared understanding by describing elements of Aboriginal philosophy.

In Aboriginal philosophy, existence consists of energy. All things are animate, imbued with spirit, and in constant motion. In this realm of energy and spirit, interrelationships between all entities are of paramount importance and space is more of an important referent than time (p. 77).

Discussing the energy and motion of spiritual understandings are elements that attempt to establish joint culturally-shared space or, as Ermine (1995) argues, ethical space for engagement between disparate knowledge systems. Archibald (2008) provides a culturally-based idea about knowledge and the responsibility one has for the power contained within knowledge and how this contributes to wisdom. Archibald says the Sto:lo, the cultural society, she belongs too, have teachings about cultural respect, responsibility, and reciprocity (p. 3). According to these teachings, Archibald says,

Important knowledge and wisdom contain power. If one comes to understand and appreciate the power of a particular knowledge, then one must be ready to share and teach it respectfully and responsibly to others in order for this knowledge, and its power to continue (p. 3).

There is a dual purpose in these ideas about knowledge transmission: the responsibility to transmit the knowledge that one learns and need for these knowledge stories to continue with their innate power intact.

Questions about how scholars attempt to understand their own communities are asked by Dei (2012); he says, as Indigenous “scholars how do we pioneer new analytical systems for understanding our Indigenous communities and what are the challenges we are likely to be faced with?” (p. 103). Although speaking about African diasporic contexts, Dei refers to the further development of Indigenous scholarship and thought, by which he means Indigenous perspectives that are embedded in cultural understandings of the world.

For Dei, modernization based upon European cultures and the advancement of capitalism, direct his motivation and his concern about the ideologies of dominant education. His main concern is that many individuals from many different cultures have experienced disconnections between one’s lived experience and dominant education. One consequence of this

disconnection is what Nyamnjoh (2012) identifies as “intellectual imposter[s]”, that is, scholars who “are simply good at mimicking dominant theories and knowledges” in the academy (Nyamnjoh quoted in Dei, p. 103). This is a further disconnect from not only the academy but also the scholar’s self, their identity and community of origin. Dei says, “The Eurocentric mimicry usually comes at emotional, psychological, mental and material costs to us individually and collectively” (p. 104 to 105). This disconnection, denial of self and community enables structural stability because exclusive structures are not being challenged. Most seriously, this state of affairs contributes to lack of social change and to ideas of deficiency in the scholars own community of origin.

It is this issue of social change related to Indigenous scholarship that serves as a foundation for knowledge; Dei states, “African scholarship, research and knowledge production must help us to recover and reclaim ourselves, our knowledges and our voices” (p. 105). This process of Indigenous scholarship rooted in community knowledge can serve as basis for re-imagining self and community as well as respect for the knowledge of one’s own community. Dei continues by stating, “...there is an inclination and need to create spaces for our knowledges to be considered and critically examined on our own terms, free from dominating perspectives...” (p. 106). This freedom from domination means the beginning of the development of Indigenous-based knowledge(s) and theories to understand Indigenous-based realities, as these theories and resulting practices will be based in our Indigenous realities. These theories then will differ as they will be based in different realities.

According to the definition provided by Shultz, Kelly & Weber-Pillwax (2009), knowledge systems refer “to those systems of knowledge and information that are connected to physical locations or places” (p. 335). The basic understanding, Shultz, Kelly & Weber-Pillwax contend, is that knowledge itself is linked to place and that one cannot access such knowledge without knowledge of place. This is beyond the idea of knowledge systems as a repository of information; and, as Shultz, Kelly & Weber-Pillwax argue, it is a definition that enables a “plurality” of knowledge systems to be considered instead of the dominant Western-based system only.

### 3.9 Eshkakimikwe-Kendaaswin (Land-based knowledge)

Our history, as Johnston (1976) describes, is imprinted on the land. According to one of the Anishinaabe creation stories, when the world was cold, ice and snow, the Anishinaabe remember when Aki (the world) was carved with water. When Abi-boon (winter) tricked the summer spirit and tried to return again; and after he was melted across the land, his flood waters created the lakes in this area. Other stories of the land are evidence of Abi-boonikae (the winter maker spirit) and the snow and ice that carved out the landscape by creating flooding. These are deep-rooted memories of one of our creations (there was more than one creation for the Anishinaabe, the world is in the fourth cycle for some, the Eighth Fire for others), and the stories about this time in our history are referred to in a specific as Adizookaanaa, old stories. The land forms, rivers, streams, lakes and hills and mountain ranges all act as mnemonics for Anishinaabe. Blackwell (1998) specifies how in the Anishinaabe world,

Everything has a story – rocks, trees, animals, people. And everything is a story and spirit. All of them, all of the rocks, trees, animals and people, all of the story-spirit is called *Adizokanan* (italics in original, cited in Mahan and Mahan 1998).

Adizokanan (ancient stories) and the spirit that resides with these ancient stories are accessible to us, as our past history is written on our terrain. Each morning, the past greets us as we see our landscape. This is the terrain the Anishinaabe build their living histories on; and this history, as Gnecco and Hernandez (2008) specify “behaves so dynamically that it is constantly being re-created to validate contemporary actions...Historical memory has been the cornerstone of territorial defense” (p. 441). Remembered history also helps others remember as well. The land is alive, and the foundation of these ideas is the fact that we influence the land by our land use practices and the land influences us.

I first heard of an archeological excavation occurring close to Thunder Bay, Ontario while I was visiting the Bingwi Neyaashi First Nation band office in July, 2010. The artifacts uncovered were estimated to be 9000 and 12000 years old. No one in the Robinson-Superior Treaty area knew that this excavation was happening, including Fort William First Nation, which is the closest community to the site. This is not an unusual situation for Indigenous communities. In September 2010, the Anishinaabe political leadership of Northern Lake Superior made a public declaration about the excavation and announced thousands of artifacts from this excavation were being send to Lakehead University without consultation with the local

Indigenous communities. There was speculation created by this archeological site, that Anishinaabe ancestors were living in this area while the glaciers were melting and shaping this landscape. This site and other archeological sites similar to it are the subject of on-going negotiated processes between knowledge producers at universities and local Indigenous peoples. Most Anishinaabe recognize that the earth is alive and because of this archeological sites are viewed as intrusive and disturbing. Like my story about knowledge and education, sometimes this is the type of research and knowledge about Indigenous cultures that people are all-too-often first exposed to when they begin their studies at universities and colleges. This is a common experience with Indigenous peoples looking for knowledge of their societies.

Knowing our land history, knowing our Eshkakimikwe-Kendaaswin (land-based knowledge) can help us remember our resilience and our responsibilities to Anishinaabe Aki, (Anishinaabe earth). The stories that we tell one another are based on our contextual environment. The land dictates what stories we will have and the impact these stories will have on ourselves. Eshkakimikwe-Kendaaswin (land-based knowledge) is considered one of the paths that you can use to get back to your Self. The natural world is respected and contemplated as a healing place. This earth is a healing place that has sustained us for a long time and one in which Anishinaabe have many relationships and interconnections. The land teaches us many things and beauty is but one of them.

For many Anishinaabe, Aki (the earth) and Eshkakimikwe-Kendaaswin (land-based knowledge) have been our sustaining force, our resilience; because of them we have survived and have continued to be who we are, as Anishinaabe. The land and our history on the land have defined and determined who we are. The land and our history have given us various knowledge(s) that we as Anishinaabe keep so that our descendants remember who we are. These Anishinaabe knowledge(s) are related to our historic stories of the Anishinaabe of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. Blaeser (1999) presents this view when she discusses how “the landscape itself is storied, that it is peopled with our past and the imprints of the spiritual” (p. 101). Blaeser says, “The natural and what is often called the supernatural are understood as being woven together in the essence of place, both realms a natural part of our experience. And this weaving is explored in story (p. 101). A sense of territorial belonging is one of the bases of social and cultural life. This is expressed clearly in the following statement by Gnecco & Hernandez (2008): Indigenous “territory is more than a spatial phenomenon; it is a dynamic social process



resulting from multiple interactions (economic, ecological, political, cognitive, and symbolic) and the main locus of social memory. Territory is also history, and history is territory” (p. 441). The close relationships many Indigenous cultures have to their territories, land and water, is based on similar concepts about ancestors either being part of the creation or being given responsibilities for acts of creation or remembering the stories that were given at creation or remembering the lesser role of human beings in all aspects of creation.

When I considered the idea of ceremonial worlds, a book was given to me about Australian dreamtime and teaching stones. In *Aboriginal Culture Abroad* (1988), there is a description of the Australian Aborigine dreamtime, where ancestors through “heroic acts and mystical ways established patterns of behaviour which became the law for future generations” (preface). There is a familiar quote in this 1988 book, used in relation to Indigenous peoples in the land, “The people are part of the land, and the land is part of the people” (p. 6). This quote specifies the intimate relationships Indigenous peoples have to the land are connected to ancestral relationships that tell us who we are and how our land was formed. It also tells of spirit and of the innate responsibilities Indigenous peoples have to the land. If the land is us and we are the land, a different degree of care and consideration is given when thinking about the land since we are thinking about ourselves and our generations. I discussed how my own personal relationship to land developed with my experiences with my family and communities in 2010. McGuire (2010) says,

When I was young, my parents and my entire family would go out into the bush for about two to four months in the late summer, early fall. The camps would be made ready after we got there. Other Anishinaabe and Anishinaabe Wiisaakodewag from other communities around Lake Nipigon would also travel there. The land area was called Crooked Green and we lived beside the bridge over the river. We worked the land, by picking berries and other plants, by fishing and by hunting moose and birds. My parents taught us how to survive on the land and how to share with others. We left the place where we lived in the same condition that we found it in. We were taught how to treat visitors to our camp. We visited other families and maintained connections with people in other communities in our area of the Robinson-Superior treaty area. There were many people who lived here and many different age groups. I listened to old Anishinaabe men and women from around the Lake Nipigon area. If you were quiet,

people forgot that you were there and you heard all kinds of stories. The relationships that were nurtured when I was a child are still evident today. We shared this common experience as community members (p. 18).

The land and waters surrounding my home community of MacDiarmid, Ontario were the source of experiences that informed my coming to know an interconnected and relational way of life. Our spiritual understandings, our ontology and epistemology are based on land because this is where our stories originated and where our common understandings developed. We are on the land even when we are not. Ge Gii izhi gikinoo'amawind (that which one learns so will one do in life) is the philosophy behind a storied sense of being on the land. There are places on the land to which my family and community travelled. These spaces on the landscape contain the memories of us and tell our children who we were and who they are. These spaces tell of family, strength, commitment and working together to create. The memories of the beauty of the lakes and rivers and streams carry us forward. As Slipperjack (2004) discusses, "The land is like the air we breathe...the land holds our history. Everything about our family happened on that land, and every spot of land has a story" (p. 25). The stories we tell are the stories of us and of the land relationships we had and have to it. As I get older, these feelings and connections are becoming stronger and more vivid. The feeling of obligation and responsibilities begins to feel like a new bundle to carry, a bundle necessary to preserve for future generations. This sense of space becomes a place to replenish and revitalize oneself in stories of self, family, community and of one's ancestors. It is a space of connection and relationship. These are synergistic relationships needing re-connection in order for these relationships to continue.

### **3.10 Foundations of Family, Community and Land**

The *Indian Act* asserts control over who was and could be considered an Indian by the government of Canada. The consolidated *Indian Act* in 1876 was organized to deliver to Indians and Indian communities in Canada the promises, obligations and responsibilities that Britain and Canada assumed in pre-confederation treaties and post-confederation treaties. Most of my life I was excluded from this. My family and I were considered non-treaty, meaning not eligible for lands under treaty. After 1965, with my father's social and political organizing, rather than being considered non-status with no Aboriginal rights or entitlement to land, we were considered to be Metis. With the repatriation of the *Canada Act* in 1982, I was eligible to apply for Indian status under the *Indian Act*, as both parents should have been entitled but because of discriminatory

provisions of the *Indian Act* could not be. These provisions were Sections 12 (1) a and b, which determined that an Indian women lost her Indian status upon marriage to someone considered a non-Indian. This happened to my mother upon marriage to my father. This happened to my father by his mother's marriage to his Irish father. Cannon (2008) discusses the 1985, *An Act to Amend the Indian Act* (S.C.-1985, C. 27), referred to as *Bill C-31*, as being passed to coincide with the coming into force of equality provisions (S. 15) of the new *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* under the Canadian Constitution, the *Canada Act*. Cannon, in an extensive discussion of *Bill C-31* (which this Act has come to be known), examines the different distinctions of Aboriginal people in Canada and how this legislation creates discrimination. This discussion is familiar to Aboriginal peoples in Canada and is familiar to my family.

What this meant to my family was that we became recognized as treaty and as Status Indians under the *Indian Act*. This means that I am a band member of my mother's community, Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabe and could be affiliated with Kiashke Zaaging Anishinaabek, as this is where my father came from as well. I am also an urban Indigenous person, as I live in Thunder Bay and actively participate in the urban community. I consider myself as Anishinaabe Wiisaakode, as I recognize and respect both my Anishinaabe and Irish ancestors by doing so. This process of becoming is still ongoing. I like the idea of recognizing my family and community for creating who I am and who I am in the process of becoming. Sometimes I say, Nii Wiisaakodewikwe, I am an Anishinaabe Wiisaakodewikwe or Anishinaabe Metis sometimes, and I say Nii Anishinaabekwe, as I am both. In speaking Anishinaabe Debwewin (Anishinaabe truth) you identify who you are, what community and area that you are from, who your relatives are and who taught you.

What does it mean to be Aboriginal on Aboriginal traditional land? I have to concern myself with this question. As was and is true of many Indigenous people across Canada, the Anishinaabe of the Lake Superior region hid their Anishinaabe heritage. I often wondered how their grandparents and parents felt about their grandchildren and children being ashamed of their family and community. I wonder if people consider the fact that this cultural shame resulted from what they were being taught about Indians in educational systems, like the residential schools system. Yet, in spite of this, many Anishinaabe maintained their relationships and connections and knew who their relatives were. I was raised in MacDiarmid, Ontario. I knew I was different from the other Anishinaabe children. How I knew this was because different comments were

made around me by adults about not being Indian. Children, after Rocky Bay became a reserve, would threaten to “kick us off” the reserve. I also knew we were different because we were told to be secretive and not talk outside of the home about the hunting, fishing, and trapping taking place. I was taught not to talk about what my father and brothers were doing and to never mention where we stored moose and other meat, including birds. My mother told me when someone asked what I had for supper, I was to say hamburger. The day that an Anishinaabe game warden from the Ministry of Lands and Forests (now called the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources) came to visit stands out in my memory. My friends, including Ramona Nobis, and I were playing outside making mud pies. I was about five years old because my friends and I were still together; I know this because no one had yet been taken away by the Children’s Aid Society. The warden began talking to us and then asked us what we had for supper the night before. We all said hamburger! He made some comment about us being taught right. After he had left, I went and told my father and mother. I recognize now that the strategy that my parents took to protect our food was a key part of our survival.

My father and brothers had to hunt at night otherwise they would be charged by the game wardens who were employed by the Ontario government, which had control over managing wildlife populations. Game wardens often targeted Aboriginal peoples. We had to hide our food. We had a secret root cellar well-hidden from government officials who came to our home. Our refrigerators and freezers were searched. This government practice has perplexed and amazed me for a long time. This is because I am the youngest of sixteen children. My mother and father cared for a number of their grandchildren as well as other children in our community and other communities close to our home. Children were always in and around our home. Denying my family food meant many children in the community did not eat. In about 1968, my brother George-abun came home with this massive lake trout the day before the Beardmore fish derby. We had no food. My brother made me stand beside the fish and measured me against it. The fish was way bigger than me. We were all grouped around my brother and his fish. My mother told my brother, “It is up to you.” He asked where the knife was and proceeded to cut up the fish so we could eat. We knew that this fish would have been the biggest one at the fish derby, if he decided to enter it. When my brother Daniel’s deep-freezer contents were confiscated when his children were young, he was told that he was reported by a relative in the community. Some people even threatened reporting others to the game warden when they were seen eating

traditional food. Sometimes this was said as a joke, sometimes not. Traditional food practices and harvesting became a way for people to oppress one another. The Ontario government and its many arms of officials assisted in ensuring that this was done.

It was only in the 1960s that “Metis” became the term by which we called ourselves. This was due to the social and political organizing of my father, his brothers and his friends. Most of these people could speak Anishinaabe and some had children who were Anishinaabe. All lived most of their lives around Lake Nipigon. They worked, like my father did, at any available job: fishing, trapping, hauling lumber, highway and railway construction, and mining. Some were veterans of the Second World War and other foreign wars. Without exception, all of the early people involved in the Metis movement in Ontario were concerned about the treatment of their people, who were marginalized and disenfranchised in their own home lands, in some cases by their own peoples.

My father worked hard to provide us with traditional food despite provincial government policies preventing Metis from exercising their traditional land use rights. This land use comprises hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering. Prior to the repatriation of the *Canadian Constitution* in 1982, Metis were not legally recognized as being part of the Aboriginal populations in Canada. Long after my father died, my brother Mike and I were talking. He said my father would hunt caribou across the bay. He pointed to the steep hill behind where my Uncle Nate McGuire used to live, and he said that is where my father would drag caribou meat during the night. He would then walk home and my older brothers would go and help him bring the meat back.

My mother and father were together fifty years and were only separated by death. Raising a family with sixteen children as well as other community children and grandchildren meant that a great deal of food was needed and no one could afford store-bought food. My father and brothers made sure we survived by hunting, fishing and trapping. My whole family would harvest blueberries, and my parents would sell them. They would give you the choice about what you wanted to do: contribute to the collective pool of money that was used for everyone to survive winter months or to spend the money on yourself. Unfortunately, all too often we would choose the latter. My parents made sure this choice was understood by us.

I am from MacDiarmid, Ontario. This is a community of about 250 people. Half of the community became an amalgamated reserve in the 1960s. An amalgamated reserve is composed

of people who were forced off their lands because of hydro dam water fluctuation, disease, death, and/or Indian agents ignoring claims who were supported by the federal and provincial governments. This community is now called Biinjitiwaabik Zaaging Anishnabek First Nation; it used to be called Rocky Bay Indian Reserve. The spoken language is predominantly English with the Ojibwa language mostly being spoken by older residents whose parents, grandparents and other old people had made sure they learned.

The MacDiarmid community was divided into the Indian Reserve and the Metis settlement down the hill. The Rocky Bay Band #1 was formed in the 1960s and became a recognized Indian Reserve in 1971. The Metis settlement was where the store, fish-packing plant and restaurant were located. There was also a Metis hall across from the church; and when that was burned down, a new one was built by the shoreline as well as a small housing development of about six to eight houses. On the other side of the community there was a tourist lodge and some cabins. It was a small but lively community. Irish, French, Scottish and Anishinaabe Metis family names such as McGuire, King, Nobis, McLeod, Sutherland, Dumas, Goodman, Ruby, Nicholson, Murchison and Michon were common. These names were reflective of the history of the area. The fur trade established many of the European family names. Europeans recognized the trade routes in this area and established their presence early in the late 1600s. Many different traders were in this area. Hansen (1985) and Gale (1998) discuss how the oral historical narratives and the fur trade documents agreed on the uniqueness of the population being created. The Metis populations in this area were recognized as being different by the Treaty commissioners leading up to the signing of the Robinson Superior treaty in 1850.

### **3.11 Lake Nipigon and Displacement of Land**

The oldest memory that I have heard of Europeans being on Lake Nipigon was an oral narrative of LeGarde, my grandfather, from an interview in 1972/73 with Stevens, who described a remembrance of older Anishinaabe relatives who spoke of a man wearing a black robe with a cross being at Lake Nipigon at the time of first contact in the 1600s. Nelligan (1956) discusses the experiences of the Jesuits when they first arrived in what became Northern Ontario in the 1600s. The history of the involvement of Sandpoint (now referred to as Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabe) with colonial governments is an example of how land displacement is part of our history. This community is close to MacDiarmid, Ontario. It is less than fifteen minutes by boat and about a half hour walk from Sandpoint to MacDiarmid, Ontario. My family have stories

about this land and relationships with other communities around Lake Nipigon. My mother's stories were told to her by her grand aunt, mother, other women relatives as well as her Grandfathers, Wassaykejick and Old Walnut. Sandpoint was the community my mother's family came from.

The Sandpoint community on Lake Nipigon was initially overlooked by the British government's Treaty Commissioners who were exploring bands interested in signing a treaty in 1850. Indigenous peoples surrounding Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon and Britain entered into the Robinson-Superior treaty with a formal signing at Sault Ste Marie, Ontario on September 7, 1850. Morrison (1996) describes how Sault Ste Marie was near the mining activities that forced the negotiation and signing of the Robinson treaties. According to the government of Canada publications (1970, 1986, 2010) and Morrison (1996), the Robinson-Superior treaty #60 is known as a pre-Confederation treaty because it was negotiated and signed in 1850 before Canada and Ontario became known as such. The Dominion of Canada was created in 1867 by the *British North American Act*.

Sandpoint was recognized as having strong medicine people, both women and men, familiar with ceremonial knowledge of herbalists, healers, tent shakers and seers. These exceptional people were recognized in the area surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. During the time of the fur trade, Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabe had a Hudson Bay store. This community was an outpost from the main Hudson's Bay store located on Jackfish Island in Gull Bay, Ontario. Sandpoint was seen as a healthy, vibrant community and was recognized as such by other Anishinaabe communities as well as the first visitors to Lake Nipigon. The community houses were clustered along the shoreline and toward the trees. There were a number of businesses. Sandpoint, Bingwi Neyaashi had the only school on this side of Lake Nipigon and the only free standing church.

After the community was displaced in the late 1950s and membership dispersed to other communities, scholarly studies began to be published. Dawson (1966, 1970, 1976, 1978), a provincial archaeologist, wrote extensively about this area of Lake Nipigon, including descriptions of three burial grounds as well as one burial ground on an island close to the Sandpoint community. Archaeologists, Filteau (1978) and Arthurs (1981, 1981, 1982, 1984, 1996) published similar studies about burials and the finding of artifacts. The Anishinaabe would refer to such items (e.g., pipes) as being alive and sacred. Dewdney and Kidd (1967) describe

historical rock paintings in the Lake Nipigon territory. The Anishinaabe of Sandpoint occupied and used the land for a long time. Johnston (1976, 2003) states Anishinaabe adizookaanaa (ancient stories) pointed to the creation of the lakes and rivers in the landscape. Dewdney (1963), and Morriveau and Dewdney (1965) discuss stories about the creation of the landscape, unusual rock forms, islands, mountains and how rock painting images illustrate these relationships.

In 1917, as a distinct band of Indians, the community asked to be recognized under the terms of the 1850 Robinson-Superior treaty #60. At one point, Hansen (1985) states, federal officials appeared to agree to recognize Sandpoint as an Indian band under the *Indian Act*, as it was determined that Sandpoint had representatives at the signing of the Robinson-Superior Treaty in 1850. According to the Shanahan (1994), the community applied for a reserve land allotment in 1917. From archival research, RG 10 –Volume 10429 and 3084, correspondence between the federal Indian agent and the provincial officials indicate supportive relationships developed and existed between Canada and Ontario, in regards to the direction of Indian interests in the land surrounding Lake Nipigon and islands on the lake (October 21, 1914 to August 17, 1917).

An agreement could not be reached between the federal and provincial government to make a final decision on land allotment for two bands of Indians, Sandpoint and Whitesand. Ontario official correspondence specifies that the Lake Nipigon Indians from Sandpoint and Whitesand had all of the land to which they were entitled (RG 10 October 4, 1917). A License of Occupation was suggested as a remedy. Ontario was not at the treaty negotiations in 1850 because Ontario did not exist until 1867; yet provincial officials were in control of the Sandpoint Indian band securing their land. At the time, Ontario representatives indicated that the provincial government wanted to keep the shores of Lake Nipigon free of any Indian settlements so that land could be utilized for white interests (RG 10 October 4, 1917). Instead, the province suggested a license of occupation for 99 years that the Indian Agent representative of Indian Affairs accepted, as fiduciary for Sandpoint.

This decision to accept a license of occupation for 99 years at \$10.00 per year was reached by colonial governments. This decision meant that the federal government would not recognize this community as an Indian Reserve. Recognized Indian reservations, under the Indian Act, are entitled to benefits based upon the Robinson-Superior 1850, #60 treaty between the British Crown and Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon Indigenous peoples. Ontario, by Order in



Council, determined that this was an interim License of Occupation, meaning it could be cancelled at any time by the provincial government with the support of the Federal government (October 3, 1919). License of Occupation #748 was issued on October 10, 1919 for 236 acres of land; and, indicative of colonial control, the provincial regional Chief Forest Ranger controlled the cutting of trees in the community (October 10, 1919).

This began a history of displacement and disruption for the Sandpoint community. According to Ontario Hydro archives, in 1927 flooding from Ontario Hydro at Virgin Falls began to affect the Anishinaabe community (June 7, 1927). Ontario Hydro paid individual compensation to Sandpoint band members at that time (June 22 and July 7, 1927). When the community was continuously flooded by Ontario Hydro, it is significant to note that compensation was paid to individual members of the Sandpoint community for specific damages to their docks, lands, gardens, grave sites, and other sites (RG 10, July 14, 1927 and O.H. July 18, 1927). Internal correspondence within Ontario Hydro at this time indicated Ontario Hydro was responsible for flooding and was at fault for the high levels of water on the Nipigon River and Lake Nipigon. The flooding and high water levels were due to the Virgin Falls and Cameron Falls Generating Stations.

The Sandpoint community was forced to disperse due to continual and heavy flooding of their community between 1927 to the 1940s (O.H. correspondence between 1943 to 1949). It serves as an example of colonial relationships with Sandpoint. Father Rolland, a Catholic priest, wrote to Ontario Hydro, in 1943, informing them that high water elevations were forcing the community members to leave and flooding the Roman Catholic Church at Sandpoint. Father Rolland wanted his church moved. In 1949, this Roman Catholic priest was then asked what he wants done with the timber left on Sandpoint land. There was no mention of any discussion with the Sand Point leadership in these correspondences.

Despite the considerable flooding and high water levels, Sand Point Anishinaabe adjusted, and a small contingent of the Sandpoint community members continued to live in their homes well into the late 1950s. According to the Ministry of Natural Resources archives, a legal description for the proposed Sand Point Indian reservation #60 was proposed by the province (May 28, 1952). Yet, the federal government was complicit in determining that the Anishinaabe at Sandpoint were being relocated no matter what (MNR October 13, 1955). The Department of Indian Affairs had determined the Sand Point band members were not using the land to any

extent, except for fishing in the summer and because of this there would be no Indian reserve at Sandpoint (RG 10, April 8, 1957). The people who did not voluntarily move were forced to leave their homes and businesses and the usable buildings were to be moved or had already been moved. The church was moved across the ice to MacDiarmid, Ontario.

Shanahan (1994) and, to some extent, Morrison (1996) documented this history. Shanahan concludes that the Sand Point Anishinaabe, forcibly removed from their traditional lands, caused the community members to disperse as a distinct community, there was no other choice. The Ontario Ministry of Lands and Forests (now called the Ministry of Natural Resources) in 1958 asked the Indian Superintendent at Port Arthur about available lands at Sandpoint and potential problems that Ontario would have in securing a suitable park on Lake Nipigon (MNR, June 9, 1958). The same year, Ontario agreed to cancel the license of occupation with the complicity of the Indian department, who stated that they would not object to it being cancelled and in fact, also suggested it be cancelled, (RG 10, June 13, 1958).

The license of occupation #748 was cancelled October 01, 1958, due to the lands not being used for a number of years and for the purposes of establishing a provincial park. Ontario Department of Lands and Forests informed the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Port Arthur Agency that all buildings must be removed by June 15, 1959 otherwise the buildings would be disposed of (MNR, March 9, 1959). The Department of Lands and Forests hired people to burn any existing houses and existing community infrastructure. What was left of the community was bulldozed. These directives were carried out and remaining Anishinaabe families were forced out of their homes. On January 6, 1960, Lake Nipigon Provincial Park was established, as Blacksand Provincial Park, a world-class fishing mecca with a black sand beach that was unique to Ontario. The ill-suited and unproductive land, as discussed by Ontario and Canadian government officials since 1917, appeared to not be an issue for the residents and visitors of this new provincial park.

The Sandpoint families who refused to move to other communities around Lake Nipigon and surrounding areas were forced inland away from the provincial park and towards the new TransCanada highway. These families were allowed to live close to the Beardmore, Ontario garbage dump. As Morriveau and Dewdney (1965) note, there were about five families who continued living on their land but in order to do so were forced to live near this garbage dump.

Eventually, these few families dispersed to other communities in Northern Ontario and elsewhere.

A comprehensive land claim was researched and submitted to Canada in the early 1980s by the 1850 Tribal Council. Although this comprehensive land claim was disallowed in 1985, a suggestion was made that individual bands, due to the ways the land was expropriated in many cases, should enter into specific claims negotiations. In 1989, a specific claim was entered into on behalf of the Sandpoint people for land and for compensation for the land being illegally taken by Ontario and Canada. After negotiations, which occurred from 1989 to 2010, Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabe received lands promised under Treaty Land Entitlement under the terms of the Robinson-Superior Treaty in 1850. It was found that the land was taken away illegally and this act was the result of collusion between the Indian agents representing Canada and the provincial ministry of lands and forests in the late 1940s and 1950s.

The forced relocation of Sandpoint, Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabe is a moment in our Anishinaabe collective history that defines Anishinaabe resilience. My mother and father, my maternal aunts and uncles and other community members told the history of Sandpoint and how the land was taken. This is how I know this history. Some Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabe has managed to maintain a sense of identity and connection to their ancestral lands, despite the combined efforts of Ontario and Canada governments. The displacement of the Anishinaabe of Sandpoint was part of strategy for Canada.

There are similar stories in other areas as this was a national strategy of Canada to remove Indigenous people from the land. This specific land claim was settled and the land was returned in April 22, 2010. For fifty years, various members of the leadership and the community fought both levels of government to get these ancestral lands back. One of the questions this struggle raises is how were community connections and relationships nourished and maintained during the time the community was dispersed? I think that this is partly explained by Indigenous knowledge(s), historical understandings and land-based knowledge(s) as resilience. This will now be discussed.

### 3.12 Indigenous Knowledge and Anishinaabe Knowledge

Deloria Jr. (1994) asserts that diverse Indigenous systems of spirituality and traditions existed and were practiced by those Indigenous peoples living in their traditional territories. These spiritualities were based on a harmonized and symbiotic relationship with the land Indigenous peoples lived on. These ideas informed a different way to view Indigenous-based spirituality and religious ideas. Blaeser (1999) describes these spiritualities and traditions as a weaving of place, Indigenous identity, spirituality, and story. The ideas of Deloria (1994, 1995) about spirituality and religion have offered a different way of considering Indigenous ideas, concepts, and philosophies. Deloria was not the first scholar to challenge the idea that Indigenous cultures were dead cultures, but he was the first Native American scholar with wide-spread acceptance to do so. The foundational ideas about the relationship between land and spirituality first developed by Deloria Jr., are central to Cajete (2000), who states,

It is the landscape that contains the memories, the bones of our ancestors, the earth, air, fire, water and spirit from which a Native culture had come and to which it continually returns. It is the land that ultimately defines a native people (p. 205).

Every September at fall harvest, a group of Anishinaabe old women and men from north-western Ontario converge to teach children about Anishinaabe culture, traditions and most importantly, about philosophies of the land and humans' place on it. Gerry Martin is one of these people. I listened to him speak at Fort William Historical Park in Thunder Bay, Ontario. He related a story about how the Anishinaabe were helped by the Whiskey jack in finding moose so that the Anishinaabe would not starve (personal conversation September 21, 2010). Remembrance of this story of our relationship with Whiskey jack and how human beings needed the assistance of the natural world to survive is evident in current cultural practices conducted on the land today. He related that the behaviours and practices we do on the land today are symbiotic relationships with animals, plants, birds and fish. This relationship is based on responsibility. It is not based on ownership but rather a reciprocal bond between humans and other beings in the natural world. The story of Whiskey jack helping the Anishinaabe find moose becomes one of survival based on help from the natural world. The practice that resulted from this story is the putting of an offering of fat in the trees after a fire is started so that Whiskey jack can eat it. Whiskey jack will be the first bird that comes in the bush when a fire is started. This is done in memory of a shared relationship with and obligation to these birds that helped in our survival.

The natural world does not need us. We need the natural world for survival. Because the Anishinaabe remember this, we have land practices related to stories. These stories then become a form of memory and remind us of our relationship to the land. Dannenman (2009) best expresses this idea when she deliberates on the meaning of her homeland to her. The manner of the possession is based on a reciprocal interconnected spiritual bond and relationship.

Dannenman expresses this relationship best, when she says,

For Anishinaape People, then, the words “my,” “our,” “your,” “his,” or “hers” are not about ownership or possession but about a relationship. When I say, or when any Namekosippiw Anishinaape says, “Trout Lake is my home,” or “my Trout Lake,” we do not mean that we own Trout Lake, that we possess it (and therefore you do not and neither does anyone else) but rather, it means Trout Lake is that part of our great Mother the Earth with which we have a very special relationship. This relationship includes those with whom we share that home—our aunts, cousins, etc., the moose, bear, gulls, ravens, mice, moles, flies, mosquitoes, fish, the trees, the grass, rocks, etc. This relationship is characterized by a spirituality (sic) and sacredness, an intimate knowledge and huge reciprocal respect and reverence where we all know our rights and responsibilities. This very amazing relationship involves a give and take that requires consciousness and constant nurturing. My Trout Lake takes care of me, is very gentle with me, and teaches me everything I need to know. In turn, I take care of my Trout Lake to the best of my ability, and I remain open to its teaching and growing (p. 132).

The Anishinaabe are part of this world, and the Anishinaabe need continued relationships with other beings within this world if we are to survive. Dannenman discusses not only her relationship with Trout Lake, but also other people’s relationship to Trout Lake and how they develop their relationships based on responsibilities and obligations.

Furthermore, Trout Lake being your Trout Lake does not give you the right to interfere with, or damage in any way, my sacred relationship with Trout Lake. You do not have personal rights that supersede the collective rights of all our relations on Trout Lake, its islands, forests, hills, swamps, bays, inlets, etc. You will have to learn your place in Trout Lake and learn to love that place (p. 132).

We are still on the land and using it, maybe not the way that we used to but in our own ways now. My oldest brother, Patrick, and I were talking (personal conversation October 14, 2010)

about bear trails through the forests of Northern Ontario. When he talked about the different bear trails, I thought, are they the same trails used by the moose, deer or caribou? My answer to this was no, they have different ways of being in the world. Their paths and our paths cross one another frequently, but they are distinct paths. As part of Anishinaabe knowledge(s), we teach our children Anishinaabe ethics, and respect is paramount amongst them. There is a need for respect when talking about the land. We recognize knowledge of the land formed part of our resilience. It always has.

In 2009, Highway performed in Thunder Bay. I enjoyed the immense brilliance and talent of this humble man. When we, as Aboriginal peoples, talk about the contemporary expression of who we are, I think, of Highway. He speaks multiple languages, Cree, French, English, and is learning Spanish. He travels extensively all over the world. He writes novels, plays and cabarets and was trained as a concert pianist. A recent offering was called *Kisaageetin* – *A Cabaret*. Kisaageetin is Cree for love. He blends the Cree and English language in a flawless manner. Yet, each time I have seen his work, the land is always recognized. In this cabaret, *Kisaageetin*, some songs were written in Cree and translated into English. The following song is a song of thanksgiving and gratitude for life and that which brings us life. It remembers and recognizes the many forces that enable people to be on this earth. It is about relationships and connections.

*Some say a Rose.*

Kinanaaskoomitinaan kaagithow keethawow *We thank you all of you*

Ooma oota waaskeet uskameek ithigook kwayus *Who on this Earth so very well*

Kaagitaap'miyaak oomsisi *Watch over us in this way*

Meeg'waach oota eepimaat'siyaak *While we live here*

Kaagithow keethawow seetuk *All of you trees*

Waskwayuk ooskaatigwuk seetagwunaatigwuk *Birches, pines, spruce*

Kaagithow keethawow pisisk'wuk *All of you four-legged creatures*

Mahiganuk maageeseesuk muskwuk *Wolves, foxes, bears*

Ateeg'wuk amisk'wuk atimwuk *Caribou, beavers, dogs*

Kaagithow keethawow pitheeseesuk *All of you creatures of the air*

Chaachaagathoowuk peepeeks'eesuk *Blackbirds, robins*

Keeyaask'wuk seeseepuk mawg'wuk *Seagulls, ducks, loons*

Kaagithow keethawow neepeegaana meensa *All of you flowers, berries*  
 Ussiniyuk thootin nipi saagaa-iguna aski *Rocks, wind, water, lakes, the earth*  
 Kinanaaskoomitinaan aski *We thank you Earth*  
 Ithigook kwayus kaagana-ithimiyaak oomsi isi *For watching over us so well in this way*  
 Meeg'waach oota waaskeetuskameek eepimaat'siyaak *While we live here on this earth*  
 Ooma neet'naan ayut'sitinoowuk *Those of us known as humans*  
 Kinaanaskoomitinaan kisaageet'naan *We thank you, we love you*  
 Kinaanaaskoomitin kisaageetin *I thank you, I love you (p. 2).*

This song of beauty recognizes the land. It talks about how people should listen and hear what the earth is saying. The earth is spoken of as a living entity one should give thanks to for the life that one has and the lives that we as humans enjoy. Various elements of the earth, such as plants, animals, birds, and water, are recognized and thanked for the life they provide for us as people who live on this earth. This prayer is an example of how prayers are based on gratitude and remembrances of relational understandings of Indigenous peoples with the land. In 2009, Highway offered this,

*The Robins of Dawn*  
 Ooma n'si aski *Look at this earth*  
 Taatoo geesigow *Everyday*  
 Maana nagamoo *How she sings*  
 Kinsitootawow na? *Do you understand her?*  
 Noosisim wanskaa *My grandchild awake*  
 Maana kaa-itisk *She says to you*  
 Nigoosis astum *My grandson come to me*  
 Maana kaa-itisk *She says to you.*

It is a responsibility of human beings to give thanks for what is provided for us as human beings as we need for our survival the earth and all other animal, birds and water beings, so we are the neediest aspect of creation. We recognize that we require the land and earth and the beings that occupy the earth to take pity on us and provide their assistance to us as human beings. The songs of Highway and the beauty of the land he describes are living spaces with relationships and interconnections intact. "In telling our stories," Dunlop (2002) observes, "we must push at the existing order of things. In the geologies and anthropologies and genealogies of our landscapes,

in these histories and memories of place, we find our human stories” (sic, p. 24). Contemporary poetry and songs about Indigenous knowledge can direct us to who we are as Anishinaabe and the relationships that we need to renew each day.

Indigenous place-based resilience requires understanding the traditions and long-sustained relationships with the land. Relationships are embedded in the land. "Places are linked to people: the ancestors 'made a map' over the land, which both provided a record of those ancestors and bound their descendants more tightly to that land" (McKinnon, as cited in Oliveira 2009, p. 104). As Meyer (2001, 2003) contends, land-based knowledge requires practiced knowledge, knowledge that has to be used on the land. This, Meyer argues, becomes tied to Indigenous personal identity, to spiritual development of people and to their overall relationships with others. Marker (2004) reasons that "knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of self, to grasping one's position in the larger scheme of things" (p. 106). Marker discusses the power of stories about the land to transform whoever hears these stories. Marker says, "...the story has a power to affect not only the consciousness of the individual, but also the spirit of the person. The transformation going on in the story often reproduces itself in the transformation of the individual who hears the story" (p. 106). Marker describes how Indigenous knowledge(s) such as land-based knowledge, restores a sense of the spiritual and of healing to Indigenous peoples. The power of transformation in Indigenous theories, Marker maintains, results "in the transformation of the individual who hears the story" (p.108). Hart (2002) contends that a relational sense permeates ideas of place that include more than the physical. In 2010, I argued that Aboriginal resilience based on conceptions of land takes the form of interconnected and interrelated discussions "difficult to separate from one another" (p. 124). Indigenous social lives are living processes much like Indigenous language(s) and cultures are living processes.

Maaka and Andersen (2006) state that Indigenous scholars and activists who seek to dismantle colonialist structures and processes and replace them with reinvented or resurrected models for governance and/or education find more subtle components plaguing advanced education. Geniusz (2009) discusses colonial power and the colonization of knowledge. Geniusz states, "Those charged with carrying out various assimilation tactics were taught to view native knowledge as 'primitive' or 'evil' and, as a result, they often prevented its continued dispersal within native communities" (quotations in original, p. 3). Furthermore, Geniusz said, "Native



people were also made to view their knowledge as ‘wrong’ or ‘inferior’ and non-native knowledge as ‘right’ or ‘superior’ and, having such views, many naturally chose what was made to look like better knowledge” (quotations in original, p. 3). Geniusz continues by saying that as this colonizing of knowledge was occurring, Indigenous knowledge was being appropriated. She says, “The colonization of native knowledge assisted the colonizers in assimilating native people, but it also gave them another important benefit: they gained this knowledge for themselves” (p. 3). In many ways, Indigenous peoples, individually and collectively, reconcile contradictory worldviews on a daily basis. It is part of our life practice negotiating and living with others who often disrespect and ignore our existence unless we make it known.

### **3.13 Conclusion**

Both chapter two and three form the literature review of this dissertation. The previous chapter began with a discussion of the land surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. In particular, the discussion involved the use of Miskwi Onaman (red ochre) and rock paintings to serve as cultural memories and places of life, which are necessary for understanding Anishinaabe historical stories of how this area was created. This was illustrated by ontological depictions of Anishinaabe life conducted by Morriseau. Indigenous knowledge(s), in particular, Anishinaabe understandings and relationships to land, grounded this discussion. The multi-disciplinary approach used in this dissertation is based on diverse disciplines and diverse tribal scholarship in areas such as sociology, history, education, anthropology, Indigenous studies, political science and archaeology.

Chapter three offers stories of life, death and renewal tied to a specific locally-based Indigenous discussion about resilience. The foundation for this exploration was presented as being centered on personal context in relation to the knowledge being created. Personal relationships in the community, in this case, one’s family and experience on the land were used as a way of coming to know Anishinaabe knowledge(s). Interspersed in these discussions are ideas about resilience in light of historical traumas suffered.

Indigenous scholars look to decolonization as a project to undertake and as hope for the future of Indigenous people’s sources of resurgence and renewal. Related to these discussions are considerations of Indigenous knowledge(s), specifically knowledge of history and land. This is evident in the story about the displacement of the community of Sandpoint, now called, Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabe. History and land knowledge are the sources of renewal for the

Anishinaabe from this area of Lake Nipigon. This is related to a discussion of the Anishinaabe worldview and our cultural ways to create, maintain, transmit and continue Anishinaabe knowledge(s). The Anishinaabe have always maintained that our societies and cultures began with the creation of this land. In the next chapter of this dissertation, attention will be drawn to aspects of ontology and epistemology with a focus on gathering information in a culturally-based manner. Reflexivity and aspects of grounded theory are key components of this next discussion.

## CHAPTER FOUR - METHODOLOGY

### 4.1 Introduction

In order to conduct this exploratory study, which uses an Indigenous knowledge framework specific to Anishinaabe society, I examined inductive qualitative research methodologies. As I looked for a way for Indigenous concepts and ideas to conform to the standards of a sociology dissertation, I began to look at how reflexivity and grounded theory fit with Indigenous concepts and ideas. Included in this process were discussions of the impact of research on Indigenous peoples as well as the critiques of such research practices.

Specifically, I will begin by reviewing different aspects of reflexivity. Grounded theory will be presented with a discussion of the complementary fit between it and reflexivity. A discussion of research design and of the knowledge holders, Patrick M. McGuire and Norval Morriseau, will then occur. This will be followed by a discussion of how Anishinaabe philosophy, ontology, and epistemology inform this dissertation.

### 4.2 Righting the Balance: Stories and Research

Vizenor (1999) calls for new approaches to the tribal discourse. Vizenor argues social science theories constrain tribal landscapes to institutional values, representationalism, and the politics of academic determination” (p. 363). The hegemonic character of Eurocentric traditions in the social sciences has made it difficult to develop alternative ways of viewing the world. Vizenor discusses how Indigenous knowledge has been reduced to consumable artifacts, which he says, “are quaint but not really legitimate” (p. 337). Indigenous research, like the Indigenous scholar, becomes seen as different from the norm and as such the research methodologies involved are often considered unequal to mainstream academic scholarship and instead deemed mere instances of folk knowledge or regarded as unscientific or as traditional. Information gained through Indigenous research, which is rich in experiential and ceremonial knowledge(s), is often seen as the opposite of scientific knowledge and as so is seen as lacking the authority and power granted to scientific knowledge.

I was taken onto Lake Nipigon by my family. They would tell stories about the history of the Anishinaabe in this area; they would point out land features and tell what happened in this area or why this area was named the way it was. A few times I remember my father telling me about Graveyard Island. It was so named because this was where my mother’s people were buried. It was known as a cemetery for communities in that area of the lake. No one really

bothered this land. It was left alone for the most part. In the late 1960s, my father described how the Ontario government sold this island to an American.

In 1984, I was attending Lakehead University, and I searched for information that I could find on the area that I was from. Most of the information I found was archaeological research done by Dawson (1966, 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1976, 1978), although, Filteau (1978) conducted archeological research on trading post sites and other sites around Northern Ontario as well. Some research, Arthurs (1981a, 1981b) and Dawson (1982, 1983), report how artifacts and objects were found on Lake Nipigon. The American who bought Graveyard Island called the archeologists once he made this discovery. The artifacts discovered included human bones, pipes, pottery and other items. They were dated, measured, catalogued and stored somewhere at the university or possibly a museum, although, it is not unheard of for such items to be storied in offices. I speculate about where these items are because in the articles this is not discussed.

My strong responses evoked by these studies made me want to study and learn so that no one else would have to experience these reactions when learning about our ancestors. Graveyard Island is where my mother's family was buried. These Anishinaabe are still alive in the Anishinaabe sense, my ancestors, as well as other people's ancestors living around Lake Nipigon were buried at this island. This place, this island, is animate with Manitou, (spirits), and mystery.

The history of archaeology with Indigenous peoples worldwide has prompted many archeologists to review their discipline's research practices. Atalay (2008) discusses how these practices, which were seen as research at its finest and most scientific, was similar to robbing living people. This was my introduction to academic research. This was the first document I found in a university library that described the history of the area I am from described in hard, detached and remote style. This type of research is diametrically opposed to the way the way knowledge is seen in Anishinaabe society and in other Indigenous societies in Canada. In 2004, Brant-Castellano discusses this in relation to ethics; she claims that "research that seeks objectivity by maintaining distance between the investigator and the informants violates Aboriginal ethics of reciprocal relationships and collective validation" (p. 105). Brant-Castellano says,

If the researcher assumes control of knowledge production, harvesting information in brief encounters, the dialogical relationship with human and non-human sources is

disrupted and the transformation of observations or information into contextualized knowledge is aborted (p. 105).

Externalized and detached knowledge creation does not work within societies that are based on interrelatedness and relational understandings such as those discussed by Indigenous scholars, such as Brant Castellano, McPherson and Rabb (1993, 2012), Ontario (2010), Waters (2004), Weber-Pillwax (1999, 2001), Absolon (2009) and others. Some epistemology and some disciplines academia have not made themselves accommodating to the different perspectives Indigenous scholarship has to offer and this narrow mindedness has negative effects on Indigenous peoples and Canadians.

Smith L (1999) argues colonization and research were close partners in dispossessing Indigenous peoples of their lands and resources. In this view, research remained a key weapon in the colonial arsenal directed against Indigenous peoples. O'Riley (2004) states academic research can either benefit or hinder communities or have no impact at all. It can direct attention to dire social conditions and help to change them. It can cause people to remember the reasons to feel proud of their history and their continued survival in spite of orchestrated efforts to eliminate them. It can cause shame at the same social conditions persisting. Knowledge is so vital that consideration of all aspects involved must be undertaken before research begins.

Esterberg (2002) draws the following distinction between research methods and methodologies: research methods are the actual techniques one uses to do the actual research; research methodologies refer to the "theory and analysis of how research should proceed" (p. 19). Indigenous scholars should not focus so much on creating a space for our ways of seeing, being and learning within the framework of academic research; they should focus on presenting our space. Harala, Smith, Hassel, and Gailfus (2005) discuss how Indigenous research methods, like positivism, have validity within a social and cultural contextual framework. They have been tried, tested, changed and re-tried since Indigenous peoples have been on this continent.

Indigenous people maintain that we experience things differently in this world and attach different meanings to what we experience. Our relationships to ourselves, communities, and environment are based on social interactions different in many ways than those of other communities in Canada. In some Indigenous cultures, there is much less a sense of individualism than there is in the neo-liberal Western European modernism that has informed much of contemporary North American society. Generally, social interactions and maintaining

relationships are of more importance. Individual agency exists, but within a collective framework. In some cases, as Monture (1995, 1999) and Asch (1997) argue, this collectivity is based on and reinforced by Aboriginal rights discourse and laws within Canada. Deloria (1994, 1995), Couture (1998), Rheault (1999), Little Bear (2000), and Kovach (2005) argue that Indigenous peoples had structural features of our societies that were fluid and familiar with change. We have unique social and cultural constructs that help us attach meaning to what we see, do and convey to others.

Recently in Canada, Aboriginal peoples have sought a place within research regimes. There have been efforts to insert Indigenous knowledge(s) in theory and some have argued that there is a place for us within this or that theory, such as Akiwowo (1999), Howe (2002), Olutayo (2012), and Dei (2010, 2012). Additionally, Olsen-Harper (2008) argues that qualitative theories, such as phenomenology, are similar in scope to the way that Aboriginal peoples do research. McLeod (2007) utilizes the principles of hermeneutics as he writes a history of the treaty relationships in his home territory. At that same time, some Indigenous scholars argue that our ontological and epistemological realities are distinct. Esterberg (2000), Denzin and Lincoln (1998) and Wilson (2003, 2008) declare research methods and our research methodologies inform our worldviews, and our worldviews inform our research methodologies.

Absolon and Willet (2005) assert that in the social sciences, Indigenous relationships with academic research are all-too-often based upon the model of the researched and the researcher, respectively, and it is this dichotomy that plagues the creation of Indigenous knowledge(s). On one hand, Smith (1999), Weber-Pillwax (1999, 2001), Kovach (2006) and Wilson S (2008) state that Indigenous peoples critique and protest how academic research has affected Indigenous peoples and communities; and on the other hand, Indigenous peoples see research as emancipatory and transformative to these same peoples and communities. Dei (2010) and Olutayo (2012) argue that social science research is seen as an economic tool used to aid Indigenous peoples in development. Porsanger (2010) argues that all research, and Indigenous research in particular, is related to self-determination; and, as such, research has political impacts. Porsanger concurs with Dei; she says, "I consider indigenous research as a means of the empowerment of indigenous peoples through production of knowledge and capacity building" (p. 2). Porsanger continues,

By empowering capacity building I mean the development of indigenous human resources on our own terms and for our own purposes. These purposes are to continue as indigenous peoples with our own distinctive culture, languages, traditional knowledge, philosophies, and world views (p. 2).

Martin-Hill and Soucy (2005) state research has the potential to increase people's participation in issues that impact them and increase people(s) sense of power over their own lives. Wilson (2008) maintains that social science research can change the affective and actual social conditions Indigenous peoples are in. This is the reason why research is critical to the continued development of the discourse concerning Indigenous peoples. The worst impact of colonization in Canada has been the impact on Aboriginal peoples' sense of who they are and the rupture between their sense of self and their relationships with their respective lands. Academia was complicit in colonialism, benefited from it and produced discourses that enabled colonialists to justify their crimes. The research done on Indigenous peoples enabled colonial intrusions into Indigenous societies. Scholarly research then must also be responsible for and involved in the re-setting of this balance.

#### **4.3 Reflexivity**

Reflexivity informs one's research and contributes to discussions of social positions, perspectives, experiences and historical context(s) within interpretations of diverse social worlds. This research voice comes from a gendered, culturally-situated position. "The theorist's interests and social position routinely shape the contours and content of his/her work" (Rogers, 1996, p. 11) as they speak "from a particular class, racial, cultural and ethnic community perspective" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 23). Rogers (1996) discusses how social worlds are based "in the originator's culturally anchored selfhood" and subjectively occur with the "dynamics of history, culture, social structure, and... life stories" (p. 13). Regarding this process of examining social worlds, Mason (2004) discusses how the personal (and, in many cases, collective) biography of the researcher serves as the background informing what research questions are asked, why they are asked and how they will be addressed in the research.

Indigenous and other theorists, such as feminists, argue that researchers are always positioned, and this affects their observational stance, i.e., what is observed and interpreted. The knowledge creation process, Azoulay (1996), hooks (1992, 1994), Richardson (1991), Daly (1997), Ritchie (1995), Rigney (1999) and Smith L (1999) argue, becomes transfigured through

the personal and social lens of personal experience and training. Smith L (1999) and hooks (1992, 1994) assert that the use of the Self can result in richer, more useable research, the test of which is its truthfulness. With this focus on truth comes a responsibility to reassess not only the research that is socially produced, reproduced, and distributed, but also the overt and covert messages contained within it.

As part of qualitative research methodologies, according to Archer (2010), sociology's recognition of reflexivity has been mixed; she says, while "its importance is now accepted by contemporary theorists, there is no consensus about the human practice of reflexivity, its origins, operations, or outcomes" (p.1). Archer defines reflexivity as "the regular exercise of the mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa' (p. 5). For some theorists, such as Watt, reflexivity is critical to the research process. Watt (2007) says, "Reflexivity is thus considered essential, potentially facilitating understanding of both the phenomenon under study and the research process itself" (p. 81). Nicholls (2009) says reflexivity means having a future orientation; she contends, "Researchers need to engage with reflexive evaluation of collective and negotiated design, data collection and data analysis to consider the interpersonal and collective dynamics during the research process, and any effects that the research may potentially have in the future" (p. 118).

Central to a reflexivity research orientation is the fact that all knowledge produced through research is permeated with the social characteristics of the researcher's biography, their identity and their power in the specific social context(s) they are in. Specific biographical characteristics, such as motives for research, education, employment and other characteristics affecting the researcher's personal life impact how social research is considered, planned, implemented and analyzed. Defining attributes affect the research ideas, processes and methodologies, such as age, gender, ethnicity, social position, and sexuality. Archer specifies a pondering thought process by saying, reflexive "deliberation consists in people evaluating their situations in the light of their concerns and evaluating their projects in the light of their circumstances. These then become areas to explore and examine within all areas of the research process" (p. 6). It is the deliberation of these thought processes coupled with consideration of personal and social circumstances that constitutes the reflexive research process. Reflexivity, for Nicholls (2009), becomes a vehicle for social and personal change in the researcher, in the collaboration with other researchers and with the research itself. When such research concerns



the Indigenous, reflexivity becomes positively counter-colonial. Furthermore, as Nicholls is examining research with Indigenous peoples, she argues for reflexivity capable of increasing collaborative processes and research relationships. Doing so, Nicholls provides an opportunity to reframe “notions of justice, empowerment and self-determination” (p. 121) within the reflexive research relationships with all their complexities and tensions.

Chiu (2006) implies the researcher must not only be aware of personal attributes affecting the research process but must also practice a multi-layered reflexivity. “Reflexive identification of the researcher’s discursive position within a collaboration amongst a researcher and community-based knowers is to recognize that there are at least three layers of reflexivity required” (Chiu cited in Nicholls, p. 121). Nicholls discusses this multi-layered reflexivity but revising it so each layer is situated within the context of counter-colonialism; this framework includes self-reflexivity, interpersonal reflexivity and collective reflexivity (p. 121).

Nicholls’ multi-layered reflexivity begins with self-reflexivity, which involves examining any hidden assumptions underpinning the research, including disciplinary theories, funding requirements, power and privilege. The next layer, relational reflexivity, expresses a concern with interpersonal positioning within research relationships and the researcher’s ability to effectively collaborate with others. The last layer is collective reflexivity and catalytic validity. This occurs when social change becomes the focus of the research. This reflexive layer, Nicholls says, concerns the research process that determined the inquiry and its relation to social change. Three queries are asked: “what were the terms of participation, who participated and did not...and what effects did this have on the outcome of social change and practical knowing for the community participants?” (p. 123). The different layers involve examining the effects of doing the research and determining “whether participating was transformative, affirming, cathartic or empowering” (p. 123). This requires a shift, not just in the research participants, but also in the researcher. Nicholls admits that it may not be possible to have multi-layer reflexivity in every research situation; she compares research relationships to juggling requiring high degrees of attention, flexibility and balance.

Couture was a well-known Cree Chi-Akiwenzie (Cree old man acknowledged as possessing wisdom and insight as well as being a respected academic. When Couture (1998) discusses knowledge and knowledge creation, he describes a multi-relational reflexivity. Couture says, scholarly research “...must involve a very personal, critical reflection not only on one’s

knowledge, but also upon one's experience of self, others, and social contexts, for these are necessary to the fullest possible participation in a bicultural life context" (p. 10-11). Couture tried to discover a middle ground between Indigenous and mainstream worldviews while maintaining the necessity of remembering who he was as an Indigenous scholar and creating identities congruent with both cultures. Couture offers advice resonating within me for Indigenous scholars. Couture says, "Discover and define the harmonies between the two general Cultures (sic), between the basic values of the Indian way and those of Western civilization — and thereby forge a new and stronger sense of identity" as Indigenous peoples (p. 11). For Couture, this related to Indigenous scholars becoming "bilingual and bicultural" (p. 11). Our survival is dependent on what Couture metaphorically referred to as a moose. Couture says,

In so doing we will survive as Indians, true to our past. We have always survived. Our history tells us so... So now, you younger ones, think about all that. Come back once in a while and show us what you've got. And, we'll tell you if what you think you have found is a moose (p. 11).

The consequences of doing what Couture suggests will help sustain present and future generations. The moose we find will help us to survive and provide nourishment as well as help us maintain our connections to the earth, our histories and ourselves.

Weber-Pillwax (2001) and Wilson S (2003, 2008) challenge Indigenous scholars to articulate their own research paradigms, their own approaches to research, and their own data collection methods so as to accurately portray Indigenous paradigm and Indigenous views of research. Wilson's perspective is that research should be viewed as ceremony. Wilson, like Couture, asserts that paradigms shape both how we see the world and how we interact with it. Wilson says, "All research reflects the paradigm used by the researcher whether that researcher is conscious of the usage or not. Included in a research paradigm are our ontology and epistemology as well as our axiology and methodology" (Wilson S 2003, p. 161). Similarly, Denzin and Lincoln (1998) argue, the researcher "approaches the world with a set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology) that specifies a set of questions (epistemology) that are then examined (methodology, analysis) in specific ways" (p. 23). An examination of Indigenous ontology and epistemology would then enable a culturally specific method of collecting and analyzing information. Employing such a method when exploring Indigenous knowledge(s) may

reveal our paths to knowledge creation and to our continued resilience. Concepts associated with grounded theory will now be discussed.

#### **4.4 Grounded Theory**

Glaser and Strauss developed grounded theory in 1967. Grounded theory is part of the methodologies associated with inductive methods. As the theory is grounded within and flows from the data, grounded theory has methodological orientations different from other methodologies. Inductive conclusions are reached based on observations made during the course of completing the research. Dunne (2011) maintains grounded theory, “demands that data collection and analysis occur concurrently, rather than in a linear sequence” (p. 111). The goal of grounded theory, according to Glaser and Strauss, is to develop explanatory theories of social processes, theories which are studied, that is, grounded in the environments in which they take place. This groundedness, Strauss and Corbin (1990) emphasize, means “...data collection and data analysis are tightly interwoven processes, and must occur alternately because the analysis directs the sampling of data” (p. 59).

According to Simmons (2010), grounded theory “brought a democratic option into the social sciences that enabled anyone who learned the methodology to generate theory” (p. 15). Grounded theory, according to Morse, Stern, Corbin, Bowers, & Clarke (2009), may be the most frequently used methodology as it spans many diverse disciplines. Makokis (2001) says that grounded theory enables a research design “in that it gave voice to a people who have been silenced” (p. 9). Grounded theory looks for data as it is unfolding to develop nascent theories. Grounded theory is seen as a way of thinking about data. Glaser and Strauss propose grounded theory as a methodology enabling “the discovery of theory from data” (p.1). New theories could be directly developed from the data collected. The data itself facilitates this process. Grounded theory challenges the orthodoxy of dominant methodologies that advocate using existing theories to either prove or disprove whatever concept, idea or hypothesis the researcher was concerned with.

A major critique of grounded theory is the effort some practitioners take to both standardize and quantify social experiences reflected in research processes, that is, to objectivity. In particular, Glaser, one of the founders of grounded theory, had positivist leanings which emphasized, Charmaz (2005) says, “logic, analytic procedures, comparative methods, and conceptual development and assumptions of an external but discernible world, unbiased

observer, and discovered theory” (p. 509). Morse, et al. (2009) discuss the many variations of grounded theories directly arising from the initial theoretical work of Glaser and Strauss in 1967. For example, Charmaz investigates how grounded theory methods could be adapted to study issues of social change, especially issues of social justice. Charmaz says, “The strength of grounded theory methods is that they provide tools for analyzing processes and these tools hold much potential for studying social justice issues” (p. 507-508).

Originally, Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued against a literature review process while employing grounded theory development, especially in early stages of the research. Dunne (2011) discusses “the reasoning behind this call for abstinence from existing literature, [this was] essentially related to the desire to allow categories to emerge naturally from the empirical data during analysis, uninhibited by extant theoretical frameworks and associated hypotheses” (p.114). Yet, a literature review is a requirement for most academic research. Strauss and Corbin’s (1990) comments proved insightful about this process: “Stimulation of theoretical sensitivity, knowledge of philosophical writings and existing theories provide ways” to examine, re-examine and change theoretical understandings developing by on-going interaction and reflective processes with the data (p. 50). This process captures the richness of the data while recognizing existing theoretical understandings as an on-going process.

#### **4.5 Reflexivity and Grounded Theory Complementary**

Watt (2007) discusses how reflexivity is essential and can potentially facilitate the “understanding of both the phenomenon under study and the research process itself” (p. 81). Central to this research orientation is the fact that all knowledge produced through research is permeated with the social characteristics of the researcher's biography, their identity and their power in the specific social context(s) in which they are located. Furthermore, specific biographical characteristics, such as motives for research, education, employment and other characteristics affecting the researcher’s personal life impact how social research is considered, planned, implemented and analyzed.

Charmaz developed a framework with criteria for unifying grounded theory with social justice inquiries. Such criteria included are credibility, originality, resonance, multilayered reflexivity (like Nicholls), and a focus on the usefulness of the research and any theories developed from the research. This means research has credibility when it is anchored in the languages, values, and politics of the local. For Charmaz, any inquiry must resonate with the

local and be shaped by local needs. These key concepts of reflexivity and grounded theory apply to this analysis. Reflexivity and grounded theory as methodological considerations are a way to present contextual understandings of Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous resilience.

Weber-Pillwax (2001) and Wilson S (2003, 2008) discuss the importance of contextualized understandings of Indigenous knowledge. Weber-Pillwax has argued for research to be supporting “the life of the individual, the family or the community” (p. 169). Weber-Pillwax, Wilson and Couture argue for research based on and derived from Indigenous thinking and ways of being. Couture argues for scholars to be bicultural in the creation of knowledge and to consider not only knowledge but their experiences as well. Nicholls’ (2009) ideas about a multi-layered reflexivity complement the ideas of Weber-Pillwax and Couture by examining the impacts of research in social change. Nicholls’ multi-layered reflexivity consists of self-reflexivity (awareness of any hidden assumptions affecting the research), relational reflexivity (recognition of relationships in the research), collective reflexivity and catalytic validity (a commitment to social change and practical application). For Nicholls, research should be “transformative, affirming, cathartic or empowering” for all people involved in the research as well as offer practical applications for social change. This is my hope for the research for my dissertation. If a sense of beauty is conveyed, it will transform how Anishinaabe view one another and offer a base for our future on the land for which we are responsible.

#### **4.6 Knowledge - Patrick McGuire Sr. and Norval Morriseau**

Patrick M. McGuire (1923-1987) and Norval Morriseau (1931-2007) were recognized for recording Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin about the people and lands surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. Like other Anishinaabe of their lifetimes, they both faced challenges. McGuire, Sr. and Morriseau demonstrated strength and vision to create changes that continue to impact their Anishinaabe relatives as well as others in Canada. In the case of McGuire, Sr., the changes stemmed from political organizing not before seen in Ontario but which continues to evolve. In the case of Morriseau, the art he created told the legacy stories that detail Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology. Both were well-known in their lives for the work they did ensuring Anishinaabe stories continued in spite of any challenges they encountered.

For McGuire Sr., this work included a 137-page manuscript with no chapter titles, called “My Life in the North.” This original manuscript was finished in 1987, although he started in in early 1986. Shortly before he died, he asked his youngest daughter to complete it. In the case of

Morriseau, this work included a publicly available 130-page book by Morriseau edited by Selwyn Dewdney and a collection of art (which was included on a CD that I was given permission to use from Vedas, who represents the Morriseau estate). In this Veda-approved information there were pictures Morriseau had completed and sketches demonstrating deeper understandings of Anishinaabe knowledge(s). I have included these as they are beautiful representations of Anishinaabe knowledge and serve as guideposts for understanding Anishinaabe resilience.

Anishinaabe concepts contained in my father's manuscript form the foundation for this dissertation. He asked me in June 1987 to complete this manuscript with my mother and daughter present. My mother, Anne McGuire (nee LeGarde) reminded me of this obligation in 2000. When I finally read it after thirteen years, it was a difficult process; yet I began to see a theoretical basis for utilizing his writing for my dissertation and meeting my responsibility to him. There was some cause for puzzlement as I was reading it as well. I could not understand why a fluent Anishinaabemowin speaker of at least six different dialects would choose to write stories about his life in northwestern Ontario in English.

Patrick McGuire, Sr. was socialized in the oral traditions of the Anishinaabe; he was raised on listening to stories of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. He was familiar with the oral transmission of many of these stories. Being his daughter and being the person told to finish this work, he started it created unique challenges for me. It was physically and emotionally demanding work. I can see why other scholars would want to study other cultures. It is easier to do so. There is not the angst of repeatedly checking that you have the stories which are life giving and respectful of people within your family and society. Before my father died in 1987, I was close to graduating with my first degree. My parents knew that I would continue on to graduate school. Judging from my father's reaction to my college graduation, he would have been pleased I did so. Challenges I faced in viewing and considering what stories to include were mostly of a personal basis, my father is dead and I am responsible for chronicling some of his life stories. It was physically and emotionally demanding work.

In my master's thesis in 2003, I chose to place his stories in the context of the Canadian economic development of northwestern Ontario. When I looked back at my thesis, I realized that what I had done was simply shape his stories to fit a Western construct of what the economic development and settlement of this area of Ontario entailed. I did not follow an Indigenous

knowledge framework, although I did argue for an alternative ontology and epistemology. In short, I did not do the job my father asked when he told me to finish his story. The stories he told were placed in an Anishinaabe context of stories. I had decontextualized these stories by placing them within the Canadian development of this area of Ontario. I am attempting to correct this now in this dissertation.

Using the works by Norval Morriseau provoked a different discussion related to Indigenous knowledge(s) of specific Anishinaabe communities surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. Norval Morriseau (1931-2007) is an internationally renowned artist. Morriseau was the originator of a unique style of painting, originally based on rock paintings and Anishinaabe stories. According to Hill (n.d.), Morriseau had “originated the pictographic style, (sic) or what is referred to as ‘Woodland Indian art’, ‘legend painting’ or ‘x-ray art’” (quotations in original article, first paragraph). In 2010, the Masters Gallery describes this as a fusion of European easel painting with Ojibwa Midewiwin Society scrolls and the pictography of rock paintings. He was introduced to the Canadian art establishment by the Pollock Gallery in the early 1960s.

Although well-known for portraying Anishinaabe stories in pictorial forms, Morriseau was responsible for preserving storied knowledge. The 1965 Morriseau and Dewdney book is a collection of Anishinaabe stories from around Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. In a personal conversation occurring on May 15, 2010, my mother said she remembers the Morriseau grandparents documenting Anishinaabe stories from around Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. She stated the Morriseau grandmother would write stories as they were being told to the grandfather, Potan. These stories detail events, experiences, lessons, ethics and creation stories. These are stories that teach about Anishinaabe knowledge(s).

The Anishinaabe stories documented deal with contemporary issues of Indigenous knowledge, ethics and intellectual property. I sought to find out what documents existed about the collaboration between Selwyn Dewdney (1909-1979) and Norval Morriseau (1931-2007) as they worked together editing this book. I searched for information, both in the Ontario and Canada archives. I have found no leads on any other written documentation that Morriseau left. Based on what my mother said about his grandparents collecting stories, I was hoping to find the original manuscript.

Morriseau has left a considerable detailed pictorial record of his representations of stories of the Anishinaabe of Lake Nipigon, Lake Superior and other areas. He was a prolific artist. His later years are ripe with influences that continue to be examined by his surviving family and others. Victoria Kakegamic, as Morriseau's eldest child, has directed family activities to establish a non-profit foundation to preserve and protect her father's legacy.

Dewdney (1909-1979) was associated with the Canadian Rock Art Association when he met Morriseau, according to the online Canadian Encyclopedia (2010). Brereton (2006) states Dewdney was a commercial artist and "a pioneering art therapist with his wife Irene" (p. 5). He was also an author hired to record pictographs and petroglyphs for the Royal Ontario Museum. Dewdney travelled to and traced hundreds of sites throughout Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta starting in 1957. He died in 1979.

Dewdney first met Morriseau in 1960. He recorded his memories of this meeting in an article for *Canadian Art* #83 in 1963. Dewdney, like Morriseau, was as influenced by his social and cultural context; Dewdney said of meeting Morriseau, "he clearly had no awareness of any source for his visual images outside of himself" (p. 1). Morriseau said to Dewdney "see, there's lots of stories that are told in Ojibway but that wasn't enough for me. I wanted to draw them — that's from my own self — my own idea what they look like" (cited in Dewdney 1963, p. 1). Dewdney established a friendship with Morriseau and the two embarked on a collaboration which resulted in Dewdney editing a book by Morriseau in 1965.

I was looking for the original manuscript for this book since my mother, Anne McGuire, first told me that the Morriseau grandparents had collected stories about Lake Nipigon. I mentioned this in passing to Armand Ruffo at a conference in 2007 after Morriseau's death. Ruffo is a professor at Carleton University and was then known to be writing an authorized biography about Morriseau. Ruffo said to contact curator Vivian Gray at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, a division of Aboriginal and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) in Gatineau, Quebec. I emailed Ms. Gray with my request. I received a prompt reply about how to access documents dealing with the collaboration between Morriseau and Dewdney.

Late in 2007, I made arrangements to go to Gatineau, Quebec to research Dewdney's papers at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre. In April 2008, as I arrived for my appointment, I met Vivian Gray and Doreen Vaillancourt, both of whom were extremely considerate of my request. They were knowledgeable about Morriseau and interested in what I was doing. I mentioned that I



was a member of Bingwa Neyaashi Anishinaabe, formally called Sandpoint Indian Reserve. This is where Morriseau had lived with his maternal grandfather, Moses Potan Nanakonagos and maternal grandmother, Theresa Grace Potan. According to the Morriseau Family Foundation, it is unclear where Morriseau was born. It could be Sandpoint Reserve or Fort William, Ontario (now called Thunder Bay). There are also different dates for his birth, 1931 and 1932. He was baptized in the Catholic Church in 1933.

At the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, as I was reading and copying sections from the Morriseau/ Dewdney manuscript, Gray told me the papers from this manuscript had been scanned onto a Compact Disk (CD), but that access to it would require permission from the Morriseau estate, which was still in the process of being settled. The Kinsman Art Gallery was suggested as a contact that could provide permission for access to this CD. This should have been a minor request.

The Kinsman Robinson Galleries enjoyed a close association with Morriseau. According to the Kinsman website, they acted as principal art dealers for Morriseau from 1989 until his death in 2007. This, of course, succeeded the sixteen-year art dealership contract with Jackson Pollack. Although Dewdney met Morriseau in 1960, Pollock is credited as the first to acknowledge Morriseau's work as a unique form of art in 1962, and he is credited as one of his discoverers in Red Lake, Ontario. Donald C. Robinson was a close friend to Morriseau and Gabe M. Vadas. I contacted the Kinsman Art Gallery in May 2008, but they did not reply immediately to my email, so I waited a couple of weeks. In June 2008, I followed up on my request with another email to the Kinsman gallery. Robinson contacted me on June 14, 2008, with the following information that said, "Gabe Vadas in Nanaimo, B.C. holds the copyright for Norval Morriseau's works and is now the only person with the authority to grant such permissions. Please send your request to Gabe Vadas." Robinson supplied an email address for Gabor M. Vadas. According to a CBC (2005) documentary, Vadas was the former street kid who befriended Morriseau in 1987 and became his business manager. Morriseau later adopted Vadas as his customary son; this meant that Morriseau had chosen Vadas to teach. According to Morriseau's obituary, Morriseau was living with Vadas in British Columbia, despite the fact he died in Toronto, Ontario. Vadas and his wife Michelle were caretakers of Morriseau as Morriseau developed Parkinson's disease and required extensive care. After Morriseau died, his children challenged the funeral and burial arrangements made by Vadas. His children, Victoria

Kakegamic, Pierre, Michael, Eugene, Christian, Lisa and David Morriseau, determined their father should be buried beside his wife, Harriet. Their maternal family has familial relationships with the Keewaywin reserve. The judge agreed Morriseau should be buried by his wife, and this is where his gravesite is today.

On June 16, 2008, I contacted the email address supplied to me for Gabe Vadas only to discover that the address did not exist. I contacted the Kinsman's Art Gallery once again for the Vadas address and received an apology and another similar email address. On June 17, 2008, I forwarded another email to Gabor M. Vadas. This time the email did not come back, and I did not receive a reply. The same email was forwarded a couple of weeks later, again with no reply. I forwarded all emails to Vivian Gray at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre with Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, as I wanted her to know I was taking all reasonable efforts for permission to access the Dewdney manuscript on CD. Vivian Grey said that they were legally bound to allow access to these documents only by permission from the Morriseau estate. Throughout 2008, I never received a response to my emails to Vadas. I assumed that this was a dead end for getting access to these documents.

In July 2008, the Red Lake Regional Heritage Center hosted the "Red Lake Woodlands Festival: A Tribute to Norval Morriseau and the Woodland Artists." I attended, as I wanted to know what exactly was happening with his estate and if this was the only legal way to get approval to access the Dewdney and Morriseau papers. I found out this was indeed the process. Yet, travelling to Red Lake, Ontario was a rewarding experience in other ways. Morriseau was discovered as he was working in a mine by Red Lake, Ontario. His wife Harriet Morriseau (nee Kakagamik) was from Sandy Lake First Nation in Ontario. Morriseau's influence on other artists from the Red Lake area was immense. This event brought together a host of people concerned with Morriseau's art: Kinsman Robinson Art Gallery and other Toronto art gallery representatives, biographers, art experts, Woodland artists, Triple K Cooperative members, representatives from the Royal Ontario Museum, Community Arts Ontario, Anishinaabe who knew him when he lived in Red Lake, Ontario, and more importantly, his children and grandchildren from Sandy Lake First Nation. It was an extraordinarily moving experience to witness his children being honoured and recognized. In Anishinaabe culture, it is one's children who carry on the family, community values, ethics and knowledge(s). It is the children who have the responsibility to do this as a way of meeting the future prepared with the knowledge of the

past. A number of the Morriseau children have carried on in the art tradition established by their father and are artists in their own right. At the festival, one of Morriseau's sons and one of his grandsons were also presenting their work as artists.

In February 1, 2010, in another effort to secure access to the Dewdney and Morriseau manuscript, I decided to try direct contact with the Dewdney family. I searched and found that Dewdney's memoirs were edited by his son, Keewatin. The collaboration with Morriseau was not mentioned in the memoirs of the life Dewdney had in northwestern Ontario. I contacted Dewdney by email. I introduced myself and informed him I was writing a dissertation about my community. In this 2010 email, I said, "Norval Morriseau collected stories from this area and your dad edited the book... This was done in 1965. Would you know where the original manuscripts of this work went to? In the introduction, two manuscripts are mentioned." I did not receive a reply for a couple of weeks. On February 16, 2010, I received an email from Patricia Dewdney, who is his wife; she wrote, "Almost all of Selwyn Dewdney's non-fiction manuscripts were donated to the Archives of the University of Western Ontario... it is more likely that, if any manuscript remains, it went with some other papers relating to Morriseau and with some drawings to the National Gallery of Canada." On March 1, 2010, I replied to this email with appreciation and thanks. I also told her why I was looking for any papers related to this book. Ms. Dewdney was very helpful.

On April 29, 2010, I decided to make another effort to gain access to the Dewdney manuscript. I contacted Ms. Grey, at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre. In this email, I mentioned the following:

1. I was from Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabe, formally called Sandpoint Indian Reserve, my mother's community;
2. Norval Morriseau was from this community
3. The stories Norval Morriseau wrote about were from my community
4. The Morriseau stories contained in this compact disk would help me with my dissertation as my dissertation was about my community.

I asked whether or not the issues surrounding obtaining a copy of Dewdney manuscript were able to be settled. I ended the email by asking whose permission I needed to access "this CD on stories that Norval's family wrote down from my community?" and said that I would appreciate any assistance offered. I received a response May 3, 2010; Ms. Gray forwarded greetings and

said that, “I sent your request to Gabe Vadas in BC and I will follow up at the end of this week to see what we can do.” When I read this, my first thought was that I would have to find other means to get access to this Compact Disc.

I wrote to Ms. Gray on May 4, 2010 with appreciation for her efforts on my behalf. In addition, I wrote in this email, “This truly is a unique situation in terms of Indigenous knowledge and intellectual property for me...I am forced to ask someone outside and not connected to my community for permission to access how stories from my community were written down.” I again thanked her for her ongoing candor surrounding these issues. Ms. Gray and her staff consistently supported my efforts to write about my home community. Again, I mentioned that I had contacted Mr. Vadas with no reply. It was with some surprise that I received a May 7, 2010 response from Ms. Gray asking for my address, as Mr. Vadas had approved my request. She received the following email message:

You have my permission to access the CD in the Resource Library with the Dewdney Manuscript – re Norval’s first book “Legends of my People”. Kind Regards, Gabe Vadas.

I forwarded my address and thanked her once again. I told her that once I was finished my dissertation, I would forward a copy to her. I began writing this section at this time.

#### **4.7 Selection of Stories**

When I was exploring ideas to write about and examining stories from Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, which is in Robinson-Superior 1850 territory, the topic of Treaty #60 was paramount. I knew secondary unpublished source materials were available, since I had heard accounts of Anishinaabe writing and being interviewed, especially members of my family. When I decided to write about my home area and Indigenous knowledge of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, my father’s manuscript and this Morriveau book came to mind. While I was searching for ideas, my mother continually reminded me of my obligation for finishing what my father started in his manuscript. These two works, McGuire Sr. (1987) and Morriveau and Dewdney (1965), are well known in this areas as being sources of Indigenous knowledge. These books written by Anishinaabe with recognized knowledge provided ways of looking at Anishinaabe knowledge(s) surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior.

My research on resilience was explored in three main ways: as part of my life understanding, as part of a literature review and as part of a contemplation of specific written

Anishinaabe knowledge(s) from Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. How did I select stories to include in my dissertation? As I re-examine how I began writing my dissertation, I realize inadvertently the stories of McGuire Sr. and Morriseau, that is data collection, affected my analysis throughout this process. The impact of these stories on how I view the world has been immense. I have been familiar with these stories for a long time. It is not surprising I would have already formed ideas about data analysis while doing data collection.

The continued resilience of the Anishinaabe communities in these stories was of the highest importance. I selected specific stories depicted in the work of McGuire, Sr. and Morriseau that demonstrated Anishinaabe resilience, such stories were significant enough to McGuire, Sr. that he recorded them in written form whereas Morriseau recorded stories in visual formats. A wide assortment of stories in the works of McGuire, Sr. and Morriseau, detail features of Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin; I selected and focused on stories that demonstrate resilience and Indigenous knowledge(s). Once I selected stories, I asked my mother and family for feedback on these stories. The background on both knowledge holders will be presented, as this represents the social, political, historical and cultural contexts both McGuire Sr. and Morriseau found themselves in.

These stories represent Anishinaabe knowledge(s) and demonstrate Anishinaabe resilience. Part of my story of coming to know about Anishinaabe knowledge and resilience was based on these stories. Throughout this whole process, I put tobacco down for guidance, prayed and sometimes made a small feast. I asked for help with these stories so that this work would be empowering to people. Since I started the process of writing, this was what I did. To select stories I performed multiple readings of all of those written by McGuire Sr. and drawn and painted by Morriseau. The rationale for designing this research and utilizing the writings of Anishinaabe from Lake Nipigon will now be discussed within an Indigenous knowledge framework.

#### **4.8 Indigenous Knowledge, Resilience, Reflexivity and Grounded Theory**

Sociological theories are successful when people recognize themselves as part of the knowledge. For example, Ninjichaag (my spirituality, my spiritual essence) is acknowledged on a daily basis. Ninjichaag (my spirit), which Barnes (2003) discusses as spiritual resistance, is a large part of who I am; it helps me understand and make sense of my world. My social world is imbued with Manitou (spirit). In a work published in 1995, Johnson discussed what Manitou comprises; he said that, depending on the context, it involves what is “mystery, spiritual, mystical, supernatural, godlike or spirit like, quiddity, essence. It is in these other senses that the term is often used and is to be understood, not just in the context of Manitou beings” (n.p). My family and community socialized me in an environment where I knew that another world existed in my dreams and visions. An essential element of exploring Anishinaabe knowledge(s) and contemplation of what comprises Anishinaabe truth is spirituality. When reflecting on Anishinaabe knowledge and resilience, it is important to engage in a personal reflexive discussion of spirituality and related ceremonial understandings. This is part of the process, Indigenous scholars Absolon (2009), Absolon and Willett (2004, 2005), Frederiks (2008) describe as, coming to know. According to them, your personal contextual understanding becomes part of the knowledge you are creating. Our affective spiritual nature is part of who we are as human beings.

Nii Kishebakabaykwe Bizhiw dodem Animbiigoo Zaaga’igan. My Anishinaabe ezhinikaazoyin (name) means “a women standing in a snow whirlwind”. As mentioned, I received this name from Jeff Chiefabun from Wabigoon after I was very sick. Like Absolon (2011), I have been taught to speak about myself and my community based on my experience and understanding that I have been taught by other Anishinaabe in my society. Speaking from my personal experience is part of privileging my Anishinaabe societal knowledge(s). It ensures what results follows community cultural protocols as well as values and beliefs I have been taught about the world. I ensure that my community’s stories are told in a respectful manner so as to balance what has already been written. I accepted my family and community obligation and responsibility to exploring Anishinaabe knowledge(s) so I must ensure this is based on Anishinaabe ethics and worldview.

Bouchard and Martin (2009) communicate the Niizhwaaswi Gagiikwewin (Seven Grandfather teachings), Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin (Anishinaabe knowledge) and the Manitou

Minjimendamowin (spirit memories) accompanying many Anishinaabe teachings. I must ensure what is written creates an awareness of my community and generates a curiosity in different audiences to learn more. Community members can use what is written and add to this story that we, as Indigenous peoples from Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, have to tell. I have taken these as my responsibilities and my obligations. It is time that this story and other similar stories are told. In this way, Indigenous scholars meet our responsibilities to generations other than this one. In my Master's thesis, I discussed contemporary tools available to ensure stories from our perspective are told and continued. This provided counter-balance to the current historical record as well as to add to the resurgence of Indigenous knowledge(s).

Scholarly contemplation is different when I place myself in Nii Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin (my Indigenous knowledge). When I do this I feel a sense of personal responsibility to tell the truth as best as I know it based on people who taught me within my community. I have to honour my teachers, especially those who have died. As I reread each page I remember conversations with Dr. Monture and how we discussed responsibility in relation to learning and knowledge, and the innate cautiousness one must exercise in writing aspects of Indigenous knowledge(s). My truth and self within a community context becomes an overriding consideration, so I have to consider and reconsider what I am doing and why. Relational and interconnectedness exist within my community by speaking from your experience and using that as your basis in telling your story. My social world is comprised of how I think about the world, so my world view is paramount in this consideration.

#### **4.9 Knowledge and Stories**

Indigenous knowledge production and social transformation(s) are related by the need to develop and appreciate other ways of knowing, seeing and doing. Barth (2002) maintains that there are three aspects of knowledge that can be analytically distinguished. First, any tradition of knowledge contains a corpus of substantive assertions and ideas about aspects of the world. Second, these assertions and ideas must be communicated in one or several media as a series of partial representations in the form of words, concrete symbols, pointing gestures, actions. And third, these ideas will be distributed, communicated, employed, and transmitted within a series of instituted social relations. Barth argues that these three faces of knowledge are interconnected within various societies. Indigenous scholars have begun a process of exploring exactly how

knowledge is produced and transmitted in a culturally based manner that is similar to what Barth is identifying.

In light of the nature of knowledge practices, as Barth discusses, it is clear that structural power requires one to exercise considerable reflexivity when doing or planning ethical research, that is, research in accordance with principles and values of ethics. Meadows, Legendyk, Thurston and Eisener (2003), R. Innes (2004), Rose (2005), Long and LaFrance (2004), Lovelace (2004), Arbour and Cook (2006), and Brown and Stega (2005) maintain that power relations permeate the construction and legitimization of knowledge. Brown and Stega say, "...the question of the researcher's location and political commitments, which are obscured by methodological claims to objectivity, neutrality and gender and race-blindness must be taken up." Indigenous academics appreciate that meaningful research requires discussions of worldviews in order to accurately portray Indigenous social life.

Knowing who I am and where I came from gives me a solid foundation in my life. This is part of the process of creating Anishinaabe knowledge(s). It is the chief consideration in Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology. This knowing establishes my contextual frame. It provides perspective on how my life has been affected by social and political happenings. Like other Indigenous scholars—Cajete (1994), Hart (2002), Absolon & Willett (2005), Kovach (2005, 2006), and Wilson S (2008)—have stated, it is this base that nurtures, heals and is nourishing as we do our work. Like other scholars writing about their home communities, this foundation stabilizes me and is a place that I return to frequently to replenish my spirit.

Writing as an engaged human being who happens to identify as an Indigenous and/or Aboriginal scholar is described by Monture-Angus (1995) as exploring contradictions. Other Indigenous scholars such as LaRocque (1999) describe this writing as engaged research. Hernandez (1999) discusses Mokakssini, which means "self-consciousness" or "a deep connected awareness". Cajete (2000) says such writing is writing your true self. Hart (2002) calls this "remembering where I came from." Garroue (2003) refers to this writing as a Radical Indigenism. Absolon (2009) says it was locating self and experiences. Kovach (2006) calls this relational, and McLeod (2007) calls it Nehiyawiwin Cree-ness. Farrell (2008) discusses Anishinaabe Kakanjegawin, which means "to know". Archibald (2008) refers to this as storywork, while Wilson (2003) refers to it as relational accountability; and E. Baker (2009) refers to this as a loving perception of Indianness. I call this Anishinaabe truth (McGuire, 2005).



Some of these Indigenous scholars speak the language of their communities and some speak dominant languages; yet, to some extent, all speak the language of colonialism since they respond in their work to the impacts colonialism has had on their respective communities and scholarship.

Anishinaabe knowledge is based on you and how you have come to know. My personal and communal reflexivity will be especially important as I am writing about the knowledge(s) of my home area. In particular, Anishinaabe knowledge is based on specific views of knowledge(s). Anishinaabe philosophy and worldview maintain the interdependence human beings have to the land, and this dependence has led to specific knowledge(s) that has developed over time. Related to and flowing from their own descriptions, explanations and analysis of the world and their way of being in it, the Anishinaabe would be at ease with a research methodology based on information gathered through the telling of a story. Cultural stories serve as a basis for creating and recreating key community relationships. These relationships are made, valued and transmitted through the telling of stories. In this chapter, stories will be used as the starting point to introduce Anishinaabe ontology, epistemology, and research methodology grounded in Indigenous understandings. Experience-based knowledge is related to stories. I will demonstrate aspects of grounded knowledge and knowledge creation by telling a personal story about a gift of a buffalo hide and the new knowledge, relationships and life transitions the story embodies.

Writing does not come easy to me. As I am researching and writing, I have found that I have to work on something unrelated to writing. This means making something else. Since I started my dissertation, I have made beadwork, snowshoes, sweet grass baskets, and many other items. In 2010, my friend, Albert Hunter, from Manitou Rapids, Ontario called. He asked me if I wanted a buffalo hide. A couple of days later, it was delivered by Sandra Indian in Thunder Bay. As I was wondering how I was going to tan this buffalo, I realized I just had to begin. In MacDiarmid, Ontario, my paternal aunts produced beautiful and intricate works of beadwork on home-tanned leather. My grandmothers on my father's side were known for this work. In fact, I am still searching for beadwork my great great-grandmother had done and which mistakenly was taken to some museum.

I thought of giving a gift to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Monture. This gift had to be something meaningful. Working buffalo skin was strenuous work and required ingenuity. My family helped me. My brother, Sullivan, made me a new knife handle so that I could work the

hide and get the fat off of it. My mother gave me stories and support. In the process of working this buffalo hide, I was given knowledge stories about creativity, community, and language as well as stories about the buffalo. I discovered even though I was living in Thunder Bay, there was a strong sense of community and of Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin

I began envisioning a soft down-like buffalo robe. When I received it, it had been salted raw; and, while it was the hide of a young buffalo, it was huge. I stored it in my sister's freezer. Anishinaabe in this area of Northern Ontario knew buffalo. Isenberg (2000) and Saskatchewan (2010) discusses how the buffalo used to live closer to our communities at one time. One of their names was mashkode bizhiki (prairie level ground buffalo); another is ishkode bizhiki (fire buffalo) and Manidoo bizhiki (spirit buffalo). There were good associations with the buffalo, as well; it was considered sacred and regarded as a medicine being. Jeff Chiefabun, in a 1990 conversation in Thunder Bay, gave stories about how the buffalo was a powerful medicine and had to be used with care and consideration.

When I picked the hide up from my sister's house, I placed it in a large upright container with a lid. My nephew, Chalkie, carried it to my truck. The container was too big for my vehicle so it was placed on its side. At my first stop, it was rolling around the back so I stopped and placed a basket in front of it so the rolling motion would stop. I promised it after this rough beginning it would be taken care of. When I got home, I made a fire in my back yard. I used sweet grass to smudge the hide and offered prayers as I began to take the salt off of the hide. It was difficult to move around because of its weight. The process was labour intensive. I made a small platform to keep the hide off of the ground. I gathered materials to help in this process, plywood, chairs, fire materials, etc. I then wrestled the hide from my vehicle over to the back of my yard. I carried the water to continue to wash the salt off of the hide. My friend, Frances Trowsse, showed up with tea. Both of us began washing it and carrying more water to soak it. I started a video record of what we were doing and took pictures. We left it to soak overnight, and the next day I changed the rust-coloured water, which reminded me of Miskwi Onamon (red ochre).

The water needs to run off the hide. It must then be wrung out. After this, it is time to either stretch it on a piece of plywood with it nailed down or stretch it on a frame with rope looped around it. My father used to trap and hunt when I was a child. I watched him because it was interesting, and I got to hear some good stories. He was a cranky man, so it was a fine

balance spending time with him. When he argued with me, I knew it was time to do something else. Once he was skinning a bear; I was beside him asking questions as he showed me how to skin it so that the hide was not damaged. My father told stories about why our family does not eat bear. He said that when the hide is removed, the bear takes on a human shape. The bear is closely related to us as Anishinaabe, although there are some who eat bear. I remember stories as I am working on this buffalo hide.

The water was changed, and it ran rust red, again. The buffalo must be medicine for the blood to be so much like the earth. The buffalo is sacred. I am seeing in a spirit way, Manitou Waabinwin, as it is almost like the buffalo is helping me with this process of making a buffalo hide robe. I cannot smell anything bad. My nephew Vincent was helping me that day. I asked his daughter Jamie to help. I described how soft the fur would be after this process was finished.

My family and I went for Remembrance Day ceremonies on Fort William First Nation in 2010. I woke up early and sang a song of thanksgiving and prayed. My granddaughter stayed over so we could make wreaths for our family members who fought overseas in the wars as well as other foreign conflicts. As we waited for the ceremony to begin, I heard breathing beside me. Bzindamowin, the spirits are teaching me to learn by listening, as this breathing continued, and I realized after I looked around that there was no animal around. Mount McKay is a landform in northwestern Ontario that is the subject of many stories from different communities in the area. It is considered sacred land. The mountain is shaped like a huge drum. Many ceremonies are conducted on this land. It is appropriate that veteran's ceremonies occur by the top of it every year. Fort William First Nation invites people to Mount McKay, and the community hosts a feast immediately after. Frank Bannon, who died in 2010, started these ceremonies to heal himself and to remember the people from Fort William and northwestern Ontario who honoured our agreements with the Queen by fighting overseas.

Later that day, my mother talked to my brother Patrick, and he mentioned some hints to her regarding the stretching of buffalo hide. I laughed, as I had not talked to my mother about this. My brother, Sullivan, said he would help with making the frame for stretching the hide. I told him how big I wanted it and how it would be supported on each side. It is a huge, eight feet by eight feet frame. My brother and I finished with the frame. Somehow my family always finds a way to help me with what I am doing. As I struggle to remember how my father taught me to stretch furs, I remember the laughter and stories.

The hide was still being cleaned. I was hoping to be able to hang it that day. Three days went by and I still had not had the time to hang the buffalo skin. Life was intruding on my plans once again. I was worried that the buffalo skin was soaking too long. The hair would be affected by this; and if this occurs, the hair will start falling out. Then I will have to make buffalo leather and use the fur for wool rather than a buffalo robe. The plus side is I can make drums, moccasins, purses and other things with the hide.

I called my brother, Sullivan, during the next weekend and asked if he could come and help me. We dragged the skin to the back of my yard behind the shed. I washed it a couple of more times and checked the fur to ensure it was not coming off. We made a larger platform so it was laid out so we could see how to place it on the frame. After some disagreements about our memories of our father taking care of fur when he was trapping, we decided on a course of action. My brother and I began to string the buffalo hide. He made a fire. It was a nice day. My brother left, and I continued stringing the hide around the frame. I finished and put everything away we had used. My nephew, Vincent, came to help me place the hide up against my sled so I could start working to get the fat and rest of the meat off of it. It began to rain and snow as we were doing this. I remembered my mother telling me that taking the fat off was easier when the hide was a little frozen.

On a Sunday morning, my brother Patrick called. I told him how I prepared it with my brother Sullivan. He said if I wanted to remove the hair, I could place it in swamp water and the hair would fall right off. I told him I wanted to make a rug and tan the hide. I told him I was researching what chemical process I would need to tan the hide, as I could not brain tan the hide since I had no moose brain to use to condition the hide with. He said, "I have a moose brain in my freezer." We made arrangements to meet later back home in MacDiarmid on Lake Nipigon.

I went outside and started removing the meat from the flesh of the hide. I worked all afternoon doing this. I started a fire outside and burned some old cedar I had in the house and made offerings to my ancestors and friends who have died. I used kinnick-kinnick, a tobacco-like herb without nicotine or other dangerous chemicals. I put the kinnick-kinnick in the fire as a form of prayer offering. I finished taking the meat off the hide and stopped for the day, as my hands were sore and blistered. I cleaned up. The meat and fat I removed from the hide, I placed in a bag to freeze and to put out in the bush for animals. The fat from the buffalo hump will be made into a fat used to condition the hide. This is about a quarter done now as the white of the

hide shows through. After this, the hide has to be conditioned for a couple of weeks so that the fur will be soft and the hide will be as flexible as cloth. That is my hope.

In 2010, I realized that the buffalo is medicine because it is close to the earth and eats all kinds of medicine plants. It makes its own thunder, and one of its names is Animikii Mushkiki (Thunder Medicine). It was said, that the sound that the buffalo made as it went over the earth healed the earth. All of creation is interconnected. The ground in what became Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta must be sacred, as so much buffalo blood was spilled on that land. Isenberg (2000) states the buffalo were severely affected by colonialist policies as they were targeted for extinction by the developing Canadian government. W. Baker (1988) claims the buffalo were seen as an obstruction to the railways and because of this they threatened to interfere with the immigration of people across the land, which was necessary for the creation of Canada. There are pictures of huge piles of buffalo skulls from this time at Library and Archives Canada.

In early fall, 2010 something has been waking me up early in the morning between the hours of three and five o'clock. I was blaming the people across the street. Yesterday, when I woke up, I heard a drum sound once beside me. It was not the drum I take care of. This drum just sounded once at the same height as my bed. The winter spirits are awake now. It started snowing two days ago, and the snow has stayed on the ground. The bears are sleeping, and the geese are gone. New birds are showing up outside my window. I don't know why this drum sounded beside me.

The drum is called Odewegan. "Ode" means "heart," and I have always thought this means "heart sounds." Up to this time, as I was writing this dissertation, I have not dreamed of anything to do with it, be it the writing, the people or the topics discussed. I have been worried about this as I wondered if I should be writing about Anishinaabe knowledge. What has kept me going is the Anishinaabe in this area asking me about my dissertation as well as the support I received from community members. My friends and family in MacDiarmid as well as other Anishinaabe have offered me advice and family stories; they have hugged me and encouraged me. Other Anishinaabe have told me that once I am finished my dissertation I must tell their community story, to which I have replied, "No, but I will help you do it." I am on the right path. Now I just have to figure out what the drum was saying.

In November 2010, I tried to contact Dr. Monture and could not. I contacted the sociology department. I found out she been in the hospital since October 31, 2010. I went back home to see Lake Nipigon and visit my brother. He gave me the moose brain, and we discussed different ways to prepare the hide for the next stage of this project. I told him I was about a half-finished removing the fat. I said I will contact him before it is smoked.

Today is November 17, 2010. I got a call tonight from Walter Linklater telling me that Dr. Monture died at the hospital. Maria Horse-Linklater and Theresa Linklater were with her. Maria Linklater called me as soon as she got back from the hospital and told me how she died. I was overwhelmed with sadness. Yesterday, my daughter's friend asked what I was going to do with the buffalo robe when it was finished, and I told her it was a gift for Dr. Monture. I went outside to work on the hide. It was cold last night, and it was relatively easy to get the inner fat off. I made a mistake when I was taking the fat off close to the edge and accidentally cut the hide. Before the next stage, when I thaw it out, I will have to sew this up. I also broke the knife I borrowed from my brother. I was forced to stop working on the hide. Now I have to look for a knife blade or another knife with a curved blade. It is cold and the knife may have broken due to fatigue. It just snapped, so there was no warning. Rather than taking me away from the events playing out in my life, this work on the buffalo hide reminded me of them.

My mother was right. It is easy to work on the hide when it is a little bit frozen. If it gets colder, I will have to clear everything out of my shed so that I can work on it inside. I have just come inside after removing some fat from the buffalo hide. It is raining and snowing outside. It is a warm day, and the hide has thawed out again. Stories I heard about the buffalo and memories of standing beside my father as he was removing the hides from various animals come to mind. This is healing work, Manitou Minjimendamowin (spirit memories) and is Anishinaabe knowledge. When I first heard of Dr. Monture's death, I went in my backyard, made a fire, burnt cedar, sweet grass and offered tobacco as I worked on taking the fat off of the hide. I thought about her gift as I made arrangements to travel to her funeral.

Dr. Monture's funeral is two days from now. There is no doubt that I will go, but where, to Saskatoon or London? Saskatoon makes most sense, as I can meet my new supervisor. Dr. Monture has already talked to Dr. Dell. Dr. Monture understood about what other Indigenous scholars had attempted and why. Discussions of Indigenous knowledge(s) are recent phenomena,

and most scholars are not aware of its ramifications in their respective fields. I trusted in Dr. Monture's judgment and talked to Dr. Dell.

I checked the weather channel and Saskatoon is not in the picture this week for me. I booked a flight to Toronto and drove from Toronto to Dr. Monture's funeral in London, Ontario with some lawyers and court workers, including my cousin, Shelly Vanderhoof, who works in community law in Toronto. I needed to go to Dr. Monture's funeral. I saw Dr. Monture just last December in Saskatoon. Her funeral was beautiful. There were many songs. It felt good to sing with my cousin, Shelly and with my friend, Leslie. The ceremony was conducted by Dan and Marylou Smoke. It was a meaningful way to let Dr. Monture go onto her next journey. I talked to her eldest son and told him I was making a gift for his mother and I would come to visit him.

On November 25, 2010, I was asked to speak at an Ontario Native Women's Association event planned for the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women. I talked about Dr. Monture and Kathleen Monture, colonialism and Indigenous women's responsibilities. It was difficult to speak of these beautiful women, but I will continue to do so. I share this responsibility with many people who will continue to talk about how their lives impacted others.

At this event, as I was finishing speaking, the women around the drum performed a song, and I went and greeted each of them. After a break, they approached me and asked me my grandmother's name, to which I replied, Kigish-abun. I found out we had the same grandmother. I met my family from my great Aunt Ella and great Uncle Donald. They are social activists. These women have organized the longest blockade in Canadian history, which aimed at preventing clear cutting in the area of Grassy Narrows, Ontario and has lasted over eleven years. They have been adamant that the land the Creator gave to the Anishinaabe be protected. The ongoing blockade is meant to protect the forest and waters surrounding their homes. They are part of Treaty #3 and demand the spirit and intent of the treaty be honoured by Canada and Ontario. They are Ogima Kwe, women leaders. I was told by my father to search for our relatives, and it is appropriate this happened when it did.

I ordered an ulu, a knife the Inuit use to remove hide from animals, and it arrived. My brother, Sullivan, is making a handle for me. This knife is perfect for cleaning hides and removing the inner fat. Now, the buffalo hide is frozen and there is a layer of ice on it. My mother says Anishinaabe would do this work on hides in the spring time, as it gets warm and

freezes again in the same day. These temperatures help with the process of cleaning and making hides into forms of leather and robes. It is too cold now to do this work.

Late in the spring of 2011, someone attempted to take the hide off of the hanging frame. In 2012, I broke my arm and could not redo it. In 2013, the hair will be taken off and I will be making tanned items. Working on this buffalo has caused me to consider knowledge in a more intimate manner. I began considering how knowledge is created and maintained with families and communities. I began considering how to share knowledge by stories. Ceremonial knowledge was part of working on this buffalo grounded in stories of my home.

#### **4.10 Ceremonial World: Anishinaabe Philosophy, Ontology and Epistemology**

My friend, Sandra Kakeeway, and I used to visit Walter and Maria Linklater in Thunder Bay, Ontario. They were friends of my mother and father. They were well known for knowing and teaching people about ceremonial and spiritual knowledge. Ceremonies were part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe by Chi Manitou (the Creator). The knowledge itself is called Kiimiingona manda Gikendaaswin (Original Instructions given to the Anishinaabe by Chi-Manitou). The Linklaters established relationships with older Anishinaabe and were taught this particular knowledge. They taught Sandra and me about what they were learning. The gift of the Sweat Lodge was given to them as well as other ceremonies dealing with Creation, including the Pipe and the Drum. This is a practiced knowledge that occurred every day as the new day and life are welcomed.

My parents and other older people from my community provided me with a solid foundation of stories from Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. This enabled me to listen to and learn from later teachers. I talked to my parents about learning about ceremonies before I began. My parents instructed me how to learn with a discerning nature while remaining respectful. My parents specified I trust my intuition as I was doing so. They also began relating stories about ceremonies to me. I would not have heard about my grandfather and grandmother's medicine stories if I was not on this path of learning. I was taught by my parents that I would know when something fit into my life. The first lessons taught were about Mino-Bimadiziwin (the practice of living a good life in balance).

Walter Linklater would talk about Mino-Bimadiziwin, as well and how your Anishinaabe identity relates to how you live your life. He was the first Chic Akiwenzi, old learned man, who taught using a circle as a way to communicate these conceptual understanding(s) of the



Anishinaabe world to Kakeeway and I. He and his wife, Maria Horse-Linklater demonstrated how making choices and decisions and taking personal responsibility for them taught one how to live a good Anishinaabe life. These two aspects of life practice—personal responsibility and making choices—are the critical components of an Anishinaabe worldview.

I had always known life follows a cyclical pattern, as my parents and brothers spoke about cyclical patterns as part of land management on the trap line and as part of their hunting practices. My father would talk about yearly cycles of fish, as well. The Linklaters taught stories about Anishinaabe Bimaadiziwin (Anishinaabe ceremonial life), by teaching about sharing circles. These circles are sometimes called medicine wheel teachings. These teachings were supplemented by information that Giimas, Jeff Chiefabun related to me, when I asked him about this topic. Kakeeway and I were instructed on the placement and meanings given to specific sacred objects in your medicine bundle. We were instructed how the circles are conducted, how meanings are given to different circles and how these meanings can inform how healing could happen. Instruction was given regarding who could be given the responsibility to conduct circles, what bundles they carried, and what responsibilities were assumed. Responsibility, humility and using your commonsense were topics emphasized. Hart (2002) described this ceremonial world as being comprised of teachings of the medicine wheel, sacred circle, sacred lodges, journey of life, and red road. These ceremonial knowledge(s) accompanied the instructions of circles by the Walter and Maria Linklater in the 1980s.

The idea of a journey to living a good life is an integral part of the Anishinaabe worldview. Morriseau and Dewdney (1965), Schwartz and Morriseau (1969), Benton-Benai (1988), Johnston (1976, 1990, 2003), Schenck (1997), Rheault (1999), Toulouse (2001), Gross (2002, 2003), Farrell (2008), and my writing in (2003, 2007, 2009, 2010) discuss aspects of the Anishinaabe worldview. It is a basic understanding of how the Anishinaabe view one's purpose in living. Johnston (1976, 1990, 1995, 2003), Benton-Benai (1988) and Rheault (1999) describe how living a good life is the goal of life. Johnston (1995) is instructive about the interrelated and interdependent nature of this process for the Anishinaabe; he also discusses the communal spirit and ways of life.

Personal independence and responsibility are part of the practice of Mino-Bimaadiziwin, and this focus on self-development is not isolated from the interests of the collective Anishinaabe society. Johnston (1995) further discusses how the practice of Mino-Bimaadiziwin provided

Anishinaabe with a sense of obligation to the community and with the idea that one must give back to society for benefits received. Johnston says, “Anishinaubae (sic) was considered to be owed to the entire heritage of the community and nation, and each person was bound to return something to his or her heritage and so add to its worth” (p. xix). Johnston describes the need for healthy, strong individuals in Anishinaabe society, and he instructs how Anishinaabe were socialized to consider their contribution and obligation to the welfare of their overall society.

Brant-Castellano (2004) states that ethical consideration “refers to rules of conduct that express and reinforce important social and culture values of a society” (p. 99). Brant-Castellano contends that ethical living necessarily involves “the rules of right behavior, [which] are intimately related to who you are, the deep values you subscribe to, and your understanding of your place in the spiritual order of reality” (p.103). Anishinaabe are put on this earth to live their lives in Mino-bimaadiziwin, the good, respectful life. Rheault (1999) maintains, “when referring to Mino-Bimaadiziwin it is understood that the spirit is the essence and the way of being” (p. 68). The overarching goal is respect for all life forms. Johnston (1995) maintains that inherent in this view of living are the social and subjective connections and relationships that exist within Anishinaabe societies. These connections and relationships are informed by our practice of living, our ethics, our knowledge(s) and the spiritual and ceremonial basis from which they originate.

The Anishinaabe refer to this ethical framework as the Seven Grandfathers’ Teachings. This is because of the story that accompanies them when they are communicated; this ethical framework includes the virtues of bravery, wisdom, love, respect, honesty, humility and truth. The first time I heard the story of these teachings was in a conversation with Barb Riley, an Odawa (Ojibwa) Elder in 1996 at a Wunska Native Social Work Educators training session at Little Shuwap Lake, British Columbia. This was the first time the entire story of traditional Anishinaabe ethics was presented as a story of ethics applying to living a good life. These teachings were embodied by many of my family members, including my parents, as well as by Walter and Maria Linklater, who regarded these teachings as the ethical practice of living. Rheault (1999), Farrell (2008), Absolon (2011) and myself (2003, 2007, 2009, 2010) present overviews of Anishinaabe ethics and ontology. Rheault (1999), like Johnston (1976, 1990, 1995, 2003) and Gross (2002, 2003), state that Anishinaabe stories shape our perceptions of the world and influence the philosophical concepts we develop and ensure are transmitted. Stories tell us

how to be in the world. Ethical lessons are contained within these stories. Influencing this ethical framework is Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin (Anishinaabe knowledge). This relates, as well to ethical protocols being developed by and in relation to research and work with Indigenous communities.

There are different features of knowledge associated with this ethical framework. Benton-Benai (1988), Rheault (1999), and Johnston (1995) maintain that knowledge is viewed as an integral part of one's self. Knowledge is not something outside of you. Knowledge production is a living, on-going process experienced as part of Mino-bimaadiziwin. Benton-Benai (1988), Johnston (1995) and Rheault (1999) argue that knowledge viewed in this way means there is no objective sense of knowledge. You are part of the knowledge process, and as you learn you are in the process of becoming and engaging in the collective knowledge process.

Self-knowledge plays a large role in the inner life of the Anishinaabe, and process-based knowledge creation is the basis for learning about the world. This means describing the teachings you were given. In this way, Anishinaabe ideas about knowledge and relationships are presented. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) state that "a paradigm may be viewed as a set of beliefs (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimate or first principles" (p. 26). Like Wilson S (2008), Denzin and Lincoln contend that paradigms comprise the worldviews, which defines for the individual or the collective, the relationships that can be established in the world and their place in it. A reflective inquiry paradigm defines something similar for researchers. It specifies what the research process is and considers where they are in their social world: it sets the parameters for legitimate inquiry. How the world and others respond to someone and how intimate familial and social relationships define one's place in the world are considered.

Benton-Benai (1988), Johnston (1990), Rheault (1999), Farrell (2008) and Toulouse (2001) discuss the practice of Anishinaabe knowledge as becoming part of the knowledge that one is gifted with. Furthermore, this is a necessary part of Mino-bimaadiziwin (the practice of living a good life) and becomes part of your personal responsibility, your reflection on the knowledge process and part of your journey towards living a good life. This framework of thought and related living skills is process-oriented. It is interconnected, and these ideas form part of larger branches of knowledge Anishinaabe were given by the Creator to live by. Furthermore, Johnston (1995) says, "stories about the manitous allow native people to understand their cultural and spiritual heritage and enable them to see the worth and relevance of

their ideas, institutions, perceptions and values” in the broader world (p. xii). According to this worldview, we are spirit first before we become manifest in this world; in other words, Manitou informs us and guides us towards knowledge(s).

Although, there are common elements to Anishinaabe knowledge(s) in different communities, with different dialects, and even different parts of North America, it would be imprudent to assert Anishinaabe universalism, by which I mean ideas that apply to all Anishinaabe in all times and places. To make such a claim would be to reveal your lack of understanding and your ignorance of knowledge(s). In the conception of the world of the Anishinaabe of Northern Ontario, in knowledge production, for example, ceremonial knowledge, human beings are always standing in the center of existence. They are participating in creation by doing so. In the Anishinaabe ceremonial world, ceremonies always acknowledge this.

In turn, this ceremonial base relates to knowing who you are and how you can practice living a good life. Ermine (1995) discusses this as part of Indigenous-based knowledge that flows from a relational ontology and is based on learning “through subjective experiences and introspection” (p. 103). In this view of the world, there is no separation between the metaphysical and the physical. In an unpublished paper by Bourgeois, cited by Rheault (1999), he claims that the idea of human beings is one of many integral parts of how the world is understood. Bourgeois says, “the Anishinaabeg have no term for [the separation of] man/nature, or [the] subject/object dichotomy in their language, because there is no nature, or environment, as such, understood to be separate from the self” (p. 29). Ermine (1995) discusses this as... “the mysterious force that connects the totality of existence- the forms, energies, or concepts that constitute the outer and inner worlds” (p. 103). The proposition is that all life is connected and that all life has spiritual elements, and this means that human beings can access these forces. It follows from this that the world is animated and can interact with Anishinaabe. Rheault (1999) claims “the idea that spirit precedes culture, language, thought, experience and even time is something that the Anishinaabeg hold as fundamental knowledge” (p. 66). Rheault says, “I am a spirit having a human experience” (p. 66).

Johnston (1995) describes renewal as part of the Anishinaabe epistemology and states that the starting point for any transformation is the self; and once you change the self, this change then radiates outward to the world. As Deloria (1995) explains, “the personal nature of the universe demands that each and every entity in it seek and sustain personal relationships”(p.

107). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) argue that in this way, both “the knower and the known are intimately connected” (p. 26). They are involved in a relationship that mirrors the workings of the universe. In this practiced philosophy, one lives knowledge.

There are reminders of Anishinaabe creation in each ceremony. Rattles and drums are related to Anishinaabe creation on the earth and serve as our link to creation. In pipe ceremonies, Anishinaabe describe creation as we participate in its unfolding in our living practice. In Figure 4.1 on the following page, the ceremonial life related to the practice of living is illustrated with a circle. In the case of many ceremonies, prayers begin from the center where one is placed on the earth. In this way, one participates in ceremonial life and in the unfolding of creation at the same time. To further illustrate this, in ceremonies, prayers are offered to all four directions as well as above and below, (representing both the spiritual world and the physical world, respectively) and as well to yourself (as you would be standing at the center of your existence in the circle of creation). In this way, seven directions are acknowledged and prayers are offered to each direction starting with you as the center.

4.1 Sacred Circle – Circle of Life – Medicine Wheel

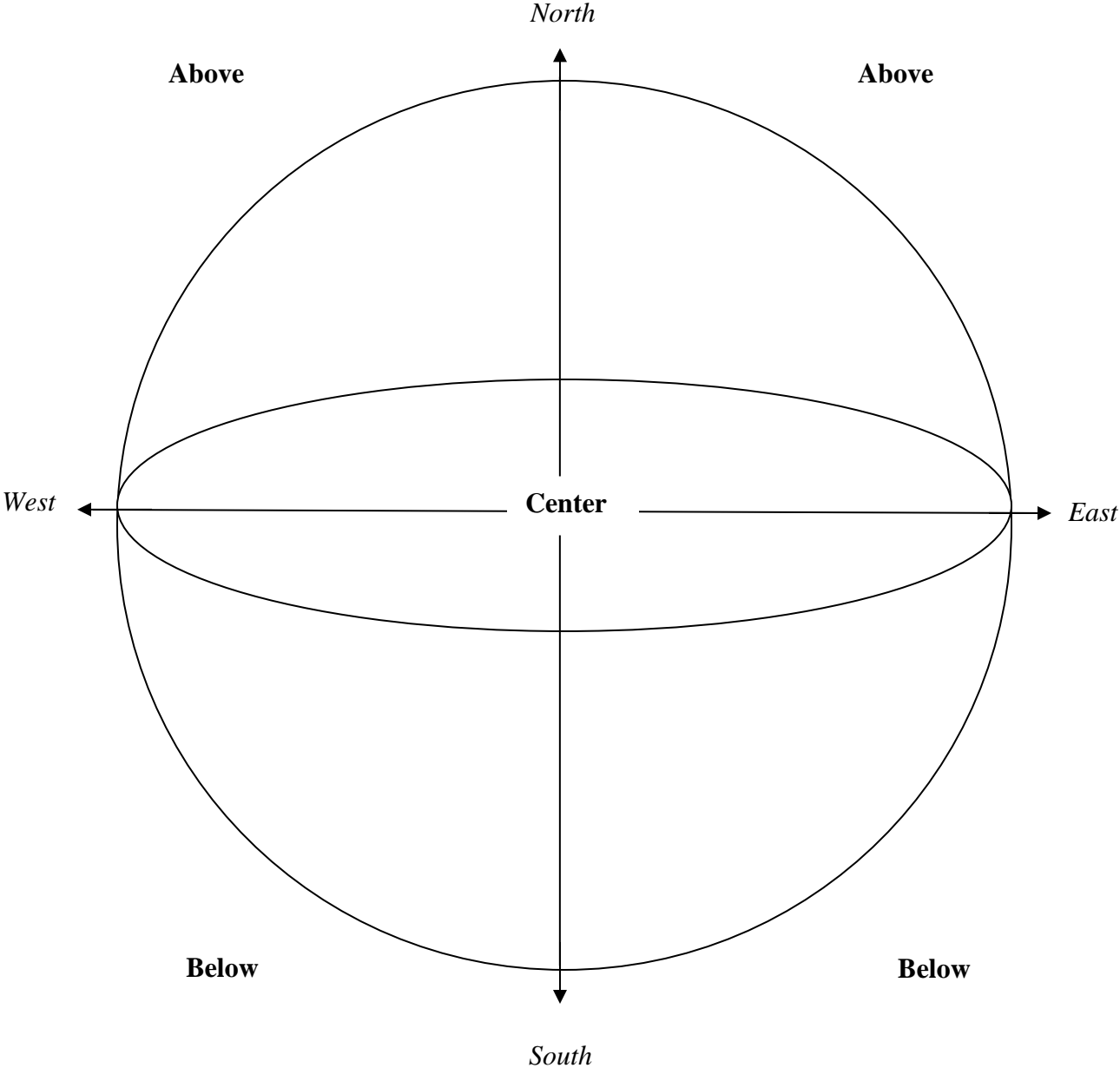


Figure 4.1 visual representation of circle teaching

Figure 4.1 is a visual representation of this conception of the world, Anishinaabe stand in the center of existence. They participate in creation by doing so. Ceremonies acknowledge this as it is related to personal choice and responsibility. In turn, this spiritual base informs your identity which consist of living a good life. In Anishinaabe philosophy, Anishinaabe knowledge(s) are discussed as philosophical concepts. There are many knowledge(s) discussed with Anishinaabe societies. In the process of the working the buffalo hide, I discussed some of these knowledge(s) as part of the creation of this dissertation.

Rheault (1999) was taught in a ceremonial process by his Anishinaabe teachers in the Peterborough, Ontario area who were associated in some way with Trent University. Rheault discusses in his writing how Anishinaabe philosophy and the ceremonial world present these knowledge(s): Bzindamowin (learning from listening), Anishinaabe-kendaaswin (traditional knowledge), Manidoo-waabiwin (seeing in a spirit way), Gnawaaminjigewin (to look, to see, to witness), Eshkakimikwe-Kendaaswin, (land-based knowledge), Kiimiingona manda Kendaaswin, (the Original Instructions given to the Anishinaabeg by Gzhe-mnidoo), and Manidoo-minjimendamowin (spirit memory). These areas of traditional thought are presented as an integrated whole by Rheault. These knowledge(s) are usually not presented in this manner. Discussions of Anishinaabe philosophy and examinations of aspects of Anishinaabe life usually occur in a ceremonial context. I have respect for Rheault, as he obtained this knowledge by personal sacrifice, fasting, going into sweat lodges, and working hard.

Rheault is an example of what Couture (1998) instructs scholars to do, namely, to live in this academic world but remember and respect our teachings. Rheault was given the authority of doing so by the Anishinaabe knowledge holders as he set out to accomplish this task of writing down key aspects of Anishinaabe knowledge(s). He was gifted with this responsibility because he was familiar with diverse systems of thought and was Anishinaabe. He was given these forms of knowledge(s) to study and record as interrelated and interconnected forms of thought based upon Mino Bimaadiziwin, living a good life.

Bourgeois (1999) discusses the conceptual challenges of communicating Anishinaabe knowledge(s) in a different language. Bourgeois writes, “terms like epistemology, philosophy and religion do not specifically exist in Anishinaabemowin” (cited in Rheault p. 12). Bourgeois continues, “Yet, the concepts do exist, but not in isolation of each other due to the interconnected nature of the philosophical system.” Other Indigenous scholars, such as Hernandez (1999),

Weber-Pillwax (1999, 2001), Toulouse (2001), Bedard (2003), Bastien (2004), Huntington (2005), Absolon (2009, 2011), Absolon and Willett (2004, 2005) and Archibald (2008), in spite of language and other challenges of doing so, have argued for Indigenous-based models and theories joined to specific Indigenous societies. Like Anishinaabe scholars Rheault (1999), Toulouse (2001), and Absolon (2009) who discuss their personal exploration as part of their learning, what I present in this dissertation is a personal exploration of what I am still in the process of learning. In light of this, I find a sense of familiarity with the experiences of Rheault, who discusses the relationship between language and land, daily personal responsibility and his efforts to learn Anishinaabemowin while communicating in a different language. Rheault says,

I am constantly reminded in my dealings with fluent Anishinaabeg that a worldview is only accurately, or fully perhaps, accessible to Anishinaabemowin speakers who have the Teachings and who are ‘schooled’ in this system of traditional life who interactively associate and commune with the land in their daily life (p. 19).

The relational and interconnected Anishinaabe worldview is discussed by Johnston (1995) as being “animated with a Manitou, a spirit, essence, mystery (sic) dwelling within everything” (p. xxi). Little Bear (2000) describes elements of Aboriginal philosophy by focusing on movement and change. The connections and interconnections of the Anishinaabe worldview are understood as reflecting an ebb and flow of life; so when Anishinaabe talk about all living beings being related, this is meant in a literal sense.

Hart (2002), Kovach (2006) and Absolon (2011) discuss this idea of a relational worldview. Rheault (1999) describes “the Anishinaabe system of knowledge is a vastly complex system, with built-in protocols and processes that one must follow in order that one places oneself within an appropriate and valid epistemic context” (p. 35). Part of what Rheault is explaining is that many of the concepts of this interconnectedness are renewed on a ceremonial basis each year at specific times. That a variety of ceremonies occur on a yearly cycle emphasizes the relational elements human beings have with every other living being in the world. All of creation is imbued with Manitou. Some ceremonies are specific to individuals and others are based upon the collective. Some ceremonies occur only on specific occasions. Some ceremonies occur only when their performance is requested by community members. The ceremonial life of the Anishinaabe is related to offering gratitude as one practicing living. The aspirations for life is living a good life and ensuring that others are able to do the same. Giving is



an integral part of practicing living. The contextual environment is important because being on the land means experiencing the entire living universe during spiritual ceremonies.

McPherson and Rabb (1993, 2012) and Waters (2004) argue that philosophical systems of various Indigenous peoples are informed and connected by relational knowledge. This means that discussions of Indigenous knowledge(s) will begin with your knowledge of physical and spiritual aspects of who you are. This leads then into how you are related and interrelated to others in the context of your family, community, and society. These relational elements extend into the other aspects of self, such as the physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual. Cajete (1994, 2000) asserts that the relational element is critical to understanding Indigenous peoples' social, cultural and conceptual understandings of the world. Deloria (1994) describes this metaphorically as the web of life. Nicholls (2009) refers to this as a multi-layered reflexivity and I call it grounded on Anishinaabe understandings.

When we honour the sacred relationships given to us by the Creator, we learn respect for the interconnections between all relationships. Multiple realities surround us. Ceremonial responsibilities and obligations exist that have to be respected. In this ceremonial world, protocols exist so as to renew your relationships with the spirits surrounding you. These spirits must be respected and the balance given to human beings maintained. The cycles of the earth act as guides. Feasts and ceremonies are conducted in the spring and winter months. Ron Geystick from Lac la Croix, Ontario in personal conversations during a ceremony in the winter of 1992, discussed Kiimiigona manda gikeedaasiwin, how our lives follow this circular knowledge path, as given to the Anishinaabe by the Creator as part of the original instructions transmitted to the Anishinaabe. We are all connected to all parts of life and interconnections exist with every part.

Anishinaabe akiwenzie and dimoyweya (Anishinaabe old men and women) have expertise and knowledge of the worldview, cultural practices, ceremonial world, and language of the Anishinaabe. These people are usually called Elders. I have been trying to avoid using the term "elders" as this is not an accurate description of these old men and women. They are the old learned women and men of our communities. They are recognizable by the way they live their lives. The teachings I received from my parents and others, such as Jeff Chiefabun, Jim Windigo, Ron Geystick, Anne Wilson, and Walter and Maria Linklater reinforce the idea that we are spirit first in this reality. They are humble and honourable people. Protocols exist because reciprocal

relationships exist in the universe. You give to receive. The same is true of the cycles of the earth.

The earth must be nourished as the cycle of renewal and rebirth occurs. This is the teaching some old people follow. Old learned people do not separate themselves from those that come for assistance. Although they are the acknowledged experts of the Anishinaabe, they are human beings as well. If they do not know something, they will say it. There is an idea that when we are prepared, guidance will appear as we need it and when we can understand it. My mother and Walter and Maria Linklater continue to instruct me in this matter, and patience is needed as one waits for this to occur. One cannot force the universe to act. It will happen when it is time for it to happen. Trusting yourself and your intuition to know when it is time is crucial.

A story that Jeff Chiefabun shared with me after I had been sick and received my Anishinaabe name comes to mind. Jeff Chiefabun was a respected Chi Akiwenzii, an old man with wisdom. He knew medicines from the Wabigoon area of northwestern Ontario as he was taught by his grandmother when he was a small boy. I was wondering about medicine circles. I asked him about this, and he told me a story from this area of Ontario that dealt with these issues surrounding medicine circles. He described the different directions and gifts associated with each area. He did not describe it like it is described today as a circle, but the meaning was similar.

The Anishinaabe have a robust scholarly tradition of philosophers, Chinshinabe. This means Anishinaabe men and women who teach Anishinaabe knowledge(s) and philosophical traditions to others within and outside of the society. In 2007, I discussed *dodemwag*, which refers to the clans that are central to Anishinaabe social and political structures and are composed of specific members who were chosen to consider such matters. *Dodemwag* provided leadership for differing areas of societal life. Certain clans, such as the fish and crane clans, were together responsible for overall leadership in some areas. Rheault (1998) was taught that philosophical traditions existed with the Anishinaabe; about this he says,

The Anishinaabeg have a tradition of intellectuals called the Chinshinabe. They are the Elders and traditional Teachers who are the caretakers of cultural and sacred knowledge. They take on the responsibility of maintaining the flow of *Nebwakawin* (wisdom) that passes from generation to generation (p. 28).

Anishinaabe are active and equal participants in their worlds. They must be active and equal in any endeavor, especially knowledge creation and maintenance, which will impact them. The

researcher, according to this view, must practice reflexivity in their awareness of themselves and their history.

#### **4.11 Stories as an Indigenous Methodology**

The exploration of Indigenous-based epistemologies provides meaningful and culturally-appropriate understandings. Little Bear (2000) asserts, “Culture comprises a society’s philosophy about the nature of reality, the values that flow from this philosophy, and the social customs that embody these values” (p.77). Little Bear elaborates on these individual and collective-based ideas: “Individuals within the culture will have their own personal interpretation of their collective cultural code; however, the individual’s worldview has its roots in the culture; that is, in the society’s shared philosophy, values and customs” (p. 77). The Anishinaabe cultural worldview comprises a ceremonial life based on spiritual understandings about the world, an ethical framework for how one follows one’s life practice, a basis for individual knowledge and how this knowledge relates back to a communal understanding of life.

Anishinaabe knowledge creation begins with *aawechige* (teaching by telling a story), *aadizookaan*, (telling sacred stories) and *dadibaajimowin* (telling stories). This comprises an information gathering methodology. At the beginning of this chapter, Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology was illustrated by a story shared about writing a dissertation and a buffalo skin. Stories are related to and flowing from Anishinaabe descriptions, explanations, and analysis of the world and their way of being and their place in it. A diverse group of scholars, including Hungry-Wolf (2004), Cruikshank (1998, 2002), Johnston (1990, 1995), Von Gernet (1996), Goulet (1998), Cruikshank and Argounova (2000), David (2004), and Archibald (2008), have communicated how stories are the foundation for creating, recreating, valuing, and forming community relationships.

Stories are intimately related to knowledge creation and transmission. Anishinaabe live a storied existence; stories interweave and connect Anishinaabe with one another. Stories of my ancestors influence and speak to me as clearly as stories I hear today. The past is all around us. The past is our land and our relationships with it. Returning to story and storytelling and the many layers of meaning a story holds means a return to ourselves. Cruikshank and Argounova (2000) express this as a universal praxis. They say, “Stories—like rivers—flow through culturally created landscapes. They are powerful signifiers that shape the contours of society while eroding the boundaries between people” (p. 97). Cruikshank and Argounova discuss how

“At the confluence of past, present, and future, humans reckon their existence through storytelling. To hear stories, and to interpret them in the context of one’s lived experiences, is a universal human praxis (p. 97). Indigenous knowledge(s) are the starting point for this exploration, and it is based on story.

The search for knowledge in some cultures is seen as the pinnacle of life. Maryboy and Begay (2004) emphasize that “traditional ways of knowing are themselves an impetus to connect to further processes and relationships” (p. 2). Maryboy and Begay say that in this way, “Learning is thus never complete. It is a constant process of becoming. Knowing, too, is never complete. It is also an ongoing state of being” (p. 2-3). Knowledge processes within Anishinaabe societies are based on relationships with yourself, others, the past, the larger Anishinaabe society and your environment.

There have been numerous conversations with Walter and Maria Linklater, Anishinaabe Chi Akiwenzie, since the 1980s about this idea. There are many ways to learn knowledge(s); attending university and attending ceremonies are but two. Each time I am in Saskatoon, I go to a sweat lodge conducted either by Walter or Maria Linklater or one of their sons. The sweat lodge is a spiritual ceremony of prayer, reflection, and self-understanding. Kiimiigona manda Gikendaasiwin, the sweat lodge ceremony, is part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe by Chii Manitou. Even though it is not necessary for women to attend this ceremony, I do so to give thanks for the gifts I have been given in this life. This ceremony enables me to remember the earth and Eshkakimikwe Gikeedaasiwin (land-based knowledge) given to the Anishinaabe by the Creator.

The sweat lodge ceremony (madoodoswaan) connects me back to who I am. I feel the earth and experience elements of the earth. The sweat lodge is space for seeing, listening, feeling, smelling, tasting and laughter. Your perception of your world begins to change, and you feel a broader perspective taking hold in your life. I need to attend ceremonies like this to let me know I am on the right path in what I am doing. I prayed, and I asked for stories that would enrich Anishinaabe remembrance of our beauty and strength. I don’t know if my prayers have been answered, but I continue on my path, nii Mino Bimadiziwin, living with a good heart and mind. Each night, I reflect on my day and try to ensure I am living my life right.

I am interested in how stories about the land can serve as a basis for Anishinaabe resilience. I do this because I return to stories of land and Anishinaabe history many times in

everything thing I do. Kishebakabaykwe ezhinikaazoyin Nii Biizhii indoodem, the ability to say who you are, is critical for generating meaningful and much needed Indigenous-based histories that transform how we, as Aboriginal peoples, think about ourselves and our location within this place called Canada. Identifying as Anishinaabe Wiisaakodekwe determines who I am and how others will respond to me. Rheault (1999) emphasizes that knowledge and learning, “also includes those revealed insights that happen within; insights that are presented as gifts by the Spirit, gifts that transcend the constraints of space-time” (p. xxii).

Wilson S (2003) also challenges Indigenous scholars to articulate their own approaches to research and their own data collection methods in order to honour Indigenous paradigms. Wilson’s perspective is that research should be viewed as ceremony. Wilson highlights this when he discusses theory; he maintains, “Paradigms shape our view of the world around us and how we walk through that world” (p. 161). S. Wilson recognized a reflexive and grounded orientation to knowledge creation. The nature of knowledge, according to Nielsen (1990), Mihesuah (1998), and Rose (2005), requires considerable reflexivity when doing or planning ethical research, especially with Indigenous populations.

Indigenous academics appreciate that meaningful research requires discussions of worldviews in order to accurately portray Indigenous social life. Porsanger (2010) argues “Indigenous peoples have learnt that research has been one of the most powerful tools of colonization of our peoples and our territories” (p. 2). Meyer (2000, 2003), Wilson M (2008), and Kovach (2005) recognize that an Indigenous epistemology is a significant aspect of Indigenous methodology and advocate for an Indigenous way of functioning in the world.

How would theories and methods based on Indigenous thought look like? This thread of curiosity was similar to what Porsanger (2010) challenges the researcher to do, “...to differentiate between the concept of ‘indigenous research’ and ‘research on, with and about indigenous peoples’” (quotations in original, p. 3). Porsanger offers a definition of what constitutes Indigenous research; of such research he says, “I mean research done by scholars who develop indigenous theorizing, identify and use indigenous concepts, and build their projects on indigenous research paradigms” (p. 3). A broader view of the research processes that explore the theoretical assumptions of Anishinaabe knowledge and the epistemological undercurrents of Anishinaabe thought directly relate to Anishinaabe storied understandings of the world. Ermine

(2007) considers the philosophical nature, magnitude and challenges of these issues and says that despite any overwhelming challenges to be confronted,

...the new partnership model of the ethical space, in a cooperative spirit between Indigenous peoples and Western institutions, will create new currents of thought that flow in different directions and overrun the old ways of thinking” (p. 202-203).

Ermine explores the idea of creating knowledge(s) and sharing them within academia, which, if put into practice, would serve as an ethical shared space between different worldviews that can result in a new relationship and a new cooperation between Indigenous and other scholars. This means both will have to change. Change is not one-sided; it must affect both parties and alter both worldviews.

Cheney and Weston (1999) understand Indigenous epistemology as being informed by stories, as well as by questions about the nature and epistemology of stories. Cheney and Weston (1999) suggest possible guideposts arising from Aboriginal and Native American epistemologies and ask, “how should we understand stories?” (p. 90). Cheney and Weston offer the following answer: stories are “descriptive and evaluative. They orient us, (sic) it seems by telling us what our world is like and how we might be good citizens within it” (p. 90). According to them, stories “may seem to point to moral norms suggested by (or derivable from) presumably true (though storied) accounts of the world...They are simply storied forms of telling us what we ought to do” (p. 90).

Cheney and Watson argue that the moral dimensions of epistemology require understanding that Indigenous epistemologies act as guides to inform one’s perception of the world. Cheney (2002) implores people to “Imagine a deep practice of universal consideration for all things, a consideration that is not constituted as a moral principle or rule governing behaviour, but is, rather a dimension of one’s very perception of the world” (p. 91). Epistemology as a way of knowing about the world in this sense becomes value driven. Cheney and Weston apply a concept Birch (1993) calls “universal consideration” when examining how ethics are applied in relation to the world. Universal consideration consists in considering all features and beings in the world as valuable to the world, whether we (as Human Beings) know their purpose or not. Cheney (2002) states, “...universal consideration requires us to reverse the usual burden of proof as we approach others in the world” and to actively take up the case “for beings so far excluded or devalued, rocks included” (p. 91). Ethical concepts, such as respect, become more than just

words in this view. Universal consideration, for Cheney, signifies a mode of presence in the world the central feature of which is *awareness*, an awareness that is simultaneously a mode of knowing – an epistemology – and what might be called a ‘protocol’... (italics and quotes in original, p. 91).

Protocols are evident in many ceremonial knowledge(s) and practices in many different Indigenous societies (Alberta 2009, Anishinabek Nation 2010). With the Anishinaabe, awareness of protocols is considered respectful behaviour and is evidence of someone’s efforts to learn Anishinaabe ways. Responsible truth is a multifaceted notion of truth that goes beyond a simple understanding of truth. Truth, in this view, is tied to action, both individually and collectively. Cheney (2002) discusses a concept of responsible truth familiar to the Anishinaabe. Cheney insists that “In the notion of a responsible truth we have a straight-forward acknowledgement of the ethical dimension of knowledge itself, one that ties the notion of truth to individual and community well-being and what a person stands for” (p. 92). This interrelated concept of responsible truth as related to both individual and community well-being is a critical concept in any discussion of Anishinaabe knowledge.

Hester and Cheney (2001) discuss this idea of knowledge being tied to moral action and stories, observing that, “Knowledge is a narrative of a life lived in the world...[knowledges] may or may not provide a map of the world, but they do tell you about the consequences of your actions. You can learn much even if you believe little. You can even be taught” (p. 324). Hester and Cheney consider what stories make us who we are and to which we attribute meaning to as human beings living on the earth. There are different ideas of truth and respect. The difference for Hester and Cheney and for many Indigenous theorists is the ability to relate these moral ideas to the living earth. Indigenous cultures are well-versed in applying ethical concepts to the earth itself. These are familiar ideas and concepts for the Anishinaabe.

This is similar to Lanigan (1998) who points out, “We all live through our stories and the stories live through us. Storytelling is never the same way twice, even when the same words are used, because the dialogical relationship is always shifting” (p. 119). Lanigan says that in this way, “stories are dynamic rather than static. Depending on who is listening there are many different messages that can be received. Stories have many layers of meaning” (p. 119). These relational multi-layered stories, Lanigan discusses, are similar to Archibald’s (2008) idea of storywork.

Archibald (2008) uses the concept of the trickster and what she calls storywork. She has been well-versed in the storytelling traditions that she explores. Skilled Sto:lo (Indigenous peoples from coastal British Columbia) story tellers and orators taught Archibald seven principles related to stories and storytelling that comprise a Sto:lo theoretical framework. They are: respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness and synergy. These principles help to make sense of stories. She uses the metaphor of using these strands to weave a cedar basket. Archibald states that these storywork principles are like the strands of fiber used to make a basket in that they serve two purposes: they “have a distinct shape in themselves, but when they are combined to create story meaning, they are transformed into new designs and also create the background, which shows the beauty of the designs” (p. x). Furthermore, this gift of a “storybasket for others to use” is following Sto:lo tradition; Archibald gave back what she had received when she was educated in storywork, which effectively educates the heart, mind, body and spirit. Her book is a personal introspective portrayal of how stories can impact education, pedagogy and curricula as well as work as a research methodology.

Traditional stories embody beliefs and guide personal behavior in contemporary life much as they did in centuries past. Dyson and Genishi (1994) explain that “within and through stories, we fashion our relationships with others, joining with them, separating them, expressing in ways subtle and not so subtle our feelings about the people around us” (p. 4). A storytelling self is a social self, who shapes caring relationships through weaving words and images. Dyson and Genishi state that in storytelling, there is “the potential for forging new relationships, including local, ... ‘cultures’ in which individuals are interconnected and new ‘we’s’ [sic] are formed” (p. 5). Regarding the nature of story-telling, Profeit-LeBlanc (2002) stress that, “whoever you are, wherever you come from, whatever you do with your life, you’re always busy telling story- whether it’s in your head, in your mind, in your thoughts, or if it’s spoken word, or written word, or if you’re reading. And if you are reading, another story’s going on in your head” (p. 48). In this view, stories are meaningful understandings of the on-going process of life, which is composed of lived stories. Stories as inquiries allow researchers to participate in the making of a shared story, one that may have many connections to the stories of others in similar contexts.

Indigenous peoples are changing the methods of delivering stories to reflect new understandings and materials in the world. Profeit-LeBlanc (2002) describes stories in four ways,



which are ancestral memory, introduction, creative and written stories (p. 47). The first in this group, ancestral memory, are foundational stories that begin with the creation stories of how the people came to be on their land. These stories discuss how people have survived on the land and any help that they received in the process of becoming human. The second way relates to spoken-word introductions of who we are, what our clan is, who our mother and father are and what land we are on and what land our relatives were from. Like many Indigenous communities in Canada, there are traditions dealing with the importance of naming and identifying yourself. Profiet-LeBlanc (2002) says the third way was a creative “story transfers itself into another medium besides voice because storytelling is an art. So these stories then would be transferred to things like this beautiful button blanket” (p. 50-51). She makes a button blanket an example of the connection between story and using objects as memory devices, as she calls this, a story blanket. The last way of story Profeit-LeBlanc presents is the written story, the presentation of the story. Profeit-LeBlanc (2002) says, “Songs have always been written, always. Dances have always been danced. And those are different ways in which we express our stories, through the performing and now into the written word” (p. 51). These are the important aspects of stories.

David (2004) shares observations about storytellers she interviewed and the stories they presented. David focuses on the characteristics the stories share and how the stories act as a relational bridge between people. David says, storytellers have “a passionate belief in the power of words to heal, to wound, to create. Lives are shaped by the stories told by parents, grandparents, elders” (p.1). Furthermore, David maintains, there is a reverence for storytelling acting as a bridge between hearts, eras and peoples. According to David, the storytellers emphasize, “A faith that stories are an indestructible vessel for bringing old wisdom to life in a new time” (p.1) and that these storytellers began to write “when they went looking for books on their own history and culture, and found nothing.” Maracle, a storyteller, interviewed by David, discusses how old stories can anchor contemporary stories that need to be born. She says, “I mull around our old metaphors, our old stories, and try to give them meaning in a modern context with which to be born” (cited in David, p. 45). Furthermore, Maracle says to David, “We are an oral people: History, law, politics, sociology, the self, and our relationship to the world are all contained in our memory...we are who we are by what we remember and what we do not” (p. 49). It is in these ways the presentations of stories are changing but, as Maracle implied, remain based on older stories.

Deloria Jr. (1991b) discusses the responsibility that scholars have to ensure that future generations have cultures correctly and accurately represented by quality research with appropriate breadth and depth. Indigenous people are not seeking a return to some past time but the need for quality and accurate knowledge about their Indigenous cultures. Deloria Jr. says, “No one is suggesting that Indians “revert” to the old days or old ways. Rather we must be able to understand what those old days and ways really were and model our present actions and beliefs within that tradition” (p. 460). Deloria Jr. maintains that all “scholars have an equal responsibility here because the essence of scholarship is its cumulative effect on a subject of investigation” (quotes in original, p. 460). Jinkling (2002) states the dilemma of those schooled in the rationalist traditions and the practice of storied understandings. Jinkling says, “Yet, for those of us who have walked solidly on the ground of rationalist traditions, it is one thing to have an inkling about storied possibilities – as mirrors, relationships, nuanced experience, and lived lives – it is another thing to stand on the fertile earth of story” (p. 5).

Dunlop (2002) discusses stories as leading to activism and as a form of bearing witness. Dunlop says, “Stories can push at the existing order of things” (p. 25). Dunlop examines the root words for “research” and “narrative” to explore what stories can do. Dunlop says, “This is what research is all about, from the French *recherché*, to search again, to see anew. The word narrative comes from the Latin root, *gnarus*, to know; the act of narration becomes a way of knowing” (italics in original, p. 25). Dunlop challenges scholars to consider stories as a way to have an “open-hearted scholarship, in a curriculum that encompasses the emotional” (p. 25). Dunlop states that this *eros* is the “fundamental root of scholarship” that enables a “passionate desire to connect with others and with the natural world, a desire to deepen the understanding of ourselves and others, the passion to transform or preserve the world as we understand it deeply” (p. 37). Profeit-LeBlanc (2002) presents stories as intimate continual processes that create connections to other stories and connections to other people(s) within your personal context. For Battiste and Henderson (2000), stories present a different way of thinking about knowledge and the relationships and interconnections of knowledge. Battiste and Henderson (2000) examine how “stories are enfolding lessons. Not only do they transmit validated experiences, they also renew, awaken, and honour spiritual forces. Hence, almost every ancient story does not explain: instead it focuses on the process of knowing” (p. 77). Anishinaabe knowledge(s) centered in stories are a way of making sense of and providing a social and cultural support for this dissertation.

To conclude this section on stories, Indigenous people and scholars are not seeking a return to some past time or yearning for a past which may not have existed. Indigenous scholars, like Deloria Jr., recognize the need for quality and accurate research about their Indigenous cultures. In this chapter, it was argued that stories are mirrors of the Anishinaabe worldview; they reflect us and we reflect them. Storytelling practices inform the Anishinaabe world. Stories enable connections to the present, past and future. Stories are multidimensional and multilayered. The connections and interconnections of stories may not be apparent at first. Some stories occur in cycles and some stories continue from past stories as part of a continuous narrative.

There are different types of stories within the Anishinaabe language. These words specify the protocol for telling stories. In Anishinaabe societies, some story categories are comprised of the spirit of the story which determines what story is told. Aadizookaan is when someone is telling a traditional story; dibaajimowin is story; and dadibaaajimo specifies someone is telling a story. Stories draw us back to ourselves. Stories are seen as a method of healing for our communities. This is one of the reasons why it is necessary to tell stories about residential schools and other historical traumas experienced collectively by Indigenous peoples in Canada. Stories enable healing and help release victims from traumas suffered. Additionally, this chapter argued that stories are a cultural and social based research methodology relevant to the Anishinaabe, as well as other Indigenous peoples. Stories are a way to collect, preserve and continue Anishinaabe knowledge.

#### **4.12 Application to this Study**

Intellectual rights about place-based Anishinaabe knowledge are concerned with both McGuire Sr. and the Morriveau writings. These issues deal with ethical considerations, community protocols, community processes for approval, and the concept of Lake Nipigon Anishinaabe communities' knowledge. This journey of securing access to my community knowledge and stories is not unusual in Canada and elsewhere. Indigenous people are often forced to access their community knowledge(s) within the current context of Canadian academic, governmental and/or legal policies. This situation was understandable to me. Yet, I found, during this process, I was angry. In the Morriveau case, being forced to get permission by someone outside of my community who was not a member of my community, and who had not even visited my community (to my knowledge). Yet, at the same time I had to accept that the person who controlled the rights to these particular Anishinaabe stories was an adopted son of

Morriseau. These types of adoption are not unusual amongst Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior people.

My experience accessing these Morriseau stories is not uncommon in Canada. Indigenous knowledge stories have become the private property and are not maintained by communities, societies and Anishinaabe people. Yet, some of these stories are from Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior Anishinaabe communities and are collectively shared by these communities. This is the Anishinaabe intellectual heritage and the knowledge(s) Anishinaabe are responsible for maintaining and continuing. This dissertation attempts to meet my responsibility for maintaining and continuing some of the Anishinaabe gikeedaasiwin, Anishinaabe knowledge, I was fortunate enough to learn from my family and other community members.

Anishinaabe ethics inform the knowledge(s) that serves as the basis for interpretation in this study. Rheault (1999) describes the gikeedaasiwin (knowledge) and discusses these Anishinaabe knowledge(s) which are bzin damowin (learning from listening), Anishinaabe-kendaasiwin (traditional knowledge), manidoo-waabiwin (seeing in a spirit way), gnawaaminjigewin (to look, to see, to witness), eshkakimikwe-kendaaswin (land-based knowledge), kiimiingona manda kendaaswin (the original Instructions given to the Anishinaabeg by gzhemnidoo) and manidoo-minjimendamowin (spirit memory). These knowledge(s) are used to explore Anishinaabe resilience based on land. I have tried to be respectful and mindful of the responsibility and obligation I assumed when I said I would do this. In doing this, my family and community provided my framework for doing so.

This study is grounded in Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology. The Anishinaabe believes all knowledge derives from the Creator and is primarily spiritual in content and essence. The emphasis is on dreams and ceremonies as a way to approach life. In the case of this study, when I finally had dreams of continuing these stories and of my father giving me advice, I knew I was on the right path and should continue. There is an Anishinaabe belief we are put on this earth to live our lives in Mino bimaadiziwin. I have tried to present these teachings within this study in a contemporary environment. I realized early on that Anishinaabe ethics were exacting in the demands they placed on you as you as they informed your life and how you ought to live. This meant that these teachings forced me to look at my Self and how I related and interacted with my social world. Bravery, wisdom, love, respect, honesty, humility, and truth are guides in this study and contribute to the trustworthiness and the validity of it.

#### 4.13 Stories in this Study

As I read and re-read the stories written by McGuire Sr. and Morriseau, it occurred to me these narratives reflected the knowledge traditions and practices of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior Anishinaabe. I was at a loss of how to represent these aspects of knowledge in a way that gave life to the communities around these areas while at the same time meeting the requirements of a dissertation. I offered tobacco and food many times during this process; it was that important to me. I found whatever query I asked was always answered. I write first thing in the morning after I get up and edit after supper. I often found what I had written in the morning was puzzling to me. Sometimes I had to ask my mother about the Anishinaabe words I wrote in the morning, and she would patiently explain to me what these words mean and why this was happening. When I would get struck, my mother would remind me of the responsibility I accepted from my father in 1987. Sometimes, I would dream of writing.

As I read and reread these stories over the course of two years impacted my own learning and knowledge and enlarged my own understanding. It was difficult to attempt to step outside my experience and delineate how I have been taught this knowledge. Even at this point, I am tentative of what I have found; yet I know what I have selected are accurate representations of key knowledge of the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior regions of the Anishinaabe. The thematic categories selected from these knowledge stories are multiple realities, cycles of life and of the land, and they embody responsibilities, obligations and relationships, reciprocity and sharing, lastly, transformation and renewal, all of which are central to the Anishinaabe way of life.

The narratives that follow are valid for a specific localized setting around Lake Nipigon, Ontario, although the experiences related will be familiar to other Indigenous communities. This study is reflective of the way that I look at the world and how I was socialized. My father, Patrick McGuire Sr. and Norval Morriseau completed the data collection, as they are the ones who wrote these stories.

Data scrutiny and interpretation occurred mainly over the summer of 2010. The manuscript was examined and broken into possible sections that reflected the overall themes of Indigenous knowledge and Anishinaabe resilience. I typed the manuscripts from both McGuire and Morriseau to allow for easier access in 2010. In the case of my father's work (Patrick McGuire, 1987), his book was typed as a manuscript. It had no chapter headings and was one continuous narrative. I talked to my mother and family about sections I was considering as well.

It was important to separate the work into sections that reflected the content of this dissertation so that I could work with the stories. A similar process was undertaken with the Norval Morriseau (1965) book, although the material for which I had received approval for was organized into subject headings that I decided not to use, as they did not apply to either Indigenous knowledge or resilience.

#### **4.14 Research Assumptions**

This study cannot be generalized to other Indigenous communities as it is based on a specific case; although the information on ethics, epistemology, and research methods can be applied to other Indigenous peoples. There are a number of assumptions that form part of this study. They are:

- 1 There is a need to reflect Indigenous ways of being and learning about the world.
- 2 Exploring Indigenous epistemologies enable a more accurate and nuanced understanding of Indigenous societies to emerge.
- 3 Exploring Anishinaabe knowledge(s) can offer insights into Anishinaabe resilience.
- 4 These stories will contribute to the body of knowledge of this population(s) in Northwestern Ontario.

#### **4.15 Conclusion**

Indigenous knowledge is interwoven into life practice and into storied understandings. In this chapter, there was a discussion about Anishinaabe knowledge(s) based on storied understanding. Stories can also generate other stories when either listened to or read (as in the modern era). In research, this means that one must be alert to the nature of the stories that are being generated. A story of ethics and intellectual knowledge was related, as this is a common experience for Indigenous peoples who want to access knowledge of their home areas.

The resulting stories contain valid perspectives. A reciprocal relationship must exist between the people involved, and one does not just take without giving something back. This includes research. The purpose of this study was to explore Anishinaabe knowledge and resilience. Aspects of Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology were highlighted. Examining salient and relevant features of Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology based on reflexivity and grounded theory assisted with this. Storytelling as a culturally specific research methodology was discussed as a way to assure a more complete understanding of this population. This dissertation is considered as a teaching story, Gikinoo'amaage dadibaajimo.

## **CHAPTER FIVE - STORIES**

### **5.1 Presentation of Stories**

These stories of Patrick McGuire Sr. and Norval Morriseau are presented as they were written. They have been edited for spelling to ensure the text was clear and understandable to the reader. As stated previously, in the case of Patrick McGuire, Sr., these stories are from a manuscript he wrote and asked his daughter to complete in 1987. For this series of stories by McGuire, Sr., the timeline and dates occur from when he was about eleven in 1928, before he was married in 1938, and after he was married with children from 1939 (when his first child was born) to 1960 when his last child was born. He was at St. Joseph's Boarding School in about 1915 and was finished at this school in 1920. He began taking his children out in the bush as a family camping together and harvesting in about 1960 to about 1974, although he still went out into the 1980s. I am this daughter and I have permission to use the stories I have selected for this dissertation.

In the case of Morriseau, these stories and pictures are from a 1965 book, edited by Selwyn Dewdney. For Morriseau, the approximate timeline for the series of stories occur after the Sandpoint community was destroyed in 1958 when Morriseau was twenty seven and living with his maternal grandfather, Moses Potan Nanakonagos and maternal grandmother, Theresa Grace Potan. In 1965, his maternal grandparents were still living outside of Beardmore, Ontario where they were forced to go after the dispersal of their community. In 1960, Morriseau met Selwyn Dewdney and Jackson Pollack started to show Morriseau's work in 1962. The approximate dates when some of these stories were collected by the Morriseau grandparents would be in the 1930's. Written permission has been received for use of these stories for this dissertation from the Morriseau estate.

### **5.2 Patrick McGuire, Sr.**

This is a story about myself and other kids who were born and lived all or most of their lives in the North Country. Let me introduce myself, I am Patrick (Paddy) McGuire, one of 12 children, 9 brothers and 3 sisters. My mother was an Ojibway Indian from the Gull Bay Indian Reserve on the Northwest end of Lake Nipigon. My father was an Irishman from the Ottawa Valley, Pembroke and Ironprior. I know the names of towns near Ottawa from hearing Dad tell stories about when he was growing up as a boy and a young man.

My mother's name was Agnes Netawasong, she was a treaty Indian under the Indian Act, but she was also part French. My grandmother could talk good French but very little English. My mother was the same. More on my mother's family, later.

My father's name was like mine, Patrick (Paddy) McGuire. He came to this North country as a young man with other young men from some university from Ottawa. I suppose to get experience or maybe on some kind of project. Dad never said too much about his past. He very seldom mentioned his family, which is why I have relatives living near Ottawa I never met or saw. Only one young man came to see Dad, his name was Jack Sullivan and also 2 other men came from Dad's hometown, Jack and Tim Mulvichell, these two fellows started a fur farm with animals that looked like beavers. This was at a place called Ferland, Ontario, on Lake Nipigon, which was called Ombabica Bay, much later.

My father was a Hudson's Bay manager on Lake Nipigon, at a place called Nipigon House. This Hudson Bay Company store was located in the center of three Indian reserves, Gull Bay, Jackfish Island, and the Whitesand reserve. It was a trading store; very little cash money was used. The Indians would get credit all summer then have all winter to pay these store bills, by trapping and trading their furs at the store. My Dad also made field trips, buying furs all around the Lake Nipigon area and also he travelled on trains to visit Indians and other trappers to buy their furs. On these trips, he would carry large sums of money but he never got robbed of money or furs in over forty years that he had worked of the Hudson Bay Company.

Where I was raised at Nipigon House, there was only our family and the caretaker. Sometimes the caretakers were married and sometimes they were single. By this, I mean the times when the caretakers were changed.

When I was a young boy, I went to school in the city along with all the other people (kids) from Lake Nipigon. A boat would take us across the lake to Port MacDiarmid, a commercial fishing port, and then we would go on the train to Old Fort William, Ontario, to the St. Joseph's Boarding School. This school was owned and operate by the nuns of St. Josephs, called Sisters. The head sister was called Mother. We stayed ten months out of every year in this school until we passed all of our grades. This took about five years. I started school when I was 8 years and left when I was 12 years old. Most of the kids only stayed for 4 years. We would pass two grades each year, after all, we had nothing else to do but learn.



One thing about being raised and going to a boarding school ten months out of each year, you got to know the other kids and become very close friends, almost like brothers and sisters. Every time I meet my old school chums I am glad and really have a good visit, and we ask each other how we are doing and if there is some way we can help each other. Boarding school kids are different than open or community schools. You would have to be one to know. Our boarding school was like our home and all other kids were family. The nuns or sisters were very tough on kids that did not listen and they did not spare the rod. They would punish you if you had it coming. Some of those nuns had very strong arms when they used the strap.

I have heard that the boarding school was a ghetto for orphans that kids were treated mean, and that Indian kids could not talk Indian. First, orphans went to this school, I went there and I was no orphan and I was treated the same as everyone else. Badmouthing this boarding school is wrong and untrue, kids were treated good and Indians were treated no different. What we need now for our kids are boarding schools. This would keep kids off the street and teach them to be good citizens. I can't think of any of our boarding school kids that have committed a major crime like murder or who are in some kind of a racket to cheat people out of money. I believe most of our boarding school kids stayed out of trouble and jail, maybe the odd one was jailed for being drunk.

In school, we kids learned to play hockey, baseball, football, boxing and most other sports. Our boarding school players would go out and play against other schools. When we left school, these sports came in handy for some of us. We also learned to play violin, guitar, piano, and other instruments. This school tried to teach almost everything, even acting, teaching, keeping books, whatever one wanted to learn.

When I was a kid, labour was the big job; you had to work to make a living. We were taught never to depend on someone else, not even your parents to look for work. Your parents had to work to raise you, now it is your turn to work; everyone must work for a living. When I was a kid I saw my first airplane. It was a boat plane with the motor at the back, pushing, not pulling. Top speed was 80 miles per hour; the Lands and Forest Department had these planes. The Lands and Forest Department is now the Ministry of Natural Resources. I also saw my first ski-doo, first out-board motor, it was a gas motor. Motors came in this order, steam, gas and then diesel.

Travel is sure different than when I was a kid. To visit my grandmother's, who was 22 miles away, it took a whole day to get there in the winter. We walked most of the time but sometimes it was by dog team or horses. Only those who made a fair living had a dog team or horses, not everyone could afford these, something like today, it is hard for everyone to own a car.

In the summer, we travelled by canoe, which were mostly homemade. Everyone knew how to build a canoe or a boat. The first time I saw a motor was in a homemade boat, it had a small steam engine. The man that owned it used to cut wood for the fire. The boat was about 40 feet long and went about 10 miles per hour, a fellow by the name of Dominic Wilson owned this boat; he was from the Gull Bay reserve. This boat and others like it were used to haul freight and for commercial fishing. Getting a ride on one of these boats was sure something! Our mail came from two post offices located across the lake from Nipigon House. MacDiarmid post office was about 80 miles away and the Willet post office was about 40 miles away on the North end of the lake. Sometimes, Dad would send one or two of us kids to get the mail by getting a ride on a fishing boat, but most of the time the mail came by freighter.

Getting a ride to go and get the mail was one of the highlights when I was a kid, riding the fishing boats was sure something. Later, I worked on a fishing boat as a fisherman for thirty-five years. And I have never regretted it. Working out of MacDiarmid, one was never out of a job. It was small pay by today's standards, but a good living nonetheless. The hungry thirties went by and we never knew it.

Where I was raised, there was no recreation, as we now know it in the city. My recreation was hunting, fishing, and making things that could be of use. The things I made were snowshoes, dog sleighs, and canoes because we needed these things to have fun later. Owning a dog team then was like owning a high-priced car nowadays. Boy, when you had a good team of dogs and a good sleigh, did it ever sound and look nice. The dogs would be all dressed up with sleigh bells on their harnesses and tassels on their collars. No respectable girl could stay away. You had the whole lake to yourself and you and your girl had a good time. On a clear night, you could imagine that when the sleigh bells jingled, the Northern Lights were coming right down close to the ice. Of course, bells were put on the dogs for another reason, to scare off the wolves. Lake Nipigon, as well as other large lakes, is known to have large packs of wolves travelling, looking for game.

Of course, all of this fun started after you left school. When the first ice in the fall came, and no snow followed, you could skate for miles. We never went too far from home unless we were with someone else and carried a gun. Now, I must tell you, when the ice was clear, you could see the speckled trout through it on their spawning grounds. If you were lucky, maybe you could see a muskrat under the ice and have fun chasing the little fellow. This is no lie; I have seen speckled trout that were 10 to 12 pounds, maybe bigger, at spawning time. Where these big fellows go in the summer is a mystery, no one seems to know. They don't get caught in fishing nets as one would expect and only one has ever been caught in the Nipigon River. It was caught by a doctor and is the world's record, over fourteen pounds.

When I left school, my first job was with my uncles, I was 12 years old. I was the dog musher and gopher, go for this and go for that, just an all around trouble-shooter. I was never allowed to skin a fur-bearing animal because I might cut the fur, lowering the value of the pelt. I sure put in some rough times, but that was part of growing up. Now I know how to trap and live off the country. When I trapped with my uncles, I was taught how to live off the land. If ever lost, certain animals are easy to catch if you know what to look for. You can stay warm if you know what to do, if you have no matches you can make a fire with your rifle or even two rocks. First, you look for dry fungus that grows on poplar trees, you open this fungus and put some spark to land in the middle, in a short while you'll notice some smoke. You blow on this very easy until you see a red coal, you will not see a fire. Next, you get a fine piece of birch bark and put this on the coal and blow easily, soon you will have a fire. You can keep this fungus fire if you wrap it up or put it in a can. Next time you need a fire just open it, up it for the smoke, then blow on it easy. We used to keep this fire on our dog sleigh all the time.

To find North, even on a cloudy day you can use your fingernail. Put a knife blade or a piece of wood on your nail and you will see the shadow of the sun. If you're hungry, when lost, look for a porcupine. You can always get him. Even in the wintertime, you can find wild fruit, it may be dried up or frozen, but it will keep you going. I am not sorry that I went trapping with my uncles, I sure learned a lot. I know how to stop bleeding with a certain mushroom. I also know the certain herbs to use when sick, for instance, under the bark of a young poplar, you can find something like aspirin to stop a headache, steams of certain flowers will kill pain, and certain bushes will relieve constipation and hemorrhoids.

When I was fourteen, I joined the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk, to learn the trade. My boss and manager, was Allan Black, who had trained under my dad. He came from Scotland. My wages were 15 dollars a month for the first year, then I would get a raise of 5 dollars each year until I got forty dollars a month. I was a good learner, I could get to be outpost manager in four or five (years) and get my full wages right away. My wages included my room and board and a special price on what I bought. I worked for the Hudson Bay Company for about six months one winter, then my brother Charlie came to visit. He said, "Come with me, don't waste your time behind a counter like Dad did. Come fishing with me at MacDiarmid. Why, you can get forty dollars a month there and besides if you don't like it, you can come back here. Remember, you're a Hudson Bay kid, they have to let you have a chance to look around." So, I told Allan Black I was going with Charlie to fish at MacDiarmid and I said I might be back. He told me, "Good luck Paddy, take care of yourself."

You see, when I was young and where I was, labourer was the big job besides trapping, fishing, cutting logs, or working on the railroad as a section man, or working on seasonal work, guiding or fighting fire for the M.N.R. Fighting fire was the best money, with lots of overtime and long hours. In those days, you fought fire in the evening when the fires had died down, then you fought fire all night. Ever try to build a fire and keep it going all nights? In rainy weather you were out there fighting fire. When the sun was out, you went to bed; it was a waste of time trying to put out a fire when the day was too hot from the sun.

I tried every job, but I like fishing the best. You worked from daylight till dark but no one seemed to mind, and one more thing, you could eat all the fish you wanted. Later, when I got married and was raising my own family, bring home fish was like bringing home an extra pay cheque (McGuire, Sr., p. 7-9).

The happiest time to my life was the 14 years we spent picking blueberries. I invented a blueberry picker and kept it out of sight. No one knows how we picked them, me and five boys would pick for two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon and end up with 50, 11 quart baskets of berries each day. The rest of the time was spent swimming in the river, where we were camped. From July 15 to September 30, we stayed at our camp on Crooked Green River, about forty Indian families would camp with us. They never came so early or stayed as long as we did. Blueberries used to go out by the truckload.

Blueberry buyers were, Godfrey Kenneth from Wisconsin, U.S.A., Zechners' Ltd. from Nipigon, Metro Zerabny from Beardmore and Thunder Bay stores, and also every taxi that came to Crooked Green River. My family, the Ledger family and the Grays picked for Mr. Kenneth Zebner and Zerabny had the Indians picking for them. The price of blueberries was \$2.50 for 11 quarts, 15 pound basket. The price stayed like that until 1960. It was my family that got the price up to five dollars and got it going up each year until it was up to twenty dollars, where it is today. The odd time you might get twenty-five or even thirty, depending on the scarcity of the berries. Picking blueberries was a good seasonal job for the Indians, just as good, if not better, than picking wild rice and a lot less work and trouble (McGuire, Sr. p. 20).

When I was a kid, play was something you did when you had a chance. Looking back on my childhood, I have no regrets. Like I said, I left school when I was twelve and I went fishing and trapping with my uncles. What else was there to do but stay home, no way! I had fun with my uncles Sam and Michel King and their children were my age and we use to have fishing and hunting games. John and Jack were the same age as I was so everything we did together was fun. If we were told to go fishing, we made it into a fun game and we did the same when we were sent to go hunting. Hunting is fun anyway, even in my old age. The King boys, John and Jack, my first cousins, were like my brothers and so was Sam but he was a little younger than us. Michel King had five kids, all boys. Sam King had six kids, four boys and two girls, so I was in pretty good hands and had a lot of good times (McGuire, Sr. p. 21-22).

Across from Nipigon House, like I said, was Dog Island. This island was owned by some rich guy and he didn't mind the dogs. He was too busy fishing and having a good time. We visited him a lot and he would be at our place half the time. He was a real nice guy, who liked fishing alone. When the ice was forming on the lake, this fellow went for a visit to Jackfish Island and picked up Old Wally, whom we called Mi-sho-mis, meaning Grandfather. He was a medicine man. When they got to my place, they stayed for a while, then headed back to Jack-fish Island, taking Dad with them. Now, Old Wally told my dad and their friend, "Paddy, me and this fellow will die tonight, you will live and you will never find us." That night the ice cut the canvas on their canoe and the canoe was sinking close to the island shore. The Indian from the reserve came out to save them and Old Wally told them to take Paddy because his time was not here. When the Indians went out to get Wally and the other man, they could find no trace of them or the canoe. Cedar canoes don't sink. It cleared up the next day and the Indians went to look for

the canoe but found nothing. Old Wally's wife said, "You might as well give up, Old Wally's been prepared for this for a long time."

Old Wally also known as Walnut was a medicine man and could tell the future and could foretell what may happen. One day, my dad and this old fellow were out hunting and fishing on a lake back of the post (store). Before they got home it started to get dark and they could see their Northern Lights. "Paddy," Old Wally said, "See those lights up there in the sky?" "Well," he said, "Someday not to far away the white man will leave his tracks up in the sky for all to see just as plain as you can see our tracks coming across the lake." Now, one can see the smoke from the jet planes as they fly. Old Wally also told my dad someday if you live long enough, you will see the White man singing and dancing in a box, all you have to do is turn this box off. I guess the old fellow meant T.V. (McGuire, Sr. p. 15-16).

Whitesand Reserve, it seemed to me, was a place that every Indian came to collect their treaty money. This also was where all the traders came to sell their goods, the H.B.C., the French Company, and others like Bill Bruce, who used to have a store on his boat. He would travel all over Lake Nipigon calling at different settlements to trade. Now these guys would camp up to a month waiting for the Indian agent and the R.C.M.P. to bring that Indian money. The reserve itself may have had about 200 people but at treaty time there may have been over 1000 people there. There would also be about 4 or 5 storekeepers. In the late 1920's and in the 1930's, the Canadian dollar was worth fighting over. Now what I saw happen on this reserve at treaty time is unbelievable, to say the least. Like I said, Indians came from miles away and two of these Indians had special powers, my mother told our kids. She also said to never show disrespect if one of those Indians happened to speak to us. All of my brothers and sisters could talk Indian. Here is what happened.

My dad, Mr. Burk, the Indian agent, Mr. Bruce, the storekeeper from Mud River, and the R.C.M.P., said, let us have these two Indians who can call on the spirits to tell us our future or just answer some questions. These two Indians were called, Kok-Kok-Ohns, meaning little owl, and Old August. They were asked if they would oblige and they said they would, but they needed help, as they had to build two wigwams. My dad said there was no problem, so he got some young Indians to get the material needed to build these wigwams. They used poles, about 3 or 4 inches in diameter and about 12 feet long. These poles were placed 2 to 3 feet in the ground and about 16 inches apart to make a circle, I would say, about 6 feet around. They then tied

together all the tops and covered it with birch bark and when finished, four men couldn't move it. Now, Old August was the first Indian to go into this birch bark wigwam. Before he went in, he said, "Please, no money, just tobacco to please the spirit, Mi-can-ock, who will talk to you in any language. When I call, be ready." Old August then went into the wigwam, that some people call a shaking tent. When this tent was built, I had noticed Old August tie some tin cans on top and a bunch of feathers. When the old man went into the tent it started to sway from side to side and the birch bark looked like it was rags, the way the bark was stretched out without breaking, the tin cans started to ring and sound like bells, and you won't believe this, the feathers looked like a big, black bird. Then the old man called on Mi-can-ock. He asked the spirit, are you there, and the answer came from the top of the tent, "Yes, I am." A lot of people asked questions, like, would they have a good summer, some people asked about loved ones that had gone ahead and how they were doing, and would the trapping be good this coming winter. To answer, the spirit had to leave the tent to travel, when the spirit left, he made a noise like a jet plane. The R.C.M.P. officer wanted to know about his wife at Nipigon. Mi-can-ock, speaking English, said, "Do you really want me to tell you?" and the Corporal said, "Yes." Then Mi-can-ock told him, "Your wife is going into a place that shows pictures on the wall with a young man, in time you will lose your wife to him." When the Corporal got back to Nipigon, he found out that his wife had gone home, taking the young man with her. Someone told Old August that he must be really strong to pull that Wigwam and bend it to the ground like he did. Old August told this man, "Not really, just watch and hold my hand," then Old August threw his hat into the tent and the tent started to sway like before and Mi-can-ock said, "You should all believe in Old August." What I have told you here is true, others who have seen the shaking tent have also wrote about the mystery from the old Indians. I must say here at the shaking tents was never used to hurt people, only to help. If someone placed a curse on you, the tent could find the person and find out what it took to lift the curse. It was used only on a very special occasion, when needed.

While I am on this Indian subject, I want to tell you what I saw as a young man. I told you about winter fishing on inland lakes. Well, on one lake up north, Mojeget Lake, before Ontario Hydro sent the Albany River down to Lake Nipigon by damming the Albany River at Waboose Rapids, this flooded Mojeget Lake and caused the water to rise of the height of land. I was one of the first people on the survey crew; my partner was an old Indian named John Hunygait. The winter that I fished this lake, there were Indians living on an island; this island is

now under water. These Indians lived in a tepee, this is like a tent but they have no roofs. It is built from the ground up a point just like a V turned upside down. There were four families of Indians living in this tepee and the old man had four wives. He was supposed to have some sort of magical powers; he was a psychic. He could shake the wigwam and tell the future, so they said. My grandmother, Old Gigish, knew this Indian; his name was Mijanda Goose. My fishing partner, John King and I, both could talk Indian, when we lifted our nets, they would come and watch. When we were finished lifting our nets, before we went home, we would put our waste fish high on the snow. The next day, when we started to work, all this waste fish would be gone and we would find moccasin tracks by the net holes. Waste fish is good eating fish. At that time, we would not ship Northern Pike also called Jackfish, then of course, there were suckers and eel, a kind of fresh water ling.

I told John, "Enough of this, if these guys want this fish they might as well help us. So come John, let us talk to these guys." So, we went to see them and as we got closer, they turned and walked away from us. When we got up to them, we said, "Hold on a minute, we want to talk to you." When they found out we could speak Indian, they stopped running away from us. We said, "Hello, we want to make a deal with you." I said, "You know that fish you want?" Before I could finish what I wanted to say, one of them said, "I didn't mean to steal that fish, we thought, it was all right to take it. We thought that you were throwing it away." I said, "We are. You are not stealing, you're welcome to it. What we want to ask you is this, can you help us lift our nets? You can have the fish that we don't want and me and my partner will get done early, and maybe come and visit you if that is all right." These guys said, "We don't mind you coming but our old man may not like it, you see he has four wives, two of them young." I told them guys, as a joke, "Tell the old man, his young wives are safe, my partner here only like old stuff." These fellows laughed as they looked at John and one of them said, "He's in luck, one of his women is over eighty years old." So, we all had a good laugh and after this Indians got to be friendly with us. A little bit of humour did the trick.

These young Indians told us, if we came visiting, to bring a gift for the old man. I said, "What can we bring?" "A little bit of tea or tobacco, he likes tea." I said, "O.K., we will someday, when we get done early." Winter fishing is seven days a week from daylight till dark. About a week later, John and I went visiting. We didn't want to seem anxious and that gave us some extra time to send for some tea and tobacco. We also sent for some snuff because we knew



all Indian girls up north, chew snuff. We also got some gum and candy for the kids, might as well play the big shot.

When we went to visit, what we had said we would do, we seemed to somehow say and do the opposite. Anyway, we had a good visit and ended up having a lot of fun. When the old man found out I was Old Gigish's grandson, we got to be good friends. When we got there, the fellow was singing and playing his drum, this was homemade. It was a hoop with a pure deer hide pulled over the hoop and another hoop was pulled over, just a hoop inside a hoop. When the old guy hit the drum, he hit it very lightly, but it had a sound like it was loud and coming from far away.

We asked to come in. We were told, "Sure, the old man is waiting for you. He knew you were coming today." Well, this tee-pee was something to see, it must have been about forty feet across, thirty feet high and round. But, looking at it from the outside, it looked small because it was under a lot of snow. When we went in, we had to stand still for a while until our eyes got focused and used to the darkness, there were no windows. There was just a fire in the middle of the teepee, no stove pipes, but there was no smoke inside. The smoke went up and out of the opening at the top. On the floor there were moose, bear, and deer hides, all with the hair on everyone. Inside, they had their shoes off, so, we did the same. Little kids were running around naked, it was warm inside, I was surprised at how clean it was, and they must have burned something, as there was a nice smell to the air inside. When I first went in, to be honest, I thought, "I'll bet this is a stinky place." They sure had me fooled. Their blankets were all piled up neatly around the side of the teepee. I asked the old man, "Mi-sho-mis," I said, "Can I give these kids some candy?" He said, "Yes." So, I looked at the women and said, "Who are the mothers?" I gave the candy to them. Then I asked, "Can I give snuff to the women?" Again, he said yes. Then I said, "Mi-sho-mis, we haven't forgotten about you, we brought you tea and tobacco." He said, "Thank you. I will speak to the Great Spirit to take care of you."

Looking back on this, I keep thinking how carefree and happy these people were, not a care in the world, it seemed. After our first visit, I used to go and shoot the bull with this old guy. Then one day, I asked him point blank, "Is that right, you have four wives?" He said, "Yes." Then, I said, "Is it alright if I asked you something?" I don't want to seem disrespectful, but I want to know how you can have four wives when everyone else can only have one." He said, "Some of my wives were given to me to look after me, as I am getting older. You see, I am not

just an Indian. I am also a spirit and can take another shape if I want to.” I said, “Like a bear or wolf?” He said, “That is right.” I said, “What would happen if someone took one of your wives?” He looked at me for a long time, and said, “That all depends, I may kill him right away or just place a curse on him.” I said, “What would you do or what could you do if some young man was to fight you, beat you up, and then take one of your wives? You’re an old man, you can hardly walk, you could never stand up to a young man. You only have your medicine and it might not have time to work.” He looked at me for a long time, “I know what you are thinking, you are Old Gigish’s grandson, she has great powers. I don’t want to fight her. If you fancy one of my wives, take her, but leave something for her. I know the one you want, she has been looking and can’t stop talking about you.” I said, “Mi-sho-mis, I don’t want your wife, I was asking you just what came to my mind. You got me all wrong.” After that, we kept out of the old man’s teepee. (McGuire, Sr. p. 67-73).

On my mother’s side, my grandmother’s father, was one of the chiefs who left Gull Bay on Lake Nipigon to attend the signing of the Indian treaty. She said she was taken because she was able to speak French, she was only eight years old at the time. Her father used her to tell him what the French were saying and he in turn used her for when the Indians would get together before the main negotiations started. Although the army had interpreters, the Indians did not trust them. Indians could not speak French, but some children could. On Lake Nipigon, the French got there before the English did. My grandmother said nobody could speak English and very few could speak French. She learned to speak French because her mother was a housekeeper for a French storekeeper.

The Robinson Superior Indian Treaty was signed at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario in 1850. My grandmother said they travelled across Lake Nipigon to Nipigon and then to Sault Ste. Marie. What she remembered about the trip, was by a big boat. I suppose by sailboat. I don’t know if steam boats were in service in 1850, but my grandmother said it was a long trip and many Indians made the trip. Indians, in those days, in big canoes, could travel long distances in one day. Six men padding with the help of a sail, could cover a hundred miles in a day, weather permitting.

My grandmother said there was a great gathering of Metis. My grandmother was one of the many Metis who became treaty Indians at the signing of the Robinson Superior treaty. In fact, my grandmother figured every Metis who came from the treaty area became a treaty Indian

that day. Names that were French sounding, English, Irish, and some other names were now treaty Indian names. My grandmother said before the signing of the treaty, the Indians asked about their halfbreeds, they had been living with them and they trapped and hunted with them, what was to happen to them. “Nothing,” said the White Chief, “Keep your halfbreeds and they can live with you and they can be paid treaty money. All your halfbreeds are now Indians.” Then the Chief asked, “How about the halfbreeds that will come later?” The White answered, “Only if the Chief and your Council adopted them. If I let all halfbreeds live on the reserve as Indians, in the future, you may have a problem. No. I will have my men study the Metis and what to do with them later.” From this day on, the Metis can hunt and fish for food, but for now only the Indian people can bring them on the reserve and make Indians, they were told.

My grandmother said all the Metis, also called halfbreeds, were made Indians that day and two Whitemen who were there with their Indian women were also made treaty Indians with the Indian status. Some Indians, after they got home, wondered what would now happen to them, but, my grandmother said all the Indians that signed the treaty said they were in a no win situation. They figured it was either sign or be taken and forced to live in a stockade. At least, this way, they could live in peace and maybe not be shot if they happened to meet Whitemen while trapping or hunting. At the time, when the treaties were signed, it was dangerous if Indians met Whitemen, especially if Indians had a good catch of furs. My grandmother said it wasn't too bad after the Hudson Bay Company came. The H.B.C. became depended on, by the Indians, for their trade and work.

In those days, money wasn't everything. Hunting and trapping were the only form of economic development for Indians and Metis, and for those who wanted to live in the North. To live in the North, in those days, you would have to make your living by harvesting the renewable natural resources. Even today, those of us that live here depend very much on natural resources for a good source of food. Of course, in these times, to keep food, you have to freezer and refrigerator, but in the good old days, you used the Indian way of keeping food, dehydration, air tight container.

I once went to visit at an Indian camp during berry picking time, but these Indians were Metis. I told them who I was and I said we are picking berries also, but that I also bought a few berries. These people said, “We pick berries each year so we can have some for the winter and we also sell some.” I said, “We do the same thing. What my wife doesn't preserve, I make sure

our freezer's full." These are blueberries I am talking about. The old fellow said, "We fix our drying rack, they will have it ready in an hour." Then he went on to explain how the berries were dried, under the rack a small fire was made and the hot summer sun was used. He said about ten to eleven baskets of berries dried would fill one basket, and I told him that when I was a kid, my mother would dry some berries about the same way.

About a week later, I went to see my new friend. "What are you doing now?" I said. He said, "We shot a moose this morning. I didn't want to waste the fat, so I made some containers for my berries." He had made containers out of birch bark, they looked like small canoes. These containers had moose fat, about a half to one inch thick all over the inside, bottom, and sides. These birch bark containers, he filled with blueberries, then he poured hot moose fat over the berries. He said as long as it was airtight the berries wouldn't spoil. I would say, he had about thirty pounds in each container. Over a small fire he was drying moose meat. He gave me some, it was sure good. I had my boys bring me some flat stone and showed them how to grind this dried meat into a kind of flour. Then I said, "This is how the old trappers used to go for days on very little food. You can carry five to ten pounds of this dry meat on your belt. You don't need salt because it is already salted. You carry a small tea pot and little tea and you're good for a long time. When you get hungry, you make a small fire on top of a dry stump, this a good place, you boil your tea, it only takes a minutes, then you put some powdered meat soup and the tea adds flavour that is hard to describe, but you travel a long way on it."

When me and my brother, Nate, would go prospecting or hunting, all we took with us most of the times was about a pound of raisins, some tea, rolled oats, some salt and pepper, and sometimes we took a pound of sugar, and we each carried a tea pail. For two or three days our food may weigh ten pounds. If we were lucky, some days, we might shoot a rabbit. The rolled oats, we used, the same way as I said the powdered meat was used. After your tea was boiled, you put in your rolled oats, this made a kind of soup. The raisins, would be eaten a handful or two at a time, when you got hungry and had to keep going before you stopped to boil tea or made camp.

Nate and I never carried blankets. In the winter or summer we just each used a small piece of canvas. In the winter time, we would cut a couple of green polar trees in six foot lengths, piled right on top of snow, and that is where we would build our fire. Then we would cut some limbs of spruce trees and make our bed. One canvas on poles around our bed and the other

canvas on our bed. Then we would take turns sleeping. By morning, our fire would still be high because frozen, green poplar takes a long time to burn. Some people clear off the snow, make a fire, then move the fire, and then make their bed. They figure this will be warm, but this is no good, for one thing, one fire can't melt away the frozen snow, ice, and ground. All this will do is make the bedding damp and you could end up with a bad cold.

I must tell you this, as I said my brothers and sisters all had large families, so one year all the kids in MacDiarmid and in fact, Lake Nipigon, all got sick with the whooping cough and no one seemed to have a cure for it. People were hiring planes to take their kids up high, hoping the thin air may have some effect on this cough. Nothing seemed to work. I used to stay up all night to make sure my kids wouldn't choke. One morning, I went to visit Nate and see how his gang was making out, Nate had a visitor, an old Indian friend, whose name was Jid-Moo, meaning squirrel, in Indian. He told Nate, "I won't make the medicine, I will show you how to make it, then you will know yourself. Bring Paddy along too." This Indian lived down the track away, so we went along. He pointed to a big white pine tree and said, "Take your axe and take off the outside bark, then scrape off the thin layer next to the tree. Scrape off about a pound each, take it home and boil it for about half an hour or until the water turns red like wine. You let your kids drink that stuff and nothing else." In a day or two, no more coughing, and that's just the way it happened.

Now, the same thing happened in 1917, the flu that killed a lot of people. Our family had it and it left its mark on all of us that had it. My sister, Amelia, still limps, my brother, Jim, couldn't walk until he was ten years old, my brother lost all of his hair, and I have a heart murmur for the rest of my life. I had that flu when I was one year old. My great grandmother got some medicine out of the bush and cured us all, and the ones that didn't have the flu, never got it.

I have had arthritis for fifteen years. At one time, I couldn't walk, my knees were swollen big and my doctor gave up on me. Then my wife said, "Patrick, why don't I try my grandmother's medicine on your knees?" I said, "Sure, why not." So, she went and got some and put it on my knees like a poltus. The next morning, you should have seen the yellow stuff that poltus drew out of my knees, the swelling started to go down, and in a week I was walking. The next time I saw my doctor, he said, "I see your sickness is getting better." I said, "I know, my wife fixed me up." He said, "How?" I told him that she got the medicine from the bush. The

doctor said nothing, just looked at me. "I think I'll x-ray your knees." He did and told me the swelling was starting to leave my joints, then he gave me the same pain killers.

My brother, Nate, knew some medicine he learned from our grandmother. She used to have me go with her when she was picking herbs. She tried to teach me about some herbs but I guess, I wasn't paying attention because I don't know about any now. Well one or two, maybe, but that's it.

You will not believe this, the best tooth ache medicine is the penis from an otter. After an Indian skins the otter, they cut out the penis, then this is left to dry. When you get a tooth ache, just hit the tooth a few times with this dried otter penis and rub it around the sore tooth and the pain is gone, just like that.

I know flowers in the forest that are strong pain killers. Indian medicine men use them to kill pain at childbirth. When a woman takes these flowers, she has a pain-free delivery with no side effects. I also know the bark off a certain tree will force a woman not to have a baby, but being raised a Catholic, it was against my beliefs to use this bark. I also know about, We-Kain, the weed used to treat cancer, T.B. and bad colds. This weed tastes just like aspirin and only a few people know how to pick it. My dad used to call it Muskrat Weed. A small amount taken once or twice a week and you won't catch cold all winter. Another medicine I tried on my kids, was blueberry juice boiled with the berry roots, take two cups a day, once in the morning and once at night, and no cold.

Lake Nipigon has some legends. About a mile from my old home, Nipigon House, is Echo Rock, a steep rocky hill right by the lake. The hill is straight up and down. The hill continues down to the bottom of the lake and the water is about 180-200 feet deep. The story about this place is, the Indians made a Catholic priest walk up a hill then pushed him over into the lake. If you look close, the markings on the face of the hill resembles a black robed figure about halfway up the face of the Groc Cap, an island, is the home of the thunder bird. Indians paddling their canoes always made sure they never pass this island in the evening or early morning. This is the time the thunder bird has been seen carrying moose in its claws. The Indians claim this bird is at least 30 feet high, standing on the ground. The wing span is around 100 feet, the Indians claim, that this bird has to be a thunder bird. Then say that when this bird comes in for a landing, flapping his wings to stop, sometime sounds like distant thunder. At one time the Indians had a large camping ground at Groc Cap Island, but they started to lose sleigh dogs, then

one day, after they heard a rumbling noise, they saw this big golden coloured bird with a moose in its clawed feet, the moose looked about the size of a cat compared to the size of the bird. The Indians moved out the same day.

Then there is Snake Point close to Gull Bay. A snake was seen swimming by this point and it was going faster than two men could paddle a fast, small canoe. The snake got out of the water across this point and you could see the marks on the ground. I guess, you could call them snake tracks, if you want. The snake was around 100 feet long and rounder on the body than a freighter canoe. The Old Chief told the young men that saw it, "Don't be afraid, the snake won't come back. He was just taking a shortcut from one big water to get to the next big water. Ocean to ocean."

Lake Nipigon has never given up on one that drowns there. A lot of people have drowned on Lake Nipigon and none of them has ever been found.

Mermaids have been on First Rapids on the Gull River. On First Rapids of the Onamoon River and on First, Second, and Third Rapids of the Sturgeon River. Anyone seeing a mermaid, lives a long life and a mermaid can speak any language. They are very friendly. They can tell your future and they can tell you what to expect to happen.

In Orient Bay, there is a place by a rocky hill, by the lake that has a smooth rocky surface on the face of the hill, this is where the Indians come to pray. This was and still is, a holy, sacred place for the Indians. At this place, the Indians say a small people live in the rock. This is the place that Indians come to from miles away, to pray. Indian relics have been found here for years. Jack McCullam, who has a tourist lodge close to this praying place, found Indian arrowheads, bracelets, copper pots, copper axes, and copper tools, at a place he was preparing to pull out his boat. I believe a lot of Indian relics could be found if you were to dig around the Indian prayer rock, but the Indians warn, taking things could be bad luck.

To keep my family together and learn my kids what I knew about hunting and fishing with hooks and lines, and also trapping, I took my family blueberry picking. We built a camp where we used to stay from the 1<sup>st</sup> of July to the 1<sup>st</sup> of November. Each year for fifteen years, the happiest fifteen years of our married life, was spent alone with our family. There were no drunks, no women gossip, no trouble with our kids, no stealing, lots of fresh air, lots of fresh wild meat, fruits, fish, we could live good on fifty dollars per month, and there was only the odd visitor.

Living alone with my kids, I realized why my dad worked 47 years for the H.B.C. It was because of his kids. Raising a family away from other families is different then raising a family in the city or a small town. When living alone, you have certain rules you follow, like going to bed, getting up, doing chores, and saying your prayers. In a city, very few kids follow rules. There are too many interferences like it is a crime to spank your kids, other kids make fun of others that go to church, to be macho a kid has to smoke, use drugs, and use the system this means, break the law and use the law to win your case. Kids learn the ropes fast.

### 5.3 Norval Morriseau

My idea is, why I draw them-see, there's lots of stories that are told in Ojibway. But that wasn't enough for me. I wanted to draw them - that's from my own self-what they would look like. And I never knowed anybody who would be interested. And I thought if they could be some place for a hundred-two hundred-years - not for myself, for my people. Even if I don't get no money I would be glad to paint them just for people to see" (Morriseau and Dewdney, 1965, p. xi).

### 5.1 Mizhi Bizshou



Figure 5.1 depicts a creature prominently in many of the pictures and stories surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior discussed by Morriseau. *Norval Morriseau. Selwyn Dewdney Manuscript located at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Art Collection. Permission granted by Gabe M. Veda for use in May 07, 2010.*



In these pages will be found the beliefs, the tales and legends up to the present day, of the great Ojibway nation of Lake Nipigon and the Thunder Bay district. This book is written in honour of my great Ojibway Indian ancestors who roamed the Great Lakes for centuries upon centuries and their descendants who live today all over Ontario. I am Norval Morriseau and my Indian name is Copper Thunderbird. I am a born artist. A few people are born artist and most others are not, and it is the same with the Indians. I have grown up with many stories and legends, although very few people have yet seen them. I believe each painting would be worth exhibiting in a gallery. Each one illustrates an Ojibway legend as purely uncorrupted as a modern-day Indian could possibly paint. I am not sure if the art itself would be accepted as original Indian art, but painters are rarely found among the Ojibway. The Department of Indian Affairs at one time wanted to give me art lessons but in my opinion this would have spoilt me, as nobody else could teach me the kind of paintings I do and perhaps I would have learned something else to corrupt my style. I had reached only Grade Four on quitting school, which I regret now, but I have read a lot to improve my education. I speak English well and many times have been told by my friends that I know how to hold a good conversation and must have had a good school education.

Over the years I became a avid student of my people, the great Ojibway. I have as much interest in their history and lore as any anthropologist and have studied all I can. I believe I have the proper version of this lore; I have lived among my people all my life and, being an Indian, I was readily told anything I wanted to know just for the asking. Also I do not pick these stories and legends from any book as such books are not to be found anywhere. I understand a lot is known of other respected tribes of North American Indians but only a little of the great Ojibway people. I believe it will require some years of study before much is known of my people, I wish to see this accomplished in my lifetime, so I am writing this book as a foundation and I am sure many more will follow. I wish some of the educated Ojibway Indians would take the same interest in our history as I have always done. My people, be proud of your great culture that was once mighty, your great societies, the Midaywewin and Wabinowin, and the great Ojibway Medicine Society of the Three Fires. Today we wonder, and we are distracted by the effects of the white man's ways that we cannot cope with. Those of us who are lucky have made it, but many of us are still behind because we are trying to live like our white brothers and by their religion, ignoring our great ancestral cultures.

If we are intelligent about this, we could live side by side with our ancient ways and at the same time get where we should be, like our white brothers. We are helped in order to help ourselves and it is now up to us to try from there. Remember we have accomplished a lot within a hundred years. A hundred years ago we lived of the land by hunting and trapping. Today we do not. We have been to school and learned the ways of the white man's world. In another hundred years from today we will be mixed with our great Country into the Canadian way of life. How will we benefit by knowing that way of life if we set aside our ancestral rites and beliefs? I feel as I am writing this book that it would indeed be a great loss if these legends and beliefs of my people, the Ojibway, are forgotten. For so much is lost. Every day an Ojibway elder dies and every day some of the knowledge of his ancestors dies with him. Only after he is dead is it realized how great that loss is. Also some Ojibway do not pass their beliefs for fear of some misfortune, or they wait until the day comes to die and then it is too late. We, therefore, must write down and record legends, are, songs, and beliefs, not for ourselves alone, but for all future Ojibway. One would not like to open a book to read that we were tough, ignorant savages or a bunch of drunkards, but rather a people who were proud of their great culture (Morrisseau and Dewdney, p. 1-3).

The Ojibway believed the thunder to be a great massive bird called a thunderbird, whose eyes shoot out lightning and thunder. The first thunder in early spring was something good to hear, for the Ojibway welcomed their protector again from its home in the south where it had been all the winter. Offerings of tobacco were placed on the ground or on water or put into the stove to burn, or sacred pipes were smoked by the elders to the thunderbird in the early spring. It is known among the Ojibway that the thunderbirds had a huge nest on the mountains of the earth and large blankets of clouds were always seen to cover the nest. Although the thunderbird was never seen to come and from its nest, it was known to be there.

Lightning and thunder were heard only at (certain) places. At Lake Nipigon in the olden times there was a mountain across the old Sand Point Indian Reserve where the thunderbirds had a nest made of stones that was always seen by the Ojibway. No one ever went to find out what was really up there but Indians did not need to find out, for the Ojibway knew it was the thunderbird and considered that place sacred. About thirty years before the coming of the white man into that area of Lake Nipigon the blanket of clouds seen at the mountain began to life and moved away forever, and the Ojibway saw a huge nest. Later that summer the thunderbirds

destroyed every trace of the place and pretty nearly leveled half the mountain in order to leave no evidence. I was told that the thunderbirds were believed to have a great nest on one of the mountains by Lake Superior.

Some eighty-five years ago two young boys started to climb this mountain to find out if a thunderbird really was there although they had been told never to go up that mountain. When they got to the top they saw two big newly hatched birds who were still hairy and whose eyes blinked light like flashes of lightning. The frightened boys ran down the hill and told what they had seen. An Indian who in his youth had seen these boys died at Heron Bay some years ago.

Huge stone nest of these majestic birds are still seen in some parts of Ontario. One is located in Manitoba, another in the Deer Lake area in the wilderness north of Red Lake. One Ojibway elder was believed to be a special messenger of the Great Spirit. This Indian lived at Virgin Falls at the mouth of Lake Nipigon. He told the Ojibway that God sent him to earth in company with two other people whose names were stone and water. This man of honour said that one day Lake Nipigon would be flooded, the Nipigon River would flow into Lake Nipigon again and Virgin Falls would be lost forever in the water. The Ojibway at that time did not believe this man, although he was respected for his great medicine drums.

Later this same story was told me by a relative who said that the birds moved away. Fifty years later this fine portage was flooded by a hydro dam. The pressure forced the river to flow backwards into Lake Nipigon, and his words came true. How he knew this would take place is a mystery. Some Indians who heard this old man say these words are still alive to see them coming true. Where did the white man get his electric power from-the thunderbirds? This is a general belief among the Ojibway. "At one time," said this same Ojibway elder, "I went west and came upon some white men making a golden serpent that was hollow inside. About an hour after the serpent was put out in the prairies, thunder clouds were seen to come over in its direction. This snake was made so that the thunderbirds would be attracted to it and have some lightning caught inside the hollow part. When the thunderbirds saw the serpent they dropped from the heavens showers of lightning. Some of it got caught inside the hollow part and when there was enough the white man took the lightning and made it into electric power.

The Ojibway elder also said that one time the white men took off for the thunderclouds on a plane and when they got up there they shot at the thunderbirds, took only the heads, put

them in huge pots and the juice of the heads was turned into electric power. The Ojibway of the Lake Nipigon area believed in two kinds of thunderbirds, one had the ordinary bill, or beak, the other had a long, hooked beak. The latter the Ojibway believed had a very bad temper, made the loudest noise and destroyed Indians by lightning, but the other was of a mild temper and did not make very much noise and these are the ones we generally hear. There is also the thunderbird who is alone and has a lot of power (Morrisseau and Dewdney, p. 1-6).

## 5.2 Lightning and Thunder Birds

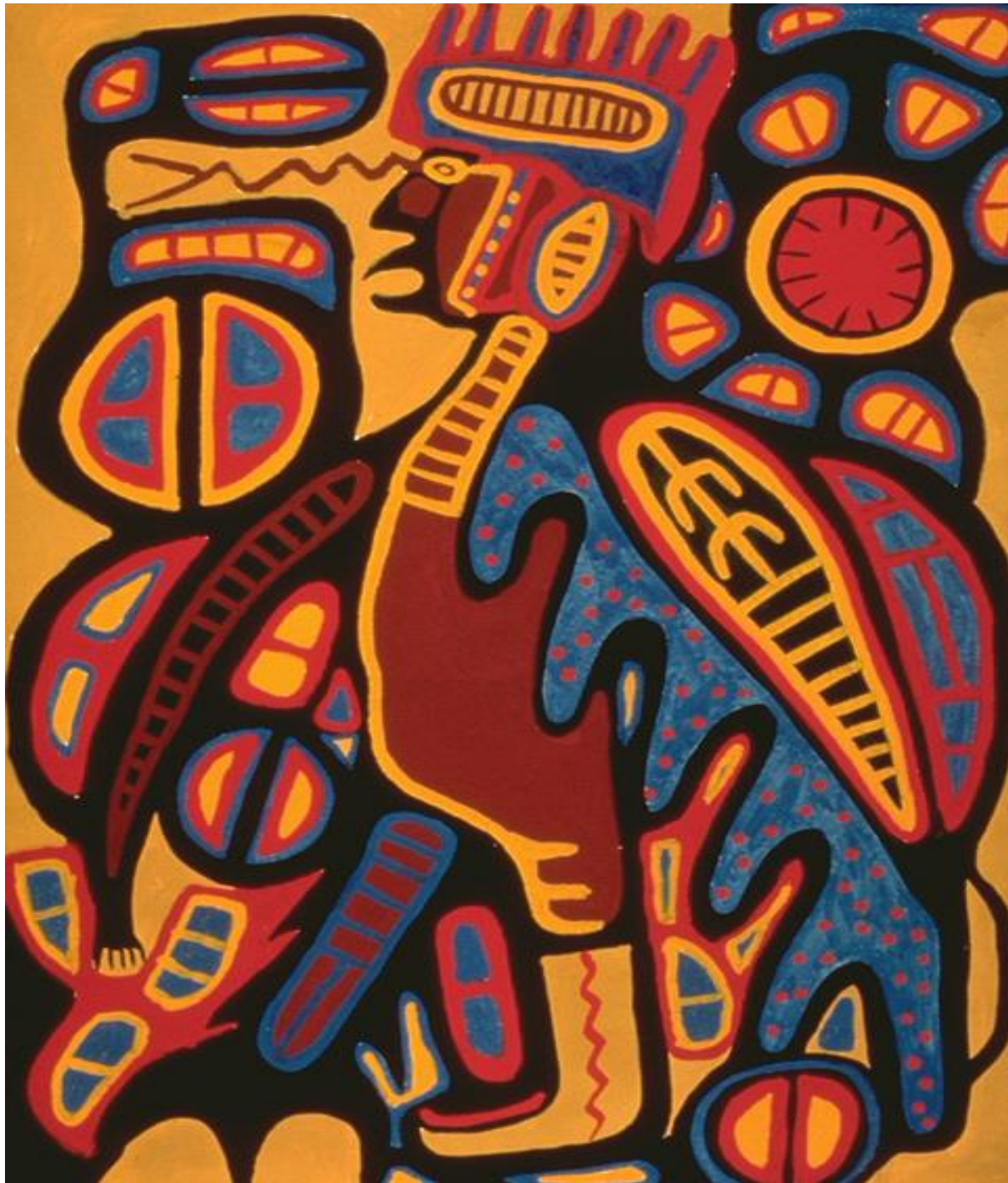


Figure 5.2 The stories on the preceding page deal with these lightning and thunder beings. *Norval Morriseau. Selwyn Dewdney Manuscript located at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Art Collection. Permission for use granted by Gabe M. Vedas for use May 07, 2010.*

The Ojibway believe the earth to be their mother and that we are the children of the earth. The sun is the sister of the world, the moon is the brother. The sky, water, fire and stone are also closely related to the earth. The figure on the moon is believed to be that of a small boy carrying two water pails. At one time a Young Ojibway boy about ten years old was told not to look at the moon too long for it was forbidden and the moon would take him away, but the lad, who had two water pails with him to get water, wanted to prove if this were true and kept staring. Finally the moon came closer and closer and took away the Ojibway lad and this is where he has lived from that day. The Ojibway children are told not to look at the moon too long and often ask their elders why there is a boy with two pails on the moon, and this is the story that is told to them.

The great medicine spider appeared to the Ojibway centuries ago to teach them to make a net of hide trying in the same manner as the spider makes his web, to protect them from sorcery. It is believed that if a sorcerer comes to harm the owner of the scared net his spirit body, or dream body, will be caught like a fly in this net and be devoured by the spider, and if that spirit body is caught his real body, including his spirit body, will die. Today these sacred nets can still be seen among the Ojibway, made out of fine thread with small rattles tied on both sides. To kill frogs means rain, and it is forbidden to kill frogs and turtles for fear of angering the frog spirit. Indians used frogs and turtles with sorcery to bring upon earth much-needed rains. Killing a snake was not allowed because of its relationship and resemblances to the medicine snake, although it is smaller. But if a snake is killed it must not be laid on its back to show its belly to the sky, because this angers the thunderbirds and foretells a thunderstorm, when they would cast lightning upon the snake. One day I was with my brother in Dorion Township, Ontario, at Good-Morning Lake. We got up very early, about four o'clock in the morning, while it was cold outside. My brother Frank shot at a nighthawk that was flying around in the air and it finally landed in a clearing. Sure enough, he killed it. We travelled until six that morning and pretty nearly got lost because a thick fog came down that lasted until twelve that day when it finally lifted. Later that afternoon I began to wonder what would cause the fog to fall so heavily on us. Then I remembered and told my brother that I had heard a story of two Indian children who found a nighthawks' nest on a rock and poked a stick at them, and it began to get foggy and rained. Indian legend states is the clothing of a thunderbird, or a blind that he uses not to be seen. If the fog is very thick it is believed that the thunderbird comes down to earth to eat the evil serpents. Was it because we killed this hawk that its spirit form cried to its relation, the

thunderbird in return to send a fog upon us? I do not know. But my brother never tried to kill another for fear of the fog descending upon him. Other Ojibway told me the same. Some say it begins to thunder, storm and rain. Anyway, this is a belief to be held with respect (Morriseau and Dewdney, p. 14-16).

The Ojibway Indians at Lake Nipigon had what we call the stone medicine that was picked up from the earth itself. There are many legends of the origin of these sacred sands and stone medicines. The Indians called this matter onaman. The red onaman sand, which is the colour of darkish blood found in iron rust, has a legend that tells how at one time when the world was young there lived a huge beaver in a great pond. Maybe the pond was Lake Superior. One day when the great beaver came to the top of the water the thunderbirds were up above. A thunderbird, known as the hunger bird, saw this beaver and came swooping down and seized it and flew up into the air to feast on its flesh. The claws of the thunderbird went deep into the beaver's hide and flesh. From the beaver's wounds sprang blood that fell all over the earth. From that blood was formed the sacred medicine sand called the onaman. The great Ojibway used this for charms to bring them more luck in hunting and trapping. They would make a medicine bag by putting the onaman sand of the beaver's blood into a deer-hide bag and trying to it three eagle feathers, one from each wing and one from the tail, to represent the hunter bird.

In all the lakes where rock paintings are found the Ojibway put sacred signs on the face of the cliffs. I was told by my grandfather that the sacred markings we see on the cliff walls were put there by the power of the Indian who executed them, that he did not use any sacred onaman sand as was claimed, but his actual fingers. From the fingers sprang out red matter that was so powerful and so sacred that it will remain always without fading. Other markings that have faded were made by onaman sand. It was believed by my people that these rock paintings did not foretell or leave any information, but were sacred signs meaning little to anyone outside that area. To those who lived there, however, they would mean something. The Indians might even have known the painter and been told the meanings, although after a hundred years these would be lost because the men who knew had died during that time without telling anyone else (Morriseau and Dewdney, p. 18-19).

### 5.3 Rock drawings of sacred beings



Figure 5.3 This painting is similar to the onamon images painted on rock faces in Northern Ontario which are discussed in the preceding story. *Norval Morriseau. Selwyn Dewdney Manuscript located at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Art Collection. Permission granted by Gabe M. Vedas for use in May 07, 2010.*

Ojibway have a firm belief in the great Flood as related in the Bible, but there is an Indian version that tells how the water gods were mad because Nanabojou had killed a frog that was a medicine-man. He skinned the frog, put on its skin and went to the lodges of the water gods. When he got there, on the floor was the great water god Misshipeshu badly wounded and in pain. Nanabojou was welcome; for the water gods, thinking it was the frog medicine-man, did not know it was Nanabojou in the frog skin. The water god had an arrow inside him and the “frog” was told to take it out. Instead of pulling the arrow out, he pushed it in farther until the water god died. At the door was Nanabojou’s blood brother the wolf, who grabbed the skin and ran into the forest. Later the water gods found that it was really Nanabojou. This made them mad and they out a flood upon the earth. Nanabojou felt sorry for the animals and made a huge raft to save them all. I cannot and will not believe that Nanabojou, the chief demigod, was a rabbit, nor



will the Ojibway. One who was intelligent above all life could not have been the meek and lowly rabbit. Our belief at Lake Nipigon is that he was a man, a demigod by rights who took human form.

A legend is told how Nanabojou centuries ago burned his rectum, because his rectum did not speak to him to give warning. Would a rabbit have the intelligence to do this? Also legend states that all the wolves were Nanabojou's brothers. Then it must have been a sight to see a rabbit leading a pack of wolves as brothers. And it would be an insult to this great Ojibway legendary demigod to say he looked like a man with long rabbit-ears. This is not the real legend, but is of a white origin. The Ojibway belief is the one to go by, that Nanabojou looked like an Indian, not a rabbit. This does not mean to say that all demigods looked like humans.

The Beaver was considered sacred by the Ojibway who, because of its meat and fur, regarded it as the source of life. No Ojibway will ever throw beaver bones to a dog. If he does it is considered to bring bad luck and he would never catch beaver again for a period of some years. It is believed by the Ojibway that the dog bites the bones harder than a human and the beaver feels it if a dog chews his bones. The kneecaps of the beaver are taken right away as it is skinned and are put in the fire or the water where no dog can get them. Beaver meat is never given to a dog to eat although traps for wild animals are baited with beaver meat but no harm come out of this. The first beaver of the year that is caught by the Ojibway is always eaten in a manner that is considered sacred. Some Indians would spread a clean cloth and have the first beaver eaten on the floor, not on the table. All the bones are tied in a bundle in a clean cloth with ribbons and tobacco and are thrown in the water. This is believed to bring good luck in the catching beaver for the coming season (Morriseau and Dewdney, p. 19-20).

The Ojibway of this area believe that there is a huge red sturgeon in the waters of Lake Nipigon who has eyes that shine like the sun and who is known among the Ojibway as the keeper of all the offering rocks in the Lake Nipigon area. There is an underwater grave, or tunnel, leading from Nipigon Bay into Lake Nipigon and to all the offering rocks of that area. Indians had medicine dreams concerning these tunnels and it is claimed by the Ojibway that there was one Indian who once saw these tunnels through the power of the lake-dweller, or merman, at Poplar Lodge at Lake Nipigon. Indians were spearing fish by torchlight when one Ojibway noticed at the bottom of the gravel a merman. Not knowing that it was a merman but figuring it was a fish, he threw his spear at it. The water began to churn and his hands were stuck to the

handle of the spear until he was pulled, body and all, into the water. He did not drown, but felt some power being forced into his body to enable him to breathe; then he was taken for a journey to all the water caves and tunnels, to all the offering rocks at Lake Nipigon, at Ombabika Bay, Gull Bay and Orient Bay. The mermen spoke to him and said, "We want you to be our representative. We want you to erect offering rocks whenever we have taken you and to tell the Ojibway about these tunnels." The mermen brought good luck to those who offered them tobacco and, in return, helped the Indians to travel safely on all lakes and rivers by making the waters calm.

Of course the Ojibway Indians of the whole Nipigon area saw these being in person, for each one looked like a human but with rather a funnily shaped nose and face; they were very shy and seemed to hide their face in shame. Ojibway Indians, however, always told them not to be afraid, for they were much respected. And the water beings knew this through mind readings. Of course no water being was ever worshipped or considered a god. Indians for centuries knew these water-dwellers but had been warned that one day the white man would live among the Indians and the water beings would not show themselves anymore, although the Indians were assured that when this happens the Ojibway would still believed in them. The water beings lived away from the eyes of the white man, for it is said that they were afraid that he might expose them to public view, but the Ojibway never did want to find out who they really were; they met the water-dwellers as good friends. Indians for centuries used to offer gifts, as well as tobacco and firewater that were brought by the traders. Once a water being told the Ojibway, "Never let a young woman see us, for it is taboo and we shall not appear again at the cliffs." This word was respected until one day a young woman covered by a buckskin blanket took a peek at them. The water beings never showed themselves again. Even to this day they are never seen, but it is believed that these beings are there yet at Nipigon Bay. No more offerings are made to them directly, but once in a while, if an Indian is caught in a storm, he offers tobacco and the waters become very calm. The present generation, however, does not practise things done by their fathers. It is said among the Ojibway that the water beings were very wise and powerful. They lived in all the waters of the lakes as we do on the land. They were seen by the Ojibway from east to west and from south to north they are men, women and children and they live on fish, but I cannot say here that they live forever as I believe they must die as we do.

It is said that our ancestors traded tobacco and pipes with them in return for medicine that

was very powerful. They spoke a little differently from us of the Ojibway, as their name was Maymaygwaysiwuk that means in English “a person that speaks strangely.” These Maymaygwaysiwuk were also powerful dream guardians. If an Ojibway Indian, when fasting, dreamed of these beings he would become strong enough to prevent a sorcerer from bringing him into his magic shaking tent. The water beings would help that Indian overcome the sorcery, for they had the power of knowing all matters upon the earth and the water. When seen, according to the Ojibway, they had with them a stone boat with stone paddles. Some say the canoe moved alone, by some power. Also some say that they used to steal fish from nets. At one time they were chased in order to know who they were. The Maymaygwaysiwuk would head for the shore line of cliffs, and the stone boat would go right into the opening as if through a door, which would be shut when the Ojibway got to the place. No door was to be seen. This was very strange indeed. At other times their boat would sink where they lived. When the Ojibway got there all they would see were bubbles, then they would know who they were. My ancestor, my great-great-grandfather four generations ago, whose name was Little Grouse, had a medicine dream concerning an offering rock where the water demigod Misshipeshu, in the form of a huge cat, spoke to him and advised him to put on the rock a sacred sign made out of onaman, the Ojibway sacred sand. It was in the summer, and the water demigod helped my great-great-grandfather to put its sign on the walls of the cliffs. From then on, until thirty years ago, Indians of that area offered gifts to Misshipeshu.

In those days only the Ojibway Indians were at Lake Nipigon, there was no white man and everything was quiet. Maybe this is the main reason all water beings were seen so freely. But when the white men came and brought with them fish nets, motorboats, airplanes and railroads, these beings, the Ojibway believe, moved to a quieter place. Ojibway Indians of Lake Nipigon had an offering rock erected to this huge cat. Offerings of copper pails were thrown into the water and black dogs as well as white dogs, decorated in the very best, were offered alive to the go for it to eat. In the time of the early traders, traps, guns, and firewater, as well as great amounts of tobacco, were also put into the water. This was done once a year around June, in order not to offend the water god and bring good luck to all those who believed in these offerings. Canoes formed a circle at the offering rock, as these rites took place on the water.

## 5.4 Mizhi Bizshou



Figure 5.4 In this story, onaman rock drawings of Mizhi Bizshou are discussed. *Norval Morriseau. Selwyn Dewdney Manuscript located at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Art Collection. Permission granted by Gabe M. Vedas for use in May 07, 2010.*

This huge cat is believed by the Ojibway to be white in colour, with horns, and very powerful. It is believed to live in the water but why a cat lives in the water, or where it lived, is not known. This is another big demigod of the same cat family who was considered very evil, but was a spirit. If anyone dreamed of this big water demigod at the time of fasting it was believed to bring misfortune, not to the dreamer but to his children. For this cat had to be pleased; it lived on human flesh or souls, but also accepted offerings of white pups about six months old to replace human souls. These offerings, however, were made very seldom for this demigod was never demanding. This big water god, or spirit, knew both good and evil. It all depended on what kind of nature an Indian had. If he were good then he would have the power to do good. If he were bad then he was given power to do bad. But the true water god, the white one

in colour, always brought good luck to all who respected him. The last offerings were made to the demigod at Lake Nipigon about thirty years ago.

Now the offering rock is bare, for the water god Misshipeshu moved away. I was told by certain people who have studied what was written in books supposed to represent Ojibway lore that there was no female goddess only gods. I do not believe this because of a story about Misshipeshu that I was told while I was at Longlac by Mr. Abraham, a good Indian and a friend of mine. He told me his grandfather was a powerful medicine-man. One day while he was trapping at Look-Into Lake in the Longlac area, Where the Indians feared this water god lived, there was a big thunderstorm. For three days and nights lightning poured all around this lake. The lake itself was big with smaller lake beside it. On his way Mr. Abraham's grandfather noticed both the lakes were all one piece of water. On the lake itself much foam was floating and one cliff near the water was pretty nearly leveled. As he went further he noticed two white things floating around, picked them up with his paddle and saw they were two small dead offspring of the water god. Then where did these come from if there were only male demigods?

Maymaygwaysiwuk offspring in a medicine dream look small, round and hairy and they prove that there was sex life among them, too. I do not believe their being demigods or goddesses gave them the power to create a young one through thought. Also I firmly believe that there were female goddesses. But according to Ojibway custom and beliefs the male is superior to all life and the female is set aside. Also Misshipeshu, The watch god of the shaking tent ceremony, was a powerful demigod and had children by his female partner. Or perhaps if they were all only males he would say, "Now I am getting centuries old, it's about time for a new demigod, let there be one by my power." No, I do not think he had that power, no matter what power he had. After all, there was a power greater than he was, and the right to command offspring by thought was not his.

So ends this legend. An old Ojibway Indian at Lake Nipigon had six sons and each summer one died of sickness. Finally the youngest of the sons, who was sixteen years old, was the only one left alive. One summer day the Ojibway Indian set out for the Orient Bay rock painting site and took with him a bundle of goods, including tobacco, and placed it on the waters and said, "Great Misshipeshu, hear my plea. I ask you by your power to save my only child. I offer these. In return, show me a sign that my plea is heard." The Indian went further down the bay, and when he reached Reflection Lake Camps on Lake Nipigon, behold, from the bottom of

the water, he saw two eyes looking at him, which came to the surface with a splash. It was a very huge red sturgeon, the keeper, or watcher, of the offering rock. This he believed was a sign of good luck, and from that day the only son recovered and lived.

It was claimed by the great Ojibway medicine men that this large sturgeon was seen from time to time, also another really big sturgeon with a red belly and a box shaped head. This the Ojibway believed to be a snake sturgeon and that whoever eats this evil snake sturgeon will become a snake or be smothered by them. This occurred twice, at Lake Nipigon and in the Longlac area. It is not really known, as no written record was left, what really took place. But my own belief is that there must have been something in the sturgeon itself or its blood that attracted the snakes, which smothered the Indians after they were asleep. Perhaps the Indians became sick from eating this fish and could not help themselves after eating it, or else the meat turns into that poisonous matter after it is eaten.

The Ojibway of the Lake Nipigon area held Lake Hanna as a very sacred lake and called it Mesinama Sahegun. At each end of the lake were erected offering rocks to the evil snake sturgeons, and Indians travelling through this lake placed offerings of tobacco there so that no harm would come to them. The Ojibway did not travel in one part of this lake that was believed to be the place where these sturgeons lived, but the other side of the lake was fit for travel. But the Ojibway still left offerings of tobacco for them there, in order not to offend them. The water of this lake was very dark in colour, not like Lake Nipigon water. Indians used to go to this lake to feast on the good sturgeons there. The Ojibway believed the snake sturgeon never existed here until one night it fell from the heavens with a mighty roar. Two years later these snake sturgeons with box-shaped heads were seen spawning among the good sturgeons. The Ojibway never feared these snake sturgeons and they did not know what effect one would have if eaten. About ten years later Ojibway Indians of that area ate this sturgeon and about two hundred families perished at their summer camp at Lake Hanna (Morriseau and Dewdney, p. 31-33).

## 5.5 Sturgeon

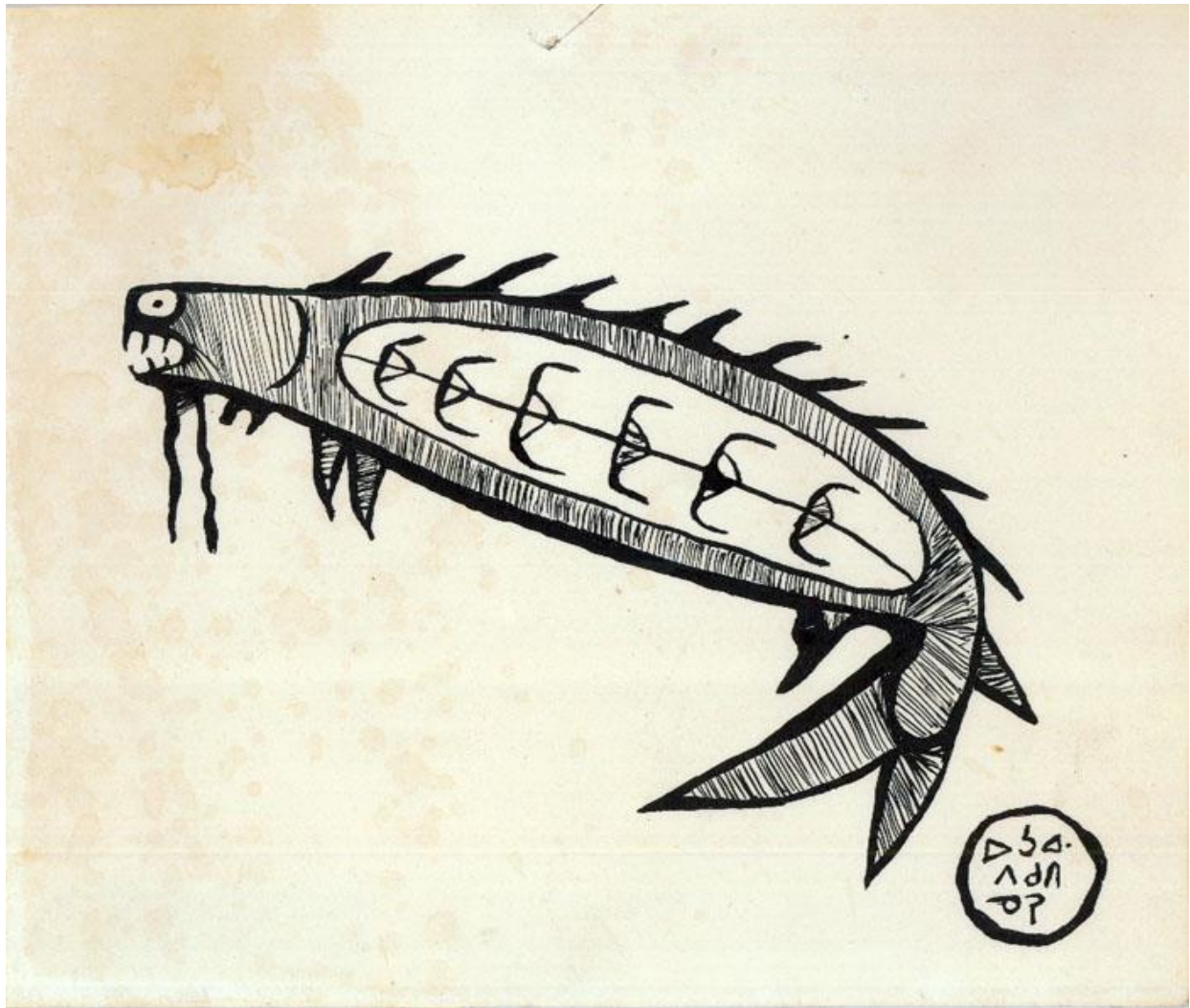


Figure 5.5 The preceding story discussed a type of sturgeon. *Norval Morriseau. Selwyn Dewdney Manuscript located at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Art Collection. Permission granted by Gabe M. Vedas for use in May 07, 2010.*

The Midaywewin Society of the Ojibway held this animal to be sacred. Legend states that the bear was at one time in the early history of the Ojibway a human, or had human form. Then it turned into an animal. It is indeed strange to say that a bear understands Indian, but if Indians meet a bear, in fear they address it as “Our grandfather to all of us, the Ojibway.” And start to talk to it. It is a great sight to see a bear’s ears and head moving as you speak to it. Those Indians whom the bear wanted to fight had been told the bear would release its hold and stop being angry if addressed properly (Morriseau and Dewdney, p. 38).

So powerful is the sacred bear that all the bear's bones were used for charms and relics for sucking rites. One sees a whole string full of bear's bones from all parts of the body in two-inch lengths. During these rites the medicine man starts to suck and rattle with these bones. A hollow bone from a leg or arm cut to a certain size is used for sucking out disease or sickness brought on by sorcery. Claws are kept, also. Teeth, especially the two front teeth, are made into whistles as charms. For a bear is so powerful over other animals and demigods that to blow its tooth puts fear into the spirits. Fur, meat and oil are used, and poisons as well as medicine are made from the gall bladder. Clothing and tobacco are tied with one claw in bright-coloured cloth and ribbon and placed in the forest for its honour. The bear's shoulders are painted and used as a charm for long life. Say an Indian is fifty years old today, he would take a shoulder-blade and would then start putting marks on it, say five. Each mark told how many years he wished to live. When that time was up more marks were added, and so forth.

According to Ojibway custom, bear skulls are sacred. I have four in my home, carefully decorated and painted with oils in red, blue, yellow and white that really make these charms colourful. They Indians used to paint in those colours when they could be obtained. Before paint, red matter of earth colours replaced the paint we use today. According to a medicine dream, the sacred bear is white in colour, has red feet with yellow spots, and two horns. To possess the white skin of an albino bear meant honour to the Ojibway. The owner would be respected by all and the fur divided up for charm pipes and bags or kept just as a whole skin. In the same way the Plains Indians held sacred the albino buffalo.

Ojibway Indians of Lake Nipigon had what is known as the Midaywewin Society. An Ojibway, or his family, had to pay a great quantity of goods to be a member of this society. In addition, the new member would have to pass some test. At the Midaywewin Lodge would be a great table and on the table would be all kinds of good food to eat. On another table would be pots full of partly cooked dog soup and meat. Also live snakes were brought into the ceremony and their tails cut off and swallowed down while still wriggling. Some Indians who were full



## 5.6 A Sacred Man



Figure 5.6 The preceding stories discussed medicine people and medicine societies. *Norval Morriseau. Selwyn Dewdney Manuscript located at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Art Collection. Permission granted by Gabe M. Vedas for use in May 07, 2010.*

members were known to have swallowed six tails, but a lot of people started to throw up. Certain food that was considered bad medicine was also placed on the table. Some full-fledged members were known to eat these bad medicine dishes with no ill effects. These were the tests. If a person could not pass them it was hard to be a member.

Each member had some kind of hide such as otter, weasel, bear, marten, fisher, mink or fox. During the Midaywewin ceremonies these hides were seen to come alive. The bearskin began to growl and the fox skins began to bark, for these were the medicine hides of the members. The new member would do his best to join the society and a medicine bag was given to help him in these tests. He would be asked to point this bag at another new member. Out of the medicine bag would shoot forth medicine, or magic powers. The Indian would fall to the ground, spitting blood and dying from the effects of the powerful medicine bag, but would be revived again as if nothing had happened (Morriseau and Dewdney, p. 38-42, note that pictures are on pages 41-42).

Medicine in the Ojibway tribe was very important, and the Indians knew over three hundred kinds that they got from the water as well as the land. The emblem for medicine in the Ojibway tribe was a horned snake. A man, who dreamed of a horned snake, or serpent, was considered to be a medicine-man and to have knowledge of medicine, and even if he did not become a medicine-man at least he would have true knowledge of medicine.

We in the Ojibway tribe have medicine men and women. Some medicine-men were very great in their skill or trade and did not need to gather or prepare medicine. All they would do was to have an empty birchbark dish covered with a clean deer hide or cloth. When the medicine-man was called to attend a sick person he would play his sacred medicine drum and place the dish outside. After he had played his medicine song the dish would be brought inside and in it would be very small bundles of sacred medicine that are believed by the Ojibway to be placed there by the medicine serpent.

Other Ojibway medicines were based on the thunderbirds. This society of Ojibway medicine was called the Thunderbird Medicine Society. It is an Ojibway belief that the great thunderbird in a medicine dream gives power to the dreamer to prepare medicine. Also it is believed that, for those who learn from the thunderbirds, medicines are not made out of roots, barks and so on but are in the form of an egg of light-blue colour. Other medicine matter was red, yellow or white. When a thunderbird medicine-man prepared medicine he would scrape the

egg and some of the powder would be placed in a small pail. Sometimes small medicine eggs were dropped whole in the medicine pots. These were used for curing the sick (Morrisseau and Dewdney, p. 46-47).

There was a lady at Nipigon, Ontario, who was known for her skill as a midwife and was also experienced in helping women during pregnancy. This Indian lady had a medicine she gave her patients and they felt no pain, or very little, when having babies. I was told that she was trapping on one of the Lake Superior islands with her husband when she saw that a moose on that island had two calves that spring, and she noticed where the moose had chewed off some bark at that time. When she asked her husband why a moose would do this he told her that the moose did it in order not to feel pain and that it was nature's way of helping animals. An idea came to her to try this out on a human patient who was about to give birth, and it proved to be very successful with no side effects whatsoever.

The Ojibway had what we call a steam house that looked like an upside-down bowl, made out of saplings and covered with hide or canvas, with a floor cover of cedar branches. Indians of the Ojibway tribe used this steam house to cure certain sicknesses that bothered them. Red-hot stones are placed inside and water is poured upon them to give steam. All kinds of sweet-smelling herbs are burned, but among the Ojibway tribe of Lake Nipigon dried cedar is mostly used. At the same time it cleans a man's body and his soul. It was believed that after an Indian purified himself the spirits came more easily in medicine dreams and he had a better chance to speak to the Great Spirit. The steam bath was used by certain medicine-men to talk to the water god, thunderbird or medicine snakes, as well as to ask nature to give better weather.

An Ojibway Indian going inside a steam house would take a small stick and place sweet-smelling herbs on the rock or stones and pour water on them and say, "Oh, stones, for centuries you have been hot and dry, now I place water upon you. Help me to speak better to my God and the spirits," and he would then start pounding on the rocks and chanting Indian sacred songs. These lasted for many hours.

## 5.7 Piece of original Morriseau manuscript dealing with sweat lodge

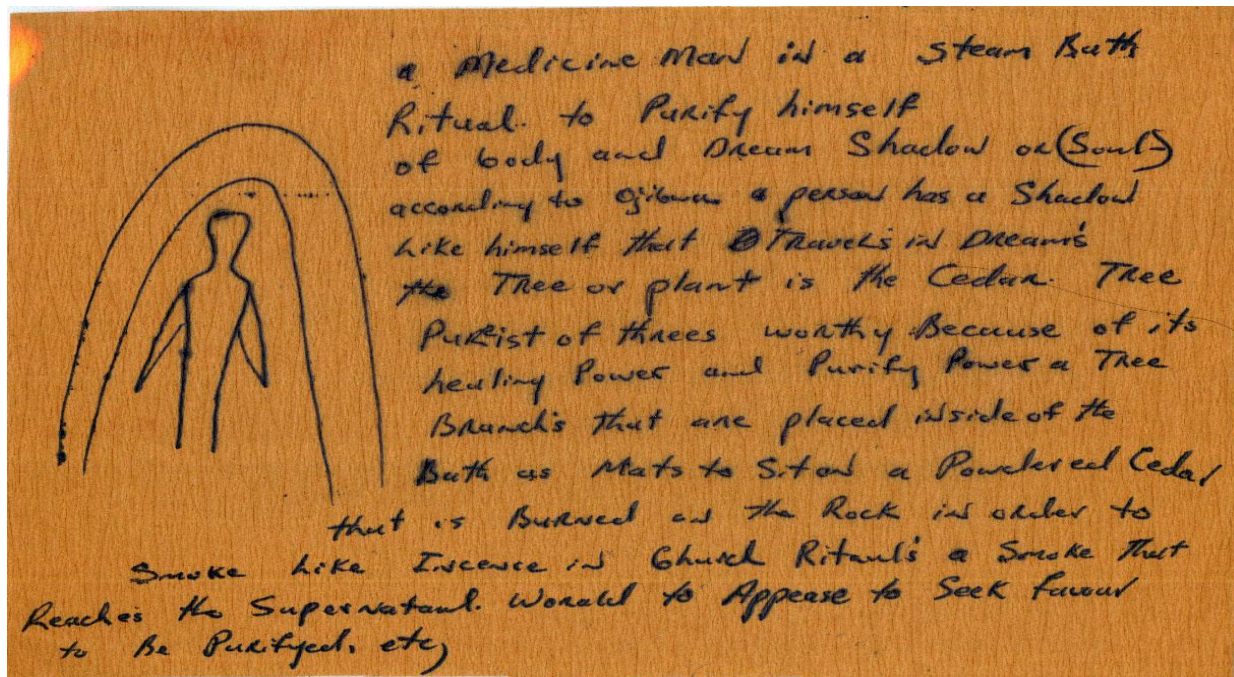


Figure 5.7 Stories of the sweat lodge are discussed. *Norval Morriseau. Selwyn Dewdney Manuscript located at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Art Collection. Permission granted by Gabe M. Vedas for use in May 07, 2010.*

The Ojibway of Lake Nipigon had two kinds of steam bathhouses. One was made to be used for cures, and spirits would be asked to assist through the steam house. And there was on steam bath that was erected to the thunderbird. This was made on a platform and stood about two or three feet above the ground. Ojibway Indians made these for their own use, as well as for the medicine-man. The one that stood on the ground was not valued very much but the one that stood above the ground was considered very valuable, and if an Indian made this for an elder or medicine-man, in return he would get rich rewards from them.

Some of the red onaman sand was used for love medicine and another sand that was coloured light red mixed with grease and used for a medicine rub for rubbing on the affected parts of the body. These sands were never drunk. The Ojibway also had a bluish-coloured onaman sand that was used as a sacred charm against conjuring. There was, too, a white-coloured sand that cured headaches when a small amount was placed on a heated stone, also a white liquid to cure pains. All these can still be obtained in the Lake Nipigon area, although none are used at this time (Morriseau and Dewdney, p. 52-53).

The Ojibway Indians had what we call a jeesekun, a shaking tent, or wigwam, where a medicine man does conjuring. There were two kinds of shaking tents. One had its power from the water, the other from the wind or earth. Some Ojibway built their shaking tent in the water, in order to receive power from it. Eight poles were cut and placed in a circle, and each pole was driven about two feet into the ground to keep the tent firm. Two hoops were placed inside the wigwam to keep the poles in position and would be covered with deer hide, birchbark or canvas. Rattles of tin or caribou hoof were placed inside to make a rattling noise.

All the Ojibway would gather and sit in a circle facing the shaking tent. This took place at night. The conjurer would disrobe, have his hands tied up and crawl inside the wigwam. He would not speak but would have one Indian, or all, start asking questions, whatever each one wished to know. As the conjurer crawled inside, the tent itself began to shake and the rattles were heard. The Ojibway believe a medicine wind blows from heaven in the tent and that is how it shakes. All the dogs tied close by began to yelp and were afraid but the people were not, for it does not affect human beings. What comes into the wigwam to sing or talk are the water god Misshipeshu and other spirits of bears, serpents and animals, thunderbirds, the evil Windigo, the morning star, the sky, water, earth, sun and moon, also female and male sex organs. Each speaks in his own language, but we have an interpreter whom we call Mikkinnuk, a small turtle who is the Devil himself, who interprets for all these beings. So let it be known now and then remain a secret; it is the Devil himself who is the interpreter (Morriseau and Dewdney, p. 70-71, note pictures on pages 72-73).

Now I wish to explain what the Indian dreams when he or she is given the power to perform the tent rite. One old Ojibway lady said, "In my early years, when I was sixteen, I went into the great forest to fast. I did not eat for seven days. The spirits spoke to me in my medicine dream and said that I would perform six shaking tents at the same time and that these would be used for good, to help my people against evil conjurers. "But," said the lady, "I was told I had to pass a test. I did not know what it was. I was taken to a big pit full of evil serpents who looked very fierce and had a lot of teeth. I was told to jump into this hole. I was afraid but I gave in, anyway. IF I was to be powerful I had to do what I was asked. I jumped into this hole. When I landed at the bottom there were no snakes but I was inside a shaking tent. As I sat there I felt power in me. That was my dream."

One time about forty years ago she was asked to perform the shaking tents but was unable to perform the whole six as she was too old, and as a conjurer grows old his power leaves him little by little. She said, "When I was twenty years old I performed six tents. In each of the first two I put one of my shoes, in each of the second two one of my mitts, my medicine bags in the fifth and myself in the sixth. Then all began to shake at the same time. When I was forty, two left me. When I was forty-five years old another left me. Now I could perform no more magic for my power was gone. But I am not sorry. I am glad. I have helped a lot of people, doing good and using my powers to protect them from evil. I was known by all the Ojibway throughout the district of Thunder Bay to be powerful for good" (Morriseau and Dewdney, p. 72-73).

This is the history, as told orally to me, of my direct ancestor Little Grouse, who first erected the offering rocks at Lake Nipigon three hundred of more years ago. After Little Grouse erected the offering rocks he became a man of great medicine knowledge and was a conjurer, or sorcerer, skilled in the Ojibway rites. Although feared, he never did harm to anyone, even though his knowledge was great and he had the power to fight back good and hard.

One winter at Hurkett, Ontario, there lived another great sorcerer, or medicine-man, called Lynx Paw in the Ojibway tongue. Having heard of the power Little Grouse had, he felt that he should challenge it. Lynx Paw told his closest companion that this winter Little Grouse should suffer great hunger, for no animal would enter his wooden traps nor would he kill any moose. He was right.

Little Grouse knew what had happened but did not take revenge yet. Finally Lynx Paw went further. Then Little Grouse said to his people, who suffered with him, "I have never used my powers for wrong. I have tried to live in good faith. Revenge is a hard word, but one ought not to be bothered when one had done no harm. The law of the demigods states that no sorcerer or medicine-man shall ever use his powers on anyone without cause, or the spirits will turn against him. I never bothered Lynx Paw, so now, according to our law and beliefs, I will take my revenge and his name shall be cleared from the earth."

That summer, around June, Lynx Paw and his many followers, for he was a great medicine-man, were on their way to the summer dances up Black Sturgeon River, to one of the high falls that had a sandy beach. All started getting ready for the dances. When they were fully absorbed in the rites the falls stopped. The waters stopped running. The Indians in fear and amazement looked up to see a great serpent with teeth staring at them at the top of the falls. Lynx

Paw and his fellows grabbed their canoes and ran. Before reaching the mouth of the river Lynx Paw died with blood pouring from his mouth and eyes.

The wrong he did to my ancestor was revenged according to the law. For no man shall do evil unprovoked, or his guardians will go against him and leave him without help (Morriseau and Dewdney, p. 77-78).

The robin is respected among the Ojibway, for the robin is understood to say in indian, *Neeshewukjeebeyuk*, (italics in original) which means “two dead persons.” Legend has it that at one time the Ojibway lost two young boys who died in the great forest. The parents were seated by the fire broken-hearted at their loss, when a robin was noticed flying back and forth from tree to tree singing this song. The father spoke to the wife, “Listen to the robin. I can understand what it is singing. Can you? It is giving us a message, ‘Two dead persons.’ Let us follow the robin.” They did and found their two small boys in a stump, dead for a long time. This is why the robin is respected.

One summer when my ancestor Little Grouse was getting old and his days were not long, he was going down the Nipigon River on a very stormy day. The thunderbirds were really making a lot of noise down the river. Finally it stopped and the sun began to come out. When he reached a certain place thunder was heard again. He looked in amazement to see a huge, big Misshipeshu with remains of bits of meat and bones on top of the rocks. Thinking it was a sign of some misfortune he went on his way. This foretold his death, for one year later my ancestor died.

At Nipigon Bay in early spring an Ojibway Indian was walking on the ice. Looking at the setting sun casting its shadows upon the cliffs, he saw the faces of the Maymaygwaysiwuk in all the cracks of the cliff walls, singing. This was a bad omen that foretold his death that summer by sickness.

I was told what was supposed to have taken place years ago at Squaw Bay Mission at Fort William. One clear night a ball of fire was seen coming towards the village from the Mount McKay Mountain. It travelled in mid-air until it reached the first house. Then it went to every building and exploded in every smoke pipe. This sign was to foretell a great epidemic of smallpox that pretty nearly wiped out all the Ojibway there, so many died. From the few that remained are descended the present Ojibway Indians of Fort William.

One clear winter night in another area a human yell was heard in the sky from the east and within seconds was heard in the west. The Indians knew to whom the yell belonged: it was the human-like, living skeleton, called Paakuk, who has roamed the skies and flown over the earth since the dawn of history because of the wrong he did by committing the first sorcery murder among the Ojibway.

To hear his yell without fear foretold long life, but to fear meant death. To smell his smell foretold sickness. That year all the Ojibway in that area smelled Paakuk, which was a bad sign, for smallpox took all lives a year later. The Ojibway believe that Paakuk will never stop dying until the end of the world. Ojibway Christians believe that it is Cain who flies forever and that God gave him this punishment for killing Abel.

Paakuk is known to fly very fast. One second his mournful cry is heard in the skies in the east, the next second in the east-west, the next second in the west. It is not often that Paakuk is heard. At James Bay, Ontario, an old Indian lady told me her grandmother heard a mournful yell in the tree tops. It was Paakuk, asking to be set loose. “When my grandmother, who was sixteen then,” said this lady, “saw Paakuk stuck between two trees, he asked her to pry him loose, offering in return a ripe old age. She climbed the tree and freed him. As she looked upon him a sound was heard, then Paakuk disappeared beyond the horizon. She died at the age of one hundred and two years” (Morriseau and Dewdney, p. 84-85).

#### **5.4 Conclusion to Presentation of Stories**

These stories are written in English, despite the fact McGuire Sr. and Morriseau were fluent speakers of Anishinaabemowin as well as other Anishinaabe-based dialects. For Patrick McGuire, I chose writing from his 1987, unpublished manuscript called “My Life in the North.” In regards to Norval Morriseau, I have chosen to include verbatim entries from his 1965 book, called, “Legends of my People – the Great Ojibway” edited by Selwyn Dewdney. For both knowledge holders, McGuire and Morriseau, the stories are presented in the sequence McGuire and Morriseau used in their respective writings. These stories will now be analyzed and contemplated in Chapter six.



## CHAPTER SIX - ANALYSIS OF STORIES

### 6.1 Introduction

Throughout this process of writing this dissertation, reflexivity will be highlighted. Reflexivity involves an exploration of how your personal social, cultural, political context influences the content, purposes, and methods of your research. Weber-Pillwax (2001) says, “Indigenous research requires a context that is consciously considered and purposely incorporated into the research by the researcher” (p. 166). She then relates a story about her grandfather and concludes by saying she wants to create Indigenous research that gives life; according to her, “academic discourse by itself will not support the life of the individual, the family or the community. As we integrate new knowledge, it is we who give it life that it may sustain life” (p. 169). Weber-Pillwax further adds,

The knowledge that we acquire from our studies is there for our own purposes, Indigenous purposes, derived from Indigenous thinking and ways of being. Unless we realize that knowledge in actuality through integration into our own ways of being and knowing and doing, our studies will have no life (p. 169)

Similar to the ideas Weber-Pillwax offers about grounded inquiry, Couture (1998) discusses how personal characteristics impact scholarly research, which “...must involve a very personal, critical reflection not only on one’s knowledge, but also upon one’s experience of self, others, and social contexts, for these are necessary to the fullest possible participation in a bicultural life context” (p. 10-11). Reflexivity enables a positioning within this research that supports Couture’s idea of bi-cultural context.

Nicholls (2009) complements these ideas of Weber-Pillwax and Couture when she maintains, researchers should consider and engage with reflexivity throughout all aspects of the research process from start to completion. It is in relation to this future orientation that Chiu (2006) argues for a multi-layered reflexivity process necessary for social change. Nicholls (2009) turns to this idea to develop her notions of a multi-layered reflexivity, which include self-reflexivity (any hidden assumptions underpinning the research, i.e. theories, power and privilege), relational reflexivity (interpersonal research relationships and collaboration), collective reflexivity and catalytic validity (how inquiry contributes to social change and practical knowing) (p. 123). Nicholls says the last layer in this process requires an examination

of “whether participating was transformative, affirming, cathartic or empowering” (p. 123) for all research participants, including the researcher.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) propose grounded theory as a methodology by which theories could be directly developed from the data collected. This means inductive conclusions are reached based on observations made during the course of completing the research. The objective, for Glaser and Strauss, is the development of explanatory theories of social processes grounded in the environments in which they take place. An adaptation of these concepts is evidenced in Charmaz’s (2005) claim that research has credibility when based on the languages, values, and politics of the local. For Charmaz, inquiry must resonate with the local and be shaped by local needs. These key concepts of reflexivity and grounded theory apply to this analysis. Reflexivity and grounded theory as methodological considerations are two ways to present contextual understandings of Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous resilience.

## **6.2 Recognized Knowledge Keepers**

This study presents dibaajimowin (stories) and aadizookaan (ancestral old stories). These were told by two Gii dadibaajimoowinini (our storytellers), Patrick McGuire Sr. and Norval Morriveau. The stories are told in the context of their personal life experience. These stories have formed the basis for determining the debewin (truth) being told, how these two storytellers were treated by their communities and the deference given to them as a Chic Akiwenzii (learned old man).

One of the Anishinaabe knowledge(s) mentioned previously was an active word called gwayakwaajimowin, which means true, sincere, and authentic declarations about history. Throughout this dissertation, reflexive understandings made possible a discussion of the protocols and conditions for telling and sharing Anishinaabe truth when presenting stories about experience based Anishinaabe knowledge(s). This is how these stories are grounded in Anishinaabe knowledge, worldview, epistemology, and other cultural understandings. In this chapter, I scrutinize the personal and communal stories transmitted by Morriveau and McGuire Sr. and discuss how they reflect aspects of Anishinaabe knowledge and resilience.

### **6.3 Gii Dadibaajimoowin - Our Stories**

As I reflected upon these stories, their impact on my life became apparent. In one of my first readings of these stories for this dissertation, particularly the stories of Morriseau, I realized Anishinaabe resilience was related to Anishinaabe knowledge(s). He was working with Dewdney on recording rock paintings and stories when the idea of a book of Anishinaabe stories occurred to him. His grandparents helped him with this effort. Morriseau discusses this in the introduction of 1965 book. Morriseau wanted the stories he was given by his grandparents (specifically, his grandfather, Potan) to have an Anishinaabe audience while conveying to a broader audience the pride of being Anishinaabe. Morriseau says,

We, therefore, must write down and record legends, our songs, and beliefs, not for ourselves alone, but for all future Ojibway. One would not like to open a book to read that we were tough, ignorant savages or a bunch of drunkards, but rather a people who were proud of their great culture (p. 1).

When I consider this comment, I understand the need for stories to balance the social imagery confronting Indigenous people that also concerned Morriseau. In the 1960s, Morriseau revealed stories for a wider audience, and with his life work he prepared the world for the beauty of Anishinaabe thought. He challenged other Anishinaabe to do the same and to remember our songs, stories and ceremonial world. Morriseau says he is “writing this book as a foundation and I am sure that many more will follow” (p. 1), and he left a visual legacy with Anishinaabe history portrayed in his unique pictorial form. Morriseau was the first Anishinaabe to demonstrate social change based on storied traditions of the Anishinaabe. McGuire, Sr. and Morriseau ensured these knowledge(s) experienced over the course of their lifetimes were kept alive, and to this end both wrote about their own resilience and how it is an example of the broader resilience of the Anishinaabe. When I realized Anishinaabe resilience was interconnected with Indigenous knowledge, there was a need to communicate these understandings.

Another epiphany occurred as I was reflecting on what exactly do I mean, when I talk about Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin. Knowledge is a broad and general term that encompasses the ontology and epistemology of specific societies. When I asked what this means in Anishinaabe society, I realized that discussions about the land were the scaffolding that supported the stories told by McGuire, Sr. and Morriseau. My interest in resilience is based on the Anishinaabe stories contained in the writings from my home area. In these stories, I found the epistemological

roots to Anishinaabe knowledge and ontological ideas about space and land-based knowledge(s). In short, these stories reveal strengths of the Anishinaabe. The stories reveal why it is the Anishinaabe still live on our ancestral lands. The stories reveal why it is the Anishinaabe make efforts to reach and teach other cultures.

#### **6.4 Contextualized Experiences**

Anishinaabe stories about the negotiations and signing of the Robinson-Superior Treaty in 1850 were instilled in McGuire Sr. This was largely due to his grandmother, Kisgishabun, who attended the signing with her grandfather. My paternal great grandmother talked about how the Metis were both included and excluded from the signing of the treaty. McGuire, Sr. ensured his children knew other histories, such as how Metis people and lands were included in adhesions two years following Treaty #3 in 1873, which was the first time the Métis peoples were formally included in any treaty in Canada. In his 1999 work, McNabb describes the role of the Metis in facilitating both the negotiations and signing of the Treaty #3. My father talked about a Metis reservation that existed outside Fort Frances, Ontario.

Anishinaabe in this area of Ontario heard about the Métis' attempts at government (both referred to as the Métis Rebellion and the Métis Resistance) in what was becoming Manitoba. When the trains of colonial soldiers were on their way out west, they stopped at Lake Nipigon and some Anishinaabe men volunteered to go out west to fight. In a May 31, 2010, personal conversation with my mother, a story was related about how one of these men was one of my maternal grandfathers. He did not go, but I have always wondered what these Indigenous men were told about what was happening. In one view, the newly established Canadian government was consolidating what kinds of government would be allowed; my father said the provisional government of the Métis led by Riel and Dumont was not one of them.

In the early 1960s, core contemporary ideas about Métis identity, social and political organization came from experiences that my father and mother had in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Manitoba was and is considered the homeland for the political and social identity of the Red River Métis. The Métis Resistance and the actions of Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont are forever enshrined in the Confederation of Canada, although their resistance occurred after the signing of the Robinson treaties in 1850 and Treaty #3 in 1873.

Patrick McGuire Sr. was the founder of both Metis organizations in Ontario. In 1965 the first Metis organization developed outside of Western Canada was called the Lake Nipigon

Metis Association. This organization was the forerunner of the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association and the now defunct Ontario Metis and Aboriginal Association. Both of these organizations were affiliated with the Native Council of Canada, which evolved into the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples. The first organization in Ontario that was affiliated with the Metis National Council was called the Robinson-Superior Metis Association, which was renamed the Northwestern Ontario Metis Federation in 1986. This organization was the forerunner of the Metis Nation of Ontario.

My father's grandmother taught him about the Anishinaabe called Wiisaakode, referred to as Metis today. My grandmother, Kigishabun was taken by her grandfather to the signing of the Robinson-Superior treaty in fall of 1850 at Baawating, which is now called the Saint Mary River and located by Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. My grandmother related stories about how the Anishinaabe and Anishinaabe Wiisaakode were dispossessed from land and denied other benefits with the signing of the Robinson-Superior treaty. She described the conditions under which the signing took place and related the first thing she witnessed, which was the rolling out of barrels of rum to greet all of the canoes arriving. The discussions surrounding the wiisaakodewag (referred to as "half-breeds" by treaty commissioners) children and families were stopped by the Treaty Commissioner Robinson. Kigishabun was about 10 years old when my grandfather took her, and she was able to speak fluent French, Anishinaabemowin and English. My grandmother's stories about the signing of this treaty in 1850 informed my father's life work in Anishinaabe Metis political and social organizing. My father recognized his Anishinaabe grandmothers and grandfathers and ensured the stories they gave him continued being told. There was an innate respect demonstrated in this. McGuire Sr. wanted others to witness the knowledge about the land that was interspersed with his life experiences, which he received from his family, especially his father, his Uncle Michel King and his Aunt Susan King. Surprisingly, his life work and political organizing was a peripheral focus in his manuscript. Mostly, his stories were of a relational nature, discussing his life on the land and his immediate and extended family.

The knowledge stories McGuire and Morriseau recorded are stories based on their own resilience. McGuire, Sr. was called by his family, Babaamoodaa. This means "someone who crawls around." When he was a child and was already walking, he became very sick. After he got better, he could not use his legs and was forced to crawl until he developed the strength to walk again. There were difficult times with his family, which forced him to live with his uncle

and aunt, Michel and Susan King when he was about eleven. He had heart and lung problems throughout his life. In his early fifties, chronic rheumatoid arthritis began to debilitate him. His hands became crooked, and he had difficulty walking. Morriseau contracted tuberculosis and was committed to a sanatorium in Fort William, Ontario. He was raised in difficult family circumstances, especially after the forced dispersal of his community. In his book, he writes about being raised by his grandparents. His book describes his family being forced out of their home after it was burned down and then bulldozed by the Ontario government who acted in concert with the federal government. In 1972, he was badly burned in a fire in Vancouver, British Columbia. There were also more well-known health and substance abuse challenges in his life. Like my father, McGuire, Sr., Morriseau went to St. Joseph's Boarding School in Fort William, Ontario as well. Stories are beginning to emerge about the dire and brutal conditions children experienced while at this residential school. When both McGuire Sr. and Morriseau were writing, conditions faced by children at residential schools were not discussed as part of the colonial enterprise of the federal government in Indigenous communities around Canada.

McGuire, Sr. and Morriseau met their responsibilities and obligations to their communities. In both cases, the methods of story transmission are secondary to the need for the stories to be told. None of these stories are by their nature, winter stories. Anishinaabe stories have a specific context and a manner of presentation. The telling of stories strengthens the subjective relationships between people. These stories by McGuire Sr. and Morriseau provide a basis for increased discourse within Anishinaabe societies so there is a reciprocal return to the communities of the stories.

## **6.5 Analysis and Contemplation**

I struggled with the analysis of these stories. I consider what I am doing more contemplation of the stories as opposed to analysis. This was due to what I had been taught by my parents and others about Anishinaabe knowledge(s) contained in stories delivered by respected knowledge holders, in this case, Chi Akiwenzii, old men who are knowledgeable and respected for specialized knowledge. According to this view, all I could really do was contemplate these stories and how they have impacted how I live my life and my resilience. Concepts in grounded theory and reflexivity assisted in this process. The nature of grounded theory enables analysis as part of the data collection, in this case, this meant the selection of what stories to include and the conceptual themes underlying these stories. Part of my struggle has to

do with the nature of these stories as part of Indigenous knowledge, how can I analyze while I am still learning? I decided to look to other Indigenous scholars who may have experienced this as well.

Wilson A (1998) says, “Stories are not interpreted, mainly because each reader applies whatever is relevant to himself or herself and will understand when and what she or he is ready to understand” (p. 278). Similarly, Dion (2004) says, “Stories are told for a variety of reasons, and it is the responsibility of the listener to find meaning in the stories and the responsibility of the teller to tell an appropriate story” (p. 61). Additionally, Dion quotes from the 1996 *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (RCAP), where stories in various Aboriginal cultures are discussed, the report says, “There is an assumption that the teller of the story is so much a part of the event being described that it would be arrogant to presume to classify or categorize the event exactly or for all time” (RCAP, p. 33 quoted in Dion, p. 62). This report, furthermore, explains that when stories are told, the listeners are a key part of the telling and are expected to “draw their own conclusions from what they have heard, and they do so in the particular context (time, place and situation) of the telling” (Dion, p. 62). Again, the focus is on the personal relation to and experience of the knowledge. You take what you want and what you need from stories you hear and the stories you read.

## **6.6 Conceptual Thematic Understandings**

At first glance, these stories and the contextual knowledge(s) that anchor them are relatively straightforward and require minimal thought to consider their deeper meanings. Metaphorically, these stories speak of social and cultural ideas, images, ethics and philosophies which make sense within Anishinaabe knowledge(s). The stories offer insight into the worldview and epistemology of the Anishinaabe. Throughout this dissertation, the conceptual landscape of the Anishinaabe is discussed as a storied one. Anishinaabe Gikendaasowin (knowledge) has many areas of inquiry. Spiritual knowledge(s) and understandings form key components with many of these knowledge(s). The philosophy of Mino bimaadiziwin (a good life and leading a good life) is evident in the stories of McGuire Sr. and Morriseau. The interrelated nature of Anishinaabe knowledge is apparent when examining stories about the land and waters of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior.

What are the key messages of these stories? There are some main considerations, conceptual themes, although, these are not mutually exclusive to one another and are not discrete

categories. The conceptual themes were identified in the stories of McGuire Sr. and Morriseau evolved over time. At one point, they were called concepts and at another time premises of the research. Based on knowledge of these stories and ease of understanding, it was decided seven themes with one main conceptual theme outstanding would encapsulate the teachings in these stories. The main conceptual theme is Anishinaabe relationships to land inform Anishinaabe ontological understandings of the land and is the basis for Anishinaabe resilience. This conceptual theme can stand its own as this concept informs all of the other understandings arising from these stories.

Although, I discussed the difficulty of conducting an analysis of these stories indicated are some common conceptual understandings. These thematic understandings bring out nuanced qualities of the stories of McGuire Sr. and Morriseau. Grounded theory is developed by close observation during data collection which means analysis occurs throughout the research process. Some attributes discussed throughout this dissertation as part of my learning about Anishinaabe knowledge as grounded in the process of my coming to know. Foremost, there is recognition that the self, that is my experience, is part of Anishinaabe knowledge(s) and that resilience is based on Anishinaabe knowledge(s).

The conceptual themes that emerged are grounded in the ontology and epistemology of the Anishinaabe living around Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. These concepts are not grounded in the Western philosophical tradition of objective reality and by Western philosophical rationalist standards would not be considered valid knowledge. Earlier, I mentioned Jinkling (2002) who stated the dilemma of those schooled in the rationalist traditions and the practice of storied understandings. Jinkling said, “Yet, for those of us who have walked solidly on the ground of rationalist traditions, it is one thing to have an inkling about storied possibilities – as mirrors, relationships, nuanced experience, and lived lives – it is another thing to stand on the fertile earth of story” (p. 5). I am asking other academics to stand on the fertile ground of storied understandings in my dissertation about Indigenous knowledge and resilience.

This thematic presentation of concepts arises from a socially and culturally grounded consideration of the stories and is discussed as part of my own knowledge process, that is my experience based knowledge. The conceptual thematic understandings will be discussed as part of the analysis of these stories which are land and relationships to land, land and spirit, multiple realities, cycles of life and the land, responsibilities, obligations and relationships, reciprocity



and sharing, lastly, transformation and renewal. The knowledge from the McGuire Sr. and Morriseau stories are not separate. These knowledges are part of everyday life and are reminders to us as human beings, that we have our resilience based on our social and cultural ideas about the world we experience.

**6.7.1 *The land and relationships to the land are foundational. Eshkakimikwe Giikeedaasiwin – This is land based knowledge.***

McGuire Sr. and Morriseau were respected and well known knowledge keepers. McGuire Sr. and Morriseau were telling stories that reflect an idea of history as being based on truth and authenticity. Gwayakwaajimowin means true and authentic declarations about history and this is apparent in the stories. The land was the scaffolding of the stories, McGuire Sr. and Morriseau told and the land has become the scaffolding of my delineation of conceptual thematic understandings of these stories.

In Figure #10 on the next page, Morriseau depicts the relationship between land, spirit and the Anishinaabe. This is the foundational relationship. This story is part of a larger story of one of the creation as told in Anishinaabe society. Morriseau shares stories about the land and how the lakes were created. He specifically mentions Miskwi Onamon (red sands) that came from the blood of the Sacred White Beaver. He concludes by stating, “The Indians still tell this story about the Sacred Red Sands” (p. 78). This is part of a group of relational stories interconnected in different manners. For example, Morriseau describes the making of hunting medicine bundles using miskwi onamon, relates a story about rock painting and describes how the Anishinaabe respected their relationship with this first beaver by ensuring the beaver bones were properly taken care of. This was done so the wisdom contained in this first encounter between the beaver and the Anishinaabe was renewed on a yearly basis. These efforts ensured the ongoing relationships with descendants of Anishinaabe and this first beaver would continue.

The understandings about miskwi onamon Morriseau discusses persist today. Miskwi onaman is used in rock paintings by the Anishinaabe to record adizookaanaa (ancient stories). In some communities, it is still used to renew the stories painted on rock. There is a sacred quality contained in miskwi onamon. The essence of this red sand is spiritual; and, as is communicated in the Morriseau stories, elements of the land serve as cultural memories of Anishinaabe being on this land. Sites of miskwi onamon paintings are considered places animated by manitouwag (spirits). Stories, relational understandings, relationships to land and relationships with other

Anishinaabe peoples are preserved at these sites. Morriseau wrote about being drawn to rock art

**6.7.2 The relationship between land, spirit and the Anishinaabe - *Kiimiingona manda Giikeedaasiwin* are part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe.**



Figure 6.1 This is a representation of relationships of life and land. *Norval Morriseau. Selwyn Dewdney Manuscript located at the Indian and Inuit Art Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Art Collection. Permission granted by Gabe M. Vedas for use in May 07, 2010.*

Anishinaabe land-based knowledge, that is, the land and relationships to the land, are highlighted in these stories, told by Morriseau and McGuire Sr. These understandings of land are relayed by Morriseau when he discusses the creation of the land, ceremonial and spiritual understandings involved, whereas McGuire Sr. discusses the practice of being on the land with his family. There is continuity and a connectedness to the present that exists when a focus is placed on relational stories of the landscape.

The vista of Lake Superior with the rock formation known now as the sleeping giant, are where the *aniikii binēsii* (thunder birds) nested. This *aniikii binēsii waziswanan*, (thunder bird

nest) is visible in rock formations on water and on land. Ancient battles occurred on Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon between the aniikii binēsii, the michi bizhiw, (giant water lynx/cougar) and the giant snakes who once inhabited the area. These battles formed the landscape. These battles involved fighting that shaped the rivers, islands, canyons and mountains as well as flooded the lands. Morriseau relates part of this creation story of a flood and help given to the Anishinaabe, a sacred being, sometimes called “elder brother” saved the Anishinaabe by helping us out of the water to higher ground by listening to the water animals. The water animals directed him about what to do, and he followed their directions. The Anishinaabe went to higher ground all across our territory. Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon have storied landscapes, and these waters occupy a central place both in how we lived and in our relational understandings. On Lake Nipigon, one of the islands has a higher elevation than all the surrounding land. This is where the Lake Nipigon Anishinaabe went until the waters began to recede. This is close to the aniikii binēsii waziswanan (thunder bird nest) across from Sandpoint Indian reservation, as Morriseau discusses. He also writes about two boys who climbed the mountain to see what was there. He also notes that this nest is no longer because the mountain was destroyed and the thunder birds moved away from this area. There is a long history of our presence on the land.

These stories contribute to Anishinaabe resilience and provide a sense of historical continuity on the land. This is how we recognize ourselves, as we can see ourselves in the histories of our relatives and ancestors who were on the land just as we are on the land. In this way, the innate dynamic and interrelated nature of knowledge is depicted. Both Morriseau and McGuire Sr. discuss how Anishinaabe history is imprinted on the land. This is illustrated in one of the creation stories about how the rivers and lakes were formed. Other stories of the land are evidence of the winter maker spirit Abiboonikae and the flood waters from the melting snow and ice that carved out the landscape. These are deep-rooted memories about one of the Anishinaabe creations of the landscape and the stories about this time are referred to in a specific manner. In one of the stories Morriseau discusses, the land was flooded after one sacred being transformed into a frog medicine man in order to kill a michi bizhiw (giant water lynx/cougar). The landforms, rivers, streams, lakes, hills and mountain ranges are physical manifestations of our memories.

Morriseau was familiar with the nature of adizookaanaa and the meaning of ancient stories as well as the spirit that resides with these ancient stories. This is evident in his

descriptions of Anishinaabe and Anishinaabe ancestors interacting with the land and the beings inhabiting it. McGuire Sr., when describing medicinal plants and plant use, reveals an awareness of these understandings in his stories of offering places around Lake Nipigon. The Anishinaabe past is written on our landscape and each time we are on the land, we are reminded of this. This is the terrain upon which the Anishinaabe build their living histories. The Anishinaabe influence and are influenced by the land.

The stories told by both McGuire Sr. and Morriseau are closely related to the idea of the land being animate. Both discuss the land as being critical to the knowledge processes and to the survival of the Anishinaabe. McGuire Sr., in particular, discusses taking his children out on the land for long periods of time as essential to the transmission of land-based knowledge, as it is something that continues by directly experiencing the land and *bzindamowin* (learning by listening). Anishinaabe resilience is tied to Anishinaabe histories of the land. The core of the collective Anishinaabe worldview is storied understandings of this land. These integrated connections to the land form the core of Anishinaabe resilience. This resilience is supported by the spiritual essence of the land, land practices and storied understandings of both. Spirits surround us on our land, which we care for, and the challenge is communicating these relational understandings of the land to our people and to others. Our history is based on the earth and rocks, as the earth and rocks will live long after we are gone. These understandings go beyond grounding in traditional land use practices and move into being grounded in the storied epistemologies and ontology of the Anishinaabe.

*Eshkakimikwe gikeedaasiwin* (land-based knowledge) has a feminine meaning. This is our relation and understanding of who we are in relation to the earth and reveals Anishinaabe essence as being established by the earth. All Anishinaabe are the lesser part of the earth, as we are like children who know nothing about life. The earth is our first mother who guides and provides for us so that we can survive. Morriseau discusses this understanding of the Anishinaabe relationship to the earth as a mother-child relationship. This is the foundation that supports all of these stories. The undercurrent to this discussion is the fact that Anishinaabe resiliency is grounded on our relational connections to the land. The stories of McGuire Sr. and Morriseau are grounded on the ontology of these contextual understandings.

### ***6.7.3 There are multiple realities which are accessible by physical and spiritual means.***

***Manidoo Waabiwin – seeing in a spirit way and Kūmiingona manda Gūkeedaasiwin are part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe are evident.***

This theme is the existence of multiple realities which are accessible by physical sacrifice and spiritual means. According to Anishinaabe metaphysics, we are spirit first. In practice of living, this means spiritual forces can affect us in this reality, and we can affect spiritual forces. Morriseau discusses Anishinaabe around Lake Nipigon who were known to have the ability to prophesize. In some way, this ability is connected to spiritual understandings that Anishinaabe can either be born with these abilities or acquire them through sacrifice. McGuire Sr. similarly discusses these abilities. As in all Anishinaabe stories, there is always more than one reason for and purpose to the stories.

In a story related to McGuire, Sr., Old Wally was able to tell what would happen in the future and could tell people what they would see. Old Wally foretold the trails that airplanes would make in the sky and pervasiveness of television. Morriseau discusses this future sight as a gift given by the natural world in his story about Virgin Falls and the course of the Nipigon River being changed by a hydro dam and diversion project. This story about Virgin Falls states that a man is gifted by a messenger of the thunder bird. Morriseau ends this story by saying, “Some Indians who heard this old man say these words are still alive to see them going true.” Morriseau is referring to this old man’s story still being alive. Morriseau said, this was due to the spirit contained within the story.

This ability to prophesize could be accessed by those gifted with this ability by ceremonies such as the jiisakaan (the shaking tent). In a ceremonial world, contact with spiritual entities is a necessary component of life. As I mentioned previously the jiisakaan is a community ceremony occurring based on need. It is a ceremony to help people live and to provide guidance when needed. As Morriseau reveals, there are different kinds of shaking tents: “One that had its power from the water, the other from the wind or earth. Some Ojibway built their shaking tent in the water, in order to receive power from it.” As McGuire Sr. states in the story he relates about shaking tents, “I must say here that the shaking tents was (sic) never used to hurt people, only to help...It was used only on a very special occasion, when needed.” Morriseau told similar stories about this tent ceremony and how it could only be used to help people (p.82, 84). McGuire Sr. describes a story about one of these ceremonies that occurred during treaty days at Whitesand on

Lake Nipigon. The Indian agent said, "...let us have these two Indians who can call on the spirits to tell us our future or just answer some questions. These two Indians were called Kok-Kok-Ohns (little owl) and Old August." This shaking tent ceremony is still practiced today and is used for medicinal assistance and to find missing people and objects. It is used in much the same way as it was in lifetimes of McGuire Sr. and Morriseau.

In another story, McGuire Sr. says, "We were told, 'Sure, the old man is waiting for you. He knew you were coming today.'" These abilities are seen as a normal part of everyday life in these stories and are spoken in a matter of fact way. These stories exhibit understandings of the Anishinaabe world. These abilities are connected to phenomena happening on our land and in our environment. For example, McGuire says that "a mermaid can speak any language... They can tell your future." Morriseau discusses specific characteristics of the water beings as being *Maymaygwaysiwuk*, which he says means "a person who speaks strangely." Dreaming of such beings protected you from sorcery as "they had the power of knowing all matters upon the earth and the water." The metaphysical nature of our storied lives enables such occurrences to be seen as a normal part of everyday living. Our histories on the land enable such other-worldly spiritual beings to know and to recognize us. Both McGuire and Morriseau discuss how our ancestors build relationships with these beings and how communications occur.

Spirit surrounds the Anishinaabe, and this understanding is the first that we learn. In this worldview, all relates back to Manitou (spirit). This is who we are. These are historical reciprocal relationships of responsibilities and obligations. *Adizookaanaa*, these ancient stories have a spirit and are alive. Recognition is given to ancient stories and understandings as they guide and inform our present. Morriseau, when discussing the medicine spider, describes the ongoing relationship between this being and the Anishinaabe. Many Anishinaabe around Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior believe our actions in this spiritual world have a direct impact on our lives. These understandings mean that violations of an ethic that demands that all beings are treated with respect have consequences that may not be immediately apparent. Although, sometimes the consequences are more immediate, as is evident in the story Morriseau tells about him and his brother Frank and a nighthawk that was killed.

This element of the Anishinaabe worldview is revealed in the *aadizookaan*, ancient foundational stories, about Lake Nipigon. The story concerning the mermaids on the First Rapids of Gull River is one such example. McGuire, Sr. says, "They are very friendly. They can tell

your future and they can tell you what to expect.” It is clear by this statement that the conceptual theme of multiple realities surrounding the Anishinaabe which can be accessed by various means is evident. Another story illustrating this are a series concerns a place by Orient Bay by the hill and lake. As McGuire Sr. states, there is a “smooth rocky surface on the face of the hill, this is where the Indians come to pray. This was, and still is, a holy, sacred place...” This story is about the little people who live in the rocks around Lake Nipigon. These beings must be recognized and respected, as they will help you in your life. It is still considered to be improper and disrespectful to remove objects that are left as prayer offerings at one of these places. The obligation to recognize and respect these places is evident today. From this it is clear that the principle of reciprocity does not only exist between people but between people, the land and spiritual entities.

***6.7.4 There are cycles of life and the land is sustaining to people. Muskiki Aki means medicine land which provides life.***

The next theme is the cyclical nature of life that the Anishinaabe recognize and respect. The land sustains us if we take care to remember this. The herbal medicine stories are based on relationships between family members and reliance on these medicines for survival. An example of this is when McGuire, Sr. discusses the Spanish Flu epidemic that occurred on Lake Nipigon. He says, “My great grandmother got some medicine out of the bush and cured us all, and the ones that didn’t have the flu, never got it.” He ensured his children that wanted to learn about survival had ample opportunity to do so. The herbal remedies that he knew were taught to his children and grandchildren. It is this thread of being that runs through these stories. According to McGuire, Sr. these stories need to be remembered. It was this sense of history and tradition continuing that is evident throughout these stories.

Other stories in this series are stories about rare, powerful and gifted medicine peoples around Lake Nipigon. The story about “Walnut,” who was one of my maternal grandfathers is one such story that reveals someone who could tap into another reality at will. Walnut was well-known as a powerful and extraordinarily gifted man. He could see the future. In this story, death is seen matter-of-factly. He knew he was going to die, yet he still went on the lake. There was no fear. As my father related, “Old Wally told them to take Paddy because his time was not here.” This means that Walnut, Old Wally, knew that it was his time to die. My great great grandmother, Nokomis, in this story says, “...Old Wally’s been prepared for this for a long

time.” The pragmatic recognition of the cycle of life continued. There are cycles of life that we must recognize and respect.

In the McGuire Sr. story concerning the treaty days on Whitesand Reserve and the presentation of the jiisakaan (shaking tent ceremony) reveals that transformation and renewal are a part of life. The men performing this ceremony were Little Owl, Kokkokohns and Old August. The old men performed this ceremony and only asked for “tobacco to please the spirit, Mi-can-ock, who will talk to you in any language.” This tent ceremony is performed today. The value placed on reciprocity is still present and respected. In this story, my father relates how someone said to this old man how strong he was to perform this ceremony. The old man “threw his hat into the tent and the tent started to sway like before and Mi-can-ock said, You should all believe in Old August.” Micannock is the oldest and most powerful spirit that is in the tent. This story demonstrates the cycles of life and of the land. Morriseau spoke about the return of the thunder birds in the spring as being based on a yearly cycle. He also describes the cycle of the beaver returning each year. The ceremonies attending this return are likewise specified. The ceremonial world, Morriseau describes, supports the yearly cycle of life and there is recognition that the land facilitates life. The offerings to specific areas surrounding Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior are communicated by both McGuire Sr. and Morriseau as part of a yearly cycle in a ceremonial world. Offerings to water beings are made in the spring and fall time because of this.

***6.7.5 Anishinaabe values of responsibility and obligation are recognized. Gnawaaminjigewin means the responsibility to look, to see, to witness.***

The themes of responsibility, obligation and sharing are most comprehensible in the series of stories about the signing of the Robinson-Superior Treaty in 1850. Specifically, the treaty’s impact on the Anishinaabe and Anishinaabe Metis peoples in the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior areas. Because members of my family witnessed the signing of this treaty, we have a sense of obligation to ensure that the commitments made to our people with the signing of that treaty are not forgotten. McGuire Sr. met his responsibility by narrating and documenting these stories of witness.

My great great grandmother, Kisgishabun attended the signing with her father. This happening taking a child to witness is telling of the role and responsibility of children and women in Anishinaabe society. The sense of a unique identity with Indigenous ties to the land and environment of the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior area evident in this story. There is a



sense of obligation that comes with being a witness to this signing and to people excluded from the signing. The community ties between the Anishinaabe and their relatives, the Anishinaabe Métis, were strong. Reciprocity and sharing are evident. Some Anishinaabe Métis families and settlers became status treaty Indians. The need to sign the treaty is divulged in this story fragment, as are social relations in the fur trade economy. McGuire Sr. says,

...my grandmother said all the Indians that signed the treaty said they were in a no win situation. They figured it was either sign or be taken and forced to live in a stockade. At least, this way, they could live in peace and maybe not be shot if they happened to meet Whitemen while trapping or hunting. At the time, when the treaties were signed, it was dangerous if Indians met Whitemen, especially if Indians had a good catch of furs.

The signing of the Robinson-Superior Treaty on September 7, 1850 signalled the beginning of social changes for Indigenous peoples in the Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior area.

Some stories deal with maintaining relationships with other people in your environment, as well as making new connections and demonstrating reciprocity. This is apparent in the story McGuire Sr. discusses concerning a shape-shifter who lived in a big teepee with multiple wives and was known around Lake Nipigon as the most potent medicine man in the area. McGuire Sr. and his cousin were fishing on the lake and met some people by agreeing to share their fish with them in return for their help in doing some work. The social protocols that governed these types of developing relationships were followed. McGuire Sr. says, "I asked the old man, Mi-sho-mis, Can I give these kids some candy... Can I give snuff to the women...we brought you tea and tobacco." To which, this old man replied, "Thank you. I will speak to the Great Spirit to take care of you." To call an old man, Mishomis, is a sign of great respect. This old man, without being asked, said that he would pray on their behalf, which is a sign that he accepted this community relationship.

There are a number of undercurrents in this story, such as the need to follow social protocols, to establish and continue relationships based upon trust and friendship, to share, and to show respect and act with reciprocity when meeting respected and powerful person. Spiritual consequences are always possible. This story becomes *bzindamowin* (a teaching by listening) story. This story of the medicine man, Mijanda Goose, illustrates the multi-layered nature of many of these stories. The need to witness is also illustrated in this story. The land, it must be remembered, was the basis for these responsibilities, obligations and relationships.

***6.7.6 There is a need to maintain and continue relationships in the world. Bzindamowin which is learning by listening and the practice of a good life, Meno Bimaadiziwin.***

In the stories described by McGuire Sr., Anishinaabe societal controls can be seen in these interactions. The ethics of visiting new people, maintaining good relationships and establishing new connections are evident. McGuire Sr. illustrates the nature of families living together throughout the year. Some stories are about small families living together in the winter and the sharing of resources. The giving of gifts and the role in making relational connections are emphasized. Once you give a gift, a reciprocal relationship is established, yet that is not why you give a gift; just because you give a gift does not mean that you will get one back. The other person has to agree to begin this relationship.

The story of Mijanda Goose is multi-layered and contains various meanings at all levels of understanding. It is a teaching story that discusses changes in Anishinaabe society that were brought about by church authorities who were forcefully opposed to a husband having multiple wives (or for this matter, a wife having multiple husbands). At the same time, it is a story about spiritual power and extraordinary abilities of this old man, Mijanda Goose, and Kigishabun, one of my grandmothers. Land-based knowledge of lodge construction and use of building materials in the environment are mentioned. The drum is described with specific qualities McGuire Sr. remembered from being a young man fishing on Lake Nipigon.

***6.7.7 Values relating to transformation, renewal, reciprocity and sharing to maintain life. Manitou Minjimendamowin which means spirit memory and teachings on how to view life and Bzindamowin, that is learning by listening is reflected.***

Morriseau discusses extensively how offerings were connected to a sense of renewal and transformation. In his stories, Anishinaabe can influence their lives in both a physical and spiritual manner by giving offerings that demonstrate respect for the land and recognition of the earth. The earth has cycles enabling life to occur as well as end. Making offerings to the spiritual world for assistance in living one's own life means that help is always available. McGuire Sr. talked about how travellers could make offerings by the rock paintings as travellers were on the move. Anishinaabe participate in creation as offerings are made each day. Morriseau describes sacred yearly ceremonies occurring with the midewin society and how thunder bird medicines are transforming and healing. As Morriseau says, the Anishinaabe had many different medicinal practices, including the sweatlodge and the shaking tent. Morriseau, more so than McGuire Sr.,

describes in detail ceremonial life and its relation to transformation and yearly renewal of the earth.

Transformation and renewal are evident in a natural way when McGuire Sr. talked about a woman giving birth, while she was working. In the McGuire Sr. story about the woman who had her baby while fishing on the ice is a lesson in the recognition that transformation and renewal are part of life. The old man, in Ojibway, told my father,

Women are made to have babies, it is only normal. Now, if a man had a baby that would be something...our women were made by the Great Spirit to reproduce. Our women are taught to have babies, (it) is normal. A women's purpose on this earth, is to remake the people we lose by dying.

Childbirth happens as part of a cycle that we, human beings follow, as our renewal and our transformation of life are evident. We are put on this earth to live, to lead a good life, and to have a good death. Morriveau has a similar story about the innate power that women have. Morriveau, like McGuire Sr., says that women are intermediaries between the physical and spiritual worlds. Women can create water and women can house spirit. Women's abilities and responsibilities are based on their gifts of intuition, feelings and spirit. It is this spirit of transformation and renewal that women possess that must be respected. The gifts women were given by the Creator were so given to ensure the balance in the world is always respected and remembered.

A case in point for sharing and reciprocity is the treaty relationship established in 1850. McGuire Sr. illustrated the conditions in which the treaty signing occurred in his stories of his grandmother. There were challenges in the signing process. The most obvious is the fact the language in which the negotiations were conducted and in which the final document was written was English. Most Anishinaabe did not speak or write English at this time; yet, the terms of this partnership agreement are still being honoured by the Anishinaabe. Like other land sharing agreements with other Indigenous peoples, the main basis for this agreement was the sharing of the land and resources with newcomers and the reciprocal relationships with one another. In spite of how colonial governments dealt with these treaty relationships, the basis of those relationships is still honoured by the Anishinaabe.

## 6.8 Conclusion

This chapter began with a brief introduction to Anishinaabe protocols for the telling of Anishinaabe stories, including debewin (truth) based on lived experience. Both McGuire Sr. and Morriseau would have been considered, chi akiwenzii (learned old man). McGuire Sr. and his contextual experiences were presented as part of Anishinaabe knowledge. The methodology used was Anishinaabe storytelling. Anishinaabe gikeedaasiwin based on stories told by community members is understandable within a contextual worldview, even if the stories are written in English. Both McGuire Sr. and Morriseau understood this. They would not have chosen to record these stories if they did not. In the case of Morriseau, he chose to record stories in images as well as words.

Mino bimaadiziwin is the process of living. This living involves all aspects of your being including your relationship to your family, community and society. Mino bimaadiziwin means living a good life. To live a good life in this regard is to do so with all of the related values, philosophies, and practice required. A large part of living a good life requires sacrifice, prayers and participating in ceremonies. Mino bimaadiziwin is living a good life. McGuire Sr. and Morriseau do not discuss this, but it is evident from their relational stories based on Anishinaabe gikeedaasiwin. In these stories they specify who they are, where they are from, who their ancestors were, their relationships to the land, the Anishinaabe knowledge(s) they were given and how they survived in a changing world. Morriseau also discusses the ceremonial world as part of survival on the land.

I began this chapter by providing an overview of research knowledge creation that regards it as life sustaining, reflexive, multi-layered and grounded. In my dissertation, I have strived to consider the discussions of Weber-Pillwax, Couture and Nicholls on Indigenous socio-cultural knowledge as it applies to my home territory of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. I have inserted my contextual understanding of this research throughout, as well as how my personal and interpersonal environments affect how I do my research and what I do in this research. I purposely do not write as an expert, as I am still learning within this socio-cultural knowledge framework. I have considered what purposes outside of my society this dissertation may have, especially in regards to the documentation of stories as part of Indigenous knowledge(s) of a specific land area that is still contested in the Canadian court system.

The idea of Weber-Pillwax about knowledge and research as life-giving has impacted this work significantly. Weber-Pillwax offers a profound way to consider knowledge creation, one that I sought to emulate in my work. A storied landscape, as presented by recognized knowledge holders, grounds this study. This effort at looking at Indigenous knowledge of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior is supported by the advice given by Weber-Pillwax and Couture about research being grounded in Indigenous thinking and ways of being. Surprisingly, Weber-Pillwax and Couture's comments are reflected in what Morriveau states about Anishinaabe responsibility to maintain stories that are grounded in Indigenous thinking and ways of being while living in this world.

Nicholls' development concerning a multi-layered reflexivity helped to position this effort of considering Indigenous knowledge from a specific area. Nicholls' insistence on examining the purposes of research and its practical application to all participants as part of a social change process resonates strongly with me and are evidenced in my work. Grounded theory is an inductive research process by which conclusions are reached based on observations made as the research process is unfolding. Grounded theory, according to Charmaz (2005), enables the study of issues surrounding social change and social justice. Charmaz's framework for unifying grounded theory with social justice inquiries includes evaluative criteria such as credibility, originality, resonance, a focus on the usefulness of the research and the theories developed from that research. Charmaz argues that research has credibility when it is anchored in the languages, values, and politics of the local. It is these criteria of credibility, originality, resonance and the utility of research I aspire to embody in this dissertation.

Contained within the sociology of knowledge is the preposition all knowledge is permeated with the social characteristics of the researcher's biography, their identity and their power in their specific social context(s). Contemplation and scrutiny of the stories of McGuire Sr. and Morriveau resulted in different understandings of Indigenous knowledge and resilience grounded in Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior ways of knowing. The ontology and epistemology of the Anishinaabe have grounded this study, as Charmaz demands, in the local languages, values and politics. This grounding enables select aspects of Anishinaabe knowledge as related to Anishinaabe resilience to emerge.

This is an overview of the themes arising from these stories that I discerned in the course of reflecting, considering and analyzing these stories. In this grounded study, conceptual thematic understandings were discussed as they arose during the research, as these themes offer glimpses into the Anishinaabe worldview. These nuanced understandings are:

- 1 - The land and relationships to the land are foundational. Eshkakimikwe Giikeedaasiwin – Relational understandings and this is land based knowledge.
- 2 - The relationship between land, spirit and the Anishinaabe - Kiimiingona manda Giikeedaasiwin are part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe.
- 3 - There are multiple realities which are accessible by physical and spiritual means. Manidoo Waabiwin – seeing in a spirit way and Kiimiingona manda Giikeedaasiwin are part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe are evident.
- 4 - There are cycles of life and the land is sustaining to people. Muskiki Aki means medicine land which provides life.
- 5 - Anishinaabe values of responsibility and obligation are recognized. Gnawaaminjigewin is the responsibility to look, to see, to witness.
- 6 - There is a need to maintain and continue relationships in the world. Bzindamowin is learning by listening and the relational practice of a good life, Mino Bimaadiziwin.
- 7 – Anishinaabe values relating to transformation, renewal, reciprocity and sharing to maintain life. Manitou Minjimendamowin means spirit memory, teachings on how to live life and Bzindamowin, that is learning by listening, is reflected.

Understanding the continuity of the discourse of the Anishinaabe of Lake Nipigon as well as their ongoing resilience and the strengths of these communities is revealed by these stories. These understandings and knowledge do not stand on their own. These conceptual themes are part of an interconnected system. This exploration is only than an initial exploration into Indigenous knowledge of my territory. Offered were tentative conceptual themes in the hope they enable people to understand these small glimpses into the Anishinaabe knowledge as a form of resilience. These are my understandings of these stories and how they inform my life. Others may have other understandings they glean from the stories presented. I cannot discern the meanings that others will take from these stories. In this study, reflexivity and grounded theory were used as well as the sociology of knowledge. This was seen as a way to contextualize and discern nuanced understandings of Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous resilience.

## CHAPTER SEVEN – CONCLUSION

### 7.1 Introduction

The resilience and survival of the Anishinaabe living on the edge of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior are dependent on the waters and the surrounding lands, which ground Anishinaabe cultures. Kuokkanen (2007) discusses how land acts as cultural space. For the Anishinaabe, the lakes are a geographical space forming the basis of our cultural integrity, our knowledge(s), and our resilience. Our ancestors witnessed this land being formed, and this is where our stories begin. This is where our Gii dodemwag (our clans) came together to form communities and societies. This is where our ancestors have been and where they are in the process of becoming the earth once again. The movements of our ancestors in and around the lakes inform our own stories. Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior are where our memories of our many relationships to the waters and to one another are formed. This is where our knowledge begins. It is where we are in the continual process of renewal. The waters and the land form the foundation of who we are. Throughout this dissertation, I have maintained Indigenous knowledge(s) and land-based knowledge in particular are related to Indigenous resilience. The Anishinaabe and the ongoing survival of Anishinaabe knowledge(s) in the Lake Nipigon area illustrate aspects of Indigenous knowledge and resilience. The theoretical base of a multi-layered reflexivity approach combined with grounded theory helps in this exploration of Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology. The sociology of knowledge provides a framework for critique, as well as a space for this discussion to occur.

Previously, I contended that it is crucial to consider Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous resilience in times of rapid development, such as the development of resources occurring in Northern Ontario. Indigenous knowledge and resilience have the potential to set different directions for social renewal and transformation of Anishinaabe societies. A focus on extractive resource development is evident in Northern Ontario as part of federal and provincial government policies. Understanding select aspects of Indigenous resilience is necessary to reach understanding between these different interests and Anishinaabe societies during and after these developments. This understanding, unlike with past developments of the North, can be forged in partnership with Canadians. Both the local Indigenous and Canadian populations living in this area of Ontario will be as affected by these developments on the land (and waters), where we all live.

The stories I selected by McGuire Sr. and Morriseau are based on their experiences living and working in northwestern Ontario. The sociology of knowledge, reflexivity and grounded theory has been the approaches used to discuss these stories. Social theorists working with the sociology of knowledge, generally, emphasize that all knowledge produced is permeated with the social characteristics of the researcher's biography, their identity and their power in the specific social context(s) they occupy. A reflexive research orientation requires an exploration of how these personal and societal biographical characteristics affect how research is considered, planned, implemented and analyzed. Couture (1998), Weber-Pillwax (1999, 2001), and Nicholls (2009) offer discussions relevant to a reflexivity orientation. Additionally, Nicholls' offers a multilayered reflexivity process that is complementary to Indigenous knowledge discussions.

Indigenous scholars like Akiwowo (1999), Wilson, S. (2003, 2008), Howe (2002) and Dei (2010, 2012) argue for the development of Indigenous-based theories and methods grounded in Indigenous realities. Howe developed a "tribalography" meaning a study of the relational stories that pull together Indigenous elements, such as "the people, the land and multiple characters and all of their manifestations and revelations" (p. 42.). In doing this, Howe implies that theories may be comprised of different ways of looking at the world. Battiste and Henderson (2000) argue for Indigenous theories to complete what is missing from modernist theories. Deloria (1994) and Little Bear (2000) argue for a discussion of spirituality-based understandings in Indigenous theories of knowledge.

Our histories, our stories and the knowledge(s) contained therein are what guide us. Morriseau (1965) says, "if one has an intelligent mind he could live Side by Side with our Ancient ways and (at the) same time get us where we should be." Couture, who would have concurred with this future orientation Morriseau discusses, argues for Indigenous scholars to create knowledge while remembering their Indigenous roots as they survive in a bicultural world. Couture used the metaphor of a moose when he called for knowledge to provide sustenance to Indigenous peoples. Weber-Pillwax (1999) called for Indigenous research to give life. The stories by McGuire Sr. and Morriseau illustrate aspects of an Anishinaabe worldview leading to an awareness of how an understanding of Indigenous knowledge(s) can contribute to a renewal of knowledge in Anishinaabe society and to ideas of Indigenous resilience. As a summary of conclusions reached from the stories examined are these seven (7) conceptual themes which included:



- 1 - The land and relationships to the land are foundational. Eshkakimikwe Giikeedaasiwin – Relational understandings and this is land based knowledge.
- 2 - The relationship between land, spirit and the Anishinaabe - Kiimiingona manda Giikeedaasiwin are part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe.
- 3 - There are multiple realities which are accessible by physical and spiritual means. Manidoo Waabiwin – seeing in a spirit way and Kiimiingona manda Giikeedaasiwin are part of the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe are evident.
- 4 - There are cycles of life and the land is sustaining to people. Muskiki Aki means medicine land which provides life.
- 5 - Anishinaabe values of responsibility and obligation are recognized. Gnawaaminjigewin is the responsibility to look, to see, to witness.
- 6 - There is a need to maintain and continue relationships in the world. Bzindamowin is learning by listening and the relational practice of a good life, Meno Bimaadiziwin.
- 7 – Anishinaabe values relating to transformation, renewal, reciprocity and sharing to maintain life. Manitou Minjimendamowin means spirit memory, teachings on how to live life and Bzindamowin, that is learning by listening, is reflected.

Overall, in these conceptual themes is an emphasis on the importance of the land as a subject of ethical consideration as well as the foundation for Anishinaabe spiritual understandings, ontology and epistemology. The Anishinaabe relational worldview is a practiced experience based one. Knowledge is not separate from everyday life; it is practiced in life and interconnected with all other aspects. On the surface in English, the conclusions drawn from this study appear to be simple, yet, it is in their Anishinaabe simplicity that makes them complex. It is important to revisit the things that appear to be obvious and attempt to deconstruct them. It was a difficult process to write this dissertation with a balanced perspective between Indigenous knowledges and sociological frameworks. Most writing does not bridge different worldviews but doing so is necessary work which means coming to a common and respected place of understanding. Nii Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin wee tha.

Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon are where Anishinaabe stories originated and where our common understandings developed. Our stories have created the social bonds holding us together. At the core of stories are how we experienced the world and the guidance we received to make sense of the world. Anishinaabe storied knowledge of the world enabled the

Anishinaabe to survive despite constant assaults on our societies and cultures by colonial powers. This storied knowing links back to the original stories when the world was first created and populated by human beings. A story of the rattle and drum being the first sounds that people heard becomes the storied understanding about how the world is in perpetual flux. Yet, the original stories become a base for the growth of contemporary stories.

In Anishinaabe societies, the search for knowledge is the search to live a good life. I have struggled with the concept of knowledge with the academy. It is the creation of individual knowledge that concerned me the most in writing my dissertation. I was expected to create a dissertation, which is essentially an individual piece of work. Additionally, the university has a right to publish electronic copies for the use of other scholars. Anishinaabe knowledge(s) are created, maintained, and protected collectively. How does one accomplish research within a collective paradigm in a responsible and respectful manner? The answer, for me, was found by exploring knowledge holders and how knowledge was generated and transmitted. It is within our Indigenous knowledge(s) we find a sense of who we were as a people, a sense of who we are today and who we will be tomorrow. Our work, as scholars who are Indigenous, will be collectively based in spite of limitations we are aware of in this setting.

Anishinaabe ontology involves your experience and your knowledge(s) as you are in the processing of creating or learning this knowledge. Recurrently, I have emphasized this aspect of Anishinaabe thought. Reflexively, I have explained who I was, where I was raised and issues that affected my view of the world. This has to be done to establish how I have come to know this knowledge. According to the Anishinaabe ethical teachings, truth is a key value, and personal truth is part of *Mino bimaadiziwin*. The starting point of knowledge exploration is one's subjective experience and practiced self-knowledge. This may take the forms of dreams and intuitions that act as guides for making our way through reality. Discussed in the literature review was a worldview which articulated the spiritual nature of our environment, which must be considered and respected. In this Anishinaabe ceremonial world, spiritual essences exist in another reality, but this does not bind them to that reality. Spiritual essences are animate and travel in the way that spirits travel. *Manitouwag* (spirits) have interconnections with this world of the physical senses. We are able to contact them by ceremonial knowledge on the land, and this is part of our resilience.

Indigenous knowledge, resilience and identity are heavily intertwined though highly complex as well. Benton-Benai (1988) and Johnston (1976, 1990) discuss this practiced system in relation to knowledge and the need for relationships to be based on the self. Bourgeois (1998) conveys Anishinaabe thought and knowledge(s) as a philosophy and an epistemology that is concerned with maintaining an ethical in relationship between the self and the community of which it is a part. McPherson and Rabb (1993), Rheault (1998), Gross (2002), McGuire (2003) and Farrell (2008) discuss Anishinaabe philosophy as a practiced system of philosophy based on Mino Bimaadiziwin. Hart (2002) discusses this relational concept as being related to the ethical basis of the relationship to your Self. Mino Bimaadiziwin is loosely translated as living a good life; yet the process of living a good life involves all aspects of your being as well as your relationship to your family, to your community and to society in general.

Your contextual environment dramatically influences what you will do in life and how you will think about yourself. Kuokkanen situates her work on knowledge on the Deatnu a river in her homeland that serves a border between Norway and Finland. This intrigued me as I searched for a way to ground discussions of Indigenous knowledge in the landscape and waters of my home area. Kuokkanen provides a view to base this discussion of knowledge on the geographical landscape of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. These lakes and the Indigenous peoples surrounding them have created and maintained specific knowledge. This dissertation attempts to recreate Indigenous space by grounding it in the landscape of Indigenous thought, specifically, Anishinaabe knowledge.

The land stories and stories of how our ancestors survived on the land despite the challenges faced enable us to do the same. Cultural beings, such as Manitou, Windigo, Maymaykayshewok, Michi Bizshiw offer a mirror for us so that we can see ourselves as we are. Stories of other beings, such as Windigo, offer warning to us to always be alert. Maymaykayshewok and Michi Bizshiw stories connected us to the rocks and rivers, lakes and streams in our land areas. Merman and Mermaid stories offered us a glimpse into another reality, one that informed our present and one that we must be ever attentive to. Beaver, giant cat and winter spirit stories reveal to us information about the creation of the land and the epic battles that shaped and will continue to shape the land.

Change is a feature of all Anishinaabe stories. Stories direct us to what we can do in the world. The same story told in different ways enables one to hear, assimilate and work out for

oneself which aspects of the story are most important. Sometimes aspects of one story are told by different people over the course of a period of time. Stevenson (2000) discusses how repetition in story telling is one way that knowledge is transmitted in Anishinaabe societies. Johnston (1976) states stories should have at least four levels of meaning: enjoyment, moral teaching, philosophical instruction and metaphysical teaching. Johnston notes humour was needed to represent life. Stories, in Johnston's view, are much more than simple legends of the past; they are a way of knowing.

For the Anishinaabe, storytelling is an engrained social and cultural process that enables the restoration of the cultural integrity of Anishinaabe family and social life. Stevenson (2000) talks about how storytelling is critical to creating knowledge and communicating this knowledge to societal members. Daabojimootaw (everyday stories), aadizookaan (ancient sacred stories), learning, morals, history and other living stories in Indigenous communities dictate the significance of stories and the ongoing creation of stories in contemporary Anishinaabe life. This is how relational knowledge continues and is animated by the Anishinaabe in everyday life as well as in ceremonial life.

## **7.2 Sociology of Knowledge**

In the sociology of knowledge, the dialogue between scholars of Indigenous knowledge(s) and the different traditions of Western academia is just beginning, although, we recognize that the basis for this dialogue is our respective ontology and epistemology as a reflection of our contextualized worldviews. How our ways of knowing are revealed, transmitted and privileged within societies is a central concern of this discussion. In disciplines such as sociology such a concern leads to an examination of how and by whom theory is generated and transmitted within the Western intellectual canon. Sociology continues to reflect on both the theories and practices of its disciplinary traditions and heritage. This self-reflection enables growth in the discipline, and Indigenous intellectual traditions create space for new dialogues to occur.

This reflectivity of sociology as a discipline creates space for both Canadian and Indigenous people to discover new ways of understanding one another based upon mutual respect and awareness of the different worldviews that inform our lives and the work we have to do together. This created space can enable those who are a part of the Western academy to realize that Indigenous peoples are very familiar with how Western ontological and

epistemological frameworks have impacted how they, Indigenous people, are misunderstood. In many cases, Indigenous peoples have raised critiques which are only heard by other Indigenous peoples and scholars open to these debates, perhaps, this is where change can begin.

A remedy for any misunderstandings within the Western academy are when Indigenous scholars are given the space to comment on and further develop their own Indigenous intellectual traditions, in partnership with scholars external to our societies. The knowledge I wrote about, reflected upon and scrutinized was written by recognized Anishinaabe knowledge holders in Ontario. I struggled with doing this within broader sociological settings as there are no easy answers. I am still considering what work will I do within my chosen discipline, sociology, to address the concerns I raise both individually and collectively as an Indigenous scholar as well being part of a collective of sociologists. I was asked how Indigenous knowledge is meaningful to sociology. This raised other questions for me, such as how does sociology engage with Indigenous knowledge(s)? At the simplest level, there should be recognition that Indigenous people are not people who need charity or require assistance (unless asked for), Indigenous societies are based on strong people who require Canadians to take the responsibility for their part in the colonization of Canada; at a simple level, there are at least two major parties needed for colonization to occur, we did not do this to ourselves. Sociology can critique and research the nature of the colonial enterprise but in partnership with those who are still living with the historical impacts of colonialism. Canadians need to understand the social, political and cultural forces which came together in forming the country of Canada before we can move forward together and it cannot be only Indigenous scholars saying this.

How is sociology meaningful for Aboriginal peoples in Canada? Some Indigenous societies in Canada are struggling in social, political, economic and spiritual spheres. There has to be other ways of considering alternate social realities for Indigenous peoples. Smith A (2010) declares that Indigenous peoples need to be “the actual producers, shapers and theorizers” of discourses and that these discourses can provide more complete understandings of the Aboriginal voice(s) in Canada. In my view, Indigenous societies need social mirrors that present resilient and strong people with cultural integrity and robust knowledge intact. This counteracts the continuing impact of colonial policies and practices presenting less than supportive images of Indigenous peoples. Throughout my dissertation, I have illustrated an active Anishinaabe presence by retelling Anishinaabe stories that show a multifaceted people who interact with their

environment in culturally and social prescribed ways. I did this, like Dion (2004), to affirm “the humanity and agency of Aboriginal people” (p. 56). It is my hope that sociological theorists and researchers might contribute likewise and look at Indigenous people as active, responsible and human agents responding to historical traumas in human ways.

This dissertation privileged Indigenous knowledge(s) concerning the Anishinaabe of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. The Anishinaabe are portrayed as active, dynamic and multi-dimensional human beings. I have tried to avoid any representations of a utopian existence in this discussion, and perhaps, in some discussion, I have not been as successful in this. Yet, maybe this was necessary for other Anishinaabe reading this. McGuire, Sr. and Morriveau understood this need for Anishinaabe to see ourselves as much more than the subjects of the social issues we find ourselves facing. McGuire Sr. and Morriveau express pride in Anishinaabe knowledge of self in the stories they wrote and, in the case of Morriveau, painted.

Completing this dissertation by presenting Anishinaabe knowledge as a viable, meaningful contribution to the sociological literature is a contribution made for both of my communities, my home territory and my sociology. In order to change the social context of Indigenous peoples in Canada, Indigenous-driven changes must first be envisioned and imagined. Anishinaabe knowledge(s) are key components of Anishinaabe legacies. This exploration into Anishinaabe knowledge is intended to improve the quality of life for other Anishinaabe peoples by privileging our stories. At the same time, ensuring sociologists have awareness of why this is important and how they can establish relationships with our societies based on mutual respect and reciprocity is of equal importance.

### **7.3 Resilience**

Gross (2003) discusses stories as a necessary part of recovering from traumas for Anishinaabe. He recognizes stories as necessary for foundational philosophy and religious beliefs. Gross relates the utility of stories for cultural sovereignty. The Anishinaabe in the Lake Nipigon area were constrained in our knowledge(s) as our stories were ignored and suppressed under the *Indian Act* as well as other pieces of legislation. Kiimiingona manda Gikendaasowin usually translated as the Original Instructions given to the Anishinaabe by the Creator was affected by colonial legislation. Because of colonial structures, processes and practices, there was a need for the resurgence of Anishinaabe knowledge. These knowledge(s) are now being discussed as part of broader Indigenous knowledge frameworks in Canada.

The representations that confront Aboriginal peoples on a daily basis in Canada are not nourishing to people. A quick glance at the Canadian media today shows missing sons, daughters, grandchildren, aunts, uncles, mothers and fathers, murdered remains being found, suicides, high rates of chronic diseases, murders committed under intoxication, children mistreated, physician-fed pill addictions, family breakdowns and the growth of youth gangs with no connections to the land or themselves or a sense of family. These are not pretty pictures and these images speak to the need for healing. Yet, healing has to be based on something that can bring us a vision for the future. Collective resilience based on land knowledge as well as being part of a family and community is one vision to nurture. New relationships to the land should be part of a reconnection to the land for Anishinaabe. Our relationships will not be the same as our past relationships with the land, but relationships need to be formed as this is the basis of our identity and who we may become.

We, as Anishinaabe, need new ways to think and dream about ourselves. These new ways of thinking may be found in the old stories about how we survived in the past and our knowledge that was the basis for our collective resilience. We need ideas of resilience to reflect our strengths and reflect who we were and are. Our stories speak to us and to our knowledge(s), but most importantly they paint us as proud and strong people who loved the land we resided on. Stories about the land help us deal with issues for which we need resilience. The social disruptions and chaos introduced by generations of colonial government interference does not need to be the focus of who we are. A foundation based upon our own stories can help us to ameliorate the conditions we see in our communities. Our social strategies need to be based on healthy, strong and resourceful people who know who they are on their land. No matter what was done to us by past colonial ideas, agents and institutions, this is our future and we are the ones responsible and obligated for our renewal and continued existence.

#### **7.4 Challenges**

Earlier, in this dissertation, Dion was discussed when in 2004, she said, “Stories are told for a variety of reasons, and it is the responsibility of the listener to find meaning in the stories and the responsibility of the teller to tell an appropriate story” (p. 61). Dion challenges listeners of stories to be part of a change process. Dion says that the listeners are a key part of the telling of a story. Dion says that listeners are expected and need to be aware so they can “draw their own conclusions from what they have heard, and they do so in the particular context (time, place

and situation) of the telling” (Dion, p. 62). Our stories serve a symbolic purpose of connecting us to Anishinaabe ancestors. There is a need to create, recreate and scrutinize Indigenous knowledge within scholarly settings and within specific disciplinary boundaries such as sociology. Whether this is done by Indigenous scholars exploring Indigenous knowledge(s) or in partnership with other scholars, this is the next frontier for many disciplines.

Throughout the writing of this dissertation, there were challenges in presenting Indigenous knowledge while respecting multiple audiences. In doing so, numerous questions arose. Can writing Indigenous knowledge occur without delineating how Indigenous knowledge(s) fit or do not fit the definitions, content and borders of hegemonic disciplines? Can Aboriginal people’s knowledge(s) be accepted knowledge within academia? How do disciplines address distinct perspectives on what counts for knowledge? I have tried in this dissertation to balance distinctive knowledge(s), yet, disciplinary boundaries and barriers continued to confront me. I often wondered if there was a space for this dialogue to occur within academic institutions; yet, this is where much knowledge originates but most importantly, where knowledge(s) are validated, so this is where this dialogue needs to happen.

Promises of a different way of life are contained with Indigenous knowledge(s). Indigenous knowledge(s) based on Anishinaabe relationships to land may lead us back to ourselves as Anishinaabe. This means Anishinaabe knowledge and ceremonial lives must be reinstated and resurrected as these are related to understandings of and relationships to land. There are multiple challenges envisioned by restoring Indigenous knowledge. For example, there will be challenges trying to restore Indigenous knowledge in the face of different spiritual traditions, such as Christianity, that exists within Anishinaabe communities. Some Christian sects are opposed to Anishinaabe ceremonies because the colonial discourse of Indigenous peoples as being savage, uncivilized and worshipers of multiple deities informs these Christian understandings.

The greater challenge of facing locally-based economic development corporations on Anishinaabe lands and transnational resource corporations was presented at the beginning of this dissertation. This difficulty centers on resourcing economic developments based on ideas of collectivity without becoming corporate based. Many development corporations have no accountability to the communities for decisions made on their, the community’s behalf. In some communities, most monies coming into the community go to an appointed economic



development board, which does not always include members of the Anishinaabe community; and when it does, it usually operates with only limited Anishinaabe involvement as the majority of the board is filled with people outside of the community. Thus, the two major challenges faced are colonial religious understandings and the use of economic models based on modernist ideas of development. What is needed is for the conversations about the purposes, processes and consequences of development to happen at multiple levels within Anishinaabe communities.

Other challenges appear under the guise of consultants wanting to help Indigenous peoples, while harking back to the days of colonial superiority and disdain for Indigenous efforts to explore Indigenous knowledge(s). All scholarship is enriched by many voices. Indigenous knowledge is an effort to open the discourse to explore other ways of knowing while discussing the challenges of doing so within the arena of Western academia. There is a place for external consultants in communities, but it not in the directing of how these efforts should proceed.

It is a curious undertaking writing on Indigenous knowledge within an academic venue in Canada. There is so much written, described and studied about aspects of Indigenous peoples in Canadian academia. There is no shortage of material on specific areas of Indigenous knowledge, and there are intriguing areas to consider; yet this still produces an unsettling feeling. The materials you encounter are recognizable, but they are unattached to the settings in which they were collected. Reviewing these de-contextualized materials makes me, as an Indigenous scholar, feel as if something important is lost. A comparable feeling occurred when I examine community knowledge recorded by members of my community. It is like standing on green moss: the ground keeps shifting and changing affecting what you see and the way you see. How do you treat knowledge that has been dramatically affected by colonial processes? It was a struggle to organize such knowledge(s) into the requirements for a dissertation, while maintaining coherence and significance so as the knowledge(s) imparted are recognizable in Anishinaabe settings.

Anishinaabe knowledge(s) are not seen as part of standard curricula. Anishinaabe knowledge(s) are still very much seen as traditional stories. Anishinaabe knowledge has to be presented in a format accepted in an academic environment to challenge these ideas. Yet, this suggests academia is where the real acceptable knowledge is created, presented and maintained. The format demanded by academia became a juggling act of trying to integrate in a respectful

way two very different worldviews in this dissertation, in a setting representative of broader Canadian academia.

There is no doubt that we Anishinaabe know we had and have our ways of seeing in this world, our ways of being and our ways of transmitting this knowledge to others. What we have to do is communicate this in English and doing so creates a host of problems since distinct nuances are missed. Some concepts will not fit and some concepts will not have exact translations; yet if Anishinaabe want Anishinaabe ideas, philosophies, worldviews to have wider dissemination, we will have to figure it out. At this time, in our collective history, it is the colonial language that we speak, and it is how we communicate with one another right now. Stating this does not mean continued acceptance of this state of affairs.

### **7.5 Anishinaabe Knowledge(s)**

This dissertation is exploratory. This is not a definitive work but only one step on a journey. These stories offer a glimpse into the Anishinaabe world. This is revealed as a world based on land and relationships to land as a form of resilience. The selected stories were chosen because they are stories of Anishinaabe knowledge and resilience familiar to me and other Anishinaabe and because they are widely used as knowledge(s) for the Anishinaabe of this territory. These stories represent familiar knowledge for Anishinaabe of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior, less so for broader audiences. Morriveau specifies why he sustained Anishinaabe stories. He says,

...so I am writing this book as a foundation and I am sure many more will follow. I wish some of the educated Ojibway Indians would take the same interest in our history as I have always done. My people, be proud of your great culture that was once mighty, your great societies, the Midaywewin and Wabinowin, and the great Ojibway Medicine Society of the Three Fires.

There is a continuation of robust knowledge(s) of the Anishinaabe societies Morriveau discusses. The Midewiwin (medicine society) has the responsibility for knowledge preservation and transmission which occurs in specific yearly ceremonies. Wabinowin (the society of the dawn) is lesser known. Each has specific areas of responsibilities and obligations they are entrusted to fulfill.

With the sociology of knowledge, D. Smith (1990) and Hill-Collins (2002) argue for knowledge to be considered as part of the experiences of marginalized populations, such as

women and Black peoples. They recognize that knowledge is contextual as well as necessary for social change. Knowledge and social change are dependent upon social, political and cultural readings of societies. Marker (2004) says, “Knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of self, to grasping one's position in the larger scheme of things, including one's own community and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person” (p. 106). The broader question for me was what would a contextualized knowledge look like for a specific Indigenous society?

Within most Anishinaabe societies in Canada, there are traditions of oral performance, such as storytelling, other mnemonic devices such as written languages and art forms such as rock painting and other pictorial imagery. Oral transmission was one of the preliminary forms of transmitting and retaining past knowledge, as were rock painting, petro-forms, and other pictorial images. Anishinaabe knowledge(s) originate and flow from these and assist in the process of ensuring past events, traditional stories, land-based stories of origin, and ancestor stories are preserved for future generations. For Anishinaabe knowledge, the method of transmission delineated the types of stories told as well as specified when and how they were told. Related features were teaching stories that were primarily philosophical in nature but offered practical lessons on how to live in the world and most importantly how to relate to one another. For Anishinaabe peoples, the principle values of reciprocity, sharing, responsibility and the maintaining of relationships in the world were rarely absent from these stories.

Rheault (1999) discusses these aspects of Anishinaabe *gikeedaasiwin* and exemplifies how knowledge is a deeply personal practice of living a good life each day, which involves ceremonial life. The specific knowledge that he was given by teachings and personal sacrifice are *Bzindamowin* (learning from listening), *manidoo waabiwin* (seeing in a spirit way), *gnawaaminjigewin* (to look, to see, to witness), *eshkakimikwe gikeedaasiwin* (land-based knowledge), *kiimiingona manda gikendaaswin* (the original instructions given to the Anishinaabe by Gitche Manitou), and *Manitou minjimendamowin*, (spirit memory). As I worked on the buffalo hide, I realized these knowledge(s) are not separate; they are meant to be interwoven into everyday life, are interconnected with one another and are based on practiced philosophical ideas about land and land practices. This knowledge combined with the stories of our history on the land form the core of our resilience as Anishinaabe.

Being and becoming part of the knowledge that one is gifted with is a necessary part of living a good life and becomes part of your personal responsibility. This becomes your reflection on the knowledge process and part of your journey towards living a good life. This framework of thought and related living skills is process oriented. It is dynamic, interconnected; and these ideas form part of larger branches of knowledge Anishinaabe were given by the Creator and instructed to live by. The knowledge is personal, as different peoples will take different aspects of it as they own and interpret it within their own framework.

## **7.6 Concluding Comments**

In the introduction, I presented an overview of Northern Ontario and raised issues about economic developments that were occurring. The purpose of this dissertation and assumptions that guided it include: the need to reflect Indigenous ways of being and learning about the world, and the claims that Indigenous epistemologies enable a more accurate and nuanced understanding of Indigenous societies to emerge; and lastly, that Anishinaabe knowledge(s) offer insights into Anishinaabe resilience. These suppositions have enabled a nuanced exploration of Indigenous knowledge that offers an alternative approach to how stories contribute to the body of knowledge of this population(s) in Northwestern Ontario. Anishinaabe have maintained Anishinaabe knowledge(s) in the face of concerted colonial pressures by both levels of the Canadian government over significant periods of time. Yet, the greatest challenges are contributing to the development strategies envisioned for Northern Ontario in the next few years that are based on Indigenous knowledge of development cycles.

As a developing Indigenous scholar, I asked where I could find knowledge while remaining grounded in my Indigenous society. Now I am asking how we help the next generation of Indigenous scholars. Indigenous peoples have chosen to participate in mainstream academia. We want the next generation of Indigenous scholars to know what we mean when we discuss who we are. Who do we want them to be? Will we think about them as we are currently doing our work? It is our responsibility to teach them what we mean. It is our responsibility to teach and demonstrate by our experiences and by our stories. No one can do this for us. It is our responsibility to show this respect to them. We have to remember that, at some point in time, we will be the ones who came before. We have to make them curious enough that they will begin to explore and experiment with their languages of origin. It could very well be that in the future this

circle of Anishinaabemowin to English translates back to Anishinaabemowin. This is what we should be working towards.

My mother told me in a personal conversation in 2010 about another part of the story that my grandfather's father, Wassegiizhik, told her. She spoke Anishinaabemowin to me and I understood. My mother was at a women's meeting. She was asked to open the meeting and was unsure of what was wanted by this group. A lady told her to say her prayer in the Anishinaabe language. My mother said that she did not know where her words came from, but after she talked, she thought her heart would split in two because she was so happy. This happiness came from knowing that what her grandfather told her was true. Wassegiizhik told her what she would see in her lifetime. She related this story Wassegiizhik told her. Women at this meeting gave her a piece of paper that described how the women would lead. This was part of what her grandfather told her; he said that one of the things that she would see was that the Anishinaabekwe (Anishinaabe women) would lead our communities. This is what my mother said, that her grandfather, Wassegiizhik talked about universities as well, and she thought of me as she was thinking about what he said. He did not say the word, university. He discussed places of learning where knowledge is stored and communicated. These were the words I knew best and my mother was happy I understood what she was saying in the language. It saddened me I only understood part of what was said and only the part that I am intimately involved with gabe gikendaasowigamig (locked or stored place for knowledge).

Nii Anishinaabe Gikeedaasiwin wee tha. Anishinaabe know that we had and have our ways of seeing in this world, ours ways of being and our ways of transmitting this knowledge to others. Both Patrick M. McGuire, Sr. and Norval Morriseau recognized Anishinaabe needed to communicate our knowledge. This was the intent behind my presentation of the some of the stories of Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. The realization of the Indigenous mental and spiritual sense of who we are and how our knowledge(s) reflect these understandings can change our world. This is seen as the promise of Anishinaabe scholarship. Indigenous knowledge(s) can provide explanations of what occurs within Indigenous cultural and social practices in Canada. Anishinaabe knowledge(s) is our resilience. These and other such ideas direct the resurgence and renewal of Indigenous societies in Canada.

## REFERENCES

- Aboriginal Culture Abroad (Australia) PTY, Ltd. (1988). *The Teaching Stones of the Outcast Tribe*. Stuttgart, West Germany: Hugo Matthaes Druckerei Und Verlag GMBH & Co.
- Absolon, K. (Minogiizhigokwe). (2009). Navigating the Landscape of Practice: Dbaagmowin of a Helper. In *Wicihitowin – Aboriginal Social Work in Canada*. R. Sinclair (Otiskewapiwskew), M. Hart (Kaskitemahikan), & G. Bruyere (Amawaajibitang). (Eds). Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing.
- Absolon, K.E., (Minogiizhigokwe). (2011). *Kaandossiwin – How We Come to Know*. Winnipeg, MB:: Fernwood Publishing.
- Absolon, K., & Willett, C. (2004). Aboriginal research: Berry Picking and Hunting in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. *First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada*, 1 (1), 5-17.  
Retrieved April 01, 2011 from  
[http://www.fncfcs.com/pubs/vol1num1/Absolon\\_Willett\\_pp5-17.pdf](http://www.fncfcs.com/pubs/vol1num1/Absolon_Willett_pp5-17.pdf)
- Absolon, K. & Willett, C. (2005). Putting Ourselves Forward: Location in Aboriginal Research Methodology. In L. Brown & S. Stega. (Eds.). *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous and Anti-oppressive Research Approaches*. (pp. 97-146). Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholar's Press.
- Agrawal, A. (1995). Dismantling the Divide between Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge. *Development and Change*, 26, 413-439.
- Ajunnginiq Center. (2007). *Resilience – Overcoming Challenges and Moving on Positively*. Ottawa: National Aboriginal Health Organization. Retrieved February 5, 2012 from  
[www.naho.ca/Inuit](http://www.naho.ca/Inuit)
- Ajunnginiq Center. (2006). Suicide Prevention – Inuit Traditional Practices that Encouraged

- Resilience and Coping. Ottawa, ON: National Aboriginal Health Organization. Retrieved February 4, 2012 from [http://www.naho.ca/documents/it/2006\\_Suicide\\_Prevention-Elders.pdf](http://www.naho.ca/documents/it/2006_Suicide_Prevention-Elders.pdf)
- Akiwowo, A. (1999). Indigenous Sociologies – Extending the Scope of the Argument. *International Sociology*. 14 (2), 115-138.
- Alberta. (2009, July 20). *Premier joins Blackfoot Confederacy in Celebrating Repatriation of Sacred Ceremonial Objects - Ground breaking Legislation First of its kind in Canada*. Retrieved August 10, 2009 from <http://alberta.ca/home/NewsFrame.cfm?ReleaseID=/acn/200907/26597C813C5C1-D591-C723-A1F70A02A21723DC.html>
- Andersson, N. & Ledogar, R. (2008). The CEIT Aboriginal Youth Resilience Studies: 14 Years of Capacity Building and Methods Development in Canada. *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Community Health*, 6 (2), 65-88.
- Angel, M. (2002). *Historical Perspectives on the Ojibway Midewin: Preserving the Sacred*. Winnipeg, MB: The University of Manitoba Press.
- Anishinabek Nation. (2010). *First Nations Not Consulted On Excavated Artifacts from Ontario*. Retrieved October 25, 2010 from <http://indigenouspeoplesissues.com>
- Arbour, L. & Cook, D. (2006) DNA on Loan: Issues to Consider when Carrying Out Genetic Research with Aboriginal Families and Communities. *Community Genetics*. 9, 153–160.
- Archaeology Daily News. (2010). *Rare 4,600 year old Ontario burial lifts lid on Prehistoric Canada*. Retrieved November 30, 2010 from <http://www.archaeologydaily.com/news/201006244410/Rare-4600-year-old-Ontario-burial-lifts-lid-on-prehistoric-Canada.html>

- Archibald, J., (Q'um Q'um Xiieem). (2008). *Indigenous Storywork – Educating the Heart, Mind, Body and Spirit*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Archer, A. (2010). Reflexivity. *International Sociological Association*. Retrieved December 05, 2012 at <http://www.isa-sociology.org/publ/sociopedia-isa/>
- Ariss, R., Cutfeet, J. (2012). *Keeping the Land – Kitcheeuuhmaykoosib Inninuwig, Reconciliation and Canadian Law*. Halifax, Winnipeg: Fernwood Press.
- Arthurs, D. (1981a). The Nipigon Bay burial: a Rescue Excavation. *Wanikan* 9-13.
- Arthurs, D. (1981b). *Archaeological activities in Western Lake Nipigon*. Ontario Ministry of Culture and Communications, Conservation Archaeology.
- Arthurs, D. (1983). Early historic pipe from Lake Nipigon. *Wanikan* 9, 5-10.
- Arthurs, D. (1981). *Archaeological activities in Western Lake Nipigon*. Ontario publication: Ministry of Culture and Communications, Conservation Archaeology.
- Arthurs, D. (1982). *Archaeological investigations in the North Central Region*. Ontario Ministry of Culture and Communications, Conservation Archaeology.
- Arthurs, D. (1984). *Archaeological investigations in the North Central Region*. Ontario Ministry of Culture and Communications, Conservation Archaeology.
- Arthur, E. (Ed.). (1996) *Thunder Bay District 1821 - 1892 A Collection of Documents*. Ontario Series IX. Toronto, ON: The Champlain Society.
- Asch, M. (Ed.). (1997). *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equality and Respect for Difference*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Atalay, S. (2008). Multivocality and Indigenous Archaeologies. In J. Habu, C. Fawcett, and J. M. Matsunaga (Eds.). *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies*. New York, NY: Springer.



- Atleo, E. R. (2004). *Tsawalk – A Nuu-chad-nulth Worldview*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Azoulay, K.G. (1996). Outside our Parent's House: Race, Culture, and Identity. *Research in African Literature*, 27(1), 129-142.
- Bailey, G. & Gayle, N. (1993). *Sociology - An Introduction from the Classics to Contemporary Feminists*. Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Baker, E. (2009). Locating Ourselves in the Place of Creation – The Academy as Kitsu'lt melkiko'tin. In P. A. Monture, P. D. McGuire (Eds.). *First Voices – An Aboriginal Women's Reader*. (pp. 497-506). Toronto, ON: Inanna Publications and Education, Inc.
- Baker, W. (1998). *The Mounted Police and Prairie Society 1873-1919*. Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Center.
- Balagopalan, S. (2011). On Freire's Critical Optimism. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 8, 203-228. Retrieved October 14, 2012 from <http://ced.sagepub.com/content/8/2/203.refs.html>
- Barnes, J. I. (2003). Living and Writing Indigenous Spiritual Resistance. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 24(3), 211-238.
- Barnhardt, R. & Kawagley, A. (2005). Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Alaska Native Ways Of Knowing. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 36(1), 8 – 23.
- Barron, L. F. (1984). A Summary of Federal Indian Policy in the Canadian West, 1867-1984. *Native Studies Review*, 1(1), 28-39.
- Barth, F. F. (2002). An Anthropology of Knowledge. *Current Anthropology: Sidney W. Mintz Lecture*, 43(1), 1-18.
- Baskin, C. (2007). Survivors and Warriors: Healing from Historical Trauma. *Native Social Work*

- Journal - Resistance and Resilience: Addressing Historical Trauma of Aboriginal Peoples*, 6(1), 3-5.
- Basso, K. (1996). *Wisdom Sits in Places – Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Bastien, B. (2004). *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing – The Worldview of the Siksitaitsitapi*. Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press.
- Battiste, M. (Ed). (2000). *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. Vancouver, BC: The University of British Columbia.
- Battiste, M. & Henderson, J. (Sa'ke'j Youngblood). (Eds). (2000). *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage – A Global Challenge*. Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing Ltd.
- Battiste, M. & National Working Group on Education. (2002). *Indigenous Knowledge and Pedagogy in First Nations Education – A Literature Review with Recommendations*. Retrieved February 15, 2007 from [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/krw/ikp\\_e.pdf](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/krw/ikp_e.pdf)
- Bedard, R. E. (2003). *An Anishinaabekwe Writes History: An Alternative Understanding of Indigenous Intellectual and Historical Traditions*. (Unpublished master's thesis), Trent University, Peterborough, ON.
- Belanger, Y. D. (2010). *Ways of Knowing – An Introduction to Native Studies in Canada*. Scarborough, ON: Nelson Education.
- Belanger, Y. D. (2005). *Seeking a Seat at the Table: A Brief History of Indian Political Organizing in Canada, 1870-1951*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation), Trent University, Peterborough, ON.
- Benton-Banai, E. (1988). *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway*. Hayward, WI: Indian Country Communications Inc.

- Berger, T. (1985). *Village Journey*. New York, NY: Hill & Wang Publishers.
- Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York, NY: Anchor Books Random House.
- Berkhofer, R.E. (1979). *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York, NY: Vintage.
- Bhabha, H. Cited in W. J. T. Mitchell. (1995). Translator Translated. (Interview with Cultural Theorist Homi Bhabha). *Artforum*.33(7), 80-84. Retrieved December 28, 2012 from <http://prelectur.stanford.edu/lecturers/bhabha/interview.html>
- Bhambra, G. K. (2007). Sociology and Postcolonialism: Another 'Missing' Revolution? *Sociology*, 14(5), 871 – 884. Retrieved December 15, 2012 from <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/sociology/staff/academicstaff/bhambra/>
- Biolsi, T. & Zimmerman, L. J. (Eds.). (1997). *Indians and Anthropologists*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Birch (2003) cited in J. Cheney and A. Weston. (1999). Environmental Ethics as Environmental Etiquette: Toward an ethics-based epistemology in environmental philosophy. *Environmental Ethics*, 21(2), 115-134.
- Bishop, C.A. (1974). *The Northern Ojibway and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study*. Toronto, ON: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited.
- Bishop, R. (2005) cited in Nicholls, R. (2009). Research and Indigenous Participation: Critical Reflexive Methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 12(2), 117-126.
- Blackstock, M. D. (2000). The Aborigines Report 1937 – A Case Study in the Slow Change of Colonial Social Relations. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 20 (1), 67-84.

- Blackwell, B. (1998). Cited in J. Mahan & A. Mahan. *Lake Superior: Story and Spirit*. Gaylord, MI: Sweetwater Vision.
- Blaeser, K. (1999). Writing a Sense of Place. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 14(2), 92-108.
- Bouchard, D. & Martin, J. (2009). *Seven Sacred Teachings Niishwaaswi Gagiikwewin*. North Vancouver, BC: MTW Publishers.
- Bourgeois, P. (1999). Cited in D. Rheault. *Anishinaabe Mino-Bimaadiziwin - The Way of a Good Life – An Examination of Anishinaabe Philosophy, Ethics and Traditional Knowledge*. Peterborough, ON: Debwewin Press.
- Boyd, C. E. (2006). That Government Man Tried to Poison All the Klallam Indians: Metanarratives of History and Colonialism on the Central Northwest Coast. *Ethnohistory*, 53(2), 331-354.
- Boyle, K. & Sheen, J. (1997). *Freedom of Religion and Belief: A World Report*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Brant-Castellano, M. (2004). Ethics of Aboriginal Research. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 98-114. Retrieved January 20, 2011 from [http://www.naho.ca/jah/english/jah01\\_01/journal\\_p98-114.pdf](http://www.naho.ca/jah/english/jah01_01/journal_p98-114.pdf)
- Brant-Castellano, M. (2000). Updating Aboriginal Traditions of Knowledge. In G. J. S. Dei., B. L. Hall, & D. G. Rosenberg. (Eds.). *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of our World*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Brereton, B. (2006). Selwyn Dewdney Fonds, AFC 21. Western Archives: University of Western Ontario.
- Brown, J. S. H. (1980). *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.

- Brown, J. S. H., & Brightman, R. (1988). *The Orders of the Dreamed: George Nelson on Cree and Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press.
- Brown, L. & Strega, S. (Eds.). (2005). *Research as Resistance – Critical, Indigenous and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars Press.
- Buddle, K. (2004). Media, Markets and Powwows: Matrices of Aboriginal Cultural Mediation in Canada. *Cultural Dynamics*, 16(1), 29-69. Retrieved April 6, 2009 from <http://cdy.sagepub.com>
- Burnett, K. & Read, G. (2012). *Aboriginal History: A Reader*. Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Butler-McIlwraith, K. (2006). (Re)presenting Indigeneity - The possibilities of Australian Sociology. *Journal of Sociology*, 42(4), 369–381.
- Cajete, G. (1994). *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*. Durango, CO: Kivaki Press.
- Cajete, G. (2000). *Native Science. Natural Laws of Interdependence*. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light.
- Cameron, M., Andersson, N., McDowell, I. & Ledogar, R. J. (2010). Culturally Safe Epidemiology: Oxymoron or Scientific Imperative. *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health*, 8(2), 89-115.
- Campbell, M. (1973). *Half-Breed*. Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart Ltd.
- Canada. (1867). *The British North American Act 1867* (U.K.), 30 & 31, Section 91(24). Victoria, c. 3. Retrieved December 29, 2010 from <http://www.canlii.org/en/ca/const/const1867.html>
- Canada. (1876). *Consolidated Indian Act 1876*. Retrieved December 29, 2010 from <http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/205/301/ic/cdc/aboriginaldocs/m-stat.htm>

- Canada. (1982). The *Constitution Act* is Schedule B for the *Canada Act 1982 (U.K.), c. 11*. Retrieved May 30, 2011 from <http://www.canlii.org/en/ca/const/const1982.html>
- Canada. (2009). *Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Retrieved January 15, 2011 from <http://www.trc.ca>
- Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. (1970). *Robinson-Superior Treaty: Documentation*. Ottawa, ON: Treaties and Historical Research Centre.
- Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. (1986). *Treaty Research Report: The Robinson Treaties*. Ottawa, ON: Treaties and Historical Research Centre. J. R. Surtees. Retrieved March 31, 2011 from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/hts/tgu/pubs/Trob/trerob-eng.asp>
- Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. (2010). *Robinson-Superior Treaty. Copy made in the Year 1850 with the Ojibewa Indians of Lake Superior Conveying Certain Lands to the Crown*. Retrieved March 19, 2011 from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/hts/tgu/pubs/trob/rbt2/rbt2-eng.asp>
- Canada. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (1996). *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume One: Looking Forward, Looking Back*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Communication Group. Retrieved May 14, 2011 from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/rrc-eng.asp>
- Canada. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (1996). *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume Four: Perspectives and Realities 5 Metis Perspectives*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Communication Group. Retrieved May 7, 2011 from [http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/webarchives/20071124130236/http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sjm5\\_e.html](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/webarchives/20071124130236/http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sjm5_e.html)

- Canada. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (1996). *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume Five: Renewal: A Twenty-Year Commitment, Appendix E: Ethical Guidelines for Research*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Communication Group.
- Retrieved May 14, 2011 from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/rrc-eng.asp>
- Canada. (2006). *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada in 2006: Inuit, Metis and First Nations 2006 Census*. Retrieved September 16, 2012 from <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-558/pdf/97-558-XIE2006001.pdf>
- Canada. (2011). National Household Survey – Aboriginal People in Canada: First Nations, Metis and Inuit. Retrieved May 2013 from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-011-x/99-011-x2011001-eng.cfm>
- Canada. (2008). *Prime Minister Harper offers full apology on behalf of Canadians for the Indian Residential Schools system*. Retrieved July 2010 from <https://www.aadnc-aadnc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1100100015649>
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (2005). *A Separate Reality – The Life and Times of Norval Morrisseau*. Retrieved August 11, 2010 from <http://www.cbc.ca/lifeandtimes/morrisseau.html>
- Cannon, M. J. (2008). *Revisiting Histories of Gender-Based Exclusion and the New Politics of Indian Identity*. Vancouver BC: National Center for First Nations Governance.
- Cannon, M. & Sunseri, L. (2011). *Racism, Colonialism, and Indigeneity in Canada*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Cannon, M. (2012). Changing the Subject in Teacher Education: Centering Indigenous, Diasporic and Settler Colonial Relations. *Cultural and Pedagogical Inquiry*, 4(2), 21-37.
- Champagne, D. (1989). *American Indian Societies: Strategies and Conditions of Political and Cultural Survival*. Cambridge, ON: Cultural Survival Inc.
- Charmaz, K. (2005). Grounded Theory in the 21st century: A Qualitative Method for Advancing

- Social Justice Research. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research. 3th Ed.* (pp. 507–535). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cheney, J. (2002). The Moral Epistemology of First Nation Stories. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education – Telling our Stories*, 7(2), 88-99.
- Cheney, J. & Weston, A. (1999). Environmental Ethics as Environmental Etiquette: Toward an Ethics-Based Epistemology in Environmental Philosophy. *Environmental Ethics*, 21(2), 115-134.
- Chiu, L. F. cited in Nicholls, R. (2009). Research and Participation: Critical Reflexive Methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 12(2), 117-126.
- Clandinin, D. J. & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Clifford, J. & Marcus, G.E. (1986). *Writing Culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography: A School of American Research advanced seminar*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.
- Cochane, T. (2009). *Minong – The Good Place Ojibwe and Isle Royale*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan State University Press.
- Collections Canada (2010) *Canada West*. Retrieved December 24, 2010 from [http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/canadian-west/052902/05290201\\_e.html](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/canadian-west/052902/05290201_e.html)
- Conway, T. (1979). Rock art exploration in Northern Ontario. *Canadian Rock Art Research Associates Newsletter*, 12, 19-33.
- Conway, T. (1993). *Painted Dreams – Native American Rock Art*. Minocqua, WI: NorthWord Press, Inc.
- Copway, G. (2007). *Recollections of a Forest Life: Or the Life and Travels of Kah-*



- GE-Ga-Gah-Bowh or George Copway, Chief of the Objibway Nation. Retrieved June 21, 2013 from <http://archive.org/details/318122854.2200.emory.edu>*
- Couture, J. (1998). Native Studies and the Academy. In G. J. S. Dei, B. L. Hall & D. G. Rosenberg. (Eds.). *Indigenous Knowledge in Global Context: Multiple Readings of Our World*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto.
- Cruikshank, J. (2002). Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography: Perspectives from the Yukon Territory, Canada. In N. Shoemaker (Ed.). *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cruikshank, J. & Argounova, T. (2000). Reinscribing Meaning: Memory and Indigenous Identity in Sakha Republic (Yakutia). *Arctic Anthropology*, 37(1), 96-119. Retrieved October 28, 2010 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40316520>
- Cruikshank, J. (1998). *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Daly, K. (1997). Re-Placing Theory in Ethnography: A Postmodern View. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 3(3), 343-366.
- Dannenman, K. O. (2009). Reflections from a Namekosipiw Anishinaapekwe - My Trout Lake, Your Trout Lake. In P. A. Monture & P. D. McGuire. (Eds). *First Voices – An Aboriginal Woman’s Reader*. Toronto, ON: Inanna Publications & Education Inc.
- Danziger, E. J. Jr. (1979). *The Chippewas of Lake Superior*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- David, J. (2004). *Story Keepers Conversations with Aboriginal Writers*. Saugeen First Nation G.M.B., ON: Ningwakwe Learning Press and Debwe Communications Inc.

- Dawson, K. C. A. (1966). Isolated copper artifacts from Northwestern Ontario. *Ontario Archaeology*, 9, 63-67.
- Dawson, K. C. A. (1969). *A Report on Lake Nipigon Fur Trading Posts*. Port Arthur, ON: No publisher listed.
- Dawson, K. C. A. (1970). *Supplementary report on Lake Nipigon fur trading posts*. Thunder Bay, ON: Lakehead University.
- Dawson, K. C. A. (1970). *Archaeological Investigations at the site of the Trading Post at Sandpoint Blacksand Provincial Park, Ontario*. Thunder Bay, ON: No published listed.
- Dawson, K. C. A. (1976). *Algonkians of Lake Nipigon: an Archaeological Survey*. Ottawa, ON: National Museums of Canada, Museum of Man.
- Dawson, K. C. A. (1978). *Annotated Bibliography of Upper Great Lakes Archaeology*. Thunder Bay, ON: Lakehead University.
- Dawson, K. C. A. (1982). The northern Ojibwa of Ontario. In M. Hanna & B. Kyooman (Eds.). *Approaches to Algonquian Archaeology* (pp. 81-96). Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press.
- Dawson, K. C. A. (1983). *Prehistory of Northern Ontario*. Thunder Bay, ON: The Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society.
- Dei, G. J. S., Hall, B. L., & Rosenberg, D.G. (Eds.). (2000). *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of our World*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Dei, G. J. S. (2000). Rethinking the role of Indigenous Knowledges in the Academy. *Inclusive Education*, 4(2), 111-132.
- Dei, G. J. S. (2010). Reclaiming “Development” Through Indigeneity and Indigenous

- Knowledge. *Teaching Africa: Towards a Transgressive Pedagogy*. London, UK: Springer.
- Dei, G. J. S. (2012). Indigenous anti-colonial knowledge as 'heritage knowledge' for promoting Black/African education in diasporic contexts. *Decolonization, Indigeneity, Education and Society*, 1(1), 101-119.
- Dell, C., Dell, D., & Hopkins, C. (2005). Resiliency and Holistic Inhalant Abuse Treatment. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 2(1), 4-12.
- Dell, C. (2011). Voices of Healing: How a Research Project is Using Music to Communicate its Findings. *Knowledge Translation Casebook*. Saskatoon, SK: Saskatchewan Population Health and Evaluation Research Unit.
- Deloria, V. Jr. (1969). *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Deloria, V. Jr. (1991). Commentary: Research, Redskins, and Reality. *American Indian Quarterly*, 15(4), 457-468. Retrieved September 09, 2010 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1185364>
- Deloria, V. Jr. (1991). Indian Education in America. Quoted in M. Marker. (2004). Theories and Disciplines as Sites of Struggle: The Reproduction of Colonial Dominance through the Controlling of Knowledge in the Academy. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 28 (1/2), 102-111.
- Deloria, Jr. V. (1994). *God is Red: A Native View of Religion*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.. Golden: Fulcrum.
- Deloria, Jr. V. (1995). *Red Earth White Lies*. New York, NY: Scribner.
- Denis, J. (2011). Bridging Understandings: Aboriginal and White Perspectives on the Residential

- School Apology and Prospects for Reconciliation. In L. Tepperman & A. Katyla. (Eds). *Reading Sociology: Canadian Perspectives, 2nd edition*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Denomme-Welch, S. (2008). The Birchbark Eaters and the Crisis of Ethical Knowledge in Storytelling. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 31(1), 56-71.
- Densmore, F. (1929). *Chippewa Customs*. Retrieved June 21, 2013 from <http://www.questia.com/library/7933448/chippewa-customs>
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S., (Eds.). (1998). *The Landscape of Qualitative Research- Theories and Issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds). (2000). *The Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Denzin, N. K. (2010). Grounded and Indigenous Theories and the Politics of Pragmatism. *Sociological Inquiry*, 80(2), 296-312.
- Devens, C. (1992). "If We Get the Girls, We Get the Race": Missionary Education of Native American Girls. *Journal of World History*, 3(2), 219-238.
- Dewdney, S. (1963). Norval Morriseau. *Canadian Art*. Retrieved September 01, 2010 from at <http://www.ccca.ca/c/writing/d/dewdney-s/sdew001t.html>
- Dewdney, S., Kidd, K. E. (1967). *Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Dickason, O. P. (1992). *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart.
- Dickason, O. P. (1997a). *The Myth of the Salvage: And the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas*. Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press.

- Dickason, O. P. (1997b). *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (2nd Ed.). Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press Canada.
- Dickason, O. P. & McNabb, D. T. (2009). *Canada's First Nations – A History of the Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Dion-Stout, M., Kipling, G. (2003). *Aboriginal People, Resilience and the Residential School Legacy*. Ottawa, ON: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.
- Dion, S. D. (2004). (Re)telling to Disrupt: Aboriginal People and Stories of Canadian History. *Journal of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies*, 2(1), 55-77.
- Dion, S. D. (2009). *Braiding Histories – Learning from Aboriginal Peoples' Experiences & Perspectives*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Doerfler, J. (2009). An Anishinaabe Tribalography- Investigating and Interweaving Conceptions of Identity during the 1910s on the White Earth Reservation. *American Indian Quarterly*. 33(3), 295- 324.
- Doxtater, M.G. (2004). Indigenous Knowledge in the Decolonial Era. *American Indian Quarterly*, 28(3 & 4), 618-633.
- Dunlop, R. (2002). In Search of Tawny Grammar: Poetics, Landscape, and Embodied Ways of Knowing. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education – Telling our Stories*. 7(2), 23-37.
- Dunne, C. (2011). The Place of the Literature Review in Grounded Theory Research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*. 14(2), 111-124.
- Dunning, R. W. (1958). Some implications of economic change in Northern Ojibwa social Structure. *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 24(4), 562-566.
- Retrieved January 20, 2011 from <http://www.jstor.org/pss/139092>

- Duran, E. (2006). *Healing the Soul Wound: Counseling with American Indians and Other Native Peoples*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Dyson, A. H. & Genishi, C. (Eds.). (1994). *The Need for Story: Cultural Diversity in Classroom and Community*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Erikson, K.T. (1976). *Everything in Its Path, Destruction of a Community in the Buffalo Creek Flood*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Ermine, W. J. (1995). Aboriginal Epistemology. In M. Battiste & J. Barman (Eds.). *First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfold* (pp.101-112). Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Ermine, W. (2007). The Ethical Space of Engagement. *Indigenous Law Journal*, 6(1), 193-203.
- Esterberg, K. G. (2002). *Qualitative Methods in Social Science*. Toronto, CAN: McGraw-Hill.
- Farganis, J. (2000). *Readings in Social Theory – The Classical Tradition to Post-Modernism*. (3th Ed.). Toronto, ON: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Farrell, A.L. (2008). *Kakanjegawin, to Know. Anishinawbe Epistemology and Education: A Philosophic and Holistic Exploration of Anishinawbe Approaches to Knowledge and Implications for Research*. (Unpublished master's thesis), Thunder Bay, ON: Lakehead University.
- Feld, S., & Basso, K.H. (Eds.). (1996). *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Filteau, P. (1978). *Lake Nipigon Archeology: A Further Study - An Archeological Report*  
Prepared for the Ontario Heritage Foundation. Retrieved May 31, 2007 from  
<http://www.gedc.ca/upload/documents/lake-nipigon-archaeology--more.pdf>
- Finzsch, N. (2005). "It is scarcely possible to conceive that human beings could be so

- Hideous and Loathsome”: Discourses of Genocide of Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century America and Australia. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 39(2), 97-115.
- Fleming, J., & Ledogar, R.J. (2008). Resilience, an Evolving Concept: A Review of Literature Relevant to Aboriginal Research. *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health*, 6(2), 7 – 24.
- Foley, D. (2003). Indigenous Epistemology and Indigenous Standpoint Theory. *Social Alternatives*, 22(1), 44-52.
- Frideres, J. (2011). *First Nations in the Twenty-First Century*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Friedman, J. (1994). *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. London, UK: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Frederiks, B. (2008). Researching with Aboriginal Women as a Aboriginal Women Researcher. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 23(55), 113-129.
- Gale, A. E. (1998). *Robinson Treaty Métis: Historical Report*. Ottawa, ON: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
- Garroue, E. M. (2003). *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Geniusz, W., Makoons. (2009). *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive – Decolonizing Botanical Anishinaabe Teachings*. New York, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Germain, M.F., Costa R. & Kelly-Scott, K. (2009). *2006 Aboriginal Population Profile for Thunder Bay*. Retrieved September 16, 2012 from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-638-x/2009001/article/10832-eng.pdf>
- Glaser, B. G. & Strauss, A. (1967). *Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- Goulet, J. G. (1998). *Ways of Knowing – Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Dene*

- Tha*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Gnecco, C. & Hernandez, C. (2008). History and Its Discontents Stone Statues, Native Histories, and Archaeologists. *Current Anthropology*, 49(3), 439- 466.
- Graveline, F. J. (2000). Circle as Methodology: Enacting an Aboriginal Paradigm. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 13(4), 361-370.
- Grieves, V. (2008). Aboriginal Spirituality: A Baseline for Indigenous Knowledge Development in Australia. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 28(2), 363-398.
- Gross, L.W. (2002). Bimaadiziwin or the Good Life as a Unifying Concept of Anishinaabe Religion. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 26(1), 15-32. Retrieved December 27, 2011 from <http://www.metapress.com.cyber.usask.ca/content/m868112ml1837177/fulltext.pdf>
- Gross, L. W. (2003). Cultural Sovereignty and Native American Hermeneutics in the Interpretation of the Sacred Stories of the Anishinaabe. *Wicaza Sa Review*, 18(2), 127-134. Retrieved December 27, 2011 from [http://muse.jhu.edu.cyber.usask.ca/journals/wicazo\\_sa\\_review/v018/18.2gross.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu.cyber.usask.ca/journals/wicazo_sa_review/v018/18.2gross.pdf)
- Haebich, A. (2011). Forgetting Indigenous Histories: Cases from History of Australia's Stolen Generations. *Journal of Social History*, 44(4), 1034-1046. Retrieved October 12, 2011 from <http://muse.jhu.edu.cyper.usask.ca>
- Haig-Brown, & C., Nock, D. (Eds.). (2006). *With Good Intentions – Euro-Canadian & Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Hamilton, S., Morriveau, R. & McCrady, T. (1995). *New Solitudes: Conflicting World Views*



- in the Context of Contemporary Northern Resource Development. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology/ Journal Canadien d'Archeologie*, 19, 3-18.
- Hansen, L. C. (1985). *The Anishinabek Land Claim and the Participation of the Indian People Living on the North Shore of Lake Superior in the Robinson Superior Treaty, 1850: Research Report*. Toronto, ON: Ontario Native Affairs Secretariat.
- Harala, K., Smith, C., Hassel, C. & Gailfus, P. (2005). New Moccasins: Articulating Research Approaches through Interviews with Faculty and Staff at Native and Non-Native Academic Institutions. *Journal of Nutrition and Behaviour*, 37, 67-76.
- Harris, H. A. (2003). *Remembering 12,000 years of History. Oral History, Indigenous Knowledge, and Ways of Knowing in Northwestern America*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB.
- Hart, M. A. (2002). *Seeking Mino-pimatisiwin: An Aboriginal Approach to Helping*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Hernandez, N. (1999) *Mokakssini: A Blackfoot Theory of Knowledge*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation), Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Hester, L. & Cheney, J. (2001). Truth and Native American Epistemology. *Social Epistemology*, 15(4), 319-334.
- Hickerson, H. (1970). *The Chippewa and Their Neighbours: A Study in Ethnohistory*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Highway, T. (2009). *Kisaageetin: A Cabaret*. Thunder Bay, ON: Literacy Northwest and Lakehead University.
- Hill, T. (n.d.). *Norval Morriseau*. Retrieved February 26, 2012 from <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/norval-morrisseau>

- Hill Collins, P. (1990, 2000a, 2002). *Black Feminist Thought – Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New York, NY: Routledge.  
Retrieved from <http://www.feministes-radicales.org/>
- Hill-Collins, P. (2000b). Black Feminist Epistemology. In C. Calhoun, J. Gerteis, J. Moody, S. Praff, & I. Virk. (2002) *Contemporary Social Theory*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hoare, T., Levy, C. & Robinson, M. (1993). Participatory Action Research in Native Communities: Cultural Opportunities and Legal Implications. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 13(1), 43-68.
- Hoftstadter, R. (1955). *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Hooks, B. (1992). *Black looks: race and representation*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Hooks, B. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: education as the practice of freedom*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Horsman, R. (1975). Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century. *American Indian Quarterly*, 27(2), 152-168.
- Howe, L. (2002). The Story of America: A Tribalology. In N. Shoemaker. (Ed.). *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hungry Wolf, B. L. B. (2004). *Siksskiiiaakii lectures in the Repatriation Class at Red Crow College*. Retrieved March 27, 2011 from <http://blackfootdigitallibrary.org/en/asset/siksskiiiaakii-lectures-repatriation-class-red-crow-college>
- Hunter, A. (2001). *Spirit Horses*. Cape Croker Reserve, ON: Kegeponce Press.
- Huntington, H. P. (2005). We Dance Around in a Ring and Suppose: Academic Engagement

- with Traditional Knowledge. *Arctic Anthropology*. 42(1), 29-32.
- Hutchins, P. W. (2011). Holding the Mirror Up to Nature – Law, Social Science, and Professor Arthur Ray. In A. J. Ray. (2011). *Telling it to the Judge – Taking Native History to Court*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Innis, H. (1970). *The Fur Trade in Canada. An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Rev. ed.). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Innes, R. A. (2004). American Indian Studies Research is Ethical Research: A Discussion of Linda Smith and James Waldram's Approach to Aboriginal Research. *Native Studies Review*. 15(2), 131-138.
- Isenberg, A. C. (2000). *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920*. Boston, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Jenness, D. (1977) *The Indians of Canada*. Ottawa, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Jenness, D. (1937). *The Indian Background of Canadian History*. Department of Mines and Resources Bulletin, 86. Ottawa, ON: J.O. Patenaude.
- Jinkling, B. (2002). *Editorial. Canadian Journal of Environmental Education – Telling our Stories*,7(2), 1-5.
- Johnston, Basil. (1976). *Ojibway Heritage*. New York, NY: Columbia University.
- Johnston, Basil. (1990). *Ojibway Heritage*. (Reprint). Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.
- Johnston, Basil. (1995). *The Manitous – The Supernatural World of the Ojibway*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Johnston, Basil. (2003). *Honour Mother Earth: Mino-Audiaudauh Mizzo-Kummik-Quae*. Cape Croker Reserve, ON: Kegeponce Press.

- Kana'iaupuni, S. M. (2005). Ka'akalai Ku Kanaka: A Call for Strengths-Based Approaches from a Native Hawaiian Perspective. *Educational Researcher*, 34(5), 32-38.
- King, C. (1997). Here come the Anthros. In T. Biolsi & L. Zimmerman. (Eds.). *Indian and Anthropologists, Vine Deloria Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Kinsman & Robinson Galleries. Retrieved August 8, 2010 from <http://www.kinsmanrobinson.com/>
- Kirmayer, L. J., Sehdev, M., Whitley, R., Dandeneau, S. & Issac, C. (2009). Community Resilience: Models, Metaphors and Measures. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 7(1), 62-117.
- Kirmayer, L. J., Dandeneau, S., Marshall, E., Phillips, M. K., & Williamson, K. J. (2011). Rethinking Resilience from Indigenous Perspectives. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 56(2), 84-91.
- Koptie, S. (2009). After This, Nothing Happened: Indigenous Academic Writing and Chickadee Peoples' Words. *First Peoples Child and Family Review- An Interdisciplinary Journal Honoring the Voices, Perspectives, and Knowledges of First Peoples Through Research, Critical Analyses, Stories, Standpoints, and Media Reviews*. 4(2), 144-151.
- Kovach, M. (2005). Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies. In L. Brown & S. Stega. (Eds.). *Research as Resistance* (pp.19-36). Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholar's Press.
- Kovach, M. (2006a). *Searching for Arrowheads: An Inquiry into Approaches to Indigenous Research using a Tribal Methodology with a Nehiyaw Kiskeyihtamowin Worldview*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation), University of Victoria, Victoria, BC.

- Kovach, M. (2006b). *Indigenous Methodologies – Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Knuttila, M. (2005). *Introducing Sociology: A Critical Approach*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Kulchyski, P., McCaskill D., & Newhouse, D. (1999). *In the Words of Elders – Aboriginal Cultures in Transition*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Kumar, M. P. (2008). *Modern Knowledge, Ancient Wisdom: An Integration of the Past and Present for a New Tomorrow*. Saskatoon, SK: Canadian Council on Learning.
- Kuptana, R. (2006). *Relationship Between Traditional Knowledge and Intellectual Cultural Properties: An Inuit Perspective*. Ottawa, ON: Department of Canadian Heritage.
- Kuokkanen, R. (2007). *Reshaping the University – Responsibility, Indigenous Epistemes, and the Logic of the Gift*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Kusch, R. (2010). *Indigenous and Popular Thinking in America*. (M. Lugones & J. M. Price, Trans.). Durham, NC: Duke University Press. (Original work published in 1970)
- LaRocque, E. (1999). *Native Writers Resisting Colonizing Practices in Canadian Historiography and Literature*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB.
- LaRocque, E. (2008). *When the Other is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850 -1990*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press.
- Lanigan, M. (1998). Aboriginal pedagogy: Storytelling. In L. A. Stiffarm. (Ed.) *As We see...Aboriginal pedagogy*. (pp.103-120). Saskatoon, SK: University of Saskatchewan Extension Press
- Lazarre, J. (1996). Beyond the Whiteness of Whiteness. As quoted in Waterston,

- Alisse. (2005). The Story of my Story: An Anthropology of Violence, Dispossession, and Diaspora. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78 (1), 43-61.
- Legacy of Hope Foundation. (2009). "Where are the Children?" Healing from the Legacy of Residential Schools. Retrieved December 03, 2010 from <http://www.wherethechildren.ca/>
- Little Bear, L. (2000). Jagged Worldviews Colliding. In M. Battiste. (Ed.). *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Little Bear, L. (2009). *Naturalizing Indigenous Knowledge Synthesis Paper*. Saskatoon, SK: University of Saskatchewan.
- Long, D. & Dickason, O. P. (2000). *Visions of the Heart – Canadian Aboriginal Issues* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). Toronto, ON: Harcourt Canada.
- Long D. & LaFrance B. (2004). Speaking the Truth with Care: Introduction to a Dialogue on Aboriginal Research Issues. *Native Studies Review*, 15(2), 1-5.
- Lovelace R. (2004). A review of Peter Cole's "trick(ster)s of aboriginal research. *Native Studies Review*, 15(2), 31-36.
- Lundmark, J. ( 2011, June 28). *Old Bones*. Retrieved March 10, 2011 from <http://www.tbnewswatch.com/entertainment/98812/Old-bones->
- Maaka, R. C.A. & Andersen, C. (2006). (Eds). *The Indigenous Experience – Global Perspectives*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.
- MacLeod, D. P. (1992). The Anishinabeg Point of View: The History of the Great Lakes Region to 1800 in Nineteenth-Century Mississauga, Odawa, and Ojibwa Historiography. *Canadian Historical Review*, 73(2), 194-210.

- Mahan, J., Mahan, A. (1998). *Lake Superior: Story and Spirit* Gaylord, MI: Sweet Waters Visions.
- Makokis, L. J. (2001). Teachings from Cree elders: A Grounded Theory Study of Indigenous Leadership. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved June 24, 2013 from <http://search.proquest.com.cyber.usask.ca/docview/304796281>
- Maina, F. (2003). Indigenous “Insider” Academics: Educational Research or Advocacy? *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 23(2), 207-226.
- Mannheim, K. (1936). *Ideology and Utopia*. (L. Wirth & E. Shils, Trans.). New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Mannheim, K., & Kecskemeti, P. (1952). *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Retrieved January 3, 2011 from [http://www.archive.org/stream/essaysonsociolog00mann/essaysonsociolog00mann\\_djvu.txt](http://www.archive.org/stream/essaysonsociolog00mann/essaysonsociolog00mann_djvu.txt)
- Maracle, L. (2004). quoted in J. David. (2004). *Story Keepers Conversations with Aboriginal Writers*. Canada: Ningwakwe Learning Press and Debwe Communications Inc.
- Marker, M. (2004). Theories and Disciplines as Sites of Struggle: The Reproduction of Colonial Dominance through the Controlling of Knowledge in the Academy. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 28(1-2), 102-111.
- Martin-Hill, D. & Soucy, D. (2005). *Ganono 'se'n'e yo'gwilode' One Who is Full of Our Traditional Knowledge – Ethical Guidelines for Aboriginal Research- Elders and Healers Roundtable – A Report by the Indigenous Health Research Development Program*. Hamilton, ON: McMaster University.

- Maryboy, N. & Begay, D. (2004). Integral Health and Healing. *Shift Issue*, 3, Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona State University. Retrieved December 06, 2010 from <http://www.shiftinaction.com/node/105>
- Mason, J. (2004). *Qualitative Researching* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Masters Gallery Ltd. (2010). Retrieved May 16, 2011 from <http://www.mastersgalleryltd.com/artists/norval-morriseau>
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1978). *The Marx-Engels Reader* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company
- McGuire, P. D. (2003) *Worldviews in Transition: The Changing Nature of the Lake Nipigon Anishinabek Metis*. (Unpublished master's thesis), Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario.
- McGuire, P. D. (2008). Restorative Dispute Resolution in Anishinaabe Communities – Restoring Conceptions of Relationships Based on Dodem. Retrieved from <http://www.fngovernance.org/research/index.htm>
- McGuire, P. D. (2009). Wiisaakodewikwe Anishinaabekwe Diabaajimotaw Nipigon Zaaga'igan – Lake Nipigon Ojibway Metis Stories about Women. In P. A. Monture & P. D. McGuire. (Eds.). *First Voices: an Aboriginal Woman's Reader* (pp. 67-77). Toronto, ON: Inanna Publications and Education, Inc.
- McGuire, P. D. Kishebakabaykwe. (2010). Exploring Resilience and Indigenous Ways of Knowing. *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Community Health*, 8(2), 117-131. Retrieved May 7, 2011 from <http://www.pimatisiwin.com/online/>
- McGuire, P. D. (2011a). Indigenous Spaces in Sociology. In L. Tepperman & A. Kalyta. (Eds.).



- Reading Sociology: Canadian Perspectives* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (pp. 11-15). Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- McGuire, P. D. (2011b). *Bingwii Neyaashi Anishinaabe Gnawaaminjigewin*. (Sandpoint Anishinaabe Community History). Unpublished paper given to Bingwii Neyaashi Anishinaabe.
- McGuire, Sr. P. M. (1987). *My Life in the North*. Unpublished manuscript.
- McKinnon cited in Oliveira, Kapa anao kal aokeola Nakoa, K. R. (2009). Wahi A Kahiko – Place Names as Vehicles of Ancestral Memory. *AlterNative*, 5 (2), 100-115.
- McLeod, N. (2007). *Cree Narrative Memory - From Treaties to Contemporary Times*. Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing.
- McNab, D. (1999). *Circles of Time: Aboriginal Land Rights and Resistance in Ontario*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- McPherson, D. & Rabb, J. D. (1993). *Indian from the Inside: A Study in Ethno-Metaphysics*. Thunder Bay: Lakehead University Centre for Northern Studies.
- McPherson, D. & Rabb, J. D. (2012). Indigeneity in Canada: Spirituality, the Sacred, and Survival. In Kristin Burnett & Geoff Read. *Aboriginal History: A Reader*. Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Meadows L.M. & Lagendyk, L. E., Thurston, W. E. & Eisener, A.C. (2003). Balancing Culture, Ethics, and Methods in Qualitative Health Research with Aboriginal Peoples. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2(4). Retrieved June 15, 2009 from [http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/2\\_4/pdf/meadows.pdf](http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/2_4/pdf/meadows.pdf)
- Merritt S. (2007). An Aboriginal Perspective on Resilience: Resilience needs to be defined from an Aboriginal Context. *Aboriginal and Islander Health Worker Journal*, 31(5), 10-12.

- Meyer, M. (Aluli). (2001). Acultural Assumptions of Empiricism: A Native Hawaiian Critique. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 25(2), 188-200.
- Meyer, M. (Aluli). (2003). Hawaiian Hermeneutics and the Triangulation of Meaning: Gross, Subtle, Causal. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 27(2), 249-257.
- Mihesuah, D. A. (Ed). (1998). *Natives and Academics: Research and Writing about American Indians*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.
- Mills, C. Wright (1976). *The Sociological Imagination*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. (1995). Translator Translated - Interview with Cultural Theorist Homi Bhabha. *Artforum*, 33(7), 80-84. Retrieved December 28, 2012 from <http://prelectur.stanford.edu/lecturers/bhabha/interview.html>
- Monture-Angus, P. (1995). *Thunder in my Soul – A Mohawk Woman Speaks*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Monture-Angus, P. (1999). *Journeying Forward – Dreaming First Nations Independence*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Moreton-Robinson A. (2006). Towards a new Research Agenda? - Foucault, Whiteness and Indigenous Sovereignty. *Journal of Sociology*. 42(4), 383–395.
- Morse, J.M., Stern, P.N., Corbin, J.M., Bowers, B., & Clarke, A.E. (2009). *Developing grounded theory: The Second Generation*. As cited in McCallin, A. (2009). *Which Grounded Theory?* Retrieved December 7, 2012 from <http://www.groundedtheoryonline.com/what-is-grounded-theory/classic-grounded-theory>
- Morriseau Family Foundation. (2010). Retrieved August 10, 2010 from <http://www.morriseaufamilyfoundation.com/>

- Morriseau, N. (1965). *Legends of my People: The Great Ojibway*. S. Dewdney (Ed.). Toronto, ON: The Ryerson Press.
- Morriseau, N. (1979) quoted in L. Sinclair & J. Pollock. *The Art of Norval Morriseau*. Toronto: Methuen.
- Morrison, J. (1996). *The Robinson Treaties of 1850: A Case Study*. Ottawa, ON: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Retrieved March 18, 2010 from [www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/rrc-eng.asp](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/rrc-eng.asp)
- Morton, R. & Gawboy, C. (2000). *Talking Rocks – Geology and 10000 Years of Native American Tradition in the Lake Superior Region*. Duluth, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Nelligan, S.J. F. (1956). The Visit of Father Allouez to Lake Nipigon in 1667. *CCHA Report*, 23, 41-52. Toronto, ON: Jesuit Seminary.
- Newhouse, D. (2006). Editorial. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*. 2p. Retrieved September 12, 2009 from <http://www.naho.ca/>
- Nicholls, R. (2009). Research and Indigenous Participation: Critical Reflexive Methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 12(2), 117-126.
- Nielsen, J. (1990). Feminist Research Methods: Exemplary Readings. *The Social Sciences* (pp. 1-37). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Nies, J. (1996). *Native American History-A Chronology of a Culture's Vast Achievements and their Links to World Events*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Ningewance, P. M. (2006). *Pocket Ojibwe – A Phrasebook for Nearly all Occasions*. Winnipeg, MB: Mazinaate Press.
- Nock, D. A. (1988). *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis*

- vs Cultural Replacement*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- Nyamnjoh cited in G. J. S. Dei, (2012). Indigenous anti-colonial knowledge as ‘heritage knowledge’ for promoting Black/African education in diasporic contexts. *Decolonization, Indigeneity, Education and Society*.1 (1), 101-119.
- Obituary. (2007, December 4). Morriveau, Norval. *The Toronto Star*. Retrieved May 15, 2011 from <http://www.thestar.com/News/article/282555>
- Ojibwe Cultural Foundation. (2010). *Nish Tales: Walking and Talking with Nanabush*. Retrieved from <http://nanabush.ca/>
- Oliveira, Kapa anao kal aokeola Nakoa, K. R. (2009). Wahi A Kahiko – Place Names as Vehicles of Ancestral Memory. *AlterNative*, 5(2), 100-115.
- Olsen-Harper, A. (2008). *Qualitative Research, Epistemology and Seidman’s Phenomenology*. (Unpublished paper).
- Olutayo, O. A. (2012). ‘*Verstehen*’, Everyday Sociology and Development: Incorporating African Indigenous Knowledge. *Critical Sociology*, 1-10. Retrieved December 21, 2012 from <http://crs.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/09/17/0896920512446094>
- Ontario Ministry of Education. (2011). *Aboriginal Postsecondary Education and Training Framework*. Retrieved January 1, 2011 from <http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/pepg/publications/APETPFframework.pdf>
- Ontario. Ministry of Tourism and Culture. (2010). *Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archaeology – A Draft Bulletin for Consultant Archaeologists in Ontario*. Ontario, ON: Queen’s Printer for Ontario.
- O’Riley, P. (2004). Shapeshifting Research with Aboriginal Peoples: Toward Self-Determination. *Native Studies Review*, 15(2), 83-104.

- Peacock, T. & Wisuri, M. (2002). *Ojibwe Waasa Inaabidaa – We Look in All Directions*. Afton, MN: Afton Historical Society Press.
- Pettipas, K. (1994). *Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies in the Prairies*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press.
- Pheasant, K. & Little River Band of Ottawa Indians. (2010). *Anishinaabemowin Program*. JS Interactive. Retrieved December 30, 2010 from <http://www.anishinaabemdaa.com/index.htm>
- Poole, R. (1972). *Towards a Deep Subjectivity*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Porsanger, J. (2010). Self-determination and Indigenous Research: Capacity Building on our own Terms. *Indigenous Peoples: Development with Culture and Identity, Articles 3 and 32 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. New York, NY: United Nations.
- Profiet-LeBlanc, L. (2002). Four Faces of Story. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education – Telling our Stories*, 7(2), 47-53.
- Rajnovich, G. (1994). *Reading Rock Art- Interpreting the Indian Rock Paintings of the Canadian Shield*. Toronto, ON: Natural Heritage.
- Ramos, H. (2006). What Causes Canadian Aboriginal Protest? Examining Resources, Opportunities and Identity, 1951–2000. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*. 31(2), 211-235.
- Ramos, H. (2008, December). Opportunity for Whom?: Political Opportunity and Critical Events in Canadian Aboriginal Mobilization, 1951-2000. *Social Forces* 87(2), 795-823.
- Ray, A. J. (2011). *Telling it to the Judge – Taking Native History to Court*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Redbird, D. (1980). *We are the Metis- A Metis View of the Development of a Native*

- Canadian People*. Toronto, ON: Ontario Metis Non-Status Indian Association.
- Red Lake Woodlands Festival. (2008). *Red Lake Woodlands Festival Final Report*. Retrieved August 19, 2010 from <http://www.redlakemuseum.com/>
- Rheault, D. (1999). *Anishinaabe Mino-Bimaadiziwin - The Way of a Good Life – An Examination of Anishinaabe Philosophy, Ethics and Traditional Knowledge*. Peterborough, ON: Debwewin Press.
- Richardson, L. (1991). Postmodern Social Theory – Representational Practices. *Sociological Theory*, 9(2), 173-179.
- Rigney, L. I. (1999). Internationalization of an Indigenous Anticolonial Cultural Critique of Research Methodologies: A Guide to Indigenist Research Methodology and Its Principles. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 14(2), 109-121. Retrieved January 7, 2010 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1409555>
- Ritchie, M. (1995). Whose Voice is it anyway? Vocalizing Multicultural Analysis. In C. E. Sleeter & P. L. McLaren. (Eds.). *Multicultural Education, Critical Pedagogy and the Politics of Difference*. (pp 309-117) New York, NY: Suny Press.
- Rogers, Mary F.& Ritzor, G. (1996). *Multicultural Experiences, Multicultural Theories*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Rose, D. (2005). An Indigenous Philosophical Ecology: Situating the Human. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 16(3), 294-305.
- Robinson, D. & Morriseau, N. (1997). *Norval Morriseau: Travels to the House of Invention*. Toronto, ON: Key Porter Books, Ltd.
- Saskatchewan Archives. (2010). *Piles of bison bones awaiting shipment, ca 1890*. Retrieved

January 6, 2011 from

[http://www.usask.ca/research/communications/explore/vol1no1/stones\\_and\\_bones.php](http://www.usask.ca/research/communications/explore/vol1no1/stones_and_bones.php)

Satzewich, V. & Wotherspoon, T. (2000). *First Nations: Race, Class, and Gender Relations*.

Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Center.

Scarpino, G. (2007). Resilience and Urban Aboriginal Women. *Native Social Work Journal –*

*Resistance and Resilience: Addressing Historical Trauma of Aboriginal Peoples*, 6(1),

33-55.

Schenck, T. (1997). “*The Voice of the Crane Echoes Afar*” - *The Sociopolitical*

*Organization of the Lake Superior Ojibwa, 1640-1855*. New York, NY: Garland

Publishing, Inc.

Schwartz, H. T. & Morriseau, N. (1969). *Windigo and Other Tales of the Ojibway*. Toronto, ON:

McClland and Stewart.

Scow, A. (1992). Cited in Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), National Round

Table on Aboriginal Justice Issues, Ottawa: Government of Canada. (November 26,

1992).

Semali, L. & Kincheloe, J. L. (1999). *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices From the*

*Academy*. New York, NY: Falmer Press.

Shahjahan, R. A. (2005). Mapping the Field of Anti-Colonial Discourse to Understand Issues of

Indigenous Knowledges: Decolonizing Praxis. *McGill Journal of Education*, 40(2), 213-

240.

Shanahan, D. (1994). *Sand Point First Nation – Specific Claim Submission Historical*

*Report*. Toronto, ON: Ontario Native Affairs Secretariat.

Shepherd, J. P. (2008). At the Crossroads of Hualapai History, Memory, and American

- Colonization. *American Indian Quarterly*, 32(1), 16-42.
- Shkilnyk, A. M. (1985). *A Poison Stronger Than Love: The Destruction of an Ojibwa Community*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Shoemaker, N. (Ed). (2002). *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Shultz, L., Kelly, J. & Weber-Pillwax, C. (2009). The Location of Knowledge: A Conversation with the Editors of Knowledge, Experience and Place. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 55(3), 335-350.
- Simmons, O. E. (2010). Is That a Real Theory or Did You Just Make it up? Teaching Classic Grounded Theory. *Grounded Theory Review*, 9(2), 15-38.
- Simpson, L. R. (2004). Anticolonial Strategies for the Recovery and Maintenance of Indigenous Knowledge. *American Indian Quarterly*, 28(3-4), 373-384.
- Simpson, L. (Ed). (2008). *Lighting the Eighth Fire – The Liberation, Resurgence and Protection of Indigenous Nations*. Winnipeg, MB: Arbeiter Ring Publisher.
- Simpson, L. (2011). *Dancing on Turtle's Back – Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence, and a New Emergence*. Winnipeg, MB: Arbeiter Ring Publisher.
- Sinclair, L. & Pollock, J. (1979). *The Art of Norval Morriseau*. Toronto, ON: Methuen.
- Sioui, G. E. (1992). *For an Amerindian Autohistory: an Essay on the Foundations of a Social Ethic*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Sioui, G. (2008). *Histoires de Kanatha Vues et contees – Histories of Kanatha Seen and Told*. Ottawa, ON: Les Presses de l'Universite d'Ottawa University of Ottawa Press.
- Sitas, A. (2006). The African Renaissance Challenge and Sociological Reclamations in the



- South. *Current Sociology*, 54(3), p. 357-380. Retrieved July 7, 2010 from <http://csi.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/54/2/357>
- Slipperjack, R. (2004). quoted in J. David. *Story Keepers Conversations with Aboriginal Writers*. Saugeen First Nation G.M.B., ON: Ningwakwe Learning Press and Debwe Communications.
- Smith, A. (2010). Decolonization in Unexpected Places: Native Evangelicalism and the Rearticulation of Mission. *American Indian Quarterly, Special Issue: Alternative Contact: Indigeneity, Globalism, and American Studies*, 62(3), p. 569-590. Retrieved November 12, 2011 from [http://muse.jhu.edu.cyber.usask.ca/journals/american\\_quarterly/toc/aq.62.3.html](http://muse.jhu.edu.cyber.usask.ca/journals/american_quarterly/toc/aq.62.3.html)
- Smith, D. (1990). *The Conceptual Practices of Power – A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Smith, D. B. (1987). *Sacred Feathers – The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies- Research and Aboriginal Peoples*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Southcott, C. (2009). The Aboriginal Population and the Economy of Northern Ontario: Census Research Paper Series Report #12. Thunder Bay, ON: Local Boards of Northern Ontario.
- Southcott, C. & Irlbacher-Fox, S. (2009). Changing Northern Economies: Helping Northern Communities Build a Sustainable Future. Victoria, BC: Northern Development Ministers Forum, April 2009, 35 pp.
- Spencer, H. (1969). Cited in G. Bailey and N. Gayle (1993). *Sociology – An Introduction From the Classics to Contemporary Feminists*. Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.

- Stanfield, J. (1998). cited in M. Payne. (Ed.). (1999). *A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory*. New York, NY: Blackwell Publishers.
- Steckley, J. (2003). *Aboriginal Voices and the Politics of Representation in Canadian Introductory Sociology Textbooks*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholar's Press.
- Stevens, J. & Ray, C. (1971). *Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree*. Newcastle, ON: Penumbra Press and Northward Journal Communications Limited.
- Stevenson, W. L. (2000). *Decolonizing Tribal Histories*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California, Berkley.
- Stone-Mediatore, S. (2003). *Reading across Borders: Storytelling and Knowledges of Resistance*. New York, NY: Palgrave McMillan.
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Swidler, A., Arditi, J. (1994). The New Sociology of Knowledge. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 20, 205-329
- Talbot, S. (2002). Academic Indianismo: Social Scientific Research in American Indian Studies. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 26(4), 67–96.
- Tanner, J. (2003) *The Falcon*. Kalamazoo, MI: Hansa-Hewlett Publishing Compant.
- Teillet, J. (2011). Foreword. In A. J. Ray *Telling it to the Judge – Taking Native History to Court*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Toulouse, P. (2001). *Bimaadziwin (The Good Life): Sharing the Living Teachings of the People of Sagamok Anishnawbek – Implications for Education*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of British Colombia, Vancouver, British Columbia.
- Trigger, B. G. (1985). *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered*.

- Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Union of Ontario Indians. (1978). *The Ojibways of Lake Superior and the Making of the Treaty of 1850*. Toronto, ON: Union of Ontario Indians, Rights and Research Program.
- United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples (2006). *Indigenous Peoples and Identity*. Retrieved January 31, 2013 from <http://social.un.org/index/IndigenousPeoples.aspx>
- University of Minnesota. (2012). *Ojibwe Dictionary*. Retrieved January 31, 2012 from <http://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/>
- Van Kirk, S. (1983). *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*. Winnipeg, MB: Watson & Dwyer.
- Vizenor, G. cited in M. Payne. (Ed.). (1999). *A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory*. New York, NY: Blackwell Publishers.
- Von Gernet, A. (1996). Oral narratives and Aboriginal pasts: An interdisciplinary review of the literature on oral traditions and oral histories. Ottawa, ON: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- Walker, J. St. G. (1983). The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing, 1972-1982. In I.L. Getty and A.S. Lussier. (Eds.). *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Waters Flow: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies* (pp. 349-51). Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Warner, L. S. (2006). Native Ways of Knowing: Let Me Count the Ways. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. 29(2), 149- 165.
- Warren, W. W. (2009) *History of the Ojibway People* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). T. Schenck. (Ed.). St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press. (Original work published 1885)

- Waters, A. (Ed.). (2004). *American Indian Thought*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Waterston, A. (2005). The Story of my Story: An Anthropology of Violence, Dispossession, and Diaspora. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78(1), 43-61.
- Watt, D. (2007). On Becoming a Qualitative Researcher: The Value of Reflexivity. *The Qualitative Report*, 12(1), pp. 82-101. Retrieved December 5, 2012 from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR12-1/watt.pdf>
- Weber-Pillwax, C. (1999). Indigenous Research Methodology: Exploratory Discussion of an Elusive Subject. *Journal of Educational Thought*, 33(1), 31-45.
- Weber-Pillwax, C. (2001). What is Indigenous Research? *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 25(2), 166-174.
- Weeks, P. (2003). Sociology of Knowledge. Retrieved December 21, 2012 from <http://www.stthomasu.ca/academic/soci/weeks/3523.htm>
- Weshki-ayaad, Lippert, C. & Gambill, G. T. (2000). *FREELANG Ojibwe-English and English-Ojibwe online dictionary*. Retrieved December 06, 2010 from <http://www.freelang.net/online/ojibwe>
- West-Newman, C. L. (2004). Anger in Legacies of Empire Indigenous Peoples and Settler States. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 7(2), 189-208. Retrieved from July 7, 2010 from <http://est.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/7/2/189>
- Widdowson, F. & Howard, A. (2008). *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry: The Deception Behind Indigenous Cultural Preservation*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Willow, A. J. (2010). Cultivating Common Ground: Cultural Revitalization in Anishinaabe and Anthropological Discourse. *The American Indian Quarterly*, 34(1), 33-60.
- Wilson, A. (1998). How our Stories are Told. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 22(2), 274-

279.

- Wilson, A. C. (2004). Indigenous Knowledge Recovery is Indigenous Empowerment. *American Indian Quarterly*, 28(3-4), 359-372.
- Wilson, M. D. (2008). *Writing Home: Indigenous Narratives of Resistance*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.
- Wilson, S. (2003). Progressing Towards an Indigenous Research Paradigm in Canada and Australia. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 27(2), 161-170.
- Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing.
- World Health Organization. (2003). *Indigenous Peoples and Health Research*. Centre for Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition and Environment at McGill University.  
Retrieved May 09, 2011 from  
[http://www.who.int/ethics/indigenous\\_peoples/en/index2.html](http://www.who.int/ethics/indigenous_peoples/en/index2.html)
- World Health Organization. *Indigenous Populations*. Retrieved from May 01, 2011 from  
[http://www.who.int/topics/health\\_services\\_indigenous/en/](http://www.who.int/topics/health_services_indigenous/en/)
- Wotherspoon, T. (2009). *The Sociology of Education in Canada: Critical Perspectives*. 3rd Edition. Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Wotherspoon, T. & Schissel, B. (2003). *The Legacy of School for Aboriginal People: Education, Oppression, and Emancipation*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Wright, H.E. (1974). The Environment of Early man in the Great Lakes Region. In L.A. Wilford & E. Johnson. *Aspects of Upper Great Lakes anthropology: papers in honour of Lloyd A. Wilford*. (pp.8-14). Duluth, MN: Minnesota Historical Society.
- Young, M. I. (2005). *Pimatisiwin: Walking in a Good Way - A Narrative Inquiry Into*

*Language as Identity*. Winnipeg, MB: Pemmican Publications Inc.

Zawadzka, D. (2008). *The Peterborough Petroglyphs/ Kinoomaagewaabkong: Confining the*

*Spirit of Place*. Retrieved August 23, 2010 from

[http://www.international.icomos.org/quebec2008/cd/toindex/80\\_pdf/80-W9Fu-143.pdf](http://www.international.icomos.org/quebec2008/cd/toindex/80_pdf/80-W9Fu-143.pdf)

## **APPENDIX A**

### **Archival Files Used**

Library and Archives Canada. Government of Canada files relating to Aboriginal peoples. RG 10–Volume 10429, correspondence beginning October 21, 1914 to correspondence RG 10- Volume 3084, specifically August 17, 1917.

Detailed documentation of federal Indian Department, Indian Agent Brown, (RG 10–Volume 10429 and RG 10- Volume 3084).

Detailed correspondence between and with Ontario Hydro and provincial Lands and Forests, (MNR OIRP Indian Lands File), McLean, Grigg and Chief Ranger McLeod.

## APPENDIX B

### **Anishinaabe Chic Akiwenzie Chim Dimoyweya (Learned Old Anishinaabe Men and Women)**

Chief, Jeff. (1992/1993) Visits in Thunder Bay, ON and in his home, at Wabigoon, ON.

Geystick, Ron. (1992, 1993), Visits to Lac la Croix and ceremonies at Couchiching, ON

Highway, Tomson (2008/ 2009), Conversations at Negahneewin in Thunder Bay, ON.

LeGarde, Daniel. (1972/73). Narrative. J. Stevens. (Ed). Unpublished interview.

Linklater, Maria (nee Horse), Information, Teachings from visits and ceremonies in 1986-1989  
at Thunder Bay, ON and 2005-2013 in Saskatoon, SK.

Linklater, Walter. Information, Teachings from visits and ceremonies from 1986-1989 at  
Thunder Bay, ON and 2005-2013 in Saskatoon, SK

McGuire, Anne (nee LeGarde). Teachings from visits (2000 to 2013).

McGuire, Anne Narrative. J. Stevens. (Ed). Unpublished Interview from 1992.

McGuire, Con Sr. (1993). Personal Conversation about Lake Nipigon over breakfast in Thunder  
Bay, ON.

McGuire, Patrick Sr. (1973). Narrative. J. Stevens. (Ed). Unpublished interview.

McGuire, Patrick Jr. Information and Teachings from visits in 2009-2011, MacDiarmid, ON..

Riley, Barb. (1996). Personal teaching. Wunksa conference. Little Shuwap Lake, BC.

Wilson, A. (1993 to 2008). Conversations and teaching. Fort Frances and Thunder Bay, ON.