RED AND BLACK BLOOD: TEACHING THE LOGIC OF THE CANADIAN SETTLER STATE

by

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Abstract

I examine Ontario history textbooks to demonstrate how the portrayal of the white settler fantasy of Canada being peacefully colonized and settled is enforced through the temporality and geography of the Canadian settler state, leading to the erasure of connections between indigenous and black communities in the development of the settler state. The temporality of the settler state is enforced through the Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act, which work together to deny shared time between indigenous peoples, black peoples, and settlers. Settlers are positioned as inhabiting the here and now as reflected in the temporality of the modern settler state, while indigenous peoples are consigned to a status of primitivity, and black peoples are positioned as hailing from a primitive place, yet recently arriving in Canada. The temporality of the Indian Act is represented geographically through the reserve system, which works within the Indian Act to replace indigenous sovereignty and nationhood with Indian Bands, while the temporality of the Multiculturalism Act is represented geographically through the image of Canada as a cultural mosaic, which enforces the divide-and-conquer strategies of the settler state. If indigenous peoples and black peoples are always positioned as temporally and spatially distant, then it follows that their histories developed discretely. However, through analyzing how, what Patrick Wolfe terms, a "logic of elimination" (105) is deployed within the Canadian settler state, it become clear that settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery have always been engaged in an intimate and mutually reinforcing relationship in Canada. By moving beyond the temporality and geography of the settler state, not only does it becomes clear that the connections between indigenous and black peoples are actually foundational to the Canadian settler state's current formation, but space is also created to develop alliances between indigenous and black peoples. Developing alliances is integral to imagining a reconfiguration of the current settler state that moves beyond divide-and-conquer politics, and towards a more just way of organizing societies that takes seriously the flesh-and-blood of all individual subjects and the human species as whole (Wynter 47).

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Preface

This project was designed as a cultural studies project that draws on history textbooks to demonstrate how Canadian society's understanding of history reflects and reinforces the racialicized hierarchies of the current Canadian settler state. I chose history textbooks taught in Ontario schools as my primary sources for their cultural relevance: the stories told in textbooks represent commonly told stories about Canadian history. I also have personal reasons for choosing Ontario history textbooks. Throughout my undergraduate studies, I often reflected on how my understanding of Canadian history had changed from what I remembered reading in my high school history textbooks. As a middle-class, settler of European descent, who was educated in the Ontario public school system, most of my understanding of Canadian history came from the high school history textbooks that I studied—until I attended university and began reading the theoretical and literary works of women of colour feminist thinkers. I also found that when engaging in conversations with high school friends who had chosen different post-secondary paths but had similar social locations to myself, that their understanding of Canadian history was also grounded in the textbooks we read in our history classes. These experiences are some of the ways that Ontario history textbooks proved to be culturally relevant in my own life. My social location illustrates the effect that history textbooks can have on certain students' understanding of history.

 I directly cite from six textbooks throughout this project,[1] and reviewed several more textbooks that I did not end up including. My original plan was to choose textbooks that are most

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[1] Throughout the project I draw on *Canada Revisited 7: New France, British North America, Conflict and Change* (Clark, Arnold, McKay et al) and *Their Stories, Our History: Development of a Nation* (Haskings-Winner, Mewhinney, Rubinstein et al.) most extensively. I also draw on *Pearson Canadian Geography 8* (Bain), *Pearson Canadian History 8* (Bain), *Canadian History:*

commonly taught in Ontario schools, however, I discovered that those types of statistics were not generally compiled. I made my decisions on what textbooks to include based on several criteria. First, certain subjects themselves imposed limits on what textbooks I could draw on; for example, only some textbooks included pictorial representations of how the map of Canada changed over the years, and in that instance I ended up choosing the textbook that I found included the most detailed visual representations of maps (Haskings-Winner et al). Another example is slavery. For many textbooks there was no evidence of a discussion of slavery. Slavery or related terms did not appear in the table of contents or the index. As a result, when discussing how textbooks frame slavery, my sample of textbooks was already reduced. For other more commonly discussed topics, such as the Indian Act or immigration policies, I tried to cite textbooks that provided the most in-depth discussion on the topics. My goal in this project is not to critique the textbooks for their historical value, but instead to examine the ways that textbooks reflect mainstream Canadian culture and its narratives. As I reflect back on my understanding of history in high school, I clearly see how textbooks contributed to my belief in the white settler myth of Canada being peacefully settled and colonized. The city I grew up in had a large population of indigenous peoples and was simultaneously located near many reserves and removed from the large "multicultural" urban centers of Canada. I also see how the white settler myth in textbooks contributed to reinforcing and normalizing contemporary racial hierarchies both within my own school and city, and in general within the Canadian settler state.

When I originally envisioned this project, it was more explicitly focused on gender. Since it was women of colour feminists who originally inspired me to reflect back on the white settler history that I was taught, my original idea for this project was to compare the histories told

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1900-2000 (Hundey, Magarrey and Pettit); and *The Canadian Challenge* (Quinlan, Baldwin, Mahoney et al.)

by women of colour feminists (through their theoretical and literary work) and the histories told

in textbooks. However, as my project developed, I found that grappling extensively and explicitly

with gender *and* attending to the racial issues in the in-depth manner that they deserved proved to

be beyond the scope of this project. While race turned out to be the primary focus of this project,

there are several ways that I draw on the discipline of Gender Studies throughout my project.

First, intersectionality is a core concept in Gender Studies, and under an intersectional

framework, race is always gendered and gender is always racialized.[2] Therefore, while my project

focuses on race, this focus does not erase issues of gender; rather, by furthering our understanding

of racial issues we also further our understanding of gender issues. Second, the Canadian settler

state and the myths that uphold the settler state are inherently heteropatriarchal.[3] The settler state

is always simultaneously a racialized institution and a heteropatriarchal institution. Finally,

throughout this project, I attempt to center the theoretical work of indigenous women and other

women of colour whenever possible, and particularly when discussing issues that are explicitly

connected to gender (such as the identity legislature of the Indian Act). As this project developed,

it became more than a critique of white settler colonialism, and became invested in imagining

ways to reorganize societies beyond the heteropatriarchal settler state. Similar to how women of

colour feminist thinkers caused me to reflect back on my public education in Ontario schools,

women of color feminist thinkers have also been integral in inspiring me to attempt to imagine

emancipatory alternatives to the current heteropatriarchal settler state. Research grounded in

critique is necessary, but is ultimately not enough to create social change. It is integral to imagine

alternatives to the current heteropatriarchal settler state so that research moves beyond scholarly

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[2] For further discussion on intersectionality and the field of Gender Studies, see Crenshaw (1991) and Kolmar & Bartkowski (2010).

[3] For further discussion on how settler states simultaneously uphold racial hierarchies and heteropatriarchy, see Smith (2005, 2006, & 2007), Lawrence (2005), Anderson (2000), Razack (2002), and many others.

critique, and becomes invested in developing emancipatory possibilities for all humans,

regardless of their gender, sexuality, or race.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Disrupting the Fantasy

With the adoption of multicultural policies, Canadian identity has become tied to some very specific ideas: Canadians as global peacekeepers, Canadians as tolerant, Canadians as diverse (Thobani 5). Increasingly, Canada is seen as a cultural mosaic, where Canadians' sense of identity becomes dependent on conceptions of diversity. Historical evidence of Canada's involvement in violent imperial processes, such as settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery complicate the myth of the Canadian as a global peacekeeper and the white settler fantasy[4] of Canada being peacefully settled and developed.

At its most basic level, this project is a critique of the Canadian white settler fantasy and the colonial and multicultural policies that the fantasy is founded upon. I argue that settler colonialism in Canada was and is a racialized project that has depended on the dispossession of indigenous peoples for access to land, and labour from the transatlantic slave trade to develop infrastructure. In other words, while Canadian settler colonialism has affected indigenous peoples[5] and black peoples[6] in *varying and unique ways,* the dispossession of indigenous peoples

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[4] Throughout this project, "white settler fantasy" operates as short-form for "white settler fantasy of Canada being peacefully settled, colonized, and developed."

[5] The term indigenous peoples is used as way of recognizing that there are real differences between different indigenous peoples and the term has also enabled the collective voices of colonized people to be strategically expressed in spaces of international politics (Tuhiwai Smith 7). The term indigenous peoples refers to a network of peoples who have been subjected to the colonization of their lands and cultures while being denied sovereignty by a colonizing society that has come to dominate an determine the shape and quality of their lives: "even after it has formally pulled out" (7). I use the term "indigenous peoples" throughout this project to refer to the indigenous peoples of the land that is now the Canadian settler state. Throughout this project when referring to indigenous peoples of another current settler state (such as the United States), I

and the transatlantic slave trade are *both integral to the project of Canadian settler colonialism.*[7]

The connections between the dispossession of indigenous peoples and the transatlantic slave trade

are actively elided in mainstream depictions of Canadian history through the temporality and

geography of the Canadian settler state. Eliding connections between blackness and indigeneity

enforces the white settler fantasy of Canada, and contributes to the Canadian settler state

positioning indigenous and black peoples in different temporal and geographic locations. Such

tactics contribute to tensions between indigenous and black peoples, and discourage alliances

from forming in resistance to the Canadian settler state.

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make sure to clarify. At times I use the term First Nations or aboriginal when I am discussing a passage from a textbook that also uses that term.

[6] Rinaldo Walcott discusses the use of the term 'blackness' or 'black peoples': "I use it to signal blackness as a sign, one that carries with it particular histories of resistance and domination. But blackness is also a sign which is never closed and always under contestation. Blackness for me, like black Canadian allows for a certain kind of malleability and open-endedness which means that questions of blackness far exceed the categories of the biological and the ethnic. I deploy blackness as a discourse, but that discourse is embedded in a history or a set of histories which are messy and contested" (*Black Like Who* xv). Walcott's definition is the one I employ in this project. One of the reasons I chose Walcott's definition is because he deploys "blackness as a discourse," creating room to imagine connections between blackness and indigeneity; rather than seeing blackness as something essential and discrete, and thus always presumed as different and disconnected from indigeneity.

[7] The focus throughout this project will be on indigeneity and blackness rather than on an explicit discussion of whiteness. This has been a methodological strategy I have employed to de-center the over-representation of whiteness in Canadian narratives. However, I want to clarify that whiteness is *also* integral to enforcing the temporality and geography of European colonial modernity in general and its specific form of the Canadian settler state. Blackness and indigeneity are also always connected to whiteness, along with each other, or as Tiya Miles describes it, indigenous peoples, black peoples, and European settlers have been engaged in a triangulated relationship ever since indigenous and black people came into contact in massive numbers during European colonial expansion and the transatlantic slave trade (*Ties That Bind* xv*)*. However, since indigenous-white and black-white representations have been the main focus in scholarship, I have chosen to center indigenous-black representations throughout this project.

I draw on Ontario history textbooks[8] because they provide a widely accessible and highly distributed version of the white settler fantasy of Canada. As part of the Ontario provincial school system, Canadian history textbooks play an integral role in forming students' views on the history of Canada and in shaping the national narratives about the development of Canada. I argue that today, history textbooks are integral to maintaining the present racial hierarchy in Canada and that textbooks elide the connections between indigenous peoples and black peoples in the development of the Canadian settler state. In Canada, contemporary encounters between national subjects and indigenous peoples recap and reopen past encounters of colonization, genocide and dispossession, "instantiating the past as living present" (Thobani 22). It is impossible to fully understand current relations without understanding the past. Textbooks enforce the white settler fantasy of Canada and as result, not only obscure the violences that occurred in the development of the Canada, but also obscure the violences that the Canadians settler state legislates and sanctions today.

In this project, I examine how the national narratives found in textbooks are grounded in the temporality of European colonial modernity, specifically expressed through the temporality of the Canadian settler state (Chapter 1) and the geography of the Canadian settler state (Chapter 2), contributing to the erasure of connections between the dispossession of indigenous peoples and the transatlantic slave trade in the founding and development of the Canadian settler state (Chapter 3). Throughout each of these chapters I invoke the term "settler colonialism" in several contexts. This project is a critique of settler colonialism as *enacted within the Canadian settler state*. Often the Canadian settler state is an absented presence in discussions of settler colonialism in the Americas, as the focus is almost-always on either settler colonialism as enacted within the

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[8] All the textbooks I examine are approved by the Ontario provincial government for use in schools and can be found on The Trillium List.

United States, the Caribbean, or Central and South America. While Canadian scholars have produced a vast range of scholarship illustrating how settler colonialism has affected the Canadian settler state,[9] there is very little scholarship that focuses on the connections between blackness and indigeneity in the development of the Canadian settler state. The focus of my project is the Canadian settler state. However, settler colonialism in Canada can only be understood within the broader contexts of settler colonialism in the Americas and settler colonialism as enacted globally in a variety of different forms (i.e. not only in varying forms across the Americas, but in varying forms across different regions throughout the world, such as in the Middle East or the South Pacific). Throughout this project, I use the term "the Canadian settler state" when discussing settler colonialism in the specific form enacted within Canada. I use the term "European colonial modernity" when discussing the globalization of settler colonialism, one crucial form of which was settler colonialism in the Americas. I use the term "European colonial modernity" most frequently in Chapter 1 when I discuss temporal issues and I chose this term as it invokes the idea that modern settler states in the Americas are premised upon the transatlantic slave trade, the development of large-scale plantation slavery, and the dispossession of indigenous peoples in the Americas that occurred post-1492. The term also draws a direct connection between 1492, the resulting globalization of settler colonialism, and modernity as evidenced by the existence of modern settler states. Due to the constraints of this project, I do not spend much time discussing settler colonialism enacted globally; however when I refer to how colonialism has manifested itself globally in a variety of forms, I use the term "settler colonial discourses/processes."

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[9] For example, see see Thobani (2009), Razack (1998 & 2002), Lawrence (2004), Anderson (2000), amongst many others.

The temporality of the Canadian settler state is upheld through the Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act. Through identity legislation, the Indian Act consigns indigenous peoples to a state of primitivity and collapses indigenous identity into the monolithic category of the Indian. The Multiculturalism Act works on an ideological level to replace the lived experiences of indigenous peoples with the image of 'the Indian' and the lived experiences of black peoples with the image of the 'black immigrant.' The image of 'the Indian' consigns indigenous peoples to the past and marks them as primitive and lawless (Thobani 75); the image of 'the black immigrant' ensures that blackness is viewed as always-new to the Canadian settler state, which works to refute any longstanding black presence in Canada (Walcott *Black Like Who* 44). I draw on what Johannes Fabian terms a "denial of coevalness," to demonstrate how both indigenous peoples and black peoples are denied from sharing time with settlers and each other (31). Settlers inhabit the here and now of the modern settler state; indigenous peoples are consigned to the past; and black peoples are considered new arrivals to Canada, yet the place they arrive from is also positioned as primitive. Due to the temporality of the Canadian settler state, indigenous and black peoples both inhabit positions of primitivity, yet both are denied from sharing time with each other. Denying that indigenous and black peoples share time elides the role of indigenous and black communities in the formation of the Canadian settler state.

The temporality of the Canadian settler state is expressed spatially through the mapping of the reserve system and the settler state as a cultural mosaic. The reserve system works with the identity legislation of the Indian Act to attempt to destroy indigenous nations and peoples to ensure that the Canadian settler state has continuous access to land for expansion and development (Lawrence *'Real Indians'* 31, 38). The Indian Act and the reserve system enforced and continues to enforce the dispossession of indigenous peoples from their lands, thereby

making the land available for settlers. While these state policies secured land, textbooks elide the violent dispossession that occurred in carving out the space for the Canadian settler state.

The reserve system functions as a geographic representation of the divide-and-conquer tactics of the Indian Act; meanwhile, the state legislates multiculturalism through the Multiculturalism Act, and the divide-and-conquer tactics of multicultural policies are demonstrated geographically through the representation of Canada as a cultural mosaic. Constructing Canada as a cultural mosaic allows for the white settler fantasy of a diverse Canada to be upheld, while the violences that occurred in the founding of the Canadian settler state are strategically ignored. The image of the cultural mosaic is a spatial representation of the temporality of the Canadian settler state: the genocide and displacement towards indigenous peoples is concealed, yet indigenous peoples are positioned as primitive and inhabiting a different, "less modern" time period than settlers. At the same time, black peoples are positioned as new arrivals to the Canadian settler state (or the colourful pieces of the mosaic), adding to the "diversity" of the "multicultural" settler state. However, the "elsewhere" that black peoples come from is also positioned as primitive in colonial discourses. Therefore, black peoples *also* cannot inhabit the same time as settlers, as they are positioned as primitive-yet-new-arrivals to the settler state. The Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act temporally and spatially distance indigenous peoples, black peoples, and settlers. The intimate relationship between The Indian Act/the reserve system and The Multiculturalism Act/the image of Canada as a cultural mosaic are examples of how the temporality and geography of the Canadian settler state mutually reinforce each other. While most of the second chapter is a critique of the geography of the Canadian settler state, I finish the chapter with a discussion on alternative mapping and the possible role of alternative mapping in creating space for alliances between indigenous and black peoples. The concept of

alternative mapping also problematizes the idea of space and time as discrete, fixed categories and shows that both space and time (i.e. the idea of origins) can be more flexible than they originally appear. While my project has been divided up into chapters according to what I deem 'temporal' and what I deem 'spatial,' I also believe it is imperative to draw attention to the arbitrary nature of this division and to problematize the idea of discrete categories of time and space. While time and space may be divided into chapters for this project, it is important to remember they always constitute each other and that history is mapped out as it is simultaneously being enacted.

After examining how the temporality of the Canadian settler state contributes to the racialized geography of the Canadian settler, I will go on to examine evidence from textbooks and historical literature that demonstrate the material connections between indigenous and black peoples in the development of the Canadian settler state. These material connections illustrate that settler colonialism as enacted in Canada was dependent on the dispossession of indigenous peoples *and* the labour provided by the transatlantic slave trade (Chapter 3). I draw on Patrick Wolfe's concept of a "logic of elimination" to show how settler colonialism as enacted in the Americas depended and continues to depend upon removing indigenous peoples from their land and bringing in other racialized bodies to "work" the land—instead of depending on indigenous labour (105). For instance, Wolfe describes how in the Deep South, certain indigenous nations, such as the western Cherokee and the Creek, were displaced from their homeland to land west of the Mississippi (107). Black slaves then worked the almost-evacuated land of the Deep South to produce cotton, tobacco and other crops on plantations. Wolfe's deployment of a "logic of elimination" demonstrates how the dispossession of indigenous peoples provided settlers with the necessary land, and the transatlantic slave trade provided settlers with the necessary labour to

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settle the Americas. By drawing on historical evidence along with textbooks, I demonstrate that

the "logic of elimination" was also deployed in a specific form in the development of the

Canadian settler state. For example, Louisbourg, Halifax, York, and Fort Ponchartrain illustrate

the role of black labour in the development of infrastructure for the Canadian settler state. I also

demonstrate how the developing Canadian settler state relied on a series of changing immigration

policies to ensure a recurrent supply of fresh immigrants to provide labour; as a result, the

Canadian settler state constantly manages the tension between maintaining a culture of whiteness

and relying on non-white labour to develop infrastructure. While textbooks do make connections

between histories of indigenous peoples and black peoples in Canada, they always do so without

referencing the violences that occurred within the founding of the Canadian settler state. The rare

times that the violence is mentioned, it is framed in euphemistic and exceptional terms (Thobani

34), so textbooks always enforce the white settler fantasy of Canadian history that downplays the

violence of settler colonialism and the exploitation of non-white land and bodies. Thus the

temporality and geography of the Canadian settler state help uphold the myth of Canadians as

tolerant, multicultural peacekeepers. The naturalization of these discourses contributes to the

active elision of the connections between indigenous and black communities in founding, settling,

and development of Canada.

Throughout this project I illustrate how the white settler fantasy of "Canada as a peaceful

nation" is invested in eliding Canada's involvement in the violent processes of settler colonialism

and the transatlantic slave trade through the enforcement of the temporality and geography of the

Canadian settler state. Exposing the material connection between blackness and indigeneity in the

development of the Canadian settler state deconstructs the white settler fantasy of Canada.

However, the material connections between blackness and indigeneity are also rarely discussed in

Canadian contexts in critical race studies, Native/indigenous studies, black studies, women's/gender studies, and other related fields. When connections between indigeneity and blackness are discussed in Canada, the discussion often becomes centered on divide-and-conquer strategies, such as which group has been more oppressed by the settler state. In the Epilogue, I connect the arguments I have made in this project to the broader context of discussions about indigeneity and blackness in Canada, and in doing so I frame the possibilities for creating spaces for alliances between indigenous peoples, black peoples, and settler allies in resisting and imagining alternatives to the current Canadian settler state. If even the widely distributed version of Canadian history found in textbooks provides evidence for the connections between indigenous peoples and black peoples in the founding of the Canadian settler state, why has so little critical theory within Canada grappled with these connections? What is at stake in moving beyond looking at the history of racial oppression in the Canadian settler state in discrete categories, but instead looking at histories of racial oppression as not only as interrelated but *integral* to one another? While answers to all these questions are beyond the scope of this paper, through a close reading of textbooks, the resulting theoretical analysis, and by placing my analysis within the context of current debates in the field (Lawrence & Dua, 2005; Sharma & Wright, 2008; Amadahy & Lawrence, 2009; Madden, 2009) I hope to construct a framework so that these questions can be grappled with in the future—by indigenous peoples, black peoples, mixed peoples, and allies of settler descent.

Chapter 2

Polic(y)ing Red and Black Bodies: Legislating the Temporal Disconnect

"A white settler society is one established by Europeans on non-European soil. Its origins lie in the dispossession and near extermination of Indigenous populations by conquering Europeans. As it evolves, a white settler society continues to be structured by a racial hierarchy. In the national mythologies of such societies, it believes that white people came first and it is they who principally developed the land; Aboriginal peoples are presumed to be mostly dead or assimilate. European settlers thus *become* the original inhabitants and the group must be entitled to the fruits of citizenship. A quintessential feature of white settler mythologies is, therefore, the disavowal of conquest, genocide, slavery, and the exploitation of labour of peoples of colour. In North America, it is still the case that European conquest and colonization are often denied, largely through the fantasy that North America was peacefully settled and colonized."

Sherene Razack. "Introduction." *Race, Space, and the Law*. Pg. 2

Building on Sherene Razack's definition of a white settler society, in this chapter I examine how Canadian national narratives position indigenous peoples as "premodern" and "mostly dead or assimilated" while positioning black peoples as "late arrivals" to Canada long after the majority of development has occurred ("Introduction: When Place Becomes Race" 3). I specifically examine how national mythologies and narratives as told in high school textbooks conceal histories of conquest, genocide, slavery, and the exploitation of indigenous and black bodies. While concealing histories of violence in the Canadian settler state, representations of indigenous and black peoples are included in narratives as long as they reinforce the fantasy that Canada was peacefully settled and colonized. Throughout this chapter, I examine how the Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act function as distinct yet linked moments in the development of the Canadian settler state that discipline indigenous and black bodies in different yet related ways by denying their ability to share time with settlers. Not only do the Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act position settlers as occupying a different time than both black and

indigenous peoples, the Acts also enforce that indigenous peoples and black peoples inhabit different times from each other.

One temporal strategy employed in national narratives to conceal Canada's history of settler colonialism and used to consign indigenous peoples to the past is the "Vanishing Indian." In the introductory citation, Razack argues that the myth of the "Vanishing Indian" is an integral part of settler colonial societies, and that it functions as a subject produced through death or assimilation. Settler narratives in North America proceed from this premise by declaring that the Indian is irrelevant to their history while simultaneously denying indigenous peoples their own histories. Scientific studies on indigenous bodies, the subsequent exhibition of indigenous corpses in museums, the exhibition of indigenous artifacts in museums along with corpses, and the portrayal of indigenous peoples as a romanticized noble savage (such as Pocahantas) in art and literary texts, are just some of the ways that North American settler colonial discourses have attempted to prove that the Indian has vanished (Lawrence '*Real Indians'* 41; LaRocque 127). Today, when Ontario textbooks declare settler colonialism as irrelevant to the history of Canada, they attempt to replace indigenous peoples' own histories and lived experiences with the colonial construct of the Indian. This rhetorical move has the effect of constantly positioning indigenous peoples as relegated to the past and collapsing the differences between indigenous peoples into a singular, monolithic category.

Textbooks often define Canada's history as beginning at the start of the fur trade (Clark et al. 2). Events that take place before the fur trade are labeled as 'pre-history' (2) or not mentioned at all, thereby equating the start of Canadian history with the arrival of European settlers. This presumptive starting-point for Canadian history reinforces the temporality of the Canadian settler state: any events that occur before the fur trade are not considered real history or

relevant to Canadian history. The category pre-history allows indigenous peoples to be read into a

status of primitivity. As a result, indigenous peoples are seen as existing in a different time than

settlers: indigenous peoples are primitive and exist in pre-history, whereas settlers are civilized

and exist in the modern time of here and now. Anti-colonial anthropologist Johannes Fabian

coined the term "the denial of coevalness " (31) to explain the denial of life in a single, shared

time between colonizer and colonized. In colonial discourses, time is imagined as a temporal

slope and societies are placed on this "stream of Time"—some upstream, others downstream

(17). Primitive is a temporal category that is plotted "downstream" of modern time, or in other

words, plotted in terms of relative distance from the present (26). Under the temporality of

European colonial modernity, indigenous peoples exist in pre-history because they cannot exist in

the present (the colonizer's time) due to their primitive nature. The denial of shared time has

been an important part of anti-colonial discourses. In *Orientalism,* Edward Said explains that

primitiveness becomes equated with the Orient to the extent that eventually it equals the Orient

(231). Since the colonized are positioned as primitive, they are incapable of existing in the same

time as the colonizers': colonized peoples exist in the past and can only enter the modern world

when powerful, imperial empires effectively bring "them out of the wretchedness of their

declines and [turn] them into rehabilitated residents of productive colonies" (35). The denial of

coevalness equals a temporal distancing between colonizer and colonized: the colonizers and

colonized are fundamentally different because they exist in different time periods. The colonized

live in a primitive world and the colonizers live in the modern world. Frantz Fanon echoes Said

and describes the colonial world as a compartmentalized world based on what race one belongs

too (5). Under the Manichean logic of colonialism, if the colonizer (settler of European descent)

lives in the modern time period, than the colonized must live in a different time period.

Said and Fanon demonstrate that the denial of coevalness is not unique to Canada, rather it is a common strategy of settler colonial discourses that have been enacted in unique but related ways throughout the globe. It is only possible to imagine Canada's history as beginning with the fur trade if indigenous peoples have always-already existed in a different time by virtue of being primitive. Analyzing the Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act demonstrates how the denial of the coevalness works within the Canadian settler state to simultaneously cast indigenous and black temporalities differently: indigenous peoples are positioned as being from a different time, whereas black peoples are positioned as being from a different time and space. Denying that indigenous and black peoples share time with settlers and each other reinforces the white settler fantasy that Canada was peacefully colonized and developed, removed from the violent realities of settlement, such as genocide and slavery.

Indigenous peoples' histories are positioned as "pre-history" and actively overwritten by textbook histories of the fur trade and the subsequent development of the Canadian settler state. As a result, *Canada Revisited* 7 manages to represent the histories of indigenous peoples as irrelevant and unrelated to the founding of the Canadian settler state within the first unit of the textbook. Thobani argues that the legal system in Canada works to breathe "juridical force into the category Canadian while draining it out of the category Indian, solidifying and fixing their identities as different kinds of subjects (and objects) of power" (38). In this way, the category of the Indian was used to replace the lived experiences of various indigenous nations, such as the Salish, the Cree and the Mohawk. While these indigenous nations preexisted European contact with the 'Americas,' the category Indian did not (38). Textbook representations conform to this model and enforce the category of the Indian, thereby denying indigenous peoples history and lived experiences, while always privileging the logic of settler colonialism.

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Disconnecting the founding of the Canadian settler state from the lives and realities of

indigenous peoples is necessary for textbooks to provide a peaceful and non-violent narrative for

Canadian history—and particularly for the role of settler colonialism in that history. Settler

colonialism[10] as enacted in Canada—when defined and explained in textbooks—has everything to

do with Britain and the exchange of goods/products in a global market, and very little to do with

indigenous peoples or their lands. As *Canada Revisited 7* describes it:

> Colonization refers to one country (historically called the mother country) bringing
> another separate region under its direct control. This was often accomplished by
> establishing permanent settlements in the new region. These new settlements were
> expected to develop the region's resources and supply the European country with
> inexpensive raw materials or products. (Clark et al. 17)

This general definition of "colonization" emphasizes the establishment of permanent settlements;

however, what is meant is permanent settlements of people of *European* descent. Some textbooks

explicitly clarify this, as when one states that, "The terms *exploration* and *discovery,* in this book

refer only to Europeans. Although what is now Canada was new to the European explorers, the

Aboriginal people had already discovered and explored the land" (Clark et al. 14). While this

statement does acknowledge that indigenous peoples are the original settlers and inhabitants of

the land, the narratives in the textbook for the most part ignore this fact. Also, despite the fact

that textbooks implicate settlements in the development of the Canadian settler state, they

position settlements as necessary for resource extraction, rather than discussing the effect of

settlements on indigenous peoples. Discussing "colonization" rather than discussing settler

colonialism in Canada in terms of a region's resources and in exchange of goods/products helps

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[10] Textbooks tend to discuss Canada in terms of colonization rather than colonialism, and do not
differentiate between colonization, colonialism, or settler colonialism (despite referencing
settlement in definitions of colonization).

elide the violences that indigenous peoples experienced throughout the founding and expansion of the Canadian settler state.

Textbooks also emphasize remaking the land into a resource for development as central to the process of "colonization." Such narratives reflect Patrick Wolfe's definition of settler colonialism in the Americas as premised on a "logic of elimination," in which settler colonialism in the Americas depended and continues to depend upon removing indigenous peoples from their land and bringing in other racialized bodies to 'work' the land (105). However, textbooks and Wolfe differ in that Wolfe emphasizes the violences towards indigenous peoples that had to occur to gain access to these lands, whereas textbooks downplay the role of violence in the development of the Canadian settler state. For instance, in one textbook, fishing and the fur trade are declared to be the original prosperous industries in 'Canada,' even though these industries did not require permanent settlements (Clark et al. 17). However, the textbook continues, many Europeans "recognized that these lands were a source of potential wealth which colonization would increase. This led to the development of what is now Canada" (17). Rather than framing settler colonialism in Canada in terms of violently displacing indigenous peoples from the land, textbooks frame "colonization" in terms of mercantilism (Clark, et al. 16; Haskings-Winner et al. 28).

While textbooks often erase the violences that occurred in the founding of the Canadian settler state, at times textbooks will present a critical account of the settler state's origins by offering some variation on the white settler fantasy. Thobani explains that:

> It may be allowed that the harm inflicted on Aboriginal populations might have been more extensive than previously understood, that it was sometimes inflicted deliberately. Remorse for this harm might be expressed. Some of the settlers may have acted with intentional cruelty, perhaps even with criminal violence, but they were the exception and their behaviour certainly no worse than could be found among the Indian themselves, or among other societies in past centuries. (34)

In this way, textbooks enforce a narrative of settler exceptionalism—where settlers who acted

violently and intentionally are portrayed as the exception to the rule, and certainly not an example

of the 'average' Canadian pioneer. Settler exceptionalism functions as a built-in excuse for

settlers: textbooks can include vignettes of violence and/or discrimination, because these events

are always framed as exceptional. For instance, in discussing the period after confederation, *Their*

Stories, Our History: Development of a Nation explains that the, "The men who ran the

government made decisions for a population that was much more diverse. The population

including women, Black people, First Nations, new immigrants, and people with different income

levels and religions" (Haskings-Winner et al. 80). While certain groups were clearly excluded

from the negotiation, narratives of settler exceptionalism choose to mention this exclusion while

simultaneously choosing not to grapple with how or why this exclusion occurred.

Positioning settler violence as the 'exception to the rule' rather than as integral to the

development of the Canadian settler state also supports the apparent disconnect between Canada's

settler colonial past and the contemporary settler state. *The Canadian Challenge* describes

Canada pre-WWI as "gradually emerging from the claws of a British colonial rule. Canada was a

self-governing nation, yet it was not a completely independent one" (Quinlan, Baldwin,

Mahoney, et al. 17). In this case, settler colonialism in Canada is being portrayed as simply the

relationship between Britain (the mother country) and Canada (its colony). As Canada begins to

emerge as a more independent settler state, it is simultaneously positioned as moving away from

its settler colonial past. However, this ignores the that the current Canadian settler state was

dependent on settler colonialism and would not exist in its current form without enacting

processes of settler colonialism.

Another example of narratives attempting to position the current settler state as separate from its colonial past is evident in the discussion of treaties in *Their Stories, Our History: Development of a Nation* (Haskings-Winner et al. 81). The textbook discusses how indigenous peoples viewed treaties as nation-to-nation agreements based on sharing their lands, whereas the Fathers of Confederation viewed the treaties as sales of land. Since the Fathers of Confederation viewed the treaties as sales of land they, "fully expected First Nations to adopt European culture, language, and ways of life" (81). Indigenous peoples are described as viewing treaties as agreements between equals based on respect and reciprocity, whereas the Fathers of Confederation are described as viewing the treaties as a way to gain complete control over the land, and as a result, gain authority over indigenous peoples. While the textbook appears to be critical of the Fathers of Confederation, it ensures that their views are seen as disconnected from the contemporary Canadian settler state: "The idea that First Nations should be equal participants in this new country would likely have been a revolutionary notion to the Fathers of Confederation" (81). This implies that this is *not* a revolutionary idea today, but instead a commonly accepted one. The authors of the textbook manage to be critical of Fathers of Confederation, while simultaneously disconnecting the beliefs of the Fathers of Confederation from the contemporary Canadian settler state.

Positioning settler colonialism as enacted in Canada as separate from the violences towards indigenous peoples (and black peoples) serves a very important function in textbooks: it encourages readers to identify with European settlers as they learn about Canada's history. For instance, in *Canada Revisited 7*, there is an interlude between chapters describing a class school trip to a museum. The classmates are discussing settler colonialism and the children explain that, "[European explorers] were travelling to unknown places just like space explorers. Their

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countries were investing a lot money to send them; it was financially risky *and* dangerous' [said

Erin.]. 'But they might find resources and opportunities that were very valuable,' said Brenda.

'That's why they went'" (Clark et al. 19). In this quotation, settler colonialism is framed as being

potentially dangerous and risky for European explorers without any mention of the violent effects

it will have/continues to have on indigenous communities. The potential financial risk of

European explorers is emphasized more than violence of settler colonialism and its effect on

indigenous peoples. While discussing the motivation of explorers and their financial backers,

Canada Revisited 7 explains that "Fortunately, European monarchs were not only eager to find

out more about the world, they also wanted to gain power and the riches of the Far East" (Clark et

al. 14). The question that must be asked is, fortunate according to whom? For the European

monarchs who benefited off the exploitation of indigenous lands and the labour of people of

colour? Certainly (for further discussion, see Chapter 3). But what effect did settler colonialism

have on indigenous peoples in Canada? Despite the non-violent picture that textbooks paint, by

examining the Indian Act, it becomes clear that for indigenous peoples the decision of European

monarchs to support transatlantic exploration was not fortunate at all, but instead, the foundation

for attempted genocide.

While textbooks work to position the Indian as a historical presence and elide the

violences involved in the formation of the Canadian settler state, perhaps the most effective way

of enforcing the temporality of the Canadian settler state on indigenous peoples has been through

law, or in other words, through the Indian Act. Textbooks tend to discuss the Indian Act in terms

of assimilation (Haskings-Winner, et al. 152; Hundey, Magarrey, & Pettit 41) and that the

motivation behind the Indian Act was to encourage "First Nations to drop their cultural traditions

to become more like people in the farming communities settling around them" (Haskings-Winner

et al. 152). However, in describing the Indian Act, textbooks ignore the underlying ideological

principles that grounded the Act and that the structuring of the Act promoted gendered cultural

genocide of indigenous peoples within Canada. Thus while textbooks mention 'assimilation,'

they never grapple with what this term actually entails nor how it is connected to the temporality

of Canadian settler state and on-going legacies of settler colonialism.

The Indian Act, established in 1876, collected all previous legislation pertaining to

indigenous peoples into a single body of law compromising over 100 sections (Lawrence *'Real*

Indians' 33). The Indian Act was openly aimed at the elimination of indigenous peoples as legal

and social fact (31). The Indian Act regulates who is and who is not granted "status" as Indian in

the eyes of the Canadian government, and the Act sets the terms for how indigenous persons with

or without "status" must organize their lives (45)[11]. While the Act may seem to protect

indigenous identity (through the granting of "status"), due to a variety of restrictions within the

Act that arbitrarily define who qualifies for "status," the Act actually enforces the dismantling of

indigenous identities through gender discrimination and assimilation. While the act "protects"

indigenous identity for those who are granted "status," the Act also denies the existence of all

indigenous identities *not* granted "status." This is particularly problematic since the Act is

indifferent to traditional indigenous ways of determining membership/citizenship of nations (45).

The Act organizes Indian "status" in a manner that makes the "status" and rights of indigenous

women directly dependent upon their relationships with men (49). For instance, indigenous

women and their children would lose "status" upon marriage to non-"status" men, whereas

women of non-indigenous descent would gain "status" when marrying men with "status." The

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[11] There have been many changes and amendments to the Indian Act since it was first introduced. Charting the specific ways in which the Indian Act has been modified is beyond the scope of this paper, but for a further discussion see Monture-Agnus (1999), Anderson (2000), and Lawrence (2004).

gendered aspect of the Indian Act demonstrates how being granted "status" has very little to with

whether the person was actually of indigenous descent or has ties to indigenous communities, but

has everything to do with the goal of eliminating indigenous populations (Thobani 49). Along

with denying status to women who married white men, under the terms of the Act, indigenous

women were also denied the right to: vote in band elections, vote on issues of band territory, and

hold political office or speak at public meetings (Anderson 68). It was not until the 1950s that

some indigenous women regained their rights to participate in these public and political affairs

(68). While Bill C-31 in 1985 repealed these laws, if one takes into account:

> For every individual who lost status and had to leave her community, all of her
> descendents (many of them the products of nonstatus Indians fathers and Indian mothers)
> also lost status and for the most part were permanently alienated from Native culture, the
> numbers of individuals who ultimately were removed from Indian status and lost to their
> nation may, at most conservative estimates number between one and two million.
> (Lawrence *'Real Indians'* 56)

In comparison to the 'conservative' number of one and two million indigenous

peoples lost to their nation, in 1985 when Bill C-31 passed, there were only 350 000

"status" Indians still listed on the Department of Indian Affairs register (Holmes, 54). Connecting

this loss of indigenous peoples to their nations with the number of "status" Indians in 1985

reveals "the scale of cultural genocide caused by gender discrimination" (Lawrence *'Real*

Indians' 56).

Gender discrimination is one tactic that the Indian Act used to achieve assimilation. Up

until 1880, indigenous peoples could also lose their "status" (or be enfranchised) for acquiring an

education, for serving in the armed forces, or for leaving the reserves for long periods of time to

obtain employment (Lawrence *'Real Indians'* 31). The Indian Act enforces the temporality of the

Canadian settler state by denying coevalness: indigenous peoples are assumed to be primitive and

need the help of the settler state to advance from their primitive state to a state of civilization.

This temporal 'progression' is achieved through assimilation. The moment indigenous peoples step out of primitiveness, they are deemed assimilated and non-Indian (LaRocque 127). Under the Indian Act, indigenous peoples are presented the choice of either leaving behind their Indian "status" and moving forward up the stream of Time out of pre-history and into time of the modern Canadian settler state, or they can maintain their "status" and struggle for survival under oppressive settler colonial institutions. While textbooks discuss the Indian Act primarily in terms of assimilation, they never mention how assimilation is "the primary means by which Canada sought to destroy its pacified Indian population" (Lawrence *'Real Indians'* 31). When reading textbooks, assimilation appears positively as encouraging indigenous peoples to become more like European settlers. In one textbook, enfranchisement is even "considered the reward for assimilation" (Haskings-Winner et al.52). The non-violent language chosen to frame the concept of assimilation elides the fact that assimilation is a strategy of genocide.

While scholars like Anderson and Lawrence have worked to demonstrate the scale of cultural genocide caused by gender discrimination and assimilation, textbooks actively over-write this history with a history of settler colonialism enforced through the temporality of the Canadian settler state. By failing to attend to the connections between the Indian Act, genocide, and gender, textbooks reinforce the idea of the Indian while ignoring the lived realities of indigenous peoples. In *Their Stories, Our History: Development of a Nation*, the Indian Act is described as "[defining] who was and was not eligible for treaty provisions. Those who met the government's conditions were said to have 'status'" (Haskings-Winner et al. 152). The textbook goes on to say that the "the government's rules had many troubling effects" (152) and lists such effects as: "The rules ensured that over time fewer people would qualify. For example, women who married non-First Nations men lost their status. Their children also lost status" (152). While the textbooks admit

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that "fewer people would qualify" there is no sustained discussion of the fact that this was not an unintended side effect of the legislation but the driving force behind the Indian Act. Textbooks may subtly reference the genocidal principles on which the Indian Act was founded, but even critical descriptions of it ("the government's rules had many troubling effects") are used to downplay the gender discrimination and subsequent genocide produced by the Act.

While Canadian national narratives in the Indian Act and in popular texts like textbooks reinforce settler colonial representations of the Indian and position indigenous peoples in the past, a different tactic structures representations of blackness. While indigenous people are consistently positioned as primitive, blackness is positioned in juridical and popular texts as always new to Canada. While settler exceptionalism allows for the liberal inclusion of representations of indigeneity in textbooks, there are significantly fewer references to blackness within textbooks. When blackness is mentioned, two tactics are generally taken: either Canada is positioned as a safe haven for black peoples and a refuge from slavery, or blackness is positioned as new to the Canadian settler state, such as in narratives of immigration and multiculturalism or in portrayals of Canada as a cultural mosaic. Similar to narratives of settler exceptionalism when discussing indigeneity, the violences that black peoples in Canada experience are elided. However, while indigeneity is positioned historically, blackness is positioned as contemporary. As such, the temporality of the Canadian settler state works to actively elide connections between blackness and indigeneity in the development of Canada, enforcing the white settler fantasy of Canada as a peaceful country, removed from the violences of settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery.

Textbooks reflect the historical elision of blackness in the white settler fantasy: they contain few references to black peoples and even fewer references to transatlantic slavery. In particular, textbooks fail to represent the practice of slavery in Canada or Canada's specific

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complicity with slavery and related institutions internationally. According to Rinaldo Walcott, black presence in Canada is, "an absented presence always under erasure" (*Black Like Who* xiii). Blackness generally appears to have no significant history in Canada and appears more frequently as urban, recent, and the result of black Caribbean and continental African migration rather than a longstanding presence (22). When blackness is mentioned in Canadian history, it usually references Canada being a sanctuary for African Americans escaping slavery through the Underground Railroad (22). While historical representations of blackness are elided, contemporary representations of blackness are included in the white settler fantasy of Canada, thus "blackness in Canada is situated on a continuum that runs from the invisible to the hyper-visible" (36). Textbooks also reflect the positioning of blackness in Canada as recent and urban. *Canadian History 1900-2000* describes how changes to the 1962 Immigration Act caused an increase in black immigrants from the West Indies and that during the 1960s, Canada's black population more than doubled (Hundey, Magarrey, & Pettit 255). The textbook also discusses how cities were the first areas of Canada to become "truly multicultural" (415). Blackness in Canada is positioned as a direct result of Canada's liberalization of immigration policies and Canada's immigration policies are positioned as affecting major cities first. Textbooks reflect the white settler fantasy of Canada that denies an almost five hundred year black presence in Canada and equates blackness in Canada with the 'black immigrant,' thereby eliding the possibility for connections between indigenous and black peoples in the founding of the Canadian settler state.

While positioning blackness in Canada as recent and urban, textbooks also reflect the denial of any longstanding black presence in Canada. *Canada Revisited 7* has seven pages listed under 'Slavery' in the index: one of these pages discusses indigenous peoples on the Northwest coast having slaves, four pages are dedicated to slavery and the American Revolution, and two

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are dedicated to the Underground Railway. There are two entries for slavery according to the index of *Pearson Canadian History 8*: one is dedicated to Canada as a refuge for African Americans via the Underground Railway and the other references the American civil war (Bain H8, H42). *Their Stories, Our History: Development of a Nation, The Canadian Challenge,* or *Canadian History 1900-2000* all do not have 'slavery' listed in their indexes. Similar to what Walcott notices, Canadian history textbooks consistently mention slavery only in relation to the United States (in regards to the Civil war or the Underground Railway) or they do not mention slavery at all. Textbooks reflect national narratives that deny that Canada had any involvement with slavery. Blackness is elided in Canadian history textbooks by simultaneously enforcing a forgetfulness regarding slavery within the settler state's borders and attempting to position Canada as a place of sanctuary for escaping African Americans (Walcott *Black Like Who* 39).

In contrast to textbooks discussion of blackness and slavery in Canada, there are longstanding black presences in Canada and ample evidence of Canada's connection to slavery. By the late seventeenth century acute labour shortages prompted the importation of black slaves from Africa, the Caribbean and the United States in significant numbers (Mensah 46), and since that period until the early nineteenth century, "throughout the founding of the present Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario, there was never a time when Blacks were not held as slaves in Canada" (Walker 19). In fact, slavery continued in Quebec until after the 1759 conquest brought Quebec under British control (Mensah 46). Slaves were generally used to perform domestic duties for the elites—the governors, doctors, and the merchant class. Slavery was also

present in the Maritimes. Expropriated black labour was used to build Halifax, which later

became a leading centre for the public auction of black slaves (47).[12]

Other evidence of a longstanding black presence in Canada includes the Loyalists

immigrating with their slaves, particularly to the Maritimes; thousands of emancipated blacks

immigrating to Canada after supporting the British in the American Civil War; the deportation of

the Maroons to Nova Scotia; and significant immigration to Canada after the passing of *The*

Fugitive Slave Act.[13] However, despite the ample evidence for complex and longstanding

histories of blackness within Canada, textbooks pay very little attention to historical

representations of blackness. *Canada Revisited 7* is one of the textbooks that grapples most

significantly with representations of blackness. The textbook mentions: Mathiew Da Costa, the

first recorded black person to arrive in Canada in 1606 (Clark et al. 27); Black Loyalists (139,

140); Thomas Peters (143); and the Underground Railway (240-1). However, as previously

discussed, *Canada Revisited 7* only discusses slavery in relation to the American Civil War or to

Canada being a safe haven for African Americans. In its most sustained discussion of slavery, the

book says: "Slavery was found throughout the colonies in what is now the United States and

Canada. The greatest number of slaves were found in the south, where the plantations required

large work forces. Working and living conditions for slaves varied. Many were mistreated and

abused, although there were exceptions" (240). Similar to descriptions of the Indian Act, this

passage minimizes the violence of slavery. While discussing the Underground Railway, *Canada*

Revisited 7 states, "one estimate suggests that over 15 000 escaped slaves reached the colonies of

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[12] For further discussion on Halifax, other Canadian cities, and the connection between land and slave labour, see Chapter 3.

[13] For further discussion on the longstanding black presence in Canada and details on the sometimes-frequent migrations between Canada and the United States for blacks, see Winks (1971), Hill (1981), and Mensah (2010).

British North America by 1850" and that "in total, between 30 000 and 40 000 Black people arrived in the United Province of Canada" (241). However, at no point in the textbook is there any mention of the number of slaves held within Canada *at any point throughout history*.

Walcott proposes that longstanding black presences in Canada have, "not garnered as much attention nationally as they should because their presence—the places and spaces they occupy—makes a lie of too many national myths (or raises too many questions) concerning the Canadian nation-state" (*Black Like Who* 47). I go further to argue that the elision of blackness from Canadian history works with the over-representation of the Indian in national history to deny the potential for positing any meaningful relationship between black and indigenous peoples. Furthermore, the Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act impose the temporality of the Canadian settler state on representations of indigeneity and blackness, effectively denying connections between the settler colonization of indigenous peoples and the transatlantic slave trade within the Canadian settler state.

Blackness appears new to Canada in national narratives not only through the elision of historical black representations—particularly slavery—but also through the narration of immigration, and in particular, multiculturalism[14] and the Multiculturalism Act. Multicultural policies were originally grounded in defining two founding nations in Canada, the English and the French. Walcott explains, "Official multicultural policy textually inscribes those who are not French or English as Canadians, and yet at the same time it works to textually render a continued understanding of those people as from elsewhere and thus as tangential to the nation-state" (*Black*

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[14] Throughout this chapter, I discuss both official and popular understandings of multiculturalism. Like Walcott, I believe that while official multiculturalism and its popular understandings can operate in distinct ways, "I believe that both official and popular forms leak into each other and rely upon ach other for their constitution . . . Since black people are imagined as always from elsewhere, they are implicated in the fictional costs of multiculturalism" ("Caribbean Pop Culture in Canada" 129).

Like Who 77). Anglo- and Quebec-centered Canadianness are enshrined in multicultural

discourses by their very absence from the official policy (Walcott "Caribbean Pop Culture in

Canada" 137). The fact that this kind of ethnicity does not represent itself is evidence of the fact

that it is hegemonic (137). Through the hegemony of the two-founding-nations model, Anglo-

and Quebec-centered Canadianness becomes equated with normalcy and the full privileges of

citizenship, and official multicultural policies at both the federal and provincial level support the

idea that 'heritage' always means having hailed from elsewhere (Walcott *Black Like Who* 78).

Walcott's analysis of the-two-founding-nations model is insightful, but it does not account for

more recent changes in multicultural policy that now define Canada in relation to three-founding-

nations, the English, the French, and Aboriginal/First Nations people. First Nations are included

in the founding-nations model, just as representations of the Indian are incorporated into national

narratives: both of these inclusions attempt to erase the indigenous nations that existed before

settlement and collapse the differences between indigenous peoples. Incorporating "First

Nations" into the founding-nations models is an example of how the violences and genocide

towards indigenous peoples are replaced with representations of the Indian. Walcott is correct in

his analysis that the founding-nations model positions non-indigenous people of colour as hailing

"from elsewhere," but since the founding-nations model includes First Nations, it must also

account for indigenous peoples within Canada. Since indigenous peoples are from "here," rather

than "from elsewhere" a different tactic must be taken than with black peoples. Rather then being

positioned as hailing from another geographic location, indigenous peoples are positioned as

hailing from another time. Multiculturalism compartmentalizes settlers, indigenous, and black

peoples *temporally and spatially rather than just spatially.* Indigenous peoples are positioned as

being from a *different time*: the image of the Indian represented in national narratives and

enforced legally through the Indian Act positions indigenous peoples as primitive. Non-indigenous peoples of colour (including black peoples) are assumed to come from a different *place* ('elsewhere'). The temporal and spatial distancing of non-white bodies normalizes and invisibilizes English and French heritage, which are represented as normal and invisible precisely because they belong to the here and now: the time and place of European settler modernity and the resulting Canadian settler state.

While textbooks demonstrate the three-founding-nations model to the extent that they acknowledge First Nations people as being the original inhabitants of the land, they continue to position English and French nations as the only nations responsible for settlement and development. For instance, the struggle for control over Acadia is positioned as a struggle between the English and the French, with no mention in that particular section of the fact that the land originally belonged to indigenous peoples (Clark et al. 41). In *Their Stories, Our History: Development of a Nation*, three different viewpoints represent 'Visions of Canada' (Haskings-Winner et al. 290-1): the Imperial Canadian, who supports strong ties to the British; the French Canadian who tends to support Quebec sovereignty; and the Independent Canadian who views Canada as its own country, independent from ties to both Britain and France. No vision for Canada appears that recognizes indigenous peoples' inherent rights to the land and sovereignty.

The shift from a two-founding-nations model to a three-founding-nations model demonstrates how multicultural policies in Canada were not developed in response to the longstanding presence of indigenous peoples in Canada, but that multicultural policies were implemented in response to a liberalizing of immigration policies post-World War II (Thobani 25). The language of diversity employed in multiculturalism is a coping mechanism to manage conflicting heterogeneity in a settler state that is decreasingly white. This language seeks to

incorporate difference into an ideological binary predicated on the existence of a homogenous

national: that is, a Canadian cultural self with its multiple and different others (Bannerji 37).

Given that increasing heterogeneity followed the liberalization of immigration policies,

multiculturalism was designed in response to immigration rather than in response to indigenous

or black peoples historically located within the borders of Canada. Multiculturalism's

development of the three-founding-nations model acknowledge the image of the Indian, while

relegating indigenous peoples to a state of primitivity and ignores the past and present existence

of indigenous nations and the historical presence of black peoples, because acknowledging either

of these groups would also acknowledges Canada's complicity with settler colonialism and

transatlantic slavery.

  While I argue that multiculturalism operates as a modern cultural racism when portraying

the Canadian settler state as having transformed from "overt racial settler state to its present liberal-

democratic form" (Thobani 25), textbooks take a very positive stance on multiculturalism. *Their

Stories, Our History: Development of a Nation* argues that, "Today, the Canada government

recognizes the contributions of immigrants to Canada's economic and cultural development. Many

newcomers hold on to their languages, religions, and traditions. This has laid the foundation for

Canada's multiculturalism" (Haskings-Winner et al. 231). Thobani describes the increased

recognition of immigrants as being "historically unprecedented" but achieved by "maintaining their

constitution as cultural strangers to the national body" (25). By contrast, textbooks describe the

settler state as "[recognizing] the contributions of immigrants to Canada's economic and cultural

development" (Haskings-Winner et al. 261). Textbooks also position multiculturalism as being a

solution to racism, rather than as complicit with past and contemporary forms of racism and settler

colonialism. When *Their Stories, Our History: Development of a Nation* argues, "While some old

stereotypes about immigrants continue, most Canadian today agree that immigration is as important today for Canada's future as it was in the early 1900s" (Haskings-Winner et al. 231), the book links the erasure of past and present settler colonialism as context for immigration to immigration's conflating with multiculturalism as a resolution rather than reconfiguration of racism.

Their Stories, Our History: Development of a Nation is not the only textbook to portray multiculturalism in a positive light. The Canadian Challenge specifically positions multiculturalism as clearly beneficial for all Canadians: "Multiculturalism represented a new direction for Canada. It demonstrated that the government formally recognized the rights and distinct identities of the many different cultures that call Canada home" (Quinlan et al. 261). It does go on to clarify that, "Multiculturalism did not eliminate prejudice, racism, and discrimination. However, it reinforced the view that all Canadians had the right to fair and equal treatment. The policy of multiculturalism became the new basis for new laws guaranteeing equal access to jobs, housing, and education" (261). While The Canadian Challenge attempts to include a more critical perspective on multiculturalism, textbooks typically include only superficial examples of racism. The Canadian Challenge acknowledges that multiculturalism has not solved racism but goes on to state that it reinforces "the fair and equal treatment" of all Canadians, which then ignores the legacies of settler colonialism and violences towards indigenous and black peoples in the founding of the Canadian settler state. Canadian History 1900-2000 also positions multiculturalism in a positive light: "In the 1980s and 1990s, the mix included people from around the world. New Canadians brought with them ambition, skills, new cultural traditions, and new religious beliefs" (Hundey, Magarrey, & Pettit 415). The textbook goes on to equate Canada's increased multiculturalism with reduced racism towards immigrants: "As more immigrants settled in Canada and more Canadians already living here got to know them, many of the myths about immigrants and visible minorities began to

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disappear" (405). The book also goes on to discusses how in December 1987 the Conservative government introduced the Canadian Multiculturalism Act "which set forth the government's official multiculturalism policy: 'to recognize all Canadians as full and equal participants in Canadian society'" (415). The textbook goes on to describe the official government mandate for multiculturalism: "To strengthen the solidarity of the Canadian people by enabling all Canadians to participate fully and without discrimination in defining and building the nation's future" (415). Rather than being a legislative tool to enforce current racial hierarchies, the Multiculturalism Act is framed here as the foundation enabling all Canadians to participate in building a nation without discrimination. Just like multicultural discourses, the Multiculturalism Act is framed as a solution to racism rather than a tool to enforce racism. In such ways, textbooks consistently erase the racial institutions that multiculturalism is implicated in upholding and "attempt to make the 'origins' of the nation pure, even if only for a fleeting fictive moment" (Walcott *Black Like Who* 129).

I want to be clear that I do not think the Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act are equivalent. While the Indian Act operates as a form of cultural genocide towards indigenous peoples, the Multiculturalism Act does not legislate identities in a comparable way. As well, the Multiculturalism Act has implications for indigenous peoples, black peoples, and all peoples of colour within the Canadian settler state. However, I do think it is important to note that the over-regulation of Indian identity that has occurred through the Indian Act and the lack of attempt to regulate or address black identity is consistent with the way indigeneity and blackness are mobilized/silenced in textbook narratives. It is also important to note that the Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act do not operate in discreet ways, but in fact mutually reinforce histories of settler colonialism by enforcing the temporality of the Canadian settler state.

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National narratives uphold the temporality of the Canadian settler state, which is integral

to the white settler fantasy of Canada. In the earlier discussion on the "denial of coevalness," I

drew on Said and Fanon to demonstrate how Fabian's "denial of coevalness" is an integral part of

colonial discourses in global contexts. Said and Fanon both discuss how the colonial world is

inherently racially divided. While their discussions are grounded in different geographic locations

(Said grounds his analysis in the Middles East and Fanon grounds his analysis in North Africa,

and particularly Algeria) both Said and Fanon center their discussion around two groups, the

colonizer and the colonized. One of the reasons that the Canadian settler state has adopted

multicultural policies is to incorporate more than the colonizer (settlers) and the colonized

(indigenous peoples) into the white settler fantasy—it must also find a way to incorporate non-

indigenous peoples of colour. The Multiculturalism Act mediates the relationship between

settlers, indigenous peoples, and non-indigenous peoples within the borders of the Canadian

settler state. To uphold the white settler fantasy, multicultural policies must enforce a temporal

and geographic distance between indigenous peoples, black peoples, and settlers. The

Multiculturalism Act attempts to replace the lived experiences of indigenous nations with the

monolithic image of the Indian, relegating indigenous peoples into a state of primitivity. The

Multiculturalism Act ensures that black peoples are always viewed as being from a different place

(elsewhere) and therefore, as new arrivals to the Canadian settler state. Because black peoples

are denied the same space as settlers, they also inhabit a different time than settlers due to their

arrival being positioned as recent. Furthermore, black peoples are positioned as being from a

place that also occupies a time period different than the temporality of European colonial

modernity. Fanon argues that Africa and other colonized areas of the world are looked upon as

wild, savage, and uncivilized (108). Black peoples are positioned as always-new arrivals to

Canada, but they are also positioned as always arriving from places that colonial discourses deem primitive. Therefore, blackness in Canada is represented as simultaneously primitive and new to the Canadian settler state. In this way, indigenous peoples and black peoples both experience a denial of coevalness and both are positioned as inhabiting primitivity, while both occupy their own discrete temporal period. Denying that indigenous peoples and settlers share the same time elides the violences inherent in settler colonialism in Canada, such as displacement and genocide, while denying that black peoples share the same space and time as settlers ensures that the violences of transatlantic slavery always appear outside of the Canadian settler state. Enforcing the temporality of the Canadian settler states consigns both indigenous and black peoples to primitive positions, yet it consigns indigenous peoples to the past and represents blackness as primitive-yet-always- new to the Canadian settler state. The Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act enforce the temporality of the Canadian settler state and uphold the fantasy of the white settler state by ensuring that both indigenous peoples and black peoples are denied coevalness not only with settlers, but with each other.

Walcott explains that central to the problem of heritage is the problem of belonging ("Caribbean Pop Culture in Canada" 133). Belonging is a temporal matter because, "how we live in the present and how we make our presence felt in a time or that moment can never be synchronous" (133). I have argued that belonging to the Canadian settler state is always temporal because the Indian Act works to consign indigenous peoples to the past, while simultaneously the Multiculturalism Act replaces the lived experiences of indigenous peoples within state borders with the "Indian" and the lived experiences of black peoples within state borders with the "recent black immigrant." Indigenous peoples are relegated to the past and black peoples are positioned as new, but through discourses of multiculturalism all are positioned as citizens who nevertheless

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never fully belong to a settler state that refuses to recognize its founding histories of violence. The denial of coevalness between indigenous peoples and black peoples is integral to upholding the myth of Canada being developed through peaceful processes. Analyzing the temporality of the Canadian settler state illustrates not only that indigenous and black peoples are both cast as primitive and denied coevalness with each other, but that indigenous and black peoples are denied sharing time based on temporal *and* geographic matters. Fabian's image of "a stream of Time," with different societies being positioned as living different distances downstream of the Time of European colonial modernity demonstrates the geographic nature of time (17). Examining the temporality of national belonging clarifies that belonging is about borders and places. The next chapter grapples with narratives of blood, land, and space to examine how the temporality of belonging is spatialized in the white settler fantasy of Canada.

Chapter 3

Ruptures and Disjunctures: The Settler's Map of Postage Stamps and Mosaics

"As late as 1923, despite attempts to clarify boundaries of the 'walking treaty' negotiated by Crawford, the federal government realized that almost half of the City of Toronto, as well as the towns of Whitby, Oshawa, Port Hope, Cobourg, and Trenton were on land that had not been ceded. At that point, the government gave $375 to the Ojibway of Alnwick, Rice Lake, Mud Lake, and Scugog for the land. The government showed no more scruples in 1923 than it had in 1873—the land not yet legally ceded was illegally bought for a pittance, two centuries after the fact."

Bonita Lawrence, "Rewriting Histories of the Land." Pg. 41.

"Detours, both planned and accidental are an important aspect of black diasporic cultures. The first detour might be considered Columbus; it set the groundwork for discussions of blackness in Americas."

Rinaldo Walcott, *Black Like Who*. Pg. 18.

In the previous Chapter, I examined how the temporality of the Canadian settler state positioned indigenous and black peoples as sharing different temporal periods than settlers and each other. As the introductory citations from Lawrence and Walcott suggest, this chapter deals with issues of land, space, and geography. In this chapter, I analyze how the temporality of the Canadian settler state is spatialized through the reserve system and the representation of Canada as cultural mosaic. The reserve system is legislated through the Indian Act in Canada, and illustrates the spatialization of the temporality of the Indian Act. The representation of Canada as cultural mosaic serves as visual image for both official and popular discourses of multiculturalism and demonstrates how the temporality of multiculturalism is spatialized. Like the temporal aspects of the Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act, the spatialized aspects also naturalize the

disconnection between indigenous peoples and black peoples and between settler colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade. The citation from Lawrence at the beginning of this chapter highlights that issues of land and space are by no means historical issues that the Canadian settler state has moved beyond—instead issues of land and space are always and *will always* be on-going issues in settler colonial societies.

The temporality of the Canadian settler state and its resulting spatializations are dependent on the importation of European sovereignty into the Americas. Thobani explains that the importation of European sovereignty into the Americas was based upon several myths and fictions: "First, the myth of European 'discovery' of the Americas; second, the religio-legalistic concept of terra nullius, which legitimated the fiction that the continent was 'empty of people' before the arrival of Europeans; and third, of terra incognita, which allowed European sovereigns to 'claim underlying title to unknown lands" (43). The first myth of discovery depends on the temporality of the Canadian settler state, i.e. that Europeans were the first settlers of Canada and that Canadian history begins with European settlers (for further discussion, see Chapter 1). The following two myths (the concept of terra nullius and terra incognita) depend on implementing Eurowestern conceptions of space and geography. If the land was empty or unknown, then there was no reason it could not be claimed by European sovereignty. In this chapter, I will first discuss indigenous peoples connection to the land and how the reserve system, as implemented through the Indian Act, functions as a divide-and-conquer tactic that is designed to break down indigenous nations. I will then examine how textbooks portray the mapping of Canada and how, as they chart the development of Canadian borders, they simultaneously elide the histories of violence that borders depended/depend on. I go on to examine how discourses of multiculturalism contribute to Canada currently being mapped as a cultural mosaic, and how the mapping of a

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Canada as a cultural mosaic builds on the divide-and-conquer tactics implemented through the

reserve system. Finally, I turn to forms of alternative mapping, and examine how theories of

alternative mapping are connected to anti-colonial and anti-racist emancipatory struggles.

The following textbook's description of land during the fur trade illustrates how the

temporality of the Canadian settler state is spatialized:

> In 1670, the British Crown granted the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) a large area of
> land called Rupert's Land . . . Rupert's Land was home to many First Nations, Métis
> people, and a few non-Aboriginal fur traders. Almost everyone in the region supported
> themselves at least partly by the fur trade . . . By the early nineteenth century, trading
> posts were scattered throughout the region. There were few permanent settlements.
> (Haskings-Winner et al. 20)

First the citation emphasizes that Canadian history begins with the start of the fur trade. Second,

this citation normalizes settler colonialism and, like concepts of terra nullius and terra incognita,

reinforces that indigenous peoples have no inherent right to the land, but that instead the British

Crown does. While the citation mentions that the land was home to many First Nations, and

Métis people, it continues to naturalize the British Crown's right to the land. The book also states

that the land was home to some non-indigenous fur traders—listing non-indigenous fur traders

with First Nations peoples and Métis peoples enforces the fact that the indigenous peoples had no

more inherent right to the land than the fur traders in the region at the time. There is also no

mention of how the categories 'First Nations' and 'Métis' are categories that sprung from settler

colonial legislature like the Indian Act, and thus in 1670 (pre-Indian Act), these categories did not

exist in the sense that they are utilized today.

Settlers' inherent right to the land is emphasized at other points in textbooks and is

portrayed as a founding tenet of early Canadian settler society: "The colonists believed so

strongly in their right told hold their own land (private property) and in the agricultural way of

life that these beliefs became the basis of Canadian society" (Clark et al. 24). The concept of

terra nullius and terra incognita were used to justify settlers' claiming the land from indigenous

peoples through violent processes of eviction, "justified by the notions that the land was empty or

populated by peoples who had to be saved and civilized" (Razack "Gendered Racial Violence and

Spatialized Justice" 129). In this way, the settler possessed an evolving sense of the right to settle

on the land, to own the land, to work the land, and to travel across the land, whereas while

indigenous peoples may be of the land, they were positioned as not worthy of it and as having no

legitimate claim to it (Thobani 51-2). As a result, only settlement by European settlers was

considered to be proper use of the land (57). Claiming the land through a violent process of

eviction (based on the notion that the land was empty or populated by primitive peoples) was the

first step that settlers in Canada took to assert their sovereignty (Razack "Gendered Racial

Violence and Spatialized Justice" 129). Asserting sovereignty over the land allowed settlers to

gain access to the land, and thus to institute private property as a founding tenet of Canadian

settler society. As, the colonial era progressed, such overtly racist ideologies were enforced

through their accompanying spatial practices (such as confinement on reserves) to facilitate the

nearly absolute geographical separation of the settler and indigenous peoples.

Along with enforcing geographic separation between settlers and indigenous peoples, the

reserve system also attempted to dismantle indigenous nations by separating indigenous societies

from each other. Maintaining a connection to the land—however tenuous—remains crucial to

indigenous identities and subject formation (Thobani 14). The first step of dismantling

indigenous nations is dismantling indigenous peoples connection to the land. However, since land

is so integral to indigenous identities and communities: "The only way in which Indigenous

peoples can be permanently severed from their land base is when they no longer exist as peoples"

(Lawrence *"Real Indians"* 38). Lawrence highlights the connection between the identity

legislation and the reserve system of the Indian Act: the on-going regulation of indigenous

peoples identity functions as way for the Canadian settler state to actively maintain physical

control of the land base that they claim (38). As the citation from Lawrence at the beginning of

the chapter illustrates, access to land is a continuing source of tension between indigenous

peoples and the Canadian settler state. Despite the cultural genocide enforced through identity

legislature, indigenous peoples still exist and asserting a claim to the land is a strategy for

indigenous peoples to demonstrate their existence and their resistance to the Canadian settler

state. Lawrence outlines how the Indian Act works to simultaneously regulate indigenous

peoples identities and maintain physical control over the land base. Through the regulation of

identities, the Indian Act works to replace the lived experiences of various indigenous nations,

such as the Salish, the Cree and the Mohawk with the image of the Indian, because while

indigenous nations preexisted European contact with the 'Americas,' the Indian (or Indians) did

not (Thobani 38). The reserve system has worked together with identity regulation to dismantle

indigenous nations and to enact cultural genocide, where indigenous nations are no longer seen as

existing in the present. The reserve system leads to breaking-down indigenous nations by

arbitrarily breaking up indigenous nations into multiple bands which are spatially separated on

reserves, making organizing across reserves/bands extremely difficult.

Despite the fact that Canadian settlers did not undertake blatant military operations to

extinguish indigenous peoples the way American settlers did, Canadian history is just as

dependent on destroying indigenous nationhood: "British officials have *always* used the threat of

warfare and its attendant starvation south of the border to control Native populations in Canada"

(Lawrence *'Real Indians'* 30). By employing starvation tactics and territorial limitations, treaties

were forced on captured populations in the north, "all the while maintaining a posture of

innocence and denial about the fundamentally violent nature of the colonial process in Canada" (30). Thus the notion of continuous expansion (and thus continuous access to land) is inherent in the concept of Canada and becomes a Canadian version of "manifest destiny" that ends up functioning in a way that is no less genocidal than the United States' ultimate goal of relocating indigenous peoples and claiming their territory (Lawrence "Rewriting Histories of the Land" 44).

Not only does the reserve system displace indigenous peoples from their inherent right to the land, it also functions as a divide-and-conquer-tactic—both spatially and ideologically. The reserve system is inherently spatial when today, there are over six hundred tiny almost-landless individual entities known as First Nations (Lawrence *'Real Indians'* 239). Because of the Indian Act, First Nations communities are the only indigenous communities recognized as legally existing. Not only does the reserve system threaten indigenous peoples by attacking their connection to the land, it breaks up indigenous nations based on arbitrary and colonial notions, and instead replaces indigenous nations with the band system (a colonial system). During the interview section of *'Real Indians' and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood,* Lawrence illustrates how the reserve system enforces divide-and-conquer tactics towards indigenous peoples: "Coming to the heart of the problem, one individual pointed out that reserve based people need to stop thinking of their tiny 'postage stamp' bits of land as their entire nation—and that until Indigenous sovereignty is conceived in larger and more inclusive terms, that divisions between Native people cannot help but multiply" (237). The reserve system is always an issue of space: if one indigenous nation is broken up into several bands that are then placed on 'postage-stamp' sized reserves hundreds of kilometers apart, then geography inhibits indigenous peoples from organizing to resist against the Canadian settler state and from organizing to achieve self-determination. Before settler colonialism and the Indian Act

was instituted within what we now know as Canada, indigenous peoples did often conceive of sovereignty in larger and more inclusive terms, however, the Indian Act, reserve system, and band system have all been integral in fostering divisions between indigenous peoples—both spatially and ideologically.

Despite the ample evidence of reserve systems relying on divide-and-conquer-tactics and being integral to the breaking-down of indigenous nations, textbooks mask the violence of the reserve system and enforce settlers' inherent right to settle and map the land. In discussing the effect of signing pre-confederation treaties for indigenous peoples, *Their Stories, Our History* says: In return, First Nations received a variety of benefits. A common promise was for a reserve, land set aside for the exclusive use of the First Nation. Reserves were generally smaller than the original territories used by the First Nation. Others were large but in less appealing locations. In some cases, First Nations were not consulted when their land was taken over" (Haskings-Winner et al. 148). While the citation does acknowledge that reserves were smaller than the original territories used by indigenous communities and that indigenous peoples were not consulted with their land use, it does so while reinforcing a peaceful representation of the reserve system. At no point does the textbook grapple with why reserves may be placed in less appealing locations, what the benefits are for settlers, and what the repercussions are for indigenous peoples. The word choice actively erases the violences of the reserve system: saying that reserves were "generally smaller" implies that some reserves did match the size of indigenous nations' territories pre-treaty. However, there is no discussion about the fact that no matter how large the reserve is it restricts indigenous peoples to a fixed spatial location that does not match the scope of their communities or lifestyle before settler colonialism. The quote also says that, "in some cases First Nations were not consulted," which implies that in other instances they were

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consulted. However, there is no sustained discussion of what consulting indigenous peoples would actually consist of, and by implying that some indigenous communities had (at least some) control of their land base, elides how the notion of continuous expansion was integral to the founding of Canada and masks the violences that indigenous peoples experienced so that continuous expansion for settlers could occur.

After 'describing' the reserve system, *Their Stories, Our History* goes on to discuss numbered treaties. It describes how the first numbered treaties were signed in 1871 and that the "primary purpose of these treaties was to move First Nations off their land so settlers could move in" (Haskings-Winner et al. 149). While that sentence alludes to the violences the indigenous peoples experienced by expansion and settlement, the next sentences strategically erases those violences: "By signing treaties, First Nations usually received some variety of the following promises" (149). The textbook goes on to list reserves, annual cash payments for each First Nations member, allowances for hunting and fishing tools, farming assistance, schools on reserves and the right to hunt and fish on ceded land as benefits of the treaties. It is interesting to note that reserves are specifically listed as a *benefit* for indigenous peoples, and are not connected to the dismantling of indigenous nations and self-determination. There is also no unpacking of other supposed 'benefits,' such as how is it a benefit to be able to hunt and fish on ceded land when prior to the formation of the settler state, indigenous peoples could hunt and fish on any part of the land? And if the textbook was not clear enough in framing reserves and treaties as benefits to indigenous peoples, it goes on to say, "In return, First Nations had to promise they would keep peaceful relations with settlers and follow Canadian law" (149). Indigenous peoples are actually positioned as being indebted to the treaties!

Beneath the description of the treaties is a map labeled "Historical Treaties in Canada" (fig 1 in Appendix). The map illustrates the boundaries of pre and post confederation treaties, as well as "uncertain territory." The year that the treaties were signed is also labeled on the map. The map illustrates how each progressive treaty displaced indigenous peoples from the land to allow for the continuous expansion of non-indigenous settlements. While the violence of settlement is elided in the text, the map provides a clear spatial understanding of how treaties were used to increasingly gain access to indigenous lands. This is not the only map in *Their Stories, Our History* that demonstrates the displacement of indigenous peoples and the expansion of settler space. There are series of three maps showing Canada in 1870 (fig 2 in Appendix), Canada in 1898 (fig 3 in Appendix), and Canada in 1999 (fig 4 in Appendix). In each map, the land that is claimed by 'Canada' grows: the map of 1870 illustrates the newly formed province of Manitoba; the map of 1898 shows the inclusion of British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, as well as the expansion of Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec; and the map of 1999 shows the 'current' map of Canada, including the borders of the current provinces and territories. Each map shows the expansion of Canada's borders and thus naturalizes settlers' inherent right to the land and the displacement of indigenous peoples.

The maps in textbooks show a clear expansion of settler space (and by extension the diminishing of indigenous space), and the text accompanying the maps also works to normalize the expansion. Maps are used to "to measure, standardize, and bind space, keeping the environment outside" (Razack "When Place Becomes Race" 12). The maps in textbooks illustrate how the borders of Canada and its provinces were used to standardize and bind space according to notions of the settler state. In discussing confederation, *Their Stories, Our History* states: "Between 1867 and 1909, the modern political map of Canada was created" (Haskings-Winner et

al. 87). In the following discussion, the creation of the current map is completely disconnected from the violences toward indigenous peoples. Very few references are made towards indigenous peoples and the references that are included are representations that reinforce the white settler fantasy of Canada. For instance, the only reference of indigenous peoples in the introduction to the chapter discussing Confederation is the Métis in Manitoba: "The Métis people from Red River insisted Manitoba should enter Confederation as a province not a territory . . . Manitoba joined Canada as the fifth province in 1870, but not without political turmoil and armed conflict" (87). The Métis are positioned as being supportive of confederation, and by extension the developing settler state. This narrative erases the violences enacted by the Indian Act, and how it disenfranchises some indigenous people. Later in the chapter, the textbook mentions that a second provision in the Manitoba Act was the guarantee of land rights for Métis people (98). However, in the years following 1870, the land transfer was "mismanaged" and "few Métis people secured their land rights" (98). The textbooks go on to state, "thousands of settlers began arriving in Manitoba in search of farmland. Many Métis people were pushed from their land. Some moved further west" (98). This is one of the few times that the displacement of indigenous peoples is mentioned when telling the story of confederation. However, this reference is adopted into the white settler fantasy of Canada and therefore, continues to minimize the violences that settlement and the resulting displacement (further west or otherwise) actually entailed.

While describing the land and the mapping of the land, textbooks continually downplay the violences towards indigenous peoples and normalize the notion of continuous expansion. A picture on the page discussing Newfoundland and Labrador entering Confederation (fig 5 in Appendix) demonstrates how textbooks elide the destruction of indigenous space, while framing the expansion of settler space in positive terms. The picture is a drawing of a man working on

jigsaw puzzle of a map of Canada titled "Maple Leaf Jigsaw Puzzle," with a picture of the Fathers of Confederation on the wall above the puzzle. The man is gesturing to the missing piece of Newfoundland, and with a pleased expression states, "We finally completed the job you started!" The excitement evident in the man's expression and statement demonstrates his pleasure with the recent expansion of settler space. What the map is actually showing is that indigenous peoples have been successfully either displaced and/or subjugated, so that settlers now have full access to land—from sea to sea.

Underneath the picture a variety of questions are asked, including, "Why is the map of Canada called a jigsaw puzzle?" (Haskings-Winner et al. 105). The question is clearly alluding to how Confederation occurred piece-by-piece throughout Canada. While the picture clearly frames Confederation in a positive way, I argue that the image of the jigsaw puzzle can also be used to critique Confederation, and show how the jigsaw puzzle metaphor is a reflection of the divide-and-conquer tactics that were used to settle the land and continue to be used today, not only create tensions within indigenous peoples and people of colour, but also to create tensions *between* indigenous peoples and peoples of colour. Textbooks never ask readers to envision how a map of the current reserves would look—and while these reserves are often geographically distanced from each other (unlike interlocking jigsaw pieces), there would be over six hundred, postage-stamp sized puzzle pieces spread throughout the map. While textbooks describe the expansion of settler space and the creation of reserves in positive terms (for both settlers and indigenous peoples), reserves actually function in tandem with the identity legislature of the Indian Act to geographically dismantle indigenous nations.

So far, I have discussed divide-and-conquer tactics of the settler state in relation to indigenous peoples and the reserve system; however, Canada's divide-and-conquer tactics also

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have implications for peoples of colour. In Chapter 1, I argued that the temporality of the

Canadian settler state is enforced through the Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act, which

enforce the denial of shared time between indigenous peoples, black peoples, and settlers. Settlers

are positioned as inhabiting the here and now as reflected in the temporality of the modern settler

state, while indigenous peoples are consigned to the past. Historical blackness is elided by the

white settler fantasy of Canada, and thus blackness is located as always new to the settler state

since it hails from elsewhere. While blackness is represented as recent to the settler state in legal

and popular representations, its temporality stems from its geography. Blackness in Canada hails

from "elsewhere" and under the temporality of European colonial modernity, the places blackness

hails from are positioned as primitive. As a result, blackness is simultaneously new and primitive

to the Canadian settler state. In the temporality of the Canadian settler state, indigenous peoples

and black peoples both inhabit a status of primitivity, yet both are denied sharing time with each

other due to the geographic implications of their temporality. The representation of Canada as a

cultural mosaic is one way that the temporality of the Canadian settler state is spatialized. Similar

to how the reserve system and the identity legislature of the Indian Act work together to attempt

to dismantle indigenous nations, the Multiculturalism Act and the image of Canada as a cultural

mosaic contribute to the elisions of material connections between indigeneity and blackness in the

formation of the Canadian settler state by positioning indigenous peoples and black peoples as

inhabiting different temporal and spatial locations.

Their Stories, Our History defines a cultural mosaic as "many cultures living peacefully

together" (Haskings-Winner et al. 231). It positions the spatial representation of the cultural

mosaic as a visual image for multiculturalism and emphasizes that multiculturalism (and as a

result, the image of a cultural mosaic) has become part of Canadian identity (231). *Pearson*

Geography emphasizes how being a cultural mosaic is intrinsic to Canadian identity, since it differentiates Canadian society from the United States:

> In Canada, immigrants become citizens without having to leave their own culture behind. In other words, a person can be Polish or Arab *and* Canadian. This is different than the melting pot of the United States, where newcomers are assimilated. In the U.S., there is no federal multicultural policy to support all cultures. Instead, it is seen as a personal matter. People can call themselves Polish-American or Arab-American if they feel it is important. In fact, many do. (Bain 187)

Because of Canada's official multicultural policy, Canada can be mapped as a mosaic and *not* as a melting pot. However, just as multiculturalism strengthens the temporal disconnect between indigenous and black peoples within Canada, the image of the cultural mosaic functions to spatially disconnect indigenous and black peoples within Canada.

The image that is invoked through the word mosaic is a montage of small, discrete, ceramic (or glass or similar material) pieces being placed adjacent to each other, which overall create a visual image. In terms of heritage or culture, what is clearly being invoked is the idea that immigrants who come to Canada can maintain there own distinct culture (each culture functions as a piece of the mosaic) while still being part of the country (because each mosaic piece is integral to the overall picture). However, just like the early quote from *Their Stories, Our History* that assumed fur-traders had the same inherent right to the land as settlers, the image of the cultural mosaic elides indigenous peoples claims to the land and enforces contemporary forms of terra nullius and terra incognita, where the land is presented as being open and available for non-indigenous bodies to settle on and claim for their own culture. Therefore, while textbooks steep the image of the cultural mosaic in notions of peace, it actually enforces is the erasure of the violences towards indigenous peoples that the Canadian settler state was founded upon.

I want to clarify that while I am arguing that the image of the cultural mosaic attempts to place immigrant bodies (both white and non-white) as complicit in reinforcing concepts of terra

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nullius and terra incognita, *I am not arguing that settlement by non-indigenous peoples in Canada is always equivalent*. For instance, it is important to acknowledge that there are very real circumstances between European explorers (and later settlers) choosing to immigrant to Canada and black peoples and other peoples of color who may have been forcibly brought to Canada. I am arguing that the visual image of the cultural mosaic contributes to tensions between various non-white groups within the current borders of Canada *because it attempts to portray all settlement in Canada as peaceful and equivalent—despite the varying circumstances that have contributed to different groups immigrating to Canada during different time periods*. In *African Nova Scotian-Mi'kmaw Relations*, Paula C. Madden argues that if we include all those who are not indigenous to Canada as immigrant and, "pay more attention to when and how they were admitted, we might create the possibility of not only seeing beyond the confines of a racial hierarchy of belonging and racialized belonging but also of making more visible the indigenous peoples of this land" (15). To destabilize the image of the cultural mosaic (and the discourses of multiculturalism that uphold it), I argue that black peoples settling in Canada cannot be viewed in any way as equivalent to that of people of European descent settling in Canada, and furthermore, that black migration to Canada differs drastically depending on the specific time period and geographic location.

Dionne Brand provides insight into exactly how black peoples migrations have differed from explorers and settlers: "What I am doing here I do not know. I mean of course in the sense that I did not know I would end up here. *End up* is not the right phrase . . . *Land* may be a better word. Landing is what people in the Diaspora do. Landing at ports, dockings, bridges, stocks, borders, outposts" (*A Map To the Door* 150). In discussing this passage, Katherine McKittrick explains that, "The landings are not predictable or premeditated; rather, they chart a different

sense of place, which is simultaneously unexpected, rooted, and rootless: the diaspora subject exists, in place, without destination and, Brand argues, destination desire" (104). Brand and McKittrick both complicate the notion that all settlement by non-indigenous peoples occurred on similar terms. Peoples of the black diaspora "land" within the borders of what we now know as Canada, whereas explorers and settlers *arrived* at what we now know as the borders of Canada. *Arriving* suggests a set destination in mind or planning or premeditation, whereas *landing* (as invoked by Brand) ensures the history of transatlantic slavery is always present when discussing the movement of peoples of the black diaspora.

The image of the cultural mosaic enforces the divide-and-conquer tactics of the Canadian settler state in several ways. First, it enforces concepts of terra nullius and terra incognita, erasing Canada's history of violence towards indigenous peoples. Second, it reinforces the erasure of historical black presences in Canada by ignoring how "landing" differs from settlement, and ignoring Canada's complicity with the transatlantic slave trade. The image of the cultural mosaic creates a map of Canada that consists of multiple, discrete, cultural groups (or ethnicities) that have all hailed from elsewhere and are now living in Canada. However, this portrayal posits all immigration to Canada as equal, peaceful, and *recent*, which attempt to erase historical black presences. In this way, the mapping of the Canada as a cultural mosaic reflects the attempted erasure of black geographies within the Canadian settler state. McKittrick explains that:

> Concealment is accomplished at least in part by carefully landscaping blackness out of the nation: specifically, the demolition of Africville in Nova Scotia and Hogan's Alley in Vancouver; threatening and administering black diaspora deportation; the renaming of Negro Creek Road to Moggie Road in Holland Township, Ontario; the silence around and concealment of Canada's largest unvisible slave burial ground, Nigger Rock, in the eastern townships of Quebec; racist immigration policies; the ploughing over of the black Durham Road Cemetery in southwestern Ontario; the relocation and recent renaming, of Caribana; and the commonly held belief that black Canada is only recent urban. (96)

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The erasure of black geographies works along with the image of Canada as a cultural mosaic to contribute to the overall projects of: erasing longstanding black presences within Canada, erasing Canada's connection to transatlantic slavery, and erasing the role of black communities in the formation of the Canadian settler state.

Africville is the most famous example of the erasure of black geographies and the only example that is commonly included within textbooks. Not surprisingly, textbooks tell the story of Africville in a way that is disconnected from the overall erasure of black geographies within Canada. Africville was founded in 1842 out of a black refugee community near Halifax (Mensah 50). From the time of its creation till its destruction in 1960, the residents of Africville faced constant environmental racism and economic deprivation, which culminated in Africville's designation as a slum and its subsequent demolition. *The Canadian Challenge* includes a one-page 'spotlight' on Africville in the Chapter entitled "Developing the Canadian Identity: 1945-1967." The page starts off stating: "some communities in Canada were denied basic necessities peoples in the new suburban communities took for granted" (Quinlan et al. 208). The textbook goes on to acknowledge that, "On such community was Africville, a small neighborhood of people of African heritage in Halifax" (208). Africville is simultaneously mentioned and minimized ("small neighborhood") and the issue of race is never put in conversation with the opening sentence (i.e. how access to basic necessities was inherently racialized and how communities which were denied basic necessities were generally communities of indigenous, black peoples or other peoples of colour). The textbook goes on to explain that Africville was demolished in 1964 under an urban renewal plan and that the residents were forced to relocate to public housing projects (Quinlan et al. 208). The section is concluded by stating, "In 2004, the United Nations urged Canada to pay reparations to the residents of Africville, but by 2008, the

government had failed to do so" (208). Again, there is no sustained discussion on the violence of this forced removal or any interrogation as to how the government's *current* reluctance to pay reparations reflects an ingrained and inherent racism in the Canadian settler state.

At this point, it is not surprising that the narrative of Canada as a cultural mosaic reflects the white settler fantasy of Canada and attempts to erase black geographies or elide the violences of the Canadian settler state; however, what is perhaps surprising is the effects that the divide-and-conquer tactics of the cultural mosaic have had within academic discussions surrounding indigenous geographies, black geographies, and the Canadian settler state. For instance, despite Madden's call to pay more attention to when and how different peoples were admitted to Canada, and to move beyond continually privileging whiteness by always looking at black in relation to white, or indigenous in relation to white, or other in the relation to white (15), she does not engage in a sustained analysis of the connections between black and indigenous geographies within Canada. I argue that instead, Madden's analysis actually contributes to the erasure of black geographies by failing to engage with the connections between indigenous and black geographies or the connections between settler colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade.[15]

Throughout her text, Madden continually equates the 'landing' of black peoples with the 'arrival' of white settlers, and despite being critical of human rights discourses, she turns to the inclusion of black peoples in human rights legislation, and the exclusion of Mi'kmaw peoples, as evidence to justify classifying black peoples as settlers. While Madden does reference slavery and forced migrations, these references remain largely symbolic and are not used to complicate the differences between black and white settlers in Nova Scotia (despite her call early on in the text to be more attentive to when and how different groups arrived within the borders of Canada). For

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[15] For further discussion on the intrinsic relationship between settler colonialism as enacted with the Americas (and Canada specifically) and the transatlantic slave trade, see Chapter 3

instance, while Madden acknowledges, "The earliest and longest sustained presence of black peoples in Agg Piktuk, Unama'kik, Eskikewa'kik, Spiekne'katik and Kespukwitk were slaves, who likely arrived first in the 1600s" (52), she then goes on to equate settlement with landing elsewhere in the text: "Black people who granted land were, just as their white counterparts, granted individual lands plots and title, though they were settled in many cases as a group and often also received land for communal uses such as churches and schools. Blacks, just as whites, were settlers and occupiers of Mi'kmaw territories" (63). By equating black landings with white settlement, Madden erases the violences of transatlantic slavery (despite referencing it), and reflects the divide-and-conquer politics that are mobilized through discourses of multiculturalism and cultural mosaics. At another point in her text, Madden states, "While black settlement was sometimes forced by the necessity of fleeing slavery and enslavement itself, and life was made difficult by racial violence, what erasures occur when black dispossession is understood as an original dispossession?" (29). I am uncomfortable with how Madden downplays the violences of slavery ("sometimes forced by the necessity") and erases the differences between white settlement and black landings. Instead, I argue that while temporally indigenous peoples experienced the 'original dispossession,' ultimately it is not productive to hierarchically rank dispossessions (temporally or otherwise), but that examining how dispossessions have been inter-related (yet distinctly different) provides a more useful starting place for productive conversations between blackness and indigeniety. Furthermore, equating black landings with white settlement erases histories of displacement, dispossession, and enslavement that black peoples experienced. While I agree with Madden that it is integral that stories of indigenous dispossession are not written over (but rather, be made visible), due to the relationship between the Canadian settler

state and transatlantic slavery, erasing histories of black dispossession *also works to elide the violences of settler colonialism* in Canada.

Despite some the problems with Madden's text, such as the monolithic way in that she mobilizes term settlement and her reliance of human rights discourses to frame relationships between blackness and indigeneity, there are also many insightful moments of analysis. She illustrates material connections between indigeneity and blackness through an exploration of spatial connections between black and indigenous peoples by arguing that, "The lives of black and Mi'kmaw people in the province ran a parallel course," because since the beginning of their contact with settlers, both groups were subjected to unequal treatment and racialized violence as a result of the settler state (63). Policies of settler colonialism in Canada forced both indigenous and black communities outside mainstream society, and many people within the communities lacked the means and opportunities to support themselves and their families. While the government did not identify black spaces as reserves or legislate black spaces in a equivalent way to the reserve systems, if one looks only at the material conditions of life in these communities, they are extremely similar (63). In one of the moments where she is critical of the settler state (and as a result, the usefulness of human rights discourses), Madden proposes: "Perhaps working our way out of our racial conundrum requires a new way of imaging and reorganizing the state or, perhaps even more dramatically, dismantling the racial state and building 'something else' organized around egalitarian principles" (38). In *The Common Pot,* indigenous feminist Lisa Brooks, argues that centering indigenous space in history, literature, and academic discourses, is one strategy for re-mapping settler states and envisioning 'something else':

> What happens when we put Native space at the center of America rather than merely striving for inclusion of minority viewpoints or viewing Native Americans as a *part* of or on the *periphery* of America? What does the historical landscape look like when viewed through the networks of waterways and kinship in the northeast, with Europe and its

colonies on the periphery? What happens when the texts of Anglo-American history and literature are participants in Native space rather than the center of the story? What kind of map emerges? (xxv)

In the following section, I draw on the theories of Lisa Brooks, Sherene Razack, Katherine McKittrick, and Dionne Brand to build on Madden's idea of creating "something else" beyond the current settler state and Brooks' idea of "centering indigenous space" to articulate a framework for discussing what kind of map emerges when indigenous and black space are placed at the center of discussions regarding landscapes (both historical and contemporary). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to fully engage with such questions, however, I hope to provide the starting point for further discussions on centering black and indigenous space and in doing so, demonstrate how such a centering of space can contribute to alliance-building between indigenous and black peoples (both within Canada and the Americas in general).

It seems fitting that if divide-and-conquer tactics are a tenet of the settler state, which is enforced through traditional geography, then a discussion on alternative mapping might begin with commonalities that cut across space and difference, both within and beyond settler state boundaries. Razack explains that, "to denaturalize or unmap spaces, then, we begin by exploring space as a social product, uncovering how bodies are produced in spaces and how spaces produce bodies" ("Introduction: When Place Becomes Race" 17). By examining how bodies are produced in different spaces, the effects of multiple systems of domination on the bodies are made visible (17). Like Razack, McKittrick also argues that space is socially produced: "Geography is not, however, secure and unwavering; we produce space, we produce its meanings, and we work very hard to make geography what it is" (xii). If space is constantly being produced, then there is a constant possibility of resistance to traditional geographies and systems of domination through re-thinking space. McKittrick suggests that black women's geographies provide "spatial clues as to

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how more humanly workable geographies might be imagined" (xxii). Razack argues that

unmapping can be used to undermine, "the idea of white settler innocence (the notion that

European settlers merely settled and developed the land) and to uncover the ideologies and

practices of conquest and domination" (Introduction: When Place Becomes Race" 5). Both

McKittrick and Razack suggest methods of reconceptualizing space within the Canadian settler

state to illustrate the violences that the settler state is founded upon while simultaneously

imagining more liveable ways of reconfiguring space. Brooks reconceptualizes space in the

American settler state through invoking an indigenous-centered view of space. Brooks describes

how native or indigenous space is conceptualized as, "a network of relations and waterways

containing many different groups of people as well as animal, plant, and rock beings that was

sustained through the constant transformative 'being' of its inhabitants" (3). Brooks invokes

"networks of relations and waterways" throughout the chapters in her book to chart various ways

in which indigenous space is imagined—both before and during settler colonialism in the

Americas—along with how conceptions of indigenous space are used to resist settler colonialism

in the Americas. Conceptualizing space as networks strongly contrasts with the rigid, fixed ideas

of space that are produced through traditional geography and enforced through settler states. By

imagining space as a series of interconnected networks or webs, Brooks is always creating space

for alliances between various networks/webs.

  While McKittrick, Razack, and Brooks all provide ways to conceptualize space beyond

the geographic confinements of the settler state, they also frame the geography of the settler state

in very restrictive terms. Brooks describes settler colonialism in the Americas in terms of

dispossession and describes dispossession as, "not a destiny but rather a disjuncture" (165). A

similar description is used by Dionne Brand in *A Map to the Door of No Return* when discussing

the "small space" that opened within her as a result of her Grandpa never remembering where their ancestors came from: "It was a rupture in history, a rupture in the quality of being. It was also physical rupture, a rupture of geography" (5). Disjuncture. Rupture. Both words invoke a sudden change in space. A breaking apart. A disconnection. A void appearing. Loss. The violences of settler colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade in the Americas are represented in this change of space. The words that Brooks and Brand choose to describe this change of space do not connote planning or destiny. In fact, Brooks explicitly refuses destiny. In their refusal of seeing settler colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade as destiny, they refuse the Eurocentric viewpoint that positions 1492 and Columbus' discovery of the Americas as inevitable, and the resulting violences towards indigenous and black peoples as the natural result of civilization processes. Instead, Brooks and Brand expose the arbitrary nature of such violences by describing the violences as disjunctures and ruptures—thereby reconfiguring how histories of discovery and conquest are imagined and mapped.

At the end of Chapter 1, I discussed how belonging to the Canadian settler state is always a temporal and geographic matter. The temporality and geography of the settler state not only structure issues of belonging , but they also structure issues of origins. The white settler myth of discovery and discourses of terra nullius and terra incognita work to erase indigenous peoples inherent right to the land. Simultaneously, the temporality of the Canadian settler state attempts to fix indigenous people in a primitive—or originary—state. If indigenous peoples are consigned to the past, then they are also being consigned to their origins. Similar to how the Indian Act structures identity and assimilation, indigenous peoples are offered the choice of either being fixed by their origins, consigned to a primitive state, and denied sharing time with settlers, or having to abandon their origins and right to the land by moving "forward" into the modern time

and space of the Canadian settler state. Brand is critical of notions of origins, and provides

insights as to how the notion of origins can operate as an oppressive tool of the Canadian settler

state:

> Too much has been made of origins. All origins are arbitrary. This is not to say that they
> are not also nurturing, but they are essentially coercive and indifferent. Country, nation,
> these concepts are of course deeply indebted to origins, family, tradition, home. Nation-
> states are configurations of origins as exclusionary power structures have legitimacy
> based solely on conquest and acquisition. Here at home, in Canada we are all implicated
> in this sense of origins. It is manufactured origin nevertheless playing to our need for
> home, however tyrannical. (*A Map To the Door* 64)

The idea of origins has been significant to many of the arguments in this chapter: to begin with,

the geography of the Canadian settler state is upheld through myths of terra nullius and terra

incognita which displace the knowledge that indigenous peoples are the original inhabitants of the

land. The idea that today Canadians can maintain connections to their origins/heritage is integral

to imagining Canada as a cultural mosaic. The idea of origins is also at the heart of Madden's

conflict regarding claims to indigeneity: if indigenous peoples are the original inhabitants of the

land, then black claims to indigeneity work to displace indigenous peoples origins. I have quoted

from Brand at length because her citation clearly outlines how and why the notion of origins are

always both temporal and geographic, and how notions of origins can provide comfort, yet also

enforce the temporality and geography of the Canadian settler state.

Can the notion of origins be mobilized without simultaneously relying on traditional

geography and borders of settler states? Is there a alternative way to conceive of origins? Is there

an alternative way to map origins? Brand remains strong in her skepticism of the settler state and

the desire to belong to the settler state:

> It is of course tempting to enter this nation of Canada. It is even more tempting to
> see that desire as a rightful thing. Fugitives from slavery, Black Loyalists, sleeping car
> porters, immigrant workers—from the earliest Black presence to the present it would be
> easy, given the terms of entry for white settlers and immigrants, to presume that these

same terms can be legitimately used to cement such a right. The right to nation. What we have to ask ourselves is, as everyone else in the nation should ask themselves also, nation predicated what? (*A Map To the Door* 68)

In terms of belonging, Brand is searching from more than the inclusion of representations of blackness (fugitive slaves, Black Loyalists, black porters, recent immigrants) in national narratives of the white settler fantasy. One of the reasons Brand resists inclusion is that she is resisting the violences of the Canadian settler state. Brand's final question echoes throughout her text: nation predicated on what? While *A Map to the Door of No Return* is primarily about the black diaspora, her acknowledgement of settler colonialism underscores the text. Whether discussing present day connections between Mohawk peoples aiding the passage of Chinese immigrants (66), or the appearance of urban multiculturalism juxtaposed with the dispossession of Aboriginal people in Australia (79), or the discussion of a dream with friend who she identifies as Six Nations (151), the question of "'Whose land is this?'" (151) reverberates throughout Brand's work. While discussing her own rupture from origins (and the effects of similar ruptures on people in the black diaspora), Brand simultaneously privileges indigenous peoples origins and their original connection to the land in various temporal and geographic contexts. Throughout her text, Brand disturbs traditional conceptions of space and geography. Her re-conceptualization of origins is just one of the ways that Brand resists the divide-and-conquer-effects of the Canadian settler state and instead creates space to envision alliances between indigenous peoples and peoples of the black diaspora in resistance to the settler state.

Brand critiques the traditional notion of origins and belonging to settler states and works to provide space where the term origins can mobilized without reinforcing the effects of the settler state and its resulting hierarchies of oppression. Brooks builds on Brand's alternative conception of origins: "To be 'of' a place is to be born of it, to originate from the land, and to rely

on it for sustenance and continuance. Such narratives of emergence do not relate a single moment of origin but rather reveal a continuing process of growth and transformation in a particular place" (176). Like traditional understandings of origins, Brooks' conceptualization of origins emphasizes the connection to the land. However, Brooks moves beyond a fixed understanding of origins and instead sees origins as a "continuing process of growth and transformation in particular a place." Like Razack and McKittrick's definitions of space at the beginning of this section, Brooks emphasizes how conceptions of origins are produced and refuses to be limited by origins depending on fixed notions of time and space. By refusing to be limited by settler colonial conceptions of origins, Brooks and Brand rethink the term and utilize the term in a way that moves beyond the divide-and-conquer politics of settler states, and instead illustrate how reconfiguring origins contributes to the creation of space for alliances between indigenous peoples, and peoples who may not be indigenous to that particular geographic space for the same temporal period, but who are committed to being allies of indigenous peoples. By centering indigenous space, Brooks illustrate a meaning for origins that is not limited by temporality or geography of European colonial modernity. Throughout her text, Brooks emphasizes that centering indigenous space is not contradictory to fostering alliances between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous allies (whether they are people of colour or European settlers), but rather that centering indigenous space is integral to creating space to envision alliances between indigenous peoples and allies. Brooks explains that indigenous leaders have conceived of space as both indigenous space, which Europeans entered from another world, and as shared space in which indigenous peoples, peoples of colour, and the descendants of European settlers must peacefully coexist (202). Just as Brand illustrates the violences of the transatlantic slave trade *and* the dispossession of indigenous peoples throughout her text, Brooks demonstrates that under

indigenous conceptions of space, indigenous space can be privileged while simultaneously privileging shared space.

Razack, McKittrick, Brand, and Brooks all imagine the ways in which our societies can be spatially organized outside of current settler state formations. Throughout this chapter I have charted how the geography of the current Canadian settler state is integral to upholding European sovereignty and settler colonialism. Within Canada, the reserve system is used ideologically and spatially to control indigenous peoples by breaking down conceptions of indigenous nationhood and replacing indigenous nations with 'Indian Bands' through divide-and-conquer policies. Divide-and-conquer policies are also used in mapping Canada as a cultural mosaic. Mapping Canada as a cultural mosaic simultaneously elides violences that the settler state was founded upon and contributes to friction between indigenous peoples and black peoples within the settler state. The image of the cultural mosaic also serves as a spatialization of the temporality of the Canadian settler state. Indigenous peoples are positioned as primitive and consigned to the past. Indigenous histories are then erased through the colourful mosaic pieces, or representation of heritage from "elsewhere." Black peoples are represented in the mosaic as being from "elsewhere" since the mosaic works to place blackness and other non-indigenous peoples of colour as new immigrants to Canada. However, blackness is also positioned as primitive since the "elsewhere" that they come from is mapped as primitive/savage. The image of the cultural mosaic maps both blackness and indigeneity as primitive yet different, while eliding the existence of indigenous nations and historical representations of blackness in Canada. This chapter finished by turning to alternative conceptions of mapping to re-think how space and temporality (through a discussion of origins) can be conceptualized beyond the current settler state. While the temporality and geography of the Canadian settler state legislates the apparent disconnect

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between indigenous peoples/black peoples and settler colonialism/transatlantic slavery, by re-imagining how societies are spatially produced, connections between indigenous peoples and black peoples become apparent. These material connections are examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

The Logic of the Americas: Red Land, Black Labour, and Canada

"Vancouver, 2000. Waiting for a bus at Granville and Robson. The bus arrives. A Black man is driving it. This city has few Black people. So few that when they meet on the street they nod to each other in surprise, perhaps delight, certainly some odd recognition. Two stops along a Salish woman gets on. She asks the driver for directions . . .This road along which the bus travels may have been a path hundreds of years ago. This jutting of land through which this path travels has lost its true name. It is now surrounded by English Bay, False Creek, and Burrard Inlet. And Granville Street, whose sure name has vanished, once was or was not a path through. That woman asking directions might have known these names several hundred years ago. Today when she enters the bus she is lost."

"This driver knows some paths that are unrecoverable even to himself. He is the driver of lost paths. And here he is telling the Salish woman where to go. The woman from this land walks as one blindfolded, no promontory or dip of water is recognizable. She has not been careless, no. No, she has tried to remember, she has an inkling but certain disasters have occurred and the street, the path in her mind, is all rubble, so she asks the driver though lost paths to conduct her through her own country. So the driver though lost maps tell this woman of a lost country her way and the price she should pay, which seems little enough—$1.50—to find your way. This woman with no country pays and sits down. The man with no country drives on."

Dionne Brand, *A Map to the Door of No Return.* Pg. 219 & 220.

While visiting Vancouver, Brand finds herself in a situation that illustrates the main topic of this chapter: the intimate relationship between settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery in the founding of the Americas—specifically the Canadian settler state. As discussed in Chapter 2, while the focus of Brand's work is the legacies of the transatlantic slave trade and how these legacies affect peoples of the black diaspora in various temporal and geographic locations, throughout her text, Brand continually draws attention to indigenous peoples connection to the land, so that the legacies of transatlantic slavery that Brand illustrates become intertwined with the legacies of the dispossession of indigenous peoples. The opening citations from Brand take

place in Vancouver. Brand simultaneously invokes the absence of black representations ("The

city has so few black people") and the on-going effects of settler colonialism within Canada.

Brand illustrates the on-going effects of the Canadian settler state through geography: the Salish

woman has trouble navigating the current geography due to settler colonialism erasing the

different paths "true names." Brand superimposes an alternative, indigenous-centered,

representation of geography over the geography of the Canadian settler state. The overlapping

geographies that Brand visibilizes foregrounds the connections between the bus driver and the

Salish woman: it is because of the imposition of the geography of the Canadian settler state that

the Salish woman is lost and must ask the bus driver for directions. Brand positions both the

Salish woman and the bus driver as having "no country." The legacies of settler colonialism and

transatlantic slavery work together to configure the Canadian settler state so that indigenous and

black peoples are positioned as never truly belonging—despite being integral to its overall

development. In another section of her text, Brand discusses how people who inhabit the edges of

the city seem to never truly belong to the city, yet are actually integral to its overall structure:

"These people are on the edges of the city, some would say, not emblematic. I know they might

be the edges and easily ignored, but they curl into the middle. The middle of the city, where what

looks like an ordinary life is composed of what is beaten into or calculated and chalked up to the

world" (*A Map To the Door* 101). In this citation, Brand disrupts the geography of margin and

center: what is framed as peripheral through the geographies of the Canadian settler state, is

actually integral to maintaining the current Canadian settler state. Brand demonstrates that the

material connections between indigenous and black peoples are often positioned as peripheral in

the white settler fantasy of Canada, *because* of their integral role in the development of the

Canadian settler state. By disrupting the geography of the Canadian settler state, Brand invokes a

view of Canadian history that privileges the relationship between the transatlantic slave trade and

settler colonialism, and creates room to envision material connections between black and

indigenous peoples in Canada.

Part of the reason I am drawn to Brand's description of riding a bus in Vancouver is how

it simultaneously draws material and intimate connections between herself, the bus driver, and the

Salish woman, while visibilizing the legacies of settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery that

the current Canadian settler state is built upon. These connections represent both historical and

contemporary intercultural exchanges. Like Sylvia Wynter in "1492: A New Worldview," I

would like to take our point of departures for this chapter as both the "ecosystemic and global

sociosystemic 'interrelatedness' of our contemporary situation," and in discussing one of the after

effects of 1492 in this chapter (the implementation of settler colonialism in founding the

Canadian settler state), I hope to build on the "perspective of the species" that Wynter puts forth

(8). In proposing her new worldview of 1492, Wynter suggests that this worldview come from,

"the perspective of the species, and with reference to the interests of *its* well-being, rather than

from partial perspectives" (8). The perspective of the species outlines a more human and liveable

way of organizing our societies, as it no longer privileges the present western, middle-class model

of Man, but instead privileges the interests of "the flesh-and-blood individual subject and of the

human species as whole, together with, increasingly, that of the interests of all other nonhuman

forms of life on this planet" (47). While, Wynter's theoretical strategy is to trace how Man comes

to be over-represented as the only viable expression of humanness (McKittrick 124) to further the

perspective of the species, my theoretical strategy is to displace what Wynter would call "the

overrepresentation of Man," by centering connections between indigenous and black peoples in

the formation of the Canadian settler state. What Wynter terms 'Man' is equivalent to western,

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white, bourgeois, middle class Man, and I argue that the histories of western, white, bourgeois

Man are enforced through the temporality and geography of European colonial modernity and

elide connections between the dispossession of indigenous peoples and transatlantic slavery in the

founding of settler societies in the Americas (with my specific focus for this project being

Canada). Like McKittrick, what I find particularly compelling about Wynter's discussion of 1492

is, "How seriously she takes the flesh-and-blood human species and the grounds of the subaltern

to fashion a workable and new politics . . . Specifically, Wynter asks that we recognize that the

making of the Americas was/is an (often dangerously genocidal and ecocidal) interhuman and

environmental project through which 'new forms of life' came to be conceptualized" (135).

Developing a perspective of species is necessary to begin to imagine more human ways of

organizing the planet that privilege the flesh-and-blood of *all* humans and all nonhuman forms of

life on the planet.

Patrick Wolfe also employs a transcultural and transcontinental perspective in his article

"Structure and Event: Settler Colonialism, Time, and the Question of Genocide." Also similar to

Wynter, Wolfe is interested in questions of modernity and how 1492 and the subsequent

settlement of the Americas is integral to European colonial modernity, and specifically settler

colonialism (107). I focus on the attention Wolfe pays to how the founding of settler colonial

societies in the Americas operated/operates as genocidal and ecocidal due to what he terms a

"logic of elimination." The deployment of the "logic elimination" illustrates the flesh-and-blood

material connections between indigenous peoples, black peoples, land, and forced labour. Wolfe

argues that settler colonialism is first and foremost a territorial project, whose priority is replacing

natives on their land, rather than extracting an economic surplus from using native bodies to work

the land (103). In Wolfe's view, settler colonialism is enacted negatively and positively:

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negatively, settler colonialism strives for and enforces the destruction of indigenous societies, and positively, it builds a new (settler) colonial society on the expropriated land base. As Wolfe puts it, "settler-colonizers come to stay—invasion is a structure not an event" (103). By emphasizing that settler colonial invasion is "structure not an event," Wolfe draws attention to the temporal aspects of settler colonialism. Through describing settler colonialism as a territorial project, Wolfe connects his definition of settler colonialism to the geographic aspects of settler colonialism. Particularly, the notion of settler colonialism as a territorial project is reflected in Lawrence's argument that limitless expansion operated as a form of Canadian "manifest destiny." While Wolfe frames his arguments in terms of the Americas generally, I argue that the "logic of elimination" that he explains was also integral to the founding of the Canadian settler state. As Wolfe outlines what he terms "the positive strategies" enacted by settler colonial societies, it is hard *not* to see the connections to Canada: expulsion and other forms of geographical sequestration (the reserve system as instituted through the Indian Act), child abduction and religious conversion (the 1960s and 1970s adoption 'swoop' and residential schools), officially encouraged miscegenation (the gendered aspects of identity regulation in the Indian Act), and the breaking down of indigenous title into alienable individual freeholds (the breaking down of indigenous nations and worldviews and replacing them with the band system and Eurowestern capitalism).

Wolfe defines the "logic of elimination" through both spatial and temporal aspects. The deployment of a "logic of elimination" is always spatial because it refers "to the summary liquidation of indigenous people," and this liquidation is necessary so settlers can have access to land and continuous territorial expansion (105). The "logic of elimination" is always temporal because it is "historically continuous," in that it functions as a structure, rather than an event. To

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illustrate the intrinsic relationship between the spatial and temporal aspects of settler colonialism,

Wolfe discusses the Trail of Tears:

> A global dimension to the frenzy for native land is reflected in the fact that, as economic immigrants, the rabble were generally drawn from the ranks of Europe's landless. The cattle and other stock were not only being driven off Cherokee land; they were being driven into private ownership. Once evacuated, the Red man's land would be mixed with Black labour to produce cotton, the white gold of the Deep South. (107)

Europe's landless became economic immigrants who arrived on the shores of what is now the

United States in search of land to settle on and develop. For European settlement to happen

smoothly and continuously, indigenous peoples connection to the land needed to be broken. This

was instituted through a variety of techniques—including some listed earlier, such as officially

encouraged miscegenation and the breaking down of indigenous title into alienable individual

freehold, along with more explicitly violent strategies, like frontier homicide and forced

displacement. In the case of the Trail of Tears, certain indigenous nations, such as the western

Cherokee and the Creek, were displaced from their homeland to land west of the Mississippi

(107).[16] Once indigenous peoples connection to the land is severed, other colonial processes—in

the case of the Deep South and much of the Caribbean, mainly large-scale plantation slavery —

provide the necessary labour to build infrastructure and economic profits for settler colonial

societies. Under the deployment of a "logic of elimination," displacement and genocide towards

indigenous peoples is used to gain access to the land and forced labour is used to develop the

land. Thus, settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery are not seen as individual, discrete

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[16] While I am mobilizing Wolfe's deployment of a "logic of elimination" to describe settler colonialism in the Americas, there are limits to this approach. For instance, the lands of the Deep South were not *completely* evacuated, i.e. some indigenous nations remained, such as the Eastern Cherokee and the Seminole. For further discussion on the material connections between settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery in the Deep South for indigenous peoples who did *not* face removal see Maynor Lowry (2010).

processes, instead they are seen as inextricably and intimately linked in the founding of the Americas. Building on the "logic of elimination," I argue that forced labour (and in the case of North America, specifically through the transatlantic slave trade and indentured Asian labour)[17] was an *integral part of settler colonialism*, rather than a separate process. While Wolfe centers his analysis on the United States and Australia, I analyze Ontario history textbooks and Canadian historical texts to illustrate that the deployment of a "logic of elimination" is also applicable to the founding of the Canadian settler state.

The material connections between Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas also demonstrate how settler colonialism in the Americas and the transatlantic slave trade are mutually reinforcing processes. Wynter draws on historian Fernandez-Armesto to argue that the Islamic-trans-Saharan monopoly over the gold trade was the original motivation for Portuguese explorers to land on the shores of Senegal (9-10). Upon exploring Senegal and other areas of West Africa, the Portuguese entered into a mercantile network and trading system based on the exchange of their goods for gold or slaves (10). Wynter goes on to explain that the foundation for 1492 was the conquest and colonization that Europe established two-and-a-half centuries earlier by expanding into the western Mediterranean and then the eastern Atlantic (11). These temporal and geographic connections demonstrate how settler colonialism in the Americas and the transatlantic slave trade are mutually reinforcing process. Settlers are motivated to access land because they see the land as exploitable and then need labourers to work the land. In other words, access to land can be seen as the foundation for plantation slavery: as Wolfe argues, without access to indigenous peoples' land, there is nowhere to establish large-scale plantations, and no economic

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[17] Due to the limits of this project, the focus of this chapter will be the transatlantic slave trade. For discussion on the role of indentured Asian labour in the development of the Americas, see Lowe (2006).

profit. Yet at the same time, Europe's history of conquest, colonization, and slavery that pre-dates

1492 is the foundation for European settlement in the Americas. While settler colonialism can be

positioned as the foundation for transatlantic slavery (particularly plantation slavery), Europe's

relationship with slavery pre-1492 can also be positioned as the foundation for settler colonialism.

If settler colonialism is central to the global industrial order, and this means that "the

expropriated Aboriginal, enslaved African American, or indentured Asian is as thoroughly

modern as the factory worker, bureaucrat, or flaneur of the metropolitan center" (Wolfe 110),

then why is so little attention paid to the connections between the expropriated Aboriginal,

enslaved African American, or indentured Asian labourer? While there is increasing scholarship

on these connections in an American context,[18] very little scholarship has focused on these

connections in a Canadian context, and fewer of these texts deal with these connections in a

historical context.[19] Through the previous two chapters I have argued that the Canadian settler

state institutes a temporal and spatial disconnection between indigenous and black peoples—

materially and ideologically—that has contributed to the erasure of the relationship between

settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery. For the rest of this chapter, I focus on how the

deployment of a "logic of elimination" is illustrated by narratives *in textbooks* and in historical

literature that refer to material connections between indigeneity and blackness in the founding of

the Canadian settler state. Ontario textbooks provide an interesting paradox where they mention

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[18] See Miles (2005, 2010), Holland & Miles (2006), Lowe (2006), & Maynor Lowry (2010).
[19] Madden's (2009) text being the only book length piece on these connections, and it has a
contemporary focus. In the "Introduction" of her book, Madden herself says, "Similarly, I was
unable to find anything in the literature on the broader topic of indigenous/black relations in
Canada" (25). McKittrick (2006), Brand (1999, 2001, & 2005 and others), and Walcott (1997)
reference connections between black and indigenous peoples within Canada, but these
connections are not the focus of their arguments/texts. Thobani (2009) deals with connections
between settler colonialism, immigration, and discourses of multiculturalism, but does not
explicitly deal with connections between settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery.

material evidence for connections between blackness and indigeneity, yet work to

displace/minimize connections between the dispossession of indigenous peoples, transatlantic

slavery, and the Canadian settler state. The material and pragmatic requirement for access to the

land in settler colonial societies is tied to the fact that settler societies depend on agricultural

production and, "agricultural production can be expanded by continuing immigration at the

expense of native lands and livelihoods" (Wolfe 112). As I provide evidence from textbooks on

the material connections between blackness, indigeneity, settler colonialism, and forced labour in

the founding of the Canadian settler state, I illustrate how the developing Canadian settler state

relied on a series of inequities and contradictions of modern, metropolitan society to "ensure a

recurrent supply of fresh immigrants" (Wolfe 112). As Wolfe mentions, and as we will see in

Canadian history time and time again, it is interesting to note that the "recurrent supply of fresh

immigrants" are generally landless themselves until immigrating to settler colonial societies such

as Canada.

  Canada Revisited 7 has a page titled "Focus on Louisbourg" (Clark et al. 93). Louisbourg

is listed as one of Canada's national historic sites and is a fortress located in Cape Breton, Nova

Scotia. The page includes a paragraph describing Louisbourg and several photographs of

historical representations of the site. Louisbourg is described as, "one of the busiest seaports in

the New World" and that "merchant ships from Quebec, New England, the West Indies, and

England arrived at Louisbourg on a yearly basis to unload their cargoes of building materials,

hardware, fishing supplies, clothing, food, and passengers" (93). Geographic connections

between Europe, the Caribbean, New England, and settler colonies in present-day Canada

illustrate how early Canadian settlements were intimately connected to global processes of

colonialism. Earlier on in *Canada Revisited,* there is a page titled "Exploration and Mercantilism"

that illustrates how exploration and mercantilism created global geographic connections between Europe and the colonies throughout the world (fig 6 in Appendix). However, similar to the description of Louisbourg, while there is clear evidence of global geographic connections founded on settler colonialism, there is no explicit mention of settler colonialism and how it allowed for settlement in the Americas by providing land through displacement and genocide towards indigenous peoples, and by providing labour through the transatlantic slave trade.

Beneath the description of Louisbourg there are several photographs. One photograph shows a stone building in the distance with a person who appears to be of indigenous descent in the foreground (fig 7 in Appendix). The caption reads, "An occasional Micmaq could be seen in the town visiting from the interior of the island on which Louisbourg was built." The picture and caption blatantly erase histories of settler colonialism and how the deployment of a "logic of elimination" (which settler colonialism depended/depends on) relies upon settlers unimpeded access to land, and that access to land is achieved through attempted genocide of indigenous peoples. Instead, the caption frames history to appear as if indigenous peoples existed in discrete parts of the land and that Europeans settled on land that was unoccupied by indigenous peoples. The implication is clear: settlement occurred peacefully and had very little effect on indigenous peoples. Furthermore, land was never stolen because the land that Europeans developed infrastructure on was not used by indigenous peoples. The word choice of the caption also clearly situates indigenous peoples as a vanishing presence: "an occasional Micmaq could be seen." This statement stands completely disconnected from the on-going genocide attempted by the Indian Act—let alone the explicit acts of violence that were used while settling the eastern coast.[20] *Canada Revisited* manages to reference Micmaq peoples in the discussion of Louisbourg, while

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[20] See Lawrence (2002).

erasing histories of violence and on-going attempted genocide towards Micmaq and other indigenous peoples in the area.

Another picture shows a woman standing in a doorway with the caption, "Louisbourg had a number of wealthy residents, such as the governor and other high-ranking officials. There was a growing middle class of innkeepers and merchants. Many poorer people worked as servants and labourers" (fig 8 in Appendix). While the woman in the photograph appears to be of European descent, it is hard to tell whether she is a servant or the wife of an innkeeper or merchant. What is striking about the caption is how class is explicitly referenced, while race is not. While this picture is on the same page as the previously-discussed picture of the "occasional Micmaq," like the previously discussed picture, this picture erases histories of dispossession and attempted genocide towards indigenous peoples. The only reason settlers could build Louisbourg in the first place is because of the expropriation of indigenous lands. The caption also elides how the wealthy residents were likely of European descent and not only wealthy, but visibly 'white,' whereas many of the poorer people who worked as labourers would have been people of colour. As previously discussed, there is a long history of slavery in Canada—although plantation slavery did not exist the way it did in the southern United States. Within Canada, "the biological and material reproduction of slave labour, the cleaning, cooking and building, the agricultural work, and so forth, were characterized by the ways in which these tasks built up, and maintained, white dwellings, white infrastructures, white profit, white well-being, and racial hierarchies" (McKittrick 112). Many of the servants and labourers at Louisbourg were likely black and many were probably slaves. In the case of Louisbourg, we clearly see the "logic of elimination" at play: indigenous peoples experience displacement and genocide so that European settlers have unlimited access to land. Black bodies are then brought in to work the land. Despite the varying

circumstances that caused black peoples to 'land' in or near Louisbourg, they are likely coming from situations of landlessness.

Within one page *Canada Revisited 7* provides evidence for how the deployment of a "logic of elimination" contributed to the development of the Canadian settler state, while simultaneously erasing Canada's involvement in attempted genocide towards indigenous peoples and transatlantic slavery. Louisbourg is just on example of how the deployment of a "logic of elimination" connects to the development of the Canadian settler state. While large-scale plantation slavery never existed within Canada, black labour was integral to developing agriculture and infrastructure and as discussed, was the foundation for "white dwellings, white infrastructures, white profit, white well-being" (McKittrick 112). By 1688, the colony of New France petitioned to King Louis XIV to allow slavery within the colony, as there was a shortage of servants workers needed to carry out the necessary farming, mining, and fishing that settlement required (Hill 3 & Winks 4). Historical documentation shows that Louis XIV agreed that the black slaves were necessary for agricultural development, but was worried that black peoples may not be able to adapt to the climate of New France, and if that was the case, the project would perish.[21] After receiving Louis XIV's permission, settlers of New France bought black and *panis* (indigenous) slaves and set them to work as both household servants, and field hands (Hill3-4).[22] In 1865 the *Code Noir* was brought to New France (Winks 5). The *Code Noir* was a set of laws developed in France that were enforced throughout France's colonies in the Americas (particularly in the Caribbean and Louisiana). When the *Code Noir* was brought to New France,

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[21] "His Majesty finds it good that the inhabitants of Canada import negroes there to take care of their agriculture, but remarks the there is a risk that these negroes, coming from a very different climate, will perish in Canada; the project would then become useless" M. De Dononville and M. De Champyny in Hill 3.

[22] See McKittrick (91-120) for a further discussion of slavery in New France.

slaves from the Caribbean were also brought to help with the shortage of unskilled labour (Winks 5).

There is also evidence that black slave labour was used to build Fort Ponchartrain beside the Detroit River (Hill 4).[23] Black slaves were some of the first inhabitants and did much of the heavy work of this new frontier community. Hill explains that the French arrivals first tried to enslave indigenous peoples to build infrastructure, but they had too much trouble keeping indigenous peoples enslaved and preventing them from escaping and joining local indigenous tribes. As a result, the French settlers turned to black slaves. In this instance, it is clear that a "logic of elimination" is being deployed specifically because enslaving indigenous peoples was not profitable (because their connections to the land and local communities). However, black slaves were 'landless' (and as Brand describes, ended up in their current location through 'landing'), so enslaving black peoples was more profitable than enslaving indigenous peoples because it was more 'successful.' In this instance, the deployment of a "logic of elimination" was the logical choice for settlers to develop land in the most efficient way possible.

Black labour was used at other points in the development of Canada as well. Settlers from New England who moved north into Nova Scotia in the early 1700s brought black slaves with them, and these slaves provided the majority of the labour to build Halifax when it was founded in 1749 (Hill 6). In the 1780s in Nova Scotia, white settlers pioneered their own farms and businesses, while black peoples supplied the bulk of labour for developing infrastructure, i.e., clearing lands laying roads, and erecting public buildings (Winks 32). Black labour was also used

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[23] While Fort Ponchartrain currently falls within the borders of the United States America, for years it was uncertain whether or not the British or Americans had sovereignty over this territory (in true settler colonial fashion, there is never any mention of the possibility of indigenous sovereignty). During the time it was built, Fort Ponchartrain was considered to be part of Upper Canada. For further discussion see Hill 13.

in developing the infrastructure of York (later renamed Toronto) (47). Some of York's earliest

black business peoples were contractors who undertook construction to open a road westward

from Yonge Street: "their first attempts failed to satisfy Upper Canada's surveyor who found the

road improperly cleared and too narrow, but in time the job was satisfactorily finished" (47). It is

unclear whether forced labour was used in developing the street, but black labour was clearly

intrinsically connected to the development of infrastructure in York.

      In Chapter 1 I examined how Canadian national narratives adapted to increased

immigration through adopting official policies of multiculturalism (which then lead to the spread

of popular discourses of multiculturalism). Throughout the development of the Canadian settler

state, there has been a tension between depending on non-white bodies for forced and cheap (or

free) labour and maintaining Canada as a predominately white settler state. While there is

evidence that some railway companies and provincial governments encouraged black migration

from Oklahoma to Saskatchewan and Alberta in the 1900s, black communities managed to

survive but never grew, mainly because the Prairie governments, business establishments, and

many ordinary citizens did all they could to frustrate existing black communities and to prevent

the influx of additional black peoples into the region (Mensah 54). David A.Y.O. Chang discusses

this migration further in his article "Where will the Nation Be at Home? Race, Nationalisms, and

Emigration Movements in the Creek Nation":

> Some African Americans made the move from eastern Oklahoma to Alberta. More might
> have headed northward if the Canadian government had not acceded to racial fears that
> the migrants would transform Alberta into "the homeland of the Negro race." Canadian
> border authorities selectively enforced immigration requirements to block the entry of
> people of African descent, using the pretext that African Americans' tropical constitution
> made them ill suited for Canada's climactic rigors. Migration to Canada therefore waned.
> (95)

Chang's description of Freedpeople's migration and the restriction of this movement by Prairie provinces' immigration policies reflects Mensah's description of sparse black communities throughout the Prairies that managed to survive, but did not thrive due to institutional racism. Both Mensah and Chang illustrate the ways in which the Canadian settler state worked to institute, regulate, and legislate a culture of whiteness, despite requiring non-white forced labour to develop infrastructure. Mensah and Chang also demonstrate how the spatial discourse of blackness as recent and urban did not occur by accident, but that black movement to Canada was often severely restricted and discouraged at times throughout the development of the Canadian settler state.

Eventually the Canadian settler state adapted policies of multiculturalism to manage the tension of relying on non-white labour, yet wanting to maintain the settler state as predominantly white. Discourses of multiculturalism appeared at the same time as Canadian immigration laws were changed to make Canada more accessible for non-European immigrants. Textbooks provide a variety of examples of how peoples (often landless peoples, as Wolfe mentions) immigrated to Canada—under varying different conditions. When discussing immigration and the historical development of Canada, *Their Stories, Our History* mentions how Chinese labour was used to build the Canadian Pacific Railway and during the Gold Rush (Haskings-Winner et al. 131). Wilfred Laurier is described as, "[believing] that large numbers of western settlers were key to Canadian prosperity," and "Fortunately for Laurier, conditions in the world and in Canada changed after 1896. These changes made Canada's west more attractive to immigrants" (173). Encouraging peoples (often peoples who did not have access to land in the country they emigrated from) to immigrate to Canada is positioned as a founding tenet of the settler state. Later on in *Their Stories, Our History,* an advertisement from the early 1900s describes Canada

as "The Last Best West" (176). The caption underneath the advertisement reads, "The United States had provided free land to attract settlers to its western frontier. By 1900, the best land in the American West was gone. Canada became 'the last best west'" (176). Again, increased immigration is positioned as being integral to increased settlement and the development of the Canadian settler state.

Their Stories, Our History even discusses how the settler state enforced racist immigration policies in the early 1900s, although similar to Louisbourg never being directly linked to transatlantic slavery, the policies are never explicitly connected to the violences of the settler state and are positioned as being exceptional, rather than integral to the development of Canada. Clifford Sifton is positioned as responsible for the immigration policies. On a page titled "Selling Canada,'" Sifton is described as looking for three specific groups of immigrants: experienced farmers from the United States; settlers from the United Kingdom who would bring farming experience and British loyalty and values; and peasants from Central and Eastern Europe because they were used to a similar climate and geography as Canada (Haskings-Winner et al. 178). Interestingly enough, Clifton's reasoning that immigrants should be suited to the climate (and that black peoples were not) is reflective of the worries Louis the XIV expressed when legalizing slavery in New France in 1688 (Hill 3). While there is no clarification on this specific page about what types of American farmers Sifton was looking for, it later becomes clear that Sifton was looking for American farmers of European descent: on a discussion of the Immigration Act of 1910, the book states, "American farmers had always been considered desirable immigrants. However, no specific attempt was made to recruit African-American farmers. Immigration agents were given no bonuses for recruiting African Americans, even though they received bonuses for recruiting other American settlers" (229). While the textbook's

narratives actually reflect Chang's discussion of immigration among Cherokee Freedpeople, the difference is that Chang has grounded his article within a discourse of settler colonialism that recognizes the role of the displacement of indigenous peoples and transatlantic slavery in the development of the Americas; in contrast, the discussion in *Their Stories, Our History* is never grounded in settler colonialism or connected to transatlantic slavery.

A discussion of more recent immigration changes in Canada occurs in *The Canadian Challenge* in a chapter titled "The Pursuit of the Just Society." The textbook discusses how in the 1970s, under Trudeau, earlier discriminatory immigration policies were abolished and new guidelines were set up and as a result of these changes, Canada's immigration policy now had a more humanitarian focus (Quinlan et al. 263). The textbook goes on to state, "Immigrants bring new ideas and valuable skills. Many fill jobs that Canadians cannot or will not do" (263). This time the textbook explicitly states that the contemporary settler state continues to be upheld through immigrant labour: immigrants perform jobs that many 'Canadians' refuse to perform. While the textbook does not state that these immigrants are people of colour, at other points, textbooks state that there was an increase in immigration from the Caribbean and Africa in the 1960s and 1970s (Hundey, Magarrey, & Pettit 255). Not surprisingly, while textbooks link immigrant labour to the development and maintenance of the settler state, this connection is done outside the ongoing legacies of settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery.

Throughout the past few pages I have traced connections between textbooks, historical narratives, and Wolfe's deployment of a "logic of elimination" within the development of Canada. Despite ideologically eliding connections between settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery, textbooks do provide material evidence for the connections between the displacement of indigenous peoples for access to land and using black labour to develop the land. Textbooks also

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demonstrate how immigration policies changed to manage the tension between relying on labour

from non-white bodies and reinforcing a culture of whiteness as the settler state developed.

However, while I am arguing that there are obvious and material connections between indigenous

and black peoples within the development of the settler state—and that Wolfe's description of a

"logic of elimination" illustrates these connections—there are also moments in Canadian history

which do not fit neatly into the deployment of a "logic of elimination." Along with the

enslavement of black peoples within Canadian history, there is also evidence for the enslavement

of indigenous peoples (often referred to as *panis* in New France) (McKittrick 108-110; Stasiulis

& Jhappan 114). There is also evidence of indigenous peoples holding black slaves within

Canada during other time periods. These are both examples of how while the "logic of

elimination" is deployed within Canada, the development of settler states is also always complex

and messy. The racial hierarchies that develop through the formation of settler states are

especially complex, and thus, development does not always occur equally or similarly across

geographic and temporal periods. Discussions of race must always be historically contextualized

and grounded locally. For example, the Quebec Bridge Collapse of 1907 does not fit within the

deployment of a "logic of elimination." *Their Stories, Our History* discusses how 84 workers

were killed as the bridge twisted and fell into the St. Lawrence River without warning (Haskings-

Winner et al. 240). The largest number of those killed were "high tower ironworkers from the

First Nations Community at Kahanwake" (240). In this instance it is not black or other racialized

(but not indigenous) bodies being expropriated to develop infrastructure—it is indigenous bodies.

In terms of the Quebec bridge collapse, not only is indigenous land being expropriated,

indigenous bodies are also being expropriated to develop infrastructure of the Canadian settler

state.

The evidence for indigenous peoples holding slaves within Canada mainly seems to stem from the Six Nations territory, where there are a few examples of indigenous peoples holding slaves, including Sarah Ainse and Joseph Brant (Hill 13). Ainse was a famous trader who owned one or two black slaves to help manage her large estate: Ainse owned 150 acres of land from entire north bank of the Thames, from the mouth, to the Forks. Joseph Brant was a Mohawk leader who fought as a British ally and was granted land on both sides of the Grand River. Brant captured slaves during his involvement in the Indian and Revolutionary Wars, and relied on slaves for much of the labour involved in building his large home *Brant House* at Burlington Beach, and in his more modest house at Oshweken near Brantford. In all, Brant is said to have owned thirty to forty slaves and seems to be the most well-known indigenous slaveholder in Canada. The question of indigenous peoples holding slaves raises a variety of questions regarding race, ownership, land, unfreedom, and the violences of the settler colonial project in the Americas.

The issue of indigenous peoples holding slaves in Canada is a complex issue, which deserves a project (or projects) unto itself;[24] however, for the purpose of this project, Joseph Brant holding slaves serves as a solemn reminder of how complicated relationships between indigenous and black peoples within the borders of the Canadian settler state can be. By participating in the institution of slavery, Brant owns black bodies, and as a result, replicates the colonial project of the Canadian settler state. What is at stake when Brant replicates the colonial project, while settling indigenous lands, and re-maps the racial landscape of the settler state with a non-white colonial project? To start with, how might histories of indigenous peoples upholding institutions

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[24] At the time of publication, I was unable to find any projects where indigenous slaveholding in Canada was the focus, however, see Miles (2005 & 2010) for an analysis of Cherokee slaveholding practices in the development of the American settler state.

of slavery complicate the issue of "black indigeneity" in Canada? As discussed in Chapter 2, Madden is highly critical of the term "black indigeneity." She argues it erases the history of dispossession indigenous peoples underwent as the original inhabitants of the Americas. However, if people such as Brant are participating in settler colonial projects and are the reason for certain black peoples "landing" in Canada—and not just "landing" but landing in a position of being owned—how might this complicate Madden's claim that indigenous peoples have the *only* legitimate claim to indigeneity within the Canadian settler state? If we return to Brooks' discussion of origins, and that to be 'of' a place is to originate from the land and to rely on it for sustenance and continuance, what happens to Brant's originary connection to the land when he participates in the practice of slaveholding? The practice of indigenous slaveholding is an example of how brutal the divide-and-conquer tactics of the Canadian settler state can be. Tiya Miles has argued that the American settler state is implicated in the development of slaveholding and racialized hierarchies within the Cherokee nation. Miles traces how Cherokee peoples' support of slaveholding increased when Cherokee peoples had to prove the legitimacy of their own sovereignty to the American settler state (*Ties That Bind* 187). Through her historical analysis, Miles illustrates how the divide-and-conquer politics of the American settler state are reflected in the complex relationship between Cherokee peoples, black peoples, and the institution of transatlantic slavery. The genocidal identity legislature and reserve system of the Indian Act, the elision of historical black presences through the erasure of black geographies, and Joseph Brant owning slaves are all reminders of the life-and-death effects of the divide-and-conquer strategies of the Canadian settler state.

When looking at the material connections of between blackness and indigeneity in Canadian history, a variety of questions arise: how did relations between indigenous peoples and

black peoples differ in Canada compared to other areas of the Americas? How did the

relationship between settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery uniquely affect Canada? In

Canada, indigenous peoples were kept as slaves for a longer period than in the U.S., how does

this affect historical narratives and the present day racial hierarchy in Canada? How does

evidence of certain indigenous peoples keeping black peoples as slaves complicate these

relationships? How does Joseph Brant participating in the practices of slaveholding affect his

originary connection to the land? How are connections between blackness and indigeneity

absorbed into Canadian national narratives? What allows these connections to be included and

how are they included in a way that does not disturb the white settler fantasy of Canada being

peacefully settled? What structures work to maintain the overall silencing of material connections

between blackness and indigeneity, and especially a silencing of the relationship between settler

colonialism and transatlantic slavery in the development of the Canadian settler state? Rather than

focus on specific answers to each question, this chapter works to develop a starting point for

developing further discussions on the material connections between blackness and indigeneity

within Canada. Throughout this chapter (and this project as a whole), I have argued that

indigenous and black communities are integral to the founding of the Canadian settler state and

the connections between these communities are material and real. Despite the efforts of the

temporality and geography of the Canadian settler state to position indigenous and black

communities as peripheral, in actuality, indigenous and black communities are integral and

relational to the making of the Canadian settler state. Wolfe's description of a "logic elimination"

provides a means of demonstrating how genocide and displacement towards indigenous peoples

and black labour are both integral in the development of the modern Canadian setter state.

If we return to the citations from Dionne Brand that started this chapter, what is most striking is how Brand transcends the temporality and geography of the Canadian settler state through describing her experience on a city bus in Vancouver. Through her description of the events, Brand shows that legacies of settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery manifest themselves in the present day—resisting the white settler myth that the violences of settling the Americas are disconnected from present day settler states. Brand also disrupts traditional geography by superimposing images of how the land was represented before settler colonialism within the present-day infrastructure of the settler state. By thinking and writing her experiences outside the temporality and geography of the Canadian settler state and illustrating the material connections between blackness and indigeneity, Brand mobilizes "the perspective of the species" by creating space to develop alliances between indigenous and black peoples, and imagining a more human form of geography. In contrast, textbooks continually enforce the temporality and geography of the settler state, and contribute to the active elision of material connections between blackness and indigeneity—even when they reference material connections between indigenous and black peoples. Whereas Brand highlights how legacies of settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery affect the present day lived experiences of people within the borders of the settler state— textbooks elide the critical role of these legacies in the development of the present-day, multicultural, Canadian settler state.

Epilogue

Imagining in Red and Black: Moving Beyond the Settler State

Since the Canadian settler state was founded upon and continues to reinforce racism and the white settler fantasy, it is perhaps not surprising that connections between settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery are elided in national narratives. What is more surprising, is how these connections (and material connections between indigenous and black peoples) are often ignored in critical theory in native studies, black studies, critical race studies, women's/gender studies, and other similar fields in Canada.

I have left this discussion until the epilogue—rather than introducing it in the introduction—for a specific reason. Too often, conversations about indigeneity and blackness in Canada seem to become stuck in what Andrea Smith terms "the oppression Olympics," where conversations fall into the trap of arguing who is more oppressed ("Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars" 66). Often the discussions seemed to be framed around whether settler colonialism or transatlantic slavery was more influential in the development of the Americas, or whether black peoples are equivalent to settlers of European descent. By having this discussion in the epilogue rather than the introduction, I am hoping to move beyond these familiar arguments and the divide-and-conquer politics that they rely on. It is my hope that by placing this discussion at the end of my project, I demonstrate that participating in "the oppression Olympics" is a futile cause that only strengthens racial hierarchies and reinforces the divide-and-conquer tactics of the settler state. By building on the arguments that I have laid out in the previous three chapters, I hope to illustrate that the fundamental problem with most critical theory attempting to grapple with connections between blackness and indigeneity in Canada, is that settler colonialism and

transatlantic slavery are seen as separate and discrete practices—rather than intimately related practices as framed by Wolfe's description of a "logic of elimination."

In 2004, Bonita Lawrence and Enakshi Dua wrote "Decolonizing Antiracism," where they critiqued critical race theory and postcolonial theory in Canada for erasing indigenous presence and histories of settler colonialism in the Americas. While Lawrence and Dua make many important points on the need to center indigenous worldviews in both critical race discussions, and in discussions on transatlantic exchange and the development of the Americas, ultimately their arguments rest on the presumption that settler colonialism as enacted within the Americas and the transatlantic slave trade function as separate processes. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, when viewed under the deployment of a "logic of elimination," settler colonialism actually depends on forced labour, so settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery are actually processes that mutually reinforce and support each other. For instance, Lawrence and Dua state, "histories of colonization are erased through writings on the history of slavery" (128). While I would not disagree that histories of colonization can be (and have been) erased through writings on the history of slavery, writings on the history of slavery *do not necessarily have* to erase histories of settler colonialism. Similarly, later on in the article, Lawrence and Dua state, "Ongoing settlement of Indigenous lands, whether by white people or people of color, remains part of Canada's nation-building project and is premised on displacing Indigenous peoples …*Canada's immigration goals, then, can be used to restrict Aboriginal rights*" (135-6; emphasis added). If the development of the Canadian settler state is analyzed through the "logic of elimination," it becomes clear that Canada's immigrations goals have always been premised on the displacement of indigenous peoples and that immigration has always been integral to developing the Canadian settler state. The deployment of a "logic of elimination" clearly

demonstrates how access to indigenous land and access to immigrant labour are interrelated processes of settler colonialism.

Lawrence and Dua also state that, "People of color are settlers" (134), and argue that despite the major differences exist that between those brought as slaves, those currently working as migrant laborers, refugees who are without legal documentation, and emigres who have obtained citizenship, people of color live on land that is appropriated and contested (134). Lawrence and Dua's argument is similar to Madden's erasure of differences between the arrival of white settlers in Nova Scotia and landing of black peoples. Lawrence and Dua go on to say that they will, "examine how people of color, as settlers, participate in, or are complicit in, the ongoing colonization of Aboriginal peoples" and that "Moreover, there are current, ongoing tensions between Aboriginal peoples and people of color, notably in terms of multiculturalism policy and immigration" (134). While I would not disagree that *some* people of colour participate in and/or are complicit in the ongoing colonization of indigenous peoples, I am arguing that multicultural policy and immigration are designed to contribute to tension between indigenous peoples and people of colour. Thus the Canadian settler state's divide-and-conquer politics causes tension between indigenous peoples and people of colour, which *effectively prevents coalitions and alliances between indigenous peoples and black peoples when it comes to resisting the current Canadian settler state.*

In 2009, Lawrence co-wrote another article, this time with Zainab Amadahy: "Indigenous Peoples and Black Peoples in Canada: Settlers or Allies?" In the introduction of this article, the authors clarify the issues of whether or not people of colour are settlers:

> For groups of peoples to be forcibly transplanted from their own lands and enslaved on other peoples' land—as Africans were in the Americas—does not make the enslaved peoples true 'settlers.' Even in situations in Canada where Black people, after slavery, attempted settlement as free peoples, the process has been fraught with dispossession and

denial of access to land. The reality then is that Black peoples have never been quintessential 'settlers' in the white supremacist usage of the word; nevertheless, they have, as free people, been involved in some form of settlement process. (107)

Amadahy and Lawrence are acknowledging the material circumstances that caused black peoples to 'land' in Canada are very different than the circumstances that lead to white settlers' arrival. However, the end part of the citation—"nevertheless, they have, as free people, been involved in some form of settlement process"—demonstrates that Amadahy and Lawrence still do not view settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery as mutually reinforcing processes. Again, to draw on Wolfe's deployment of a "logic of elimination," if white settler societies depend on genocide towards indigenous peoples for access to the land and forced labour to develop infrastructure on the expropriated land, then *of course black peoples will be involved in some form of settlement processes.* In fact, the modern Canadian settler state was/is dependent on black peoples (and other peoples of colour) involvement in settlement process—their labour was essential for settlement to occur and is essential for settlement to continue. However, their involvement with settlement processes does not necessarily make them complicit with settler colonialism, rather it demonstrates that not only indigenous peoples experience the violences of settler colonialism, but black peoples do as well—despite experiencing the violences in varying and unique ways.

Nandita Sharma and Cynthia Wright responded to Lawrence and Dua's 2004 article and were critical of the ways that Lawrence and Dua erased differences between settlers who chose to settle in the Americas and those who were forcibly brought to the Americas: "We ask whether it is historically accurate or analytically précis to describe as *settler colonialism* the forced movements of enslaved Africans, the movement of unfree indentured Asians, or the subsequent Third World displacement and migrations of people from across the globe, many of them indigenous people themselves" (94). Sharma and Wright's critique reflects Brand's discussion of

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landing within the Americas and how landing and settling are not equivalent. However, while Sharma and Wright acknowledge the difference between settling and landing, they do not engage with how settler colonialism depended on forced labour to develop the settler state. Thus, while Sharma and Wright "reject the de-linking of antiracism and anti-colonialism that is fundamental to Lawrence and Dua's argument" (95), their article still treats settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery as discrete processes, rather than viewing them as interrelated, mutually reinforcing projects that were integral to the development of settler states in the Americas.

Similar to Brand, Sharma and Wright complicate the notion of settler and demonstrate that the material circumstances that lead to migration cannot be dismissed in discussions of settlers and settlement within the Americas. However, Sharma and Wright also contribute to the displacement of indigenous worldviews in critical race theory, by enforcing Eurocentric conceptions of nationhood and sovereignty. Sharma and Wright state that they are interested in "liberatory strategies of critique and practice that do not reproduce the ruling strategies of colonial modernity, the colonial state, and nationalisms, and that open up spaces for radical critique and resistance" (95). However in attempting to open up spaces for radical critique and resistance, they end up erasing indigenous worldviews by refusing to acknowledge that ideas of nationhood or sovereignty can be employed in anti-colonial and anti-racist frameworks: "The claim to 'sovereignty' for most colonized people, however, exists within the planetary expansion and dominance of capitalist social relations and is therefore profoundly circumscribed" (101). Sharma and Wright can only imagine 'nations' or 'sovereignty' in terms of modern, colonial settler states, which effectively erases the fact that indigenous societies were often organized in terms of nations long before 1492 and continue to view themselves as nations today in resistance to colonial settler states.

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While Sharma and Wright complicate the idea of settlement in the Americas by responding to Lawrence and Dua, they simultaneously enforce a simplified, Eurowestern notion of 'nation' and 'sovereignty' that ends up enforcing the erasure of indigenous worldviews that Lawrence and Dua are critiquing. Since Sharma and Wright approach the ideas of 'nationhood' and 'sovereignty' from a Eurowestern viewpoint, they claim that conceptions of nationhood and sovereignty are unable to realize decolonization (102). However, indigenous feminists such as Andrea Smith, argue that indigenous women are able to articulate conceptions of sovereignty and nationhood that are not based on exclusion or intolerance for those who are not part of the nation (*Native Americans and the Christian Right* 260). Under this view, sovereignty is based on kinship and interrelatedness, rather than being based on the rule of law and the resulting exclusions (261). As a result, indigenous women articulate sovereignty as an "open concept"; rather than being exclusionary, sovereignty is seen as something that "cannot be completely insular but must position itself in a good way with the result of the world" (262). Smith demonstrates that in indigenous worldviews, articulations of sovereignty do not have to enforce the ideologies of modern colonial settler states; in fact, Smith demonstrates that by listening to indigenous women's models of sovereignty, we can imagine how sovereignty can serve as a model for coalition and alliance building in resistance to modern colonial setter states, rather than positioning sovereignty as the antithesis to alliance-building and decolonization.

To move beyond the divide-and-conquer politics of settler colonialism requires moving beyond dichotomous arguments and simplified binaries (i.e. if one is not indigenous, then one must be a settler, or that conceptions of sovereignty always reinforce modern colonial settler states). Indigenous women's conceptions of sovereignty show how the project of decolonization is intrinsically linked to the projects of alliance-building: i.e. that centering indigenous

worldviews works *hand in hand* with alliance building. While they do not fully acknowledge the

mutually reinforcing relationship between settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery (as

demonstrated through Wolfe's description of a "logic of elimination"), Lawrence and Amadahy

do provide an insightful historical analysis of how to simultaneously center the project of

decolonization and the material connections between indigenous and black peoples in the

development of the Canadian settler state. For instance Amadahy and Lawrence discuss how the

Indian Act and the resulting identity legislation affects intermarriages between indigenous and

black peoples in Ontario and the Maritimes (114). Amadahy and Lawrence bring up many

material connections between blackness and indigeneity that require further research and analysis.

Pursuing further research on these material connections are necessary to build alliances between

black and indigenous peoples. If future research were to follow Amadahy and Lawrence's

example, while also discussing settler colonialism in terms of a deployment of a "logic of

elimination," then space will be created for further alliances between indigenous and black

peoples. Centering indigenous worldviews, examining the material connections between

blackness and indigeneity, and framing settler colonialism in terms of the displacement of

indigenous peoples and importing non-white bodies to develop the settler state's infrastructure

moves beyond divide-and-conquer politics and towards coalitional politics.

Through an analysis of the temporality and geography of the Canadian settler state, I

have argued that connections between blackness and indigeneity are elided. This elision fuels the

divisive academic debates surrounding the connections between indigeneity and blackness in the

development of the Canadian settler state. The Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act enforce a

"denial of coevalness" for indigenous and black peoples: indigenous peoples are assumed to

always be primitive and are consigned to the past, whereas black peoples are assumed to always

hail from elsewhere and are positioned as new arrivals to the settler state. As a result, indigenous and black peoples are assumed to not only occupy a different time than settlers, they are also assumed to always occupy a different time than each other. By enforcing a temporal distance between indigenous and black peoples, the temporality of European modernity is employed in a specific way within Canada that elides the mutually reinforcing relationship between settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery.

The temporality of indigeneity and blackness is also spatialized in Canadian national narratives. The reserve system works within the Indian Act to replace indigenous sovereignty and nationhood with Indian Bands, and the idea of Canada as cultural mosaic works within the Multiculturalism Act to elide the violences of the settler state and contribute to frictions between indigenous peoples and black peoples attempting to resist the current settler state formation. Theorists such as Brand and Brooks demonstrate how alternative conceptions of mapping and space can be implemented to disturb the divide-and-conquer tactics of the settler state and the borders it imposes. While they take different approaches, both Brand and Brooks prove that it is possible to honour indigenous peoples' connection to the land and their histories of sovereignty, while simultaneously creating space for alliances between indigenous peoples and peoples of the black diaspora within the current settler state. By rethinking geographies of the Canadian settler state and her relationship to the land and the settler state, Brand highlights material connections between blackness and indigeneity. Through this display, Brand charts how the current racialized hierarchies of the Canadian settler state rest simultaneously on the legacies of the dispossession of indigenous peoples and transatlantic slavery. While Brooks does not explicitly discuss the relationship between settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery, she demonstrates how

indigenous space and shared space between indigenous peoples, black peoples, and settler allies can be developed simultaneously, rather than placed in a dichotomy.

Brooks' demonstration of how indigenous space can be centered while shared space is developed, is similar to Smith's articulation of sovereignty that is not based on exclusion and marginalization, but instead on coalition and alliance building (*Native Americans and the Christian Right* 271). Throughout *Native Americans and the Christian Right: The Gendered Politics of Unlikely Alliances*, Smith demonstrates that one of the reasons indigenous feminisms function as an effective model for indigenous conceptions of sovereignty is that indigenous women can have disagreements, yet still work together towards the common goal of an inclusive conception of sovereignty. In "Native American Feminism, Sovereignty and Social Change," Smith elaborates on an inclusive version of sovereignty and how non-indigenous peoples fit in to indigenous women's conception of sovereignty: "It is interesting to me, for instance, how often non-Indians presume that if Native people regained their land bases, that they would necessarily call for the expulsion of non-Indians from those land bases. Yet, it is striking that a much more inclusive vision of sovereignty is articulated by native women activists" (105). Indigenous women's version of sovereignty is invested in creating a world governance system not based on domination, coercion, and oppression—but one that is based on the premise of seeking social justice for *all peoples*. In this way, Smith's description of sovereignty reflects Wynter's idea of developing a "a perspective of the species" and imagining more human geographies for all "flesh-and-blood individual subjects" and "the human species as whole," rather than continually privileging Man (47). Smith illustrates how indigenous feminisms and conceptions of sovereignty can serve as a model for alliance building between groups with different interests and investments (such as indigenous and black peoples within Canada).

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The creation of shared space and the mobilization of indigenous women's conception of sovereignty are both ways to disrupt the power of the current settler state and visibilize the connections between settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery within the current settler state. If indigenous peoples and black peoples are always positioned as temporally and spatially separated, then it follows that their histories developed discretely. However, through a close analysis of the spatialization of the temporality of colonial modernity in the Canadian settler state, it becomes clear that settler colonialism and transatlantic slavery have always been engaged in an intimate and mutually reinforcing relationship, and it is only through racist legislation like the Indian Act and the Multiculturalism Act that the histories of indigenous and black peoples within Canada appear to be temporally and geographically divided. By moving beyond the temporality and geography a variety of material connections between indigenous and black peoples in the development of the Canadian settler state can no longer be denied.

As long as the white settler fantasy is placed at the center of Canadian history, the material connections between blackness and indigeneity will be elided. While indigenous and black theorists have done important and ground-breaking work telling counter-narratives that are integral to the formation of the Canadian settler state, these counter-narratives are usually told in response to whiteness. To imagine this process visually, red is always juxtaposed with white and black is always juxtaposed with white, but red and black are rarely looked at in relation to each other. Centering the connections between indigeneity and blackness provides an analysis of the formation of the Canadian settler state which no longer privileges whiteness, by de-centering specific manifestations of the white settler fantasy such as the temporality and geography of European colonial modernity. For future scholarship in Canada to effectively resist the hegemony

of the Canadian settler state, histories of racialized peoples must be put in conversation with each other, rather than only put in conversation with whiteness.

This project just touches on many of the material connections between indigenous and black peoples in the formation of the Canadian settler state, but further research is needed on many of the examples mentioned, including but not limited to, the effects of the Indian Act on mixed-race (indigenous and black) peoples within Ontario and Maritimes, indigenous peoples being held as slaves for longer periods of time in Canada than other areas of the Americas, the practices of indigenous slaveholders within Canada, current land claims by black peoples in the Maritimes, and the use of black labour on indigenous land in various contexts throughout the development of Canada. These examples serve as reminders for how brutal the divide-and-conquer tactics of the Canadian settler are. Creating space to develop alliances between indigenous and black peoples is not only an ideological or academic exercise—alliances can operate not only as resistance to the divide-and-conquer tactics, but also to attempt to prevent the divide-and-conquer strategies from being deployed (again) in violent ways towards indigenous and black peoples. Histories of indigeneity and blackness also need to be put in conversation with histories of other racialized peoples. For instance, how was Chinese labour used in the development of a cross-Canada railway—a railway that was capable of connecting the settler state from "sea to sea" and eventually employed black porters, both of which require the exploitation of indigenous land? Centering these types of connections in discussions of the Canadian settler state creates space for alliances to be created between different groups in resistance to the current Canadian settler state.

While the overall argument of this project is that both indigenous and black communities were integral to the development of the Canadian settler state, and that history needs to be re-

envisioned to account for the intimate relationship between the two processes, I would like to end this project with a reminder from Amadahy and Lawrence:

> We also want to acknowledge that Indigenous communities are consumed with simply trying to stay alive, waging struggles that must address youth suicides, violences against women, the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS, housing shortages, contaminated drinking water, mining and deforestation on their lands, the loss of language and ceremonial knowledge, etc. Thus, there is limited capacity to drop these struggles to develop a vision on how racialized settlers and Indigenous peoples can coexist on Turtle Island. Black communities are also waging significant life-and-death implications. The colonial system benefits greatly from the fact that our communities are in a perpetual state of crisis. But do we not owe it to the coming generations to find a way of supporting each other and the land that sustains us all? (131)

Amadahy and Lawrence remind us of the lived realities that indigenous and black peoples face on a daily basis living under the confines of the Canadian settler state. While this project calls for a re-envisioning of history, I also want to acknowledge how the current settler state works on a material level to complicate that process by ensuring that survival is always a central issue for colonized peoples. As a settler of European descent who is attempting to be an ally to both indigenous peoples and people of colour, I hope that this project provides some useful starting points for the further discussions that need to take place on the relationships between indigenous and black communities in the development of the Canadian settler state. The original idea for this project came to me as I was finishing up my undergraduate degree and reflecting on how the histories of the Canadian settler state that indigenous theorists told were very different than histories I remember being taught in my public education through the Ontario school system. I began to wonder how the white settler fantasy of Canada managed to appear so natural as I was growing up. I believe that de-centering whiteness is integral to disrupting the white settler fantasy, and imagining a way of organizing our society beyond the current settler state. It is my hope that this project contributes to the creation of space to envision more inclusive, just, and human forms of sovereignty beyond the modern settler state.

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Appendix: Figures

Historical Treaties in Canada

This map includes current political boundaries, although these boundaries did not always exist as the treaties were being signed.
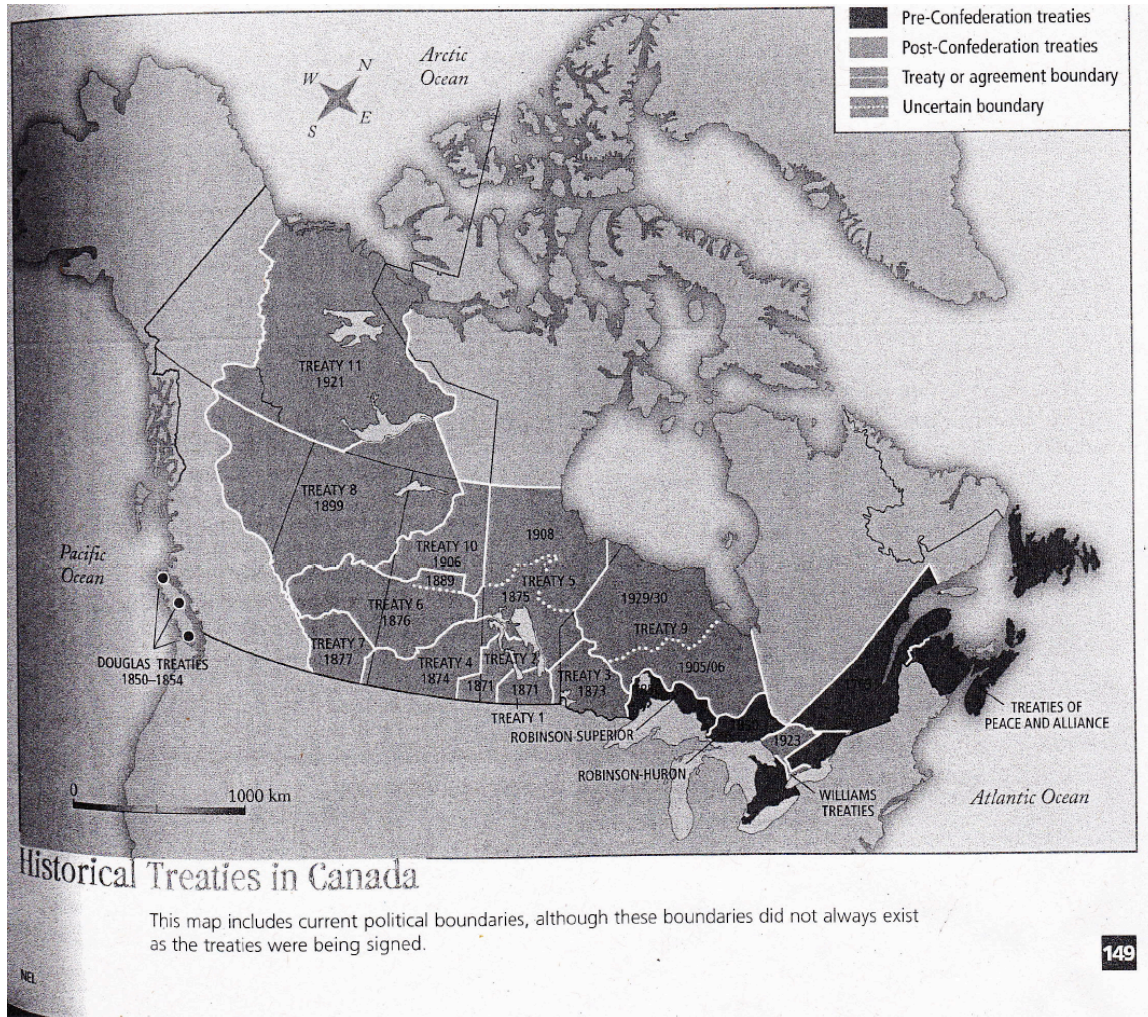
Fig. 1

A textbook's representation of the boundaries of pre- Confederation treaties, post-Confederation treaties, and uncertainty territory (Haskings-Winner et al. 149) clearly demonstrates the expansion of settler space and the dismantling of indigenous space.
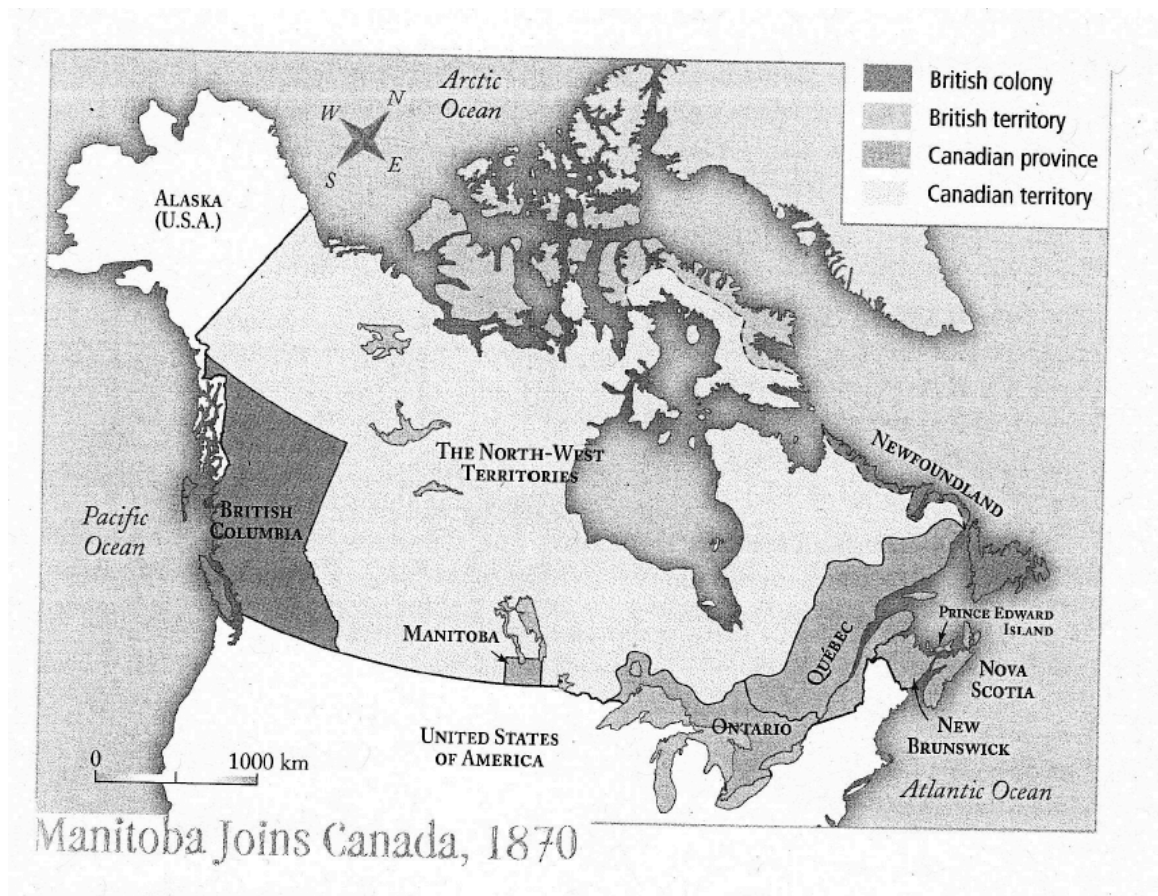
Fig. 2.

The expansion of settler space in 1898 as depicted in *Their Stories, Our History* (Haskings-Winner et al. 97).
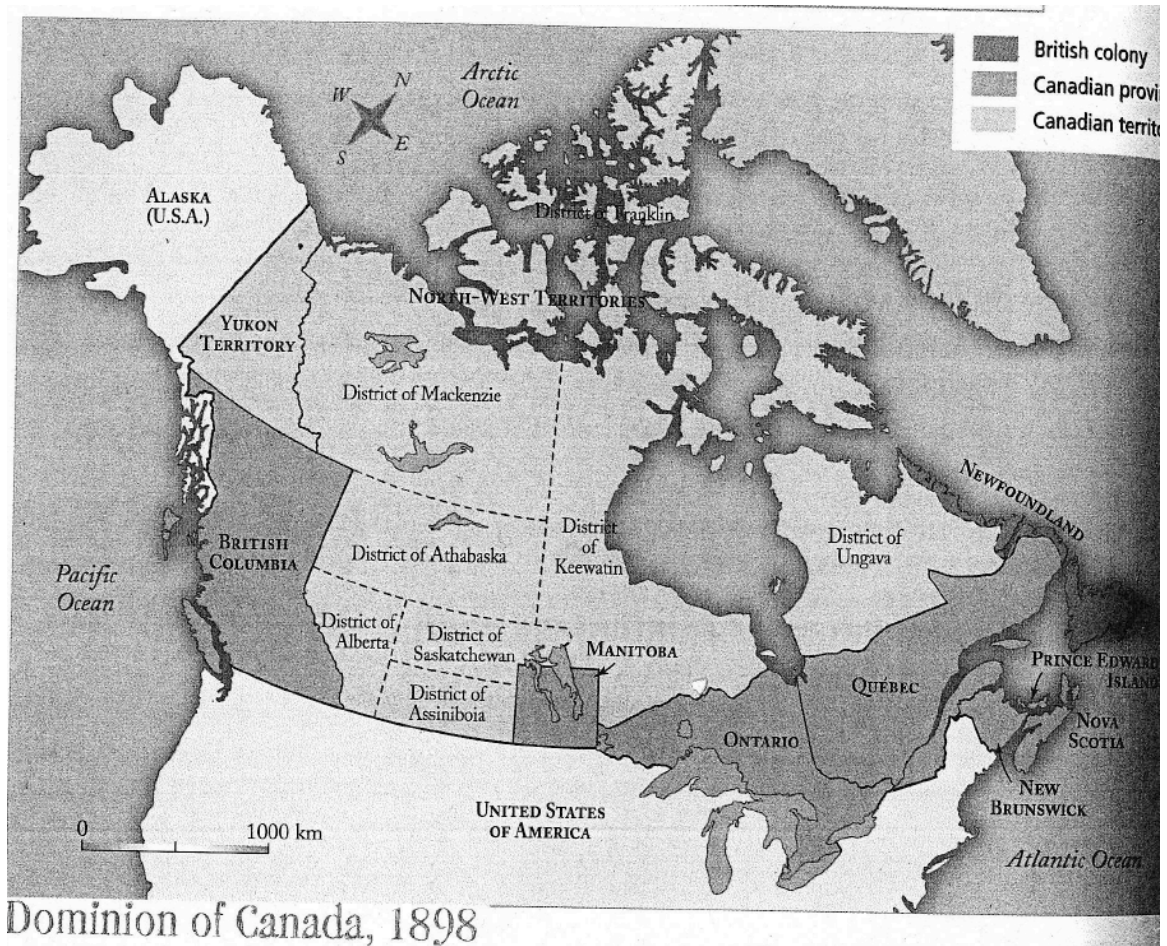
Fig. 3

The expansion of settler space in 1898 as depicted in *Their Stories, Our History* (Haskings-
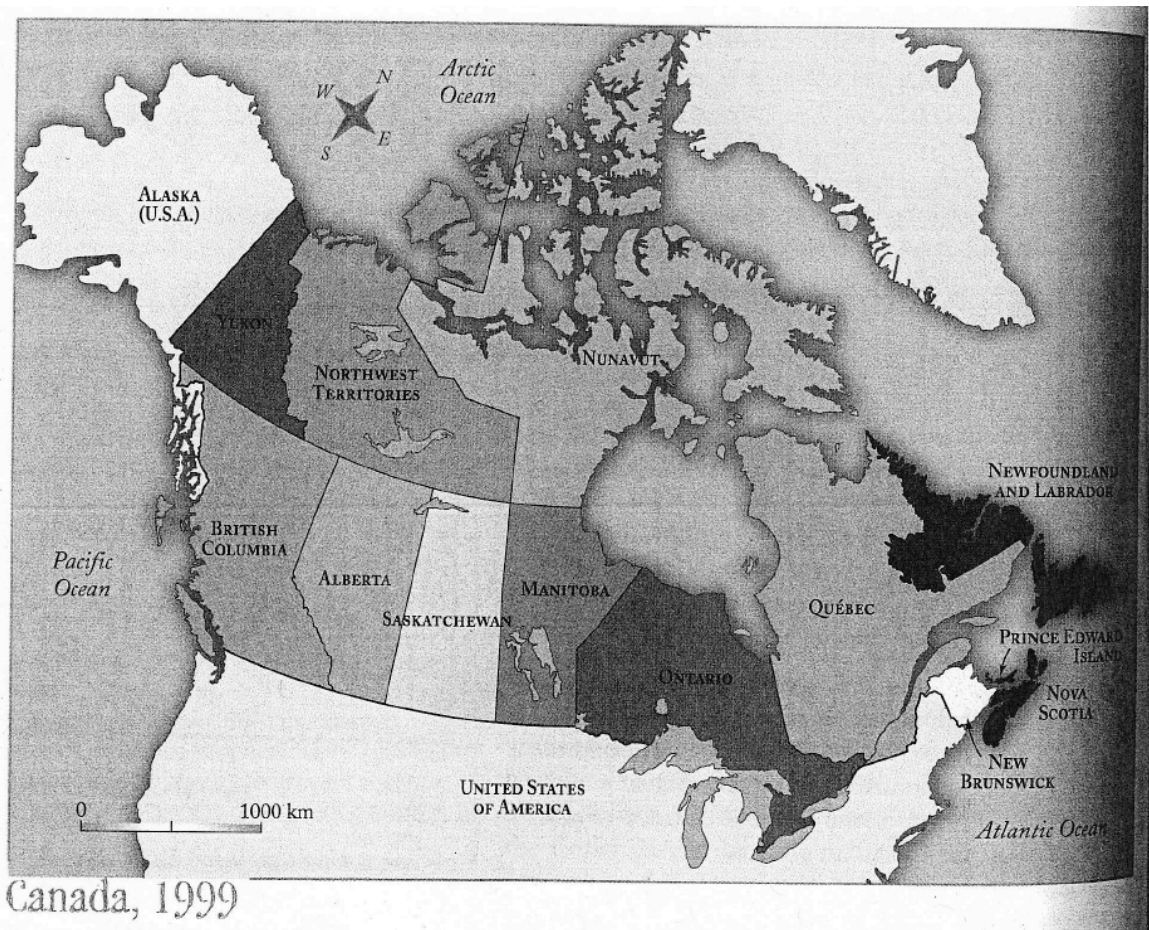
Winner et al. 104).

Fig. 4

The current Canadian settler state formation as depicted in *Their Stories, Our History* (Haskings-Winner et al. 106).

Fig. 5

A picture in *Their Stories, Our History* on the page discussing Newfoundland joining Canada

(Haskings-Winner et al. 105). The formation of the Canadian settler state is represented as a
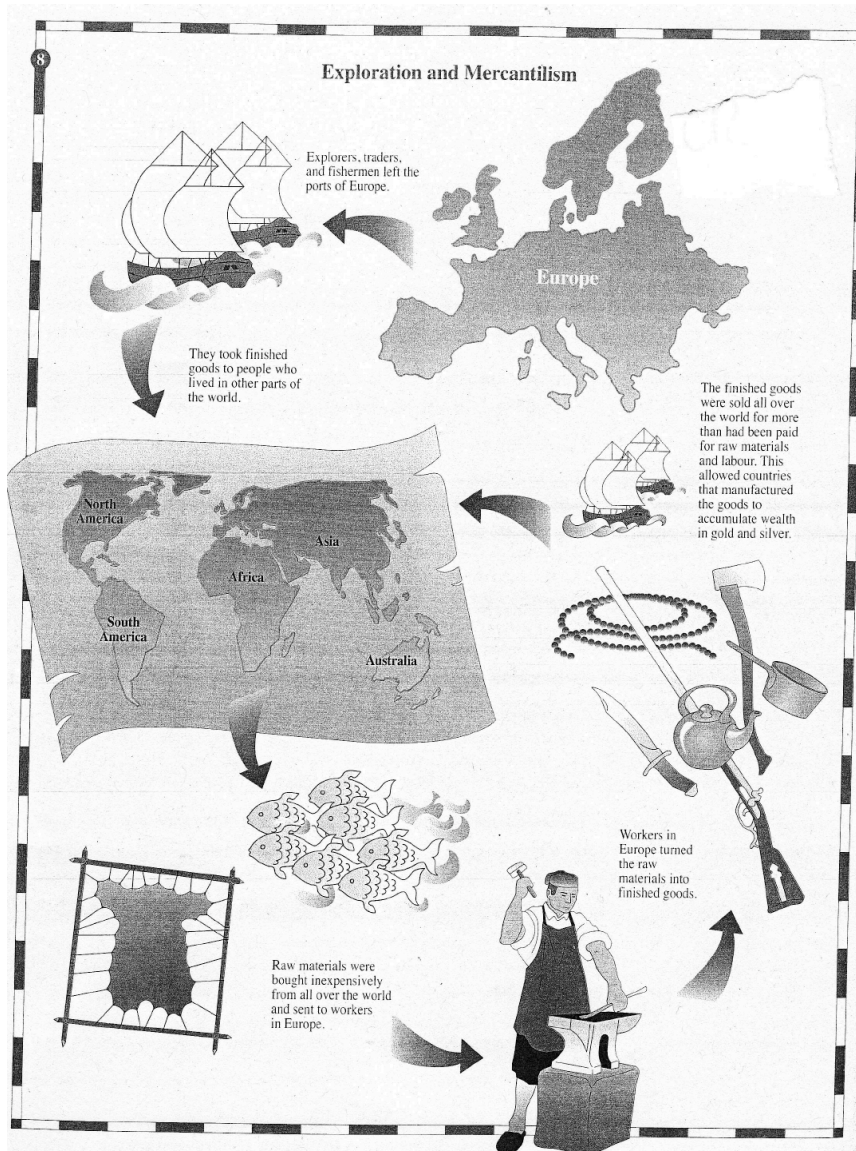
jigsaw puzzle.

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Fig. 6

A visual depiction of exploration and mercantilism in *Canada Revisited* (Clark et al. 16). While the figure references connections between the different continents, it never mentions the violent effects of exploration and mercantilism on indigenous and black peoples, as expressed through settler colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade.

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Above: An occasional Micmaq could be seen in the town visiting from the interior of the island on which Louisbourg was built.

Fig. 7

A photo on the page about Louisbourg in *Canada Revisited* (Clark et al. 92). This picture is the

only reference to indigenous peoples on the page.
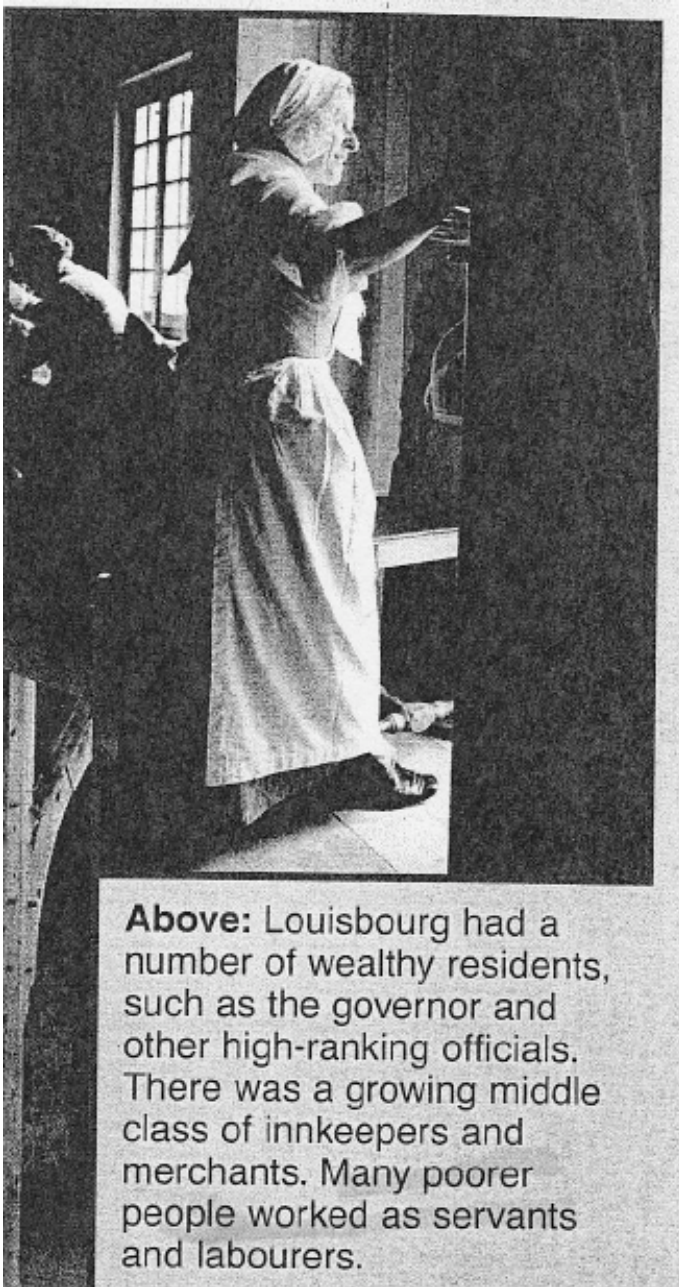
Above: Louisbourg had a number of wealthy residents, such as the governor and other high-ranking officials. There was a growing middle class of innkeepers and merchants. Many poorer people worked as servants and labourers.

Fig. 8

A photo on the page about Louisbourg in *Canada Revisited* (Clark et al. 92). While the picture

and caption reference class, race is not mentioned.