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AN ANISHINAABEKWE WRITES HISTORY:
AN ALTERNATIVE UNDERSTANDING OF INDIGENOUS INTELLECTUAL AND HISTORICAL TRADITIONS

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies
in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Masters of Arts in the Faculty of Arts and Science.

TRENT UNIVERSITY

Peterborough, Ontario, Canada

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Canadian Studies/Natives Studies M.A. Program

May 2004

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ABSTRACT

AN ANISHINAABEKWE WRITES HISTORY:

AN ALTERNATIVE UNDERSTANDING OF INDIGENOUS INTELLECTUAL AND HISTORICAL TRADITIONS

Renée Elizabeth Bédard

Does the exclusion of Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions from the purview of the discipline of history mean that Indigenous peoples did not have their own ways of 'doing' history? Were there not any structures for constructing history prior to the arrival of the Europeans and the colonization of the Americas? If Indigenous peoples had ways of constructing their histories using their own intellectual and historical traditions, should the discipline of history concern itself with writing, researching, criticism and publishing Indigenous history or should the discipline of history simply be concerned with Western Eurocentric historical intellectual and historical traditions or ways of 'doing' history?

Acknowledging that the exclusion of Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions from the disciplinary of history has occurred, this thesis seeks to 'bring' Indigenous structures of 'doing' history (these concepts are Western not Indigenous) and Indigenous understandings of their intellectual historical traditions into the discussion around the writing, researching and editing of literary (written) histories. Identifying and depicting Indigenous ways of 'doing' history as a parallel methodology to Canadian Eurocentric historical traditions, I attempt to decolonize (deconstruct and dismantle)

current research on Indigenous peoples by introducing an alternative and inherently 'distinct' way of knowing from an Indigenous intellectual perspective.

Recognizing that universalism excludes Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions, this thesis posits both that there are no universal intellectual and historical traditions, and that Indigenous peoples had and continue to have their own 'inherent' intellectual and historical traditions. As such Indigenous peoples must be brought into research, writing and editing literature on Indigenous histories. Because there is no universal historical tradition, my thesis contends that it is only by understanding Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions from the vantage point of decolonized thought that we can come to meaningful understandings of 'doing' Indigenous history within the discipline of history. Using an Indigenist framework, I will demonstrate that Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions reveal Anishinaabeg people's experiences with Creation or observations, experiences, and understandings of how the natural order speaks to us. This then, sets up my survey of the Eurocentric intellectual and historical traditions in the Canadian historical literary territory concerning the lack of appropriate imagery about Indigenous peoples in the discipline of history. Not only do I seek to destabilize the Eurocentric intellectual and historical traditions, but I work to dismantle the Eurocentric historical literary traditions as well in order to create space to insert a discussion about all Indigenous people's intellectual and historical traditions, especially Indigenous women. Finally, I will offer up a perspective of the editorializing processes associated with historical literature written by Indigenous scholars. Thus, I intend this thesis to offer an alternative understanding on how to construct history grounded in Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my thanks and gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Leanne Simpson, and my committee members, Professor Michelle Lacombe and Professor Edna Manitowabi. I would also like to acknowledge the participation of my external examiner, Bonita Lawrence. I wish to thank her for taking part in this thesis. Notwithstanding the support of a number of individuals, who encouraged me during my three years in the M.A. program. I would also like to thank the Frost Centre for Canadian and Native Studies.

I would like to extend my appreciation to those women in my family who were my teachers in ways of knowing Anishinaabe and Migisi-Anishinaabe history. Without them, I would never have known what it means to be a Migisi-Anishinaabekwe, and the responsibility, pain, and pride associated with such a role. I hope I have done their teachings justice. Nonetheless, I take full responsibility for the use of their teachings and any misinterpretations, mistranslations, or misunderstandings I have brought about.

In additions, I would like to thank the many people who have inspired me through these three years in the M.A. program. I particularly wish to honour those Indigenous scholars and historians who came before me and in doing so have enlightened me into the responsibilities of being an Indigenous scholar. But a very special appreciation goes to those people who have stood by me during the writing of this thesis and who have given me encouragement, guidance and support. More specifically, I am thankful for advice of Kiera Ladner who cheered me on. I would also like to thank my supervisor, Leanne

Simpson for coming to my rescue and taking on the last minute task of being my supervisor. Further, I would like to thank the friends I made (especially my friend and former roommate Heather Shpunarisky) during these past three years who made university bearable.

Finally, I would like to extend my gratefulness to the members of my family who have provided a nurturing network of peoples always on 'my side.' Without their phone calls and visits I would not have persevered through this M.A. program. I would also like to give a special thanks to Richard Fehr, who was always there to reassure me.

Gchi-miigwech!

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother Shirley Bédard, who introduced me to the importance of history of Indigenous peoples and whose face I mirror. It was an honour to be her daughter when she was alive and now when she has joined our ancestors.

I also dedicate this thesis to my Grandmother or grannie whom I called 'nanny,' whose strength of will I hope to someday emulate. Also, to my Great Aunties Albina and Kathleen, and my Auntie Diane who was like a second mother to me growing up. Of my other Aunties and Uncles I wish to thank for their presence in my life.

This thesis is also dedicated to my siblings: Tamantha whose spirit and mannerisms reminds me of our mother, and who carried me as a little girl piggy-back all the way up the hill to Auntie Albina's house; Suzanne whose steel-like strength and support is a constant mother-figure in my life; and lastly, my brother Michael who rocked me to sleep when I was a baby and who now is a reminder of our mother's sensitivity and quiet strength. And, to my father who loved my mother and provided for us, his children, who drove me to university classes and is always there to support me.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to the Migisi-Anishinaabe people of Dokis First Nation, particularly my relations the Dokis'. Gchi-miigwech.

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INTRODUCTION

AN ANISHINAABEKWE SPEAKS

Out of respect for my Anishinaabe traditions, I feel compelled to speak of my relations prior to writing of other things. I am an Anishinaabekwe from Dokis First Nation, along the French River up in north-western Ontario. My mother was an Anishinaabekwe,[1] as was her mother before her. I grew up surrounded by strong Anishinaabekweg[2] who taught me history the way they themselves had learned it, through story, ceremony, ritual, prayer and song. All my Anishinaabeg relations, both the women and men, took jobs guiding tourists, raised families, were property owners, hunted and trapped, and were politically active in their communities. The stories about my ancestors were about women and men who took charge of their lives (in much the same way my living Anishinaabeg family does), and while colonization happened to them and around them, they found ways to survive and then resist, using their memories, experiences and knowledge which were passed on to the next generation in what we call our intellectual and historical traditions (our traditional ways of 'doing' history).

I was taught in accord with Anishinaabe values, beliefs, and oral traditions concerning the history of Anishinaabeg peoples. My education in Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions began even before my birth, as is the custom with our people. My great auntie used to say that *listening* is the first part of 'doing' history (also a vital aspect of Anishinaabe oral traditions). Listening can be done at anytime, therefore, an infant is born already having started it's education in Anishinaabe intellectual and historical traditions by merely *listening* to its mother's voice.

---

[1] An Anishinaabe woman.
[2] Anishinaabe women.

However, Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions, which were preserved and passed on from our ancestors through oral traditions were not always safe from disruption caused by forced assimilation, colonial policy and genocide. Colonization had a harmful effect on the traditions of my family. Our stories were intruded upon by many generations of Christian, patriarchal practices, the *Indian Act*, the community priests and the Indian agents, and subsequently, the Department of Indian Affairs and the Canadian state. Surprisingly however, the Anishinaabekweg in my family continue to still carry many of the 'Old stories' and the 'Old ways' of 'doing' history with them to this day.

As referred to briefly above, the ideological influences of this country, which I refer to throughout this thesis as Anglo-Canadian, Western, Eurocentric, patriarchial, and foundational values, have long been a source of ideological confusion, social disparity, economic and political oppression, and historical confusion within my family, community and nation. By naming and recognizing the coercive and oppressive roots of colonial institutions, I have been able to reconnect to the vital source of my strength: my family, my relations. Speaking about historical issues pertaining to the construction of Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions stems from my knowledge of and connection to 'all my relations.'

Inspiration for this thesis originally came from my responsibility to maintain the knowledge that has been passed on to me by the women of my family about the

Anishinaabe ways of 'doing' history, as well as our strength, knowledge and our ability to survive colonial frameworks. Growing up surrounded by these women, our time together was lovingly enriched by distinct cultural ways. I had no idea that we were 'so-called' oppressed peoples. Moreover, the women and men in my family fit none of the stereotypes of Indigenous peoples which I had read about in school. As extremely powerful, resourceful, educated and dynamic Anishinaabeg women and men who vitally contributed to the survival of family, community and their nation, they have been the influence for any knowledge I put forth here in this thesis.

As a female descendent of very influential Anishinaabeg women and men, I feel honourably compelled to carry on our ways. However, as an Indigenous student of history, I find writing in the colonizer's language troubling. Writing in English fills me with guilt at times, but I also find it liberating. I was never taught my language, only pieces of it here and there, so I am forced to use the only language I know, which is English. But I do have a passive competence that allows me to understand some of the Anishinaabe language (Anishinaabemwin), even think, feel and have some intuitive connection with the language, ideologies, philosophies, values and beliefs, which were conveyed to me by my relations. But, too often, the English language, which names my culture as Ojibway rather than Anishinaabe, contradicts the knowledge and understanding of the ways of my ancestors. Many generations of my relations have been exposed to colonial oppression, cruelty, manipulative controls, segregation through the reserve system, dehumanization and despiritualization through the religious and educational programs of the Catholic Church, and other less overt but just as genocidal and assimilative programs. This experience allows me however, access to deconstruct

Eurocentric historical literature using an Indigenist framework. Consequently, I do not use my language here to frame my work, but maybe in the future when I have more than some ground level understanding of it.

The only recourse to me at this time is to use the English language to convey some aspects of Anishinaabeg history, as represented from my own Anishinaabe perspective. In this way, writing in the colonizer's language can be liberating because the process involved in doing research and writing encourages, recreation, renaming and empowerment the Anishinaabeg people and even for other Indigenous[3] peoples who might find this example as helpful, a fresh perspective or useful.

ERASING INVISIBILITY

This thesis attempts to work towards disrupting of the white colonial binary that constructs whiteness and maleness as desirable and Indigenous identity as degraded and undesirable. Yet, while (I caution) we must acknowledge rather than ignore or deny the impact the colonial process has had on historical productions, as Indigenous scholars (I also warn) we should not wallow in the victimization of its conventions, for it leads down a dark path where we fail to see ourselves as a part of history and only view ourselves as the 'roadkill'[4] of the history process. As Eduardo and Bonnie Duran argue, "intervention, albeit a theoretical one…starts from an intolerable present situation and then invents a geneaology of that situation that serves as a means for transforming the present."[5] This thesis acts as mode of transformation of the invention of Indigenous *invisibility*.

---

[3] I use the term 'Indigenous' to refer to the original peoples of Turtle Island (the Americas) throughout the course of this thesis. Though this term refers to all or all original peoples and collectivities, my thesis is concerned solely with those peoples who have organized themselves into nations in North America. Although this division is of an artificial nature, it is, nevertheless, necessary given the confines of this thesis and the scope of this project as it stands. For more details on this position, see 'Note on Terminology section.'

[4] 'Roadkill' is slang for animals hit by cars on roads and highways.

According to Wray and Newitz: "...invisibility... is an enabling condition for both white supremacy/privilege and race-based prejudice."[6] Howard Adams (Métis) writes: "Eurocentricism assumes that there is only one view of the human race: the superiority of white people."[7] Finally, Olive P. Dickason (Métis) points out that the 'Americas' were considered to be: "legally *terra nullius*, "empty land," and thus subject to rights of discovery."[8] These three quotes identify how Western Eurocentric *ideologies* have positioned Indigenous peoples 'outside' of the canon of Western Eurocentric intellectual historical traditions as invisible to 'white' conventions. In other words, Indigenous peoples were ideologically ahistorical (without modes of doing or being apart of history).

Ideology, is defined by Janice Acoose (Saulteaux/Métis) as, "a very basic way of understanding, reflects a particular groups' way of being, knowing, seeing, and understanding the world...."[9] Robert Berkhofer posits that when the European explorers, fuelled by agendas based on expansionism and potential mercantile profits, landed in what they subsequently referred to as the 'Americas,' they comprehended the 'New

---

[5] Duran, Eduardo and Bonnie. *Native American Postcolonial Psychology*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995. p. 12.

[6] Wray and Newitz. *White Trash: Race and Class in America*: New York: Routledge, 1996. p.3-4.

[7] Adams, Howard, "Challenging Eurocentric History." *Expressions in Canadian Native Studies*, eds. Ron F. Laliberte, et al. Saskatoon: University Extension Press, 2000. p. 43.

[8] Dickason, Olive Patricia, "Old World Law." *Expressions in Canadian Native Studies*, p. 154.

[9] Acoose, Janice, "'A Vanishing Indian? Or Acoose: Woman Standing Above Ground?'" *(Ad)dressing Our Words: Aboriginal Perspectives On Aboriginal Literatures*, ed. Armand Garnet Ruffo. Penticton: Theytus Books Ltd., 2001.

World' and its peoples in terms of their own familiar conceptual categories and values."[10] These concepts, as indicated previously, were at that time based on a Eurocentric fifteenth century vision of the world. That world, previous to Columbus's historic voyages, was extremely limited and thus, as Berkhofer argues, narrowly defined the New World inhabitants. In fact, as most scholars are now aware, the first image of the 'Indian,' like the term itself, came from Columbus's erroneous cartography. Daniel Francis argues that:

> The Indian began as a White man's mistake, and became a White man's fantasy. Through the prism of White hopes, fears and prejudices, indigenous Americans would be seen to have lost contact with reality and to have become "Indians"; that is, anything that non-Natives wanted them to be.[11]

This imaginary Indian rendered the 'real' Indigenous person *faceless* to history.

To this, Emma LaRocque (Cree/Métis) argues that as Indigenous scholars "[w]e must seek to recognize the faces of both the colonizer and the colonized,[12] as they appear in society and in the academic community. We must become aware of the functions of power and racism its effects on the Native population, and the significance of resistance."[13] The proposition that Indigenous people are invisible or faceless in history, therefore, cannot be sustained. It is also my contention that this 'exclusion' of Indigenous knowledge and practices of 'doing' history is clearly unjustified. Thus it is my task to challenge these exclusions and reveal that Indigenous peoples had their own intellectual and historical traditions.

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[10] Berkhofer, Robert, Jr. *The Whiteman's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present.* New York: Vintage Books, 1979. p. 4.

[11] Francis, Daniel. *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture.* Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992. p. 5.

[12] Emma LaRocque footnotes here writing: "I am suggesting, of course that the Canadian peoples, both Native and non-Native, we may find ourselves, our respective experiences, mirrored in Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, (1967)." See, LaRocque, "The Colonization of the Woman Scholar," *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, and Strength*, eds. et al. Christine Miller. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996; reprinted, 2001. p. 15.

[13] LaRocque, Emma, "The Colonization of the Woman Scholar," *Women of the First Nations*, p. 2.

Acknowledging that the exclusion of Indigenous peoples and voices from history, however, is only a start. The problems faced in the discipline of history by those attempting to study Indigenous history are not limited to the implicit disciplinary denial or attempts to ignore pre-contact Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions. Students of history also face an unending challenge within the Eurocentric disciplinary boundaries, methods and the construction of Canadian/American historical literature. Similar challenges are often faced by students of contemporary history as well. The emergence of Indigenous peoples as 'objects' of inquiry in historical literature, reflects their becoming active (at least noticed) in the history of the colonizer. Thus, Indigenous historical literature as an accepted field of inquiry within the discipline of history has had less to do with an interest in 'Indigenous peoples in history' and more to do with 'Indigenous peoples as objects of history.' Although advances have been made (as with Western historical literature now), difficulties persist and misunderstandings prevail because knowledge of Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions remain confined by the Western Eurocentric intellectual and historical traditions. So although historians, writers, scholars now attempt to discuss contemporary Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions, these attempts are limited by the Western Eurocentric ideas which are assumed to be somehow *universally* applicable.[14]

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[14] For a discussion of the struggle for scholars writing within the confines of Western Eurocentric literary tradtitions see, James (Sákèj) Youngblood Henderson. *The Mikmaw Concordat.* Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1997. pp. 22-27. For his definition of universalism see, Henderson, "Postcolonial Ghost

The discipline of history's ability to understand Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions is limited because its knowledge can only view history through Western Eurocentric 'eyes.' Indigenous historical literature is not viewed as different from European-style historical literature, since the European nation-based (British/ French) history is assumed to be the *universal.*[15] The global nation-based historical system is of recent origin, however, and there is no 'universal' when we try to analyze the diverse spectrum of intellectual knowledge and historical literary traditions which exist and have existed.[16] Thus, the assumption in the discipline of history that universal intellectual and historical traditions exist or can be made concerning 'history' in general is unjustified as there is no single intellectual and historical tradition. Asserting that no 'universal' exists, however, does not solve the problems associated with studying Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions and contemporary writing/research methods and methodologies within the disciplinary boundaries of history. Misunderstanding continues as intricate details and aspects of differentiation are not understood probably because of disciplinary constructs, eurocentricism, language and cultural barriers.[17] The potential for misunderstanding is clear if we look at the different ways the concepts of intellectual and historical traditions are expressed within the many Indigenous nation-based understandings of what constitutes Indigenous history. The traditional[18] explanations of history are based on Indigenous epistemologies and

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Dancing: Diagnosing European Colonialism." *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, ed. Marie Battiste. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000; reprint 2002. pp. 63-65.

[15] Henderson, *The Mikmaw Concordat,* pp. 21-27.

[16] Adams, Howard, "Challenging Eurocentric History." *Expressions in Canadian Native Studies*. pp. 40-46.

[17] Henderson. *The Mikmaw Concordat*, p. 22.

[18] 'Traditional,' is a way of referencing 'Indigenous' and in the context of this thesis is used to refer to the structures of intellectual and literary historic traditions as they existed prior to colonization. Furthermore,

pedagogies, which exist as a relationship among a 'nation' of peoples and not as something separate from 'nationhood.' I argue that Indigenous nation-based traditions contain different system of generating knowledge from those in Western Eurocentric traditions.

Because of this difference of understanding between Indigenous and Western Eurocentric intellectual and historical traditions, the discipline of history's assumed universalism excludes Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions or categorizes, names and defines them as inferior, deviant, and/or exotic. The universal has excluded Indigenous understandings of 'doing' history for a long time.[19] Indigenous knowledge was acutely attacked across the Americans, with Indigenous libraries burned; elders and knowledge keepers deliberately targeted for murder. Because of these brutal acts Indigenous peoples were not expected to have had such 'living' systems of knowledge designed to maintain and communicate history, therefore misunderstandings continue to occur in scholarship about Indigenous peoples.[20] *Misunderstandings* happen when we step 'outside' the illusion of the 'imaginary Indian' because the nature of the discipline of history still stops us from truly comprehending or appreciating 'differences,' or that which lies 'outside' the assumed universal of 'doing' history.

Therefore, to fully understand Indigenous ways of knowing both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars must decolonize those Western Eurocentric intellectual and historical traditions which universalize claims of the primacy of disciplinary knowledge

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to this, it should also be noted that in using the term 'traditional' I am not using it to confer that which is opposite to modernity or 'civilization.' Eurocentric civilizations have their own distinct 'nation-based' intellectual and historical traditions, which act as the foundation of contemporary.

[19] Henderson. *The Mikmaw Concordat*, p. 26.

[20] *Ibid*, p. 26.

over Indigenous systems of knowing. As a result, disciplinary claims about Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions must be decolonized. To begin this, we must deconstruct and dismantle existing Western Eurocentric knowledge and open up space for Indigenous conceptualizations of historical intellectual and historical traditions. However, it is also necessary to construct an understanding of Indigenous knowledge systems first. We need to examine our own Indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies that work to contain and maintain our 'world' views. Constructing such an understanding is the primary purpose of my thesis.

The purpose of this historical study, then, is to draw Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions into the dialogue of 'doing' history and further, to identify intellectual and historical traditions as a parallel to Western Eurocentric intellectual and historical traditions. Using an Indigenist[21] methodology my objectives are to first, provide an introduction to the Anishinaabeg worldview and Anishinaabe intellectual constructions of history. Secondly, I seek to deconstruct Western Eurocentric intellectual and historical traditions and their subsequent impact on Indigenous peoples, by surveying aspects of Canadian historical literature. Thirdly, I set forth to challenge stereotypic notions of Anishinaabekweg in historical literature by first discussing Anisinaabekweg from the perspective of an Anishinaabekwe, and then by deconstructing the literature containing discussions of Ansihinaabekweg women in the fur trade. Lastly, I open up a dialogue regarding what constitutes a meaningful Indigenist deconstruction of historical literary efforts and editorial contexts.

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[21] Here I draw from the defintion of 'Indigenist' constructed by Ward Churchill. He writes: " Very often in my writings and lectures, I have identified myself as being "indigenist" in outliook. By this, I mean that I am one who not only takes the rights of indigenous peoples as the highest priority of my political life, but who draws upon the traditions—the bodies of knowledge and corresponding codes of value—evolved over many thousands of years by native peoples the world over. This is the basis upon which I not only advance critiques of, but conceptualize alternatives to the present social, political, economic, and philosophical status quo. In turn, this gives shape not only to the sorts of goals and objectives I pursue, but the kinds of strategy and tactics I advocate, the variety of struggles I tend to support, the nature of the alliances I am inclined to enter into, and so on." Ward Churchill. *Struggle For the Land.* Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring, 1999. p. 367.

Therefore, throughout this thesis I draw the Indigenous position 'back in' to the telling of the Indigenous historical experience: ways of knowing and constructing intellectual and historical traditions from an Indigenist perspective and experience. In this way, I decolonize Western Eurocentric intellectual and historical traditions and the discipline's knowledge and means of scholarship, by validating Indigenous knowledge systems from 'outside' the confines of the universal and from 'inside' Indigenous worldviews.

In his book *The Mikmaw Concordat*, scholar James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson (Chickasaw) describes how difficult it is to 'do' history from within the confines of the Western Eurocentric knowledge systems. He explains:

> ...I have had to confront the problems of meaning in Eurocentric historiographical writings. Awareness of this dilemma is the first step in clarifying the experience of colonialism and racism, to validate [Indigenous] worldview[s] and knowledge in its own right, without interference of Eurocentricism, requires a transformation of consciousness.[22]

Transformation necessitates decolonization (deconstruction/dismantling) of the presumed universals of the colonizer's knowledge systems. Decolonization requires the historical researcher to step 'outside' Western Eurocentric thought in current scholarship and away from the colonizing processes of non-Indigenous history-making. Emma LaRocque, in her essay, "The Colonization of a Native Woman Scholar," argues:

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[22] Henderson, James (Sákéj) Youngblood. *The Mikmaw Concordat*, 1997. p. 24.

> Clearly, the tension in the colonizer/colonized dichotomy has not escaped the academic community, and much work needs to be done to acknowledge the dialects of colonization in Canadian scholarship. And I, as a Native woman, am compelled to pursue and express my scholarship quite differently from the way my non-Native counterparts do.[23]

This is achieved by deconstructing Western-Eurocentric historical knowledge systems, which are not culturally sensitive.

Expanding on these ideas, LaRocque argues that:

> My use of "voice," for example, is a textual resistance technique. It should not be assumed, as it so often is, that using "voice" means "making a personal statement," which is then dichotomized from "academic studies." Native scholars and writers are demonstrating that "voice" can be, must be, used within academic studies not only as an expression of cultural integrity but also as an attempt to begin to balance the legacy of dehumanization and bias entrenched in Canadian studies about Native peoples. Colleagues, publishers, editors, and readers of academic material need especially to acquaint themselves with the political nature of the English language, Western history, and other hegemonic canons of scholarly and editorial practices and criticism before they are in a position to appreciate what should most appropriately be understood as "Native resistance scholarship."[24]

Recognizing that Indigenous 'voice' does not fit within the Western Eurocentric tradition that defines scholarship, and that Indigenous peoples have their own 'voices,' I set out on a journey to decolonize the discipline of history by creating an Indigenist, decolonizing, and anti-colonial understanding of Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions. In this context, post-colonial, post-contact and post-conquest means those Indigenous scholars who:

> …are challenging our non-Native colleagues to throw off "the weight of antiquity" with respect to hegemonic canonical assumptions, which continue "to dominate cultural production in much of the post-colonial world." We are challenging them to re-evaluate their colonial frameworks of interpretation, their conclusions and

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[23] LaRocque, Emma, "The Colonization of a Native Woman Scholar." *Women of the First Nations*, p. 13.
[24] LaRocque, Emma, p. 13.

She argues that: "cultural protocols, values, and behaviours…are 'factors' to be built into research explicitly, to be thought out reflexively, to be declared openly as part of the research design, to be discussed as part of the final results of the study…."[27] These are requirements for 'culturally sensitive research' dealing with Indigenous knowledge systems and political traditions. I incorporate Smith's suggestions into the implementation of my own research design.

In creating a decolonizing research methodology, I have not only adopted Smith's guidelines, but also grounded them within my understanding of Anishinaabeg understandings of 'doing' history. This approach is unorthodox, but is based on a recognition and respect for my own culturally defined responsibilities and codes of conduct for Ansihinaabeg/Indigenous researchers and non-Anishinaabeg/non-Indigenous peoples. These guidelines outline a respect for Indigenous difference and "diversities of truth."[28]

There are no single universal intellectual and historical traditions in the discipline of history as a way for researchers to carry out research. Hence, it would be all but impossible to study all Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions in the Americas, especially from the perspective of the peoples themselves. Consequently, my research is concerned solely with Anishinaabeg ways of knowing.

I have studied Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions *not* because Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions are a universal and *not* because it is representative of all Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions. Rather, I have studied some aspects of the Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions because as a single interpretative study, the Anishinaabeg can provide me with the greatest opportunity to write a detailed interpretative analysis of history. This topic was selected for a variety of reasons. First, having grown up in Anishinaabeg territory, I have knowledge of Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions, culture, ceremony, oral tradition, values, external relations, and colonial history, and extensive personal kinship relationships with individuals prior to starting this research project. This topic was selected because I had the knowledge, understanding and experience necessary to conduct research and to attempt to create a trustworthy and contextual account of a decolonized perspective of Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions. Second, a significant body of secondary literature exists as part of the legacy of colonization, which distorts Anishinaabeg knowledge and experiences, needs to be deconstructed in order to be decolonized and negative definitions dismantled. Third, the Anishinaabeg peoples have a right to research, write and see their intellectual and historical traditions in print if they so desire or need it to be so. And, lastly, I wanted to construct a history that demonstrates a balanced perspective concerning Indigenous men and women. As a result, it is possible to engage in a study of Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions as an Anishinaabeg researcher.

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[27] *Ibid*, p. 15.

[28] Bishop, Russell. *Collaborative Research Stories.* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1996. p. 24.

Because a detailed interpretive study of one historical system does not, by itself, disrupt and decolonize the Eurocentric assumptions of history, I also use evidence from other Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions to show that Anishinaabeg experiences with history are not an isolated case, and to emphasize the fact that the Anishinaabeg system of knowledge and experiences are not a universal intellectual and historical tradition. Thus, selecting Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions enables me to solidify claims through an eclectic charting of primary tenets of other Indigenous historical experiences and traditions and through a brief examination of Eurocentric and Indigenous world views contrasted. At this same time, my goal here is to explore Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions from 'inside' the culture and 'within' the discipline of history to demonstrate the applicability of an Indigenous nation-based approach to 'doing' history.

I conceptualize Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions in a way which reflects decolonized thought: as 'the way in which a people have lived together'; or the way a people have structured their society in a relationship to the natural world (ecological order) over time; or as an expression of how they see themselves fitting within that world as part of the circle of life, not as superior beings who claim dominion over other species and other humans.[29] Using traditional ways of knowing and intitiating a new discussion about 'doing' history rather than history created by colonization, I seek to explain how Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions emerge from and are operationalized within a 'decolonized' context.

Further, this thesis also seeks to confront the lack of balance in Western Eurocentric intellectual and historical traditions that seek to reinforce the primacy of patriarchial literary control, by including a study of the role of women in intellectual and historical traditions. Speaking to this, Emma LaRocque writes:

> The challenge is, finally, to ourselves as Native women caught within the burdens and contradictions of colonial history. We are being asked to confront some of our own

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[29] Henderson, *The Mikmaw Concordat.*

> traditions at a time when there seems to be a great need for a recall of traditions to help us retain our identities as Aboriginal peoples.[30]

In a way this whole thesis is based on restoring a balance and recognition of our intellectual legacy as Indigenous peoples working as scholars, students, readers and intellectuals.

MAPPING MY PATH

My thesis proceeds as follows: Chapter One, explores the act of 'doing' research using an Indigenist methodology. Specifically, I note the challenges, responsibilities and obligations associated with this type of research.

Chapter two, historicizes Anishinaabeg intellectual traditions, and explores some of the primary tenets of Anishinaabeg world views, beginning with the origin story, and describing Anishinaabeg epistemologies, cosmologies, and my own conceptualizations of history, so to provide an understanding of Anishinaabeg intellectual traditions.

Chapter three, I deconstruct the impact of Western Eurocentric history of Indigenous peoples by surveying problematic aspects of Canadian historical literature.

Chapter four, is a dialogue devoted to challenging stereotypes of Anishinaabekweg present in historical literature by first discussing Anishinaabekweg from the perspective of Anishinaabekweg and then by deconstructing historical literature concerning gendered patterns and Anishinaabekweg women in the fur trade.

Chapter five, functions as to take up a discussion of the importance of Indigenous controlled editing and publishing of historical literature. It seeks to challenge Indigenous editorial contexts to produce the highest possible level of cultural integrity and the most authentic expressions of Indigenous voice within the parameters of contemporary historical literature.

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[30] LaRocque, Emma, "The Colonization of a Native Woman Scholar." *Women of the First Nations*, p. 14.

In the conclusion, I summarize the main findings of this research study and its implications for contemporary Indigenous politics and contemporary Indigenous history.

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Throughout this thesis, I use the more politically appropriate and correct term Indigenous rather than the more commonly used terms such as Indian, Native, First Nations, Métis, Inuit, and Aboriginal. Further, Indigenous includes all original peoples under its 'umbrella' as a sign of respect. I do use the other terms, but usually only within a specific context and sparingly. Since many of these terms name the white, Christian, patriarchal and governmental constructs of Indigenous peoples, I have chosen *not* to use them as my way of voicing "intellectual sovereignty."[31]

Other Anishinaabe terms I use might be confusing to some readers, so for clarity sake I will define the important ones here. First and foremost, I do not use the term Ojibway because it is a term given to the Anishinaabeg peoples by others and over the generations has taken on, generated and contributed to negative definitions about Anishinaabeg peoples. I refer to my people as Anishinaabe and encourage others to do the same. In the context of this paper, Anishinaabe refers to a culture or can means a single person, usually male. Anishinaabeg refers to more than one person or a group of people. Anishinaabekwe is a single woman, while Anishinaabekweg includes more that one woman or to a group of women. Anishinaabemwin is the language of the

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[31] Forbes, Jack D., "Intellectual Self-Determination and Sovereignty: Implications for Native Studies and Native Intellectuals," in *Wicazo Sa Review* 13 (Spring 1998):11.

Anishinaabeg peoples. Using the name Anishinaabe, of with which my people refer to call themselves and be called by others, is in this thesis my site of 'literary' resistance. This self-identification is not an enormous change, but it is effective, self-determining and empowering because it causes the reader to be disconnected from what they thought they knew 'to be' true (e.g. the use of the term Ojibway).[32]

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[32] I also rely on the dictionary by Richard A. Rhodes. *Eastern Ojibwa-Chippewa Dictionary.* New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1993.

CHAPTER 1

AN INDIGENIST RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Linda Smith (Maori) states that, "[m]ethodology is important because it frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods to be employed and the analyses."[33] Lester-Irabinna Rigney (Maori) offers his understanding of an Indigenist centered research methodology. For Rigney, Indigenist research is "informed by three fundamental and interrelated principles": *resistance*, *political integrity* and *privileging* Indigenous voices.[34] Within an Indigenist framework, methodological questions are ones concerned with the broader politics and strategic goals of research.[35] It is at this level that researchers have to clarify and justify their intentions. Indigenist methodologies often make use of existing methodological approaches grounded in Indigenous cultural knowledge, and Indigenous values. While at other times, Indigenous methodologies focus solely on Indigenous ways of knowing. Either way, Indigenist research is grounded in the values and knowledge of Indigenous peoples and promotes resistance and decolonization.

The attitudes and feelings the Anishinaabeg have held toward research have been shaped by how research has been conducted in Indigenous communities in the past. In the past, research has been and continues to be implicated in the process of colonization and in denying the validity of Anishinaabeg knowledge, language, and culture. This chapter will give an account of how Anishinaabeg attitudes challenge the Western Eurocentric paradigm as Anishinaabeg peoples.

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[33] Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodology: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. p. 143

[34] Rigney, Lester-Irabinna, "Internationalization of an Indigenous Anticolonial Cultural Critique of Research Methodologies." *Wicazo Sa Review*, 14 (Fall 1999):116.

[35] *Ibid*, p. 117;.

One of the challenges for any Anishinaabe researcher will be to negotiate some space to work, which respects very specific cultural obligations to our Anishinaabe communities. The balance between an Indigenist researcher situated in the academy, and her community, must be structured. The Indigenist researcher should not act as a middleman between the university and the community. This concept of middleman is inadequate. First, an Anishinaabe researcher needs to reveal to other Anishinaabeg and Indigenous peoples the value of research done by Anishinaabeg researchers and intended to respond to Anishinaabeg community's desires (rather than responding to the desire just to harvest knowledge for personal interests); second, to reveal the various fragmented, but powerful academic institutions of the need for greater Indigenous involvement in research; third, to develop approaches to and ways of carrying out research that take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research and the parameters of both previous and current approaches to research. What is now referred to as decolonizing research is more than just an attempt to negotiate the space needed to work, it includes a wide spectrum of responsibilities and obligations to our communities and nations, as well as to the academy. This chapter discusses an Indigenist approach to research which is Anishinaabeg-centred and, in particular, the way in which Indigenist research can become a way of structuring assumptions, values, concepts, orientations, and priorities in studying history. Further, this chapter sets out to introduce Anishinaabeg cultural ethics in translating oral ways of knowing into a written history which is culturally sensitive.

CHARTING RESEARCH FROM AN ANISHINAABE PERSPECTIVE

I ground my work in a paradigm that stems from an Anishinaabeg worldview and cosmology (natural order or ecological order), and go on to address the prevailing ideologies of cultural superiority which pervade in the discipline of history. In this work, this model is framed by the traditional teachings controlled by the Anishinaabeg. By framing research within traditional teachings, I leave space for other Anishinaabeg people to also use their own versions of similar teachings. The issue of control is critical here, with the main goals of both the empowerment of Anishinaabeg people and the protection of Anishinaabeg knowledge. Empowerment means that Anishinaabeg people should regain control of investigation into Anishinaabeg history.

From these comments, it is clear that under the rubric of Indigenist research there are different sets of ideas and issues that are being claimed as important. These features of an Anishinaabeg-centred Indigenist research agenda are teachings related to being Anishinaabeg. I am saying here that the intentions of this research can be related to the *values* set out by the 'The Teachings of the Seven Grandfathers' so to ensure a degree of cultural sensitivity:

> When time began, there were Seven Grandfathers who led our people. Before they left us to cross over into the spirit world, each of them offered teachings by which the people should live. These teachings, some of which were mentioned in the Sacred

> Tree, are what western society would call values: *honesty, humility, respect, courage, wisdom, love, and truth.*[36]

Although they are listed in a linear order here, these values do not build upon one another in a progressive way. Rather, all are important, and all should be integrated into our way of being at the same time.

These teachings are related to being Anishinaabeg and are connected to Anishinaabeg philosophy. They reinforce the validity and legitimacy of Anishinaabeg knowledge, language and culture, and are concerned about the idea of reciprocity and kinship relations. Some of these principles will be discussed more fully later in the chapter. However, the general significance of these principles here is that they have evolved from within many of the taken-for-granted practices of the Anishinaabeg. They are used here to frame historical research aimed at decolonizing the discipline of history (especially the field of Canadian history) and as a site of resistance for Indigenous peoples.

THE TRANSMISSION OF ORAL KNOWLEDGE

An important issue to consider in conducting Anishinaabeg-centred Indigenist research is kinship, related to the transmission of oral traditions from one generation to another generation by a set of extended relations in order to convey a sense of 'communal identity' is an important issue to consider. For the Anishinaabeg this begins with community. In the introduction of *Earth Power Coming*, Simon Ortiz makes a brief but powerful statement about the oral tradition and its function in Indigenous communities:

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[36] The Circle of Turtle Lodge. *Anishinabe 101: The Basics of what you need to know to begin your journey on the Red Road.* Golden Lake: The Circle of Turtle Lodge, April 2002. pp. 18-20; Emphasis added.

> There have always been the songs, the prayers, the stories. There have always been the voices. There have always been the people. There have always been those words which evoked meaning and the meaning's magical wonder. There has always been the spirit which inspired the desire for life to go on. And it has been through the words of the songs, the prayers, the stories that people have found a way to continue, for life to go on.[37]

The continuation of that communal function in the teachings passed on from generation to generation was the way, "to make sure that the voice keeps singing forth so that the earth power will not cease, and that the people remain fully aware of their social, economic, political, cultural, and spiritual responsibilities to all things."[38] Among the Anishinaabeg, teachings represent a network of relations that ground Anishinaabeg identity:

> Men and women have to know as they have to grow in spirit. This basic premise presupposes the existence of teachers and imposes upon them the duty of teaching. The well being and the continuity of a community require that the spirit be enlarged and passed on from generation to generation.
>
> ...It was the elders, grandmothers and grandfathers who taught about life through stories, parables, fables, allegories, songs, chants, and dances. They were the ones who had lived long enough and had had a path to follow, and were deemed to possess the qualities for teaching – wisdom, knowledge, patience and generosity.[39]

Construction of a tenured identity through the teaching of our stories, songs, prayers and ceremonies organizes our sense of self, community and nation.

In terms of research, kinship is one of several Anishinaabeg concepts that have become part of a methodology, a way of organizing a research group, a way of incorporating ethical procedures that 'report back' to the community, a way of giving voice to the different sections of Anishinaabeg communities, and a way of debating ideas on issues that have an impact on the research project. This has a very pragmatic function, in that the organizing of research is a way of distributing tasks, of incorporating local people with particular expertise, and of keeping Anishinaabeg values central to the project. It also may be here that the structures which balance and protect the community's claims from the university's claims of superior rights to control the research may be lodged. Kinship as a way of organizing research, then, can be a very specific modality through which research is shaped and carried out, analyzed, and disseminated.

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[37] Ortiz, Simon. *Earth Power Coming: Short Fiction in Native American Literature.* Tsaile: Navajo Community College Press, 1983, p. vii.

[38] *Ibid*, vii-viii.

[39] Johnston, Basil. *Ojibway Heritage.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976; reprint 1998. p. 69

Kinship is one of several aspects of Anishinaabeg philosophy, values, and practices brought to the centre in the form of Indigenist research. Anishinaabeg knowledge is derived from very different epistemological and ontological (metaphysical) foundations, which is the foundation of Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions. In other words, there is more to Indigenist research than our history under colonialism or our desires to restore control and independence. We have a different epistemological tradition that frames the way we see the world, the way we organize ourselves in it, the questions we ask, and the solutions we seek. It is larger than the individuals in it and the specific moment in which we are living. The significance of Indigenist research to Anishinaabeg language is tied to the connection between language, knowledge, and culture. However, Anishinaabeg-centred Indigenist research does not mean the same thing as Anishinaabeg knowledge and epistemology. The concept of Indigenist research implies a way of framing and structuring how we think about these ideas and practices.

TRANSLATION OF THE ORAL TO THE WRITTEN

Having charted out some of the key points relating to Anishinaabeg-centred Indigenist research, I will now shift my focus to issues that relate to the translation of oral knowledge to literary works. Drawing together a range of experiences, and work by other Indigenous and Anishinaabeg scholars, I will define some working principles based on the importance of Anishinaabeg ways of knowing, Anishinaabeg values, Anishinaabeg processes and practices. This section will also address critical questions that frame such research and discuss issues arising from practices held to be important specifically for the Anishinaabeg peoples. Although Anishinaabeg knowledge comprised both oral and literary (written) traditions in pre-contact times, the emphasis was certainly on orality. In contemporary times, Anishinaabeg researchers have begun to write as a site of resistance, yet there remains several issues in the process of converting oral knowledge to written.

Kimberly Blaeser (Anishinaabe), in her article, "Writing voices speaking: Native authors and an oral aesthetic," has argued that within oral traditions are essential elements that can make Indigenous writing meaningful successful for all Indigenous peoples seeking to join the literary dialogue. These elements encapsulate and compliment Anishinaabeg values and knowledge, and the power of cultural survival and continuance. They also provide bridges over which other strategies can be put into practice. Blaeser outlines four useful principles which she termed: (1) Ideals of orality; (2) Political and social contexts; (3) Writing voices speaking; and lastly, (4) Literary self-determination.[40] This list does not claim to be definitive, but it does capture the salient features of

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[40] Blaeser, Kimberly, "Writing Voices Speaking: Native authors and an oral aesthetic," *Talking on the Page: Editing Aboriginal Oral Texts*, ed. Laura J. Murray and Keren Rice. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999. pp. 53-66.

Indigenous literary contexts. However, these principles can be reframed in the context of research, or rather the details are different, but the basic principle remains the same. The following working principles for writing/research projects incorporate the views, to some extent, of those who work in writing/researching Indigenous knowledge. There is a set of recent politics around these ideas and, rather than ignore them and insert other concepts, I have taken them and charted out these principle ideas in terms of their implications for historical research. While I apply them here to an Anishinaabeg-centred research paradigm, clearly they apply to Indigenist research centred in the knowledge frameworks of other Indigenous nations.

(1) 'THE PRINCIPLE OF ORALITY'

The 'principle of orality' is concerned with the relationship between the oral tradition and the written word. Blaeser claims:

> The events of oral tradition, the occurrences, the comings into being, the community of story, these are the elements of tribal telling that many Native authors attempt to incorporate into their written works. The goal, ultimately, is to destroy the closure of their own texts by making them perform, turning them into a dialogue, releasing them into the place of imagination.[41]

A number of other Indigenous scholars have also identified orality as the most fundamental aspect of the way in which we think about and come to know the world.[42]

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[41] Blaeser, Kimberly, "Writing voices speaking," p. 56.

[42] See, Blaeser, Kimberly M. *Gerald Vizenor: Writing in the Oral Tradition.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996. This book includes a critique of the writing and words of Gerald Vizenor. Also see his book, *The Everlasting Sky: New Voices from the People Named the Chippewa.* New York: Crowell-Collier, 1972; (also called, *People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.) Another key scholar is Basil Johnston, "How do we learn language? What do we learn?" *Talking on the Page: Editing Aboriginal Oral Texts*, ed. Laura J. Murray and Keren Rice.Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999. pp. 43-52. This work as the title of the article states is about how the Anishinaabeg learn language, how language is important in kinship relations, and how it connects the Anishinaabeg to their past.

They all suggest that orality is a way of thinking, a way of learning, a way of storing knowledge, a way of debating knowledge and of course, a way of speaking. It is inscribed in virtually every aspect of our worldviews. In terms of Anishinaabeg research, orality is embedded in our own knowledge and is integral to what becomes taken-for-granted. Orality intersects with research in a number of different ways. Furthermore, the shape that it takes varies according to the context, the time, the people and the actual project. Angela Cavender Wilson cautions:

> Problems arise when scholars attempt to treat oral historical material as they might deal with other written source material....what I see happening with those specializing in the field of oral history is an attempt to make oral accounts from other cultures conform to western notions of respectability, truth, narrative form, categories, significance, terminology, sensibility and so forth.[43]

In other words, it is through orality that Anishinaabeg people trace ourselves and our access to knowledge. Orality also positions us in historical relationships with our landscape, and within the universe. Our oral culture is based in our language conveyed to us through story. Gerald Vizenor (Anishinaabe) argues that, "[y]ou can't understand the world without telling a story," and he claims "[t]here isn't any center to the world but story."[44] Our language conveyed through our stories reveals to all Anishinaabeg peoples our place in the universe.

The Anishinaabeg language (Anishinaabemwin) has been a site of struggle since the beginnings of the European and Canadian education policies. Policies to get rid of the Anishinaabeg people's language have been well documented by those who attended the

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[43] Wilson, Angela Cavender, "Power of the Spoken Word: Native Oral Traditions in American Indian History," *Rethinking American Indian History*, ed. Donald Fixico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997. pp. 109-110.

[44] Cortelli, Laura, "Gerald Vizenor." *Winged Words: American Indian Writers Speak.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. p. 156.

Residential schools or who experienced other pressures to assimilate.[45] The struggle to revitalize the status of Anishinaabeg language in literature(s) is a central concern to the Anishinaabeg historical research agenda.

As mentioned, the Anishinaabe language is significant for research projects concerning Anishinaabeg people's research. The survival of Anishinaabemwin is viewed as being absolutely crucial to the survival of Anishinaabeg people. It is an issue that brings together the support of a wide spectrum of Anishinaabeg peoples. There are several ways in which the Anishinaabeg language is regarded by Anishinaabeg. The following list gives an indication of what I interpret its value to be: (1) It is encoded with deep layers of additional political and social meaning; (2) It is rooted in a sense of communal identity. It connects Anishinaabeg in a web of relationship that include people and all other aspects of creation (plants, animals, the land below, the waters and the air above; and, (3) It supports and promotes the esteemed position of the Anishinaabekweg (our women) and protects them from a patriarchal worldview. In terms of research, the Anishinaabeg language is important in a number of different ways. Anishinaabeg worldviews are embedded and deliberately encoded 'inside' the language. Further, there are some social practices that are only conducted in Anishinaabemwin. These are rich forms of expression that make sense in Anishinaabemwin because they connect with histories, values, and other images. Many of the early researchers, such as William W. Warren (Anishinaabe) did much of his interviewing in Anishinaabemwin and gained access to whole bodies of knowledge that have still not been translated.[46] The language, in this sense, is a window onto ways of knowing the world.

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[45] Johnston, Basil. *Indian School Days*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1988. Johnston recounts his residential school days when he was forced to assimilate and learn the English language like all other children in the school.

However, the language is also a way of interacting in the world. In this sense, Anishinaabeg researchers need to have a range of skills with the Anishinaabeeg language. There is age and gender restrictions which inform instructions on the ways in which Anishinaabeg researchers may use the language formally. Yet, in most situations there are basic requirements to be fulfilled when the researcher is Anishinaabe and is in conversation with an Anishinaabemwin speaking subject.[47] Not all Anishinaabeg speakers choose to speak only the Anishinaabeg language, but sometimes, even when they use English, they are making connections and using expressions that in Anishinaabemwin make a lot more sense.

There is an issue of dissemination of research results and the extent to which they are available for Anishinaabemwin speakers and readers. This has not as yet been a priority. However, there are three areas in which research could be carried out and made available in the Anishinaabeg language: 1) the claims and findings provided by the researcher to those who were subjects or involved somehow in the overall process, 2) a presentation that dialogues the claims and findings, and 3) through publication. These aspects about sharing knowledge and the results of research are so that Anishinaabeg people can become better informed and make better decisions (about how they wish to research or 'be' researched). It has another consequence further down the track of promoting different forms of literature in the Anishinaabeg language.

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[46] Warren, William W. *History of the Ojibway People.* 1885. Reprint. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984. It should be noted that much of Warren's perspective comes from a very 'colonized' point of view. Therefore, many Indigenous scholars find his work offensive and racist at times. Nonetheless, Warren is a significant part of the 'written' history documented about Anishinaabe peoples.
[47] Johnston, Basil, "How do we learn Language? What do we learn?" *Talking on the Page,* pp. 44-53.

(2) 'THE PRINCIPLE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS'

The 'principle of political and social contexts' lies in the ability of the Indigenous scholar to pursue an idea of study from within a complicated and oftentimes hostile set of literary relations. In the past, Anishinaabeg history was a commodity, something to be had, collected, categorized, defined and named. The impetus of an Anishinaabeg researcher is exactly that of checking the process of literary domination and appropriation, and freeing Anishinaabeg identity from the grasp of literary colonialism. To accomplish independence, Anishinaabeg researchers will have to struggle against established literary images, and work to create new ones.

In the context of Anishinaabeg, this tension arises for those working with intersections of power and social contexts. Writer and scholar Louis Owens (Choctaw) claims in his book *Other Destinies* that, "[t]he Indian author...is writing within the consciousness of the contextual background of a non-literate culture" wherein "every word written in English represents a collaboration of sorts, as well as a reorientation (conscious or unconscious) from the paradigmatic world of oral tradition to the syntagmatic reality of written language."[48] These tensions between oral and written, as well as between English and Anishinaabemwin are a product of a legacy of literary domination. It has in the past, in principle, always tended to be the privileging of one language and cultural history over another, and offered validation for Anishinaabeg knowledge only as an object of study by the dominant culture or, as Arnold Krupat has noted, as an object of comparison, with the dominant cultures models of comparison, and with the dominant culture's models functioning as the master template.[49]

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[48] Owens, Louis. *Other Destinies: Understanding the American Indian Novel.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992. p. 6.

Translation of Indigenous languages is a political act, which is related to everything from decisions about the choice of place or personal names, to more broadly significant issues involving the connotations of words or the symbolic values of colours or creatures, to the critical selection and arrangement of material and the shaping of the narrative frame of story. The effects of these and other culturally determined aesthetic decisions cannot be overemphasized.

The self-conscious appropriation of English for tribal use is depicted by Anna Lee Walters (Pawnee) in *Talking Indian* when she has one elderly character tell a story and then reflect: "Now I sit here, sixty years later, telling you the exact same thing my old folks told me as a teenager. The only thing that's different is I'm talking in a foreign language, one forced on us, but nevertheless, I'm still talking Indian. It's ironical."[50] Contemporary Anishinaabeg researcher/writers have begun to involve themselves in writing in English, allowing themselves to be heard with limited interpretation or translation. Anishinaabeg writers have learned to use and must continue the literary forum to their own ends. This is an important site for those who wish to launch Anishinaabeg historical research. Anishinaabeg researchers are gravely needed to study the history our peoples, but having Anishinaabeg researchers 'doing' history is not enough to satisfy the need to be culturally sensitive. However, an Anishinaabeg researcher also belongs to a specific local environment, has an identity that goes deeper than simply being Anishinaabeg. Anishinaabeg researchers need to think critically about what it means for the way in which they may think about themselves as researchers and about the Anishinaabeg issues or Anishinaabeg people they are researching and writing about.

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[49] Krupat, Arnold. "On the Translation of Native American Song and Story: A Theorized History." *On the Translation of Native American Literatures*, ed. Brian Swann. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992. pp. 3-32.

[50] Walters, Anna Lee. *Talking Indian: Reflections on Survival and Writing*. Ithaca: Firebrand Books, 1992. p. 41.

(3) 'THE PRINCIPLE OF WRITING VOICES SPEAKING'

I view the 'principle of writing voices speaking' as the customary practices, obligations, and behaviours, or the principles that govern social practices that we try to translate into our writings. It is being able to operate 'inside' the cultural system and make decisions and judgements about how to interpret what occurs. The principle of 'writing voices speaking' can be used as a rigid rule by which actions are judged as to what determines 'correct voices,' although there are other values that mitigate against such rigidity. Embedded in the Anishinaabeg people's language is our anchor of resistance, which enables 'us' to take risks or to change how the English language is used to write history about Anishinaabeg peoples. This rebellion is located in our ability to write ourselves into history by re-aligning literary conventions and enshrined styles of writing both in principle and in practice so as to open up space for Anishinaabeg worldviews. Emma LaRocque notes that this is not altogether unusual for Indigenous academics writing their oral traditions:

> Native writers have a dialectical relationship to the English (or French) language. Not only do we have to learn English, we must then deal with its ideology...What is at work is the power struggle between the oral and the written, between the Native in us

> and the English. And even though we may sometimes pay little attention to its logic—perhaps we will always feel a little bit rebellious about it all.[51]

This has direct implications for research. How researchers enter the research community, how they negotiate their project aims and methods, how they conduct themselves as individuals and how they engage with writing require a wide range of skills and sensitivities. Anishinaabeg should not take for granted many of these skills, nor understate the importance of such skills. Others may be so much in awe of getting research right according to others standards that they end up getting it wrong in a 'traditional sense.' And getting it wrong in a 'traditional sense' is viewed as having real (sometimes dire) consequences. Obviously, what I am suggesting is that it is important to 'think' about what they are writing. This is one of the primary focuses of 'writing voices,' which are usually only ever heard orally.

Intersecting this principle, and indeed all others, is the concept of 'sensitivity.' Some forms of knowledge are regarded sensitive, and therefore access to these forms of knowledge is restricted. Even when access is given, such knowledge needs to be treated with respect and care. That which is deemed 'sensitive knowledge' generally relates to knowledge that is 'sacred.'[52] It has a particular impact on those researchers who work in the area of Indigenous history. Many of these histories remain oral and not written down. One of the obvious problems of writing these voices, however, is that Anishinaabeg people are becoming less knowledgeable with each generation that is worn down by the legacy of colonization. This is a crisis situation. Writing can be dangerous because it can lead to mystification of remaining knowledge, which is not about the sacred, but about power of a different sort – that is, the power of the individual to claim literary resources and assert claims that are difficult to challenge. In general, however, sensitive knowledge is an important cultural way of regarding knowledge, and in this sense needs to be incorporated as a principle of respect for the people who choose to share their knowledge with you. And, once knowledge is shared it is up to the researchers to recreate the oral, human voice, at every opportunity when writing up research findings for history's sake.

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[51] LaRocque, Emma. "Preface: here Are Our Voices – Who Will Hear?" *Writing the Circle: Native Women of Western Canada*, ed. Jeanne Perreault and Sylvia Vance. Edmonton: NeWest, 1990. pp. xx-xxi.
[52] For discussion of 'sacred knowledge' see Marlene Brant Castellano's essay "Updating Aboriginal Traditions of Knowledge," *Indigenous Knowledge in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000. p. 25.

(4) 'THE PRINCIPLE OF LITERARY SELF-DETERMINATION'

The 'principle of literary self-determination' is connected in Blaeser's essay to a writer's ability to have control over one's own work and cultural responsibilities as an Indigenous scholar. The usage of 'literary self-determination' is framed within discourses related to "[locally] based aesthetic patterns."[53] Blaeser points to the 'move' towards the oral aesthetic in writing. She includes orality as an example of a 'literary move' toward Indigenous control over the literary territories.

Although there is considerable linguistic debates about the concept of aesthetic patterns in relation to Indigenous text, its wider use of orality encapsulates a wide range of beliefs and aspirations. These discourses, alongside the increasingly 'expert' definitions of the 'Indigenous voice' have a major influence on the way that research is governed. At one level, it is about control over the agenda for research and on the other it is about the style of writing.

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[53] Blaeser, Kimberley, "Writing Voices Speaking." *Talking on the Page*, p. 65.

In this context, 'literary self-determination' owes much to the discourses of orality. At a more pragmatic level, the principles of 'literary self-determination' would govern the ways in which the following critical questions are answered.

1) What research do we want to carry out?
2) Whom is that research for?
3) What difference(s) will it make?
4) Who will carry out this research?
5) How do we want the research to be done?
6) How will we know it is a worthwhile piece of research?
7) Who will own the research?
8) Who will benefit from the research?[54]

The principle of 'literary self-determination' would consistently affirm the importance of addressing these questions to Anishinaabeg people and not, as has previously happened, to non-Anishinaabeg experts, with Anishinaabeg being consulted on the side. Where discussions by Anishinaabeg on these issues have occurred, it has not meant that non-Anishinaabeg researchers have been excluded or restricted. Within the dynamic of 'self-determination' exist other sorts of social relations. In terms of research, the 'self-determination' aspect is generally regarded as an organizational tool, a way of structuring supervision, or working collaboratively, or ensuring that a wide range of Anishinaabeg concepts is discussed rigorously, and a way of connecting with specific communities and maintaining relationships with communities over many years. The 'literary self-determination' principle can sometimes replace advisory committees, projects terms, and supervisory roles. It includes all those roles that are technical and those that are about mentoring and support.

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[54] This list comes is inspired from the list of questions devised by Blaeser to address the aesthetics of being an Indigenous writer. I have adapted them to research as hope the reader assumes that writing is a part of research processes. See Blaeser, "Writing Voices Speaking." *Talking on the Page*, pp. 64-66.

ANISHINAABEG CULTURAL ETHICS

Ethical issues have become increasingly significant as research communities across all disciplines have been held up for public scrutiny and found wanting. The idea of a self-monitoring community of professionals is a disturbing thought because of the lack of accountability. The ethical issues for Indigenous communities, then, have come from a long history of being researched by outsiders and then having that research flung back at us.

Research ethics of Anishinaabeg communities extend far beyond issues of individual consent and confidentiality. In a discussion of what may constitute sound ethical principles for research of Anishinaabeg knowledge or in Anishinaabeg communities. I have identified a set of responsibilities that researchers (Anishinaabeg and non-Anishinaabeg) have to Anishinaabeg peoples. My framework is based on the 'code of conduct' for the Anishinaabeg peoples who walk on Mother Earth. While these are purely Anishinaabe principles of thought about respect, honour and accountability, these same principles are 'good enough' for those needing to respect and protect the rights, interests, and sensitivities of the people being studied. There are, however, some culturally specific ideas that are part of Anishinaabeg ethical/cultural practices. These are not prescribed in 'codes of conduct' for any researchers, but are suggested or offered up for Anishinaabeg researchers in Anishinaabe cultural terms:

1) Try to treat the earth, and all that dwell upon it with respect.
2) Remain close to the Great Spirit.
3) Always show respect for your fellow beings.
4) Attempt to work together for the benefit of all human-kind.
5) Give assistance and kindness wherever is needed.
6) Do what you know to be right.
7) Look after the well-being of mind, heart and body.

8) Dedicate a share of your efforts to the greater good.
9) Be truthful, trustworthy, humble and honest at all times.
10) Take full responsibility for your actions.[55]

These teachings reflect just some of the values placed on the way in which we behave. They are very different from the 'public' image of Anishinaabeg society as a forum for ritual, oratory, and chiefly leaders, but they are the kinds of comments used to determine if someone has 'good' qualities as a person. There are several other principles that contain the ideals and aspirations worth seeking as well as the moral message for those who decide not to conform to the 'mainstream' rules of practice or seek something more culturally safe. These other principles include: not flaunting knowledge, share and be generous with people, a willingness to help, be cautious, respect people's opinions and listen and look before speaking up, and a willingness to allow other Anishinaabeg to join in.[56]

However, I am not suggesting here that research in Anishinaabeg communities can be reduced to a set of simple steps or procedures that will allow access to Anishinaabeg knowledge or communities. These procedures include for example, a willingness to help and a willingness to allow others to join in—introducing or employing local people as research assistants. There is a danger that such procedures become fixed criteria for determining ethical practices and good conduct. But the reduction of Anishinaabeg attitudes, values, and experiences within research to simple procedures, while helpful to outsiders, masks the underlying issues and is a deeply cynical approach to a complex history of involvement as research objects. For Anishinaabeg researchers, the above steps as they appear in 'nice and neat' statements are far too simplistic in that our choices, culturally, are much more flexible, the community networks are more established, and there are more opportunities to discuss issues and to be seen. However, the list is still useful in reminding Anishinaabeg researchers of their responsibilities. At the same time, the accountabilities and responses from the community are more immediate and last longer.

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[55] These teachings come from my own personal experience with stories and practices told to me over the years by the Anishinaabekwe in my family.

[56] These last principles were told to me by the women in my family when we would go to see the Older women in my family to hear their stories.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has charted out some of the parameters of an Anishinaabeg-centred agenda for Indigenist research, its concepts, its context, and its application to research by Indigenous scholars. I have also discussed the connection between Anishinaabeg cultural values, principles, priorities, and the emancipatory aims seen by those who write in this area, as a significant component of Indigenist research. These aims are very different from other forms of research – for example, models of cultural sensitivity. This makes it unique. Indigenist Research is about continuance and survivance; it is also about, taking control of the literary territory and a way of organizing such processes.

Indigenist research is a historical, political, and social project.[57] It weaves in and out of Indigenous knowledge, cultural beliefs and values, Western forms of 'doing' history, and Indigenous aspirations or needs. Indigenist research is concerned with sites and terrains of resistance. Each site is one of struggle. Each has also been claimed by others as 'their' turf. They are selected or select themselves precisely because they are sites of struggle and because they have some strategic importance for Indigenous peoples. We are not at present interested in correcting every single historical distortion, but we are becoming interested in entering the disciplinary dialogue on the research of history and Indigenous knowledge. There are sound reasons why we are interested in history. This domain situates us in crisis. It is more real and more pressing.

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[57] Rigney, Lester-Irabinna, pp. 116-118; Kiera Ladner, "When Buffalo Speaks: Creating an Alternative Understanding of Traditional Blackfoot Governance." Diss. Carelton University, 2000. pp. 35-38.

By honouring the knowledge that has been passed down to me, and the lives or experiences of other Anishinaabeg peoples I will discuss throughout the thesis, I recognize that there are limits to my intellectual freedom or, to use the terminology of Jack Forbes (Renape/Lenape/Powatan), my "intellectual sovereignty."[58] The reason's for these limitations are quite clear to me. As Vine Deloria (Standing Rocks Sioux) argues: "Individual *self-determination* and *intellectual sovereignty* are scary concepts because they mean that a whole generation of Indians are not going to be responsible to the Indian people, they are simply going to be isolated individuals playing with symbols of Indians."[59] Therefore, recognizing that I have a responsibility to Anishinaabe knowledge that I have been entrusted with, and to the communal and tenured relationships I am a part of, is not a limitation on my ability as a researcher and student of history, but a way of ensuring the integrity of the Anishinaabe knowledge presented in this thesis. In accordance with Anishinaabe epistemology (which I discuss in the next chapter) because Anishinaabe knowledge is the result of an internalized worldview, I only know what I know and I can only speak of that which I understand as an Anishinaabekwe. I utilize Anishinaabeg worldviews of seeing and interacting with the construction of this history by entering into a discussion of Anishinaabeg world views. As such, I, as an Anishinaabe person take responsibility for the knowledge put forth and contained in this following chapter as my own perspective (nothing more and nothing less) on Anishinaabeg epistemology.

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[58] Forbes, Jack D., p. 12.

[59] Deloria, Vine, Jr., "Intellectual Self-Determination and Sovereignty: Looking at the Windmills in Our Minds." *Wicazo Sa Review* 13 (Spring 1998): 28.

CHAPTER 2

AN INTRODUCTION TO ANSIHINAABEG EPISTEMOLOGY: A NATION-BASED WORLD VIEW

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will attempt to convey an understanding of Anishinaabeg epistemological reality to serve as a foundation for comprehending Anishinaabeg historical traditions within its own contexts, rather than from a Eurocentric perspective. Since the world of the Anishinaabe person has long been misunderstood by academia, I attempt to create an alternative vantage point from which to understand Anishinaabeg epistemology that is neither located in, nor limited by, the discourses of Western history. I attempt to create a rudimentary understanding of the Anishinaabeg reality based on my interpretation of notable aspects of Anishinaabeg epistemology located in Anishinaabeg cosmology (natural world or ecological order). I do so to provide the reader with the basis for understanding Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions as separate and distinct from Western Eurocentric understandings of the Euro-Canadian intellectual and historical traditions.

The beginning of this chapter functions as a foundation to begin my subsequent dialogue regarding the conceptualization of Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions. I outline the key tenets of Anishinaabeg epistemologies and cosmologies that ground Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions. I also focus on the foundational relationship between Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions and the local natural (ecological) order as I introduce the reader to my understanding of Anishinaabeg cosmological reality. This is a reality constructed as a relationship to, and by experiencing Creation; a reality formed and nurtured over millennia in an interconnected relationship with the environment and with each other in the universe. This is very much in contrast to the dominant Euro-Canadian approach that continually seeks to place humanity as the dominant species upon the world, and even the whole universe at times.

WHAT IS EPISTEMOLOGY?

In this chapter, I define epistemology as the study of the canons and protocols through which 'human beings' acquire, organize and verify their knowledge about their world.[60] It is perhaps the most abstract of philosophical enterprises; to be 'thinking about thought.' The vocabulary of epistemology is largely a product of scholarship within the Euro-Canadian tradition. It allows for the comparison of philosophical and spiritual systems of thought within the Euro-Canadian tradition, and to compare the Euro-Canadian tradition with other major historical systems. The vocabulary of formal epistemology includes such terms as normalism, idealism, empiricism, and realism, which are utilized to compare selected portions and propositions of formal historical systems.[61]

These formal concepts are not sufficient for considering histories that are outside the 'great traditions' of the world. They have encouraged the use of 'modes of thought' to emphasize the radically different nature of the logical and conceptual frameworks used by many non-literate, small scale nations outside the Euro-Canadian tradition.[62] Here, I emphasize the radically different nature of traditional Indigenous intellectual thought, although I will also use here some conventional concepts of epistemology. My general remarks are confined to the smaller-scale nation of the Anishinaabeg peoples as a foundational understanding of Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions.

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[60] Fay, Cornelius R. and Henry F. Tiblier. *Epistemology.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1967.

[61] Moore, John H. "Truth and Tolerance in Native American Epistemology." *Studying Native American Problems and Prospects*, ed. Russell Thornton. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998. p. 273.

In seeking to understand Ansihinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions through the vocabulary of epistemology, whether one uses a traditional approach or not, the fundamental questions remain the same. How is knowledge constructed? How is it acquired? How is it evaluated? That is, within any culture, how do we know something is a truth? To these questions, historians have added other questions. Who controls knowledge? Where in society is special knowledge located? How is new knowledge integrated into an existing system of ideology? Historians are also interested in how traditional knowledge is acted out in the activities of 'intellectuals.'

Usually, the central framework for systems of knowledge among Indigenous nations is not a spatially constructed in Indigenous cosmology. These cosmologies typically comprise an overview of the natural world (or ecological order) its sectors and their boundaries, relationships to plants and animals, geographic features, the spiritual world, individuals, communities, and nations.[63]

It is very important to note, in keeping with the notion of 'modes of thought,' that the cosmologies and epistemologies maintained by Indigenous peoples are not only radically different from those of Euro-Canadian philosophy, but are different amongst themselves. This is to be expected from a group of human nations with deep and various historical roots, who speak scores of distinct languages and live in vastly different geographical or environmental conditions. Among intellectuals representing different historical traditions, questions as fundamental as the definition of the Creator, the significance of human life, and the purpose of spirituality, receive different and often contradictory answers.

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[62] Horton, Robin and Ruth Finnegan, eds. *Modes of Thought: Essays on Thinking in Western and Non-Western Societies.* London: Faber and Faber, 1973.
[63] Johnston, Basil. *Ojibway Heritage.*

ANISHINAABEG COSMOLOGY: 'ANCIENT KNOWLEDGE'

Katsi Cook (Mohawk) states that, "[i]t is important to begin at the beginning."[64] To understand how Anishinaabeg epistemological reality is generated one has to start with the beginning or with 'our' Creation as a people, for this is where Anishinaabeg knowledge has its origins and where the Old folk and Elders begin their teachings.[65] Here I will begin with one 'telling'[66] of an Anishinaabeg Creation story by Anishinaabe scholar Edward Benton-Banai. Benton-Banai writes:

> When Ah-ki' (the Earth) was young, it was said that the Earth had a family. Nee-ba-gee'-sis (the Moon) is called Grandmother, and Gee'-sis (the Sun) is called Grandfather. The Creator of this family is called Gi-tchie Man-i-to' (Great Mystery or Creator).
>
> The Earth is said to be a woman. In this way it is understood that woman preceded man on the Earth. She is called Mother Earth because from her come all living things. Water is her life blood. It flows through her, nourishes her, and purifies her.

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[64] Cook, Katsi, "The Women's Dance, Reclaiming Our Powers." *New Voices From the Longhouse: An Anthology of Contemporary Iroquois Writing*. Greenfield Center, New York: The Greenfield Review Press, 1989. p. 80.

[65] Because of the sensitive nature of family stories and privacy issues, I have not been given permission to recount the version of the Creation story told to me when I was younger, therefore I rely on published sources to tell the story of Creation despite the fact that they are not entirely consistent with the way Creation was explained to me as a child and youth.

[66] 'Tellings' is a term the women in my family used when describing a story or stories. They would always say, "Do you remember those 'tellings' by your Grandmother or your Great Aunt so and so.

> On the surface of the Earth, all is given Four Sacred Directions – North, South, East, and West. Each of these directions contributes a vital part to the wholeness of the Earth. Each has physical powers as well as spiritual powers, as do all things.
>
> When she was young, the Earth was filled with beauty.
> The Creator sent his singers in the form of birds to the Earth to carry the seeds of life to all of the Four Directions. In this way life was spread across the Earth. On the Earth the Creator placed the swimming creatures of the water. He gave life to all the plant and insect world. He placed the crawling things and the four-leggeds on the land. All of these parts of life lived in harmony with each other.
>
> Gitchie Manito then took four parts of Mother Earth into them using Sacred Shell. From the union of the Four Sacred Elements and his breath, man was created.
>
> | ANI | NISHINA | ABE |
> |---|---|---|
> | From whence | Lowered | the male of the species |
>
> All tribes came from this Original Man. The Ojibway are a tribe because of the way they speak. We believe that we are *nee-kon'-nis-ug'* (brothers) with all tribes; we are separated only by our tongue or language.
>
> Today, the Ojibways cherish the Megis Shell as the Sacred Shell through which the Creator blew his breath. The Megis was to appear and reappear to the Ojibway throughout their history to show them the Path that the Creator wished them to follow. Some Ojibway Indians today wear the Megis or Cowrie shell to remember the origin of man and the history of their people.
>
> There are a few people in each of the tribes that have survived to this day who have kept alive their teachings, language, and religious ceremonies. Although traditions may differ from tribe to tribe, there is a common thread that runs throughout them all. This common thread represents a string of lives that goes back all the way to Original Man.
>
> Today, we need to use this kinship of all Indian people to give us the strength necessary to keep our traditions alive. No one way is better than another; I heard my grandfathers say that there are many roads to the High Place. We need to support each other by respecting and honouring the "many roads" of all tribes. The teaching of one tribe will shed light on those of another.
>
> It is important that we know our native language, our teachings, and our ceremonies so that we will be able to pass this sacred way of living on to our children and continue the string of lives of which we are a living part.
>
> *Mi-gwetch'* (thank you)![67]

There are several different Creation stories in Anishinaabeg culture, the example here is but one of those explaining creation. Creation stories recount the birth of our

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[67] Benton-Banai, Edward, "Creation Stories." *Expressions in Canadian Native Studies,* Ron F. Laliberte, et al. Saskatoon: University Extension Press, 2000. pp. 4-6.

Anishinaabeg historical traditions through story, our philosophical realities and cosmological understandings of where we originated and where are historical traditions (practices in recording knowledge) began. They speak of Anishinaabeg relationships to cosmological relationships (natural order or ecological order) set out by Creation. They also provide some understanding of inherent traditional Anishinaabeg spiritual, social, economic, political, and territorial realities. Finally, for these reasons, the Creation stories will provide the basis upon which I construct a basic overview of Anishinaabeg epistemological reality.

ANISHINAABEG TEACHERS

In Anishinaabeg tradition, historical inquiries are directed by persons who are characterized in English as teachers. Whether one wishes to learn, hear or experience Anishinaabeg historical traditions, an individual must have a treacher. Traditional teachers mediate between the general framework of shared cosmological and ecological order, represented by kinship[68] to a 'local' natural order (ecosystem). For Anishinaabeg peoples, instruction of historical traditions begins before birth and is considered a 'total' sensory 'learning' experience that carries on after birth and beyond into adulthood.[69] An Elder or Older person's instruction is a reminder to the Anishinaaabeg person of their place in the Creation of life, the natural order and 'kinship' responsibilities to all our relations in the universe. In this role, the instructor and instructed meet together to discuss difficult ontological issues of spiritual philosophy, metaphysics, as well as other issues of genealogy. The Anishinaabeg 'instructional' or 'teaching' tradition respects the role of 'kinship relations': the Old person, the mother, the aunties and uncles or even an Elder as instructor and as repositories of cultural knowledge. The antiquity or traditional status of a bit (teaching) of knowledge – a symbolic association, a ritual, a ceremony, a dance, or a story – must be confirmed by a knowledgeable instructor.

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[68] Kinship refers to a sense of community and familial ties to an extended group. An Anishinaabeg community is not limited to immediate family members such as a mother, a father and siblings, it is a larger set of relationship that includes grandparents,, aunts and uncles, cousins, and close family friends. In fact, the whole community becomes one's own relations. Kinship also extends to clan responsibilities to certain relationships, histories and responsibilities to specific animals and territories of land, air and waters (or local ecosystems).

[69] Johnston, Basil, "How do we learn language? What do we learn?" *Talking on the Page*. pp. 43-53. Basil Johnston offers a look into the process of how the Anishinaabeg people are initiated into the process of learning through language Anishinaabe epistemology and their inherent intellectual traditions.

For example, traditional Anishinaabekweg puberty rites related to their 'first moon' are an integral time of instruction for young girls entering into womanhood.[70] In Kim Anderson's (Cree/Métis) book, *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood* she describes how Anishinaabekweg girls entering womanhood undergo a 'berry fast.' The berry fast is an important ceremony for Anishinaabekweg girls and Older women.[71] During this practice, pubescent girls are expected to not eat any berries or berry products for a whole year, throughout which the girls come together with Older women (acting in the traditional capacity of aunties, grannies and Elders) who instruct them about basic cosmological understandings of an Anishinaabekweg's "kinship responsibility."[72] Kim Anderson explains how Edna Manitowabi (Anishinaabe) conducts berry fast ceremonies for young girls entering puberty.[73] Edna Manitowabi relates how important this time this is in a girl's passage into womanhood:

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[70] Because I have not been allowed to recount these stories, I am relying on the shared experiences of Anishinaabeg women in Kim Anderson's book, *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood.* Toronto: Second Story Press, 2000.

[71] The Circle of Turtle Lodge. *Anishinaabe 101,* p. 53.

[72] I take the phrase "kinship responsibility" comes from an essay by Angela Cavender Wilson. She defines it as: "...a responsibility that relays a culture, an identity, and a sense of belonging essential to...life." See, Angela Cavender Wilson "Grandmother to Granddaughter: Generations of Oral History in a Dakota Family," *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*, ed. Devon A. Mihesuah. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. pp. 27-36.

> Celebrate that young girl who has just become a woman. That's a gift we are given! Celebrate that first flow, that is like the earth, when she's flowing in the springtime. It's the same thing. That's who we are as women. We all flow. We all bleed, and that's how we bring forth life. That's how we mould and shape life. That first blessing that was given to women is that you open the door and water issues forth. You are able to take that life into your arms, take her to your breast. Celebrate that miracle![74]

Also in Anderson's book, Anishinaabekwe Grandmother Vera Martin helps young girls understand their sacredness of their bodies through the teachings she offers during a berry fast. Martin relates to the pubescent girls about "what they put into their bodies," and tells them that they should really care for their bodies and what they put into it because it is a 'sacred space.' The berry fast teaches girls to nurture, honour, protect and respect. Gertie Beaucage talks about learning self-discipline and thus, respect for her needs:

> ...when she was seven years old, her grandmother sent her out to pick berries with the instructions "Don't eat any of them." This was new for her, as she had always been allowed to eat as many berries as she wanted. When she returned with her basket full, (and eager to eat some of her berries), her grandmother took them from her and simply declared that she intended to make jam. Once finished, the jam was put away until wintertime, when it was given away to visitors. Beaucage recalls, "Making sure that I could see, she would pick up those berries in the jar and hand them to somebody and say, 'My granddaughter picked these berries in the summer, and I want you to have them.' And just gave them away on me." Beaucage reminisces, I knew I would never see those berries again! This cycle of the young girl picking berries and the grandmother giving them away went on for five years until one winter, Beaucage's grandmother opened a jar and told her, "You should eat these first, before we give the rest away." Beaucage concludes, "What I learned from that was that I didn't have to have everything that I saw. You know, it might have looked good, but I didn't have to have it. I might really want it, but if I had to do something else with it, I could put my own wants aside."[75]

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[73] Anderson, Kim. *A Recognition of Being*. p. 186.

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] Anderson, Kim, "Honouring the Blood of the People." *Expressions in Canadian Native Studies*. pp. 385-86.

Further, girls that experienced these ceremonies held a better understanding of the sacredness and power of womanhood and how it is related to their life-giving and creative abilities. The shared or collective aspect of instruction is not only ceremonial, but cosmological – celebrating the structure of the universe, and the universe is represented in the structure of all our relations.

These teachings and ceremonies are important because this is one of the ways young girls obtain knowledge – not only through the stories and teachings of their mothers, aunties, grandmothers and Elders, but from the spirit world through ceremony. In pre-contact times, women spent much of their time vested in educating children, and for Anishinaabeg people these ways of knowing frame our construction of history.

ANISHINAABEG CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF HISTORY

My people, the Migisi-Anishinaabe have lived in our traditional territory along the French River for generations. It is an Island known as Okikindawt – '*home of the buckets*' – and an adjacent island-like peninsula joined to the mainland by a narrow neck of land only a quarter of a mile wide. We are signatories of the Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850 and it is through this treaty that we relate to the state on a nation-to-nation basis. My ancestor, Chief Dokis signed the treaty on our behalf.

Dokis's Anishinaabe name was *Migisi*, Anishinaabemwin for his father's name Aigle (Eagle). Although he and his sons went by the name Dokis, the Chief usually signed letters with his full name, Michel d' Aigle Dokis. My people now call themselves '*Eagles on the River*' and more formally as the Migisi-Anishinaabe of Dokis First Nation.

Anishinaabeg perceptions of our history are contextualized within our own knowledge systems, worldviews, language and culture. Anishinaabeg history is more than the names and events we remember, it is 'a way of life,' something one can decide for oneself, and, then, being apart of, one can find out what it means. In contemporary times, it is a state of being we achieve through a steady struggle for self-determination, a result of many cumulative decisions that we make for ourselves as we move towards being a 'whole' human being.

In Anishinaabeg history, existence consists of energy. All things that are alive 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 a more important referent than linear time.

The idea of all Anishinaabe knowledge being in constant motion or flux leads to a holistic and cyclical view of the world and time.[76] If everything is constantly moving and changing, then one has to look at the whole to begin to see patterns. For instance, the cosmic cycles are in constant motion, but they have regular patterns that result in recurrences, such as the passing of time, seasons of the year, the migration of the animals, renewal ceremonies, songs, and stories. Constant motion, as manifested in cyclical and repetitive patterns, emphasizes process as opposed to product. It results in a concept of time which is dynamic, but without motion. Time is part of the constant flux, but goes nowhere. Time just is. Rather than a linear construction of past, present and future, Indigenous conceptualizations of time are non-linear, interrelated and interdependent.

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[76] Canada. *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, Volume 4, *Perpectives and Realities*. Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 1996. p. 454.

Language encompasses the way the Anishinaabe nation thinks. Through learning and speaking a particular Indigenous language, an individual absorbs the collective thought processes of a people.[77] Indigenous languages are, for the most part, verb-rich languages that are action oriented. They are generally aimed at describing 'happenings' rather than objects.[78] The languages of Indigenous peoples allow for the transcendence of boundaries. For example, the categorizing process in the Anishinaabe language does not make use of the dichotomies either/or, black/white, or saint/sinner. There is no animate/inanimate dichotomy. Everything is more or less animate. Consequently, Indigenous languages allow for talking to trees and rocks, an allowance not accorded in English. This language is captured in a poem by Basil Johnstorn "The Tree Of Life":

A tree images life
It grows
Unwell, it heals itself
Spent, it dies.

A tree reflects being
It changes
Altered, it restores itself
Ever to remain the same.

A tree gives life
It abides
It lends existence yet
Endures undiminished.

Trees give me everything
Serve all my needs
To the tree I can give nothing
Except my song of praise.

When I look upon a tree
I remember that

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[77] Johnston, Basil, "How do we learn language? What do we learn?" *Talking on the Page*, p. 43.
[78] *Ibid*, pp. 46-48.

The apple tree can
Allay my hunger
The maple can
Slake my thirst
The pine can
Heal my wounds and cuts
The bark of birch can
Form my home, can
Mould my canoe and vessels
The tissue of birch can
Keep the images that I draw
The balsam groves can
Shield me from the winds
Fruit of the grape vine can
Lend colour to my quills
The hickory can
Bend as my bow, while
The cherrywood provides
An arrow shaft.

The cedar ferns can
Cushion my body in sleep
The basswood can
Become my daughter's doll
The ash, as snowshoe, can
Carry me across the snows
The tobacco can
Transport my prayers to God
The sweetgrass can Aromate my lodge
The roots of evergreen can
Bind my sleigh and craft
The stump and twig can warm my lodge
The rose and daisy can Move the soul of woman
The leaves wind-blown can
Open my spirit.[79]

If everything that is alive is animate, then everything has a spirit, history and knowledge. If everything has spirit and knowledge, then all are like me. If all are like me, then all are my relations and all are a part of my history.

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[79] Johnston, Basil. *Ojibway Heritage*. pp. 32-33.

In Anishinaabeg history, certain events, patterns, cycles, and happenings take place in certain spaces. From a human point of view, patterns, cycles, and happenings are readily observable on land: animal migrations, cycles of plant life, seasons, and so on. The cosmos is also observable, and patterns are detected from a particular spatial location within the territory of a particular nation. Indigenous territory is important because Earth is our Mother (and this is not a metaphor: it is real). This is where the continuous and/or repetitive process of creation occurs. It is on the Earth and from the Earth that cycles, phases, patterns – in other words, the constant motion or flux – can be observed. Creation is a continuity. If creation is to continue, then it must be renewed. Renewal ceremonies[80], the telling and retelling of creation stories, the singing of the songs, are all humans' part in the maintenance of creation – all of which are interrelated aspects of happenings that take place on and within Mother Earth.[81] All of the above leads one to articulate Indigenous history as being holistic and cyclical or repetitive, action oriented, and firmly grounded in a particular place.

TRANSPORTING HISTORY: 'VALUES AND CUSTOMS'

Anishinaabeg values flow from an Anishinaabe intellectual (oral traditions) history. Values are those mechanisms put in place by the group that informs the individual members of the society that, 'If you pursue the following, you will be rewarded or given recognition by the group,' or, alternatively, 'If you pursue the following, you will be ostracized or punished by the group.' Indigenous traditions, laws, and customs are the practical application of the world views and values of the group.

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[80] All ceremonies offer in part an aspect of renewal: Birthing, Naming, Vision Seeking Berry Fast, Wedding, Funeral, Pipe Ceremony, Moon Ceremony, Feast, and Giveaway. See, The Circle of Turtle Lodge *Anishnabe 101*, pp. 50-59.

[81] Cook, Katsi, "The Women's Dance: Reclaiming Our Powers," *New Voices From The Longhouse*, pp. 80-81.

Arising out of these views of constant motion or flux is the value of wholeness or totality. The value of wholeness speaks to the totality of Creation, the group as opposed to the individual, the forest as opposed to the individual trees, and many events instead of a single event makes up who we are in the universe. It focuses on the totality of the constant flux rather than on individual patterns. This value is reflected in the customs and organization of Anishinaabeg communities, where the focus of social organization is the extended family, not the immediate, biological family. Several extended families combine to form a band. Several bands combine to form a nation; several nations combine to form confederacies. The circle of kinship can be made up of one circle or a number of concentric circles. These kinship circles can be interconnected by other circles such as religious and social communities. This approach to Indigenous organization can be viewed as a 'spider web'[82] of relations.

According to traditional values, an Anishinaabe sense of identity is both multigenerational and transdirectional incorporates:

- Learning the centrality of self, more importantly, individual will and ability;
- Sharing the individual power of family through values, attitudes, behaviour and institutions;
- Extending the family to include community and developing agency to connect to people;
- Challenging the existing imbalances between the cultural and structural divide of all peoples by using the knowledge taken from observing nature's order to represent balance; and,

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[82] Bastien, Betty, "Voices Through Time." Women *of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, Strength*, eds. Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001. Bastien discusses a set of relations which exists between a group or collective of peoples as: "the web of creation." p. 127.

- Recreating self in solidarity with those who are, those who have been and those who are yet to be.[83]

Within the Anishinaabe tradition, the individual is only knowable as a member of a specified community of relations, and communities are only recognizable as a member of a specified nation, and nations are only recognized through their constituents. Morality, duty and obligation found in community, is at once the domain of the individual and the collective. By merely tracing the 'spiral' in diagram -1 from its periphery to its center and vice versa, a unique and independent individual is revealed. This image is representative of an Anishinaabeg history characterized through teachings I learned about my own local ecosystem from the stories of my female relatives. It is formulated into a theory about an Anishinaabe person's place in and relationship to history.

The image of the spiral is taken from the rapids along the French River. River rapids bubble upwards, churn and spin the waters in a spiral. The rapids seem like a dangerous place and they most definitely are, but they are also a place of life, cleansing, freedom undeterred and where the life of the River is heard above all other sounds. The Rapids are only one part of the River just as we are only one individual among others in our community. However, as an individual we have many important intergenerational and trans-directional responsibilities to fulfill to 'self' and 'others,' which extend to the past, present and to those in the future. Whereas European history is constructed in a linear way with a distinct past, present and future, Indigenous histories interweave and interrelate the past with the present and the future. This aspect(s) is key to Anishinaabeg history, which can be seen in diagram -1 below.

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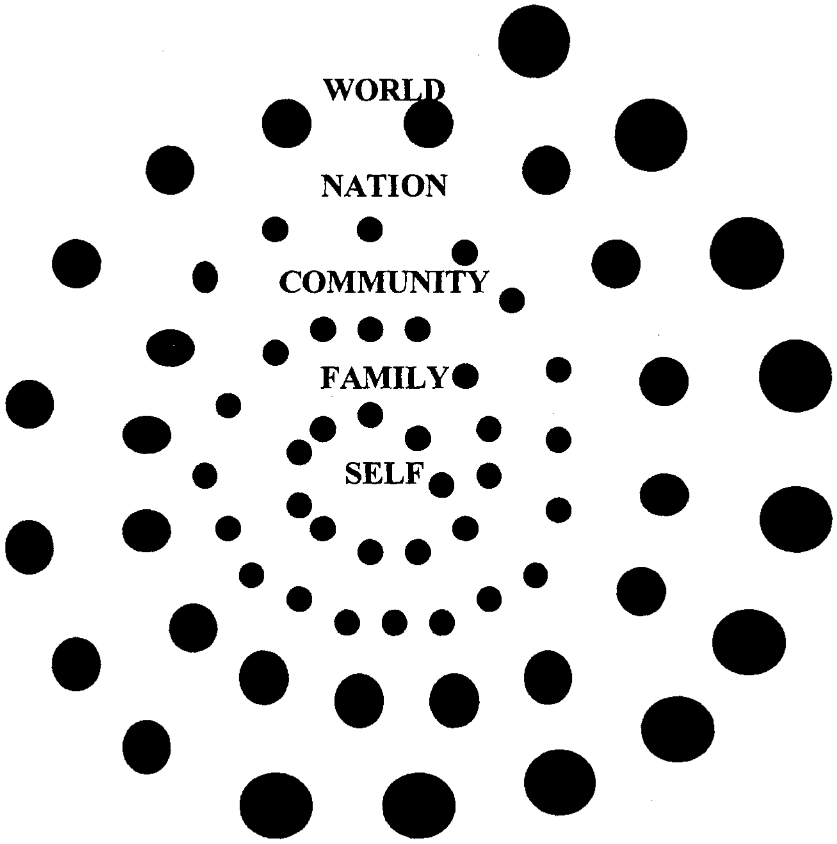
[83] The following tenets are taken from the teachings of the women in my family.

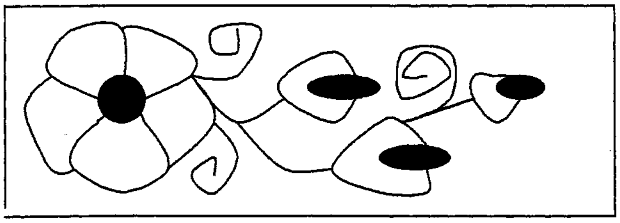
Diagram - 1: Inter-generational and Trans-directional: 'The River Rapids'



Through this diagram of the spiral, we are able to see ourselves and our value as Anishinaabeg peoples as related to and interconnected with others – self, family, community, nation, the world and those yet to come. Our effect on the world around us is trans-directional. Through embracing this world view, each individual becomes intensely aware of personal accountabiltity for the welfare of others. We are taught that we must, each in our way and according to the dictates of our own conscience, attend to communal responsibilities. Personal awareness of this intergenerational responsibility and 'proper conduct' are still expected throughout the life cycle. Although we exist together in community, we are all taught to understand that in the end you are alone, that is, you have to make decisions for yourself, decisions that will affect the community and the natural world. Therefore, personal awareness is at the heart of the responsibility to be aware of the 'whole-picture' of what has happened, what is happening on around you and what life holds in store for you, all of life's possibilities throughout your life to Old age.

In Anishinaabe culture, 'wholeness' is like a flower with five petals, as seen in diagram – *2*. When it opens, one discovers *strength, sharing, humility, honesty, and kindness*. Together these five petals create *wisdom, balance, harmony, respect and beauty*.

Diagram – 2: The Wild Rose: 'Five Petal Wholeness'



Wholeness works in the same interconnected way. The value strength speaks to the idea of sustaining balance. If a person is whole and balanced, then he or she is in a position to fulfill his or her individual responsibilities to the whole. If a person is not balanced, then he or she is sick and weak – physically, mental, or both – and cannot fulfill his or her individual responsibilities. The value strength brings out other values, such as self-sufficiency and respect.

The Anishinaabe value of sharing manifests itself in relationships. Relationships result from interactions with the group and with all of creation. Sharing speaks not just to interchanging material goods, but also, more importantly, to the strength to create and sustain 'good feelings.' Maintaining good feelings is one reason why a sense of humour pervades Indigenous nations. Sharing also brings about harmony, which sustains strength and balance.

Because the shared history is recorded in the minds of the members of a society, honesty is an important Indigenous value. Honesty is closely related to strength and sharing and may be seen as a commitment to these values. It is based on being aware that every being is animate and has an awareness that seeks to use such understanding to maintain their balance and to sustain harmony and cooperation. Under the custom of non-interference, no being ought to impose on another's understanding of the flux. Each being ought to have the strength to be tolerant of the beauty of cognitive diversity. Honesty allows Indigenous peoples to accept that no single person can every know for certain what someone else knows. The only thing a single persone can go on is what the other human being shares/says with you or others. When going to listen to someone's stories, my aunties taught me humility by following these concepts:

- Show respect for people;
- The seen face, nothing you bring should be hidden. That is present yourself to people face to face;
- Remember to look, listen, wait, think, and then, speak;
- Share, receive and host people. Always be generous;
- Always be cautious;
- Never trample over the views, values and opinions of others; and,
- Never flaunt your knowledge in front of others; be humble, be compassionate and show humility.[84]

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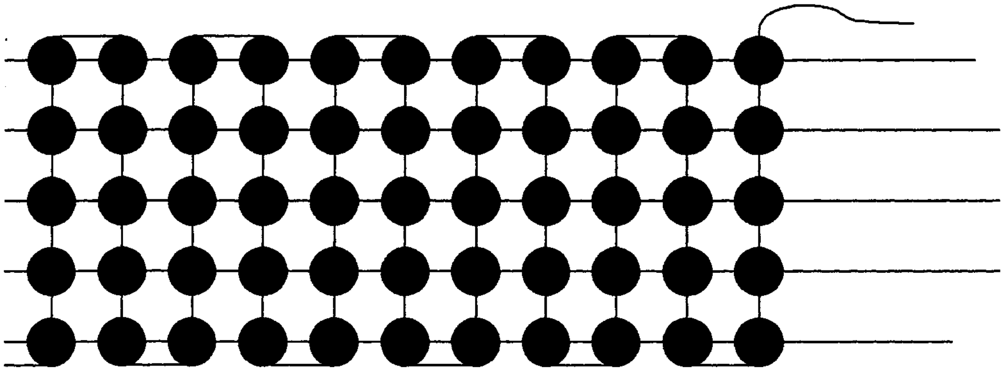
[84] I have selected these sayings, having heard them used on several occasions to evaluate people's behaviour. It is a basic code of conduct for interacting with knowledge concerning history.

And, in all of this there is an underlying presumption that of a person is reporting the way he or she experiences it. For the purposes of 'doing' history, there is a strong expectation that everything a person will share is his or her truth (actually 'truthing'[85] is a better concept) because people depend on each other's honesty to create a holistic understanding of the flux. Lies result in chaos and establish false consciousness.

The concern for accuracy and truth allows us to see that 'truthing' is embedded in the actual experience of living with history. But simultaneously, experience is understood as particular, subjective and contextual. What, then, is true history? To the Old women I learned history from, it was one narrated in story by a person who either participated directly, observed first hand or heard it from someone who did or was entrusted with the history-knowledge. Many 'truthings,' multiple interpretations of the same story or experience, are allowed because each storyteller understands the facts from their own location and adds each new experience or story to their memory as one adds beads to the string. The following diagram illustrates the personal, community and nation interwoven into Anishinaabe stories.

Diagram – 3: Beading Story Cycles



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[85] 'Truthing' is a term used by the women in my family to explain a personal sense of understanding of an experience, sense of being or perception of reality.

According to the women in my family, beadwork was a way to describe the relationship Anishinaabeg people have to their history. Within the framework of the traditionally long story cycles, individual storytellers often transferred elements from one cycle into another. The intent of the teller was the string onto which episodes, actions, characters and messages were threaded like beads. Such beads could change their colour and forms as well, so each retelling of a story, even by the same person, might be different yet still remain 'true' to the intent of the story. Through the thread, we are connected to the storytellers and stories which came before. The structure is fluid, accommodating to the teller's will. All its elements could change their shapes and their content depending on the context with which the storyteller manoeuvres the story. The years may go by and the story is not told, but the generations remain connected by the thread that weaves from one generation to the next. The story will come back when it is needed as long as there is a storyteller to tell the story. Such is the traditional nature of Anishinaabeg pedagogy, never static or fixed, but able to transform, re-imagine or re-express.

Historically, story is a living thing, an organic process, a spiritual way of life and world view. Story reaches back in time and space, and metaphysically speaking, connects our ancestors to those in the present. In such a manner, it is our ancestor's knowledge and experiences that root Anishinaabe history. Stories are fragments of life lived past present and future, as well as "fragments that never stop interacting while being complete in themselves."[86] In a similar way, story's 'truth' is fluid and changing. Vine Deloria Jr. reinforces the construction of a traditional truth claim:

> In tribal religions no effort is made to define religion as a system of doctrinal truths about the nature of the world. It cannot, therefore, be verified....Over a long period of time, however, the cumulative experience of the community become a truth has been manifested for the people.[87]

I recognize the power of story in Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions. Stories have always been accepted as a way of teaching and learning from others' experience. As a younger girl the hours I spent with the women in my family were more than a simple educational process. Using time together, I would listen and they would talk about family and clan histories, traditions, songs, prayers, ceremonies, experiences, memories and stories. Many of these stories were about our relationship to the River, the land, Creation, people or place names, and genealogies. Through this process I absorbed normative rules about social behaviour for childbirth, puberty, marriage, death and spirituality. Through story I gained the ability to recognize contradictions between what people said should happen and what actually did happen, and developed a preoccupation with evaluating and balancing old customs with new ideas. Story provides the building blocks or knowledge base to traditional contexts of 'doing' Anishinaabe history as an academic.

THE RIVER AS A WAY OF LIFE: 'MAKING RABBIT SKIN BLANKETS'

> *'Trapping and hunting provided us with our necessities of life. Nature was our provider, but we had to work to stay alive.'*

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[86] Minh-ha, Trinh. *Women Native Other*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989 .p.143.
[87] Deloria, Vine Jr. *God in Red: A Native View of Religion*. Goldern, CO: Fulcrum, 1994. p. 291.

These are the words I heard growing up. *'The River lives, we live. The River dies we die'* was another saying which I heard. The Migisi-Anishinaabeg depended on the River for everything. This relationship with the natural (ecological) order was a reciprocal one. Growing up I was taught stories about '*being of the River*' by the women in my family.

I came from strong women who hunted, trapped and fished alongside their husbands or alone when their husbands were away from home. I heard stories about my grandmother from my aunties. She lived off the land with her husband and twelve children. For many years there was no school, but their Anishinaabeg children were highly educated in the Anishinaabe knowledge systems and in our way of life. They used their own experience to do many different things and knew how to survive and exist in the wilderness. There is so much to learn about bush life. You have to know what game to get at what time of the season and what animals are ready for the season. As well, it is necessary to know what animals are good to eat and at what time of the year, what kind of animal furs are good to sell and what time of the season they are good to kill. All those things have to be remembered.

Most things you use are made out of the raw material supplied by nature. Living in the wilderness means nothing is made by factory. Everything is made by handwork and made out of the woods. This is lots of hard work, but can be a very healthy life. The woods were clean, the streams and the French River were so clean you could drink water anywhere, not like today. All Migisi-Anishinaabeg made a good living in the woods until their lives were changed when government, priests and settlers came around. Migisi-Anishinaabeg only killed what we needed in the way of food and we made use of everything. When non-Anishinaabeg/non-Indigenous (white) peoples came to hunt, they used poison on the animals. Many animals were never found and they died in the woods where no one travels. The animals and birds were pretty well cleaned out and have been scarce ever since.

Some afternoons the Old women in my family would tell the young girls stories about who they were, where they came from and who they descended from. I always loved hearing those stories. The stories were often very practical and instructional, but I always loved hearing about my Grandmother Roseanne (Dokis[88]) Sheppard,[89] so the Old women told me stories with information like that which follows (this is not a direct story, but a summary of the information of many teachings, but it is useful for this chapter):

> My grandmother used to set rabbit snares and save the skins for rabbit-skin blankets. Her Great-grandma showed her how. A blanket of 72 inches x 60 inches takes ninety rabbit skins. That is a lot of rabbits to eat, but they ate more than that because blankets would be made for everyone in the family because they were so soft and warm during the bitterly cold winters.
>
> She had to follow certain steps to make those blankets.
>
> She had to dry the rabbit skins until she could gather about eighty or ninety skins. Then she had to dampen them all and she cut rabbit skin using a straight edge razor into strips from leg to head, about one inch wide. This gave her a strip from 3 to 4 yards long, Next she would fasten each end in a little stick and she would twist or roll it until only the fur side of the strip was showing. It wound up like a string, all she could see was fur around it. Then she would make a wooden frame of the size of the blanket she wanted and she would place one rabbit strip across the frame. Starting from the strip, she would loop the next rabbit strip across the frame and keep moving back and forth making interlocking loops. Nothing is tied but the fur fills in the loops. Because of the twisted strips both sides have fur to keep a person warm.
>
> Her mother, aunties and grandma taught her how to make a life in the wilderness. She learned to hunt, fish and prepare food and how to tan moose hide, how to make strips from rawhide to make the webbing to fill in snow shoes, how to catch fish, make moccasins, mitts, leather jackets and how to prepare bear fat. The women and

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[88] Dokis was her maiden-name. She was descended from Michel (Migisi) d'Aigle Dokis.

[89] My grandmother died in 1985. I never got to develop a close relationship with her as I did with my Great-Aunts, my mother's sisters, and my mother's nieces. Therefore, the stories I heard about her after her death were my only connection to knowing her history and the history of the women that came before her.

> girls would spend so much time together. They also taught her to preserve food such as fish, moose, berries of different kinds, and how to make containers out of birch bark – the all purpose container. She was also taught ways of the weather and medicine.
>
> The women also taught her how to skin the furs off all animals. By the time she was ten she could do everything to make a living and life off the land and from nature.[90]

There is much studying to do about the Migisi-Anishinaabe way of life and their history of living off the land. Therefore, the stories about my grandmother helped me set my path in life. This experience taught me much about history. It was the Old women who were my teachers.

CONCLUSION

The Anishinaabeg epistemology was forged through experiences with Creation and expressed a relationship with Creation. The Anishinaabeg knowledge system expressed an understanding of how the Anishinaabeg related to and fit in with the rest of Creation and how 'all our relations' exist together in accord. The versions of the 'Creation story' I offered encapsulated this understanding for it explains how a people came to have a history within their territory and as a people. Further, it explains how the natural world and Creator's teachings taught them how to exist as an intricate part of a local ecosystem. Moreover, this, the Creation story is a part of n oral tradition, which sets forth explanatory stories of a people. These stories also explain how the people were to relate to, learn from, and see all others, be they human or non-human beings.

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[90] Information about my grandmother's life has been gathered since I was a child. This is not considered sacred knowledge. It goes to show the connection between women, story and history. This is not information from an interview, or a story related to me by any one person, it is just a collection of memories I have gathered together for the purposes of this thesis.

Thus, what I have attempted to do in telling these stories and in explaining key tenets of the traditional Anishinaabe world view is provide the reader with a basis for understanding the Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions. I have also attempted to introduce the reader to the idea that there is a relationship between the Creation and the traditional Anishinaabeg world. Historically, in every aspect of the Anishinaabeg world view this correlation is demonstrated from spirituality to language, and conceptualization of gender roles society. The relationship between Anishinaabeg reality and Creation will be further explicated as this thesis progresses. The discussion of the traditional Anishinaabeg world view and its relationship with the natural world is a foundation to my discussion of Anishinaabeg intellectual history from a quasi-institutional perspective. This chapter provided a context within which we can begin to think about and understand Anishinaabeg intellectual history beyond Eurocentric 'modes of thought.'

In the chapter which follows, I attempt to deconstruct the Eurocentric systems of constructing history with it's quasi-institutional approaches to 'doing' history, by surveying aspects of Canadian historical literature.

CHAPTER 3

THE IMPACT OF WESTERN EUROCENTRIC HISTORY ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES:

'SURVEYING CANADIAN HISTORY'

INTRODUCTION: 'LO THE POOR INDIAN'

"Lo, the poor Indian," was a short phrase from Alexander Pope's *An Essay on Man* written in 1734, that became a part of popular culture.[91] By the mid-nineteenth century caricatures arose where a dejected-looking 'Indian' was labeled as "Lo." In Pope's phrase above, "lo" was a comment on the position of the 'Indian' in the universal order. In the caricatures it became a proper name, a silly name for a silly obsession with the stereotype of the 'vanishing Indian' and, presumably, 'dying Indian race.' Pope's words have been subjected to a conscious misreading to suit the Western Eurocentic cultural needs.

Indigenous peoples have been referred to as 'Indians' since Christopher Columbus arrived in the Americas some five hundred years ago when he mistakeningly thought he had reached the East Indies, so he referred to the people he met as Indians.[92] Since this age of exploration, many historians have documented (for Western history) their observations of Indigenous peoples of the Americas under the 'umbrella' of imperialism and colonialism. The West has an intellectual history and traditions of individuals putting

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[91] Pope, Alexander. *An Essay on Man.* Menston: Scolar, 1969.
[92] Francis, Daniel. *The Imaginary Indian*, p. 4.

Indigenous peoples under a microscope in the same way a scientist would examine an insect.

It is not my intent to provide a complete synthesis of the long-standing tradition of studying Indigenous peoples in Western history, but I will attempt to provide a survey of the impact of various key stages in the literature about Indigenous peoples in Canadian history. Indeed, an intellectual history of the literature has already been written by a variety of authors, most notably, Bruce Trigger and Olive Patricia Dickason (Métis). Thus, the purpose of my discussion of the intellectual history of Canadian history is limited to demonstrating that a new approach is necessary for a decolonizing analysis of Indigenous history to emerge. Therefore, I do not attempt to reproduce the work of Trigger or other historians in the fields of Indigenous and Canadian history.

Within the parameters of a limited survey of this enormous body of knowledge and how it portrays Indigenous history, this chapter begins with a brief discussion of the foundations of modern Western Eurocentric history. Next, the chapter narrows its focus to a critique of the stages in Canadian history and the impact of each stage on the Indigenous peoples. This section conceptualizes the Western Eurocentric perspective in Canada on Indigenous people's place in Canadian history, discusses some of the dominant scholars and identifies some of their intellectual tools, which they used to explain Indigenous history. In so doing, I will also draw attention to the impact of ethnohistory on Canadian history and critically analyze how Indigenous history was influenced, described and documented by various Euro-Canadian and Euro-American historians. Following my limited survey of ethnohistory, I proceed with a brief discussion of how Indigenous history has currently been dealt with in the discipline of history.

ESTABLISHING MODERN WESTERN EUROCENTRIC HISTORY

The Enlightenment provided the spirit, the impetus, the confidence, and the cultural, political and economic structures that enabled the search for new knowledge to fill the archives and libraries of the new disciplines of anthropology, linguistics; as well as missionary letters, traveler's log books, adventurer's journals/diaries and the subsequent texts of historians. The project of Enlightenment is often termed *modernity* and it is this project which is claimed to have provided the stimulus for the development of most contemporary academic disciplines.[93]

The end of feudalism, absolutist authority, and the legitimization of divine rule, and the announcing of the beginning of the modern state were signaled by the development of the *project of modernity*. The modern state formation had to fulfill the needs and requirements of a growing and ever developing economy based on major improvements in production.[94] The industrial revolution changed and made new demands upon the individual and the political system. The modern state emerged from the old regime of absolutist monarchs through the articulation of liberal political and economic theories.[95]

As a system of ideas, liberalism focuses on the individual, who has the capacity to reason, on a society which promotes individual autonomy and self-interest, on a State which promotes individual autonomy and self-interest, and has a rational rule of law and regulates the public sphere of life, but which allows individuals to pursue their own economic self-interest.[96] As soon as it was acknowledged and validated by society that humans had the capacity to reason and to attain this potential through education or through a systematic form of organizing knowledge, then it became possible to debate these ideas in rational and scientific ways.[97]

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[93] Royle, Edward. *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750-1997*. London: Arnold, a member of the Hodder Headline Group, 1997.
[94] *Ibid*, pp. 1-37, 82-154.
[95] Jagger, A. *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*. Sussex: Harvester Press, 1983.

The development of scientific thought, the exploration and discovery by Europeans of 'new' worlds, the expansion of trade, the establishment of colonies, and the systematic colonization of Indigenous peoples in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are all facets of the modernist project. *Modernism* is more than a re-presentation of fragments from the pre-Enlightenment *cultural archive*[98] in new contexts. Discoveries about and from the New World expanded and challenged ideas the West held about itself.[99] The production of knowledge, incorporation of new knowledge and the validity of specific forms of knowledge, became as much commodities of colonial exploitation as were the natural resources.[100] In European scientific and historical texts, Indigenous peoples were actually classified alongside flora and fauna; hierarchical typologies of humanity and systems of representation were fuelled by new discoveries; and cultural maps were charted and territories claimed and contested by the major European powers. Hence, some Indigenous peoples were ranked above others in terms of such things as the belief that they were nearly human or sub-human.[101] These systems for organizing, classifying and storing new knowledge, and for theorizing the meanings of such discoveries constituted the details of history. In a colonial context, however, this history was undeniably also about power, control, management and domination. The instruments of history were also mechanisms of knowledge and technologies for legitimating various colonial ideals or practices.

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[96] Jagger, A. *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*.

[97] It should also be noted that modernity was dependent on 'reason,' inherently excluded from 'humanity' those deemed incapable of rational thought, including the Indigenous peoples and the non-European world (as well as European women, etc.)

[98] Michel Foucault refers to the 'cultural archive' as Western knowledge, philosophies and definitions of human history, and what others might instead refer to as a 'storehouse' of histories, artifacts, ideas, texts and images, which are preserved, arranged, classified, and represented back to the West. This storehouse holds the fragments, the regions and levels of knowledge traditions, and the 'systems' that enable different and differentiated forms of knowledge to be retrieved, enunciated and represented within new contexts. See, Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of knowledge*, trans Sheridan A. Smith. New York: Pantheon,. 1972.

[99] Hall, Stuart and B. Dielben. *Formations of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press and Open University, 1982. pp. 276-320.

[100] Goonatilake, S, "Colonies: Scientific Expansion (and Contraction)," *Review*, 5.3 (Winter 1982), pp. 413-36.

In 1493, a imaginary line between east and west was drawn by a Papal Bull, which allowed for the political division of the world and the struggle by competing Western nations to establish "positional superiority"[102] over the known, and yet to become known, world.[103] This superiority, however, was challenged and contested on several levels (e.g. economic, cultural, political, and spiritual) by various European powers. This kind of colonialism was the specific instrument through which the West came to see, to name and to know Indigenous societies. The colonial cultural archive was comprised of multiple systems of representation, codes for unlocking systems of classification, and fragmented artifacts of knowledge, which helped observers to make sense of what they saw and to represent back to the West their newly discovered knowledge through the authorship and authority of their own European imbued representations.[104]

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[101] Dickason, Olive P. *The Myth of the Savage: And the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas.* Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1997. pp. 27-61.
[102] Said, Edward. *Orientalism*, p. 7.
[103] Youngblood Henderson, James (Sákéj). *The Mikmaw Concordat.* pp. 43-45.

This cultural archive was supported by racial views about the 'Other' already in place and existing in the European imagination, but which were then recast within the framework of Enlightenment philosophies and the industrial revolution, and legitimated by the scientific discoveries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as views of social Darwinism. Social Darwinism's concept of the 'survival of the fittest,'[105] used to explain the evolution of species in the natural world, was applied enthusiastically to the human world.[106] It became a very powerful belief that Indigenous peoples were inherently weak and therefore, at some point, would die out. There were debates about how this could be prevented, for example, through miscegenation and cultural assimilation, and whether this, in fact, was desirable. Judgments on these issues circled back or depended upon prior considerations as to whether the Indigenous group(s) concerned had souls, could be saved, and also could be redeemed culturally. Influential debates on these matters by Catholic scholars such as Bartolome de Las Casas took place during the sixteenth century.[107] Therefore, when discussing the scientific foundations of Western history, the Indigenous contribution to these foundations is rarely mentioned.

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[104] Blaut, J. M. *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History.* New York: Guilford Press, 1993. p. 11.

[105] Burke, J. *The Day the Universe Changed.* New York: Praeger, 1999. pp. 260, 268.

[106] Singer, Peter. *A Darwinism Left: Politics, Evolution, and Cooperation.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000; see also, Greta Jones. *Social Darwinism and English thought: the interaction between biological and social theory.* Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980.

[107] For discussions on the debates Bartolome de Las Casas took place in see, James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson. *The Míkmaw Concordat*; F. P. Sullivan. Ed. *The Only Way.* New York: The Seabury Press, 1991; S. Poole. Ed., Trans. and Annotator. *In the Defence of the Indians.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press; Bartolome Las Casas. *History of the Indies.* New York: Harper and Row, 1971; and also, Bartolome Las Casas. *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account.* New York: The Seabury Press, 1974.

To have recognized Indigenous people's contribution would, in terms of the rules of historical and scientific practice charted above, be as legitimate as recognizing the contribution of a shard of pottery. Moreover, according to M. Bazin, "Europeans could not even imagine that other people could ever have done things before or better than themselves."[108] The objects of history do not have a voice and do not contribute to history. The logic of this argument would suggest that it is simply impossible, ridiculous even, to suggest that the object of history can contribute to anything. An object has no soul or spirit, no humanity, so therefore, it cannot make an active contribution. This perspective is not deliberately insensitive; it is simply that the rules in place at the time in European historical research did not allow such a thought to enter into the equation.[109] In the nineteenth century, Western historians regarded those Indigenous forms of knowledge, systems of classification, and codes of cultural life, which began to be recorded in some detail by the seventeenth century, as new discoveries.[110] These new discoveries were commodified as European property, belonging to the new Western cultural archive of knowledge.

The West's view of itself as the center of legitimate knowledge was constantly affirmed and acknowledged as the sole arbiter of what counted as knowledge or the source of civilized knowledge. This form of global knowledge is generally referred to as universal knowledge, available to all and not really owned by anyone, that is, until non-

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[108] Bazin, M. "Our Sciences, Their Science," *Race and Class*, 34. 2 (1993): pp. 35-6.

[109] Adas, M. *Machines as the Measure of Man: Science, Technology and Ideologies of Western Dominance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.

[110] Goonatilake, S., pp. 413-36.

Western scholars make claims to it.[111] When claims like that are made history is revised (again) so that the story of civilization remains the story of the West.

Through colonialism, Indigneous cultures, peoples and their nations were repositioned as 'outsider' in order to legitimate the imposition of colonial control. For Indigenous peoples, the real lesson to be understood here is that within the Western canon Indigenous peoples have no claim whatsoever to civilization. It is something which has been introduced from the West, by the West, to Indigenous peoples, for our so-called benefit and for which we are expected to feel duly grateful.

The meeting between cultural ways of knowing, scientific discoveries, economic impulses and colonial power enabled the West to make ideological claims to having a superior civilization. The idea of the West became a reality when it was re-presented back to Indigenous Nations through colonialism. By the nineteenth-century colonialism not only meant the imposition of Western authority over Indigenous lands, modes of production, laws, and government, but also the imposition of Western authority over all aspects of Indigenous knowledges, languages, and histories. This authority incorporated what Edward Said refers to as alliances between the ideologies, clichés, general beliefs and understandings held about the 'Other' and the views of history and philosophical theories.[112]

Hierarchies of knowledge rapidly formed to account for the discoveries of the new world and were legitimated at the colonial center through disciplines. The idea of a 'discipline' is significant when we think about how it is used not simply as a way of organizing systems of knowledge, but also as a way of organizing people. Michel Foucault has argued that the disciplines in place during the eighteenth century became formulas or patterns of domination, which influenced the type of work and subject matter discussed in schools, hospitals, and military organizations.[113] Techniques of detail were developed to uphold a degree of discipline of structure over the body of knowledge. The colonizing of Indigenous peoples through discipline has a number of different meanings. In terms of the way knowledge was used 'to discipline' the colonized, it worked in a variety of ways and on a variety of levels. The most obvious forms of discipline were through exclusion, marginalization and denial. Within the disciplines Indigenous ways of knowing were excluded and marginalized. This happened to Indigenous views about land, for example, through the forced imposition of individualized title, through taking land away for acts of rebellion, and through redefining land as 'waste land' or 'empty land' and then taking it away. Foucault suggests that one way discipline was distributed was through enclosure.[114] This is the other side of exclusion, in that the margins are enclosures: reserved lands are enclosures, schools enclose, but in order to enclose they also exclude, there is something on the outside. Disciplines also concern that which is partitioned, meaning individuals are separated and space compartmentalized. Partitioning enabled efficient supervision and simultaneous distinctions to be constructed between individuals. Academic knowledge are now partitioned or arranged around the notion that there are 'fields of discipline'.

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[111] Battiste, Marie and James (Sa'ke'j) Youngblood Henderson. *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage*. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Ltd., 2000. pp. 22-3, 36-7, 38, 98-9.

[112] Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978. pp. 205-6.

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[113] Foucault, Michel. *The Achaeology of Knowledge*. p. 137.
[114] *Ibid*, p. 137.

How the colonized were managed, for example, was determined by previous experiences in other colonies and by the prevailing theories about race, gender, climate and other factors generated by scientific methods and technologies. Categories and classification systems were formed in order to cope with the amassing of new knowledge generated by the discoveries of the New World. The colonies were the libraries and museums of Western history, Canada being one of those colonies. Theories generated from the exploration and exploitation of Canada, and of the people who had prior ownership of these lands, formed the universalizing literary domination of Indigenous peoples. Western Eurocentric history and later Canadian history is implicated in the construction of universalizing 'master discourses,' which then proceeded to re-imagine a new image, which it could add in or take out of history. The following section scans the impact of the Euro-Canadian historians re-imagined 'Indian.'

THE HISTORIAN'S INDIAN

"The Historian's Indian," is the title of an essay by Bruce Trigger.[115] Upon reading this essay in the book *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native history*, I realized that Canadian historians have manufactured not only 'Indian people,' but a whole field of history about Indigenous peoples. Canadian history set out to document the role of Indigenous peoples from a Western Eurocentric perspective. Canadian history's 'Indian' has been continuously invented and re-invented ever since the beginning of Euro-Canadian literature by a variety of French-Canadian, English-Canadian and American historians. This chapter sets out to scan the major stages and trends in the deconstruction of stereotypes and the reconstruction of the image of Indigenous peoples in the discipline of history, noting along the way some key historians that have influenced the development of the discipline. This chapter highlights the impact of each to re-imagining of the Indigenous peoples as the 'Indian' by Euro-Canadian historians, mainly its essentialist and universialist assumptions, as well as it failure to break free of colonialist paradigms.

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[115] Trigger, Bruce, "The Historian's Indian," *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History*, eds. Robin Fisher and Kenneth Coates. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., A Longman Company, 1988. p.19.

ONE OF THE PLAYERS

Prior to the 1840s, Indigenous peoples we considered to have played a significant political role in 'Canadian history' and were treated with a degree of restrained and limited respect within the texts of this history. Such happenings represented the actual importance of Indigenous people, who as traders and trappers were significant players in the Canadian economy and who were allies of both the French and British governments in their struggles with English settlers and the subsequent American settlers to the south. Historian Bruce Trigger argues that earlier histories were either chronicles of events or compilations and digests of accounts.[116] The first model for early histories was *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France*, by the French Jesuit priest Pierre-Francoise-Xavier de Charlevoix in 1744.[117] Charlevoix's work:

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[116] Trigger, Bruce, "The Historians Indian," p.20. Trigger writes that: "The most important of these are Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*. (Paris, 1609, rev. ed. 1617); Samuel de Champlain, *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale...depuis l'an 1603 jusques en l'an 1629* (Paris, 1632); Gabriel Sagard, Histoire du *Canada...*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1636); François Du Creux, *Historiae Canadensis* (Paris, 1644); Chrestien Le Clercq, *Premier Etablissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle-France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1691)." p. 40.

[117] Charlevoix, P. F. X. *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France avec le jounal historique d'un voyage fait par ordre du roi dans l'Amérque septentrionale*, 3 vols. Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1744; later

> ...must be regarded as the first serious study of Canadian history, earlier self-styled histories being either chronicles of contemporary events, to which summaries of previous happenings were sometimes added, or later compilations and digest of these accounts.[118]

Charlevoix gave a rather systematic treatment of French settlement, missionary work, and conflict with the English in the colonies. Although there is a significant bias in these particular writings, his evaluation of alternative sources and inclusion of bibliographies and footnotes is recognized as a relative 'advance' in Canadian history.[119]

Charlevoix represented a unique element within the initial histories of Indigenous peoples. For example, between the years of 1709 to 1722 he was able to interact with Indigenous peoples and to listen and record what the early French settlers had to say about Indigenous peoples activities in throughout various areas in North America.[120] His history expounded a different perspective of Indigenous peoples and reveals concepts that are still important in historical text to this day.

Similar to other Jesuit priests of his day, he held very distinctive views and beliefs about human beings that are characteristic of the Enlightenment, which is reflective of in his writings about Indigenous peoples. Charlevoix, as with many Enlightenment scholars, viewed Indigenous peoples as rational as Europeans. He furthermore viewed the behaviour of all humans as determined by assumed universal attributes of honour and self-interest.[121] Charlevoix, however did hold rather biased views, such as believing in

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references are to Charlevoix. *History and General Description of New France*, ed. J.G. Shea, 6 vols. New York: Harper and Row, 1866-72.

[118] Trigger, Bruce, p. 20.

[119] Hayne, D.M., "Charlevoix, Pierre-François Xavier de," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 3 (1974): 103-10.

[120] *Ibid*, p.103., 104, 105-10.

[121] Shea, J. G., ed., "Charlevoix," *History and General Description of New France*, 6 vols. New York: Harper and Row, 1866-72. Vol 3, p. 20.

his view that Indigenous peoples' lack of education made them more superstitious and violent.[122] He believed, however that Indigenous people were significant 'players' in colonial relations by inciting continuous conflict between the French and English in order to further their own independence.[123]

Charlevoix influenced some of the earliest histories of Canada that were published in English. The viewpoints and the content of Charlevoix's work are reflected in the works of George Heriot[124] and William Smith.[125] These writers relied on Charlevoix as a source of information concerning early times and, like him, they wrote considerably on Indigenous peoples and presented relatively rational interpretations of their behaviour. Heriot's and Smith's perspectives on Indigenous peoples were also clearly influenced by their appreciation of the role that Indigenous peoples play as allies of the British against the Americans. This historical treatment was radically different from the view of Indigenous peoples in contemporary French-Canadian folklore history, which primarily kept alive 'only' the image of Indigenous attacks against missionaries and European settlers during the seventeenth century.[126]

EMERGENCE OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH 'PATRIOTIC' FASCINATIONS

The nineteenth century saw a change of view about Indigenous peoples following the war of 1812. Their usefulness as military allies against the Americans was nearing its end. Indigenous peoples were rapidly becoming isolated to certain areas or to reserves in

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[122] *Ibid*, vol. 1:270, vol. 3:136, vol. 3:41.

[123] *Ibid*, vol. 4:247-48..

[124] Heriot, George. *The History of Canada*. London: T. N. Longman and O. Rees, 1804.

[125] Smith, William. *History of Canada: From Its First Discovery, to the Peace of 1763*. Quebec: Printed by John Nelson, 1815; reprinted, 1983.

[126] Smith, D. B. *Le Savage: The Native People in Quebec Historical Writing on the Heroic Period (1534-1663) of New France.* Ottawa: Carelton University Press, 1974., pp. 18-20.

Ontario and Quebec. To those who wrote accounts of Canadian history, Indigenous peoples were slowly ceasing to figure into the lives of Euro-Canadians. This new phase is reflective in French histories such as Francois-Xavier Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*,[127] which was written primarily as a French-Canadian history. This work sought to highlight the French-Canadian nation and sought to glorify the struggle of a people to survive and maintain cultural distinctiveness in the face of an overwhelming British presence. Due to this change, Indigenous peoples were restricted to a relatively small negative role.

Garneau, like the French-Canadian folklore of the early nineteenth century, wrote in order to glorify French achievements in sustaining, protecting and maintaining their colonial settlements. Garneau, however, unlike Charlevoix did not have considerable, if any, contact with Indigenous peoples. He was therefore able, without restriction, to develop his theme by contrasting the moral, physical attributes and Christian virtues of the French-Canadians, with the 'primitiveness' of all Indigenous peoples. Demonizing, infanticiding, scalping, torture and massacres, which had been present in earlier accounts, were now given greater significance in the texts.[128] Indigenous peoples were now charged with sexual promiscuity, irreligious behaviour, enslaving their women, and mistreating their children.[129] Garneau also espoused that all Indigenous peoples were only 'hunter-gatherers' prior to European arrival.

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[127] Garneau, François-Xavier. *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu' à nos jours*. 3 vols. Quebec: Senecal & Daniel, 1845-48; later references are to Andrew Bell's translation, Garneau, *History of Canada from the Time of Its Discovery in the Union Year, 1840-1*. 3 vols. Montreal: Printed and Published by J. Lovell, 1862.

[128] Churchill, Ward. *Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema, and the Colonization of American Indians*. Boulder: Common Courage Press, 1992. He suggests that nation-building, for settler nations, is centred to either demonizing, infanticiding, or vanishing Indigenous peoples. And, in his case he primarily examines the United States as an example.

[129] Bell, Vol 1, pp. 98-116.

Garneau's depiction of Indigenous peoples was influenced by the Gothic romanticism of European literature in the nineteenth century. Garneau also read contemporary American ethnologists and historians and from them learned about the various evolutionary and racist views that American anthropologists had developed towards Indigenous peoples by the mid-nineteenth century.[130] These views, as well as stereotypes about Indigenous peoples in America filled popular literature in the United States at that time, reflecting the continuing struggle that European settlers were waging for control of the land.[131]

Garneau's writing influenced other French-Canadian historians, who were mainly religious scholars (priests). Primarily these French-Canadian historians included Jean-Baptiste Ferland, Etienne-Michel Faillon, and Henri-Raymond Casgrain, to name a few. More than Garneau, these scholars emphasized the role of the church in implanting French settlement, colonization, and civilization in the Americas, and educating Indigenous peoples. The religious contexts gave these scholars additional motives to stress the perceived vices of Indigenous peoples, whom they viewed as dirty, immoral, cruel, and animal-like prior to the influence of French settlers and religious influences (conversion to Christianity).[132] By the end of the nineteenth century, in the works of

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[130] Some of those American ethnologists and historians he would have read and discussed are in William Stanton's book, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815-59*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. Also see, Reginald Horsman, "Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *American Quarterly* 27 (1975): 152-68; Horsman, R. *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. Cambridge, 1981; C. M. Hinsley, Jr., *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846-1910*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.

[131] Fixico, Donald, "Ethics in Writing American Indian History." *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*, ed. Devon A. Mihesuah. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. p. 86; Daniel Francis. *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. pp. 87-144.

[132] Smith, D. B., *Le Savage*, pp. 34-45. For further discussion of religious views by religious persons see Karen Anderson. *Chain Her By One Foot: The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New*

Benjamin Sulte[133] and Lionel-Adolphe Groulx,[134] the perceived biological superiority of French-Canadians over Indigenous peoples was made explicit in their writings. Recognizing Indigenous peoples as an unevolved race, which ran in accord with those Eurocentric views which depicted Indigenous peoples as incapable of developing a more civilized style of life as Europeans had done, in these texts.

American historian Francis Parkman's portrayal of French Canadians as a backward people, upset many French Canadians; however, Quebec historians were nonetheless attracted by his romantic approach to historiography. Quebec historians reproduced Parkman's even more negative stereotypes of Indigenous peoples, as individuals, tribes, and a so-called race.[135] These historians also started to adopt the American conviction that the Indigenous peoples were disappearing. Beginning in the 1860s, Parkman became the principal influence through which American racism and evolutionary anthropology saturated French-Canadian historiography.[136] His negative portrayals of Indigenous peoples, however, only intensified similar views that had already become ingrained in French-Canadian historiography by earlier Euro-Canadian historians.

English-Canadian scholars, likewise produced patriotic versions of Anglo-Canadian history, starting in 1855 with John McMullen's, *The History of Canada.*[137] In

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France. New York: Routledge, 1991. This book provides varying views held by the Jesuit priests and French settlers towards Indigenous peoples.

[133] Gagnon, Serge. *Quebec and Its Historians, 1840 to 1920.* Montreal: Harvard House, 1985. pp. 90-91.

[134] Groulx, Lionel-Adolphe. *La Naissance d'une race*. Montreal: Bibliothèque de L'Action fançaise, 1919.

[135] On Parkman's views of Indigenous peoples see Francis Jennings, "Francis Parkman: A Brahmin among Untouchables," *William and Mary Quarterly* 42 (1985): 305-28.

[136] Wade, Mason. *Francis Parkman: Heroic Historian*. New York: Archon Books, 1942. pp. 380-424.

[137] McMullen, John. M. *The History of Canada from Its First Discovery to the Present Time.* Brockville: J. M'Mullen, 1855.

the English-Canadian texts, the French regime was depicted as a heroic prologue to the formation of a British colony. In contrast, however, Indigenous peoples were portrayed as marginal footnotes to the history of colonial European settlement and were given even less attention than in the French-Canadian histories. Indigenous peoples were generally described as either primitive or animal-like. Particular emphasis was placed on their cruelty, dirtiness, laziness, and lack of religion, while their love of freedom, which Heriot and Smith had exaggerated, was now simply ignored or dismissed as being wild and primeval in nature.[138] Indigenous peoples were now often portrayed as incapable of even 'becoming' civilized to Euro-Canadian standards of civility (Eurocentric cultural, political and economic modes of living) and therefore doomed to vanish with the wake of European civilization. Indigenous leaders, such as Joseph Brant and Tecumseh, who had fought alongside the British, were portrayed as heroic figures, but only because they were 'exceptional.'[139] Parkman's influence on how Indigenous people were portrayed in historical literature became increasingly prominent following the publication of *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* in 1867.[140] This book was widely read in Ontario and accepted as an authentic portrayal of regional history.

Inconsistencies existed in the manner that English-Canadian historians maintained relations with Indigenous peoples. English-Canadian historians often set out to shame their American counterparts for over-exaggerating the so-called cruelty and treacherousness of Indigenous peoples. [141] Euro-Canadian historians also repeatedly compared the very brutal treatment of Indigenous peoples by the Americans with the so called generous treatment received from Euro-Canadians. John Castell Hopkins wrote for his readers in his work, *Story of the Dominant* that in Canada's Indigenous peoples had not endured treaty breaking, abuse by greedy Europeans, racial antagonism, and removal from their reserves, or failure to receive legal justice. Hopkins argued that Euro-Canadians were proud of their treatment of its "Native wards."[142] At the same time, however, these historians espoused gratitude that epidemics and intertribal wars had devastated Indigenous peoples of southern Ontario and Quebec, thus leaving these areas vulnerable for French and English settlers to occupy, who, unlike their American neighbours, felt they had done nothing wrong or harmful against Indigenous people for which to be ashamed.[143]

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[138] Hopkins, J. C. *The Story of the Dominion*. Toronto: J. C. Winston, Co., 1901. p. 44.
[139] Walker, J. W., "The Indian in Historical Writing," Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers* (1971): 21-47. pp. 26-27.
[140] Parkman, Francis. *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*. Toronto: Morang 1867.

English-Canadian interpretations of Canadian history meant self-deception, hypocrisy and deception, on the part of writers whose governments were treating their former allies with an equal amount of repression and economic neglect as its American neighbour's treatment of defeated enemies.[144] English-Canadian historical analyses of the relations between Indigenous peoples and settler-Europeans was far less well-informed than those earlier writings by French-Canadian scholar Charlevoix or other historians works before the 1840s had been. In the absence of direct contact with Indigenous peoples, English-Canadian historians were influenced by their sense of ethnic superiority, as well as by American stereotypes and by Parkman's racist propagandist-history. The works of a few Canadian scholars interested in Indigenous peoples only offset these portrayals. Those scholars were Daniel Wilson, John William Dawson, and Horatio Hale.[145] These particular scholars were amateur anthropologists and older men who had become influenced by the Enlightenment views of humanity prior to the formation of the evolutionary racism of the subsequent nineteenth century. Each of these scholars in his own way suggested that the domination of Europeans over other races was a result not so much of their physical superiority but rather due to learned patterns of behaviour. These scholars rejected the view that Indigenous peoples could not successfully be integrated into Euro-Anglo-Canadian society. Negative stereotypes were also modified from some of Charlevoix's more favourable interpretations of Indigenous behaviour, which Canadian historians continued to recycle in piecemeal fashion, often without being the least bit aware of their origins.

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[141] Hopkins, *Story of Dominion*, p. 43.
[142] *Ibid*, p. 65.
[143] McMullen, *History of Canada*, xiv. Further, they also ignored the role of mercantalism and to deliberately introduced 'chemical warfare' of alcohol in the epidemics and intertribal wars of these regimes.
[144] Ray, Arthur. *I Have Lived Here Since The World Began. An Illustrated History of Canada's Native People*. Toronto: Lester Publishing, 1996. esp., pp. 222-369.

The twentieth century saw attention to Indigenous peoples decline even further into the background of history. English-Canadian academics left behind any romantic notions of a patriotic fascination with the French Regime and started to focus attention to constitutional history.[146] French-Canadian historical writing also continued in its regular vein of Indigenous peoples being assigned an ever familiar role even in general histories, where they were normally summed up in the introductory chapters describing the natural environment and early European settlement. To the extent that they were mentioned at all, it was a negative image use of a primitive and static people who were vanishing.[147] Canadian history, like that of United States history, had as its main theme the 'triumphs' of Europeans; Indigenous peoples, seen as possessing no history of their own, remained the concern of disciplines such as anthropology and archaeology. The increasing remoteness of Indigenous peoples from the daily lives of Euro-Canadians made it easier for historians to write Europeans into this continent's history, re-write or re-formulate the past, and write Indigenous peoples out of any past or future presence in Canadian history.

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[145] Wilson, Daniel. *Prehistoric Man: Researchers into the Origins of Civilization in the Old and the New World.* London: Cambridge, 1862; John William Dawson. *Fossil Men and Their Modern Representatives.* Montreal: W. Drysdale and Co., 1880; and finally, see, Horatio Hale. *The Iroquois Book of Rites.* Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1883.

[146] Berger, Carl. *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing, 1900-1970.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976. p. 183.

While many of the pejorative stereotypes concerning Indigenous peoples are being excised from historical works written in the last 30 or so years, the neglect of Indigenous peoples and the failure to recognize the subsequent impact of said neglect has persisted in mainstream Canadian historical studies, French and English. Such observations, however, leave Indigenous peoples just off to the side of center; indeed, Indigenous peoples continued to be portrayed like props on a stage, movable, but not a part of the stage or play itself. In both Canada and the United States, historical literature, the main impulses for the serious study of Indigenous history have come via anthropology, and to a lesser extent from economic history and geography.[148]

EMERGENCE OF ETHNOHISTORY IN CANADIAN HISTORY

In the late nineteenth century, German ethnologist Franz Boas dramatically altered anthropology in the United States.[149] Boas was influenced by German romanticism and by the work of Horatio Hale.[150] He rejected anthropology's eurocentric time-line of technological developments rating evolutionary development. Boas set about the various ways in which different economic, social, and religious practices might connect in very specific cultures. He also rejected many of the racist interpretations of behavioural differences among different human groups. Instead, Boas introduced the 'doctrine of cultural relativism,' which looks at each culture as having formed to meet the various collective wants, needs and wishes of its peoples. Boas suggested that the very worth of any culture could only be judged based on its own ethical or aesthetic principles, not on a universal standard. Boasian anthropology, however, did tend to often regard Indigenous cultures as being 'static' and only attributed changes in prehistoric times by mostly to external influences. Furthermore, Boasians also outlined these changes beginning with the initial stages of European contact, as a process of disintegration. This, therefore, made it the duty of ethnologists to find out what traditional cultures had been like before they died out. It can be summarized from this that the Boasian view of Indigenous peoples was not so vastly different from the evolutionary one that it wished to replace.

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[147] Walker, "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing."

[148] Fixico, Donald, "Ethics in Writing American Indian History," *Rethinking American Indian History*, p. 86.

[149] Herskovits, M. J. *Franz Boas: The Science of Man in the Making.* New York: Scribner, 1953; Marvin Harris. *The Rise of Anthropological Theory.* New York: Praeger, 1968. pp. 25-421; G. W. Stocking Jr. *A Froanz Boas Reader: The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911.* New York: Free Press, 1974.

In the early twentieth century, specifically in the 1930s, when it became evident that Indigenous peoples were not going to die out or disappear through total assimilation, various American anthropologists became interested in studying changes in Indigenous cultures beginning with early European contact.[151] These anthropologists, however, continued to ethnocentrically conceptualize these changes as a mere process of acculturation, which suggested that over time Indigenous peoples naturally came to act more like Euro-Americans. It was not until the 1950s that these studies acquired sufficient particularistic and historical features, which emerged as a new branch of anthropology called *ethnohistory.*[152] By the 1950s, anthropologists were even ceasing to study just the factors bringing about acculturation and had started to examine the means by which Indigenous peoples had also resisted acculturation and struggled to preserve their cultures.[153]

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[150] Gruber, J. W., "Horatio Hale and the Development of American Anthropology," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 111 (1967): 5-37.

[151] Redfield, Robert, Ralph Linton and M. J. Herskovits, "Outline for the Study of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 38 (1936): 149-52; Linton, ed. *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes.* Gloucester: P. Smith, 1940.

REVISING THE DISCIPLINE

After the 1950s, American historians and anthropologists started to use *Native American history* as a popular phrase.[154] Historians worked to revise the discipline when they recognized that inadequate means were being used to examine Indigenous history.[155] The breakthrough was the distinction of 'culture' and the study of it as a part of history. Ethnohistory allowed a cross-disciplinary approach using history and anthropology to study Indigenous history. Since then, Indigenous history has been written by geographers, sociologists, and literary writers using a combination of their academic expertise and the tools of historians. The value of the ethnohistorical approach was that it examined society and culture within time periods that also allowed it to address historical events. Ethnohistorians who studied Indigenous history had to begin to think in terms of culture, community, environment, and metaphysics.[156]

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[152] Spicer, E. H., ed. *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change.* Chicago, 1961; Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960.* Tuscon, 1962.

[153] Berkhofer, R. F. *The White Man's Indian.* pp. 67-68.

[154] Fixico, Donald L., "Ethics and Responsibilities in Writing American Indian History," *Natives and Academics*, p. 85.

[155] In 1973 historian Wilbur Jacobs wrote that "a wider basis of truth" was needed for "a better understanding of what has happened in the past." He called as well for an understanding of the "Indian point of view," and that a balance was needed to offset the "widely accepted interpretations…in our textbooks and in many learned journals." Furthermore, Jacobs refuted the application of the Turnerian school of historical interpretation that excluded Indians and other minorities. See Wilbur R. Jacobs, "The Indian and the Frontier in American History – a Need for Revision," *Western Historical Quarterly* 4 (1973): 43. In another article, Jacobs observed that historians, such as Ray Billington in *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier.* New York: Macmillian, 1974, argued that revisionary scholarship in the mid-1970s inspired a pivotal turn in examining the role of Indians in American history. Jacobs called this "a fresh analysis of white frontier history by looking at the past from the perspective of native Americans" [and] "a neglected part of the American past." See Wilbur R. Jacobs, "Native American History: How it Illuminates Our Past," *American Historical Review* 80 (1975): 596.

It was exactly this time that the existing traditional study of political (constitutional) history changed into a much more radical social and cultural history that became focused on specific genders, classes, and ethnic and racial groups. Studies of Indigenous history and of changing Euro-American and Euro-Canadian views of Indigenous peoples took their place alongside those of workers, immigrants, women and history, black history; and, in the process generalizing social sciences drew closer together.[157] The study of Indigenous history in Canada, however, is not merely a belated image of academic trends in America. Canadians have made distinctive and significant contributions to the study of ethnohistory. Furthermore, important research of Indigenous history started within the social sciences earlier in Canada than it did in the United States.[158]

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[156] One would naturally assume that economics would also need to be studied in understanding Indigenous history, but the subject of environment and its impact would cover this area while metaphysics would cover religion in understanding the full scope of Indigenous reality.

[157] Eccles, W. J., "Forty Years Back," *William and Mary Quarterly* 41 (1984): 410-21. More specifically, page 420; Glenda Riley, "The Historiography of American Indian and Other Western Women." *Rethinking American Indian History*, ed. Fixico, Donald L. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998. pp. 43-73; and also Theda Perdue, "Writing the Ethnohistory of Native Women." *Rethinking American Indian History, pp. 73-87.*

[158] Trigger, Bruce, "The Historians' Indian," p. 26.

In Canada, Harold Innis was the first social scientist to pay significant attention to the historical role of Indigenous people in his book, *The Fur Trade in Canada.*[159] For this and for many other contributions to the understanding of Canadian history and historical significance of technology, Innis is still a significant literary figure. Innis was partly inspired by studies of the Indigenous peoples' role as middlemen by the American historian Charles H. McIlwain.[160] Innis attempted to relay the significance of Indigenous peoples in the fur trade. He argued that they quickly became dependent on European technology and were locked into a cyclical network where they acted as the primary collectors of a major staple for a world economy. He elaborated, however, on his interpretations in terms of purely economic arguments and also without any major reference to anthropological research or trying to understand the fur trade from an Indigenous perspective. Indigenous peoples, therefore, remained economic stereotypes, "...only minimally disguised in feathers."[161] As an economic formalist, Innis believed that similar rules could be utilized to determine and explain the economic behaviour of both Indigenous peoples and Euro-Canadians. For the first time since the 1840s, Innis's work assigned Indigenous peoples a critical role in the history of Canada after European discovery.

In contrast to Innis the historian, is Alfred G. Bailey's work *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700.*[162] Bailey was also influenced by two other scholars: the economist Harold Innis and the anthropologist Thomas McIlwraith, who in turn was influenced by a Boasian perspective.[163] Bailey's significance to Canadian ethnohistory is his analysis in terms of cultural relativism of the changing responses of Indigenous people to early European encroachment into Eastern regions. His book is significant because of its explicit examination of the many cultural, as well as economic factors that influenced relations between Indigenous peoples and Euro-Canadians. His work emphasized the need to look at tools from an Indigenous perspective, therefore, accounting for both the symbolic, as well as technological importance. Bailey, therefore, was determined to attempt at least to try to understand the impact of the introduction of European technology, not simply in economic terms, as Innis had previously taken into account, but in relation to Indigenous cultural patterns. Bailey, likewise attempted to determine how prolonged contact with European or Euro-Canadian societies and religious beliefs changed or failed to change specific Indigenous cultural customs. Thus, Bailey's investigations both contrasted with and complemented the viewpoints of Harold Innis the historian. His examination of the relations between Indigenous peoples and Europeans in eastern Canada was a very distinctive and innovative ethnohistorical study. Bailey's book was unfortunately published in an ever so obscure Canadian series, went unreviewed in American journals, such as the *American Anthropologist*, and as a result, its major importance was not recognized until it was latter reprinted in 1969. By that time, however, Bailey's work had been overlooked and placed in the shadows of Canadian historical scholarship.

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[159] Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada.* Toronto: University of Press, 1930.
[160] McIlwain, C. H., ed. *An Abridgement of the Indian Affairs, Transacted in the Colony of New York, from the Year 1678 to the Year 1751, by Peter Wraxall.* New York: B. Blom, 1915.
[161] Trigger, Bruce. *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985. p. 184.
[162] Bailey, Alfred Goldsworthy. *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures., 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1937, reprint, 1969.

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[163] Bailey, "Retrospective Thoughts of an Ethnohistorian," Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers* (1977): 15-19.

In Canada after the 1950s, Innis's viewpoint and context was significant in various studies of ethnohistory; if however, some of these works are rather inconclusive studies on the fur trade and the relationship of Indigenous peoples to it. Some of these studies have been developed using the voluminous records of the Hudson's Bay Company. Like Innis, Edwin E. Rich recognized that many Indigenous peoples, such as the Cree and Assiniboine, functioned as 'professional' traders. Rich determined that the Cree and Assiniboine obtained European goods that they needed by charging tribes who lived inland more for these goods than they themselves had paid for them. Rich also observed that, if other European traders were also actively trading, the Indigenous peoples would charge higher prices for their furs. He concluded, however, that their aim in doing this was not to obtain more European goods, but to satisfy their relatively fixed needs with less effort. In general, Indigenous peoples traded goods with a particular neighbouring group at a price that remained fixed regardless of annual variations in supply. Rich also concluded that Indigenous peoples had been successful in imposing their own traditional customs on European traders.[164] He rejected the idea that Indigenous peoples were attempting to maximize their profits like European entrepreneurs, but he has been described by other historians, such as Bruce Trigger, as a "modified [economic] formalist."[165] Economist Abraham Rotstein, however, adopted an strictly anti-formalist position. Anti-formalism, as formulated by Karl Polanyi,[166] suggests that the rules of economic behaviour alter as the overall complexity of a society increases. Rotstein insisted that in 'prehistoric times' the rates of exchange were based on political factors, such as maintaining intertribal alliances, rather than by economic considerations, and that in order to take part in the fur trade Europeans were forced to enter into alliances and uphold any terms.[167]

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[164] Rich, E. E., "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation among the Indians of North America," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 26 (1960): 35-53; Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870*, 3 vols., London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1960.

[165] Trigger, "The Historians Indian," p. 28.

[166] Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, p. 116.

Geographers/historians Arthur Ray and Donald Freemen presented in their book *"Gives Us Good Measure": An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763,* a detailed statistical analysis of Hudson's Bay Company records that are relevant for understanding the nature of European trade with the Indigenous peoples of the sub-arctic region prior to 1763.[168] Together, their research analyses questioned the degree to which trade was really governed by political alliances and also the idea of a *de facto* fixed exchange rate between Indigenous peoples and the Hudson's Bay Company. Their analyses concluded that Indigenous peoples took account of marginal costs, such as the different times needed to carry their furs to rival European traders, and how they also sought to manipulate price rates by bargaining for more than the standard measure of European goods in return for their furs. Ray and Freeman did, however, accept Rotstein's notions of what a 'traditional' economy was like and interpreted the situation recorded in the Hudson's Bay Company records as a "transitional" economy, already considerably changed by European influences. The latter conclusion is most likely erroneous. French descriptions of trade along the St. Lawrence

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[167] Rotstein, Abraham, "Trade and Politics: An Institutional Approach," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3 (1972): 1-28.

[168] Ray, A. J. and D. B. Freeman, *"Give Us Good Measure": An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.

Valley at the start of the seventeenth century show that traditional trade resembled the patterns which Ray and Freeman outlined more than those proposed by Rotstein.[169]

Arthur Ray traced the impact of the fur trade on Indigenous patterns of ecological adaptation, including intertribal relations, in the region southwest of Hudson's Bay from 1660 to 1870 in his work *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870.*[170] The actual skills of a geographer were utilized in the study of regional Indigenous responses to the fur trade. In his work *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890,* Robin Fisher contrasted the generally accommodative relations between Indigenous peoples and fur traders in coastal British Columbia with the suppression of Indigenous peoples that followed large-scale European settlement in the region beginning in the late nineteenth century.[171] Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz's *Partners in Furs* argued about the Cree who wintered too far away from any European trading posts in the region east of James Bay becoming dependent on European goods. European ammunition might run out or guns not be in working order at a critical time, therefore, these Indigenous peoples continued to rely mainly on their traditional technology until trading posts were established in the interior during the nineteenth century.[172]

These various ethnohistorical texts carry on debates about the role played by Indigenous peoples in the fur trade that were started by Harold Innis. Although considerable progress has been made in eliminating erroneous and overly simplistic assumptions about Indigenous peoples much still remains to be learned and many issues have still to be resolved. These texts also largely share a common ethnohistorical orientation. Each of them contains, however, more detailed examinations of how Indigenous cultures have shaped the fur trade than are found in Innis's work, yet culturally specific voices remained muted. Many of the arguments are phrased in terms of the general debate between formalists and anti-formalists concerning the nature of economic systems; the economic logic of relations between settlers, traders and Indigenous peoples; and changing ecological adaptations. While allowing that the economic behaviour of tribal peoples, viewed as a general stage of development, may differ in fundamental ways from that of capitalist societies, these studies stress the rationale of intergroup competition to control resources rather than the inner values of specific Indigenous cultures as the main factor structuring Indigneous behaviour. This sort of approach also characterized Conrad Heidenreich's *Huronia*, which combined modern agricultural data, archeological information, and a palaeo-envirnmental reconstruction of seventeenth-century Huron subsistence and settlement patterns.[173] This is an approach that appeals to many anthropologists and historians because it greatly simplifies what has to be known about human behaviour in order to outline, explain and understand the relative course of history. Some anthropologists and historians would also argue that it provides a satisfactory account of why events happen, at least in the long run. For example, the historian Robert Berkhofer, Jr., has affirmed that variations in natural resources and in the level of the Indigenous societies available for exploitation by Europeans were much more important factors in determining how Europeans treated Indigenous peoples than were the specific cultural characteristics of individual Indigenous groups or the differing racial prejudices and missionary zeal of various European nations.[174]

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[169] Trigger, *Natives and Academics*, pp. 183-94.
[170] Ray, A. J. *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
[171] Fisher, Robin. *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977.
[172] Francis, Daniel and Toby Morantz, *Partner in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600-1870.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983.

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[173] Heidenreich, C. E. *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971.

MULTI-DISCIPLINARY HISTORICAL STUDIES

In recent years, Canadian ethnohistorians have played a significant role in broadening the scope of their discipline by seeking additional sources of information about Indigenous behaviour in the past. Historians realized that it was vital to understand the behaviour of Indigenous peoples in terms of their own beliefs and perceptions, if progress is to be made in comprehending their history from the inside.

Oral traditions are arguably one of the most important sources in the practice, research and understanding of history, as important as any written European, Euro-Canadian or Euro-American source. Ethnohistorians, such as Peter Schmalz and L. V. Eid have independently used Anishinaabeg traditions together with seventeenth-century documents to reconstruct the details of how the Anishinaabeg wrested southern Ontario from the control of the Haudenosauonee in the 1690s.[175] Their work has revealed a distinctive perspective of how the Anishinaabeg came into possession of this region, and has set about correcting a historical account that for various political reasons was biased in favour of Haudenausonee claims. However, there are problems and controversies with ethnohistory's use of oral traditions and traditional knowledge. In this approach, oral sources are considered valid only if they can be verified by Western Eurocentic sources. In Bruce Trigger's words, "...when oral traditions can be verified using other kinds of information, they may be valuable sources of historical data."[176] This primacy of Western written documents is a significant flaw.

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[174] Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, p. 116.

[175] Schmalz, P. S. *The History of the Saugeen Indians*. Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1977; Eid, L.V., "The Ojibwa-Iroquois War: The War the Five Nations Did Not Win," *Ethnohistory* 26 (1979): 297-324; Schmalz, "The Role of the Ojibwa in the Conquest of Southern Ontario, 1650-1751," *Ontario History* 76 (1982): 326-52.

Ethnologists, however, do agree that in order to understand a culture completely, a thorough knowledge of its language is essential. Only in this way can the categories in terms of which a people perceive and evaluate reality be comprehended. It is obvious that a vast amount of ethnographic information that is not found in European descriptions of Indigenous cultures is contained in old grammars and dictionaries of Indigenous languages, often preserved only in manuscript form.[177] Studying Christian religious texts prepared in these languages also reveals the degree to which missionaries understood Indigenous languages at successive phases in their work and how over time Indigenous categories of religious thought, such as their concepts about souls, were modified by European contact.[178] The 'ethnosemantic' approach "...seeks to understand how Indigenous peoples perceived reality by systematically analysing the meanings of the words they used and the contexts in which they used them, [and] provides a chink through which their changing ideas and values may be perceived, albeit often in a dim and imperfect fashion."[179] Trigger suggests in his article, "The Historians' Indian," that it is an approach, however, that few ethnohistorians have so far applied systematically in either Canada or the United States.[180] Using it, therefore, requires the acquisition of major new skills in the highly technical field of linguistics.[181] Finally, ethnohistory has failed to comprehend that a better understanding of how Indigenous peoples perceived reality does not by itself explain why Indigenous peoples behaved as they did or still do. It merely helps to make clear the knowledge on which they acted.

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[176] Trigger, "The Historians' Indian," p.33.

[177] See, for example, John Steckley, "The Clans and Phratries of the Huron," *Ontario Archaeology* 37 (1982): 29-34.

[178] Steckley, "The Soul Concepts of the Huron" MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1978.

Understanding the written sources used by ethnohistorians has been greatly aided in recent years by studies of how Europeans perceived Indigenous peoples at different periods. In the United States and Europe, this branch of intellectual history has proliferated since the 1960s. In my opinion, the best general study of changing perceptions of Indigenous peoples by Euro-Americans is Robert F. Berkhofer's *The White Man's Indian* although many other studies offer more detailed insights into specific periods and issues. These studies help to reveal the cultural stereotypes, biases, and precedents that shaped the understanding that Europeans had of the Indigenous peoples with whom they interacted. In Canada, Bruce Trigger, Cornelius Jaenen, Olive Dickason, and François-Marc Gagnon have studied how European verbal and visual stereotypes influenced French views of Indigenous people and how actual experiences with Indigenous people modified these views.[182] Their work, although technically not ethnohistorical, aids ethnohistorians to perceive the biases and assess the objectivity of written accounts, so that descriptions of the behaviour of Indigenous peoples can be interpreted more objectively. These studies are therefore an important contribution to the critical analysis of the source material used by ethnohistorians.

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[179] Trigger, "The Historian's Indian," p. 33.
[180] *Ibid*, p. 33.
[181] *Ibid*, p. 33.
[182] See, Bruce Trigger, "The Historians Indian"pp.19-45; Cornelius Jaenen. *Friend and Foe:Aspects of French-Amerinidian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* Toronto: McClelland Stewart; Olive P. Dickason. *The Myth of The Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the*

Little detailed attention has so far been paid to the role of women in Canadian Indigenous history, apart from Jennifer Brown's and Sylvia Van Kirk's studies of the position of Indigenous women in the fur trade.[183] There is evidence, however, of growing interest in this topic as part of a broader concern with women's studies. Ethnohistory has provided a platform to start the discussion of Indigenous women as participants in making history. Yet even less has been done to integrate what Indigenous people write about their past with academic studies of Indigenous history. It is, however, clearly wrong to dismiss such work as only polemical or of ethnological interest. On the contrary, what Indigenous peoples currently believe about their history may provide valuable insights into the significance of that history. While there is not the room for further discussion of this subject, the following chapter will discuss the more detailed gender analyses.

ETHNOHISTORY AS CANADIAN HISTORY

I must next ask to what degree ethnohistory, which has largely developed outside the mainstream of Canadian and United States historiography, has become an integral part of the latter studies. The most direct way to answer this question is to inquire to what

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Americas; and F. M. Gagnon, *Ces Hommes dits sauvages.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984.

[183] Jennifer Brown. *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980; and Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties.*

extent the study of Indigenous history has influenced the way in which Euro-Canadians view the history of their own ethnic groups. One of the principles of ethnohistory is to free mainstream North American history from its legacy as a colonial ideology.

This renewed interest in the role of Indigenous peoples in North American history corresponded with the 1960s, when Indigenous groups in the United States became politically active and started to demand the right once more to control the resources necessary to shape their own lives. Their struggle against poverty and government tutelage was accompanied by a cultural renaissance that witnessed Indigenous painters, singers, and actors gain worldwide recognition. At the same time a rapidly increasing Indigenous population confronted governments with escalating problems of health care, poverty, unemployment, inadequate education, and alienated youth. All of these trends created a growing awareness of Indigenous peoples that encouraged an interest in their history among some North Americans of European origins. The latter sought through historical studies to understand how Indigenous peoples related to the larger society that had grown up in North America.

In Canada, John Tobias used ethnohistorical methodology in his analysis of how events surrounding the Rebellion of 1885 were exploited by the federal government to defeat the aspirations of the Plains Cree for a consolidated reserve in the Cypress Hills of Saskatchewan and Alberta.[184] Another Canadian historian, Bruce G. Trigger, in his work *Natives and Newcomers* argued that Canadian historians had for the most part ignored the role of fur traders in forging good relations with Indigenous peoples and hence creating conditions favourable for early French colonization and instead have laid undue emphasis on the positive contributions of missionaries and government officials.[185]

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[184] Tobias, J. L., "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885," *Canadian Historical Review* 64 (1983): 519-48.

The concepts which are most important for understanding the unequal relations [between Indigenous peoples and European settlers] which have prevailed are those of dependency, coercion, and domination. American scholars Ralph Linton[186] and Edward Spicer[187] both discussed how the notion of coercion played a major role in the early acculturation studies and how coercion was only one element in the development of dependency by Indigenous peoples on Europeans. Dependency attracted much attention in recent ethnohistorical writing in Canada. One of these came from Leslie Upton, who in his *Micmacs and Colonists*, which explicitly confronted the issues of coercion and dominance in a study of relations between the Mi'kmaw and the British in the Maritime provinces between 1713 and 1867.[188] He portrayed British settlers as wresting control of that region from the Mikmaw, leaving them an impoverished and powerless minority in their own country. Finally, John W. Grant's *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* is an impressive survey of relations between missionaries and Indigenous peoples in Canada from the sixteenth century to the present.[189] He examined how these relations centered around a struggle for power and control between Indigenous people and European settlers. Of particular interest is Grant's documentation of the refusal by missionaries to allow Indigenous people to control the practice and dissemination of Christianity, especially when the emergence of Indigenous preachers made this possible in the nineteenth century. So pervasive were the stereotypes of Indigenous inferiority that Euro-Canadian missionaries felt justified in continuing to regulate the religious lives of their Indigenous parishioners. The latter studies would be historical equivalents of such important contemporary analyses as Sally Weaver's *Making Canadian Indian Policy* and Michael Asch's *Home and Native Land*,[190] which held detailed investigations of the economic, social, and political history of Indigenous peoples under European control as well as more systematic historical studies of the policies that colonial, provincial, and federal governments formulated for dealing with these peoples and how these policies were administered.

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[185] Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985 p. 298-343.
[186] Linton, ed. *Acculturation in Seven American Tribes*, Gloucester: P. Smith, 1940. p. 501.
[187] Spicer, ed. *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Changes*, pp. 519-28.
[188] Upton, L. F. S. *Micmacs and Colonists: White-Indian Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979.
[189] Grant, J. W. *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The attempt, for the most part, until now has been to continually measure Indigenous cultural characteristics against Western ideas to learn what their purpose is and what is of value in them, thus forcing Indigenous characteristics to conform to Western notions of 'truth' instead of considering them in their own right. It is critical that historians not take oral accounts out of their broader cultural context in order to bolster some theoretical model. As Indigenous and non-Indigenous historians, we have our own interpretations, sense of history, and theories, among which our historical knowledge and practices are central. It is time that the discipline of history acknowledge, value and accept as valid our own concepts about our Indigenous pasts. Only then will others start to truly grasp and understand 'Indigenous history.' Historians and Indigenous peoples can work together, then, on collaborative projects in which there is mutual respect for the authority and skills that each brings to the understanding of Indigenous history. The intertwined history between the colonized and colonizer is lengthy in Canada, but for Indigenous peoples it has not deliver a complete picture of "intellectual survivance."[191]

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[190] Weaver, S. M. *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-1970*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

When I think of history, I do not just look at the works of Euro-Canadian and Euro-American historians, I look to the now accumulated works of Indigenous writers, researchers and historians. History is no longer bound by the dictates and rigid confines of the Western Eurocentric discipline. If I glean even a small picture of an Indigenous experience, reflection, memory or description accounting some event it is significant as giving a multi-faceted history.

Indeed, the sheer volume, quality, range, and diversity of Indigenous writing since 1968 is a tribute to the 'sense of survivance' among Indigenous intellectuals. Thirty years ago, constructing a section in a library of Indigenous writing from books in print would have taken up no more than a few feet of shelf space. With the emergence of literally hundreds of scholars since and the reprinting of many authors from before 1968, the yield now is yards and yards.

Emma LaRocque (Cree/Métis), Janice Acoose (Métis) and Howard Adams (Métis) have all examined the impact of Eurocentric and colonizing stereotypic images on Indigenous academics constructing contemporary written history. Olive Patricia Dickason (Métis), however, aligns too closely with Western primary documents for writing

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[191] Vizenor, Gerald. *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994. p.4.

Indigenous history, which obscures Indigenous voices in history. Similarly, Bruce M. White (Métis) also bases his work on non-Indigenous sources in an effort to construct an Indigenous history which includes Anishinaabeg peoples and Anishinaabeg women. In constrast to this, Kim Anderson (Cree/Métis) relies on interviews with Indigenous women to reconstruct the image of Indigenous women in history. Other significant avenues of study involve an ecologicial understanding of history as suggested by James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson (Chickasaw/Cheyenne), but which is also an exploration into the political history of the Míkmaw people. Patricia Monture-Angus (Mohawk), John Mohawk (Mohawk), Gerald Alfred (Mohawk) and Kiera Ladner (Cree) all offer detailed analyses of the evolution of Indigenous political traditions and Indigenist deconstructions of Euro-Canadian legislative policies. In terms of critical analysis of the historical writing on Indigenous peoples, Robert Allen Warrior (Osage), Jack Forbes (Renape/Lenape/Powhatan), Vine Deloria (Standing Rock Sioux), Donald L. Fixico (Shawnee, Sac&Fox, Seminole, and Muscogee Creek), Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (Crow/Creek/Sioux) and Angela Cavender Wilson (Dakota) all provide excellent deconstructions of the current literature, academic departments and research. They focus on issues dealing in Indigenous history and also advocate changes in the ethics of writing Indigenous history, and assert the legitimacy of Indigenous academics and Indigenist methodologies, methods and sources.

For other sources of history we look to those Indigenous peoples writing creatively – poems, songs, dances, stories and art. Creation stories are the foundation of many discussions of historical subject matter. For example, Katsi Cook writes:

> It is important to begin at the beginning. In everything the people do, they start at the beginning. When I asked, "How do we teach the young about birth?" I was told, "Begin with the story of the first birth." So, we turn to our origins to understand women's ways. The Creation stories, the cosmologies, contain the world view and values of Indigenous Peoples. They are the spiritual foundation of traditional communities, and an important place to start when we need to understand how to deal with the problems we face here and now today.[192]

While I have only pulled out a handful of prominent Indigenous scholars in North America who work with questions pertaining to the handling of Indigenous history and related issues, there are many more scholars who I have not named and who are not known to me at this time. History is a complex issue. History is so much more than how the west would contextualize it. Further, it is connected now to other disciplines, making it harder than ever to box it in. Yet it is in this complexity that Indigenous voices of history negotiate a space in order to address important historical details. I argue that Indigenous history is varied, detailed and layered in its perspective of what constitutes historical knowledge and includes all spectrums of life.

If we want our history to reflect our Indigenous understandings, it will most likely come down to us publishing what we feel is our perspectives on history. This is a dangerous path, however, because we open ourselves up to literary criticism, scrutiny and dissection. We have to prepare ourselves to fight back against it. We do not need to join this dialogue. We do not have to prove the worth of our view of history to others. We have been offered the choice to join the dialogue by those Indigenous scholars who came before us and paved the way for our voices as Indigenous students of history. It is now up to us to editorialize what we want to share with the world.

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[192] Cook, Katsi. *New Voices From The Longhouse: An Anthology of Contemporary Iroquois Writing*, p. 80.

CONCLUSION

Ideally, Indigenous peoples should research Indigenous cultures. For too long, Eurocentric academics have owned the past, particularly that of Indigenous nations. Although soldiers, missionaries, and merchants were the initial forces that colonized Indigenous peoples, the continuing psychological processes of dehumanization and inferiorization ensure their subjugated status. Therefore, it is from this base that Indigenous decolonization must begin. The racist Eurocentric pattern established by the first colonizing histories will be broken down only when the colonized reclaim their history.

Indigenous history by Indigenous peoples is both a movement and a discipline challenging the parameters of Euro-Canadian historical, intellectual and literary traditions. Intrinsic to that history is a people's sense of resistance and struggle that emerges from a growing counter-consciousness and realization that they have suffered injustices and oppressive inequalities because of their race and colonization. Authentic Indigenous history must confront the inequalities in the judicial, economic and political realms; however, in order to do this one should examine the processes and structures that promote Eurocentrism.

Eurocentric history is more than a glorification of western Europe's past and its denigration of Indigenous peoples. It is an aspect of imperialism a mechanism designed to suppress resistance and to prevent the Indigenous population from developing a counter-consciousness to the dominion Western European cultures. Within the context of imperialism, Indigenous peoples are unique in that they are a distinct class and race, nations of Indigenous peoples within a capitalist state who have different consciousnesses of history. The force of life of the Indigenous peoples has been principally that of Indigenous nationalist liberation struggles for land and autonomy while the written history ignores the reality of that fight.

As an Indigenous student of history, I am deeply concerned by the small amount of authentic Indigenous historical writing. By muffling the voices of protest or simply by ignoring them, the Eurocentric control of literary territories seeks to keep Indigenous peoples out of sight. Our histories are dismissed or marginalized. Our struggles for literary liberation should expand and advance in all dimensions.

CHAPTER 4

FUR TRADE HISTORY AS AN ASPECT OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN'S HISTORY:

'A CASE STUDY OF THE GENDER ROLES OF ANISHINAABEKWEG AND THE FUR TRADE'

INTRODUCTION: 'THE HIDDEN HALF'

Although studies of Anishinaabekweg have increased in the last decade, Anishinaabekweg have been subject of only a few specific inquiries, usually in relation to the fur trade, which ignore the multifaceted history of these women.

Two of the difficulties in researching and writing about Indigenous women in the past generally has been the dearth of sources by this 'hidden half' of Indigenous nations, and the male bias of the written records in general. From a western perspective, Indigenous women's history is largely unrecorded. Many Indigenous women had little leisure time, and many could not read or write, and so their 'stories' were not collected. Those women who chose to translate their knowledge to written form using translators are few and far between. They are however recorded in the oral traditions passed from generation to generation of Anishinaabekweg.

As part of my research for this thesis, I located myself in my own Anishinaabe traditions before setting out here in this chapter to deconstruct the literature I found in the discipline concerning Anishinaabekweg and also in order to negotiate space for my understandings of Anishinaabekweg apart from the stereotypes. I am not advocating or seeking inclusion in the current literature. In actuality, I am setting out to decolonize, deconstruct and dismantle current secondary literature on Anishinaabekweg women.

Women were of course an integral part of Anishinaabeg society other than through fur trade activities. Yet dismantling old stereotypes is a slow and agonizing process and as scholars we have to begin somewhere, so why not with the fur trade.

This chapter begins with my understandings of Anishinaabekweg in Anishinaabeg peoples culture and history. After locating myself in my Anishinaabe traditions, I move to a discussion of the problems of secondary literature on Indigenous women. Then I seek on to deconstruct the past and current literature on the subject of Anishinaabekweg in the fur trade. The purpose of this chapter is to challenge the historical racist stereotypes about Indigenous women and empower Anishinaabekweg, so that they are more than *shadowy* figures in the background, rendered invisible and voiceless in the literature that has in the past been written about her, over her, through her and around her.

STRONG WOMEN

This section addresses the current problem in secondary literature about Indigenous women concerning the lack of complexity in the dialogue about Indigenous womanhood. Indigenous women and Anishinaabekweg more specifically, are not antiquated or mere artefacts to be discussed as if they are a single faceted manifestation of an idealized image or a stereotype. Indigenous women were and are real women living spiritual, economic and political lives. There is a marked difference in how Western historical literature depicts Indigenous women and how Indigenous women actually existed and continue to exist today. Indigenous scholar Kim Anderson (Cree/Métis) argues:

> There are considerable differences between the Indigenous nations of the Americas. Nonetheless, the values, lifestyles and systems that existed in our communities prior to the arrival of Europeans generally secured the status of Native women. Many Native cultures, values and practices safeguarded against the kinds of abuses permitted – and often encouraged – by western patriarchy. We had ways that protected us against the "isms" – sexism, racism, ageism, heterosexism. Our cultures promoted womanhood as a sacred identity, an identity that existed within a complex system of relations of societies that were based on balance.[193]

By the time we Indigenous women reach our womanhood, most have heard or seen in print the following words intended to describe us:

Indian princess.
Drunken Indian.
Dirty squaw.
Loose or easy squaw.
Temptress.
Lazy.
Suffering helpless victims.

These words falsify our realities. I have never met the living embodiment of these women. I define Indigenous womanhood using the Anishinaabe teachings taught to me through the Anishinaabekweg who raised me. If we as Indigenous scholars are to deconstruct and dismantle negative stereotypic images of women in history then we must first look inside our families and communities in order to 'self-define' and locate ourselves within a culturally sensitive frame of reference. I locate Anishinaabe womanhood within the teachings, lives and experiences of my mother, aunties, and Grandmother.

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[193] Anderson, Kim. *A Recognition of Being*, p. 57.

Educating girls is important. Women educate young girls so they can maintain the health of the community and nation in the future. Aunties and grannies do this type of educational work alongside our mothers. The work of aunties and grannies should never be underestimated, for it is these extended relationships and networks of women that make womanhood a multi-faceted experience. They work with traditional teachings and ceremonies to help girls learn self-worth and self-respect as Anishinaabekweg. Older women take the opportunity to use traditional ceremonies, stories, and everyday life to demonstrate teachings to help our girls become strong women.

Self-determination is an important characteristic that the women in my family worked to instil in me. In an interview with Kim Anderson, Vera Martin (Anishinaabe) defined self-determination as 'respect': "For me, respect is allowing people to make their own decisions." In her role as Grandmother, she is "helping young girls work through the consequences."[194] Grandmothers', Aunties' and mothers' teachings are important for young girls, as they enable them to start to see their potential as self-determining individuals, rather than powerless members of Anishinaabeg families, communities or the nation. It informs them that they have to be responsible for their choices, and that mistakes are part of becoming a strong woman. While these teachings do not overlook or ignore the real life obstacles which Anishinaabekweg girls and young women will endure, the teachings seek to encourage them that there are ways to resist and invoke change. Older women pass on these teachings through traditional nurturing roles that involve giving a child space to define her autonomy and take responsibility for herself as a spiritual, self-sufficient and self-determining individual.

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[194] *Ibid*, p. 245.

Spirituality has always been a significant part of an Anishinaabekwe's identity. My grandmother always said that if you wanted an example of a strong woman, you had to look to the first woman in our Creation stories. The first woman is recognized as the culture bearer, as she brought life to the first people. From the Creation stories, not only do we see how strong a woman can be, but also how men are to treat women. Therefore, when young girls grow up they will know what they want in a partner. Edward Benton-Banai writes:

> Anishinabe [original man] and the Firekeeper's Daughter formed a we-di-gay'-win' (union or marriage) between man and woman that had never been formed on Mother Earth. Their union was complete and sacred in the eyes of Gitchie Manito. The zah-gi'-di-win' (love) that flowed between them was real and lasting.
>
> Anishinabe remembered how beautiful the Firekeepter's Daughter was when he first saw her in the rays of the setting Sun. He decided then to help preserve this beauty in woman by taking upon himself the responsibility of doing the more strenuous things necessary for survival. Each of them molded their roles so that there was good food to eat and their home was both beautiful and comfortable. The most important thing that bound Anishinaabe and the Firekeeper's Daughter together was the feeling of ma-na'-ji-win' (respect) that they shared between them. This foundation of respect was to be very important to guide future unions between men and women.[195]

Within the spiritual structures of many Anishinaabe families, women held significant authority and esteem. My grandmother acted as a healer, ensuring that the health and well-being of her family was maintained. Anishinaabe Elder Art Solomon referred to women as the intermediary between humans and the Creator: "[s]he takes from both and gives back to both."[196] Through their ability to maintain life, health and well-being in the world, women play an intermediary role between life on earth and in the spirit world.

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[195] Benton-Banai, Edward. *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway*, p. 22.

[196] Solomon, Art. *Songs for the People: Teachings on the Natural Way.* Toronto: NC Press, 1990. p. 35.

Many years ago, before the priests came, the women in my family followed nature rather than one God. They respected all things that nature made, the River, the animals, the sun and moon, trees and fish, and so on. Animals were killed only when needed and nothing was wasted. Whatever they had, women shared with one another. As well they believed in premonition and teaching their girls to trust their 'woman's-sense' as my grandmother called it. When the priests came, they told the women that this was devil's work. Of course, the women were left feeling confused about their own self-worth and place in the family and community. So the priests worked hard to disrupt Anishinaabekweg spiritual beliefs. That changed the Anishinaabekweg lives in many ways. They were forced to keep their spiritual lives divided: public (Catholic church) and private (ceremonies, songs, prayers, premonitions and stories). Nonetheless, spirituality has always played a significant role in Anishinaabekweg lives and culture.

Shirley Williams (Anishinaabe) suggests that the equation of women as creator and intermediary is present in the sweat lodge ceremony, which is sometimes referred to as a symbol of a mother's womb.[197] Anishinaabeg people enter into a sweat lodge to communicate with the spirit world and to enter into a process of transformation, like a child in its mother's womb. However, my grandmother explained it was not necessary for women to enter a sweat lodge because women have the ability to cleanse and purify themselves through menstruation. Whatever the traditions, menstruation was a sign of the incredible power of the feminine in Anishinaabeg communities. For the women in my family, menstruation was a rite of passage from girlhood to womanhood, and with this came certain expectations and responsibilities. As women, they were expected to do tasks or jobs, such as taking care of younger children, going out to find work to support the family or teaching the younger children. A certain degree of autonomy was given to menstruating women as a sign of respect and power in the family and community.

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[197] Williams, Shirley, "Women's Role in Ojibway Spirituality," *Journal of Canadian Native Studies* 27 (1992): 102.

The authority given to women as a crucial aspect of the stability, health and well being of the home and community was directly connected to their traditional economic relationship to their children. My grandmother managed the economics of the family by virtue of her relationship with her children and husband. Her needs were where the family needs were. My grandmother's need to take care of her twelve children made sure they had enough, and made sure they grew up. Economic decisions that centred around the children safeguarded the family's home and health, security and wellness. Every year in the fall, all trappers kill a bear for the winter in order to have fat to cook with all winter, meat to feed or clothe their children. My grandmother told us that for her, having a family meant that she had to be a resourceful woman in order to take care of all whom relied on her. The following is my memories of what she told me:

> One fall they came across a black bear swimming across the channel. They ran him close to the shore and her husband shot him. They pulled him out of the water skinned him and cut off the fat. Finally they cooked it down to make the oil.
>
> Her husband asked, "How are we going to keep the oil? We have no containers." Anyway, she went to work and cleaned yards and yards of bear's intestines. She turned them inside out and washed them well in the River. Next she poured the oil into the bear's intestines. Now she had yards and yards of this bear oil.
>
> The oil is like a Crisco oil. It is very good for many things; fish frying or moose steak and pastry, especially doughnuts. Oil was good for hair too. To keep the oil she made a big birch bark basket and coiled this intestine from the bottom of the basket around and around until filled to the top. When they needed the oil, they just poured it out, out of the intestine and tied it back up again. They had enough fat for winter.

Anishinaabekweg were not traditionally excluded from decision making when it came to the welfare of the family; to do so would endanger the survival of the family.

I was always taught that the relationship between a husband and wife was a partnership. The 'women's work' of these women (mothers, aunties and grandmothers) taught these women about community interdependency and dispelled the myth that one gender is overly dependent on another because of certain tasks that they perform. Even though tasks were generally gender specific, individuals of both sexes were taught to value and practise all basic tools of survival, regardless of their gender association. They knew they had to learn the tasks that were typically done by the other gender because there would be times when their partners would not be able there, or to fulfill their roles. Fathers helped their wives cook, take care of children, plant gardens, teach the girls and boys equally what politics meant so that each would have an understanding of their responsibilities in the community. Strong men and women role models are necessary for the development of strong women.

Anishinaabekweg are taught by their families that as females they have the ability to do any kind of work, and moreover, that they are expected, as vital members of their communities, to know how to take care of their basic survival needs. They grow up observing women who take on the family responsibilities of childrearing, the economic responsibilities of providing for the family and the community responsibilities of healer, teacher and community organizer. They also learn that jobs and tasks are not essentially linked to gender; rather, that the bottom line is about working together as men and women for the necessity of survival.

My early political awareness was fostered by my mother and aunties. When I was seven they set about regaining their 'Indian status.' They handed me a copy of the *Indian Act* and told me to read it because when I got older because it would shape my life as an Indigenous woman. They sat me down amongst the pages of research they had accumulated and made me understand who all the names were and they brought me along with them on trips to graveyards, little backwater churches and to libraries in order for me to know what it meant to have to struggle to reclaim what should never had been taken from them as Anishinaabekweg.

The guidance that Anishinaabekweg receive from their mothers, aunties and grandmothers shapes the way they learn to understand themselves and their positions in the world. These teachings and ways of working together as families build the foundations of resistance. Anishinaabekweg learn that they need to create their own histories that oppose the hegemonic pressures of destructive Eurocentric written traditions.

In the following sections, I set out to deconstruct the current problems with secondary literature on Anishinaabekweg in order to dismantle some the hegemonic pressures felt by Indigenous scholars attempting to negotiate a space in which to situate their relationship with our experiences with Indigenous womanhood.

SOURCES OF GENDER BIAS

Emma LaRocque (Cree/ Métis) writes:

> The history of Canada is a history of the colonization of Aboriginal peoples. Colonization is a pervasive structural and psychological relationship between the colonizer and the colonized and is ultimately reflected in the dominant institutions,

> policies, histories, and literatures of occupying powers....Colonization has taken its toll on all Native peoples, but perhaps it has taken its greatest toll on women.[198]

This chapter discusses where women are left in the picture of history after a legacy of Canadian colonization, with the focus on Anishinaabekweg in the fur trade. Even after several decades of revision and challenge by Indigenous women's scholars perspectives,[199] it is rare to find a tribal or regional history or ethnography in which women play more than the most insignificant of roles. Historical literature on Indigenous peoples continues to focus extensively on men and their political, religious, and economic activities. In the pages of these works, it is men who make decisions, men whose words are quoted, and men's achievements that are noted. Women are virtually invisible, their voices and movements stilled by the infrequency with which their work is noted and by the implication, when it is noted, that it was less important to the group's survival and to the cultural complex.[200] There is a lack of respect for the contributions of Indigenous women in history, perhaps because it displaces the primacy of a colonial-patriarchal dominance. History has been constructed with all of the racism and patriarchal ideologies that continue to plague relations between Indigenous nations and the Canadian state. Furthermore, it has been difficult for Indigenous scholars to address these injustices. Emma LaRocque explains:

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[198] LaRocque, Emma, "The Colonization of the Native Woman Scholar," *Women of the First.* p. 11.

[199] LaRocque, Emma, *Defeathering the Indian.* Agincourt: The Book Society of Canada, 1975; LaRocque, E., "The Colonization of the Native Woman Scholar," *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, and Strength*, eds. Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996; reprinted, 2001. LaRocque, E., "Tides, Towns and Trains," *Living the Changes.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1990; LaRocque, E., "Racism/Sexism and Its Effects on Native Women." *Public Concerns on Human Rights.* Winnepeg: Human Rights Commisssion, 1989; LaRocque, E., "Violence in Aboriginal Communities." *The Path To Healing*, prepared by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, pp. 72-89; Beth Brant. *Writing as Witness: Essay and Talk.* Toronto: Women's Press, 1984; Kim Anderson. *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood*; Joanne Arnott, *Breasting the Waves: On Writing and Healing.* Vancouver: Press Gang, 1995; Janet Campbell Hale. *Bloodlines: Odyssey of a Native Daughter.* New York: Harper-Perennial, 1993; Beatrice Culleton. *In Search of April Raintree.* Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983; Paula Gunn-Allen. *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Tradition.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1986; Lee Maracle. *I Am Woman.* Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1996; Anna Lee Walters. *Talking Indian: Reflections on Survival and Writing*; Akiwenzie-Damm, Kateri. "Says Who: Colonialism, Identity, and Defining Indigenous Literature." *Looking at the Words of our People: First Nations Analysis of Literature*, ed. Jeannette Armstrong. Penticton: Theytus Books Ltd., 1993. pp. 9-27; Janice Acoose. *Iskewak Kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkamakanak: Neither Indian Princesses Nor Easy Squaws.* Toronto: Women's Press, 1999; and, Patricia Monture-Angus. *Thunder in my Soul: A Mohawk Woman Speaks.* Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1995.

[200] Anderson, Kim. *A Recognition of Being*, p. 39-65.

> If we serve as "informants" to our non-Native colleagues, for example, about growing up within a land-based culture (e.g. on a trap line), our colleagues would include such information as part of their scholarly presentations; it would authenticate their research. Yet, if we use the very same information with a direct reference to our cultural backgrounds, it would be met, at best, with scepticism, and, at worst, with charges of parochialism because we would have spoken in "our own voices."[201]

Historians often describe the 'role' of women in Indigenous societies in terms of 'work,' restricted to the 'private' sphere of the home, rather than intersecting with the 'public' sphere of politics and economics at large, which is considered to be men's territory.[202] This manner of depicting Indigenous nations is not only common to classic works of history, but has also persisted in large degree into the present, for the basic structures of culture and history are still assumed by researchers to be the domain of men.

In general this is reflective of the Eurocentric lens of patriarchy and sexism through which the colonizers and subsequent academics and researchers have viewed Indigenous nations. Secondly, it also reflects a profound ignorance of power, gender relations and the portion and status of both Indigenous men and women in pre-contact or pre-conquest societies.

The impact of racism and patriarchy with regards to Indigenous women in history has been profound. Indigenous women's contributions to religion, governance, politics and leadership have been ignored completely, while their contributions to the ceremonies of Indigenous nations, the education of children, the health and well being of communities, midwifery, etc. have been severely undervalued. Further, Eurocentric Canadian historians, anthropologists and ethnohistorians continue to demonstrate their profound lack of understanding in terms of the power, status and respect of Indigenous women and the necessary balance our relationships create with men.

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[201] LaRocque, Emma, "The Colonization of a Native Woman Scholar." *Women of the First Nations*, pp. 12-13.

[202] Anderson, Kim, *A Recognition of Being*. pp. 57-78.

Some aspects of this racism and patriarchy have been addressed over the last several decades. Varying degrees of attention have been paid, in particular, to the identification of sexism and racism against women in literature.[203] Less attention has been given to the larger issue of how the inaccurate portrayal of Indigenous women and their work has shaped attitudes about the basic nature and history of Indigenous nations and how these attitudes have shaped the secondary literature on these peoples. Without an adequate acknowledgement of women's contributions to the economic prosperity, subsistence and survival of their families and communities, for example, Indigenous peoples are portrayed as being supported only by men's contributions: fishing, hunting, and trading. This is especially the case in scholarly descriptions of the Anishinaabe nation – peoples of the woodlands, parklands, and plains, in which those peoples are generally said to have been dependent on large game and therefore dependent on game populations, the whim of the herds and the skill of their hunters. The stereotypic image of the male Indigenous hunter left no room for the role of women as contributor to the labour or economic prosperity of providing for the family. I argue that once women's contributions to economic and daily life are restored to Indigenous history and ethnography, their nations will clearly be seen to have possessed wider, stronger, more flexible economies than is admitted in the traditional secondary literature.

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[203] See for example the work of Emma LaRocque, "On the Ethics of Publishing Historical Documents." In the book *The Orders of the Dreamed": George Nelson on Cree and Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823*, ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Robert Brightman. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988. LaRocque discusse flammatory language that she considers should be labelled as 'hate literature.'

A VIEW FROM THE 'OTHER' SIDE

Howard Adams, among other scholars, has established the idea that the dominant white Euro-Canadian culture has invented and reinforced racist images of Indigenous men and women that "are so distorted that they portray natives as little more than savages without intelligence or beauty."[204] He also suggested that Indigenous men and women "must endure a history that shames them, destroys their confidence, and causes them to reject their heritage."[205] There is much truth in Adam's statements, and obviously a considerable amount of historical research must be completed before distorted images of both men and women are dismantled from Canadian/Indigenous history. One important aspect of any new meaningful Indigenous history must be concerned with the involvement of the Indigenous peoples in the *fur trade* and with the impact of that participation upon their traditional cultures, as well as those of Europeans. Research in this area will be critical not only because it holds a potential for Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples to gain new insights into Indigenous men and women's history, but also because it should serve to help establish Indigenous women's history with more positive definitions in mainstream Canadian historiography.[206] As some of Canada's most prominent non-Indigenous historians have argued, the fur trade was a powerful force in the economic, political, and social development of Canada,[207] and the Indigenous peoples played a pivotal and central role in this 'trading' enterprise. For these reasons Indigenous history should not simply be focused primarily on the recounting of the ways in which the Indigenous peoples were subjugated, oppressed and exploited, but it must also consider the 'contributions' that 'all' Indigenous peoples (both men and women) made to the fur trade and, therefore, to their own survival as a people. If this positive contribution is recognized, it should endeavour to help destroy some of the distorted images that many non-Indigenous scholars have of Indigenous peoples and their history.

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[204] Adams, Howard. *Prison of Grass*. Toronto: Fifth House Press, 1975. p. 41.
[205] *Ibid*, p. 43.

Because fur trade history and Indigenous history are so steadfastly connected and inextricably bound together, several questions immediately arise. How much attention have historians devoted to the roles that the Indigenous peoples played in the fur trade in the considerably body of fur trade literature that already exists? What images of the Indigenous peoples emerge from this literature? What aspects of Indigenous involvement have yet to be explored fully? And, where do women figure into the discussion of the fur trade? These are some questions that still need to be answered.

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[206] Note that restoring the image of Indigenous peoples is an Indigenous project that should not be carried out in order to gain acceptance by the mainstream Canadian historiography. It should come from a place of seeking to establish healing and balance in our communities.
[207] The most notable example is probably Harold Innis. See Harold. A Innis. *The Fur Trade in Canada*. pp. 386-92.

Until recently Indigenous women have not figured significantly in historical literature dealing with the fur trade.[208] Instead, they usually appear only as *shadowy* figures, but never central characters, in the unfolding events.[209] In part, this neglect seems to reflect the fact that historians have been focused on studying the fur trade as an aspect of European *men's* imperial/colonial history or of Canadian political, business and economic history.[210] And, mirroring these basic interests, the considerable biographical literature that fur trade research has generated deals almost exclusively on Euro-Canadian *male* figures and personalities.[211] Only a few Indigenous male historic figures have been studied to date[212] and very few if any women are to be found even in these writings.

While the tendency to consider the fur trade primarily as an aspect of Euro-Canadian history has been partly responsible for the failure of scholars to examine the role of women in the enterprise, other factors have been influential as well. One of the problems with most studies of Indigenous/white relations has been that the ethno-historians and historians have primarily established a retrospective view. They see the subjugation of the Indigenous peoples and the destruction of their lifestyles as inevitable consequences of the technological gap that existed between European and Indigenous cultures at the time of contact.[213] From this "technological-determinist"[214] perspective, Indigenous peoples have been rendered as essentially subordinate or secondary figure, apt to being pushed aside or manipulated by the forces of European expansion without any real influence on the character of the contact situation. The dominance of this view has meant that in most fur trade literature Indigenous people have been cast in a 'reflexive' role. Until recently, most ethno-historical research has been approached from an acculturation/assimilation perspective. The questions generally being asked are concerned with finding out how Indigenous groups incorporated European technology, as well as social, political, economic, and religious customs into their traditional cultures.

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[208] Innis, H. A. *The Fur Trade*; A.S. Morton. *The History of the Canadian West to 1870-71.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973; and E. E. Rich. *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967.

[209] Jaenen, Cornelius. *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976. pp. 1-11.

[210] Innis and Rich concentrate their work extensively on the fur trading activities as an aspect of imperial/colonial history. See Innis, The Fur Trade, p. 383; and Rich, *Fur Trade and Northwest*, pp. xi and 296. Several corporate histories have been written. E. Rick. *Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870*; and W.S. Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company.* Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934.

[211] One of the problems, of course, is the biographical details regarding Indigenous personalities are few. The historical record often does not provide information regarding births, deaths, and family relationships of Indigenous leaders.

[212] There are some notable exceptions such as Dempsey's study of Crowfoot and Sluman's of Poundmaker. See, H. Dempsey. *Crowfoot: Chief of the Blackfoot*. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1972; and, N. Sluman. *Poundmaker*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1967.

Although also interested in these issues, historians have applied a considerable amount of focus toward outlining the manner and extent to which Euro-Canadian groups, especially missionaries and government officials, assisted Indigenous peoples to adjust (forcibly in most cases) to the new socio-economic conditions that resulted from the expansion of Western cultures into the New World.[215] Historical research has often if not taken a certain moralistic tone, assuming that members of the dominant white society had an obligation to help Indigenous peoples adopt business, trade or agriculture and European socio-economic practices and moral codes, so that the Indigenous peoples could fit into the newly emerging social, political and economic order.[216] Therefore, historians who undertake these types of studies are often seeking to determine whether or not the traders, missionaries, and government officials had fulfilled their obligations to help 'civilize' Indigenous peoples.

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[213] This point of view was perhaps most strongly expressed by Diamond Jenness. See Diamond Jenness, "The Indian Background of Canadian History," *National Museum of Canada Bulletin* No. 86. Ottawa: Department of Mines and Resources, 1937. pp. 1-2; and Diamond Jenness. *Indians of Canada*. Ottawa: Nation Museum of Canada, 1963. p. 249. See also, George F. Stanley, "The Indian Background of Canadian History," *Papers* (Canadian Historical Association) 1952: 14.

[214] Ray, Arthur, "Fur Trade History." *Expressions in Canadian Native Studies,* eds, Ron F. Laliberte, et al.Saskatoon: University Extension Press, 2000. p. 164.

[215] An example of this interest as it pertains to western Canada is the early work of Frits Pannekoeks: See "Protestant Agricultural Missions in the Canadian West in 1870." M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1970. More recently, Pannekoeks has begun to consider the divisive role these groups played in terms of race relations in western Canada. See Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. Griffiths Owen Corbett and the Red River Civil War of 1869-70," *Canadian Historical Review* 57 (1976): 133-49.

Acknowledging that much work has been done in the above areas, it is my suggestion that many more new insights into Indigenous history can be obtained if we abandon the retrospective, 'technological-determinist' tendencies and focus more research on the examination of Indigenous men and women's involvement in the fur trade. While such an approach would recognize that the nature of the trading partnerships that existed between Indigenous groups and various European interests altered substantially over time and place, however it is often difficult, frequently misleading, and certainly premature to use it, given the amount of research that still needs to be done in this field. To make 'any' sweeping statements now concerning the nature of Indigenous/white relations or Indigenous men and women's involvement in the fur trade is therefore unadvised. In order to pursue this work effectively, a specific course of action needs to be followed – one is not currently popular, and the other is extremely tedious. First, students of Indigenous history need to put aside some assumptions (not all) that Indigenous women were absent from the fur trade.

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[216] A notable exception to this viewpoint is that expressed by Stanley in 1952. He pointed out that programs oriented towards assimilating the Indigenous peoples into the dominant white society lead to cultural extinction of the former group. This is offensive to any people having a strong sense of identity. See Stanley, p. 221.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GENDER AND THE FUR TRADE

There are numerous accounts of the fur trade that suggest that trade took place principally between Indigenous and European men, with women taking a secondary role. Further, until recent years, few studies of the fur trade mentioned women specifically. In his economic study, The *Fur Trade in Canada*, Harold A. Innis rarely discussed of aspects of gender. Although he noted that, "the personal relationship of the trader to the Indian" was essential under "conditions of competition," he did not discuss the role that intermarriage played between male traders and Indigenous women as a partnership in the trade.[217] Historian Arthur J. Ray, in several studies, explored the relationships between Indigenous people and Europeans in the fur trade. In *"Give Us Good Measure": An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company* he analyzed, "the set of institutions which developed as a compromise between the customs and norms of traditional Indian exchange and those of European market trade."[218] However, he failed to consider in his work any differing impact that men and women may have had upon the fur trade.[219]

Even more recently, the historian Richard White has studied the relations between Indigenous people and Europeans in a complex set of relationships that took place in what he called a cultural, social, and political 'middle ground' of the Great Lakes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. White notes that the, "fur trade proper is merely an arbitrary selection from a fuller and quite coherent spectrum of exchange that was embedded in particular social relations."[220] White wrote largely on the role of diplomacy in Indigenous/non-Indigenous interactions—diplomacy in which women seemingly had a secondary role to men—and focused on the role of men as speechmakers, negotiators, and warriors. Nonetheless, White does mention throughout his study 'a role' women played in trade. For example, in describing a speech by a Potawatomi man in Montreal, White noted that the man was representing, in part, the women in his community who: "by implication, were a major force in exchange." Also, White wrote that much of the "petty trading" done by the French traders in Indigenous villages was "probably with women." However, neither point was ever fully developed in detail within White's text.[221]

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[217] Innis, Harold A. *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956. p. 40.

[218] Ray, Arthur J. and Donald B. Freeman, *"Give Us Good Measure*. p. xv. See also Arthur J. Ray. *The Indians in the Fur Trade*; and, Arthur J. Ray. *I Have Seen the World Began, An Illustrated History of Canada's Native People*. Toronto: Lester Published Limited, 1996. Both lack a detailed discussion of the role of gender in the fur trade.

[219] *Ibid.*

The more significant work on the differing roles of men and women in the fur trade arises from, not surprisingly, the research of women historians and anthropologists. In her 1980 study called *Strangers in Blood,* Anthropologist Jennifer Brown explored the dynamics of the Canadian fur-trade societies established inside the institutional frameworks of the North West and Hudson Bay Companies. She revealed the joint effect that the Indigenous and European cultures had on the available roles for men and women in the formation of trade cultures and institutions.[222]

Historian Sylvia Van Kirk, in *Many Tender Ties* also examined the Canadian fur trade in her emphasis on the roles of women in fur-trade society. She pointed out that her study: "supports the claims of theorists in women's history that sex roles should constitute a category of historical investigation" because the experience of women "has differed substantially from that of their male counterparts."[223] She suggested that "the lives of both sexes must be examined if we are to fully understand the dynamics of social change."[224] Van Kirk emphasized, in her essay " "Women in Between," Indian Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada," the relative role of Indigenous women as "women in between," a situation in which women could be manipulated by both non-Indigenous and Indigenous men to obtain certain economic, political and cultural advantages.[225] She noted that Indigenous women in general may have had a vested interest in promoting cordial relations with the whites and that "if the traders were driven from the country the Indigenous women would lose the source of European goods which had revolutionized their lives."[226] She argued that Indigenous women 'sometimes' received better treatment and had more influence at the trading post than in Indigenous villages. She suggested that they had a more opportunity for a sedentary life and had more help in doing their work when married to a trader. Van Kirk suggests that all of these factors may have led some women to choose new roles from among those available to them.[227]

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[220] White, Richard. *The Middle Ground. Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. pp. 94, 105.
[221] *Ibid*, pp. 74, 130. White's discussion on women in this book focuses on sexual and marriage relations between Frenchmen and Indigenous women. See pages 60-75.
[222] Brown, Jennifer. *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.

Jacqueline Peterson's 1981 dissertation, "The People in Between," took another look at men and women in the fur trade. She studied Indigenous-white marriages and the formation of a mixed-blood people in the Great Lakes between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Peterson interpreted the culture of the Great Lakes fur-trade communities as a "unique lifeway—an occupational subculture" that gave birth to a people who would later be defined as Métis.[228] In particular, Peterson examined the key role played by Indigenous women in these communities, as social, economic, and cultural intermediaries between Europeans and Indigenous societies.

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[223] Van Kirk, Sylvia, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983. p. 5.
[224] *Ibid.*
[225] Van Kirk, Sylvia, " "Women in Between," Indian Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada." *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History*, eds. Robin Fisher and Kenneth Coates. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., A Longman Company, 1988. pp. 150-166.
[226] *Ibid*, pp. 76.
[227] *Ibid*, pp. 75-7, 80. See also Sylvia Van Kirk, "Toward a Feminist Perspective in Native History." *Papers of the Eighteenth Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan. Ottawa: Carleton University, 1987. pp. 377-89.

Yet despite these broad examinations of the roles of women in the fur trade, focused and detailed research into the gender relations in the Anishinaabeg fur trade have still yet to be done. Discussion of the role of Anishinaabeg men and women in the fur trade has arisen largely in the context of ethnographic and historical studies of the Anishinaabekweg. In such examinations, the differing roles of men and women in relation to the fur trade have been viewed in light of theories about the *autonomy* and *power* of the Anishinaabekweg – the control of women over their own activities and the power they exerted in the society as a whole.[229]

In the 1930s, very questionable work was done on the Anishinaabeg by the anthropologist Ruth Landes in her book *The Ojibwa Woman*, a study based on field work in north-western Ontario. Although often interpreted as a contemporary description of the roles of the Anishinaabekweg, the work was to a large extent historical. It contained stories of women's lives—told to her by her informant Maggie Wilson—dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, a period during which the fur trade continued to be a major influence on Anishinaabeg society.[230] In this study, Landes provide a view of Anishinaabekweg lives, including examples of women who had significant roles as hunters, warriors, and healers. Landes, however, appeared to believe, incorrectly I might add, that these women were 'exceptions to the rule' that women and their accomplishments were devalued or simply ignored in modern Anishinaabeg society. She noted, for example, that men's work was considered: "infinitely more interesting and honourable" than women's work and spoke of "men's supremacy" in Anishinaabeg society.[231] In her brief discussion of the fur trade, Landes contends that women had little role in trading either in the 1930s or earlier. She noted that Anishinaabeg men had learned to barter furs and meat, "which they had secured in hunting," since they, "rather than the women, possessed the material desired by the Whites."[232]

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[228] Peterson, Jacqueline, "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1830" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1981. p. 2. This important part of Peterson's dissertation, from the point of view of trade patterns, was published as "Women Dreaming: The Religiopsychology of Indian-White Marriages and the Rise of a Métis Culture," *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives*, ed. Lillian Schlissel, Vicki L. Ruiz, and Janice Monk. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988. pp. 49-68.

[229] For a discussion of the varying themes covered in the study of gender among Indigenous groups, see Patricia Albers, "From Illusion to Illumination: Anthropological Studies of American Indian Women," *Gender and Anthropology: Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching*, ed. Sandra Morgen. Washington: American Anthropological Association, 1989. pp. 137-48.

Landes' comments on Anishinaabeg gender roles, if not the examples she gave, clearly seem to imply that a devaluation of women was embedded in Anishinaabeg society and would have been present during the fur-trade era and perhaps even earlier. Anthropologist Eleanor Leacock took issue with at least one aspect of this implication by Landes in her 1978 article, "Women's Status in Egalitarian Society: Implications for Social Evolution." Writing about the Anishinaabeg and other 'egalitarian band societies,' Leacock stated that nothing in the structure of such nations, "necessitated special deference to men." Leacock took particular issue with Landes' conclusions about the Anishinaabeg, asserting that Landes exhibited a "lack of a critical and historical orientation toward her material," as well as a, "downgrading of women that is built into unexamined and ethnocentric phraseology." In keeping with her own Marxist approach to the topic, Leacock suggested that the role of women in egalitarian societies often changed when the products of labour began to be treated as mere commodities in trade with Europeans. She suggested instead that women became dependent on men only when the trade made men's products became more "commercially relevant" than their own.[233]

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[230] The stories in Ruth Landes' book refer to Ojibwa people going to war against the Sioux or Dakota, suggesting this was a part of people's lives at the time, though Landes acknowledged that war between the two groups had not existed in at least fifty years. Landes, *The Ojibwa Woman*. p. 4, 17, 132, 133, 141, 143, 149, 162, 163, 171. Maggie Wilson (see vii) was of Cree descent but spoke Anishinaabemwin/Ojibwa, had married an Anishinaabe man, and had lived all her life among the Anishinaabeg peoples.

[231] *Ibid*, pp. 131, 137. On the range of roles available to women, see 135-71.

[232] *Ibid*, pp. 134. Landes noted, however, that "today when rice and berries and maple sugar are commanding some white attention, the women also are learning to function as dealers."

Recent studies on the Anishinaabeg have echoed such views. In her analysis of the activities of the Great Lake Indigenous women in relation to Christian missionaries and to the fur trade business, Carol Devens wrote that prior to contact with European individuals Anishinaabeg society had a 'gender balance' that their communities depended upon. This balance was then disrupted by European missionaries and trade. The fur trade, in particular, acted as a kind of "catalyst for modification in social structures throughout native bands." Devens contended that the trade encouraged "intensive production in order to accumulate and then exchange surplus goods." Therefore, disruption of Indigenous gender roles occurred primarily because the "French traders wanted to [have] furs obtained by men rather than the small game tools, utensils, or clothing procured or produced by women." She argued that "most of the items given in exchange by the French were tools and weapons intended to facilitate trapping." This caused the "daily and seasonable life" of native communities to "revolve around the table." She suggests that women became "auxiliaries to the trapping process" rather than producers in their own right." Devens also wrote that the fur trade led to a decrease in women's "direct contributions to the community welfare."[234]

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[233] Leacock, Eleanor, "Women's Status in Egalitarian Society: Implications for Social Evolution," *Current Anthropology* 19 (Spring 1978): 3-25, especially 13, 17, 21. Harold Hickerson, who largely ignored gender in his influential work on the Anishinaabeg, appears to have agreed with the theory that the fur trade devalued women's roles. In one of his last published works, a study of "fur trade colonialism," he argued that among the Huron, the fur trade inevitably led to a decline in women's roles and importance. He suggested that men naturally assumed the major role in dealing with traders. Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism and the North American Indians," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 1 (Summer 1973): 15-44.

The primary argument put forth in slightly different ways by Landes, Leacock, and Devens is that women had 'little' direct role in the fur trade! Leacock and Devens promoted the idea that this lack of participation and authority in making decisions about an increasingly important economic activity led to an increased devaluation of women in Anishinaabeg society. The basis of this change, they suggested, was that men were the 'primary traders' because of the product of women's labour was not in great demand in the trade.

In fact, this theory has yet to be thoroughly substantiated using the records of the fur trade. A major problem with doing so is simply that the sources used to describe the furtrade are corrupted and marred by misconceptions and misrepresentations about the roles of women in Indigenous societies. In 1983, the point was made by Priscilla K. Buffalohead in her study of the roles available to Anishinaabekweg women during the fur-trade era. Buffalohead commented on the common view in earlier sources on the Anishinaabeg which argued that Indigenous men were lazy and Indigenous women were overworked 'squaw drudges.' Buffalohead pointed out that many eighteenth and nineteenth century sources on the Anishinaabeg viewed men's and women's roles from the position of European views about the desirable roles of men and women. These views made it very difficult to correctly gauge Anishinaabeg's own beliefs about the autonomy of women and their value of their society. Buffalohead strongly contends that the derogatory statements by European men about Indigenous women are sometimes wrongly seen as descriptive of Anishinaabeg beliefs or social structures, providing unwarranted justification for a belief that the fur trade led to a devaluation of Anishinaabekweg.[235]

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[234] Devens, Carol. *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. pp. 13, 14, 15-16, 17, 18.

Buffalohead's work examined the explicit views of those who worked on the topic of Anishinaabekweg women and their role in society. Further, just as problematic was the frequent lack of mention of women in the narratives of European interactions with the Ansihinaabeg. Based on the evidence of many written sources, one might assume that the Anishinaabeg were a people entirely 'without women.' Thomas Vennum, Jr., in his study of use of wild rice among the Anishinaabeg, provided an example of this problem. He quoted from a journal spanning 1804 to 1805, by François Victoire Malhiot, a trader for the North West Company at Lac du Flambeau (Wisconsin). In a translation of the original French, Malhiot stated that on 10 September 1804, a leader named L'Outarde, or Goose, "started yesterday with his young men to gather wild rice at [Trout Lake], where his village is."[236] Without any other evidence, this passage could be interpreted as suggesting that gathering wild rice was a band or group activity, led by a male leader and only carried out by younger men. Vennum pointed out, however, that any such statement

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[235] Buffalohead, Priscilla K., "Farmers, Warriors, Traders: A Fresh Look at Ojibway Women," *Minnesota History* 48 (Summer 1983): 237. One nineteenth-century example is Peter Grant, "The Saulteux Indians about 1904," *Les Bourgeois de Compagnie de Nord Quest*, ed. Louis F. R. Masson. New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960. p. 321. Grant stated that Anishinaabekwe women, "for all their work and devotion, are regarded by the men little better than slaves to their will, or mere beasts of burden for the conveniency."

[236] Vennum, Thomas, Jr., *Wild Rice and the Ojibway People*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Press, 1988. pp. 108, 109. The translation is from R. G. Thwaites, ed., "A Wisconsin Fur Trader's Journal, 1804-5," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 19 (1910): 197.

"should be taken to mean that the band went to establish its rice camps, and not that the men were the harvesters." Vennum based his arguments on more recent ethnographic and historical evidence which suggests that women, rather than men, managed and did most of the wild rice harvesting until the twentieth century. While the wild rice harvest was carried out, Vennum noted, that the men were more generally involved in fishing and hunting geese.[237]

Utilizing ethnographic materials in such a manner is a technique that has been called 'upsteaming.' The term was first used by the anthropologist William Fenton, in an important 1952 essay on the training of 'historical ethnologists.' Fenton wrote that "major patterns of culture tend to be stable over long periods of time," so that it was possible to proceed "from the known to the unknown, concentrating on recent sources first because they contain familiar things, and thence going to earlier sources." Fenton added, however, that it was important to show a preference for those sources in which the descriptions of the society ring true at both ends of the time scale."[238]

Fenton examined ethnographic sources from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and earlier accounts and determined they were all historical sources. They were all the result of views and perspectives, which must be considered and evaluated for the information they contain. In arguing in favour of 'upstreaming,' Fenton was reacting against those who assumed 'acculturation' or inevitable change of Indigenous cultures in the face of European cultural conquest. Although the concept of acculturation has become less accepted, a related view, which should perhaps be called 'downstreaming,' or working with the 'flow of time' persists. This is the belief that lacking detailed written documentation, the cultural attributes of Indigenous people in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries cannot be assumed to have existed earlier.[239]

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[237] Vennum, pp. 108, 109. It should be noted that François Victoire Malhiot in his original journal used the term *gens* to refer to L'Outarde's followers, a word that could be translated as "people" or even "band." Even this translation, however, may imply a more important role for men in ricing than is warranted. See Malhiot journal, 15 (10 September 1804), McGill University Libraries, Rare Books and Special Collections.
[238] William Fenton, "The Training of Historical Ethnologists is America," *American Anthropologist* 54 (3): 333, 335.

Problems arise with the assertion that seventeenth century Indigenous people shared cultural values, gender relations, or social organization with nineteenth century Indigenous people simply because they shared languages or tribal names. This is one assertion that sometimes needs to be demonstrated, given the many social, economic, and political changes that took place in the Great Lakes in those two hundred years. On the other hand, to presume that there was no similarity in culture between such groups is also equally problematic. In fact, many aspects of seventeenth and eighteenth century Anishinaabeg history may be totally inexplicable without the guidance from later ethnographic sources.[240] To insist too strictly on the primacy of early French or British documents is to suggest that Indigenous people of more recent times have nothing useful to say about their own past. It can also result in ignoring, as the earlier documents often do, the role of Indigenous women, simply because they are not mentioned in documents written by European men, who only interactions with Indigenous men.

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[239] *Ibid*, p. 333. R. White, at the beginning of *The Middle Ground*, wrote that, "the technique of using ethnologies of present-day or nineteenth-century Indigenous groups to interpret Indigenous societies of the past" had a "bias toward continuity" that he tried to avoid. (xiv) Skepticism toward continuity in the analysis of Indigenous history is sometimes allied with the application of globalizing theories, as in Carol I. Mason, "Indians, Maple Sugaring, and the Spread of Market Economies," *The Woodland Tradition in the Western Great Lakes: Papers Presented to Elden Johson*, ed. Guy E Gibbon. Minneapolis: Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, 1990. pp. 37-43.

[240] Even scholars who argue for radical change in Indigenous cultures due to contact with Europeans often make use of later ethnographic works as evidence for their understandings of Indigenous cultures.

CONCLUSION

In summary, I argue that secondary historical sources can and should always be utilized with a great deal of caution and trepidation in order to model questions about earlier events and patterns, to investigate what is said, and often more importantly, what is not said in earlier historical documents. Many of the sources cited above describe the lives, skills, and beliefs of Anishinaabekweg in more detail, providing some alternative explanations that avoid the value judgements inherent in many historical sources. Perhaps more than anything, such ethno-historical works suggest the need to acknowledge the individual experiences and motives in the interpretation of historical documents. When interacting with Europeans, Anishinaabeg men and women were presented with new situations, ones that involved the application and alteration of culturally received ideas. In many ways, these new situations provided more rather than fewer opportunities for men and women. Evidence from the fur trade illuminated with the knowledge gained from later ethno-historical work shows that Anishinaabeg men and women had many ways to participate in the fur trade. I argue that the nature of the possibilities available to both Anishinaabeg men and women calls into question the belief that the trade provided a mechanism for transforming an earlier egalitarian society into one in which men dominated women.

I attempted in this chapter to use secondary sources to prove a point. That point is that we need to decolonize the literary territory in order to make space for alternative understandings of Anishinaabekweg and other Indigenous women's understandings of historical events, experiences and interactions. When using non-Anishinaabeg/non-Indigenous sources we can never forget that Anishinaabeg ways of knowing and recording knowledge should not be forgotten or seen as somehow lesser to written forms of recording history.

The next chapter sets out to describe how Indigenous editorial contexts are significant to the construction of a historical literature that is more culturally safe, de-emphasizes the universal of how knowledge is distributed and offers alternatives for publishing historical literature in the future.

CHAPTER 6

INDIGENOUS EDITORIAL CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the great need for Indigenous publishing. I note here that from the colonial period to the present texts published by non-Indigenous people about Indigenous peoples have been rife with stereotypes and inaccuracy, which have been degrading and offensive to Indigenous peoples. The problem I wish to point out here in this chapter, concerns representation by non-Indigenous peoples that continues unabated despite Indigenous historians, scholars and writers having developed and expressed a body of literature that now stands out as 'the most culturally authentic literary expression of Indigenous reality.' To compound matters, this body of work continues to be overshadowed by non-Indigenous historians who insist on writing history about Indigenous peoples. Raising the issue of Indigenous 'voice' and 'accessibility,' Indigenous controlled editing and publishing is the solution to many of the problems which have held back Indigenous peoples in the publishing industry.

THE LEGACY OF EUROCENTRIC EDITORIAL

Beginning from the fifteenth till the mid-nineteenth century, the vast majority of explorers, missionaries, anthropologists, and literary writers published texts that made reference to Indigenous peoples as an inferior vanishing race in a manner which is degrading, oppressive and offensive to most Indigenous peoples. These literatures and writings convey little information about Indigenous cultural reality.

In *Indians of Canada*, for example, which was for decades considered to be the authoritative anthropological/historical text, originally published in 1938, Diamond Jenness begins in the first paragraph, "When Samuel Champlain in 1603 sailed up the St. Lawrence River and agreed to support the Algonkian Indians at Tadoussac against the aggression of the Iroquois, he could not foresee that the petty strife between these two apparently insignificant hordes of savages would one day decide the fate of New France."[241]

Much of the historical literature written by explorers, missionaries and anthropologists provided little insight into the cultural realities of Indigenous peoples, yet it influenced the intellectual foundations for European-based society's perception of Indigenous peoples as basically under-developed. It has been argued by Indigenous intellectuals, such as Ward Churchill (Creek/Cherokee) and John Mohawk (Mohawk), that the common perception was also characterized, consciously or subconsciously, by Darwinist concepts that can be taken to suggest Indigenous peoples are located somewhere on an evolutionary scale between primates and homo-sapiens.[242]

Later, imposters such as Grey Owl and Long Lance, came to have considerable notoriety lecturing writing, publishing while masquerading as Indigenous peoples or being invented by others as the symbol of 'Indigenousness.' Generally, these people, by building into such over-exaggerated or blatantly false realities of being an Indigenous person, tended to reinforce the stereotypical image of Indigenous peoples as glorified remnant of the past, originating from Rousseau's concept of the "the Noble Savage." [243]As noted by Robert Berkhofter in *The Whiteman's Indian*, "Although each succeeding generation [of writers] presumed its imagery based more upon the Native Americans of observation and report, the Indian of imagination and ideology continued to be derived as much from polemical and creative needs of white people as from what they heard and read about of actual Indigenous peoples or even at times experienced."[244] Publication, such as Calvin Martin's *Keepers of the Game*[245] is now recognized by many historical critics as portraying Indigenous peoples in a very racist manner, perpetuated many of the negative perceptions first initiated by explorers and missionaries about so called Indigenous mysticism, savagery, uncivilized behaviour and self-destructive tendencies.

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[241] Jenness, Diamond. *Indians of Canada.* p. 1.
[242] Churchill, Ward. *Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema, and the Colonization of American Indians.* Boulder: Common Courage Press, 1992; John Mohawk, "Origins of Iroquois Political Thougtht." *New Voices From the Longhouse: An Anthology of Contemporary Iroquois Writing.*

Beginning in the 1980s, writing by non-Indigenous historians and academics created another body of texts. Some of these writers must be credited with increasing public awareness in recent years; however, while much of the body of work has observational and analytical value, it cannot express Indigenous cultures and worldviews, nor can it express Indigenous peoples' unique internal perspectives on contemporary Indigenous peoples' political and cultural issues. Although this body of work is predominantly well-intentioned, some Indigenous writers such as Howard Adams (Métis), Lee Maracle (Sto:lo) and Leroy Littlebear (Blackfoot, Blood Tribe), have stated that it tends to reduce the emotionally, historically and culturally charged issues to dry information laden with legalized and/or academic jargon.[246] As stated by Adams: "[a]cademia is slow to re-examine what has been accepted for centuries....These myths have been so deeply ingrained in the people's psyche that even Indigenous peoples will have to go to great lengths to rid themselves of colonial ideologies.[247]

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[243] Smith, Linda T. *Decolonizing Research Methodologies*., 49.

[244] Berkofer, Jr. Robert. *The Whiteman's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present.* p. 71.

[245] Martin, Calvin. *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

As further observed by scholar Ward Churchill, "the current goal of literature concerning Indians is to create them, if not out of the whole cloth, then from only the bare minimum of fact needed to give the resulting fiction a ring of truth."[248] Here Churchill expresses a view commonly held by many Indigenous peoples – as well as many mainstream historians and academics – that the portrayal of the Indigenous peoples has improved slightly, but there is still a persistence of subtle inappropriate stereotypes and faulty academic paradigms associated with writing about Indigenous history.

The most important purpose of historical literature focussing on a specific cultural nation should be to present the particular culture in a realistic insightful manner with the highest possible degree of verisimilitude. As Franz Boas argued in his progressive anthropological concept of "ethnocentrism," the purpose can ultimately only be achieved through a perspective of a culture from the inside.[249] Jacques Derrida calls the ethnocentricism of the European science of writing in the late seventeenth and early eighteen centuries a symptom of the general crisis of European consciousness, and states further that, recognition through assimilation of 'the Other' can be more interestingly traced…in the imperialist constitution of the colonial subject.[250] Indeed, the vast majority of the body of literature on Indigenous peoples tends to view them as 'the Other' and thus fails to achieve an internal cultural perspective. This failure has been a long-standing concern of Indigneous peoples and other marginalized groups throughout the world and was identified by progressive anthropologists like Boas in the mid 20th century and by members of the Canadian history establishment, such as Bruce Trigger, who wrote:

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[246] Adams, Howard. *A Tortured People: The Politics of Colonization.* Penticton: Theytus Books Ltd., 1995; Maracle, Lee. *I Am Woman;* Leroy Little Bear, "Jagged Worldviews Colliding," *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, ed. Marie Battiste. Vancouver: UBCPress, 2000; reprint 2002.
[247] Adams, Howard. p. 33.
[248] Churchill, Ward. *Fantasies of the Master Race.* p. 33.
[249] Trigger, Bruce, "The Historians Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing From Charlevoix to the Present." *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History.* p. 39.

> …treating native people as members of autonomous groups denies the realities of life for most Indians over the last several centuries. If many of them have valiantly resisted European domination and fought to preserve what they could of their freedom and way of life, they have all been forced into increasingly narrow spheres of action and had to adapt to these straightened conditions. It is no less important to understand what has happened to native people who live in cities, who have been denied Indian status by federal laws, and who have sought to escape from domination through assimilation into Euro-Canadian society than it is to study what has happened to those who continue to inhabit reserves or band territories. Only in this fashion can the full meaning of dependency and coercion and their efforts on the lives of native people be understood.[251]

Although increased cultural awareness and the concept of eurocentricism throughout the 1980s and 1990s has led to a marked improvement in the contemporary historical literature being produced, it still contains some of the old stereotypes and perceptions, and lacks respect for Indigenous perspectives.

INDIGENOUS EDITORIAL

The need for Indigenous editorial guidelines in many ways parallels the editorial advances that were made during the late 20th century in writing about African Americans and women, and the development of concepts such as 'Black history' and 'Women's history.' One predominant assertion made by Indigenous writers, editors and publishers is that the experience of being Indigenous is profoundly different from that of other people in North America. Many Indigenous authors have cited cultural appropriation[252] and misrepresentation through literature and lack of respect for Indigenous cultural protocol as significant problems in Canadian publishing spheres. Indigenous peoples have frequently taken the stance that they are best capable and morally empowered to transmit information about themselves. However, whereas it must be acknowledged that there are established genres of writing and reporting on Indigenous subject matter, Indigenous peoples would at least like to have an opportunity to have input into certain aspect of how they are written about.[253]

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[250] Spivak, Gayatri Chkravorty. Can *the Subaltern Speak? Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1989. p. 89.

[251] Trigger, Bruce, "The Historians Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing From Charlevoix to the Present." *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History.* p. 39.

Indigenous peoples, along with various historians, academics and other cultural groups, have argued that it is important for any national and/or cultural group to have input into the documentation of its history, philosophies and reality, as basic matter of cultural integrity. Huron Philosopher George Sioui argued that is the responsibility of those doing *autohistory* to change the way Indigenous peoples are discussed, so that the real conversations about history can begin. He wrote of: "the goal of Amerindian autohistory is its duty to repair the damage it has traditionally caused to the integrity of

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[252] Akiwenzie-Damm, Kateri. "Says Who: Colonialism, Identity, and Defining Indigenous Literature." *Looking at the Words of our People: First Nations Analysis of Literature,* p. 11.

[253] LaRocque, Emma, "The Colonization of the Native Woman Scholar," *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, and Strength*, eds. et al. Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996; reprinted, 2001. p.11-15. Also see, Angela Cavender Wilson, "American Indian History or Non-Indian Perceptions of American Indian history?" *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*, pp. 23-26.

Amerindian culture."[254] Sioui understood that colonialism was experienced differently by the colonized and the colonizer and that the views of both must be heard. In some respects, Indigenous peoples need to 'tell their own story' and/or exercise some authority over how they are represented, even more so than other national and cultural groups, because of the way in which they have been misrepresented by various disciplines, which have presented historical literature in a manner predominantly inconsistent with, and often in opposition to, Indigenous cultural concerns.

ESTABLISHING CULTURALLY SENSITIVE EDITORIAL GUIDELINES

The primary purpose of Indigenous editorial guidelines should be to ensure the highest possible editorial standards, while at the same time creating and employing Indigenous-based editorial practices and concerns. A culturally-sensitive-based editorial process may establish and incorporate some specific guidelines which do not necessarily follow established Euro-Canadian-based editorial rules and practices. In an Indigenous style guide certain editorial guidelines need to be developed and established in order to respect cultural integrity and complement the emerging distinct Indigenous voice. Indigenous writers, through their work are creating and defining an emerging contemporary Indigenous historical literary voice that reflects a tradition of literary awareness that stretches back in time to when we wrote our thoughts in pictographs, birchback scrolls, wampum belts, totem poles, masks, shawls, on the sides of teepees or the tattoos we put on our bodies. Contemporary literature respects the 'traditional' literature but seeks a new format or medium. Similar to the situation that Indigenous authors found themselves in during the 1980s, Indigenous editors and publishers are attempting to establish an Indigenous culturally-sensitive-based methodology within the editing and publishing process of history.

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[254] Sioui, George E. *For an Amerindian Authohistory: An Essay on the Foundations of Social Ethic.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992. p. 21.

Some of the practices that are being implemented or adopted in editing Indigenous texts are the principles of the oral tradition within the editorial process:

- Respecting, establishing and defining Indigenous colloquial forms of English (an emerging and developing area of study that is termed by some as "Red English"[255]);
- Incorporating Indigenous traditional protocols in considering the sensitivity or appropriateness of presenting aspects of culture; and,
- Consulting and soliciting approval of Elders, Old peoples and traditional leaders in the publishing of sacred cultural material.

More specific examples of how Indigenous editors and publishers can develop culturally sensitive practices has been be discussed throughout the book, *Talking On the Page: Editing Aboriginal Oral Texts*, edited by Laura J. Murray and Keren Rice.[256] In this book they discuss how despite the risk of having Indigenous words transformed or (mis)interpreted, Indigenous peoples may choose to disseminate their words because they have suffered from having the words of non-Indigenous 'experts' valued over their own. Words which are not made public cannot serve to combat misunderstandings and ignorance in publishing or the general population; nor can they inform and encourage Indigenous people living away from their elders in cities, or serve members of other Indigenous groups who might welcome the stories and strategies of other Indigenous cultures by way of comparison. In their introduction to the book, Murray and Rice are expressing some editorial concerns which were broached at a conference on Editorial Problems at the University of Toronto in 1996.[257] They sent each speaker the following questions:

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[255] Womack, Craig. *Red on Red. Native American Literary Separatism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. London 1999. p. 4.

[256] Murray, Laura J. and Keren Rice. *Talking on the Page: Editing Aboriginal Oral Texts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

- What happens when the spoken word is transferred to paper?
- What are the reasons for writing down Aboriginal words on the part of the speaker, and on the part of the editor or amanuensis? How does the intended audience affect the way we approach the project?
- How can we do a better job in this translation? Can non-written modes of reproduction and transmutation – storytelling, film, or drama, for example – be more faithful to the original, more effective, or more creative?

And more fundamentally,

- What is the importance and structure of speech in Aboriginal societies, and can (or should) that importance be communicated in other media and contexts?[258]

It should be noted that Indigenous editorial and publishing methodology is in its initial stage of development.

UPHOLDING INDIGENOUS CULTURAL PROTOCOLS

Indigenous people have distinctive *ethos* based on unique identities, which stem from their histories, cultures and traditions. Indigenous peoples also have several responsibilities placed upon them through internal cultural imperatives which include telling the truth, honesty with one another and mindfulness of any impact on the community.[259] Through consciousness of Indigenous history and heritage comes the ultimate responsibility of being connection to both one's ancestors and the future generations, a cultural precept suggested by some Indigenous writers as 'the time-space continuum."[260]

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[257] Murray and Rice. *Talking on the Page,* p. xvi.

[258] *Ibid*, p. xvii.

[259] Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodology.*

It is crucial for those writing about Indigenous people's history to have a clear understanding of how Indigenous peoples perceive and contextualize their contemporary cultural identities in connection to their nation-based historical reality. Over the past 500 years, Indigenous nations have undergone attempted genocide, colonization and constant technological revolution, introduced by another society.[261] This has coincided almost exactly with the time period that Western society underwent its '500 years of print culture.' Yet, even under these often difficult circumstances, Aboriginal peoples have dealt with the imposition of legislation and institutions, and the introduction of new technologies; moreover, they have survived, evolved, and developed with the foundations of their unique cultures intact.

Indigenous peoples have adapted into their various unique and distinct contemporary forms by adhering to two important cultural principles: (1) that incorporating new ways of doing things should be carefully considered in consulation with Elders, traditional leaders and community; and (2) if it is detemined that a new technology or institution goes against fundamental cultural values and/or might lead to negative cultural impact, then it should not be adopted. These principles exist, in one variation or another, in most First Nations and Aboriginal groups dating back to ancient times.

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[260] Little Bear, Leroy, "Jagged Worldviews Colliding." *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. Pp. 77-82.

[261] Thornton, Russell, "Institutional and Intellectual Histories of Native American Studies." *New Directions in American Indian History*, ed. Colin G. Calloway. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. pp.79-107; Russell Thornton, "The Demography of Colonialism and "Old" and "New" Native Americans." *New Directions in American Indian History*, ed. Colin G. Calloway. pp. 17-39. ; Melissa L. Meyer and Russell Thornton, "Indians and the Numbers Garme: Quantitative Methods in Native American History." *New Directions in American Indian History*, ed. Colin G. Calloway. pp. 5-47.

In many cases throughout the contact period, when repressive legislation and/or institutions were imposed on Indigenous peoples, Indigenous institutions went underground giving the outward appearance that they had been undermined.[262] The re-emergence of various forms of traditional governments and spiritual institutions such as the Longhouse are testimony to this phenomenon.[263]

THE SALIENCE OF INDIGENOUS HISTORICAL LITERATURE

The many deep pools of information held by each Indigenous group have been transmitted over generations (and centuries) through the oral tradition and comprise unique bodies of knowledge with distinct cultural contexts. Further, the oral tradition has often worked in conjunction with various physical methods of documentation, such as prayer, song, chants, petroglyphs, birch bark scrolls, totem poles, wampum belts and masks, dance performances, and so on.

Thus according to Indigenous tradition, the oral tradition is the primary mode of information transmission and documentation, and that Indigenous 'voice' is the mode of expression. In as much as it is possible, it could be said that the oral tradition is the foundation of Indigenous historical publishing, and the contemporary Indigenous 'voice' is likewise the foundation of contemporary Indigenous historical literature. The value of

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[262] Cook-Lynn, Elizabeth, "How Scholarship Defames the Native Voice...and Why?" *Wicazo Sa Review*, pp. 90-92.

[263] Bruchac, Joseph. ed. *New Voices From the Longhouse. : An Anthology of Contemporary Iroquois Writing*,. New York: The Greenfield Review Press, 1989.

Indigenous storytelling and the words of the Indigenous peoples – even when spoken in the English language – are also important aspects of the Indigenous 'voice.'

Although much of it still remains unwritten, Indigenous 'historical voice' contains a highly meaningful and symbolic 'worlds' populated with inspiring peoples. The body of historical knowledge encompassed in the Indigenous 'voice' also contains valuable paradigms, teachings and information that can benefit all Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples alike. Indeed, sectors of the government[264] and academic establishment have recently come to the realization that Indigenous knowledge is an integral part of the key to human survival.

Indigenous historical literature has had to struggle through a number of impeding factors, including cultural and language barriers, ethnocentrism in the academic establishment, competition from non-Indigenous scholars, estrangement in the publishing industry, and a lack of Indigenous controlled editing and publishing. Under these conditions it is not surprising that in the Canadian publishing industry Indigenous historical literature has gone from being virtually non-existent to currently being relegated a marginal position. An important task for Indigenous editorial should be to support and promote the Indigenous 'voice.'

CONCLUSION

Indigenous controlled editing and publishing is a solution to many of the problems which have held back and continue to hold back Indigenous peoples in the publishing industry. By incorporating cultural sensitivity, it could eliminate many of the problems that have been discussed in the body of this chapter. Furthermore, it has the potential to possibly make writing, researching and publishing of Indigenous historical literature a fluid process under the influence of Indigenous peoples, so that the possibility of the writer of history going through an alienating process to get published is avoided. Most importantly, Indigenous editorial direction produces the highest possible level of cultural integrity and the most authentic expression of Indigenous 'voice' within the parameters of the contemporary publishing industry.

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[264] See for example: Canada. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. *Report of the Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.* Ottawa: Canada Communications Group-Publishing, 1996.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: A PERSONAL JOURNEY

Using an Indigenist research framework, the intent of this thesis has been to decolonize the discipline of history, deconstruct and dismantle its Western Eurocentric universals, and challenge stereotypes about Indigenous women in Western historical literature in order to initiate a dialogue involving Indigenous intellectual historical traditions, and to create an understanding of Indigenous history. I have argued that no universal exists and that Indigenous intellectual traditions exist prior to contact with Europeans. I hypothesized that to facilitate decolonization, a 'radical' approach is needed to achieve a 'truthful' understanding of Indigenous intellectual and literary historical traditions. Furthermore, I maintained that the best way to create a 'radical' change in the discipline of history was by applying Craig Womack's 'Radical Red Stick' approach to writing, which enables the researchers to examine, explain and theorize Indigenous 'nation-based' intellectual and literary historical traditions from an Indigenous perspective or from the 'inside-out,'

Utilizing Anishinaabe intellectual and literary historical traditions of as a way to ground my work, I launched a study into bringing Anishinaabeg intellectual and literary historical traditions back into the construction of or 'doing' Anishinaabeg history. This means constructing a way to write, research, be sensitive to Indigenous editorial challenges, and create a balanced view of Anishinaabeg men and women in our history.

As an Anishinaabekwe scholar the later point is very significant to me personally. I demonstrated that it is not enough to just simply 'bring in' Indigenous intellectual and literary traditions because this alone does not decolonize the universals or ensure the 'real truth' about any Indigenous history. Further, it would not prevent others from utilizing colonizing processes. It was not sufficient to simply 'describe' an Indigenous historical intellectual tradition, nor was it sufficient to study Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions using the Western approaches that have been used previously. I concluded then, that Craig Womack's theory of the 'Radical Red Stick' offered the best approach with which to work with Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions. This is because it enables an Indigenist research methodology to delve into work that writes Indigenous history from and Indigenous point of view.

By initiating a historical study of Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions from the inside out, I make several significant contributions to historical disciplines and its understanding of Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions in this thesis. Further, I deconstruct and dismantle presumed universals concerning the ability of Indigenous people's lack of pre-contact intellectual and historical traditions, ability to do contemporary research, editing, and I also destabilize the stereotypes of Anishinaabekweg women. That is to say, this thesis deconstructs the 'imaginary Indian,' by creating a nation-based understanding of the Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions, which recognizes and emphasized Indigenous knowledge systems as distinctive and 'prior-to' colonization (and contining to exist).

This thesis opens up a discussion that has not been initiated before. While I explained Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions in much the same way as generations of Anishinaabeg have, intellectual and historical traditions have never been explained from the interpreted perspective of an Anishinaabekwe scholar 'in' the discipline. Further, this is not the same discussion controlled by generations of non-Indigenous historians, as their dialogue of Anishinaabeg peoples presents Western Eurocentric patriarchal and racist understandings of Anishinaabeg intellectual and literary traditions. This thesis uses an internally generated framework of analysis contributing a culturally 'safe' understanding of Anishinaabeg intellectual and historical traditions that is 'new' to the discipline of history.

Theoretically, this thesis offers a 'new' approach to the study of Indigenous history, which challenges the discipline's universalism and its acknowledged Eurocentric tendencies. Each Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions is a 'voice of difference,' rather than commonality, called forward to disrupt the powers of the discipline's status quo – they are the links between thought and intellectualized literary activism. Such disruptions does not come about by merely emphasizing that all things Indigenous are, in reality filtered through contact with Europe. This was only achieved by a theory that rejects assimilationist ideology which is a retreat into sameness and blending in.

Craig Womack's 'Radical Red Stick' approach enables a researcher/writer to explicate the contours of Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions and literary traditions. The importance of Womack's approach, and my application of it in this thesis is that it enables the creation of a resistance technique that pushes aside Western Eurocentric presumed universals in the discipline of history. This also supports the creation of a Indigenist and decolonizing understanding and analysis which is not limited by the confines of Western Eurocentric thought and which does perpetuate understanding and continued intellectual colonization of Indigenous historical traditions. By seeking to study nation-based intellectual and literary historical traditions this thesis offers a 'new' look from the 'inside-out.' It should be noted, however, that while I have illustrated the usefulness of Womack's approach to this thesis, this is not a rubric for 'all' Indigenous studies in history-making. That is, while this theory supports my analysis of Anishinaabeg's nation-based intellectual and literary historical system, it may not hold true for all Indigenous historical systems. Thus, studies of increasingly different Indigenous intellectual and literary historical traditions will be required to determine fully the value such approaches as Womack's. Furthermore, studies of historical systems of constructing history as they exist in the *present* are also required in order to offer alternatives to Indigenous scholars and peoples seeking to change the literary status quo.

By bringing Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions into the history discipline, I achieved my goal of deconstructing and dismantling some of the presumed universals and so therefore offered a decolonized perspective of Anishinaabeg knowledge systems. I acknowledge that this job is incomplete, however, as a single case study it cannot deconstruct and decolonize an entire discipline in one thesis. I also recognize that the discipline of history cannot be deconstructed and decolonized by introducing a single 'new' approach which propositions that one can study Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions and thus, destabilize centuries of Eurocentric thought processes. Nonetheless, intellectually, it will enable the discipline of history to overcome the racism and sexism embedded in the discipline concerning the intellectualism of Indigenous peoples. Like all intellectual and literary historical traditions, the Western Eurocentric tradition is a human invention, but not universal. Beyond the confines of Western Eurocentric traditions are other traditions, whose knowledge systems are complex, detailed and layered.

However, this is not to say that those traditions will be any better or worse than Western Eurocentric traditions; what I am saying is that they are all different and distinctive. For these traditions to be able to 'speak out' or voice their difference is a critical conclusion of this thesis. Seeking to study and use nation-based Indigenous intellectual and historical traditions which are inherently historical for people such as the Anishinaabeg peoples, offers a 'new' look from the 'inside-out.'

When I began this research I was hoping just to talk about the ways I had learned how to do history for the Anishinaabekweg women in my life, but it soon moved past that to a more formal discussion of resistance, survival, struggle and challenging the discipline of history. I stepped forward to attempt to dismantle the boundaries between text and self and realized that I could facilitate in writing history or at least showing how to write history for all those Anishinaabeg students I see in university who struggle with being bored of their history courses or angered by the fact that they never 'see' themselves in the textbooks. It was not that I was thinking that I could push Indigenous thinking on a path towards decolonization because that happened long before I was born. I simply wanted to engage existing dialogues and create a basis for Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples to recognize differences. I also wanted to facilitate a sharing of knowledge among Anishinaabeg peoples. What I wanted to do with this thesis is to just get readers thinking about Indigenous intellectual and literary traditions and how to work with them, rather than relying on Western traditions to explain Indigenous modes of thinking and being in the world.

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