FOLLOWING ININAAHTIGOOG HOME:
ANISHINAABEG WOMXN ISKIGAMIZIGANING

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Arts and Science

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ABSTRACT

Following ininaahtigoog Home: Anishinaabeg Womxn iskigamiziganing

makwa odoodem

Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy

Indigenous peoples' sur-thrivance in global, settler colonial, historical, and nation-specific economic contexts is a broadly studied subject that fails to emphasize Indigenous economic sovereignty. Indigenous knowledges regarding the land-based relationalities which formulate an aspect of Indigenous economic sovereignty is lacking. So too is knowledge on Indigenous womxn's land and water-based relationalities from which her economic sovereignty flows. Writing within and for Anishinaabeg sur-thrivance in Anishinaabewaki, this research examines Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush during the spring harvest as a site of gendered nation-specific economic sovereignty. Epistemicide has attenuated land-based knowledges in gendered ways; and, missionary and settler colonial processes in Canada, the U.S., and within Anishinaabeg communities have alienated Anishinaabeg womxn from inherent land and water-based relationships. By employing an Anishinaabeg methodology of "critically returning to ourselves" that is oriented towards Anishinaabe approaches to history and Anishinaabe ways of seeing history as worlds, this research recovers information about womxn's sugar bush relationships. This recovery begins with literary, documentary, and oral sources. Through anishinaabe feminist interpretation, I reveal that womxn's sugar bush relationships engender whole worlds that are animated and generated by her legendary connections with the natural and spiritual world, her social-economic commitment and savvy, and her enduring labour. I further interpret that her connections, her savvy, and her labour is mediated with variable aspects of settler colonial gendered influences such as patriarchy, omnipresent heterosexuality and/or gender binaries, marriage, class, and values attributed to womxn that are inconsequential to sur-thriving in land and water-based worlds. In conclusion this research tells three distinct, but connected, "sticky and sweet [story] strands" which illuminate the significance, beauty, complexity, and un-romance of Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush. Simultaneously, it prompts Anishinaabeg to reflect on the worlds we have

lived in, are living in now, and want to create in terms of land-based relationships and relationalities. In effort to disrupt and bring attention to the restrictions and distortions that several hundred years of missionary, settler colonial, (hetero)patriarchal, heterosexist, and capitalist forces have had on Anishinaabeg gender and relational formations, my method in writing (i.e. spelling) is to prompt consciousness of gender and relational fluidity and diversity. This approach presses for Anishinaabeg committed orientation towards the necessities and possibilities of correcting and transforming imposed and internalized settler gender and relational formations and structures. This research builds on a body of literature about Indigenous womxn's relationship with land and water in Turtle Island in order to signify and illuminate Anishinaabeg womxn's dynamic and varied relationship with the sugar bush. It contributes to Indigenous research methodology, Indigenous and Anishinaabeg women's history, Indigenous women's labour, and Indigenous literary studies.

Keywords: Anishinaabeg womxn, anishinaabewakiziwin, relationship with land, economic sovereignty, Anishinaabeg sugar bush, iskigamizigan, Anishinaabe Studies, Anishinaabe History, Indigenous Women's History, Indigenous literature, Anishinaabe feminism, Indigenous methodology

Dedicated

To

Indigenous Womxn

(of Indigenous Nations)

[or not]

presently occupied

by Canada and the U.S.

who struggle

to provide

for self & beloveds

in accordance with your indigenous ways

in your territories—

this, a humble offering

of

ziinzaabaakwadaaboo

&

ziinzaabakwad[1]

[1] There are various Anishinaabeg origin stories that tell how, after womxn laid her tobacco seeking help during a time of starvation, ininaahtigoog talked to her, told her to cut it, and revealed its ziinzaabaakwadaaboo (sugar water), a water that allowed Anishinaabeg to survive. Another origin story tells of how the animals and birds, through the odoodemiwin (clan system), taught Anishinaabeg about this medicine. There are many stories that tell us many things about the sugar bush. One told by Margaret Pine to her granddaughter, Naawakamigookwe Maude Kegg, tells of how we spoon-fed the first ziinzaabakwad (sugar) of the season to those amongst us who had lost a beloved in the previous year. At 87, Maude Kegg shared how her generation had maintained this ability to recognize and empathize with the grief and loss of others. She said these ones continued to practice helping those who were mourning by feeding them the first sugar, rice, or something ripe like berries, so that eventually they could participate in life again. Kegg, "Miigwechiwendamowaad," 100-101.

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nahaaw, mii sa iw.

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n'daaw: Who and How I Am

I am makwa ninodoodem (bear clan) and Ojibway Anishinaabe of mixed ancestry and race. My mother is Mary Chisel-ban from Obiishikokaang (Lac Seul First Nation in Northwestern Ontario) and my father is James Joseph Hammond from Bell Island, Newfoundland.[2] My mother is Ojibway; name (sturgeon) and waabide (elk) clans exist in my maternal family however I do not know my mother's clan. Based on my understandings of my mother's life, alcohol was one of her medicines. This interfered in her parenting and as such, when the time came to decide between her medicine and parenting, she chose the former. I completely understand her decision. She maintained her connection with me throughout my life through my paternal uncle, Bill-ban. Her reach into my life, however sporadic, was to me, reflective of the kind of parent, mother, she wanted to be: she gave me two sentimental, thoughtful, feminine gifts and bestowed her wisdom upon me for what she deemed necessary to live a good life. Upon learning I was heading to university, she contacted me by phone at my high school and said one, "Stay off the reserve" and two, "If you are going to attend university, don't drink." While she didn't elaborate on her first piece of advice, she did share a story about the latter. In a visit shortly thereafter, she signed a letter stating she was my mother. This allowed me to obtain my status card so that I could access my treaty rights for funding for my education. We never established a relationship beyond this due to our differing expectations of each other. She had two children after me who did not remain in her care and with whom I was able to contact on separate occasions in the mid-1990s. They are my brother, Scott and my sister, Celine.

In 1995, at Bawating Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, and, as I recall being told by my brother, eight months into her abstinence from alcohol, my mother passed away due to a health matter. Bawating Sault Ste. Marie is where my mother lived most of her life. My Aunt Agnes tells me that Mary attended college here and obtained a certificate in the health support service industry. However, she quit shortly after

[2] Lac Seul First Nation, "Lac Seul History," http://lacseul.firstnation.ca/node/2.

becoming employed for reasons unknown, or unstated. Through variable serendipitous sources throughout my life, I learned that my mother struggled with certain settler institutions; accessed settler support organizations voluntarily and involuntarily; was the victim of incredible violence in a downtown location which seems to mark a life of experiencing various forms of violence; and, birthed all three of her babies, two of whom were with my dad. To my knowledge, I am her first born; she had me when she was 25 years old. My Aunt Agnes tells me that my mom stopped speaking anishinaabemowin while in a sanitarium where she was hospitalized for tuberculosis. My dad tells me she was very smart, was a very good seamstress, liked blues music, and always had a newspaper under her arm. He said it was the drinking that got in the way of her living her fullest; I think it was the things that caused her to drink that got in the way of her living her fullest. I wonder what she thought about her life, and, life.

My mother was one of several children born to Mary Gray and Norman Chisel; her mother divorced Norman and later, re-married Paddy Hill. Mary had several more children with Paddy with whom my mother had some relationships with and from whom I have learned much of my maternal ancestry through. Through genealogical research conducted by my Aunt Elsie, photographs shared with me by other family members, and oral histories about the photographs, I have learned about my maternal lineage to my great, great grandmother, Sarah Chisel and my great, great grandfather Teddy Lyons (Scottish). Teddy was Sarah's husband and a fur trader. They had children together. Teddy also had a European wife with whom he had children. Clans are not indicated in my maternal family genealogy. My cousin Tom Chisel has also shared genealogical knowledge with me from my mother's paternal line. I met the majority of my maternal aunts and cousins in bwaanazhawabiwin (Sioux Lookout) in July 2016.[3] While there, Tom, name odoodem, who is Midéwiwin, brought me around some of the lands and waters that make up the reserve and traditional territories and the ceremonial grounds he tends. He showed me where, on a particular river his

[3] For place names and history documented about this area through oral history see, Agger, *Following Nimishomis*.

grandmother, my great grandmother, Martha Gray, lived. The cabin my great grandmother lived in is no longer there on the river. Also, while there, my Aunt Dorrie, Aunt Christine, and Aunt Elsie brought me around bwaanazhawabiwin to show me where they grew up. While stopped at a local, public park in the city that adjoins a lake, they recalled childhood memories of playing on the far shore. They indicated that this area, historically, was our families' trap-line.

At this time in environmental history, the lands that are home to me through my mother do not grow ininaahtigoog.[4] As a result, maple sugaring is not presently a part of the seasonal work that the Ojibway peoples that I belong to partake in. My Aunt Elsie told me that our family was, however, a ricing family. The manoomin that grows in that region is most beautiful. Her grandfather, my great grandfather, Norman Chisel, headed many families in the harvesting of manoomin. Enforced family name changes, alienation from culture, residential schools, sanitariums, and Children's Aid are some of the settler colonial realities that have shaped my maternal family, my mother, me, and inevitably nindaanis (my daughter). In 1873, after many efforts, Canadian representatives negotiated Treaty 3 in this area.[5]

My step-mother is Debbie Clayton; I call her Deb. She is a non-indigenous white woman, non-practising Lutheran, and is one of seven children who was raised by a single mother, Ella Clayton-ban, who became widowed when her youngest was a baby. Everybody called her "Ma". Ma was a tall, thin woman who smoked Export "A" non-filtered cigarettes and who, before I knew her, worked as a janitor at a high school (Collegiate Heights) in Sault Ste. Marie, ON. Deb attended a local technical and trades high school (Alexander Henry High) and quit in Grade 9. She raised me, with my dad, from the age of four years old (or so) until I left home at sixteen. During that time, I learned about domesticity; and, she carried out step-motherly duties in terms of child care. Like so many under-educated women who are socialized or forced

[4] There is some suggestion that with climate change, maple trees will move north.

[5] There are various interpretations of this treaty. See, Lac Seul First Nation, "Lac Seul First Nation," http://lacseul.firstnation.ca/; The Grand Council Treaty #3, "The Pay Pom Treaty," http://www.gct3.ca/about/history/paypom-treaty/; and, Morris, "Treaty Number Three, or The North-West Angle Treaty," 44-76.

into dependency in a patriarchal capitalist system, the amount of domestic work, child-care, and emotional and physical labour she expended is incalculable. Through her, I always had full suppers; always had clean clothes; had a parent at school events; was able to get to all my appointments; learned all the skills required to run a household well; learned to cook and bake; and, learned about childcare. She had two boys, my baby brothers, Michal-ban and Mathew, with my dad. They were born when I was twelve and fourteen, respectively. Aside from knowledge regarding keeping a household, the one piece of advice Deb ever gave me was to never get married. When I think about her, I think about how she continually gave of her time and labour despite how the world, and people in it, treated her. I think about how her continual giving did not garner her better treatment by anybody. I think how, because of this, I am a womxn who is generous but also a womxn who has learned about the value of boundaries and who has become attuned to capitalist patriarchal exploitation. When I last visited Deb, I was happy to see her set boundaries about how she was being talked to but I was unhappy that, at this late stage in her life, that she had to. In a recent conversation with my dad, he told me that I picked Deb; he elaborated on that. I never knew this story until that moment. And, it changes everything. It also resonates with the anishinaabe belief that as spirit, we choose our parents and this choosing is the beginning of our travel from the spirit world to the physical.

In February 1997, just before his thirteenth birthday, my brother Michael-ban died in a winter childhood playing accident. His death was traumatizing for my youngest brother, Mathew, who is now thirty-two, Deb, and my dad. Having learned about some anishinaabeg cultural practices by that time, I had incorporated that into dealing with our collective shock. However, I accessed traditional healing as well. Ultimately, it was a process of both anishinaabeg and non-anishinaabeg practice that allowed me to move through this grief in ways that allowed me to move through the shock and trauma of this, ways that I feel others in my family were not able to.

Just weeks before Michael died, he wrote a poem for a school assignment. The poem tells the story of a young fox, who, stuck in a blizzard, was dying. Michael wrote that the foxes' last thoughts were about

the life he never had a chance to live. He himself had a shocking, thick wave of red hair. Michael came to me in a dream before my mother, Deb, knew she was pregnant. I never told anyone. When I think about his poem, his death, and my dream that he was coming to our family, I believe, by way of anishinaabe belief, that a few weeks after his death, dream knowledge was gifted to my maternal brother, Scott, whom I knew about, but did not know, at the time. Scott acted on this dream knowledge immediately and he placed an ad in a Sault Ste. Marie newspaper seeking information about family members, one of whom included our mother. Jody Racicot, the aunt of a then-friend recognized my mother's name and I was prompted to the ad. Scott and I talked on the phone that evening and had our first in-person visit a few weeks later in Winnipeg, Manitoba. I was 25 and Scott was 23. I link this poem that my brother wrote, my own dreaming, and my brother Scott's dreaming to my dad, who is also a dreamer. For my brother Scott and I, this dreaming is also connected to our mother, Mary. I know this through our sister, Celine.

Between sixteen and nineteen, I lived with a family in the rural area I grew up in. This family knew my mother, father, step-mother, and brothers. Barbara and Lionel Trudel, who have two children, opened their home to me and another close friend in our neighbourhood who also needed a place to live. All of us lived in a small trailer. It was a home filled with us teenage girls and a pre-teen boy. While headed on limited income, we never went without. Here, I finished high-school, worked part-time, got my driver's license, and grew emotionally. I have a lot of gratitude for this family. It was Barbara, knowing that I was eligible for my status card and what this meant in terms of my education, who worked very hard to manoeuvre the bureaucracy necessary for me to obtain it. The treaty rights that flow through it have allowed me to obtain a good education.

My dad is 80 years old. He migrated from Bell Island, Newfoundland to Sault. Ste. Marie, Ontario in his early twenties with his brother, Bill. The Trans-Canada highway runs right through Sault Ste. Marie. At the time when he arrived, what is now known as Great Northern Road was then what he calls, "a cow

path". His other brother, Ron-ban and sister, Joan, moved to Sault Ste. Marie a few months earlier, after their mother, my grandmother, Nora Hammond-ban (nee Mason) died. She is buried on Bell Island.

My dad tells me that my grandparents met in Sault Ste. Marie when his father, James, arrived there and worked as a butcher. My second cousin, Rhonda, tells me that my grandmother's family is buried in a small graveyard in the area of Sault Ste. Marie that is now known as a park called Hiawatha. She told me that this farm was our grandmother's family farm, although I'm sure it wasn't hers in terms of land ownership. James and Nora returned to Bell Island and there they had three sons and a daughter. My grandfather was a miner and my grandmother ran a store from the front of their house.

Patriarchal values regarding property ran deep in his family and this caused discontent of some kind for my Aunt Joan, the one daughter. When discussing property that was bestowed upon all the boys and how one of them sold much of his inheritance, my Aunt Joan revealed that she was never given any property and was never offered to buy the property before it went up for sale. In 2005, when my family and I travelled to Bell Island, my dad showed me the property on Lance Cove Rd. that he inherited from his dad, also named James Joseph Hammond. This land was owned by both my grandfather and his brother, Michael Thomas Hammond; Michael gave his portion of the land to his son, Andrew, my dad's first cousin. This plot of land stretched to the ridge of the island (i.e. a cliff) and had a field, a marsh, and a grove of very mature, tall, evergreens. There was another man, Tom Stoyles, who claimed this land, or a portion of it, was sold to him by my dad's first cousin, Andrew Hammond. This created an argument between my dad and Tom while we were there. I wanted to pursue this matter but did not have the resources to do the archival research to prove this was my dad's property. It's unclear to me if the land that Tom says Andrew sold to him includes my dad's land. Upon leaving Bell Island, my dad put a private property sign on the lot. Soon after, he received a call from his distant cousin, Ben Hammond, saying that Tom was in the process of clearing the land of the trees. Regardless, my dad asserts land ownership. I share this story because it is important to understand that I come from family lines where settler laws and ideas about relationships with land operate

in similar and varied ways as Anishinaabeg: it can lead to conflict, transgressions, and also impact women in specific, purposeful, and negative ways. However, there is also change as my dad indicates this land will go to me showing he does not adhere to ideas about land transfer going to males only.

Through their own migratory trails, my mother and dad met in downtown Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario in the early 1970s. I was born in the now-defunct General Hospital in this city. My dad recounts the neglectful way the nurses treated my mother when she was in pain. He shared with me that she was not one to complain however, when she was saying she was in pain and the nurses did nothing about it, he lost his temper with them and demanded they help her. Only then did they give her medicine. My dad never painted a one-sided picture of my mother; his stories of her conveyed her full humanity, as much as he knew it to be.

Bawating Sault Ste. Marie is a settler city and a border town with Bawating Sault Ste. Marie, MI. It was, and continues to be, a historic gathering place for Anishinaabeg. The city and surrounding area are well known as being a home to Anishinaabeg due to there being various First Nations and Tribes on both side of the Canada-U.S. border. The place that is now known as Sault Ste. Marie, ON and Sault Ste. Marie, MI is known by Anishinaabeg as Bawating, the place of the rapids. There is a Métis presence in the area and like most cities today, a diverse urban Indigenous population. This area is inscribed with several treaties in both Canada and the U.S., two reserves and one reservation that buttress the cities on either side of the border.

I grew up in the bush north of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, approximately ten minutes east of Trans-Canada highway. This was a small, rural community known as Island Lake. The area was, and is, busy with cottagers, tourists, and outdoors enthusiasts in both the summer and winter. I grew up with my dad, my step-mother, and for a few years, my two younger brothers. My world was predominantly white. My best friend, Gina, who was also “native” (nêhiyaw), lived down the road. She and her two sisters were adopted from Alberta during the 60s scoop. After leaving her adoptive family when she was sixteen due to myriad forms of abuse, she lived with my family for a short while and then moved to town; later, she moved to

Toronto. She eventually found her birth family and made her way back home. A new wife, and young mother of a toddler and newborn, she was murdered in 1991 in Edmonton, Alberta. She was my best friend. I loved and admired her. She made me laugh so hard. She was tough, and beautiful; righteous; and, a protector. I recall telling our mutual acquaintances, people who were *her* peers (as she was two years older than me), that she was murdered, and being struck by their lack of care, concern, or shock about that. I recall being really confused by their reaction and how hard it was to separate the feelings of grief I had over her death and the confusion I felt about what I perceived to be peoples' lack of care about her death. My dad understood this loss in my life and supported me.

Growing up in Island Lake, there were many year-'round kids around and many more summer kids; we were all friends. Our childhoods were filled with the seasons, the outdoors, and play; each of us year-'round kids were negotiating whatever was happening in our homes and because we were friends, we knew about each other's homes. Today, when I look back on my childhood and teenage years, I feel I was protected by many potentially problematic dynamics in the worlds I moved in as my father was a protector, albeit in complicated ways. There would be no neighbour, friend, or school person who would harm me as a child or teen without having to deal with him. And, given there were very few problems when I started working as a teen at the local trucker restaurant, and travelled the secondary highway back and forth to work by bike, I suspect growing up in a small community where there were strong lines of knowing who-was-who, being "Jimmy's girl" may have had a kind of protective influence. My dad is not economically or materially rich or highly educated but he was genuine, well regarded by people, and unafraid of principled conflict. I sense all this had a kind of effect on how I was treated when out in the "local world" that I navigated. This is what I call the female collateral "benefits" of patriarchy.

The contours of my life, and who I am, have been deeply shaped by all the people in my path however, it is my dad who has had the most profound influence on who I am in terms of my values. They serve me well and I try to impart them to my daughter, who is now sixteen. It is only very recently that I am

able to see him in more complicated ways. Through this more complicated lens, I can now easily say he raised me to be a heartful, Indigenous materialist feminist. His methods were both straightforward and contrarian. For example, shortly after starting kindergarten, I recall openly declaring to my dad that I hated being an Indian. This resulted in my first lessons on politics, land, and identity, all delivered by a steel-plant worker with a grade five education. He said to me, "Chrissy-Ann, don't you dare. You see all this land? This was all stolen from your people by the government. But don't you worry. One day it will come back full circle." While the division of labour in my home was distinctly gendered, my dad did not raise me to think in gendered ways regarding labour or jobs. When wood needed to be cut, hauled, stacked or brought into the house, I helped; when he was building additions for our house, I was nailing, sanding, painting, and on the roof shingling with him. He never gave me the message that because I was a girl I had to do this or couldn't do that. Teaching me about providing for myself was combined between getting my education, doing anything I wanted as long as I was happy doing it, and not to ever depend on a man or a boss for my life or my well-being.

In terms of being the "Indian girl" in a white extended family and social world, he would often tell me balanced stories about my mother. He'd say that he couldn't teach me who I was as Native but that I would one day meet people who could. I don't think he knew, or knows, about the blatant racism or the polite racism I experienced from both sides of my family. Had he, I know he would have said something because I recall him to be very protective of me in all ways. And, on the contrary methods he delivered that shaped me to be who I am and how I locate myself in this research, they were like those found in many heteropatriarchal, working-class, rural, white, nuclear homes: through a reproduction of patriarchal values. It wasn't until I took Women's Studies at Laurentian University that I was able to theorize my pain, the relationships in my family home and social world, and the gender oppression and myriad violences in both. And, it wasn't until I took Native Studies with James Dumont at the same university that I was able to theorize the white noise of being "Indian" that shaped my upbringing and the negative weight of being Indian

that seemed to be so normal I didn't realize it until I took courses at university. It was through these courses that I learned about colonization, that I was Anishinaabe, and that being Anishinaabe was itself, dignity. From this point on, I immersed myself in learning who I was as Anishinaabe, and who we are as Anishinaabeg. It wasn't until bell hooks that I learned about the pain that patriarchy causes boys and men as well.

I've elaborated at some length on who I am because of my particular location being raised in a home of "white" family, mostly unattached from my biological mother, with no contact with her family and Anishinaabeg community for the first twenty-some years of my life. In terms of conducting research and producing knowledge, I find there is a drift towards acknowledging and accepting Indigenous peoples who come from middle class, intact families, who are known to be a part of certain families, or who have certain kinds of social and cultural capital within Indigenous circles (i.e. belong to Midéwiwin, are a part of the pow-wow trail, etc.). My trail as Anishinaabe is not unique amongst Indigenous peoples. For this reason, I think it is worth noting these nuances so that others don't feel shame for not being born into familial or community circumstances that might advance their legitimation as Anishinaabe, or Anishinaabe researchers. Given the capitalist, reconciliatory moment in Canada in regards to Indigenous identity, it is important to not present as someone who appears to have been born into cultural relationalities and knowledges or, to challenge the ideas that if this is the case it is somehow superior than any other lived realities amongst Anishinaabeg. For me, it is also important to not present Anishinaabe "purity" which occurs when we do not talk about the "whiteness" or "white people" who are a part of our heart-lives. In my mind and heart, it is important to create space for the creation of Indigenous knowledges from such unruly familial trails and relations.

A Note About Language, *ininaahtigoog, x, iskigamiziganing,* and *

Under the umbrella of anishinaabe giikendaasowin (knowledges and ways of coming to know), the early formations of this research included a language component. Much of the literature on Indigenous Studies, Indigenous knowledges, and Indigenous livelihoods emphasize the need for more Indigenous research to be conducted in and through our languages. This resonates with my lived life where I have been a student of the language since the mid-1990s. While still at the level of baby-talk, I no longer am striving to be a speaker but rather continue to value it for its philosophical meanings, ancestral connections, and its' gentle rhythms and intonations. These characteristics always invoke for me, the rolling tree-covered hills, sand dunes, freshwater lakes (including gichi gaming on a calm evening), bubbling springs, and bumbling rivers of Anishinaabewaki. For various reasons, I decided to discontinue my trajectory of including anishinaabemowin as a signified aspect of this project.[6] Without a doubt, there is dynamic, generative, and exciting work to be done regarding language, specifically in regard to anishinaabe land-based practices and anishinaabe feminist translations of texts recorded or documented in anishinaabemowin. I hope one day to work with language speakers, theorists, innovators, and do-ers, in this regard.

In its present state, this thesis does utilize anishinaabemowin regarding the names of people, places, things, and conceptualizations. Translations are either embedded in the text in brackets for the first use of the anishinaabe word or left to stand alone with translations unpacked in a footnote. Finally, my teacher, Howard Webkamigad from Algoma University at Bawating Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, taught that anishinaabemowin, in its written form, does not utilize capitals to begin sentences.[7] For the most part, I utilize this same approach when writing the language. However, I do capitalize the word "Anishinaabe(g)" when referring to people, community, nation, or territory but do not capitalize it when referring to a way

[6] Research gathered in this regard remains in my personal file, incomplete.

[7] Howard makes an important contribution in writing about his thinking and practice regarding the language, language education, learning, and its' writing, in Webkamigad, trns. and ed., *Ottawa Stories from the Springs,* xv-xxi.

of being. I capitalize the names of people so as to avoid offence but not the names of places. The point here is to note that what might appear as inconsistencies, typos, or failures in writing are actually assertions of self-determination in writing anishinaabemowin and a reflection of the trails broken and made from previous generations.

Further, in regards to the nuances of researching, writing and thinking in anishinaabe, in my early learning of words associated with the sugar bush, I was taught that the word for maple tree was *ininaatig(oog)* (singular and plural form) which was translated as *man-tree(s)*. Over the years, I have also learned that it refers to *our tree.* As a matter of having the opportunity to learn from many language speakers, I have learned they are all brilliant in the language work they do; they shine because of the life-experiences they have navigated, or despite them, in order to be educators, teachers, thinkers, do-ers, collaborators, and writers who keep this part of who we are alive and regenerating into the future. These teachers, who may have similar experiences, are unique individuals who each contribute their own important and valuable ideas about the language. In my learning for this research and in my previous community-based research along the north shore of naadowewi-gichigami (Lake Huron), it has become clear that the meanings of different words can differ and that this variation in meaning for ininaatig(oog) is not about being right or wrong. Webkamigad also notes that there are variations in meanings associated with our words.[8]

I have reflected on this variance in meaning. I decided to anglicize my title to include "Following the Trees Home" but was prompted by another teacher, Stanley Peltier, to reflect on the significance of using *trees* versus *ininaahtigoog* in my title. This immediately resonated with me. This word is so much more familial, ancestral, and "like home"*;* it is correct and important and so much more meaningful to use *ininaahtigoog* instead of *trees*. My dilemma then became about how to overcome the different meanings that would be attributed to this word, and thus the meaning that the title would convey. And *it is a dilemma*

[8] Ibid., xvii.

because this is a project that is born from the negative impacts of settler colonialism, (hetero)patriarchy, and capitalism on Anishinaabeg womxn and the wish to be, and be treated, as our sovereign selves. In other words, how could I have a project in 2018 titled, "Following the Man-Trees Home: Anishinaabeg Womxn at the Sugar Bush" when the project is about Anishinaabeg womxn's sovereignty, a way of being that is based on relationships with the natural and spiritual world and interdependent relationship with other humans, not on following men.

Based on what I've learned from Helen Roy Fuhst about the language, and in particular about the word *inini,* which refers to the way of being about that particular human that is not conveyed in its translation as *man*, it seems to me that the translation of *ininaahtigoog* as *our trees* is the most-to-correct. Further, "our" would likely refer to Anishinaabeg as a whole. That said, this interpretation could be incorrect; it could be a reflection of what I want to be true which may later be bore out to be incorrect in on-going discussions. Regardless, for this research, and based on my thinking about what I have learned from various teachers, and my understanding of anishinaabe'aadiziwin (the culture, its' seen and unseen aspects), I utilize the word *ininaahtigoog* in the meaning of *our trees* because it is right, and good, and meaningful. And, because metaphorically, it is congruent with anishinaabe'aadiziwin and a contemporary idea of Anishinaabeg in general, and Anishinaabeg womxn specifically; "following our trees home" is a way to affirm and re-connect with knowledge about our economic sovereignty.

In regards to the *x* in *womxn,* this alteration of the word *woman/women* was initiated by activist, social justice, and university folx, likely young people, who are changing the world to better meet their needs and visions as diverse (a)gendered, (a)sexual beings.[9] Much popular writing about the word *womxn* comes from below the 49th parallel on the west coast. I was first introduced to it in social media in 2016 through Mi'kmaw spoken word artist, Jennifer Murrin, who is based in Toronto, Ontario. According to popular

[9] My understanding of the use of the word "folks" is that it is used to disrupt the gender binary often used when addressing groups of people as women and men or, ladies and gentlemen. The use of the 'x' works similarly as it does in 'womxn'.

culture sources, the use of *x* both signifies "independence from patriarchal linguistic norms" denoted in the use of *men* in wo*men* and corrects/disrupts transphobic meanings in second-wave feminist writings of women as womyn and other iterations which emphasizes the womb.[10] The use of *x* is intended to reflect difference amongst wom*x*n but is also "meant to include transgender womxn, womxn of color, womxn from third world countries, and every other self-identifying womxn out there."[11] Educating folx on intersectionality in womanhood by discussing the varied spellings of *woman*, Yvania Garcia-Pusateri, historicizes the word *womxn* and sets out a politics of relationality in trying to bridge new ways of being that foster understanding across difference.[12]

Queer Philipina scholar-activist, Paulina Abustan calls for "Indigenous and Mestiza Philipinxs to remember and reclaim our origins and roots of a strong Feminist, Queer, and Trans past, present, and future" and examines the work of Indigenous and Mestiza peoples who "are reclaiming their indigenous roots, cultures, and practices through the validation, acceptance, and celebration of their Feminist, Queer, and Trans identities."[13] These thinkers include Leny Strobel, Chris Finley, Clive Aspin, Qwo-Li Driskell, Scott Lauria Morgenson, and Mark Rifkin. Abustan does not explain their use of *x* in their grammar which includes womxn, mxn, or hxstory, however it is evident they utilize it in the ways articulated by the popular writers cited. Abustan's use of *x* is influenced through discussion around the word Latinx, which "is the gender-neutral alternative to Latino, Latina and even Latin@ … [which is] part of a 'linguistic revolution' that aims to move beyond gender binaries and is inclusive of the intersecting identities of Latin American descendants. In addition to men and women from all racial backgrounds, Latinx also makes room for people who are trans, queer, agender, non-binary, gender non-conforming or gender fluid."[14] Comparing to

[10] Wu, "Why Are People Using the Terms 'Womyn' and 'Womxn' Instead of 'Women'?"; Emmanuel, "Why I Choose to Identify as a Womxn"; and, Key, "Woman, Womyn, Womxn: Students Learn about Intersectionality in Womanhood".
[11] Emmanual, "Why I Choose".
[12] Key, "Woman, Womyn, Womxn".
[13] Abustan, "Recovering and Reclaiming Queer and Trans Indigenous and Mestiza Philipinx Identities," 2.
[14] Ramirez and Blay, "Why People Are Using the Term 'Latinx; and, Paulina Abustan, email communication, July 26, 2017.

Anishinaabe, which means "good being" and is also utilized to denote nation, there would be no need to include the *x* because the word Anishinaabe is gender neutral. However, there is modern and curious tendency to mark gender; and, to mark gender in a way that problematically reproduces a gender binary through the addition of the suffix *ikawe* (over-simply, yet popularly translated as woman) and less often *inini* (over-simply, yet popularly translated as man). Curious because women tend to get marked more than men (see for example modern Anishinaabe names). And, curious because anishinaabemowin is structured around animacy and inanimacy, not gender.

Similar to the popular culture writers, Abustan's use of *x* embraces the significance of identity and subjectivity. However, their review of the literature importantly elucidates the historical and structural forces that oppress individuals intersectionally at sites of their gender, sexual, and relational/familial identity. For instance, Chris Finley "highlights the ways in which pressures to conform to white colonial hetero-nuclear family continues to be internalized by Indigenous peoples".[15] Further, Clive Aspin, Maori health scholar, elaborates on the colonial views of gender and sexuality that Indigenous peoples have internalized, focusing on education about Maori "pre-colonial celebration of diversity and ancestral knowledge".[16] Various Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars of Indigenous womxn's history in Turtle Island (i.e. Canada and the U.S.) address the structural, ideological, and historical forces that operated to transform gender, sexual, and familial identities that Indigenous peoples had lived prior to settler colonial interests entering their worlds, which is addressed in my literature review.

In this research, I want to intentionally, and thoughtfully, contribute to the disruption and transformation of the dominant reproduction of a settler gender binary (i.e. he and she). This binary is mostly organized in a way that constructs man as first (i.e. he *then* she). Both this binary and constructed hierarchy exists in Anishinaabe knowledge production and discourse. My use of the *x* in *womxn* is my method

[15] Abustan, "Recovering and Reclaiming," 4.
[16] Ibid., 5.

in achieving this disruption and transformation. I do not want to mislead those who identify with *x* and its many meanings. This thesis does not represent *x* identities at the sugar bush. Indeed, while conducting this research, Cree scholar and poet Billy-Ray Belcourt's declarations that they are not interested in trying to find Indigenous gender and sexual diversity in "tradition" or history, looking instead to the future, repeatedly echoed in my mind.[17] I do not want this thesis to cause pain by producing misleading expectations that are not met or, by reproducing erasure. There is little explicit evidence of gender, sexual, relational, and familial ways of being in the sources for this research that reflect anything beyond the model of legitimacy that European thought and practice has imposed on Anishinaabeg since the 1600s and which have been reproduced within Anishinaabeg communities. That said, I strive to work through this problem, which at times feels and presents as, textually cumbersome.

I utilize *x* as a tool whose work is to remind us of the ways that we as Anishinaabeg have become molded to reflect, and reproduce, the settler ideal of gendered, sexual, familial, and relational being. I utilize *x* as a tool whose work is to invite us to orient our thinking and attitudes towards a recovery of our Anishinaabe ways of being in terms of gender, sexuality, familial-ness, and relationality; and, to do so beyond mere rhetoric. I also utilize *x* as a tool to inspire us to consider who our ancestors might have been, or wanted to be, if not for being forced to represent or perform as woman or man, as heterosexual, as married, or as a patriarchal nuclear family.

I also utilize *x* to signal a number of points. One, that Anishinaabeg womxn are distinct and autonomous from other gendered beings, including mxn. Two, to reflect the diversity and heterogeneity amongst Anishinaabeg womxn. Three, to transgress the dominant portrayal of Anishinaabeg womxn as heterosexual, child-bearing, and beings whose identity, or value, is primarily determined in relation to marriage (i.e. being single, married, or widowed). Anishinaabe-identity is foundationally found in the word

[17] Billy-Ray Belcourt, "Post-Tradition Indigeneities".

Anishinaabe, clans, names, place of birth and living, and familial relations. It is not determined or defined by association with men. I also utilize *x* in reference to mxn to signify similar points. In doing so I recognize that Anishinaabeg mxn have suffered from settler colonial forces. This said, in relation to womxn and non-binary identities, they have also benefited from settler heteropatriarchy, marriage, and property rights. And, they continue to. Five, I utilize the typical spelling of women and men in reference to the women named in this research and when referring to writing by other authors. While I do want to disrupt the gender binary and limited ideas of wom*en* denoted by the *e* and the *men* in women, I also do want to honor and respect the ways historical women have been identified. I do want to respect the ways writers have written gender into their own works recognizing that an indigenous feminist interest or capability in knowledge production is one of various approaches to doing Anishinaabe research. Where I intentionally mean to refer to a heterosexual (way of) being, I utilize *e*. Finally, by drawing attention to the status quo, and trying to disrupt its dominance, I do not mean to diminish these ways of being or to create feelings of shame. These ways of being surely are an important and beautiful texture in Anishinaabeg social fabric. I mean to draw attention to the fact that settler forces that are now reproduced by Anishinaabeg have diminished diverse ways of being to one valued model which marginalizes all other ways of being. My intent is to draw attention to this and to work to make space for regenerating anishinaabe'aadiziwin that reflects gender and relational diversity, doing so in ways the signify their inherent importance within anishinaabe-settler worlds.

Next, Anishinaabeg have different words for the sugar bush. *iskigamizigan* is the anishinaabe word for the sugar bush during the spring harvest of sap. It signifies the process of rendering sap, through boiling, into its various forms. *iskigamizigan* translates as "the boiling place"; *iskigamiziganing* is "at the boiling place". The specificity of this name for this place at this time of year is an important aspect of the thesis title as it immerses the reader into the significance of language and Anishinaabeg consciousness about the land and how Anishinaabeg oriented towards it. Given my research is oriented around the spirit, process, act, and art of being in and having relationship in Anishinaabewaki in accordance with anishinaabe ways, while

iskigamiziganing is the entry point, "at the sugar bush" is the phrase I utilize most frequently in order to best reflect the dynamism of Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush.

Finally, Figure 1 and Figure 4 include a title page, subject page with the figures and captions, and a third page with an * on the page. This * is intended to mark a transition space much like a pause or breathing space between the figure and the next section. It also functions to link the figure to the text but set it apart as well.

About (My) Citational Practice

Depending on exposure to social media or online discussions and debates about various controversies surrounding some scholars, some readers may or may not note a citational practice herein that includes those whose behaviors in their relationships, or lack of reconciling the problems created by their behaviors, have garnered them controversial statuses. My citational practice also includes some scholars whose behaviors are only known to be problematic, or considered to be problematic, by some; in other words, either their problematic behaviors are not popularly known or their problematic behaviors are not popularly accepted as being problematic. While I do reserve the option to change my thinking or approach in future writing, in this research, I have decided to cite scholars whose relational behaviors are popularly or unpopularly known, or accepted, to be problematic.

I feel uncomfortable writing any of this but I also have come to sense that writing into a dilemma is the only way to write out of it with any measure of integrity, clarity, or surety. I have thought through innumerable nuances of this matter, weighed outcomes, and considered different implications of citing or not citing certain scholars. I have relational knowledge and, in some cases, personal experience about such matters. All have been difficult to negotiate in the living and the writing. I am a mature womxn and a junior scholar who is entering into her second career. The least risky and therefore easiest approach would be to just not cite those whose controversies are public; *not citing* them would go unquestioned. But, what about those whose controversies are unknown or, are only considered problematic by some and not others, particularly others whose opinions or social capital carries weight? What if some have less power than others, others more power than some and this differential power mediates the legitimation or de-legitimation of citational practice? For me, the way through this quagmire, is to stand upon the established edicts of knowledge production and cite scholars who have informed my thinking, or ought to have informed my thinking (i.e. established thinkers in the subject area) regardless if there is controversy, known or unknown, accepted or unaccepted, around them.

I do worry about the optics of citing people who have significantly harmed others, myself included, where there is a kind of unspoken consensus that it is acceptable to not cite them. I also worry about the optics of not citing people who have significantly harmed others, including myself, where there is no knowledge or consensus about not citing them. Indigenous and non-Indigenous academic circles (in Indigenous Studies) are small; it seems everybody with less academic power has had to navigate negative, even harmful, experience with somebody with more academic power. My purpose in including a note on (my) citational practice is to enunciate these issues so that perhaps more thinking through and problem-solving can occur. Also, I am aware that some might dismiss the credibility of my research because they see that I have cited certain scholars whose controversies are known (or they know I am aware of and may wonder why I am citing that person). While those decisions are entirely up to readers, I want to share my thinking to create understanding as these tensions, in my experience, are creating felt hardships within Indigenous circles and amongst graduate students, including myself.

My thinking is shaped by my location as a first-generation university student. Perhaps because of that I am naïve, unsophisticated, or ignorant of academic culture, be it settler or Indigenous. I have been trained in all levels of education to cite the people who inform my thinking. We have all been taught that a main edict of knowledge production in the Canadian university is academic integrity. As Anishinaabe, practicing Anishinaabe values of community, generosity, and shared power, acknowledging those who inform your thinking or help you in anyway is, for me, a given. Theoretically, an Anishinaabeg citational practice can also be a powerful anti-capitalist practice when in relationship with other anti-capitalist, Indigenous thinkers, feelers, and do-ers. This orientation and training are at odds with another citational practice that is becoming increasingly clearer to me over recent years. This other practice seems to be unwritten or unspoken: cite those who you want to support, those who are popular, or those whose citations in your work make for good optics. I would also say, this also means, avoid citing those who might

make you look bad (i.e. scholars mired in controversy) or, in more aggressive approaches, purposefully don't cite because you want to discipline or don't like a person.

There is a body of writing on the politics of citation which I find informative in navigating Indigenous knowledge production/dissemination.[18] For instance, in speaking to male production and reproduction of knowledge, Sarah Ahmed describes citational practice "as a rather successful reproductive technology, a way of reproducing the world around certain bodies."[19] On white feminism she says, "When I think back to my own experience as an academic many of my most uncomfortable moments have been as a result of asking this question: who appears? And: who does not appear?"[20] Both observations can be applied to Indigenous knowledge production. Eve Tuck, K. Wayne Yang, and Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández address this from a Critical Ethnic Studies point of view and ask, "Consider what you might want to change about your academic citation practices. Who do you choose to link and re-circulate in your work? Who gets erased? Who should you stop citing?" The last question suggests that there is a practice for not citing certain people and that there might be rules that inform this. And with this, I wonder if I should just not cite certain people and move on but I think there is something here that needs to be illuminated and attended to. I think the next contribution to this discussion could be one about citational practice in Indigenous scholarship.

My point in this is that, in this thesis, in terms of a citational practice, I have considered three kinds of practices: the way I was trained in the settler institution to acknowledge those who inform my thinking, or ought to have, and where academic integrity is foundational to excellent scholarship; the way my values as Anishinaabe broaden the meanings of "the who's and the how's" that inform my thinking (i.e. community people, students, bloggers) and thus who and how I cite; and, the unspoken, unwritten sense that citation practice is about who is popular or untouched by controversy (be it legitimate or illegitimate), who will

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[18] Ahmed, "Making Feminist Points"; Tuck, Yang, and Gaztambide-Fernández, "Citation Practices Challenge"; and Weber, "The Politics of Citation", Digital Feminist Collective".

[19] Ahmed, "Making Feminist Points".

[20] Ibid.

make a publication look good if it includes certain names, and/or which cited names will shelter scholarship from critique, question, or worst case scenario, interrogation.[21]

I think that taking the approach of not citing someone who informed your thinking as a way to signal that the controversy they are mired in is not resolved, or as a way to signal that boundaries have been established about that person's work, is valid. I also think such an approach is also highly subjective. While self-determination is excellent, in a power-driven settler institution and culture that is hierarchized, regardless if small circles or networks within it are animated by Indigenous peoples or not, one's subjective decision to cite or not cite is closely associated with power. One person's subjectivity can be legitimated and unquestioned while another's subjectivity can be invalidated or interrogated. In order for such a practice to be truly legitimate some questions must be answered: what controversies are controversial enough in order for a scholar's thinking to not be cited or in order for someone to not cite them even if influenced by them? Who gets to decide?

For me there is much to unpack in what I see as a politics of citation in Indigenous scholarship. I have struggled with this myself being personally impacted by some scholars but whose work has influenced my research and whose publications have been influenced by my research, thinking, or community and creative labour but where that is not acknowledged. In deciding to cite or not cite, as though it is a process solely determined by choice, do I adhere to academic integrity or do I follow my heart and personal proclivities? In Indigenous ethics, are the heart, the personal, and academic integrity separate? If I don't cite someone that ought to be cited, and I, as a PhD candidate or junior scholar get questioned on this, how do I address it if my reasons for not citing are personal? Or, what happens if there is legitimate professional reasons to not cite but these reasons are not legitimated by a larger community? What if I am disciplined in ambient ways for voicing a truth that is unsettling? And, what about the material, social, and economic

[21] This edict of "academic integrity" in Canadian universities can of course be challenged for lack of credibility when considered for its' generations of academic exploitation of Indigenous peoples.

consequences of such? What if I cite someone but a circle of people has silently deemed that we are no longer citing that person and I don't agree? Does my research get diminished for not following the crowd? I think this problematic is an important one to elucidate and discuss.

It is such an important discussion to have given Indigenous scholarly circles are small (and in many cases animated through personal relationships). The effect of engaging in a personal politics of citation, while valuable in terms of self-determination, could also be detrimental to graduate students, junior, or unpopular scholars who come into disagreement with scholars who are not practicing decolonial, indigenous relationalities in the academy or community. These tensions, from where I sit, pivot around issues of academic integrity and discerning what that looks like in Indigenous and Canadian research, and a citational politics of popularity and/or power.

In this thesis, I cite people where there is public documentation about the controversy that surrounds them and it is not contested *and* I cite people who are, in circles behind the scenes, contested for various attitudes and practices. By citing them, I am not denying or overlooking the seriousness or legitimacy of the controversy. My citational approach is not about them as an individual (and perhaps it well should be) but rather about the edicts of knowledge production and the power of relationality that animates that. While I do think there ought to be some mechanisms that helps us navigate who gets cited and who doesn't when harmful things happen, that mechanism isn't here yet. And without it, decisions about who gets cited and who doesn't, and why, and valuations made on citational practices, remain subjective. While I am concerned about harmful people getting airtime and circulation for their published ideas which are incongruent with their lived relational practices, I am more worried about a reactionary, popularity drift towards citing or not citing based on who is in and who is out, who says who is in and who is out, and *what this will do to shape the knowledge we produce and disseminate.* There is not yet any sure, ethical process to navigate the idea that, as I have come to learn from my apparently unlearned location, citational practice is about more than just who informed, or ought to have informed, thinking.

makwa odoodem Boundary Words

There are popular stories of how research that was to be utilized for life-giving reasons has been, in the wrong hands, utilized to disempower, further marginalize, and/or cause destruction. This research is not intended to be utilized in any way other than to benefit Indigenous womxn who experience oppression in the relationships, communities, and contexts they navigate within a colonial context. It is intended, too, for Indigenous womxn to utilize to empower themselves. It is not intended to reproduce oppression against Indigenous womxn either from global or settler communities, from within Indigenous communities, or between Indigenous womxn.

In the present educational and reconciliation context in Canada, the abundant sharing of indigenous knowledges and relationships with non-Indigenous peoples continues. I have witnessed, participated in, and experienced first-hand how generous Indigenous peoples continue to be with non-Indigenous peoples in terms of sharing ourselves, our relationships, our knowledges, our experiences, our feelings, our traumas, our wisdom, our food, our language, our ceremonies, our culture, our lands and waters. Many non-Indigenous people are, or strive to be, engaged in reciprocal relationships in such exchanges. However, aside from nurturing a sense of entitlement to everything of us, particularly when money has been exchanged (i.e. in the university system), I have witnessed and experienced non-Indigenous peoples, now filled with knowledge about our knowledges and intimate lives, utilize this against us in arguing against our decolonial efforts. As long as Indigenous research for Indigenous peoples is shaped by the worry about how our truths might be used against us, Indigenous research cannot produce knowledges for Indigenous peoples within settler institutions that are liberatory for Indigenous peoples and the natural worlds we call home. Neither will *having* to write as though indigenous utopia, perfection, and positivity is the antidote to settler colonialism and its implications. Writing to the positive and strength is mino-mashkiki (good medicine), yes, but partial-truths, like imagined utopic pasts, presents, and futures animated by Indigenous humans whose human imperfections are suspended in order to deflect hostility and unfair critique, are partial-truths that

create palatable worlds to those in power to mobilize the research. Sometimes, mino mashkiki (good medicine) is debewe (truth) that is a little hard to swallow. *This research is for Indigenous peoples, with a special nod to womxn. It is to be utilized with us, for us. It is not to be used against Anishinaabeg, to diminish us, to point a finger and say, "Look, you are guilty of this, too", or to undermine our efforts to create worlds determined by us within our lands and communities.*

before entering this place

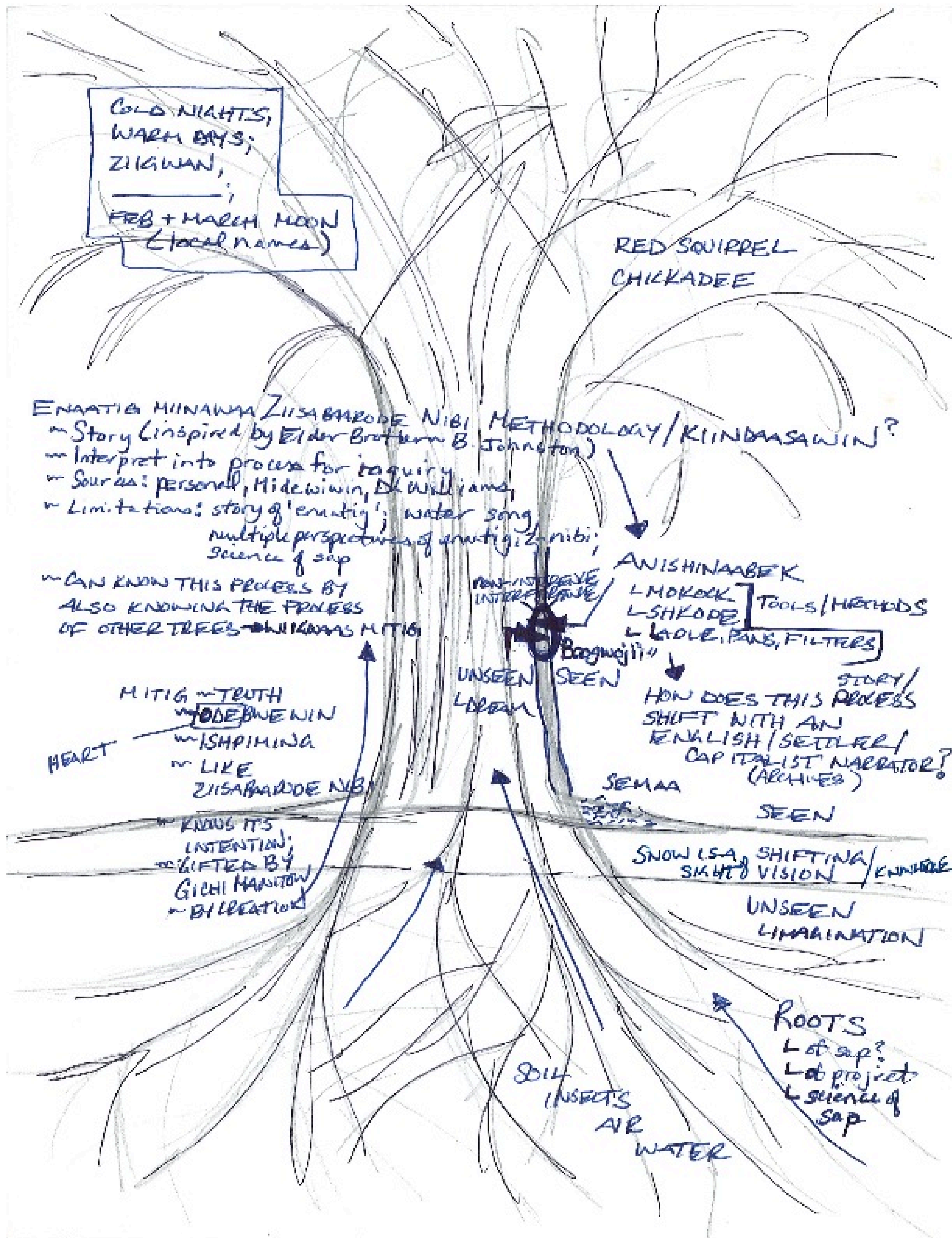

Figure 1 “enaatig miinawaa ziisaabaakode nibi kiindaasowin”, onabaani giizis (hard crust moon, March), 6, 2010)[22]

[22] The title translates as, Our Tree and Sugar Water Knowledge. The spelling reflects my knowledge at the time. For more information see Appendices A: Description of “Figure 1 Sketch: “enaatig miinawaa ziisaabaakode nibi kiindaasowin”.

*

Introduction

> "… As an Indian woman I was free. I owned my home, my person, the work of my own hands, and my children should never forget me. I was better as an Indian woman than under white law." ~ Indian woman[23]
>
> "It's hard to be sovereign when you cannot feed your children."
> ~ Patricia Monture-Angus-ban[24]
>
> i need to cut a hole in the sky/
> to world inside.
> ~ Billy-Ray Belcourt[25]
>
> "…the outsider has necessarily acquired flexibility in shifting from the mainstream construction of life where she is constructed as an outsider to other constructions of life where she is more or less 'at home.'. I affirm this practice as a skillful, creative, rich, enriching and, given certain circumstances, as a loving way of being and living. I recognize that much of our travelling is done unwilfully to hostile … 'worlds.' The hostility of these 'worlds' and the compulsory nature of the 'travelling' have obscured for us the enormous value of this aspect of our living and its connection to loving." ~ María Lugones[26]

Anishinaabeg Sur-Thrivance and windigo Economies

In the present historical moment, Anishinaabeg in Turtle Island, whose territory is the gichi gamigoong (the Great Lakes watershed region) and west to the misi-ziibii (Mississippi headwaters), live in, negotiate, and navigate indigenous-settler-global worlds.[27] This contemporary world is one where, as Anishinaabeg, we are at once born indigenous to place *and* made outsiders, or citizens, by settler states and settlers visions of nation. Anishinaabeg are made outsiders to be assimilated, integrated into the margins or tokenized into positions of power, or confined. This world is where attempts to culturally, physically, and/or administratively extinguish Anishinaabeg as people in our lands and waters is a reality. The indigenous-settler-global worlds we navigate are always historical. They are generated from indigenous life-

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[23] Report of the International Council of Women Assembled by the National Woman Suffrage Association, Washington, D.C. U.S. of America, March 25 to April 1, 1888, Washington D.C.: Rufus H. Darby qtd. in Goeman, "Indigenous Interventions," 187.

[24] Monture-Angus, *Journeying Forward,* 36.

[25] Belcourt, "Notes from a Public Washroom," 12.

[26] Lugones, "Playfulness, 'World'-Travelling, and Loving Perception," 3

[27] I began to see that the worlds Indigenous womxn are negotiating are simultaneously indigenous *and* settler colonial worlds while taking a graduate course with Carol J. Williams at Trent University in 2010. Carol J. Williams, "Women, Settler Colonialism, & the Nation: A Comparative View: Canada, U.S. Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand," Fall Graduate Course. (Peterborough, ON: Trent University, 2010).

making ways *and* the forces of colonization, globalization, and space exploration. Contemporary indigenous life-making ways are predominantly about surviving, navigating, negotiating, resisting, or transforming economic, social, political, environmental, and territorial conditions. These realities are created by on-going colonization, settler states and global worlds which are continually engaged in an on-going drive for expansion, growth, and wealth generation.[28] Indigeneity, settler colonialism, globalization, and space-exploration are dependent on the natural world which itself is increasingly burdened by human-induced climate change and environmental manipulation, degradation, instability, and destruction.[29] The natural world however, is not just impinged upon by human forces and structures. According to Anishinaabeg ontology, the natural world is imbued with unseen spirit, energy, or, life force; it has a will and intention of its own.[30] All humans, no matter how we consciously or unconsciously situate ourselves in these human-constructed realities, are ultimately bound to seen and unseen rhythms, cycles, and forces of the natural world and more broadly, the universe. Ultimately, indigenous or non-indigenous, living with respect for the natural world and humanity or engaging in economies and egos of greed, all humans will be accountable to the natural world and the impacts we have on it.

In his narrative interpretation about Anishinaabe early history which was published in 1995, esteemed cultural educator and writer, Basil Johnston-ban[31] illustrated how Anishinaabeg were beholden to the natural world.[32] He stated that the primary concern for Anishinaabeg during this time was with survival and described how five spirits emerged from the ocean and taught Anishinaabeg skills for living. These skills were organized across five domains. They included life, guardianship, healing, leading, and teaching. These

[28] Thank-you to Laura Parisi (Gender Studies, University of Victoria) for encouraging me to consider how, or that, globalization figures into in research on localized land-based subsistence practices.

[29] From an indigenous perspective in Turtle Island, these environmental burdens are theorized as the outcomes of colonization. Whyte, "Is it Colonial Déjà vu? Indigenous Peoples and Climate Injustice," 88-104. Thank-you to Deborah McGregor for suggesting that sugar bush research needs to include climate change as a variable as well.

[30] James Dumont, personal communication, 1995.

[31] "ban" is the suffix utilized in Anishinaabemowin to signify when a person has passed away.

[32] Johnston, *The Manitous*.

spirits who taught Anishinaabeg later became known as odoodemiwin (clans, clan system).[33] Johnston emphasized that the methods of Anishinaabeg survival were balanced between material necessities and spiritual and intellectual wonderment. Referring to what Kim Anderson identifies as land-based lifestyles, this way of living may be conceptualized as sur-thrivance, a concept of surviving *and* thriving which was created by two-spirited and queer artists whose art purposefully conveys a continuance, support, and interplay of survival and thriving in the worlds they navigate and wish to persist into the future.[34] Johnston portrayed Anishinaabeg sur-thrivance through an intersection of clan governance, gender, and labour in the following way:

> From youth to old age, the Anishinaube people were hunters; fishers; harvesters; homemakers; healers; storytellers; and, only as last resort, warriors. Their major purpose in life was to survive as individuals and communities. Survival was the need and first reality that governed their dreams, hopes, aspirations, and outlook and the kind of training and discipline that would best prepare their offspring to cope and be equal to the demands and challenges of primal life....
>
> Such a simple life, whose needs were restricted to the provision of food, clothing, and shelter; the maintenance of health; and self-protection, may seem unfulfilling and even stultifying, but to the men and women who had to survive under these conditions, life was rewarding and filled them with pride. Without exception, every man and woman had to master the practical skills: archery; spearing; setting nets and traps; making canoes, tools, shelters, and medicines; curing meat and vegetables; tanning hides and making clothing; understanding animals; and knowing the properties of plants and their parts. There was so much to master, so much beyond human knowledge and understanding.
>
> It has long been assumed that people who were preoccupied with material needs and wants would have little interest in matters of the spirit and the mind. On the contrary, it was this very mode of life, this simple way of meeting simple needs, that awakened in man and woman a consciousness that there were realities and presences in life other than the corporeal and the material. The spirit, the Manitou, the mystery, were part of life and could not be separated from it....
>
> To keep from starving before winter was over and to avoid having to hunt and thereby putting oneself at risk of death at the hands of the Weendigoes, men and women labored mightily throughout the summer and fall to store enough food to last them until spring. Work was the chief ethic.[35]

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[33] Ibid., xvi.

[34] Anderson, *A Recognition of Being,* 34-35; and, Admin., “Two-Spirit Sur-Thrivance”.

[35] Ibid., xvii-xix

Johnston's sketch of early Anishinaabeg life refers to a time several thousand years ago. Oral history places these early beginnings at *gichi ziibiing* (the mouth of the St. Lawrence River), known as Anishinaabeg homelands, which was then followed by a migration to gichi gamigoong and misi-ziibii, the aki that Anishinaabeg consider our territories.[36]

Several thousand years later, Anishinaabeg maintain our presence in gichi gamigoong and are comprised of Algonquin, Mississauga, Pottowatomi, Odawa, Ojibway/Chippewa, Nipissing, and Saulteaux. However, beginning four hundred years ago with the arrival of missionaries, Anishinaabeg *presence* in Anishinaabewaki, and *the ways* Anishinaabeg were and are present in Anishinaabewaki, have been transformed by European, Canadian, and U.S. agendas and Anishinaabeg relationships with people from these nations, regardless if those relationships have been consensual or imposed. Early economic relations (i.e. trading) have been interpreted as mutually reciprocal relations in various ways however ultimately, as the course of history shows, practices of global and settler expansion and growth have created conditions that have attenuated Anishinaabeg land-based living and the governance associated with this way of living. Globalization and settler colonialism have presented Anishinaabeg with particular subsistence, material, and social-economic realities. These realities must be navigated, negotiated and strategized in order to eke out a living that is based on exploitation of Anishinaabeg lands and entrenched in the structures of the settler state.[37] While some Anishinaabeg have been able to sur-thrive within these structures, the majority are not

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[36] Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book,* 94-102; Belfy, *Three Fires Unity*, xxxiv-xxxvii; and, Child, *Holding Our World Together*: xiv. Anishinaabeg borderlands history and relationalities are rich and complex. For more on the western borderlands, see Child, *Holding Our World Together,* "Introduction". *aki* is commonly referred to as land however anishinaabemowin theorist, speaker, and educator, Helen Roy describes this word through Anishinaabe thought about language acquisition and development which is based on ancestral relationship with the natural world. She says, in three letters and two syllables, aki refers "to the physical realm in total. It is fully seen (a) as having this quality. The physical separating and grouping (k) actions are seen (i) in this way. All of the physical actions of the universe are defined by this word." Fuhst, *Understanding Anishinaabemowin*: 172. For more on how the language developed from Anishinaabeg relationships with the sounds of the natural world, see, Roy and Fuhst, "The Natural Scientists".

[37] This paragraph sweeps through four hundred years of historical relationships between Anishinaabeg and non-Anishinaabeg. I do not mean to elide the nuances of historical change or periods or to construct a one-sided relationship. It is naïve and reductive to suggest that all new economic orders were imposed or unwanted by all Anishinaabeg, at any point in history. As we see today, and as will be shown in Chapter Four, Anishinaabeg participated in new economies with agency, however that agency and the forces that impinge upon it requires further examination which is beyond the scope of this research. Benton-Banai's re-telling of

sur-thriving due to diminished subsistence, material, economic, social, and environmental realities. For example, in terms of basic economic survival in a capitalist world, Indigenous peoples in their lands occupied by Canada, according to 2010 statistics, were living on a median after-tax income of $20,060, which when compared to Canadians was about $7500 a year less.[38] This is "poverty level" income however, to speak in terms more relevant to Anishinaabeg, it's income that is hardly enough to provide for self and dependents in a capitalist world that requires money for everything in order to live. In Indigenous territories occupied by the United States, the 2016 census data for income levels for Indigenous peoples is not included with data that is provided for Black, Hispanic, White, and Asian groups.[39] In response to this absence, Economic Policy Institute drew data from the 2016 American Community Survey which showed that the median household income was $39,719 (comparable to Black households) and lower than all the other groups (i.e. Hispanic, White, Asian).[40] Native American households had higher rates of poverty than all other households.[41] This transformation of Anishinaabeg presence in and relationalities with the natural world, and the products of these relationalities which allow for sur-thrivance, can be explained through the interconnected processes of globalization, settler colonialism, and capitalism.

Globalization is historical. According to Dale Turner and Audra Simpson, it "refers to the fact that the world is now connected in economic, technical and cultural spheres that have evolved into one unified global community".[42] It is,

> a process of interaction and integration among the people, companies, and governments of different nations, a process driven by international trade and investment and aided by information technology. This process has effects on the environment, on culture, on political systems, on

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Anishinaabeg history warns of trickery in these economic dealings that should Anishinaabeg succumb to, would render negative results for Anishinaabeg life-worlds. See, *The Mishomis Book,* 90-91. Chantal Norrgard also cites two Anishinaabeg men, John Mink and Charles Armstrong who criticized and refused reproducing relationships with non-Anishinaabeg as a strategy to keep money flowing. Norrgard, *Seasons of Change*: 124-125.

[38] Statistics Canada. "Median after-tax income".

[39] Wilson, "New census data".

[40] Wilson and Mokhiber, "2016 ACS".

[41] Ibid.

[42] Turner and Simpson, "Indigenous Leadership in a Flat World".

> economic development and prosperity, and on human physical well-being in societies around the world."[43]

Through a lens of indigeneity, contemporary globalization is, in part, an economic paradigm that is at odds with indigenous ontological, epistemological, and axiological relationships with land and methods of sur-thrivance.[44] Ignoring indigenous sovereignty, economic globalization also undermines Indigenous peoples' self-determination and is detrimental to the natural worlds Indigenous peoples call home.[45] It places enormous pressures on Indigenous communities to "conform to the global market economy in the form of profit-driven development projects such as logging, mining, hydro, and oil and gas development".[46] Globalization is fuelled, in part, by settler state economic interests which engage in global economic agreements without consultation or participation of Indigenous nations. This further undermines and ignores Indigenous sovereignty and seemingly only acknowledges Indigenous self-determination when this self-determination converges with the settler states' the economic agenda [47] A relevant and complex example that is unfolding at the time of writing is with the Canadian settler state's support of various pipelines being approved to traverse Indigenous territories without Indigenous consent. Most recently this has been demonstrated through Canada's purchase of an aging pipeline from a company whose chances of being able to proceed with their oil project were being diminished due to Indigenous and settler protests. These projects are approved despite the assertions of communities of Indigenous peoples who have stated the pipelines are not wanted in their territories and despite some Chiefs of First Nations explaining that they are signing agreements because they feel they have no other choice.[48]

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[43] Globalization 101, "What is Globalization?".

[44] As an example, see Mander and Tauli-Corpuz, eds., *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization*. On indigeneity as an analytic, see Arvin, "The Analytics of Indigeneity," 119-129.

[45] Kuokkanen, "Globalization," 216-217.

[46] Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Economies, Theories of Subsistence, and Women," 217. For a recent, short overview of the relationships between globalization and Indigenous peoples and lands, and the pressures it creates, see also, Democracy Now, "Native American Activist Winona LaDuke".

[47] Kuokkanen, "Globalization," 217.

[48] Tiny House Warriors, http://tinyhousewarriors.com/; and, Paling, "B.C. Chiefs Say They Don't Support Trans Mountain Pipeline Despite Signing Agreements".

Focusing on national dynamics, settler colonialism is,

> a distinct type of colonialism that functions through the replacement of indigenous populations with an invasive settler society that, over time, develops a distinctive identity and sovereignty….
>
> [It] can be distinguished from other forms of colonialism—including classical or metropole colonialism, and neo-colonialism—by a number of key features. First settler colonisers "come to stay": unlike colonial agents such as traders, soldiers, or governors, settler collectives intend to permanently occupy and assert sovereignty over indigenous lands. Second, settler colonial invasion is a structure, not an event: settler colonialism persists in the ongoing elimination of indigenous populations, and the assertion of state sovereignty and juridical control over their lands. Despite notions of post-coloniality, settler colonial societies do not stop being colonial when political allegiance to the founding metropole is severed. Third, settler colonialism seeks its own end: unlike other types of colonialism in which the goal is to maintain colonial structures and imbalances in power between coloniser and colonised, settler colonisation trends towards the ending of colonial difference in the form of a supreme and unchallenged settler state and people. However, this is not a drive to decolonise, but rather an attempt to eliminate the challenges posed to settler sovereignty by indigenous peoples' claims to land by eliminating indigenous peoples themselves and asserting false narratives and structures of settler belonging.
>
> Settler colonial societies around the globe tend to rely on remarkably similar spatial constructs, power structures, and social narratives. Beginning with *terra nullius*—the perception that lands in long-term use by indigenous peoples are empty or unused—settler colonization proceeds to carve up indigenous-held lands into discrete packets of private property. As settler collectives invest their identity and material belonging in these properties, they simultaneously create or empower a state to 'defend' these properties from indigenous peoples and nations who are seen as inherently threatening. The power of settler state structure is often embodied in the form of frontier police forces, like the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, … as well as bureaucratic agencies. These government officials have gone under many names, but in North America are commonly called 'Indian Agents', and they often wielded (and in some cases, continue to hold) extraordinary power over indigenous peoples, including the ability to apprehend children, to prevent people from leaving official 'reserve' lands (or conversely, to expel individuals or families from reserved territories), to control employment, and even to summarily direct police or military forces against indigenous people.[49]

Missionary work, trading, and marriage between British/French and Anishinaabeg beginning in the 17th century can be argued to be the seeds of settler colonialism in Anishinaabeg life, which persists today. Settler colonialism explains, in part, how Canada, the United States, and the majority of non-Anishinaabeg in these settler states, exist in Anishinaabeg territory today, with Anishinaabeg. It does not explain of course, Anishinaabeg-non-Anishinaabeg marriages of the heart and/or familial intent which have birthed many generations of children.

[49] Barker and Battell Lowman, "Settler Colonialism".

Concomitant with settler colonial interferences, disruptions, and violences are the specific introduction of settler economies.[50] Beginning with the first "settler" economic exchanges with the French, followed by the British, in the 17th century, settler economies in Anishinaabewaki, as theorized through settler economic thought, may be categorized into periods known as trade, mercantilism, industrialism, neoliberalism, and what some refer to as zombie capitalism.[51] According to Occupy Wall Street activist, Alex Knight, mercantilism is a system of export of raw materials from Indigenous peoples and lands vis-à-vis traders, colonists, and settlers to Europe (e.g. Spain, British, France).[52] In Europe, these raw materials would be manufactured into new goods and re-sent to established settler colonies and sold therein. Industrialism refers to the mechanized production of goods from raw materials for commercialism and wealth production.[53] Neo-liberalism is an economic politics with a global reach.[54] Quoting feminist Maria Mies, German scholar Claudia von Werlhof states that both liberalism and neoliberal economies involve,

> self-interest and individualism; segregation of ethical principles and economic affairs, in other words: a process of 'de-bedding' economy from society; economic rationality as a mere cost-benefit calculation and profit maximization; competition as the essential driving force for growth and progress; specialization and the replacement of a subsistence economy with profit-oriented foreign trade ('comparative cost advantage'); and the proscription of public (state) interference with market forces.[55]

Advancing an idea of zombie capitalism, Alex Wright characterizes this as a walking-dead form of neo-liberalism, marked by corporate bail-outs, and austerity which he equates with cannibalism.[56]

Capitalism is an economic theory of accumulation that is controlled and distributed by those with more social and economic capital than others. This distribution is done so unequally across groups of people

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[50] Historicizing these economic eras is beyond the scope of this research.

[51] Except for "trade" on these categories, see Knight, "What Is Capitalism?".

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] von Werhlof, "Globalization and Neoliberalism Policies".

[55] Ibid., "1.2 What does the "Neo" in Neoliberalism Stand for?". von Werhlof notes that the concept is understood in differing ways across geographies and contexts. Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez also indicates that neo-liberalism is understood in a multiplicity of ways depending on location (e.g. global south and global north). See, Altamirano-Jiménez, *Indigenous Encounters with Neoliberalism*, 69.

[56] Knight, "What Is Capitalism?".

based on the normalization and naturalization of the idea that things like skills, education, hard work, loyalty, etc. lead to the legitimate achievement of structural, social, and economic power which can then be exerted to control those in lesser structural, social, and economic positions. In practice, in relation to Indigenous peoples and Indigenous territories, capitalism completely transforms Indigenous peoples' relationships with the natural and spiritual world and with other humans, separating and alienating Indigenous peoples from their inherent relationships. Capitalist relations supplant economic sovereignty with economic subjugation and false power within hierarchized human relations, dependency on money, and desire for accumulation. Within this system, Indigenous peoples are, ironically, the most vulnerable and marginalized. This is ironic because Indigenous peoples have, or had, relational jurisdiction with the lands, water, and beings which capitalist economies over-exploit. In a theoretically sound application of capitalism, the "owners of the means of production" would be Indigenous peoples. However, because Indigenous laws are in contradiction to the fundamentals of over-exploitation, Indigenous peoples must be alienated from lands and waters they call home in order for settler states and their institutions to have land, one of the two fundamental variables that power capitalism.[57] As such, institutions of capitalism, a driving force of settler colonial processes, work to alienate, assimilate, subjugate and/or make Indigenous peoples in their lands dependent on capitalist relations versus their ancestral relations with the natural world.

Indigenous thinkers such as Edward Benton-Banai, Russell Means-ban, Howard Adams-ban, Glen Coulthard, Winona LaDuke, and Rauna Kuokkanen assert that capitalist and global economies are problematic for the natural world and Indigenous peoples.[58] Similar to Wright, Jack D. Forbes-ban conceptualized settler economies as cannibalistic however does so from within indigenous thought utilizing concepts like windigo/wihtiko.[59] This concept is often collapsed with cannibalism however within the

[57] For more on capitalism and Indigenous lands and/or labour, see Adams, *Prison of Grass*; and Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*.

[58] Benton-Banai, *Mishomis Book*, 94-102; Means, "For America to Live, Europe Must Die"; Adams, *Prison of Grass*; Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks,* 170-173; LaDuke, *The Winona LaDuke Reader*; Democracy Now!, "Native American Activist Winona LaDuke"; and Kuokkanen, "Globalization".

[59] Forbes, *Columbus and Other Cannibals*.

varying Indigenous nations that know this way of being, it is more nuanced than this. What is similar, is the overwhelming power that the windigo-like nature that capitalist has with, and over, Anishinaabeg and its seemingly insatiable appetite for land and laboring bodies. These economies are often characterized under the umbrella of capitalism. Indigenous negotiation of capitalist economies is varied.

As a matter of daily, enduring Anishinaabe living, innumerable individuals, families, or communities of people have persisted land-based subsistence, domestic and surplus production throughout the most difficult of colonial policy and settler intrusions.[60] From an activist, political and scholarly orientation however, LaDuke has been working in White Earth, her tribal community, in dynamic ways to restore, revitalize, protect, and persist Anishinaabeg land-based economies and healthful environmental relationships for much of her adult life. She is also engaged in developing new land-based economies with hemp. Aside from her activism, scholarship, and participation in U.S. politics, LaDuke works in land recovery and water protection; restoration and protection of manoomin (wild rice); practice of subsistence economies including manoominike (ricing) and working iskigamiziganing (at the boiling place/the sugar bush) within her community; the creation of an online store for selling her communities food products; and, cultural productions that represent aspects of Anishinaabeg subsistence.[61] LaDuke's life-long work may be an example of Anishinaabe localized contemporary sur-thrivance in Anishinaabewaki. Despite the colonial conditions Indigenous peoples live in, as Anishinaabe in present-occupied Anishinaabewaki, LaDuke's efforts and the outcomes of these efforts are not insignificant, particularly when considering history, economies, and indigeneity through a gendered lens.

[60] This statement is unpacked in my literature review of Anishinaabeg womxn's labour.
[61] See LaDuke's website at "Honour the Earth," http://www.honorearth.org/.

Indigenous Womxn and windigo Economies

Placing globalization, settler colonialism, and settler economies into conversation with indigeneity illuminates that, and how, Indigenous nations, and land-based lifestyles, have been, and are, impinged upon by these forces as economic entities. Nuancing my indigenization of this subject through a lens of gender emphasizes that global, settler economies, in regards to Indigenous peoples and lands, also operates in gendered ways and has gendered impacts. These gendered formations and impacts have, and do, shape Anishinaabeg lives. They impact and shape the ability to sustain oneself and one's relations materially, politically, culturally in ways that resonate ontologically, epistemologically, methodologically, and axiologically with land-based lifestyles in their territories.[62] Discerning from work and labour, Norrgard employs "livelihood", stating it,

> …comprise[s] a set of economic activities as well as the social, cultural, material, and political resources on which individuals, families, and larger social groups draw to make a living. [It] entails the social dynamics and values that shape people's economic choices and actions, and it allows us to account for indigenous labor *and* its connections to the broader social and cultural values of indigenous societies.[63]

Given global and settler economics are foundationally detrimental to Indigenous womxn's livelihoods because they eclipse her sovereignty and exploit her labour and body, my research focuses a gendered approach on Anishinaabeg womxn.

Globalization, indigeneity, and gender are often examined in a southern global context however Kuokkanen links economic globalization to indigeneity and gender in North America, focussing specifically on Indigenous womxn. Asserting that economic globalization is closely linked with colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy, Kuokkanen extends these intersections to consider how globalization "intensifies and creates new forms of violence against Indigenous women".[64] Kuokkanen focuses her analysis on the increased

[62] For definitions of these words see Wilson, *Research is Ceremony,* 33-34.
[63] Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 9.
[64] Kuokkanen, "Globalization," 218, 221.

physical and sexual violence, and human trafficking of Indigenous women in Canada and the militarization of Indigenous women in the U.S.[65] Similarly, LaDuke identifies the increased violence and human trafficking of Indigenous women where oil companies are extracting oil.[66] Lucy Eldersveld Murphy reveals how violence against Indigenous women in the Midwest occurred in mining communities in the late 18th century.[67] Kuokkanen asserts that globalization is detrimental to Indigenous women engaged in subsistence. She emphasizes how this particularly exists in the global south where women are forced to migrate to urban centers and become "superexploited workers when they enter the wage sector".[68] The same conclusions may be surmised for Indigenous womxn in Turtle Island who have had to migrate to urban centres from their reserves and reservations in order to make a living or find safety or economic security.[69] Kuokkanen asserts that more research is required to understand how globalization impacts indigenous subsistence economies.

In a literature review of Indigenous women's work in Canada and the United States between 1624 to 1997, my own research revealed themes relevant to the gendered impact of settler colonialism on Indigenous women and their livelihoods.[70] First, as portrayed by Johnston regarding Anishinaabeg women, Indigenous women were embedded within the sur-thrivance systems of their own relations, communities, and territory. This underwent shifts with European contact. In the early days of this contact, there was economic exchange between Indigenous womxn across nations, including Anishinaabeg womxn with European men and later, European womxn. In many cases, these early exchanges were beneficial or mutually beneficial; the qualitative nature of these exchanges were variable.[71] However, over time removal

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[65] Ibid., 218-228. For an example of global economic impacts on womxn, including Indigenous (albeit the narrator does not signify this), see, Waring, *Who's Counting?*.
[66] Democracy Now, "Native American Activist".
[67] Eldersveld Murphy, "To Live Among Us," 368-414.
[68] Kuokkanen, "Globalization," 217.
[69] Janovicek, "Assisting Our Own," 548-565.
[70] Sy, "Indigenous Women and Work".
[71] Ibid., 10-15.

from lands and regulation of Indigenous womxn was detrimental to subsistence, material, and social economic well-being; settler economic systems came to dominate women's lives. While there is plenty of evidence that womxn participated in what is called mixed economies, and in some cases, still do, it is evident that traditional subsistence is no longer the foundational means of livelihood.[72] In some cases, Indigenous women participate in the settler wage economy in order to support subsistence-based practices that are carried out by others in their families.[73]

Also, settler colonial economies alienated Indigenous women from their authority. This alienation also unfolded within Indigenous relations and communities. Specifically, the secondary literature I examined emphasized social formations regarding heterosexual marriage with European men and reproduction. In certain historical, political, and social contexts, marriage benefitted womxn economically and in others it was detrimental.[74] Further, in regards to child-bearing Indigenous women, settler economies alienated women from transmitting knowledge to the children about land-based practices. This occurred in two ways: one, through industrialization of labour and legislation of workplace safety which denied women having their children with them while they worked; and two, by vetting Indigenous women into domestic labour employment which forced them to care for white women's children and households while being separated from their own.[75] A third obvious way that this occurred, but which was not included in my review, was through the removal of children from their homes through boarding schools, residential schools, child welfare laws, and through the long hospitalizations (i.e. sanitariums for tuberculosis).

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[72] Ibid., 15-18. The Aboriginal Peoples Survey in 2012 indicated that of the 61% of women over 15 years of age living off-reserve who indicated they participated in traditional activities such as making clothing, arts and crafts, hunting/trapping/fishing, or gathering plants, 7% did so to supplement their income. Arriagada, "First Nations, Métis and Inuit Women", (under "Traditional activity participation varies by Aboriginal group,"). Given these statistics are for off-reserve, it is likely this number reflects clothe making and arts and crafts more-so than land-based subsistence practices.

[73] Todd, "'This is the Life'," 191 – 212.

[74] Sy, "Indigenous Women and Work," 18-23.

[75] Ibid., 23-27.

Anishinaabeg Womxn's Economic Sovereignty and Sugar Bush Worlds

Global and settler colonial economies operate against, with, and through indigeneity and gender in intersectional ways. They are detrimental to Indigenous womxn, our relationships, our self-determination/autonomy within our relationalities and the natural worlds we live in. As such, I am interested in elucidating Anishinaabeg womxn's economic sovereignty. I conceive of economic sovereignty as being a nuanced aspect of Anishinaabeg sovereignty and different than economic rights or citizenship. Economic rights flow from treaties.[76] Economic citizenship is related to economic rights and involves "incorporation into the nation-state" and having "rights validated by settler society".[77] Indigenous sovereignty is different than that understood in British and settler state law in North America. In Mohawk scholar Patricia Monture-Angus-ban's words,

> Sovereignty (or self-determination) then is not about "ownership" of territory in the way that Canadian politicians and lawyers would define those words ….
>
> What sovereignty is to me is a responsibility. It is the responsibility to carry ourselves; collectively as nations, as clans, as families as well as individually, as individual Mohawk citizens, in a good way. In order to be a self-determining nation, you must have self-disciplined individuals. You must have individuals who understand who they are and how to carry themselves…. What must be understood then is that the Aboriginal request to have our sovereignty respected is really a request to be responsible.[78]

Indigenous sovereignty is rootedness in relationships with the natural worlds that generate Indigenous lives, life-worlds, and livelihoods, relationships that are informed by indigenous laws. Nuancing sovereignty, economic sovereignty is having the means, the knowledge, and the ability to sur-thrive within Anishinaabewaki in accordance with Anishinaabe ways of being. That is, through relationships with lands and waters that respect the life-force and intention of all beings in the natural world. Foundationally, this means

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[76] Keller, "An Economic History," 5.
[77] Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 10.
[78] Monture-Angus, *Journeying Forward,* 36.

the ability to procure healthy food, adequate clothing, safe housing, reliable transportation, and functional technology for self and our relations. Emphasizing the connection between sovereignty and ability to provide, within a Canadian context, Monture-Angus states, "It's hard to be sovereign when you cannot even feed your own children from your own resources."[79]

While some womxn are able to survive well or prosper in the contemporary capitalist system, this is not the case for the majority of Indigenous womxn. Canadian statistics from 2010 show that the median income for Indigenous womxn was 19,289.[80] Speaking strictly in financial terms, this is below the poverty line. There is no sur-thriving when basic incomes isolate womxn and their beloveds in a state of economic and social poverty in a capitalist system. There is no Anishinaabeg law that legitimates the erosion or manipulation of Anishinaabeg womxn's ability to provide well for self and relations. There is no Canadian or American treaty that articulates that Anishinaabeg of any gender, including womxn, would divest of this responsibility. There is nothing that states womxn would forego access to and use of the natural worlds which allowed sur-thrivance. As Norrgard notes, Ojibway "headmen" who negotiated treaties in 1837 and 1842 specifically affirmed a need to secure Ojibway ability to maintain their relationships with places known to be sites of land-based livelihood.[81] These headmen would have known the places would have been inhabited and worked by womxn; the products under their control. The ways Anishinaabeg womxn are situated within the global and settler economies today do not reflect or uphold her economic sovereignty and in fact, work against it.

Recognizing that Anishinaabeg womxn's contemporary economic sovereignty is rooted in and from our lawful relationships with the natural world, my research elucidates said sovereignty vis-à-vis an investigation of womxn's relationships with the natural world. Specifically, I focus on womxn's relationship

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[79] Ibid.

[80] Arriagada, "First Nations, Métis and Inuit Women".

[81] Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 20-21.

with a specific season, place, and process—the spring sugar bush. As my research will show, while this relationship is fundamentally one organized around the harvest and processing of sap through boiling, and the production, distribution, and exchange of maple sugar in its various forms, it also entails myriad dimensions that show womxn's land-based relationships, and her economic sovereignty derived from them, are more than laborious, material acts of survival.

Research Question

How can Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush be understood?[82]

Rationale for Research

When Indigenous womxn are dispossessed of their lands or have their relationships with lands transformed or restructured, they become alienated from the knowledges associated with these relationships and/or the associated knowledges generated from these relationships become destroyed. As Brenda Child states about Ojibway peoples seasonal rounds with a focus on women's subsistence, "It was a way of life passed down by generations and required study, observation of the natural world, experimentation, relationships with other living beings on the earth, and knowledge-generating labor".[83] In her arguments advancing the need for land-based education, Alex Wilson states that this kind of education provides opportunity for Indigenous students to reclaim and regenerate land-based knowledges. She states that where genocide attempts to eliminate specific groups of people including Indigenous peoples, femicide "is the mass killing of women" and epistemicide is the "severing of Indigenous knowledge systems".[84] When Indigenous peoples no longer know how to be sovereign in the natural worlds and territories we call home because

[82] As a matter of conducting my research, my research questions changed in two ways. I discuss this further in Chapter Two.
[83] Child, *Holding Our World Together*, 30.
[84] Wilson, "Coming In to Indigenous Sovereignty," 35:05 – 35: 39.

epistemicide has occurred, the objectives of settler colonialism are not only further achieved but the options *for how to be* with the natural world, or how to be in the world generally, becomes extinguished or diminished. In this sense, Indigenous peoples become more prone to the naturalization, normalization, and transformative power of economic systems that are animated by non-Anishinaabeg interests, laws, methods, and values—systems that are incompatible with living with, and within, Anishinaabewaki and all the original beings that inhabit this place. In a global, settler economic context, as Kuokkanen argues, subsistence-based economies become delegitimized or constructed as obstacles to progress and development.[85] Further, the options the settler state and its economies present to Indigenous peoples falsely appear to be the only, if not the best, options available for making a living or sur-thriving.

Indigenous land based or subsistence knowledges have been disrupted in gendered ways.[86] These knowledges have also been reformulated in gendered ways.[87] In *Living on the Land: Indigenous Women's Understanding of Place*, editors Nathalie Kermoal and Isabel Altamirano-Jimenez state, "because relationships to land and identity have been mediated by colonial regulations and policies, Indigenous women's knowledge and experiences and gender have been underpinned by a variety of personal and communal experiences and gender processes."[88] Further, systems of domination have rendered Indigenous women's land-based knowledges invisible and politically marginal.[89] As a result, it is necessary to purposefully and intentionally engage in research and practices that restore womxn's access to, presence within, knowledges about, and ability to engage in the land-based practices determined by the environments they live in. To continue to participate in capitalist systems and the values they inculcate, systems and values that subjugate Indigenous peoples in gendered ways, and Indigenous womxn in particular ways, whether these capitalist relationships exist in the institutions of the city or the bush, and to do so uncritically, means to continue to

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[85] Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Economies," 215-216, 218, 220-221.
[86] Kermoal and Altamirano-Jiménez, "Introduction", 3-17.
[87] Ibid.; Todd, "'This is the Life'," 196-197; and Parlee and Way, "Gender and Social Dimensions," 172-173.
[88] Kermoal and Altamirano-Jiménez, "Introduction," 10.
[89] Ibid., 5.

alienate our minds, hearts, bodies, spirits, and relationalities with each other from the life-giving materials generated from our land-based relationships. It means continuing to lose the life-giving knowledges associated with these relationships.

In recent decades, womxn have been reclaiming, restoring, and documenting land-based relationships such as sustenance practices, and the knowledges associated with them. Womxn are engaging in this as a matter of indigenous-specific relational responsibilities, and as a matter of anti-colonial, anti-capitalist resistance in recent decades.[90] Within the violence of settler colonialism, revitalizing these land-based relationships begins, for many, not with material sustenance but rather spiritual. For instance, over twenty years ago, Odawa Elder Edna Manitowabi shared her personal story of healing, recovery from past hurts, and returning to self. Locating her personal responsibility in shaping the future in her connections to the earth, she said,

> When those old women and those men said 'You have to go home to your mother,' I took it literally. I tried to figure out what they meant. At first I thought they meant my biological mother, but she died when I was twenty-one. Then I thought that maybe they wanted me to go back to my reserve. Later on I figured out that it had to do with the Earth. It was when I started to ask myself questions about womanhood, that's when I realized I had to find it from the Earth. 'go home to your mother. You need to be with your mother.' Those words clicked …
>
> … I really really feel that as woman comes into her own she finds that Spirit within her and she begins to stand up. I'm just coming to that. It's like I talked about it all along, but it's only now that I've really come to understand it.[91]

Indeed, womxn's persistence, reclamation, and revitalization of relationships with land has always occurred, undocumented.

More recently, co-editors Leanne Simpson, Wanda Nanibush, and Carol Williams engaged the idea of resurgence of womxn's knowledge and resistance in relation to land and territoriality. Curating a transnational and interdisciplinary approach to this subject, their respective contributions to this focussed

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[90] Brant Castellano and Hill, "First Nations Women"; Fletcher, *Reclaiming our History*; and Hall, "The Environment of Indigenous Economics"; and Sy, "From 'Decolonizing Education' to 'Traditional Anishinaabe University'".

[91] Brant Castellano and Hill, "First Nations Women," 245.

discussion includes emphasizing Indigenous nation-building through Indigenous political traditions. They show this to be a process fuelled by women; complicate the idea of anti-colonial resistance by articulating meanings of resistance from within Indigenous nation-specific thought (i.e. Anishinaabe); and, advance Rena Ramirez's notion of native hubs as sites where a confluence of knowledges, cultural, social and political interests are mobilized from urban locations.[92]

In his articulation of early Anishinaabeg beginnings in gichi gamigoong, Johnston indicated that survival was the primary occupation. The context in which survival occurred and the methods employed lend itself to the contemporary idea of sur-thrivance articulated by Indigenous two-spirit and queer artists. Johnston also constructed these land-based relationships in gender fluid ways, disrupting ideas of "gender roles" and "gendered divisions of labour." While his portrayal reproduced a heterosexist gender binary and does discuss land-based labour in terms of gender, it denotes a system of labour organized by clan responsibilities. In contemporary Anishinaabeg-settler colonial worlds, gender and divisions of labour are organized through settler structures, racist and sexist legislation, and capitalist (hetero)patriarchal hierarchies. Joan Sangster shows this to be true within capitalist production of the modern fur coat in Canada.[93] Focusing on land-based relationships with the natural world in gendered ways, with specific attention to Anishinaabeg womxn, is important for several reasons. One, it is necessary in order to affirm womxn's sovereignty in being *able* to sur-thrive. Two, to affirm her sovereignty in being able to sur-thrive in ways that are coherent with an enduring Anishinaabe worldview which is comprised of philosophy, cosmology, ontology, epistemology, methodology, and pedagogy.[94] And three, restore knowledges of how she is sovereign in these regards or, how she has been alienated from these sovereignties, so that she may

[92] Simpson, Nanibush, and Williams, "Introduction".
[93] Sangster, "Making a Fur Coat".
[94] This conceptualization of worldview comes from a lecture given by Alex Wilson. Wilson, "Coming In to Indigenous Sovereignty," 22:51 – 23:21.

leverage these knowledges in ways that work best for her in the worlds she navigates, lives in, and moves between.

Given Anishinaabeg womxn's well-being, or lack thereof, is connected to the well-being, or lack-thereof, of womxn around the world, it is important to consider the death and lives, and the suffering and strategies of endurance, of womxn beyond the structures that create these realities.[95] As Kuokkanen notes,

> It is…necessary to bring sustained attention to the multifaceted and multileveled violence that indigenous women are experiencing and the largely remains in the shadow of public interest and political action. Our role as indigenous women in more privileged countries and positions—such as in the academy—is not only to analyze these ignored tragedies and keep the questions alive, but also to examine our participation in global capitalism that directly contributes to the exploitation of indigenous women or militarization of their lives in more vulnerable regions and situations such as the global South.[96]

Finally, in rationalizing this research, from a practical perspective, there are abundant primary, secondary, tertiary, and cultural sources that specifically reveal Anishinaabeg womxn to have a relationship with the sugar bush harvest in the production of maple sugar that may all be historicized. Also, ininaahtigoog continue to grow in Anishinaabewaki and produce wiishkaabaaboo (sap). This means an actual source for Anishinaabeg sur-thrivance continues to be available and as such, opportunity for Anishinaabeg womxn's historical subsistence, relationality, and governance with the natural world remains possible despite the global, settler-colonial, heteropatriarchal, and capitalist worlds we live in. To strive for this restoration in gendered ways subverts and/or resists the dominate capitalist, settler colonial heteropatriarchal ideologies and systems that have harmed Anishinaabeg and the natural worlds we call home. Theoretically, it supports Anishinaabeg life-ways and it affirms Anishinaabeg womxn's economic sovereignty within Anishinaabeg and settler relationalities.

[95] In her keynote lecture for *Forgotten Corridors: Global Displacement & the Politics of Engagement,* High Commissioner for Human Rights (Asia Pacific Section), Jyoti Sanghera elucidated the struggle of the global migrant amidst the structural powers of neoliberal policy and law. Bringing to light the seemingly ultimate perishability of migrant lives regardless of the hierarchy they are located within (e.g. refugee, smuggled, trafficked, economic migrant) or the ways in which the migrant speaks to the viewer/witness, I cannot help but wonder about the (in)stability of Anishinaabeg physical continuance within our territories within a global, settler colonial context. Jyoti Sanghera, "Dying to Live," (keynote lecture, University of Victoria, May 16, 2017).

[96] Kuokkanen, "Globalization," 230. Investigating this is beyond the scope of this research.

Overview of Thesis

This thesis is organized in particular ways in relation to structure and concept. It also strives to inculcate a sense of rhythm, spirit, and dynamism exuded through the actual sugar bush and it's harvest. The foundational structure follows a traditional thesis organization. Chapter One, "Indigenous Womxn and (Turtle Is)Land", is a literature review organized through a subject analysis of land, gender, and intersections. The themes that emerge include Indigenous womxn as culturally co-constituted; environmental and climate change; subsistence and other material production; and, labour. Chapter Two, "Returning to Ourselves/Myself as Anishinaabe" includes a discussion of my methods, sources, interpretive lens, and ethical considerations. The three chapters that follow include my findings and analyses.

Chapter Three, "Interlocutors, Protectors, Strategists (2008, 1993, 1902)", identifies stories as cultural productions and sources that render insight into Anishinaabeg sugar bushing life. Specific, to womxn's relationship with the sugar bush, I discuss my decision to focus on stories, and signifying them as sources. I relay the contours of the stories and discuss my interpretations of them. Chapter Four, "Muccucs of sugar" and Watery Worlds (1803 – 1824) is an analysis of settler-created documentary evidence of Anishinaabeg presence in fur-trade and commerce. This includes sugar production and its storage and transport through the use of baskets that are particular to Anishinaabeg. Chapter Five, "Grandmother Sugar Bushes, Masculinization, and Family Labour (2014)" summarizes, organizes, and makes sense of sugar bush memories shared by thirteen Anishinaabeg throughout Anishinaabewaki .

"Conclusion: Following ininaahtigoog Home" is the concluding chapter. It provides an overview of the thesis, includes a discussion of contributions to the literature and to community and final concluding thoughts and trajectories.

"World"-Travelling, Rhythm, and Breathe

The idea of "worlds" that is conveyed through the quoted words of Argentinian feminist, María Lugones, at the start of this chapter, is part of a conceptual approach I utilize in this thesis. It is meant to work with the formal structure and organization of the thesis in a way that *works with* linearity and chronology, two characteristics of time and history, doing so through a conceptual structure that prioritizes Anishinaabe understandings of time, history, space, mobility/travel, and possibility.[97] I elaborate on these Anishinaabeg understandings, and more on Lugones' concept, in my methodology. My research into womxn's relationship with the sugar bush reveals that this idea of "worlds" translates well for land and water-based relationships. This approach, also informed by James Dumont's "seeing the world", invites the reader to consider an Anishinaabeg way of engaging historical, present, and future reality while being grounded in the materiality and fluidity of land and water-based relationships.

The idea of "worlds" also helped me overcome a significant problem that arose from unseasoned expectations heading into this research. I had naively anticipated that I would find sources that would illuminate Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush in easy and culturally legible ways. I thought this would be a retrieval and recovery project; one that would disrupt both settler and Anishinaabeg amnesia about womxn's economic sovereignty, an amnesia that has been created through the dominance of the capitalist system. I thought I would restore knowledge of who we are. I anticipated the biggest hurdle I would face was being able to find sources that situated womxn at/in/with the spring sugar bush harvest. While it remains a retrieval and recovery project, I quickly realized that engaging with the various sources, the lived experiences I had during my personal and political "return to the land" in Anishinaabe ways, and

[97] Dumont, "Journey to Day-light Land".

anishinaabe knowledges generated from my participation in anishinaabewakiziwin (anishinaabe relationships with land in Anishinaabewaki) would require much thought.[98] I realized I needed to reflect on the nature and impact of historical context on sources and their construction. I also realized that I needed to practice what Audra Simpson calls "ethnographic refusal".[99] In terms of anishinaabe knowledge, it is one thing to return to, retrieve, and recover "bundles along the trail" for contemporary Anishinaabeg regeneration. It is another to recognize these bundles are historicized and are being brought into a different historical moment that is significantly different from the context from which it was retrieved.[100] These points cannot be overlooked; to do so would make us as Anishinaabeg, and me as Anishinaabeg, complicit in the reproduction of ideas and the production of knowledge based on the premise and a methodology of the static, unchanging Indian. Lugones' "worlds" and "world"-travelling, and Dumont's, "seeing the world" allowed me, and will hopefully allow the reader, to see the sources I utilize, and my interpretation of them, as entry points to "worlds" that tell us something about Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush in a particular historical, or historicized moment.

My interpretation of these sources through an anishinaabe feminist lens opens up new worlds and considerations. Some uncomfortable, but all with the intent of supporting a return to ourselves as Anishinaabeg where womxn's economic sovereignty is actively supported from within her relationalities, regardless if the settler or global economic structures do not recognize it.[101] In addition, the idea of Anishinaabeg worlds, and how we navigate them, also means that the structures and conditions of the particular historical moment are not finite. They could be reproduced again, for better or worse; they can

[98] anishinaabewakiziwin is a word that I created to meet the needs of this research and to reflect my personal, political, and anti-capitalist return to the land to grow those knowledges, practices, and relationalities as Anishinaabe. "win" refers to the act, process, art, and/or spirit of the thing being referred to.

[99] Simpson, "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship," 27.

[100] This is a popular Anishinaabeg metaphor about returning to our ways and retrieving things that were left on the trail of our lives due to force or survival in a settler colonial context.

[101] For recognition as a modern form of assimilation of Indigenous peoples into settle state worlds, see Coulthard, *Red Face, White Masks*.

also be transformed for better. This idea resonates strongly with Anishinaabeg ontology which is best experienced and conveyed in ceremonial processes. By utilizing this concept, I am able to convey an ontological aspect of being Anishinaabe without delving into the details of ceremony, which teaches us that this physical and academic world we live in, is just one of many.

Finally, rhythm and breath. I have struggled to figure out how to invoke spirit, life, breathe, and the rhythm of the natural world into the written component of my research. I include two creative portrayals of sugar bush knowledge: one sketch serves as a pause and grounding before entering the thesis; and, one image of an oil pastel painting that reflects embodied language learning and serves as a pause and departure point before leaving the thesis. I also refer to a line in a sugar bush poem, “sticky and sweet strand/of Anishinaabe life, in Anishinaabe land” throughout the thesis.[102]

[102] See Appendix B “maajiimaadiziwin: at the sugar bush (2013)”.

Chapter One: Indigenous Womxn and (Turtle Is) Land

> "Land is foundational to people's cultural practices, and if we define *culture* as meaning making rather than as differentiation and isolation in a multicultural neoliberal model, than by thinking through *land* as a meaning-making process rather than a claimed object, the aspirations of Native people are apparent and clear." ~ Mishuana Goeman[103]

Introduction: Land, Gender, Intersections

In their introduction to "Land" in *Native Studies Keywords,* editors Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, and Michelle H. Raheja, detail five ways "land-as-subject" exists in Native studies in the U.S.. These include colonial dispossession; relationships to land; a query of which lands are Native lands; rethinking land; and, land as commodity.[104] Through a political economic analysis of Indigenous-state relations in Canada, Glen Sean Coulthard associates colonial dispossession to the economic development of the state. He emphasizes that land is foundational to both processes.[105] Stephanie J. Fitzgerald and Mishuana Goeman center the importance of culture and Indigenous women's cultural productions in elucidating meanings of land. They illuminate Indigenous peoples' centrality in shaping their lives, through cultural productions, across nations, contexts, and historical periods including the future.[106] An interesting interplay arises from their respective approaches. This is undoubtedly a result of disciplinary orientations. Fitzgerald asserts the importance of understanding how Native land tenure, federal Indian law, and environmental devastation shape Indigenous "land-narratives" of dispossession and resurgence. She does so through an eco-critical lens. Goeman, an indigenous feminist geographer, emphasizes the need to disrupt the logic of containment and abstractions of settler propertied notions of land through the deep and meaningful engagement with "storied land".[107] Both utilize women's cultural productions in theorizing indigenous land narratives and re-mapping

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[103] Goeman, "Land as Life," 73.
[104] Teves, Smith, Raheja, "Land," 59-70
[105] Coulthard, "Introduction," in *Red Skin, White Masks*, 12.
[106] Fitzgerald, *Native Women and Land,* 71-89.
[107] Fitzgerald, *Native Women and Land,* 10, 15-16; Goeman, *Mark My Words,* 74.

Indigenous worlds as locations of possibility. Each recognizes the multiple meanings and signifiers associated with land such as the idea and meaning-making potentialities of "place".[108]

Further identifying that "land" as a keyword has much relevance amongst Indigenous peoples in Canada, U.S., the Pacific Islands, and Australia, Goeman asserts that Indigenous and Native Studies are advanced in how these disciplines conceive of land and water beyond property and property ownership.[109] Recognizing that land means many things and has a "heavy workload", Goeman moves away from attempting to define the meaning of land and water.[110] With intent to moving scholars toward arguments with "political heft", Goeman asks,

> What do we mean when we talk of land and water? In what circumstances and settings are the words evoked and take on different values? When the word *land* is used what is it supposed to stand in for? What ideological work does the word *land* do?[111]

Kirsten Vinyeta, Kyle Powys Whyte, and Kathy Lynn research climate change, indigeneity, and gender. In doing so, they bring forward the idea of indigenous gendered responsibilities with the natural world.[112] Anderson iterates this in her monograph on re-constructing Indigenous womanhood. She frames her discussion as "gender-divisions of labour" that existed in land-based cultures.[113] Priscilla K. Buffalohead makes similar assertions about Ojibway womxn regarding their subsistence, work, and responsibilities.[114] A debate, or rather, muddied territory, exists in this regard. These scholars indicate that the women from the stated nations are generally associated with plants and agriculture while men are associated with hunting, fishing, and trapping. However, Brenda Parlee and Kristine Wray, Ruana Kuokkanen, and Laura Peers

[108] Fitzgerald, *Native Women and Land*; Goeman, "Land is Life."; Goeman, "(Re)Mapping Indigenous Presence; and Goeman, Mapping Our Nations

[109] Goeman, "Land as Life", 71-72.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid., 71.

[112] Vinyeta, Powys Whyte, and Lynn, "Climate Change".

[113] Anderson, *A Recognition of Being*, 34-35.

[114] Buffalohead, "Farmers, Warriors, Traders," 238

argue that generalized binaries of indigeneity, gender, and subsistence have been produced through colonial and/or patriarchal knowledge productions.[115]

The ways gendered relationships with land are discussed is problematic because it reproduces a settler-imposed gender binary that has been imposed on Indigenous peoples. This binary does not accurately reflect the way gender was structured, experienced, performed, or prioritized in various Indigenous nations at certain points in history or contexts. Vinyeta, Whyte, and Lynn utilize the contemporary marker of subjectivity and identity of LGBTQQ to indicate that people within this continuum had specific responsibilities within their communities. These responsibilities may have been institutionalized, they may have been flexibly taken up due to personal interests, or practically taken up due to competencies.[116] Writing from within her own Cree consciousness and local knowledges of her community, Wilson indicates that two-spirit relationships with the land were not institutionalized.[117] In similar ways to Vineyeta, Whyte, and Lynn, Anderson notes the existence of more than two genders and indicates the flexibility of roles between women and men inclusive of two-spirit peoples.[118] Buffalohead indicates that while there were separate spheres of subsistence work between Ojibway women and men, these spheres often overlapped. This created a social structure where each worked on different aspects of the same activity (e.g. men obtained the animal, women butchered the meat).[119] Buffalohead also notes that community-instituted pathways existed so women could engage in what was typified as men's domains (i.e. war).[120]

Theresa S. Smith re-interprets anthropologist Ruth Landes' controversial analysis of life histories about Ojibway womxn.[121] In the 1930s, Landes obtained these histories from her interviews with Mrs.

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[115] Parlee and Wray, "Gender and Social Dimensions," 172; Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Economies," 227-228; Peers, "Subsistence, Secondary Literature, and Gender Bias".

[116] Vineyeta, Whyte, and Lynn, "Climate Change," 14.

[117] Wilson with Laing, "Queering Indigenous Education".

[118] Anderson, *Recognition of Being*, 35.

[119] Buffalohead, "Farmer, Warriors, Traders," 238.

[120] Buffalohead, "Farmers, Warriors, Traders," 238, 244.

[121] Smith, "'Yes, I'm Brave'". For additional critique of Landes' analysis in *The Ojibwa Woman*, see Anderson, *A Recognition of Being,* 21-22.

Maggie Wilson, a Cree woman who married an Ojibway man and lived in his community of Emo reserve in Northwestern Ontario. Based on her analysis of these sources, Smith contests the idea of a third gender. She specifically contests that such a third space encapsulates those Indigenous women or men who engaged in activities typically carried out by a person whose gender was different than their own.[122] Instead, Smith argues that, for Ojibway, gender existed on a continuum and as a result, it was acceptable for people to engage in activities that appeared to the outsider as unconventional to their gender. This was not necessarily considered boundary crossing, evidence of a third gender, indicative of sexuality, or viewed as lessening or enhancing masculine or feminine identity in relation to that gender with which the typified behaviours were associated. Rather, if people did take on activities which were out of the norm, this was considered a matter of choice, practical need, responsibility, circumstance, or spiritual requirement.[123] Further, Ojibway women who engaged in what were seen as male pursuits were not seen as unwomanly but rather as 'extraordinary' or 'brave'.[124] Extraordinary or brave behaviours were viewed by others through a multi-faceted lens: Was the behaviour a spiritual calling? Was the person competent in carrying it out? Did it make a positive contribution to others?

In elucidating the extraordinary behaviour of women, Smith discusses two women, Cocos and Companionable Woman. She discerns between their chosen pursuits and pursuits taken on due to necessity and circumstance. For example, Cocos dreamt of being in battle with the Dakota (Sioux) with her father and felt a responsibility to be with him in avenging the murders of her siblings and grandmother (i.e. choice). Companionable Womxn, a widow who cared well for her children using her land-based skills, dreamt of forthcoming danger at her encampment and acted to get her children and other womxn who were with her

[122] Smith, "'Yes, I'm Brave'," 42-43

[123] Ibid., 52-55.

[124] Ibid., 43, 56.

out of harms' way.[125] Once they were safe, she returned multiple times to the "war zone" to retrieve others and bring them to safety.

The significance in Smith's interpretation of Ojibway gender and social worlds as they are portrayed in a particular historical moment and geography, is in its attention to the valuation of gender in organizing social worlds. She finds that while gender is observable, it is one's competence in the task they are fulfilling, and their responsibly maintained connections with the spirit realm, that matter most.[126]

Interestingly, in a recent interview on queering land-based education, Wilson turns the idea that land-based responsibilities are gendered on its head. She states, "When you're on the land, all the socially constructed hierarchies around gender, around sexual orientation, around race, or around class disappear. The land engenders itself and we engender it."[127]

Lastly, in her discussion of Iñupiat whale hunting, Barbara Bodenhorn simultaneously critiques the narrow views that non-Indigenous lenses render in regards to hunting and fishing by elucidating womxn's significant participation in whale hunting. She "cautions against the tendency of researchers to privilege gender in analyses of Inupiat culture, suggesting that, to Iñupiat people, human-animal relationships are more important than divisions between men's work and women's work."[128] By identifying and speaking to the problem of settler colonial hierarchies, binaries, and rigid categorizations that invisibilizes or devalues Indigenous women's land-based practices with evidence about Inupiat women's hunting *and* cautioning against utilizing gender as a primary lens through which to understand land-based practices, Bodenhorn's research indicates that reading gender and land in intersectional ways requires complexity. Building from Bodenhorn's research, Zoe Todd states, "Whereas Western conceptions of gender turn on a binary opposition of male to female, Iñupiat whale hunting emphasizes the interdependence of men and women,

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[125] Ibid., 52-53.
[126] Ibid., 56.
[127] Wilson with Laing, "Queering Indigenous Education," 134.
[128] Bodenhorn, "'I'm Not the Great Hunter, My Wife Is'" qtd. in Todd, "'This Is the Life'," 199.

each of whom possess certain knowledge and skills that, while complementary, are inseparable from the whole."[129] Bodenhorn's point is important about gender not being a priority, however she does not factor in the historical and/or contemporary influence of missionary and settlers in identifying, regulating, disciplining, and transforming "gender" in Indigenous communities. Just because it may not be, or might not have been, a priority in pre-colonial contexts, does not mean that it ought not to be or is not a priority in colonial contexts.

These debates, problematics, and varied ways of understanding the intersections of indigeneity, gender, and land are an effective prelude to a more focussed examination of literature on Indigenous womxn's relationships with land. I considered only utilizing sources produced by Indigenous scholars however decided against this for two reasons. One, there is an important critique that exists about the dominance and often problematic nature of non-Indigenous produced scholarship regarding Indigenous peoples. However, given the intellectual trajectories of my research are temporally close to efforts on the part of non-Indigenous scholars to correct this imbalance and some of the problematic analyses associated with it, I do engage non-Indigenous produced scholarship. Two, which is closely related to my first reason, the non-Indigenous/settler scholars whose research I engage herein make insightful, important, and helpful contributions to understanding Indigenous womxn's lives. In one case, as already discussed, one contribution (i.e. Teresa Smith) deftly engages problematic scholarship about Ojibway womxn but through a re-analysis, yields a more nuanced, resonate understanding of gender which I found helpful. Further, I did not intend to utilize scholarship mostly authored by womxn. However, the majority of the scholars cited are womxn. I decided to engage both Indigenous and non-Indigenous secondary and cultural sources. It is telling about knowledge production in Turtle Island that the majority of the sources I reviewed in this subject area

[129] Todd, "'This Is the Life", 199.

are produced by Indigenous scholars. The earliest published source is 1976 which means this scholarship has been produced in my life-time.

My source review includes monographs, peer-reviewed articles, edited collections, chapters, lectures, film, government, policy and grassroots community research reports about Indigenous peoples in Turtle Island (Canada and the U.S.). Familiar with identifying themes in secondary literature from my Master research, I employ the same approach here however I do endeavour to be more sophisticated in this approach. The themes that emerge from my review include one, womxn and land as co-constituted; two, the environment and climate change; three, subsistence and material production; and four, land-based labour.

Culturally and Materially Co-Constituted

Indigenous womxn and land are discussed as co-constituted, they are a part of each other. This is prevalent in Indigenous creation and origin stories. In such stories women are creators, primary stewards of land/the natural world, and primary agents in spiritual relationalities.[130] Deborah Doxtator and Kahente Horn-Miller advance how such stories are mobilized by applying them to a contemporary context.[131] Indigenous peoples refer to the land in gendered ways that simultaneously invoke kinship ties. The most popular example of this co-constitution emerges in how the earth is often referred to as Mother Earth. My review shows varied views on gendering the land. For example, land is rendered as woman, mother, or feminine force whose nurturance, reproductive abilities, and continual care are emphasized. Indigenous peoples attribute these constructions with generative capabilities.[132] For instance, they reveal how linking land and woman generates healing and connection for Indigenous womxn within a colonial context.[133] They

[130] Gunn Allen, "Grandmother of the Sun,"; and Anderson, *A Recognition of Being,* 47-48, 111. For an established publication of the Anishinaabe creation story which is similar, see, Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage,* 11-13.
[131] Doxtator, "Godi'Nigoha"; and Horn Miller, "Distortion and Healing".
[132] For "woman as land" metaphor that is positively generative, see, Anderson, *Recognition of Being*, 160-167.
[133] Ibid.

link this to the patriarchal nature of colonial contexts.[134] LaDuke mobilizes this co-construction rhetorically as a strategy to inspire indigenous thought and ethics about relationship with the environment.[135]

Teves, Smith, and Raheja indicate there is a debate about constructing land as Mother Earth. The debate pivots around whether this construction emerges from within indigenous thought or if it is an effect of settler anthropology and new-age spirituality.[136] Amongst Indigenous scholars, Christopher Jock argues against Western influences while Doxtator similarly states that new-age ecologists were influenced by Indigenous constructions of the earth as mother.[137] Wilson, however, indicates that through her relational fields of knowing she has learned that traditionally her people did not have this concept of "Mother Earth".[138] This prompted her to investigate when and why this concept emerged. She indicates that gendering the land, be it earth as mother or moon as father, is a reflection of Indigenous peoples' recognition of the connection to, and dependency upon, the natural world. These kinship labels are metaphors that reflect this orientation to the natural world. She further states that her Cree language does not gender people, suggesting the impact that setter colonial, English influences have had on how Indigenous peoples socially signify the world according to gender. This also resonates with how this gendering is conducted according to a binary that is organized into heterosexist orientations and kinship markers (e.g. grandmother moon, grandfather sun).[139] This signification implies that Indigenous peoples have internalized this logic of socially organizing the world in a way that reflects settler constructions of gender and relationality that may be discordant with many Indigenous nations. Simultaneously, it reveals how Indigenous peoples have ensured that acknowledging relationality with the natural world persists. Despite the endurance of recognizing this relationality in the

[134] Ibid.
[135] LaDuke, "Mothers of Our Nations, 211.
[136] For this debate between Sam Gill and Christopher Jocks, see Teves, Smith, and Raheja (eds.), "Land", 62. David Fuhst, who is an Anishinaabe language theorist with Helen Caroline Roy Fuhst, states that referring to the earth as Mother Earth is a recent phenomenon instigated by western influences. Personal communication, n.d.
[137] Doxtator, "Godi'Nigoha," 39.
[138] Wilson with Laing, "Queering Indigenous Education," 144.
[139] Ibid., (n.p).

literature, gender queer, non-conforming, or trans-gendered Indigenous peoples are not reflected in the labelling of celestial beings; and, celestial kinship pairings fail to reflect diverse relational dynamics.

Co-constituting Indigenous womxn and land is demonstrated to also operate in detrimental ways. Specifically, some elucidate how this linking operates to advance colonial interests in Indigenous lands. In her monograph explicating Indigenous womanhood in Canada, Anderson notes how the historical evolutions of settler constructions of Indigenous womxn equate to interests in the land. Referencing Rayna Green, Anderson discusses how constructions of the Indian Queen conveyed the riches of the land.[140] Later, when colonists did not require diplomacy in negotiating power with Indigenous peoples, particularly women, the construction became the Indian Princess, a "girlish-sexual figure[s]" with little power who also represented the "virgin frontier", lands that were "open for consumption".[141]

The princesses' "darker twin", the squ*w, squ*w drudge, or dirty squ*w, arises in contexts where Indigenous peoples resist the colonization of their lands and settlers require new arguments to justify colonial processes.[142] Anderson states, "Indigenous women worldwide became symbols of the troublesome colonies, and in the Americas the squ*w emerged."[143] These settler construction of Indigenous women as troublesome vis-à-vis the sexually licentious squ*w image, proved to legitimate settler repression of Indigenous peoples. Carol Douglas Sparks says, "Americans found squ*w drudges far more comfortable than these outspoken and powerful women, whose presence defied colonial rationalizations. Not only could the squ*w be pitied, but her very existence justified American intrusion into her land and society."[144]

The construction of Indigenous women as drudge refers to her labouring body (on the land) and her physically powerful strength. This was useful for exploitation and as a measure against the uplifted model of settler white womanhood whose ideal state was fragility and weakness. It promoted dependency on

[140] Anderson, *A Recognition of Being*, 80.
[141] Ibid., 80-81.
[142] Ibid., 82.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.

patriarchal organizations and hence white men.[145] The drudge image is closely associated with the sexually licentious construction of the squ*w: Indigenous woman as both pitiful labourer lacking the benevolence of the hard-working settler *and* as sexually licentious were ideas both mobilized to advance settler colonial interests. Again, these representations are aligned with a gender binary, heterosexist or sexual, and/or heteropatriarchal world.

Slightly shifting away from the metaphorical, cultural constructions of land and womxn as co-constituted are closely associated material arguments. These assert that colonial violence against the land and violence against Indigenous womxn are connected. In her monograph arguing that sexual violence against Indigenous womxn is a tool of colonialism, Andrea Smith states that colonialists saw, and see, both the land and Indigenous womxn as violable and rape-able.[146] From within Sto:lo thought and through a lens of multiculturalism in Canada, Lee Maracle asserts how disconnection from the land or one's own landscape has negative biological, relational, and spiritual effects on people. This results in violence against the land and womxn.[147] Overlapping with and transitioning away from the theme of womxn and land as culturally co-constituted is a body of literature that examines the intersections of the environment and Indigenous womxn.

Environment and Climate Change

Environmental changes influence and impact womxn. The themes in this literature overlap with the intersections of violence against the land and violence against womxn and, in some cases, the mobilization of womxn and land as metaphor. Katsi Cook, Mohawk midwife, identifies gendered impacts of industrial

[145] Ibid., 84.
[146] Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide.*
[147] Maracle, "Connection between Violence against the Earth and Violence against Women".

chemicals in the waterways that Indigenous peoples call home. Focussing solely on child-bearing women, she states,

> Science tells us that our nursing infants are at the top of the food chain. Industrial chemicals like PCBs, DDT and HCBs dumped into the waters and soil move up through the food chain, through plants, fish, wildlife, and into the bodies of human beings who eat them. These contaminants resist being broken down by the body, which stores them in our fat cells. The only known way to excrete large amounts of them is through pregnancy, where they cross the placenta, and during lactation, where they are moved out of storage in our fat cells and show up in our breast milk. In this way, each succeeding generation inherits a body burden of toxic contaminants from their mothers. In this way, we, as women, are the landfill.
>
> Realizing that mother's milk contains an alphabet soup of toxic chemicals is discouraging stuff. Every woman on the planet has PCBs in her breastmilk. Even in the circumpolar region of the north, our Inuit relatives of the Ungava Bay area of Nunavik (arctic region within Quebec) have the highest documented levels of breastmilk PCBs in the world.[148]

Almost twenty years later, a collaborative report created by A.M. Kahealani Pacheco with the Women's Earth Alliance and Erin Marie Konsmo with the Native Youth Sexual Health Network centered the voices, experiences, and community expertise of gender diverse Indigenous people, including youth, in similar research.

Pacheco and Konsmo conducted grassroots community research with Indigenous communities throughout Turtle Island. Their research identified gendered impacts of environmental violence. It also included a toolkit of indigenous responses to this violence. This toolkit centres and employs Indigenous spiritual relationalities, epistemologies, and knowledges to generate healing and strengthen resistance and resiliency amongst Indigenous womxn and two-spirit peoples.[149] This report centred environmental violence against land and Indigenous bodies, however it focuses specifically on Indigenous womxn and two-spirited peoples. It doesn't explain Indigenous mxn's absence. Resonate with the themes emerging through

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[148] Cook, "Women Are the First Environment". This article and the ideas indicated in it are widely circulated and referenced. For example, it is referenced in *Native Americas*, xiv, 3 (1997): 58; and, is also referenced in Smith, *Conquest*, 64 who cites a lecture that Cook gave through the Indigenous Women's Network conference, White Earth Reservation, September 17, 1994. Cook is also co-author of similar ideas in a number of peer-reviewed scientific articles.

[149] Konsmo and Pacheco, "Violence on the Lands Violence on Our Bodies: Building an Indigenous Response to Environmental Violence".

Smith and Maracle, and the metaphorical mobilizations indicated earlier, this report conveys both the theoretical and metaphorical inseparability of colonial violence, land, and womxn. To enunciate this, Iako'tsira: reh Amanda Lickers (Turtle Clan, Seneca), who writes from their Mohawk positionality, states, "The reason women [are] attacked is because women carry our clans and … by carrying our clans, [we] are the ones that hold that land for the next generation. That's where we get our identity as nations. So, if you destroy the women, you destroy the nations, and then you get access to the land"; and, Vanessa Gray, who is Anishinaabe, writes, "The land is our Mother, so when we lose value for the land…people lose value for the women."[150]

Shifting from environmental pollution and resource extraction to climate change, Vinyeta, Powys Whyte, and Lynn advance analysis of climate change and Indigenous peoples in the United States by filtering these subject intersections through the lens of gender.[151] They render a government report about the particular gendered vulnerabilities and resiliencies that Indigenous communities may anticipate navigating and mobilizing in the anthropocene (i.e. human made climate change). This report yields nuances for Indigenous women, LGBTQQ, and men that may be useful to both Indigenous communities who want to engage climate change in gendered ways. It also engages non-Indigenous collaborators who are working with Indigenous communities in the area of climate change.[152] This report is couched in a review of literature that elucidates Indigenous conceptions of gender and gendered responsibilities in relation to land. It also explicates these conceptions through the lenses of settler colonialism, resistance, and re-generation.[153]

Building on several sources, Vineyeta, Whyte, and Lynn state that these gendered relationships with land play significant structural and socio-cultural roles in Indigenous communities.[154] For instance, women were responsible for harvesting and managing plants and agricultural activities; men were responsible for

[150] Ibid., ii.
[151] Vinyeta, Whyte, and Lynn, "Climate Change".
[152] Ibid., 2.
[153] Ibid., 4-5; 7-18
[154] Ibid., 14

hunting and fishing; and, gender-variant individuals may have had institutionalized responsibilities and/or flexibly pursued the activities they were best suited.[155] To elucidate an example of responsibilities held by gender-variant people, the authors provide an example of Navajo females and males known as nádleehí. Quoting W. Roscoe, they indicate,

> Female nádleehí gained prestige in men's pursuits such as hunting and warfare, while male nádleehí specialized in equally prestigious women's activities of farming, herding sheep, gathering food sources, weaving, knitting, basketry, pottery, and leatherwork.[156]

This quote is significant because it includes an example of male nádleehí taking on *equally prestigious* women's activities. The majority of examples of gender fluidity only detail females taking on "prestigious" male activities, suggesting a bias that may arise out of the negative effects of the feminization of labour. The examples Vineyeta, Whyte, and Lynn draw on to illuminate womxn's responsibilities include secondary sources about Indigenous women in present-day California, Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw women, and Ojibway and Pottowatomi women.[157] Further, they note that women across many communities have a particular relationship and responsibility with water.[158]

While some of these land and water based responsibilities endure, they have also been altered through the social and ecological influences of settler colonialism. These influences include "[s]ettlement of land, genocide of indigenous peoples, the disempowerment of indigenous women and LGBTTQ people, the exploitation of natural resources by settlers, and the physical relocation of various tribes have challenged many indigenous communities' relationships with the landscapes, seascapes, plants, and animals with which they had regularly interacted since time immemorial."[159] Additionally, as indicated by Cook, Pacheco, and Konsmo, environmental degradation through pollution and industrial waste have an impact on indigenous

[155] Ibid., 15.
[156] W. Roscoe, *Changing ones: third and fourth genders in Native North America,"* 320 qtd. in Vineyeta, Whyte, and Lynn, "Climate Change," 15.
[157] Ibid, 14.
[158] Ibid., 15.
[159] Ibid., 15.

gendered responsibilities with land as a matter of negatively impacting land as well as the health of Indigenous bodies.[160] Finally, Whyte notes that climate change alters the environmental landscape which in turn shifts the ways Indigenous peoples interact with the land. Referring to land in this context as "cultural landscape" this ultimately impacts indigenous gendered responsibilities and relationships with land.[161]

Subsistence and Other Material Production

It goes without saying, *subsistence is life*. As indicated in Basil Johnston's narrative description of early Anishinaabeg origins, subsistence is importantly utilitarian *and* it is more than utilitarian. This is similarly shown in numerous, multi-faceted, and detailed articulations of principles and elements of subsistence that Inuit peoples have documented in regards to Arctic policy.[162] Often characterized as foundational to Indigenous economies, Ruana Kuokkanen states,

> [a]t the center of the economic activity is not the exchange for profit or competition but the sustenance of individuals, families, and the community. Surplus is shared at numerous festivals and ceremonies that maintain the social cohesion of the community but also bring prestige to those who give and share their wealth. The subsistence-oriented economy—including various contemporary versions of mixed economies—also ensures the continuation of the traditional social organization.[163]

These myriad significations are also portrayed in documentaries and films produced in Canada and the U.S. that center Indigenous subsistence and other land-based practices such as canoe and house building.[164] One salient element of indigenous subsistence that is portrayed in these films are the epistemological aspects of acknowledging the spiritual powers that imbue the natural world which many Indigenous peoples consider foundational to their life and living.[165]

[160] Ibid., 15-18.
[161] Ibid., 18.
[162] Inuit Circumpolar Conference, *Principles and Elements for a Comprehensive Arctic Policy,* 7, 29, 36-40 and 44-46.
[163] Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Economies".
[164] *Cree Hunters of Mistassini*; *Nonoonse*; *The Last Mooseskin Canoe*; *Hunters and Bombers*; *Indigenous Diva*; *Hunting Deer: Sharing the Harvest*; and *Angry Inuk*.
[165] Of the suite of films I refer to, the exception to this is *Angry Inuk*.

Despite the value of subsistence in indigenous living, Kuokkanen and Laura Hall indicate that negative attitudes and apathy towards subsistence, and its significance for Indigenous peoples, exist both within and outside Indigenous communities.[166] Kuokkanen states that these negative orientations towards subsistence are attached to the false ideas that economic development in a capitalist society will generate prosperity for everyone. While subsistence economies are recognized as being "decimated" by modernity and economic progress they are also relegated as something of the past.[167] Further,

> the term 'subsistence' carries negative connotations of primitive ways of life, a low standard of living, or 'eking out' a wretched existence in conditions of poverty. For others, it refers to 'primitive' societies of the past or rural communities in the developing world. …[H]owever, these negative views of subsistence have a specific history stemming from discourses of development that have waged war against subsistence and everything it represents.[168]

Kuokkanen indicates these negative views arose out of a development paradigm that emerged after World War II. She also argues that since subsistence was largely engaged in by women, these negative views "represent a way against women and their economic, political, and social autonomy in society."[169]

Turning my focus to womxn's relationship with subsistence, there are three salient arcs in the literature. One, they show women's centrality with subsistence and in their relationships through subsistence. Two, they emphasize womxn's knowledge and skills regarding land-based relationships, the valued nature of this knowledge and skill, and the shifts in value attributed to this. And, three, they reveal the purposeful ways settler colonial agendas alienated women from their relationships with land. The idea that Indigenous womxn's engagement with subsistence was central to Indigenous life in land-based cultures, and how this engagement was part of womxn's inherent rights, responsibility, security, power, authority, and esteem in their communities is key.

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[166] Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Economics," 215-216; Hall, "The Environment of Indigenous Economies," 153-155.
[167] Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Economics," 215-216.
[168] Ibid., 218.
[169] Ibid., 223.

Anderson, Buffalohead, Hetty Jo Brumbach and Robert Jarvenpa, and Allison M. Dussias elucidate womxn's engagement with subsistence. They do so in nuanced ways in their research regarding Chippewa, Ojibway, Haudenausonee, Huron, Choctaw, Cherokee, Chipewyan, Indigenous women in northwest Alaska, Algonquians of the Virginia tidewater, tribes of the Illinois and Western Shoshone womxn.[170] They identify how womxn had knowledge and skill in procuring food through hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering and agricultural activities; and, competency and skill in producing food from its raw state (e.g. freshly harvest moose). They indicate how womxn had authority with storage, and thus distribution of food, including trading.[171] Maracle, in her lecture connecting violence against the land with violence against women, refers to a Sto:lo traditional narrative that tells how baby girls are born with a fishing weir in one hand, and a club in the other.[172] This suggests that access to the tools and skills for subsistence and protective/defensive/offensive actions are inherent extensions of being Sto:lo female. It also illustrates how access to subsistence, as well as ability and skill to protect oneself, are culturally recognized within Sto: lo thought and how these values and practices are transmitted through traditional narrative.

Womxn's knowledges and skill in procuring, producing, preserving, and distributing subsistence, as well as other materials, ensured European peoples survival during their early presence in Turtle Island.[173] In addition, their subsistence, as well as land-based knowledges and skills, were a significant basis upon which early European economic success in trade was built.[174] Some scholarship illuminates how Indigenous womxn harnessed new conditions introduced through Europeans, or the emergent relationship between Europeans and Indigenous peoples, to their benefit.[175] Focusing on Indigenous womxn in the prairies in both Canada

[170] Anderson, *A Recognition of Being,* 35; Buffalohead, "Farmers, Warriors, Traders," 236-244; Brumbach and Jarvenpa, "Woman the Hunter, 200-215; and Dussias, "Squaw Drudges, Farm Wives, and the Dann Sisters' Last Stand," 656-670.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Maracle, "Connection Between Violence".

[173] Van Kirk, "Your Honors Servants," 56 – 61; Eldersveld Murphy, "To Live Among Us"; and Anderson, *A Recognition of Being,* 35-38.

[174] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties;* and, Farrell Racette, "Nimble Fingers and Strong Backs," 151-153.

[175] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties;* Lutz, "Gender and Work in Lekwammen Families, 1843-1970," 216-250; and Carson-Taylor, "Dollars Never Fail to Melt Their Hearts," 15-33.

and the U.S., and Ojibway womxn in the U.S., Sarah Carter and Brenda J. Child respectively argue how womxn's subsistence knowledges, skills, and innovations ensured Indigenous physical and cultural survival and endurance during the implementation of the harshest and cruelest colonial policies in Indigenous people's lives.[176]

Ultimately, through colonial processes and evolving settler and global economic contexts, Indigenous womxn's relationships with land in subsistence and other material practices, and the value of these relationships and contributions, was altered in myriad ways.[177] Micro-histories reveal nuanced shifts that Indigenous peoples navigated and, in some cases, benefitted from in gendered ways. However, alienation from land-based relationships resulted in the overall marginalization of Indigenous womxn within their own relationalities, communities, and settler contexts. In relationship to economic shifts, Kuokkanen quotes Rosa Luxemburg stating, "only by destroying their capacity to subsist are people brought under the complete control and power of capital. Coercion is needed to destroy not only the capacity to subsist but also a people's economic and political autonomy".[178] Today, womxn's relationships with subsistence and land-based materiality in Turtle Island, and opportunities to endure or innovate such practices, is severely attenuated. However, Indigenous womxn have been, and continue to be, engaged in settler capitalist economies (i.e. wage labour) in ways that allow subsistence and other land-based practices, and the innovation of these practices, to endure. In particular, being engaged in mixed-economies (i.e. subsistence and market) womxn generate income to support family members who in turn persist in land-based subsistence practices.[179] For Indigenous womxn whose ancestral histories and/or life maps have seen them

[176] Carter, "First Nations Women of Prairie Canada in the Early Reserve Years, the 1870s to the 1920s," 56-61; and Child, *Holding Our Worlds Together*.

[177] Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Economies,",223.

[178] Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital* qtd. in Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Economies", 223.

[179] "*The Story of the Coast Salish Knitters*; Williams, "Between Doorstep Barter Economy and Industrial Wages,"16-27; *Down2Earth*; and, Todd, "'This Is the Life'".

alienated from their relationships, lands, and land-based practices, there is desire and effort on the part of some to reclaim and renew land-based subsistence practices.[180]

Imbricated with this narrative arc is the de-valuation of womxn's land-based relationships. While Indigenous womxn's subsistence was once a means of survival and source of well-being, esteem, authority and security within Indigenous and early Indigenous-European relationships and communities, there were specific historical, political, social, and cultural processes that resulted in the alienation from, and devaluation of, womxn's land-based relationships and thus subsistence practices and material production. In the following section, I discuss four ways this alienation occurred. One, it is historical. For instance, Sylvia Van Kirk shows how, with a downturn in the fur-trade in late eighteenth century Western Canada, increase in European women's presence, and increase in European knowledges about survival in Turtle Island, eroded the value placed on Indigenous womxn's knowledges and skills.[181] This included the ability to procure subsistence and produce materials such as furs and hides. With reference to evolving settler economies, Anderson asserts how the split between private and public, imposition of hierarchical value ascribed according to gender, and capitalism disrupted womxn's economic authority.[182] She states, "The shift from subsistence to production-for-exchange economies marginalized Native women for economic participation and the authority that went with it."[183]

Two, colonial processes in both Canada and the U.S. operated in specifically gendered ways in regards to disrupting the relationships between womxn and land and thus, subsistence and other material production.[184] Working in separate and collaborative ways, both missionaries and colonial legislation diminished womxn's personal autonomy and independence. This was produced, in part, through the

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[180] Fletcher, "Reclaiming Our History; and Castellano and Hill, "First Nations Women: Reclaiming Our Responsibilities," 232-251.

[181] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties.* Others have discussed this shift as well. See, Devens, *Countering Colonization.*

[182] Anderson, *A Recognition of Being,* 37.

[183] Ibid., 38.

[184] Lawrence, "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity," 45-47; and Stevenson, "Colonialism and First Nations Women," 49-75.

removal of "female ownership of and control over lands, resources, and produce."[185] For instance, beginning in the 1650s with Jesuit missionaries amidst the Montagnais and Naskapi, there were the on-going and broad-based efforts to impose patriarchal family structures, which ultimately prevailed, but did not do so easily. With reference to Cree, Anishinaabe, Algonquian, and Haudenosaunee peoples, Winona Stevenson explains that one of the reasons missionary efforts to impose patriarchal structures was met with resistance was because "in many Aboriginal societies women controlled the produce of their own labour and had a high degree of control over the products of men's labour."[186] Drawing on a body of anthropological and historical research between the 1970s and 1990s about Mohawk, Seneca, Algonkian, Carrier, and Tlingit women, Stevenson says,

> Women in horticultural societies refused to give up control over agriculture—production, distribution, and the land. It wasn't so much that women were afraid of losing authority or power over their households, rather, they feared male mismanagement. Men were not learned in the skills or sacred ceremonies associated with agriculture and were less sensitive to the needs of the community because they were often absent on hunting and diplomatic missions. Women in coastal areas and inland regions where fishing made up the primary subsistence base also maintained their roles in the fisheries and control over the distribution of fish and other products.
>
> Many Aboriginal women resisted Christian marriage to maintain control over access to resources and the right to distribute the products of family labour. Tlingit women in Northern British Columbia, for example handled all the family wealth and managed trade activities. When urged to "legitimate" their marriages they resisted on the grounds that they refused to hand over their "purse strings" to their husbands. During the Pacific maritime fur trade Tlingit and other coastal women maintained control over the products of their labour—"fresh and dried fish, ducks, shellfish, berries, and shoots"—by trading directly with European merchants. When missionaries attempted to replace communal access-ownership with patriarchal private property, women most vehemently refused to hand it over. Placing men in charge of land and agriculture was central to the missionary enterprise but women held fast—some even went so far as to publicly humiliate and ridicule their men for trying to farm.[187]

In light of this tenacious refusal to readily uptake settler patriarchal values and practices, missionaries turned to the state seeking to create collaborative efforts in acclimatizing Indigenous womxn to

[185] Stevenson, "Colonialism and First Nations Women", 59. Anderson also discusses this influence of missionaries in alienating Indigenous womxn from their land-based relationships. See, *Recognition of Being,* 38.

[186] Ibid.

[187] Ibid., 61-62.

patriarchal social formation. The state-imposed legislations that further assaulted womxn's relationships with land, and the authority and security accrued from these relationships.[188] For instance, consolidation of colonial legislations regarding Indigenous peoples resulted in the Indian Act 1876. This settler legislation, and its' various iterations, reconstituted Indigenous womxn's identity, restricted her mobility and therefore access to her territories. This severely limited her from any kind of land or property "ownership" or "inheritance", be it indigenous or settler formations of ownership or inheritance. And, it stripped her of authority in decision-making in regards to land.[189]

With its ideas, constructions, imposed meanings and makings of Indigenous peoples through the label "Indian", Canadian legislators severely distorted ideas and practices of gender, relationality, and relational structures. Stevenson notes, "The 1876 consolidated *Indian Act* defined "Indian" as follows:

> the term "Indian" means *First.* Any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band; *Secondly.* Any child of such person; *Thirdly,* Any woman who is or was lawfully married to such person. (Canada, SC 1876, c. 18, s. 3(3))."[190]

Indigenous womxn, who were formally identified by their band (as well as through other processes) were stripped of this, located within a hierarchy and reduced to the lowest rank. The impact of, and the response to, the imposition of "Indian" identity would have been varied across Indigenous nations, or communities, depending on the respective existing governance, structures, systems and meanings of social ways of being. However, the binary, heteropatriarchal, marital, and nuclear structural emphasis of this settler imposition, and the rigid prescriptions associated with gender and gender orders, was deleterious for Indigenous peoples in myriad ways.

There is no research on how this legislation with its identity construction of "Indian" altered the relationality, practice, and power dynamics that existed between Indigenous peoples whose "gender" or

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[188] Ibid., 63-74;

[189] Lawrence, "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity", 6-15; Carter, "First Nations Women of Prairie Canada," 56, 71; Anderson, 45-47; and, Stevenson, "Colonialism and First Nations Women", 68, 69, 73, and 74.

[190] Stevenson, "Colonialism and First Nations Women", 67.

kinship ties were different from the gender binary. Put another way, how did Indigenous peoples who would not have identified as "man" or "woman" or "married" within their communities respond to Indian Agents who utilized this definition to regulate and distribute "rights". Given missionaries, traders, and Indigenous-European "marriages", treaties, and various economic exchanges had been working *on* Indigenous peoples through Indigenous-European relationships in regards to gender, family, religion, and patriarchy for a few hundred years prior to this legislation, it's likely the changes were not as sudden as suggested. There is little research that elucidates with any depth the gendered relationships with subsistence where gender is more than the binary introduced by settler state legislation. Settler legislation shows that gender and relationality, as a controlling mechanism, erased entire ways of Indigenous gendered and relational being. This had implications for land-based practices for all, including those who did not fit the binary. What does exist, in regards to gender diversity and land-based relationships, are fragments to draw upon. I discussed this early in this section. Attending to this gap in the literature, or finding ways to attend to this gap, is important. Obviously, it is significant and necessary to make present those gendered ways of being in relationship with land, in terms of subsistence and materiality, that have been erased from, or coerced into, this settler framework. Also, importantly, to do so will alter the ways Indigenous womxn's and mxn's relationships with land are understood. Thus far, such relationships have been predominantly elucidated through the settler frameworks of a gender binary, heterosexist relations, and nuclear family model.

The U.S. also reordered Indigenous relationships with each other and land, doing so in gendered ways. An example of this re-ordering is the Dawe's Allotment Act 1887. Like any legislation, be it in Canada or the U.S., the ways in which it is applied, it's impacts, and the ways Indigenous peoples respond, will have commonalities and differences across Indigenous nations/communities and contexts.[191] Keeping

[191] Joan Sangster notes the varied ways that Indian Agents applied the Indian Act with Indigenous peoples in "Canada". See, Sangster, "Native Women, Sexuality, and the Law," 308.

this in mind, there are salient aspects to this legislation that are consistently referenced in the literature I reviewed. One, it was intended to destroy Indigenous communal ways of organizing people and relationships with land. Two, it was intended to socialize/civilize Indigenous peoples towards Euro-American ideas of property which were based on individual ownership and accumulation. Three, it was intended to free up already determined reserve and treaty lands for further settlement. And four, Dawes Allotment was utilized to further impose settler ideas of gender and gendered relationships with land.[192] The main purposes of the Act were to free up land for white settlement and assimilate Indigenous peoples into U.S. ideas of civilized society, including how they used land.[193] It differs from the Indian Act in that, where Indigenous womxn under the Indian Act could not own land unless mediated through their relationship with a husband, the Dawes Allotment Act allowed Indigenous women to own land.

Allison M. Dussias reveals the gendered ways allotment operated to alter Indigenous peoples' relationships with land and re-order relationships between each other.[194] Her legal case analysis of Western Shoshone resistance against U.S. legal penalty and corporate encroachment on their traditional territories in the 1970s includes the impacts on both women and men. However, she emphasizes the particular impact upon, and responses by Western Shoshone sisters, Carrie and Mary Dann. She notes the historical legal principles and trajectory that led to the Dann sisters being fined by U.S. authorities for grazing their horses on their traditional territory. Following a certain logic, which Dussias outlines, U.S. law (i.e. Johnston vs. McIntosh 1823) denied Indigenous peoples full legal title to their land. This decision heavily emphasized agricultural practices as civilized and therefore indicated proper land use. However, it totally ignored Indigenous women's centrality in agricultural activities. Eventually, womxn's centrality in agriculture was recognized however this recognition was then cast as uncivilized.[195]

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[192] Dussias, "Squaw Drudges, Farm Wives, and the Dann Sisters' Last Stand"; Lawrence, "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity", 16-20; and, Fitzgerald, *Native Women and Land,* 46-52.

[193] Dussias, "Squaw Drudges Farm Wives, and the Dann Sisters' Last Stand," 671.

[194] Dussias, "Squaw Drudges Farm Wives, and the Dann Sisters' Last Stand".

[195] Ibid., 640, 643-653, 681

Referring to men and women, Dussias delineates the specifically gendered ways allotment operated. She says,

> … the allotment program initially concentrated allotted tribal lands in the hands of Indian men by giving heads of households, who were presumed to be men, the largest allotments and by making married women ineligible to own allotments. Although married women eventually were entitled to receive allotments, they were not always treated equally, and the actual control and use of the land were expected to be in men's hands. If married Indian women were widowed or separated from their husbands, they were in danger of losing both possession of their land, potentially at below-market rents, and the income derived from their land through the leasing program. Thus, although the property rights of Indians in general suffered from the dispossession occasioned by *Johnson* and the allotment program, the property rights and ties to the land of Indian women may well have suffered most severely.[196]

The social and cultural objectives of allotment regarding gendered relationships with land and gendered division of labour were advanced and further entrenched through enforcements around sexuality and marriage. This was carried out through programs that were intended to one, educate men on how to farm and two, educate women on how to be farmwives and therefore, domesticated within a heterosexist patriarchal, housebound structural formation.[197] White men participated as "farmers in residence" to educate Indigenous men. However, for many reasons, this strategy was not successful.[198] It could be argued that while the state imposed the idea of farming on Indigenous men, efforts to inculcate farming ability were merely performative, ultimately setting Indigenous men up for failure.[199] Similarly, the U.S. established the field matron program to domesticate Indigenous women. In this case, white women, and some Indigenous women, were hired to teach a range of domestic skills to Indigenous women.[200] In a comparative study between the American West and Australia, Margaret Jacobs thoroughly explicates the myriad ways white

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[196] Ibid., 688.
[197] Ibid., 682-684; 688-707
[198] Ibid., 682.
[199] Ibid., 682-683.
[200] Dussias, "Squaw Drudges, Farm Wives, and the Dann Sisters' Last Stand", 688-707; Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst of My Own People'," 201-216.

maternalism operated in egregious, violent, and painful ways to further colonize Indigenous peoples through removing Indigenous children from their families between 1880 and 1940.[201]

U.S. legal history regarding land title and the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887, with its numerous encroachments, converged with Carrie and Mary Dann's enduring practices of subsistence and ranching within their traditional territories and kinship ways of being. These enduring practices and the values, knowing, and worldview that animated their actions was counter to U.S. ideas of land ownership and use which were, and are, distinctly gendered. The Dann Sister's practices were also counter to U.S. ideas of jurisdiction. Dussias' contribution offers an exhaustive and informative historical, legal, and legislative trajectory that explicates and illuminates the particular context that contemporary Indigenous womxn, who affirm and assert their sovereignty and right to make a living according to their own ways, negotiate. About the Dann sisters she says,

> By asserting the right to graze their livestock on land that the government claims no longer belongs to the Western Shoshones, the Danns have shown their refusal to accept the legitimacy of government claims to Indian land. By denying the land can ever be owned by individuals, the Danns have rejected a basic premise underlying both *Johnson* and the allotment program. Moreover, by making a living as ranchers, the Danns have demonstrated their refusal to be relegated to the economic and societal roles that the government deemed proper for Indian women, roles which the government sought to inculcate through the field matron program in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Finally, by taking their case to the international community, the Danns have shown their refusal to accept the *Johnson's* Court's limitation on Indians' right to deal directly with other nations. In short, over 100 years after the enactment of the Dawes Act and the establishment of programs designed to domesticate Indian women, destroy tribal cultures, and assimilate Indians into Euro-American society, the Danns continue to struggle for legal recognition of their right to lead their lives and to enjoy their people's ancestral land in keeping with their own vision.[202]

Dussias' analysis, and the Dann sisters' lived experiences are an example of the modern conflict and clashes that arise between Indigenous womxn's subsistence, material, and cultural practices in their lands and settler colonial ideas of ownership and civilized being.

[201] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race.*
[202] Dussias, "Squaw Drudges, Farm Wives," 708-709.

Shifting to a cultural analysis of Indigenous relationship with land, settler federal legislation, and the environment, Stephanie J. Fitzgerald employs a framework of "land narrative" in analyzing womxn's literary, community, and online media sources. In one case, through literary analysis of novels written by Louise Erdrich, Fitzgerald elucidates the ways the Dawes Allotment Act 1887 impacted Anishinaabeg peoples located south of the Canadian-U.S. border. These characters lived on a fictional reserve in North Dakota. Fitzgerald signifies her methodological approach by purposefully utilizing women-produced sources. Her rationale for doing so arises from her assertions that land dispossession is not gender neutral. Fitzgerald states that "[in] a native context, most histories of removal and dispossession have tended to focus on men, and especially male leaders who opposed removal".[203]

Fitzgerald's' analysis of Erdrich's novels reveals a microcosm of provocative social, environmental, and spiritual relations that are impacted by allotment and manifest anew in response to allotment. Erdrich's novels include myriad gender and sexual representations and relationalities, allowing Fitzgerald's rendering to be informed, in part, through robust attention to a main female character, Fleur Pillager. Her analysis reveals a character who is actively and strategically responding to the consistently detrimental impacts of allotment in her world.[204] Fitzgerald's analysis illustrates that, and how, the Dawes Allotment Act impacted a specific group of Indigenous peoples, the Anishinaabeg. It also elucidates that these impacts, and the varied, sometimes conflictual and painful ways they are navigated and negotiated amongst Anishinaabeg, can be understood through the lens of nation, region, family line and kinship ties, and reservation life. While cultural analysis, particularly analysis of fictional stories, may seem irrelevant to the investigation of material living, Erdrich's novel is organized around historical events in settler-Anishinaabeg history. Fitzgerald's research reveals an effective method in signifying and addressing difficult relational matters that *do exist* within Anishinaabeg communities and between Anishinaabeg. Importantly, she signifies Anishinaabeg

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[203] Fitzgerald, *Native Women and Land*, 13-14.
[204] Ibid.

womxn's navigation of these dynamics. The combined approach of writing fictional stories around historical fact and bringing to light the nuances of said story through analysis that cleans intimate insights into relationalities and negotiation of them, is a method that resonates with Anishinaabeg cursory methods of dealing with conflict.

Three, ethnohistoric and anthropological settler constructions of indigenous subsistence have portrayed Indigenous womxn within a gender binary and hierarchy rendering womxn marginal or, as helpmates to men.[205] This not only distances or invisibilizes womxn from their direct relationships with land in subsistence and other material productions but it attributes a value to Indigenous womxn's subsistence. Specifically, it devalues this in comparison to mxn. Focusing on a re-evaluation of the intersection of gender and subsistence amongst Saulteaux, Laura Peers assesses three secondary sources spanning between the 1950s and 1970s which were written by Harold Hickerson and James Howard. She states,

> all of them show a bias in the presentation of the importance of women's contributions to Saulteaux subsistence, which is representative in which women's work is portrayed in the secondary literature for many other tribes. Essentially, these works portray the Saulteaux as evolving from a deer-dependent society in the western Great Lakes woodlands to a bison-dependent society in the parklands and prairies. In keeping with this image, women are generally depicted as mere processors of men's catches, not contributing to the diet themselves but dependent on the skill and goodwill of men.[206]

Aside from bringing this bias to the foreground, Peers, and similarly Parlee and Wray in their essay on caribou hunting amongst the Inuvialuit, Gwich'in, and Sahtú, assert that such biases have implications for the production of knowledge about Indigenous nations and gender, particularly women.

This valuation and hierarchy of men as hunters evolved into an archetype: "Man-the-Hunter".[207] The archetype invisibilizes and diminish womxn's subsistence activities. It creates the false idea that womxn do not hunt and that hunting is the epicentre of Indigenous survival. Because this gender bias has also falsely

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[205] Peers, "Subsistence, Secondary Literature, and Gender Bias"; and Parlee and Wray, "Gender and Social Dimensions," 172.

[206] Peers, "Subsistence, Secondary Literature, and Gender Bias", 40-44.

[207] Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Economies," 227; Parlee and Wray, "Gender and Social Dimensions," 172; and, Todd, "'This Is the Life," 196-198.

constructed hunting as the primary source of community well-being, it falsely constructs men as being the primary and most important contributors to communities. As evidence shows, this is definitely not the case. Womxn did and do contribute in vital ways to their families, their communities, and to the endurance of ways particular to their Indigenous nations. They did so through their expertise and the rigor required in subsistence and material productions that arose from their relationships with the natural and spiritual world. The pre-eminence of the "Man-the-Hunter" construction and archetype has been disrupted through a research focus on womxn's subsistence, harvesting, and land-based economic activities. However, the power of the archetype, and it's structural, historical, and ideological roots, still functions to render Indigenous subsistence and land as "man's domain".[208] For instance, films produced through the National Film Board of Canada in the 1970s and 1980s perpetuated the idea of man-the-hunter in *Cree Hunters of Mistassini* (1974) and *Hunters and Bombers* (1991).

While Cree women are actively present in these films, they are given less air time. When identified, they are identified as the wives of men which reflects, or echoes, the objectives of settler patriarchy.[209] Women are importantly represented to be active small game hunters, main providers during times when big game is scarce, gatherers, organizers of bush camps, tanning hides, care-givers, and, resisters of colonial processes, their work. However, these extremely important portrayals are constructed *within* the frame of Cree worlds that are determined by the main organization principle of man-the-hunter and patriarchy which is evidenced through family organization of the male last name. Further, in *Cree Hunters of Mistassini*, men are constructed as land-owners and inheritors-of-land from other men while women are constructed as wives-of-men.[210] This is an explicit echo of the structures imposed through the Indian Act which alienated womxn

[208] For a discussion of a conference on "Man-the-Hunter" that operated in unexpected ways to disrupt the myth associated with this archetype see Peers, "Subsistence, Secondary Literature, and Gender Bias".

[209] I frame this as 'reflecting' or 'echoing' settler patriarchy because without knowing precisely how Northeastern Cree society organizes itself, it is difficult to know how this way of identifying women functions as a result of settler colonial imposition of patriarchy or Cree articulations of individual and family formations.

[210] *Cree Hunters of Mistassini*.

from inherent relationships with land governance and ownership as discussed earlier in this chapter. This echo reflects how legislation manifests in the lives of Indigenous peoples in regards to land which is in turn purposefully reproduced in documentary.

Man-the-hunter is also constructed in films produced by other companies in other Indigenous nations. In *The Last Mooseskin Canoe* (1982), a documentary co-produced by National Film Board and Communications Society of the Western Northwest Territories, Sahtú Dene director Robert Yakeleya portrays Gabrielle, a Sahtú Dene man.[211] This is a documentary about Gabrielle and his relatives as he guides them in building a mooseskin canoe. Man-the-Hunter and other common formations of indigenous masculinity and patriarchy are conveyed through Gabrielle's first-person narrative. Man-the-Hunter is strengthened by the filmmaker's silencing of womxn, youth, and children whose voices are not included. Their important contributions to making the canoe are framed as supplementary. Their hard labour and work ethic in making the canoe, which is constructed as marginal and as helpmate to Gabrielle, is invisibilized. In fact, Gabrielle infantilizes the women by constructing them as being only interested in taking a vacation and riding in the canoe.

Finally, the perseverance of this archetype is witnessed through an online cultural series called, *The Ways*. This series showcases contemporary Anishinaabe cultural practices and issues of importance (i.e. language revitalization). In a short video entitled, *Hunting: Sharing the Harvest* (2014), one Anishinaabe man named Biskakone Greg Johnson is portrayed as a hunter who, engaged in recognizable relationality with the spiritual and natural world, provides for his family and contributes to his reservation community of Lac du Flambeau which is in Minnesota, U.S..[212] While the archetype of man-the-hunter is reproduced in this short video, it differs from the other portrayals mentioned. In this portrayal, Biskakone is the sole person involved in tracking the deer, shooting it, carrying out the spiritual responsibilities with the deer, transporting it

[211] *The Last Mooseskin Canoe.*
[212] *Hunting Deer: Sharing the Harvest.*

home, butchering it, working the hide, smoking the hide, and beading moccasins. In the other films, the men are engaged in hunting with other men or boys, labour that occurs amidst a broader context of women, teens girls, girls, toddlers and babies carrying out their daily lives as well. In this case, hunting is shown as individualized. When compared to the other films, the evident material security and/or affluence, depending on how either in measured, in *Hunting* illustrates class and/or economic differences between Indigenous peoples across nations, Indigenous lands, historical periods, and settler states.

Masculinization of womxn's land-based subsistence practices is noted in Anishinaabewaki. In her monograph of reservation and family labour in her home of Red Lake reservation, as well as in her discussion of harvesting wild rice in Nett Lake, in the U.S., Child illuminates how manoominike (wild rice harvesting) was once the domain of womxn. During the mid-20th century, and through a series of influences, mxn started to harvest rice as "an economic strategy to enhance family preservation and Indigenous survival."[213] I elaborate on this more in the section on labour which follows closely. In his archaeological study of boiling arches in Michigan and Wisconsin, Mathew M. Thomas notes an interconnection between gender, production, and technological changes in the 1920s.[214] He states, "It is my contention that the changes from women to men and from sugar to syrup that accompanied the abandonment of kettles and adoption of the flat pans were not coincidental, but related to a larger process of westernization and masculinization of the Indian sugarbush."[215] Thomas notes this masculinization has occurred on White Earth reservation in Minnesota as well.[216] Further, in their 1980-1997 case study of an Ojibwe sugar bush at Red Cliff in Wisconsin which was run by the Newago family, more specifically, "the males of the Newago family", Keller D. Paap and Howard D. Paap noted historical changes. This included a structural shift from the sugar bush and sugar production being the domain of womxn where mxn were

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[213] Child, *My Grandfather's Knocking Sticks, 163;* and Child, *Holding Our World Together,* 97-120.
[214] Thomas, "Historic American Indian Maple Sugar," 320.
[215] Ibid., 321.
[216] M.L. Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889-1920* qtd. in Thomas, "Historic American Indian Maple Sugar," 320.

helpers to shifting towards a site that was run by mxn in the production of syrup.[217] Paap and Paap state that, if womxn were present, it was on the weekends, "if at all" and it was to participate somewhat, cook a meal for the mxn, and/or participate in the festive spirit of the season.[218] They say, "Saturday is usually the time to expect a large meal prepared in the cabin by a woman. Sometimes word is passed in the village that so-and-so is cooking in the sugarbush on this day and a few visitors will show up to partake."[219] Paap and Paap generalize this shift as the result of significant structural changes that occurred during the 18th and 19th century. They also specify it as being the result of participation in the wage economy.[220]

Looking outside of Turtle Island context, the masculinization of women's land-based relationships are also revealed in Sámi reindeer herding. Framed as a case example of Indigenous women in traditional economies, Kuokkanen details how reindeer herding was traditionally women's domain. This situated her in control of family economies. She argues that patriarchal ways of thinking, law, and government policy "have made women invisible in the livelihood in which they had always played a prominent role."[221] She links this invisibilization to a number of points. One, how policies since 1945 have erased women's "traditionally held right of ownership". Two, how, since 1978, women's ownership has been registered in their husband's names. This resulted in women "losing their membership in the organization unit for reindeer herding" leading to economic and social repercussions as well as implications for identity as Sámi.[222] And three, how these policies make it difficult for women to continue herding if she divorces from her husband or if he dies.[223]

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[217] Paap and Paap, "Ishkigamizigan: An Ojibwe Rite of Spring," 249.
[218] Ibid., 248.
[219] Ibid., 249.
[220] Ibid., 250
[221] Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Women in Traditional Economies," 501.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid.

Labour

Drawing on literature from both the U.S. and Canada, anthropologist Patricia Albers reviews some of the major trends, debates, and issues in Indigenous labour and exchange as they arise across several fields during the 20th century. She discusses salient trends prior to the 1930s, after the 1930s, post WWII, the 1970s, and the late 20th century. Framing labour and exchange as economic acts, Albers states,

> Labor consists of actions both mental and manual by which humans, acting socially, transform nature into products for their own use and exchange. Exchange is an act by which the products of one's person's labor are alienated and consumed by another. Labor and exchange are universal processes, fundamental features of human life; how they are carried out is highly variable.[224]

Albers locates these trends within several themes which include techniques, tools, and trade; subsistence, reciprocity, and redistribution; change, commerce, and cultural convention; imperialism, injustice, and inequality; and agency, resistance, and assimilation.[225]

Interdisciplinary approaches to understanding labor and exchange in Indigenous economies emerged in the 1970s. While paradigmatic approaches took precedence over disciplinary backgrounds, Albers notes that the general lines of inquiry revolved around how Indigenous economies "became dependent on mercantile or industrial capital, and how this dependency contributed to … growing impoverishment and marginalization."[226] There were two trends in this era. One, a revisiting of fur and hide trades which yielded "new fur trade studies" that revealed how mercantile capitalism impacted divisions of labour in Indigenous communities and how Indigenous labor allowed Indigenous peoples to sustain their communities as well as provide provisions to non-Indigenous peoples. And, two, a movement to understand tribal economies (i.e.

[224] Albers, "Labor and Exchange in American Indian History," 269. Revealing the expanse in meaning of indigenous labour, nearly a decade later, Mary Jane Logan McCallum interrogates how, in part, "Indigenous identity" impacts, restricts or prescribes, Indigenous academic labor in the discipline of history. See, McCallum, "Indigenous Labour and Indigenous History," 536. I include this given it impacted my experience in my archival research which led to a publication.

[225] Albers, "Labor and Exchange in American Indian History".

[226] Ibid., 276. Albers makes a curious note about how in an era when "the profiles of scholars doing research…become more diversified" … "new bodies of scholarship were separated by the 'colors' of prevailing theoretical paradigms" (276). It is easy to interpret her use of language as a reference to racial differences and /or inclusions and/or diversities in this scholarship—and doing so in a bizarre manner. While emphasizing diverse profiles and interdisciplinarity, and "colors" of paradigms, she does not address race in this discussion.

fur trade) as influencers of, and as influenced by, regional, continental, and global commerce.[227] Further, cultural practices, and how they influenced Indigenous labour and exchange, were studied. [228] Debates regarding Indigenous peoples' motivations or "economic rationality" in becoming involved in trade, and subsequently dependent on trade, arose from the new fur trade histories.[229]

A focus on gender, specifically women, emerged at this time and "ran parallel to and intersectionally with fur trade studies and post-reservation economic development".[230] Research in this area identified how division of labour and ownership of property defined status which was significant in two ways.[231] First, it revealed how Indigenous women were much more influential in production and distribution than previously indicated.[232] And two, it rendered insights into the heterogeneous consequences that colonization had for Indigenous women and "their economic activity, consequences that differed not only from one group to another but even within the same group at different points in history."[233] Albers states that research in the 1990s shifted away from the "material conditions under which women secure a livelihood and achieve standing in their communities, and toward the cultural constructs and agencies that shape women's economic, social, and political conduct".[234] This reflected more broadly the trajectories in Indigenous labour during this time. I note Indigenous womxn's relationship with land/water as a matter of sovereignty, or economic sovereignty, labour, or exchange was not a part of this literature.

Writing in the 21st century, Carol J. Williams nests Indigenous women's labour within the broader concept of "work". This encompasses various forms of labour including actions such as activism. Williams facilitates seventeen essays spanning the 1830s to 1980s across four settler nations, Canada, United States,

[227] Ibid., 276-277.
[228] Ibid., 277-278.
[229] Ibid., 278.
[230] Ibid., 279.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Ibid.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Ibid., 280.

Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, that arise from a recognition of difference between Indigenous women and settler women's labour. This difference is the result of settler state legislation and bureaucratic programs that targeted Indigenous women and were "unashamedly designed to assimilate and subordinate."[235] The essays are couched in a bridging of Women's Studies, at its point of growth through intersectionality, and Indigenous Studies and critical Indigenous scholarships' advancements in importantly articulating indigenous knowledge production approaches. Williams includes and mobilizes Indigenous womxn's creative works that bookend the text.[236] As a non-Indigenous cultural historian, Williams conducts close readings of these bookends as forms of indigenous knowledge production approaches with an orientation towards labour. In doing so, she paves the way for non-Indigenous scholarly inclusion, recognition, serious, and meaningful consideration of these knowledge formations in the study of Indigenous women's labour.[237]

Not a project that conducts a comparative analysis of Indigenous women and settler women at sites of difference, Williams does squarely identify this difference. She does so in order to attend to the invisibilization of Indigenous women as modern workers and their contributions. She also recognizes the similarities between women within masculine-dominated contexts. The result is a transnational history of Indigenous women's labour, a trajectory not taken in the previous century or decades. This history moves between the axis of "colonized labour" and the idea that settler society is actually built on womxn' labour and *contributions*. Framing womxn's labour as contributions might suggest willful participation in colonial processes however in this case, it implies agency, humanity, and life-force on the part of women as opposed to invisibilized or dehumanized subjects that have been conquered.[238] Williams conceptualizes labour in various ways including reproductive, creative, agricultural, and land-based. Bringing Indigenous women and

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[235] Williams, "Introduction", 1.
[236] Ibid., 1-3.
[237] Ibid., 5-8.
[238] Ibid., 9.

their labour to the fore, the essays in this collection do not work along a dichotomy where woman are either victims of colonial conditions or traitors to Indigenous worlds for participating in them. As Williams states, "Adapting to all shapes of work relationships with the colonizers, and often in intimate proximity, women inhabited both sides of the colonial equation."[239] Further,

> A different history of labor awaits the telling precisely because of the multitude of ways Indigenous women—as *colonized* workers, as Indigenous, and as women—were disciplined and paternalistically presumed by the respective settler nations as *dependent or incompetent* rather than economically or socially sovereign. They were disenfranchised from the opportunity for economic self-sufficiency by virtue of their colonial subordination in the settlement's wage economy, disenfranchised geospatially from tribal communities and territorial land rights by virtue of colonial and gendered policies of assimilation and the occurrence of marriage to non-Indigenous men; and disenfranchised as women by virtue of overarching gender prescripts, by racism, and by relations imposed by Eurocentric sexual divisions of labour.[240]

Williams creates a scholarly context that allows a different history of labour, a transnational one that centres and focuses on Indigenous womxn across settler nations. She does so precisely because settler nations operated, and continue to operate, in ways that deny or overlook Indigenous womxn's economic and social sovereignty and alienate womxn from their ability to provide well for self and dependents in variable ways.

As Joan Sangster unpacks in her essay in the same collection, a transnational approach is not without its limitations but it will importantly operate in both abstract and practical ways.[241] Citing Chandra Mohanty, Sangster indicates an transnationalist approach will allow for comparing the ideologies that situate women in exploitive conditions across borders thereby illuminating systems of gender domination and revealing common interests amongst women towards creating social change.[242] Further,

> [a]t a practical level, in North America, nation-state borders were imposed over existing cultural, trade, and kin connections between First Nations, and even after borders were established, the flow of ideas and peoples continued. Transnational history allows us to examine Aboriginal women's labor history based on shared cultures and also to suggest how different state policies or political movements affected women's economic options (or lack of them).[243]

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[239] Ibid., 10.
[240] Ibid., 13.
[241] Sangster, "Aboriginal Women and Work across the 49th Parallel," 33.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid. 33-34.

In the same collection, Sangster sets the course for understanding various influences that have shaped understanding of Indigenous women's labour in Canada and the U.S. This course reveals "what insights have been gained, what questions we need to answer, and what contradictions" are still faced in research that ideally will contribute to decolonization.[244] Locating Indigenous women's labour within the colonial context, Sangster's review of trends begins in the post WWII era and address a number of points. One, the invisibilization of women's labour. Two, it's construction as ancillary to men's labour and/or location within rigid division of labour in an urbanization context. Three, cultural differences as reasons to explain economic marginalization and/or alienation. Such theories were "supplanted by questions of global capitalism, colonialism, inequality, underdevelopment, and dependence" instigated by global movements. And fourth, Indigenous organizing that occurred in both the U.S. and Canada which in turn failed to acknowledge agency and actual labour which includes Indigenous women's work.[245]

Feminist political economic approaches to understanding Indigenous women's labour in the 1980s yielded dynamic results. This included understanding how state and economic structures shaped womxn's labour while also yielding insight into how womxn negotiated and experienced these influences. Or, how state policies may have unintended beneficial results for womxn.[246] The silences about Indigenous women's lives were exposed through feminist writing and Indigenous women in anthropology. In particular, Bea Medicine created a trajectory of Indigenous women writing about Indigenous women.[247] Sangster emphasizes the fact that these academic shifts did not emerge in a vacuum within the academy. Rather they were influenced by broader social movements that were afoot, many that invisibilized women's labour in that work.[248] During this time "feminist sensibility" became interested in how church, state, and white

[244] Ibid., 27.
[245] Ibid., 29.
[246] Ibid., 29.
[247] Ibid., 30.
[248] Ibid.

settlers "had attempted to recast gendered work roles within Native cultures, often in their own patriarchal and middle-class image."[249]

Naming the "Whig view of historical production", Sangster identifies that for some, gender may not be a priority in research. However, in regards to research regarding Indigenous peoples, while gender may not be of interest for some, she notes Joyce Green's articulation and emergence of Aboriginal feminism. Aboriginal feminism is concerned with feminist and anticolonialist ideas thus suggesting that the emergence of this theoretical orientation indicates that some are interested in aspects of gender.[250] She argues that Indigenous women's advancement of feminist inquiries are "essential to our understanding of women's labor as it changed in response to the resources available, family and community needs, state policies, and the inexorable engine of capitalist accumulation."[251] While the history of labor is not yet a common topic in Indigenous women's writing, urban experiences, boarding and residential schools, mothering, and domestication programs that Indigenous women strategically manoeuvred to advance their own agendas show that "labor may be implicit, implied, and implicated in many thematics of Indigenous history."[252]

As stated, Sangster thoroughly engages the possibilities and problems of transnationalism as a lens for understanding Indigenous women's work and labour.[253] Relative to a study of the labouring aspect of Indigenous womxn's relationship with land, specifically, Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush, the transnational nature of this labour and the implications of the Canada-U.S. border that bifurcates Anishinaabewaki and Anishinaabeg is evident. For instance, Sangster says, "Even small differences in policy could aid or retard women's economic independence; the Dawes Act at least allowed Native American women to own allotments of land; the Canadian Indian Act did not.[254] Chantal Norrgard notes how the turn

[249] Ibid., 30-31.
[250] Ibid., 31.
[251] Ibid., 31.
[252] Ibid., 32.
[253] Ibid., 33-39.
[254] Ibid., 35.

to a transnational framework in labor historian's study of labor has emerged "with the intent of interrogating the 'origins and authority of the nation-state'"; it creates opportunities to increase the inclusion of "American Indian labour" within American labour history and to investigate how Indigenous nationhood "reconfigures the history of the nation-state."[255] Considering the ways transnationalism is in contradiction with, but raises possibility for, research in Indigenous Studies, Joseph Bauerkemper and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark state,

> Yet even while transnational modes of scholarly inquiry tend to present trajectories and objectives that run counter to the core commitments of indigenous studies, we suggest that the elaboration and judicious use of particular conceptions of transnationalism can serve the field. Rather than joining a totalizing effort to decenter any and every form of nationhood, our interests lie in seeking to distinguish divergent forms and practices of nationhood and to recenter indigenous nationhood and relations between and across indigenous nations as appropriate orientations for scholarly work. Maintaining Indigenous Studies commitments to nationhood, the theory of indigenous transnationalism we propose intentionally and self-consciously underscores the sophisticated boundaries that differentiate indigenous nations as discrete polities while also emphasizing the transnational flow of intellectual, cultural, economic, social and political traditions between and across these boundaries.[256]

The approach taken in a transnational analysis of Indigenous women's labour as articulated and examined by Williams and Sangster is one that seeks to interrogate and/or decenter settler nations in their influence of this labour and women's economic possibilities. When linked with Norrgard's approach, the possibilities of Indigenous women's labour as a matter of their own nations, and not as a subject of the settler state, also emerge.

In recognizing that Indigenous women's academic labour in the production of knowledge about Indigenous women's work has created fertile ground for interpreting said work and labour, Sangster notes the particular influence of women's life histories in both academic and popular forms as well as in autobiographies.[257] Sangster also notes that recently, historical writing about Indigenous women has taken a

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[255] Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 11.
[256] Bauerkemper and Stark, "The Trans/National Terrain of Anishinaabe Law and Diplomacy".
[257] Ibid., 32-33.

turn to the cultural as a result of critique of political economic and historical material analysis. Albers indicates that political economic analysis has erased Indigenous agency and role of culture in work practice and processes.[258] Sangster states some have constructed historical materialism as being incongruent with indigenous "wholistic, spiritual, and environmental perspective" due to its focus on the "destructive European mindset of materialism, capitalism, and individualism".[259] However, Sangster suggests that cultural theory and materialism are not mutually exclusive stating, "the dialectical insights of historical materialism, and labour historians' writing on the work-culture dynamic might provide useful insights and comparisons."[260]

Anishinaabe Womxn's Labour

Within the broader scope of academic writing on Indigenous women's labor in Canada and the U.S., a body of literature that specifically examines Anishinaabe women's labour is emerging. In this final section of my source review, I include a body of work published within the last decade by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous women that illuminate Anishinaabe womxn's labour.

Robin Jarvis Brownlie conducts a comparative analysis of Anishinaabeg and Mohawk women's urban labour between 1920 and 1940 in Southern Ontario (i.e. Georgian Bay area and Tyendinaga). She couches her concerns and overarching questions regarding Indigenous women and labour in the capitalist economy.[261] These concerns include the false images of the absent or idle Indigenous worker and the overuse of "cultural difference" as being an explanation for Indigenous peoples' presence, or lack thereof, in the settler economy. Regarding cultural difference, Brownlie states, "[i]t's easy to overemphasize the role of culture and thus overlook important questions such as the extent to which capitalism and other external

[258] Alber, "Labour and Exchange".
[259] Sangster, "Aboriginal Women and Work across the 49th Parallel," 38.
[260] Ibid., 38.
[261] Brownlie, "Living the Same as the White People".

pressures altered Aboriginal priorities and social practices."[262] An important question also raised by Albers, Brownlie's critique of cultural difference as theory to explain the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the settler economy is presented repeatedly. Paired with what seems to be an eagerness to declare sameness with non-Indigenous labourers it is difficult to avoid being curious about the plausibly of there being un-stated undercurrents shaping Brownlie's critique of cultural difference.

In addition to vying for a thorough and balanced application of cultural difference as theory, albeit in a curious way, Brownlie also makes a confusing argument for the future study of social and economic impacts that paid work and participation in the capitalist system had on Indigenous peoples. A valid point about necessary research trajectories, Brownlie, however, explicates this by suggesting that Indigenous men's persistence in subsistence practices allowed employers to "extract even more surplus value" through providing only seasonal labour. According to Brownlie's logic, which she links to research conducted by Alicja Muszynski's analysis of Indigenous mixed economic strategies in the northwest Pacific salmon canning industry, being engaged in subsistence and having a means to provide for themselves meant employers did not have to provide year-round employment.[263] Brownlie's argument, or the way it is phrased, is not clearly linked to her identified research trajectory. Further, it seems to blame Indigenous peoples continued participation in subsistence practices for the exploitive nature of employers, presumably settler, operating in a capitalist economy. In this same stream of logic, Brownlie also suggests that settler employers didn't pay Indigenous employee higher wages because of Indigenous peoples living arrangements. She states, "Those who lived on reserve or in the bush did not have to pay rent or the purchase price for the land on which they lived, another theoretical cost saving for the employers".[264] Finally, she states Indigenous women "were, of

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[262] Ibid., 44.

[263] Ibid., 46. In her research Muszynski clearly states her argument in this way: "The more general argument is that industrial capitalists will attempt to pay labour power below the costs necessary for its production and reproduction. They can do this if pre-capitalist relations of production continue within capitalism and if structured inequality exists." See, Musynski, "Race and Gender: Structural Determinants," 119.

[264] Ibid. Brownlie seems to have an over simplified, if not inaccurate, view of housing on reserves and appears fixated on whether Indigenous peoples paid rent or not as she mentions how women who moved to urban centers "…paid rent." (46) In her

course" part of the process due to their economic participation as well and "[s]ingle adult women, in contrast, were probably less implicated….".[265] And, Brownlie's third identified overarching question about Indigenous labour history questions the impact of colonization and capitalism on women and gender relations in Indigenous societies.[266]

Set within this broader context of Indigenous history and labour research questions, Brownlie's sources are rich and dynamic. She utilizes enfranchisement case files of mostly Anishinaabeg women (and some that include Mohawk women from one community in the Georgian Bay region) and oral testimonies of Mohawk women that were published in Beth Brant's *I'll Sing 'Til the Day I Die* to provide a detailed comparative analysis of the urban work experiences of these two groups of women. All the women are those who left their reserves to find work during the 1920s and 1930s albeit the geographical locations of some women yielded varying meanings of "leaving the reserve". Brownlie's research reveals considerable mobility driven by economic need amongst Indigenous women during the inter-war period, women who "demonstrated great tenacity in obtaining work and education, as well as coping with discrimination."[267] The Anishinaabeg women portrayed in the enfranchisement files "….revealed a set of strategies for escaping poverty, marginalization, and government domination they experienced on reserves." [268] The oral testimonies of the Mohawk women from Tyendinaga presented a situation highly influenced by geography and proximity to urban centres allowing for women to move between reserve and urban centers for employment without having to enfranchise as a matter of economic strategy.[269] This research also

concluding remarks, Brownlie states that during the Depression, Indigenous peoples may have returned to reserve from urban areas where "one at least did not have to pay rent." (67). She also undermines Indigenous sovereignty by suggesting that Indigenous peoples should pay for the land they live on.

[265] Ibid. I have spent a lot of time reading and re-reading Brownlie's construction of her logic around this research trajectory, as well as her discussion of cultural difference, and have come to the conclusion that there is some unstated negative attitudes about Indigenous peoples or tensions undergirding these two areas. My reading and interpretation of these constructions may of course be inaccurate as I also do feel that some of her ideas are presented in confusing ways that could easily lead to misinterpretation.

[266] Ibid.

[267] Ibid., 67.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Ibid.

contributes to the disruption of the idea that Indigenous women were idle as it shows not only active participation in the economy of Southern Ontario but also active strategy applied in accessing economic opportunities. Importantly, as a matter of enfranchisement, "[i]in their interactions with the Indian Department, they showed a thorough understanding of the racial constructions shaping non-Aboriginal perception of them and sought to counteract racial mythologies about Aboriginal idleness and improvidence."[270]

Brownlie's description of women's engagement with the settler policy of enfranchisement portrays this policy, and women's engagement with it, as a natural process. She states that women's efforts to meet the requirements of enfranchisement were "successful achievements" and while, they may have been experienced or accurately portrayed as such, the description is oversimplified given it fails to recognize the way colonial history, settler economy, and settler-made Indian policy put women into said positions in the first place and/or created reserve conditions such that they had to leave. Given one of Brownlie's research trajectory identifies the need to understand the impact of colonialism and capitalism on Indigenous women in Indigenous societies, problematizing the very existence of enfranchisement policy, and the reserve and urban economic conditions that created a situation where Indigenous women had to access it as an economic strategy for survival or advancement in urban settings, is warranted.

Three essays in Williams edited collection on Indigenous women's labour across two different settler nations focus on Anishinaabeg women in three different regions, or more precisely, states, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Alice Littlefield's survey of Anishinaabeg women's changing work lives in Michigan throughout the 20th century is rendered through oral history. Littlefield's sources include interviews conducted in the 1980s with Anishinaabeg who were former students at the Mt. Pleasant Indian school during the 1920s and 1930s; interviews conducted in the 1990s with Anishinaabeg women from the

[270] Ibid.

Saginaw Chippewa Tribe that queried work history; and, federal recognition research carried out in the 1990s for the Nottawaseppi Pottowatomi Band and in the early 2000s for the Burt Lake Band of Ottawa and Chippewa.[271] Littlefield shows how Anishinaabeg women's economic choices and work lives were shaped by U.S policy, historical events, the expanding global economy, and a receding industrial economy. While mostly a survey of participation in the settler economy and beginning in the 1990s and new tribal economies, which of course are impinged upon by federal and state influence, Littlefield does address land-based subsistence. She indicates that women's land-based practices such as subsistence and participation in trade were primary during the fur trade between the 1650s and early 1800s however where the fur trade declined, subsistence persisted throughout the 1800s and into the 1900s as a method of surviving.[272] During the removal policies of the 1930s, commodification of "fish, maple sugar, wild berries, harvested crops, baskets, and other craft products" further allowed Anishinaabeg to survive.[273] "By the 1960s, Michigans' Anishinaabe population was largely an urban one. Even in rural areas, the subsistence sector had been largely replaced by primary reliance on wage labour."[274]

Littlefield makes three concluding research trajectories. They include increasing understanding about women's involvement in public bureaucracies which are known to manage other women's lives; the need for understanding of "ethnic maintenance and change" within the existing political economy; and, "the need for more fine-grained studies of work and gender relations in [tribal] enterprises to understand more general processes of accommodation, resistance, and class division within tribal communities."[275] While these trajectories are fruitful, they reflect a naturalization of Indigenous women's economic participation in settler economies as well as a naturalization of settler political economy. Put another way, this research elides issues of indigenous sovereignty which are fundamental to understanding Indigenous women's labour.

[271] Littlefield, "Making a Living: Anishinaabe Women in Michigan's Changing Economy," 46.
[272] Ibid., 48-49, 51-52.
[273] Ibid., 51.
[274] Ibid., 53.
[275] Ibid., 58.

In the settler political economy within which Littlefield locates Indigenous peoples in as 'ethnic' identities, her proposed directions would be particularly generative when located within an anti-colonial or decolonial frame.

Tourism related to Indigenous peoples lives and communities, with a focus on labour, is argued as a form of class-based voyeurism or spectacle and is also conceptualized as another form of colonization.[276] While acknowledging some of these points, Melissa Rohde examines the ways Anishinaabeg women in Lac du Flambeau and Lac Courte Oreilles reservations in northern Wisconsin were able to "hold on to and adapt fundamental structures of labour" through their work in an emerging tourism industry between 1900 and 1940.[277] More so, she illuminates the meaning that tourist economies had for Anishinaabeg women in these communities as well as broader meanings of labour. As indicated elsewhere, Indigenous women's mixed economic strategies including land-based practices, such as subsistence and gardening, allowed for community persistence during restrictive economic times. Rohde notes the same in her analysis of Indian service industrial surveys conducted in 1922 in both of these reservations. However, relative to her essay, she states such strategies took on newly signified importance amidst shifts in reservation economies prompted by regional economic changes as a result of the decline of the lumber industry. Rohde states that during this time, "Anishinaabeg women at Lac Courte Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau were key factors in this economic transformation, because they played a central role in the region's shift to a service economy based on tourism. Within Anishinaabe communities, tourism work provided an avenue where women could respond to changes in the political, economic, and natural environments of their reservations."[278]

The new tourism economy afforded women a number of possibilities within the colonial context. Regarding material culture and tourism in Ojibwe communities, Norrgard notes how the production and

[276] Raibmon, "The Practice of Everyday Colonialism," 109-127.
[277] Rohde, "Labour and Leisure in the 'Enchanted Summer Land'," 137.
[278] Ibid., 136.

sale of natural and produced food items such as berries, rice, and maple sugar, as well as material items such as bead and quill work and baskets for the tourist industry, became important sources of income for Anishinaabeg women.[279] Rohde states that it allowed women to maintain control over their household and cultural and subsistence activities; two, it allowed women the ability to obtain revenue without adhering to government projects intent on extinguishing Indigenous culture and restricting autonomy; and three, through women's innovation in tourism work, "Ojibwe women continued a gendered system of labor that was key to the culture of work in their communities."[280] Considering wider meanings of tourism, Rohde states that it disrupted the federal governments "narrow, paternalist model of labor" which sought to socialize Indigenous peoples into moral, civil people; it compelled a broader conception of work and workplace including such activities as "commodity production, domestic labor, farming, gathering, and performance" which allow scholars to better recognize and include Indigenous women's labour in histories of work; and three, "it brings together types of work that have been separated by binary construction of labor according to gender or to their supposed reflection of 'traditional' or 'modern' economic systems".[281]

Specifically relative to this research, this range of activities illuminated "how diverse and complex Native subsistence strategies had become by the 1920s" and how, in Lac du Flambeau and Lac Courte Oreilles, the yearly subsistence round did not disappear with non-Anishinaabeg settlement, it just became more complex.[282] Whereas Brownlie implies that Anishinaabeg persistence in subsistence practices allowed employers in the lumber and transportation industries to under employ, Rohde, in arguing that subsistence practices became more complex, offers the example of Anishinaabeg men who *included* wage employment from these industries into their pre-existing and deeply rooted subsistence practices.

[279] Norrgard, 117-119.
[280] Ibid., 137.
[281] Ibid., 137, 142.
[282] Ibid., 137.

Importantly, Rohde prevents the construction of a historical narrative that portrays Indigenous participation in tourism and the ability to endure subsistence practices through this to some degree in an overly simplified, romantic view. Tourism that was popularized around land-based activities (i.e. hunting, fishing) or commodities made from Anishinaabeg procurement from the land (i.e. baskets, moccasins) may have allowed Anishinaabeg to persist in innovative ways while making wages, the popularity of "re-wilded" tourism was made so by non-Anishinaabeg desire for and use of the lands, waters, and beings. This popularity was utilized by the state (i.e. Wisconsin) to take issue with, and ultimately deny, Anishinaabeg treaty rights off-reserve.[283] The tourist industry also contributed to land loss as government encouraged the selling of waterfront land to propel it.[284] Citing a Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1911, Rohde reveals the underlying paternalistic, colonial, and arrogant attitudes that settler officials had towards Anishinaabeg at the time. She also notes the intentions that shaped such processes, allowing for settlers in the tourist industry to expediate land dispossession as opposed to encouraging Anishinaabeg development of their lands for tourism themselves.[285]

Child's historical research on Anishinaabeg women covers a breadth and depth that is most salient to the present research. In reviewing three relevant sources, Anishinaabeg women's myriad and evolving labour forms are robustly elucidated. A salient vein in Childs' research is Anishinaabeg land-based practices and labour, that is, practices based on the seasonal round such as subsistence or trade, with a particular thematic focus on manoomin and manoominike. While there are evident overlaps and linkages throughout her body of research, Anishinaabeg women's land-based labour is explicated in three different ways. One, with emphasis on women's contributions and labour as society builders throughout various contexts. Two, with a focus on family life and labour in a reservation context during the 1900s which reveals persistence

[283] Ibid., 140; and, Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 111.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid.

and change in gendered land-based labour. And three, by showing how the values inculcated by, and through, land-based labour persists into urban communities and economies.

Child couches her research in Anishinaabe transnational history that includes the U.S. and Canada. She focuses on women in the U.S. researching across historical periods, regions, cities, and reservations as well as social, political, and economic contexts. Child demonstrates the innovative, practical and dynamic ways Anishinaabeg mobilized, strategized, and acted in order to maajiimaadiziwin (keep the life-line going), in their families and communities despite settler state and settler colonial processes. *Holding Our World Together* brings to the fore various meanings and actualizations of women's labour across six different historical contexts via the lives of specific women who are highlighted in each context. In this monograph, Child shows that Anishinaabeg women' were society builders stating their contributions,

> allowed their communities to persevere in an era dominated by the expansion of American colonialism. At each stage, women marshaled much of the economy, and their roles and traditions were critical in sustaining Ojibwe communities in the face of forces that often aimed not only to cause physical destruction but to stamp out their entire way of life.[286]

These contexts include social, ceremonial, and subsistence during the seasonal rounds. Specifically, they include ricing, sugaring, and berry-picking which were historically carried out through collectives of women and girls. Two, fur trade labour which included subsistence, social-economic labour involving trading and marriage, as well as additional labour that supported increased trade introduced with Europeans. This labor that may have mitigated, to some degree, the erosion of women's "power and status" instigated through colonial processes. Three, adapting the seasonal round to colonial advancement that occurred in myriad way such as reservations, assimilation, dispossession of land and degradation of what land was accessible, denial of treaty rights, attenuation of access to natural resources, re-socialization to meet European standards of civilized labouring practices (i.e. masculine and feminine), and increasing poverty. Four, Child reveals historically specific shifts in the structure (i.e. female collectives) and gendered participation of land-based

[286] Child, *Holding Our World Together,* xxvi.

labour such as ricing. Previous to the 1930s ricing was women's realm however due to settler political economic interferences, men entered into this during the depression. Five, continued re-socialization of Anishinaabeg gendered labour to meet Euro-American norms through boarding schools which existed primarily between 1879 and 1940 *and* socialization for preparation in settler labour forces (i.e. domestic, agricultural, industrial) as a part of on-going assimilation into U.S. society. This process was rationalized by thinking Anishinaabeg "could no longer afford a life of caring for their land and resources". And, six, Child discusses how, with increased urbanization in the 1940s, shifts in labour were still informed by the values of the traditional Ojibwe economy (i.e. formation of female collectives). While illustrating the myriad ways in which Anishinaabeg women held their worlds and communities together throughout variable contexts, Child notes, "[o]nce Ojibwe people were dispossessed of their best land for hunting, fishing, and gathering, the formerly dependable seasonal economy languished in the Great Lakes region."[287]

The subject of ceremonial and healing/medicinal labour, family labour in a reservation context, masculinization of ricing, and the persistence of values generated in land-based economies in urban centres and activist labour are examined more closely in Child's additional writing. She utilizes indigenous methodology by incorporating her personal and familial stories which center around her maternal grandparents, Jeanette and Fred Auginash.[288] Through Child's use of family stories and government documents, as well as public documents about known significant events, readers learn about the ways government interfered, disciplined, regulated, and controlled all aspects of Ojibwe life *as well* as how her grandmother and grandmother negotiated these shifting contexts. These personal stories and histories are poignant as Child shares some of the nuances and intimacies of their lives together and as individual beings in the world.

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[287] Ibid., 142.
[288] Child, *My Grandfather's Knocking Sticks*.

Child's portrayal of her grandmother affirms what we know about how, and that, women laboured in dynamic ways to keep their communities and families going. Child's openness, care, and fortitude in sharing her grandmother's work history also disrupts any restrictive, romantic, or simplified ideas of women's lives on the reservation. It opens up space for future examination of the truths of Indigenous women's lives in a settler colonial, capitalist context. It importantly allows for a deeper, perhaps unsettling, engagement with the variable truths of Anishinaabeg economic lives across contexts. For instance, amidst a life of engaging in what would be deemed acceptable forms of labour for cash, Child's grandmother also took up bootlegging.[289] Child is clear to say that she does not know the particular circumstances that led to this decision and practice. However, she does wonder if it occurred during the Depression, a time when Jeanette's husband was injured and limited in his ability to contribute to providing for their family.[290] She states,

> When my parents married in 1954, my father knew that his mother-in-law sold beer and whiskey. … When faced with the fact that for years my incredibly decent and loving Grandma Auginash was a reservation bootlegger, the narrative of her working life must be weighed alongside the adversities she endured. As an heir to her endurance, I am thus obliged to measure the choices she made within her world of limited prospects.[291]

In relation to fishing and ricing, Child portrays two interesting historical trajectories along the axes of gender. While her discussions are vetted through the lens of family labour, I focus on what is rendered about women in regards to fishing in Red Lake.[292] She notes that women always had relationship with fishing through making nets, settings them, drawing them in, cleaning, and preparing fish. During WWI, a state fishery was created at Red Lake and despite the representation of fishing as the realm of men, Ojibway women continued to carry out this labour; the representations evidently invisiblizing women's relationships with land and the labour enacted in those relationships.[293] The fishery persisted beyond WWI and with it,

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[289] Ibid., 49
[290] Ibid., 49-50.
[291] Ibid., 51.
[292] I discuss ricing in an earlier section of this review.
[293] Ibid., 96-97.

state and Indian Affairs control of Ojibwe fishing. As Child states, "The state fishery at Red Lake operated much as other business enterprises on Indian reservations in the United States, where the government, in this case the state of Minnesota and its citizens, was first in line to benefit economically from Indigenous resources and labour. Of secondary importance was the ability to make a living or the interests of Red Lake fisher men and women."[294] Red Lake fisher people resisted the erosion of their economic well-being through restriction of their rights and took legal action. While the unfolding historical narrative that arises between tribal members, tribal lawyers and state and federal employees about Red Lake Ojibwe rights is androcentric, Child shares a story from 1939 of Naynaabeak Anna Jones. This story is about how Naynaabeak continued fishing practice in the Warroad River, a river that ran along her off-reserve land, was disrupted by the activities of a game warden who had been dragging the river for logging use. Framing this story in an Ojibwe legal understanding of water rights, Child states,

> In Ojibwe culture, water was a gendered space where women possessed property rights, which they demonstrated through their long-standing practice of binding rice together into sheaves prior to harvest, part of an Indigenous legal system that marked territory on a lake and empowered women. From every legal angle that mattered to Ojibwe women, and in consideration of the need to make a living, Naynaabeak was obliged to set her fishing net in the Warroad River, despite the difficulties she faced in doing so by 1939.
>
> Naynaabeak's life was not so different from that of many other American Indian men and women who survived on reservations or allotments of land in the early twentieth century, and who by letter and action, such as setting a small fishing net, continued to exercise their right to work and earn a living.[295]

In addition to land-based labour that was engaged for sustenance, trade, and later changed to include wage labour, Child dynamically illuminates women's relationship with plants, medicine, music, and dancing as healers and does so across historical, global, and economic periods.[296] In this discussion she includes

[294] Ibid., 100.
[295] Ibid., 122-123.
[296] Ibid., 125-160.

anthropologist Frances Densmore's detailed description from the early 1900s of women's work at, and knowledge of, the sugar bush.

Where Child focuses on Anishinaabeg seasonal labour and economy through various historical periods and contexts contributes to Indigenous history, Indigenous labour, and Indigenous women's history, Norrgard explores Ojibwe history, building from the growing body of American Indian labour history. She contributes to American labour history by expanding, or disrupting, the boundaries of labour's meaning to include Indigenous labour. Norrgard elucidates meanings and practices of Indigenous labour across five contexts: the transformation of gathering; the criminalization of hunting and trapping; barriers that arose in regards to fishing; waged work in the lumber industry; and, somewhat similar to Rohde, a redefining of labour through tourist industry, from which Norrgard departs in her conceptualization of this industry as another form of colonization.[297]

Moving beyond culture-as-difference, Norrgard argues Indigenous labours' difference from American labour history's meanings of labor. She achieves this through showing how Indigenous labour is a reflection of sovereignty *and* nationhood.[298] The narrow meanings of labour that American labour history purports not only operates to exclude Indigenous labour and it's meanings, it operates to "restrict and undercut Native peoples economic agency and… further[s] the initiatives of settler colonialism and federal Indian policy."[299] Norrgard organizes her analyses around the historical period of U.S. treaty-making with Ojibwe beginning in the 1850s, ending with the Great Depression. She states that American economic expansion and on-going colonization was fostered through treaties stating that they allowed for the formation of the nation-state to be possible.[300]

[297] Norrgard, *Seasons of Change*, 2.
[298] Ibid., 9-14.
[299] Ibid., 9.
[300] Ibid., 13.

Codified in U.S. treaties made with Anishinaabeg, Norrgard includes "gathering" in her research situating it, and its transformation, within the broader historical context of treaty making, colonization, and nation-state economic expansion. In doing so, she includes an area of livelihood, work/labour that predominantly portrays women.[301] Under the umbrella of gathering, she focuses on "the history of berrying" which "illustrates how Ojibwes transformed traditional forms of subsistence into commercial activities as they experienced the pressures and constraints imparted by federal Indian policy and settler colonialism."[302] Unlike treaty-making in Anishinaabewaki north of the 49th parallel, where male leaders were documented as articulating assertions in regards to maintaining the ability to fish and hunt, some male Ojibwe leaders south of the 49th parallel included "gathering" when the U.S. sought to make treaties with them.[303] As indicated in an earlier discussion about maintaining access to maple trees, Norrgard cites Leech Lakes' Flat Mouth in 1837 and Marten of Lac Courte Oreilles in 1842.[304]

Gathering, as a specific livelihood and form of work and labour, is explained.[305] Relating to Ojibwe, she states,

> Historically, gathering was a critical component of Ojibwe subsistence. Ojibwe women oversaw and took part in a majority of the labor that fell under the category of gathering, as well as the activities that took place in sugaring, ricing, and berrying camps. Women allocated the stands of maple trees used for sugaring to specific families, and they tended to the process of boiling sap and turning the sap into sugar. They designated rice beds, harvested rice, and oversaw the drying process, which involved parching it, jigging on it to loosen the husks, and winnowing it to get rid of the chaff. Women and children picked berries and dried them for later consumption. Ojibwe women essentially held authority over the labor that gathering encompassed and the distribution of food.[306]

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[301] Norrgard defines livelihood as "comprising a set of economic actions as well as the social, cultural, material, and political resources on which individuals, families, and larger social groups draw to make a living. [It] entails the social dynamics and values that shape people's economic choices and actions, and it allows us to account for indigenous labor *and* it's connections to the broader social and cultural values of indigenous societies" and used the terms work and labour "interchangeably to describe the strategies Native people have developed to make a living. (9).

[302] Ibid., 20.

[303] My statement that treaties made with Anishinaabeg north of the 49th parallel only included hunting and fishing and did not include gathering is made based on my reading of relevant treaties in Morris, *The Treaties of Canada*..

[304] Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 20-21.

[305] Ibid., Ibid., 22-32.

[306] Ibid., 22-23.

Norrgard addresses the passivity that is inaccurately attributed to this labour which, for anyone who has ever picked berries, knows it is hard labour requiring physical flexibility and often an ability to climb bumpy or hilly terrain and an ability to endure hot weather, mosquitos, and black flies. Berrying as a livelihood renders not only subsistence but renewal of social and ceremonial relationships, as well as renewal of relationships with land and place.[307] These social relations may have occurred through trade with other Indigenous nations. As an economic strategy enacted post-European arrival, Ojibwe traded or sold their surplus and did so before and after treaties.[308] As noted by Child, reservations influenced Ojibwe labour in numerous ways. This forced dynamic strategies to be employed. Similarly, Norrgard notes that the reservation era put extreme pressure on land-based practices such as gathering, hunting, and fishing off-reservation. While it attenuated these practices, it did not extinguish them.

Women's economic strategies also included utilizing their plant knowledge in providing midwifery and healing services in the growing settlements and selling wild produce as well as crops from gardens.[309] While there is little evidence of the sale of wild rice during the late 19th century, which Child has shown to historically be the realm of women's governance and labour, there is evidence that wild rice "served as a currency until the mid-nineteenth century but that it diminished during the reservation era because of a number of factors."[310] Despite reservation and off-reservation borders and regulations being put in place, Ojibwe women continued to pick berries off reserve. This suggests a kind of resistance to, or ignoring of, the federal government's artificial boundaries. Given they continued to harvest in camps and groups it can be interpreted that they resisted individualism promoted by settler government.[311] Income from berrying was particularly important to women, and was an "especially crucial source of income to women who did

[307] Ibid., 24-25.
[308] It's unclear to me if this was typical surplus or if it was created to meet a new population/need/market. I suspect that surplus would have been created to meet the new need/market
[309] Ibid., 27.
[310] Vennum qtd. in Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 27.
[311] Ibid., 29.

not have male relatives to contribute to the support of the household and to whom wage work was not readily available."[312] Mobility required with berrying persisted; and, it was less criminalized than hunting and fishing.[313]

Norrgard notes a shift from berrying harvesting for subsistence, trade and selling to a fruit industry between 1900s and 1940s. A number of processes instigated an agricultural movement amongst settlers which unfolded parallel to on-going pressures on Ojibwe to farm and shift from communal to allotted lands. Focusing on Red Cliff reservation, which is near the city of Bayfield and whose development was greatly instigated by a wealthy Indian Agent, Norrgard shows one pattern where Ojibwe partook in the fruit industry for commercial purposes. Drawing on patterns noted by Child, Norrgard indicates that "this economic transition affected the gender dynamics surrounding berrying and other forms of gathering."[314] Similar to Child, Norrgard states that berrying became work shared by men and women during the Depression. "As other opportunities for income available to Indian men declined in the early twentieth century, they became increasingly involved in the labour that had traditionally been under the control of women" and these changes occurred alongside efforts by Indian Services to socialize men into farmers and women into housewives.[315] Also similar to Child, the observation about changes in gendered labour is framed as a form adaption enacted for cultural persistence.[316] Child acknowledges that changes for women in ricing may have been "world shattering" however, citing Theda Perdue, also raises the possibility that these changes may not have been negative for women.[317] She states, "Women and men appeared willing to

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[312] Ibid., 30. It would be interesting to research female households and female kinship relationships that supported women's livelihoods (and/or for subversions of imposed sexuality and relationalities).

[313] Ibid., 31.

[314] Ibid., 36.

[315] Ibid.

[316] The history of Indigenous womxn's activism against discrimination in the Indian Act in Canada which denied women basic rights such as housing on reserves reveals a dichotomization in Indigenous communities between women's rights and culture or nationhood. As it goes, in this context, women's needs, and their articulation of and advocacy for them, yielded responses from Indigenous male leadership that they were detracting from the "real goal" of advancing issues of nationhood with the settler state.

[317] Child, *My Grandfather's Knocking Sticks,* 185.

modify elements of their work if they could sustain their families and preserve the essential values of cultural sovereignty that gave meaning to Ojibwe life."[318] Norrgard notes how one Ojibwe man, a famous lacrosse player, found solace in gardening and growing fruit *and* a good market for his products. However, she does not reveal how women, particularly single women who are noted to particularly benefit from the income garnered from the sale of berries, and other social, ceremonial, and land-based practices, were impacted by men's movement into this world even if compelled to by structural change instigated by settler economic conditions and state goals of assimilation/civilization.[319]

Gender is not a lens Norrgard utilizes however gender is ever present in the dominant portrayals of men. These portrayals are naturalized where the less-frequent portrayals of women are marked as somehow special. For instance, in the index of *Seasons of Change,* there is a section for "women" with thirteen entries made however there is no entry for "men" despite men being referenced repeatedly throughout the text. This particular construction formation reproduces Ojibwe labour, sovereignty and nationhood, and exclusion from American labour history, as primarily matters related to men, thereby contributing to a previously identified problematic. The problem of male-dominated portrayals of labour is addressed in this literature review; the problem of nationhood and sovereignty being constructed in androcentric ways is attended to in Indigenous feminist and womxn's activist literature. Essentially, male-dominant portrayals invisibilize womxn's labour and attenuates arguments of her sovereignty and nationhood. Further, as is typical for much of Anishinaabeg history, there is a reproduction of the gender binary. Despite these matters, Norrgard's exceptional contribution is in her effective argument that Indigenous labour reflects Indigenous sovereignty and nationhood.

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[318] Ibid.

[319] Ibid., 37.

Conclusion

This source review grounds an intersectional consideration of Indigenous womxn and land in Turtle Island in a preliminary review of various meanings of land and gendered relationships with land. Recently, scholars have importantly and necessarily infused the latter with a consideration of gender diverse identities, relationalities, and the ways settler colonial forces have repressed or erased these ways of being within various Indigenous nations. Focusing on Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush as an aspect of economic sovereignty, the remaining bulk of the review unpacks the literature that intersects Indigenous womxn and land. It includes Indigenous and non-Indigenous authored monographs, peer-reviewed articles, edited collections, chapters, lectures, documentary and film, government policy, and grassroots community research reports about Indigenous peoples in Turtle Island. The salient themes that emerged from this review included Indigenous womxn and land as culturally and materially co-constituted; environmental and climate change; subsistence and other material production; and, labour.

Indigenous womxn and land as culturally and materially co-constituted traversed metaphorical (i.e. origin stories, woman as Mother Earth, princess, sq*aw, drudge) and material meanings (i.e. womxn is land, land is womxn). There is a debate between the emergence of the metaphorical origins of "Indigenous woman as Mother Earth". Some scholars state this is an Indigenous-created metaphor while others state it emerged from settler anthropology. Wilson's investigation of this debate within her own community yielded results that indicate that equating women to Mother Earth, or feminizing the earth as mother, is not a traditional practice in her community. Despite this finding, Wilson prompted a consideration of its meaning and value in a contemporary society. Attributing kinship status to the natural world is common amongst Anishinaabeg however there are those who also indicate this is a modern practice that is not grounded in the origins of language development or language meaning.[320] One of the limitations of ascribing

[320] Helen Roy Fuhst, personal communication, n.d.

kin ties to the land is that kin tie reflects gender binarized identities and relationalities. Another salient theme as noted by Anderson and Smith was how womxn were constructed to reflect land and how this was mobilized to advance settler interests. Despite the myriad ways that Indigenous womxn and land are produced, or treated, as culturally constituted, this body of literature does not focus on representations of womxn's inter-relationship with land as a source of material, subsistence, or economic life which are significant exchanges that enhance her real ability to sur-thrive.

In the second theme, environmental change emphasizes the symbiotic relationship between environment and womxn. Cook illuminates the impacts that industrialization in Indigenous territories has on Indigenous women through contaminants in the lands and waters. A younger generation of activist-artist-scholars, Kahealani Pacheco and Konsmo has examined this subject as well. They take a community-based approach to understanding how environmental degradation impacts womxn and two-spirited youth in communities. Importantly this research also engages in empowering praxis by including Indigenous-centered healing practices utilizing medicines from the land, ceremony/spirit, relationship. Vineyeta, Powyss Whyte, and Lynn identify the gendered impacts and resiliencies that exist in contemporary conditions of climate change. There is no literature that examines how climate change might generate new kinds of gendered land-based relationships in different regions of a nation. For instance, as the climate warms, ininaahtigoog may migrate to colder climates introducing Anishinaabeg in those areas the possibilities to take up this practice.

The third theme, Indigenous womxn, subsistence, and other material production, is an extensive subject area in this review. Through the broader lens of indigeneity, it is evident that within Indigenous subsistence practices, subsistence is both utilitarian and more than utilitarian. Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors and documentary filmmakers across Turtle Island show that indigenous land and water-based subsistence practices are material, spiritual, social, economic, environmental, and political practices. Indigenous subsistence practices in contemporary times are inscribed with negative meanings and elicit

apathetic attitudes. These attitudes impact women in negative ways. Some scholars argue for a re-generation of subsistence practices showing how they are intertwined with other material conditions such as housing.

Focussing on Indigenous womxn and subsistence there are three salient arcs in the literature. First, Anderson, Buffalohead, Brumbach and Jarvis, and Dussias show how Indigenous womxn's relationship with land in subsistence practices was central to Indigenous life in pre-colonial land-based cultures. Maracle utilizes Sto: lo traditional narrative to show how, from birth, Sto: lo female subsistence was intertwined with an ability to protect oneself. There is no full-length thesis that examines these practices through a gendered lens, emphasizing womxn, and tracing it through historical periods or methods, or utilizing various sources to elucidate womxn's land-based practices. The second arc reveals a theme about Indigenous womxn's knowledges and skills in procuring, producing, preserving, and distributing/exchanging food and other material items in relation to non-Indigenous peoples and settler colonial and global contexts. This theme moves through the following arcs: womxn's centrality in land-based practices; womxn's beneficial participation in evolving settler economies; attenuation/erosion of their land-based practices; enduring value of these practices during times of extreme poverty in Indigenous communities; and, reclamation of these practices. The third arc overlaps with a part of the story that emerges in the second arc. It pays particular attention to the intentional and purposeful ways Indigenous womxn's alienation from land and water-based subsistence practices was created by settler colonial agendas that operated in historical, political, social, and cultural ways. There is room in this literature for research on how individuals, communities of people, and families might work to correct this purposeful loss and alienation.

The final theme in this source review is Indigenous womxn and labour. While not a popular topic in Indigenous Studies or Indigenous womxn's writing, the most salient reason that authors cite for importantly attending to Indigenous womxn's labour is due to its invisibilization, marginalization, or devaluation in the literature *and* in lived reality. Important practices in this literature include identifying trends, debates, and patterns in Canada and the U.S., across fields, throughout the 20th century. Gender became of interest

during the 1970s yielding two major results. One, that Indigenous womxn were much more influential in production and distribution than previously indicated. And two, colonization had heterogeneous impacts on Indigenous womxn and their economic activity across groups and within their own nation at different points in history. Feminist political economic approaches to this subject in the 1980s considered broader state and economic structures that shaped womxn's labour while also considering how womxn negotiated and experienced these influences or how state policies may have had unintended outcomes. Academic shifts in feminist and indigenous womxn's anthropological research that revealed silences about womxn's lives and generated writing from Indigenous womxn about Indigenous womxn were in relationship with community and activist movements. They did not emerge in the vacuum of the academy.

This shift yielded feminist questions about how the church, the state, and white settlers "had attempted to recast gendered work role within Native cultures, often in their own patriarchal and middle-class image." There was a shift in the 1990s from researching the material conditions through which womxn secure a livelihood towards researching the cultural constructs and agencies that shaped womxn's economic, social, and political conduct. Some argue that material/economic and cultural analysis are not mutually exclusive making space for one, the unpopularity of materialist analysis and two, the demystification of cultural analysis. It is true that gender may not be important to some Indigenous peoples or nations. However, "gender" has been *made* significant through missionary and colonial processes and Indigenous womxn activists fighting for basic human rights such as housing, made it clear that gender was a crucial issue. In recent decades, indigenous feminist inquiries, building from Indigenous womxn's activism, have been made, and continue to be made, into Indigenous womxn's lives and the structures, systems, and relationalities of power that influence them. Such inquiry would be fruitful in the subject of Indigenous womxn's labour. Into the 21st century, Indigenous womxn's labour as a form of Indigenous economic sovereignty and colonized labour arises as a subject of transnational analysis. Sources that can be easily read for womxn's work and labour include womxn's life histories and autobiographies.

Within this broader scope of Indigenous womxn's labour, a body of literature that examines Anishinaabeg womxn's labour has emerged. Brownlie examines enfranchisement files and published oral histories to conduct a comparative analysis of Anishinaabeg and Mohawk womxn' urban labour in Southern Ontario between 1920 and 1940. Littlefield renders a survey of Anishinaabeg women's changing work lives in Michigan throughout the 20th century utilizing two distinct bodies of oral histories and research conducted to obtain federal recognition. Not a focus of the research, Littlefield does discuss Anishinaabeg women's land-based subsistence and trade stating both were significant between the 1650s and early 1800s; where trading declined, subsistence persisted into the 1900s as a method of survival. Commodification of food products, including maple sugar, was also key to survival during the removal policies of the 1930s. By the 1960s, land-based subsistence practices were virtually extinguished with wage labour taking their place. Rhodes, Norrgard, and Child's research bring forth a debate regarding Anishinaabeg womxn's tourist labour. Some argue it is colonized labour and/or a tool of colonization while others state that it supported Anishinaabeg endurance. For Anishinaabeg womxn, tourist labour functioned as labour, in a particular economic period, that allowed them to persist in their land-based activities *and* generate income. However, state induced masculinization of womxn's land-based subsistence and economic practices eroded this unique position and economic practice.

Some explain that masculinization of land-based labour was the result of Anishinaabeg adaptation to external forces that was undertaken in order to persist cultural practices. However, it is not clear how womxn, who utilized the surplus from their labour to support family survival, endured this loss, or how men distributed the surplus from their newly acquired practices. Also, it is not clear how womxn and mxn who recognized the significance of womxn maintaining their land-based practices, may have resisted or subverted masculinization. Or, if and how a plan to de-masculinize, re-matriate, or re-visit the who's, the how's and the why's of land-based practices in communities, families, or individuals. Regardless, Anishinaabeg land-based labour, which eventually straddled both Anishinaabeg and settler economic

practices, is argued to portray Anishinaabeg sovereignty. While sovereignty through labour, and cultural persistence through adaptation, are important, it is unclear how Anishinaabe sovereignty or Anishinaabe culture persists when womxn and children who have been displaced in subsistence, material, and economic ways through alienation from land and labour relationships, have nothing to replace it with. Or, only have settler norms for gender and age to replace the absence with. And, it is unclear how and why the endurance of Anishinaabeg sovereignty and Anishinaabeg culture can be bore out when it happens through womxn and gender-non-binary subsistence, material, and economic loss. Finally, there is room of discussion in determining how "relationship with land" and "labour" are related or unrelated.

Given the unpopularity of labour in Indigenous Studies and Indigenous womxn's writing and the relatively small population of Anishinaabeg in settler-occupied Anishinaabewaki, the fact that this body of literature which includes three monographs even exists for Anishinaabeg, and specifically for Anishinaabeg womxn, rings clear of one research agenda item that is important in Anishinaabeg Studies and Anishinaabeg History. Given Anishinaabeg womxn's material social, and cultural labour contributed to the survival of Anishinaabeg in the most impoverished times, it can be clearly argued that their hard work, expertise, and endurance contributed to the survival of the male leaders, warriors, and ceremonialists that are celebrated so much in Anishinaabeg history.

Chapter Two: Returning to Ourselves/Myself as Anishinaabe

"Anishinaabeg have our own word for research. It's gikendaasowin."
~ Herb Nabigon-ban[321]

"Gikendaasowin is knowledge itself and the process of coming to know." ~ Gidigaa Migisi Doug Williams[322]

"Our first researcher was Nanaboozhoo." ~ Edna Manitowabi[323]

Introduction: Methodological Trajectories

As a matter of advancing Indigenous research interests and knowledge production, Indigenous researchers theorize, articulate, and apply methodologies relative to Indigenous peoples and nations.[324] Some research methodologies have been articulated through a broader lens of indigeneity; some Indigenous scholars identify decolonizing methodologies; and other, nation-specific methodologies. For example, Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (hereafter Tuhiwai Smith) seminal text published in 1999, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples,* traverses all three. Couching her discussion in a critique of colonial processes of knowledge production, Tuhiwai Smith identifies Kaupaupa Maori research approaches as a decolonizing-indigenous method. Identifying the emergence of Indigenous research agendas in juxtaposition to research conducted by universities (i.e. nation-state institutions) which she shows to be agents of colonization, Tuhiwai Smith differentiates Kaupaupa Maori research indicating it centers and privileges "indigenous values, practices, and ethics" and works for the interests of Indigenous peoples.[325] Graham Smith, also a Maori scholar, describes Kaupaupa Maori research along four points. Articulating these points, he states Kaupaupa Maori research "is related to being Maori; … is connected to Maori philosophy and principles; … takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Maori, the importance of Maori language and culture; and,

[321] I first met Herb at the Healing Lodge in Garden River First Nation near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario in 2008. There was a gathering there during which time he shared this knowledge with the group. It was the first time I had heard that Anishinaabeg had their own word for research.

[322] Personal communication, n.d.

[323] Personal communication, n.d.

[324] For example, Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*; Absolon (Minogiizhigokwe), *Kaandossiwin: How We Come to Know;* and, Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*.

[325] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 125.

… is concerned with the 'struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being'."[326] Smith states that Maori-centered research emphasizes certain assumptions, practices, methods, and is focused on various Maori conceptions of knowledge.

Indigenous scholars such as Margaret Kovach and Kathleen Absolon also identify methodologies specific to their nations. Kovach articulates a nêhiyaw methodology that is framed specifically around Plains Cree conceptions of knowledge.[327] Utilizing traditions that Kovach indicates are shared by other Indigenous nations, nêhiyaw methodology includes holistic epistemology, story, purpose, the experiential, tribal ethics, tribal ways of gaining knowledge, and a consideration of the colonial relationship.[328] Absolon illuminates how fourteen Indigenous scholars articulate and utilize indigenous research paradigms as a way to advance the generation of indigenous research methodological approaches in Indigenous research. Grounded in her lived familial experience of growing up on the land in Anishinaabewaki, Absolon provides an example of how embodied knowledges and epistemological approaches were utilized in conceptualizing an Anishinaabe-specific flower framework for her research investigation.[329] Approaching the subject of indigenous nation-specific research from a different angle, Chippewa scholar, Duane Champagne, writes to a non-Indigenous audience. He asserts that indigenous methodologies, being those methodologies utilized in research with, for, and about Indigenous peoples, "should reflect and respect the cultural, political, and economic foundations of Indigenous nations, while addressing the issue of their future sustainability". [330]

Concomitantly, gender is identified in decolonizing methodologies and indigenous historical approaches. For example, Tuhiwai Smith identifies twenty-five Indigenous research projects. One is "gendering".[331] She states that the need arises from how colonialism has impacted Indigenous peoples in

[326] Ibid., 185.
[327] Smith, 185; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies,* 44.
[328] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies,* 45.
[329] Absolon, *Kaandossiwin.*
[330] Champagne, "Centering Indigenous Nations within Indigenous Methodologies," 59.
[331] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 151-152.

gendered ways including eroding Indigenous women's relationalities and authority; and, impacting Indigenous men particularly in their relations with Indigenous women.[332] Further explicating her rationale for "gendering", Smith states, "Family organization, child rearing, political and spiritual life, work and social activities were all disordered by a colonial system which were primarily domestic. Indigenous women across many different indigenous societies claim an entirely different relationship, one embedded in beliefs about the land and the universe, about the spiritual significant of women and about the collective endeavors that were required in the organization of society."[333]

In 1997, speaking generally about the construction of history, non-indigenous historian Theda Perdue noted that the male-centeredness of social perceptions and construction of histories had become so naturalized that to introduce "gender" to the study of history implied one must automatically begin with "women".[334] Today, gendering history not only brings men, or masculinity, into the purview of gender as an analytical lens.[335] It also includes a consciousness of gender diverse representation, identities, and ways of disrupting the status quo which are commonly identified in Indigenous nations.[336] Where Tuhiwai Smith importantly argues the need to include gender in Indigenous research because colonization has impacted Indigenous peoples in gendered ways, scholars of Indigenous women's history implicitly identify the reproduction of androcentricity in Indigenous histories.[337] For example, Rebecca Kugel and Lucy Eldersveld Murphy identify that investigations of "wars and leaders" proves and reproduces a tired analysis of "old topics as military and political history" including a focus on "violence, speeches, and gallantry". The baseline in Indigenous history production becomes less centralized around these subject if historians "assume that what

[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid., 151.
[334] Purdue, "Writing the Ethnohistory of Native Women," 76-77, 83.
[335] Hokowhitu, "History and masculinity".
[336] Rifkin, "Indigenous is to queer as….: Queer questions for Indigenous Studies".
[337] Kugel and Eldersveld Murphy, eds., *Native Women's History,* xxvi.

women did was important".[338] As a result, Kugel and Eldersveld Murphy advocate a gendered methodological approach.

Moving beyond the inclusion of womxn in historical study, Indigenous womxn's history also advances methodology in this field.[339] In her discussion of the merging of Feminist Studies and Indigenous Women's Studies, Choctaw scholar Devon Abbott Mihesuah asserts cautions and advice to a non-Indigenous audience.[340] Attending to the representation of Indigenous womxn in history, Mihesuah contests the absence and cautions against misreading of the heterogeneity between Indigenous womxn and the complexity of womxn's lives.[341] She identifies a number of gaps in historical knowledge about Indigenous womxn including their feelings and emotions; relationships with each other, family, and friends outside of birthing, healing and puberty ceremonies; what they talked about with each other; and, how they made sense of colonialism as it was happening in their lives.[342] Mihesuah advocates utilizing a diverse range of sources such as oral histories, recorded interviews, literature, and poetry.[343] She says,

> Granted, the myriad lifestyles of Native women render them difficult to write about. Taking the less arduous route of writing descriptive, non-analytical history—which has been the traditional method for the majority of scholars who study Natives—will continue to have serious repercussions for Native history, for if we do not understand the complexity of Native females, we cannot hope to comprehend the whole of tribal existence.[344]

Indigeneity, nation, and gender combine as important elements of methodologies in Indigenous research; none of these categories is separate from critical engagements with power. Some scholars advance a critical approach to indigenous, nation-specific, and gendered methodologies. For example, concerned with the ways colonial history has influenced the construction of knowledge about Indigenous peoples, Lester-Irabinna Rigney (Narungga, Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri) builds on feminist, Afrocentric, and black feminist

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338 Ibid.
339 Kugel and Eldersveld Murphy, *Native Women's History*.
340 Abbott Mihesuah, *Indigenous American Women*.
341 Ibid., 3-4.
342 Ibid., 4.
343 Ibid., 4-5.
344 Ibid., 8.

thought to identify and articulate what he calls indigenist research.[345] He describes three principles to indigenist research—resistance, political integrity, and the privileging of Indigenous voices.[346] He identifies indigenist research as a strategy of resistance to colonial and racist laden approaches to constructions of knowledges about Indigenous Australians.[347] Intended to create space for the creation/identification of Indigenous methods and epistemologies in the construction of knowledge, the development of indigenous research is strategically intended as one way to support the interests of Indigenous Australians and First Nations peoples through research.[348] Rigney identifies indigenist research as one route to liberation from colonial oppression and settler state denial of self-determination.

More recently, Mishuana Goeman (Towanda Seneca) and Angela Teresa Morill (Klamath), discuss indigenous feminist methodologies.[349] Goeman indicates that indigenous feminist methodologies uncover the histories of non-Indigenous feminisms that relied on colonization, racism and the settler state as a legitimate sight from which to obtain rights.[350] These methods distinctly situate their gender analysis within their communities "which creates an intervention into rigid categorizations" and meanings of gender.[351] Citing Paula Gun Allen, Goeman reminds that indigenous feminist methods should not be nostalgic given the multiple realities and meaning of "Indigenous woman" that Indigenous women have to navigate, negotiate, and reconcile.[352]

In regards to gender and sexuality, Goeman states,

> Indigenous feminist methods intervene and provide the distinction of alternative gender norms and relationships to governance at multiple scales: from roles in one's community to larger peoplehood…, from Indigenous nation to nation…, from Indigenous nation to settler nation-state, to larger global communities. …

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[345] Rigney, "Internationalization of an Indigenous Anti-Colonial Culture Critique of Research Methodologies," 110; 114-116.
[346] Ibid., 116-118.
[347] Ibid., 110-114.
[348] Ibid., 110.
[349] Goeman, "Indigenous Interventions and feminist methods," 185-194; and Morrill, "Toward a Native Feminist Reading Methodology".
[350] Goeman, 189.
[351] Ibid., 189.
[352] Ibid., 189-190.

> Native and Indigenous feminist studies' methodology. is less concerned with the description of these alternative knowledges … [i]nstead, it constellates its engagement with these alternative ways of knowing by questioning how its repression is necessary to the structuring of colonial powers and how legibility of these issues must be addressed on the ground in communities and within our theorizing and organizing.[353]

Transformation and practice are also aspects of indigenous feminist methodologies. Goeman says,

> The various methods employed by Indigenous feminist studies asks us all to rethink the structures that make possible great injustices that often have an intersectional gendered undergirding, and they ask us to consider moves toward justice that do not reaffirm the power of the state. An Indigenous feminist methodology restructures settler colonial hierarchy that rely on normative gender, sex, and racial hierarchies. [354]

Whereas Goeman's approach to indigenous feminist methodologies attends to analysis and interrogation of structural powers that influence Indigenous peoples in gendered ways, Morill's thesis articulating an approach towards native feminist reading methodology begins with Indigenous women and their cultural productions. About this methodology, Morill states "… recognition of the transhistorical labor of bearing an Indigenous future into existence is the root of the Native feminist reading practice. … It reads the theory in the story, the complexities of the narrative and the refusals. It is a practice that sees survivance, and it is a practice of survivance."[355] Morill couches the articulation of her methodology in a constellation of community practitioners, Indigenous womxn scholars, and the history and on-going practice of genocide of Indigenous peoples.

While Goeman and Morill's indigenous feminist methodologies importantly advance Rigney's focus on race vis-à-vis a shift towards an intersectional consideration of gender and sexuality, neither methodologies give in-depth attention to the power dynamics within Indigenous communities or relationalities which negatively impinge upon, and are impinged upon, by Indigenous womxn. In 2007, Joyce Green's germinal edited collection on Indigenous feminism in Canada addressed a gap in feminist

[353] Goeman, "Indigenous Interventions," 182, 190. Hokuwithu advocates the same regarding masculinity in Indigenous studies.
[354] Goeman, "Indigenous Interventions," 192.
[355] Morrill, "Toward a Native Feminist Reading Methodology".

literature that was created by the absence of Indigenous women's writing and issues important to them. She argued,

> that the emerging Aboriginal feminist literature and politic, while the terrain of a minority of activists and scholars, must be taken seriously as a critique of colonialism, decolonization and gendered and raced power relations in both settler and Indigenous communities…and the intolerance for feminist analysis in Indigenous communities is problematic, particularly when it takes the form of political intimidation of a marginal segment (critical women) of those communities.[356]

Joanne Barker highlights the negative way Indigenous mxn who were recognized by the state as "status Indians" treated Indigenous womxn who demanded to receive material, social, and political human rights that had been eliminated through settler legislation in Canada (i.e. Indian Act 1876). Decades of being empowered by the settler state with rights and privileged status led to men's entitled sense to lead in band government and hold property rights over Indigenous womxn. This is the context from which their treatment of womxn's activism arose.[357] Barker states,

> Status Indian men who then dominated band governments and organizations protested vehemently against the women and their efforts. They accused the women of being complicit with a long history of colonization and racism that imposed, often violently, non-Indian principles and institutions on Indian peoples. … Demonized as the proponents of an ideology of rights based on selfish individualism, and damned for being "women's libbers" out to force Indian peoples into compliance with that ideology, the women and their concerns were dismissed as embodying all things not only *non-* but *anti-* Indian. Their agendas for reform were dismissed as not only irrelevant but dangerous to Indian sovereignty. These dismissals perpetuate sexist ideologies and discriminatory and violent practices against Indian women within Indian communities by normalizing the men's discourse regarding the irrelevance of gender as well as the disenfranchisement of women in Indian sovereignty struggles.[358]

As shown in my literature review, Albers indicated that where gender emerged in Indigenous labour studies in the 1970s, one major trend revealed how colonization had heterogeneous impacts on womxn across nations and *within* their nations. The fact of heterogeneous economic impacts on womxn within their nations begs the question, what and how did colonial processes create economic differences, and therefore certain

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[356] Green, "Taking Account of Aboriginal Feminism," 21.
[357] Barker, "Gender, Sovereignty, Rights," 259.
[358] Barker, "Gender, Sovereignty, Rights," 260.

kinds of power differentials, between womxn, those they had relationships with, their families, and variable kinds of leaders in community?

Drawing on these methodological trajectories which are anchored by concepts of indigeneity, nation-specific research, gender, and critical theory, I employ an interdisciplinary, intersectional methodology.[359] Specifically, I utilized a critical biskaabiiyang approach in my investigation of womxn's relationship with the sugar bush. My approach is shaped by Anishinaabe feminist interests formulated around resistance against settler domination and the ways (hetero)patriarchy, racialization, sexism, and capitalist domination exist in and through both settler and indigenous contexts and relationalities.[360] My approach is also formulated around a commitment to the practiced use of and (re)generation of Anishinaabe life-ways which center Anishinaabe ontology, epistemology, and axiology.[361] My methodology makes use of Genuisz's explanation of biskaabiiyang methodology. She advocates a decolonial, Anishinaabe analysis of Anishinaabe botanical knowledges which were documented by non-Indigenous scholars.[362]

biskaabiiyang Methodology

According to Genuisz, biskaabiiyang is an approach advocated by Anishinaabe elders Delbert Horton, Ann Wilson, Tobasonakwut Kinew-ban, and Edward Benton-Banai. These elders work(ed) in the Masters of Indigenous Knowledges/Philosophy Program of the Seven Generations Education Institute.[363]

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[359] What I deem interdisciplinary, Chris Anderson and Jean O'Brien call methodological promiscuity. See Chris Anderson and Jean O'Brien, eds., *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2017). Of interest, in examining the debate that exists about what "constitutes the proper contours of theoretical work" (9) in Indigenous Studies—intellectual isolationism or intellectual promiscuity—Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith advocate the latter. For more on this debate and argument see, Simpson and Smith, eds., *Theorizing Native Studies*, 9-12.

[360] I am influenced by Kimberlé Crenshaw's articulation of intersectionality in Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins," 1241-1299.

[361] For definitions of ontology, epistemology, and axiology see Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*.

[362] Genuisz, *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive*. I acknowledge Leanne Simpson who, stating it reminded her of my work, introduced me to this text one day while we were at Gidigaa Migisi Doug Williams' home in Curve Lake First Nation. Genuisz's biskaabiiyang methodology prompted me to consider more deeply how I was thinking about Anishinaabeg womxn's economic relationships. Biskaabiiyang has been employed in other ways. For an application to Indigenous resurgence and re-creation see, Simpson, *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back*, 49-54. For an application in the field of Indigenous literary theory, see Grace L. Dillon, ed. *walking on the clouds: An Anthology of Indigenous Science Fiction* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2012).

[363] This institute is located between Couchiching First Nation and Fort Francis, Ontario.

biskaabiiyang in the educational context they were working in, arises from two points of interest: one, that Indigenous nations have their own research methodologies; and two, that knowledge production for Indigenous nations is rendered best through nation-specific research methodologies.[364] Translated as "returning to ourselves", biskaabiiyang usually guides Anishinaabe researchers to conduct research for Anishinaabeg.[365] biskaabiiyang recognizes the need for decolonizing research methodologies to argue that decolonization must occur first with the researcher. According to Laura Horton, biskaabiiyang is,

> a process through which Anishinaabe researchers evaluate how they personally have been affected by colonization, rid themselves of the emotional and psychological baggage they carry from this process, and then return to their ancestral traditions. As far as the survival of Anishinaabe people and culture is concerned, this is one of the most crucial parts of Biskaabiiyang research methodologies.[366]

Reinforcing Horton's interpretation, Genuisz provides a detailed description of the principles that inform biskaabiiyang, stating it is,

> … derived from the principles of *anishinaabe-inaadiziwin* (anishinaabe psychology and way of being). These principles are *gaa-izhi-zhawendaagoziyang:* that which is given to us in a loving way (by the spirits). They have developed over generations and have resulted in a wealth of *aadizookaan* (traditional legends, ceremonies); *dibaadjimowin* (teachings, ordinary stories, personal stories, histories); *Anishinaabemowin* (language as a way of life); and, *anishinaabe-izhitwaawin* (Anishinaabe culture, teachings, customs, history).[367]

Spirituality, sacred and personal story, language, and cultural/teachings/customs are some of the principles that researchers are encouraged to return to, or access, in the conduct of Anishinaabeg research. These principals inform my methodological approach. For instance, following Genuisz's application of this methodology, my sources and analysis include stories, some language, and living oral knowledges and memories.

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[364] Ibid., 9-10.
[365] Ibid., 9.
[366] Genuisz, *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive,* 10.
[367] Ibid, 10-11.

Critical biskaabiiyang Methodology

There are several salient differences between Genuisz's approach to biskaabiiyang and my methodological practice which I term "critical biskaabiiyang". First, whereas Genuisz sought select people known to her whom she knew had highly specialized knowledge in the subject area of her research, I had conversations with Anishinaabeg whom I knew in varying degrees. While I was aware contributors might not necessarily have a breadth or depth of knowledge on sugar bushing, I knew they could illuminate aspects of Anishinaabe relationships with the sugar bush.[368] My intent through biskaabiiyang methodology is not to decolonize knowledge but rather identify and gather sugar bush historical and epistemological information where womxn are largely represented. I subsequently engaged in an independent analysis of cultural, documentary, and living oral sources.

Second, Genuisz does not elaborate on the first edict of biskaabiiyang as articulated by the Elders. The first edict, as she explains, is to assess and rid oneself, as researcher, of colonial baggage. Alternatively, my strategy considers colonial baggage I carry that might impact my research. I became aware that settler hierarchical ideas of power, control, and authority stood in for my understanding Anishinaabeg womxn's economic sovereignty. I came to understand that I was associating liberation from settler economic-cultural oppression with settler methods of economic good life. These ideas are philosophically informed by growth, development, and progress based on exploitation and over-consumption. I falsely equated indigenous economic-cultural security with settler definitions of economic-security. Informed by a critical viewing of the edicts and principles of biskaabiiyang I needed to decolonize my approach to understanding economic relationships. Accordingly, I needed to develop a more astute awareness of Anishinaabe economic epistemologies.

[368] See Appendix C: Conversation Guide.

Ultimately, my colonial baggage in approaching historical sources compelled me to alter my approach. I revised my research question from my initial investigation of "women's economic governance of the sugar bush" to "womxn's relationship with the sugar bush". While economic governance is a valid concept to investigate, it does not capture the subtleties and nuance of land-based practices that "relationship with land" does. Also, it does not reflect the heterogeneity between womxn within collectives of sugar bush work. Surely not all womxn governed the sugar bush work; surely there was order and anishinaabe formations/hierarchies amongst womxn at the sugar bush. Finally, "relationship with land" reflects Anishinaabeg philosophy about how Anishinaabeg see the land.[369] This re-frame in my research questions reflects a "bottom-outward" approach to my research that encompasses the most basic sustenance possibilities to broader economic, spiritual, social, cultural, political, and governance considerations. A focus on "economic governance" is important and would be fruitful however this research is intervening in loss or attenuation of knowledge about womxn's economic sovereignty through the sugar bush. Therefore, beginning with a broader concept such as "relationship with land" is most generative, yields the most possible trajectories, and has enough breadth that it can include "economic governance".

Third, the specific principles of biskaabiiyang as documented by Genuisz do not include the significance of the natural world, the significance of Anishinaabeg relationships with the natural world, or how these relationships shape spirituality, story, language, and culture/teachings/history. For instance, while spirituality, story, language, and culture/teachings/history are identified as principles of anishinaabe-inaadiziwin (psychology, way of being) from which biskaabiiyang arises, "anishinaabewakiziwin" the act, process, relationality, or art of being with/on the "land", is not identified as a principle of this methodology.[370] Given my own biskaabiiyin practices have included a "return to the land" in Anishinaabe-

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[369] Building from Jim Dumont's philosophical insights about relationality from within Anishinaabeg thought, I unpack my meaning of "relationship with land" in, Sy, "Relationship with Land in Anishinaabeg Womxn's Historical Research".

[370] As indicated in my Introduction chapter, this is a word that I made up. For an inspirational innovator of anishinaabemowin, see Noodin, *Bawaajimo: A Dialect of Dreams in Anishinaabe Language and Literature*.

specific ways for anti-colonial, decolonial, anti-capitalist and maajiimaadiziwin ways, I reflected on how the experiences, knowledges, and embodied practices of my own participation in anishinaabewakiziwin influenced my personal decolonization and my actual research. Engaging in land-based practices was not a specific method in my research however I knew I could not separate my experiences and embodied knowledges from my from my research. After long consideration, I decided to include cultural productions I created that emerged from my participation in anishinaabewakiziwin. I also include footnotes to enhance or elaborate in-text content. In terms of my cultural reproductions, as indicated in my introduction, I include two visual productions. These serve as entry and departure points from the main body of the thesis. I do not provide analysis of these sources but I do discuss their meaning, significance, and the context in which they are created. This information is located in appendices.

Fourth, Genuisz's application of biskaabiiyang reveals the pattern of settler access to and constructions of Anishinaabe botanical knowledge through the academy. Yet, she does not interrogate the settler power structures that permitted this colonial production of knowledge. Repeating Tuhiwai Smith's call for indigenous projects, Genuisz restores knowledges that were distorted through colonial research processes and make them useful to Anishinaabeg. Similar to Rigney's indigenist approach, Genuisz prepares Anishinaabeg researchers with a research approach for decolonizing our knowledges. Genuisz instructs in ways to recover cultural knowledges through a culturally specific approach. I have adapted Genuisz's approach in my application of this methodology by recovering cultural, subsistence, economic, social, and governance knowledges through Anishinaabe methodology. However, my approach differs in that I directly address how settler and modern indigenous power dynamics are manifest in all sources. I do this in three ways. First, by focusing on and explicating womxn's sugar bush relationships; second, by elucidating the ways womxn were and are alienated from these relationships; and, third, by revealing how these relationships endure albeit in ways that must be given critical attention and consideration.

Finally, I strive to "return to ourselves" by "doing history" in an Anishinaabe way. As recently as 1996, The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) differentiates between colonial and Indigenous conceptions of history and history methodology.[371] As evident in testimonials reported by RCAP, Indigenous approaches to history includes how Indigenous histories is not, by default, documented chronologically; and, they do not mimic orientations of "social progress and evolution."[372] Indigenous approaches to history are not human-centric; they emphasize orality; and, are "less focused on establishing objective truth and assumes that the teller of the story is so much a part of the event being described that it would be arrogant to presume to classify or categorize the event exactly or for all time."[373] Further,

> [t]hey are also likely to be rooted in particular locations, making reference to particular families and communities. This contributes to a sense that there are many histories, each characterized in part by how a people see themselves, how they define their identity in relation to their environments, and how they express their uniqueness as a people.
>
> Unlike the western scientific tradition, which creates a sense of distance in time between the listener or reader and the events being described, the tendency of Aboriginal perspectives is to create a sense of immediacy by encouraging listeners to imagine that they are participating in the past event recounted. Ideas about how the universe was created offer a particularly compelling example of differences in approaching to interpreting the past. …In Aboriginal historical traditions, the particular creation story of each people, although it finds its origins in the past, also, and more importantly, speaks to the present. It invites listeners to participate in the cycle of creation through their understanding that, as parts of a world that is born, dies and is reborn in the observable cycle of days and seasons, they too are part of a natural order, members of a distinct people who share in that order.
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> As the example of creation stories has begun to suggest, conceptions of history or visions of the future can be expressed in different ways, which in turn involve different ways of representing time.[374]

In addition to these points documented in the RCAP, Anishinaabe scholars, cultural thinkers, and practitioners such as Edward Benton-Banai, Sally Gaikezheyongai, Jim Dumont, and Paula Sherman have identified Anishinaabe approaches to history.

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[371] "Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Final Report," 36-39.
[372] Ibid., 38.
[373] Ibid.
[374] Ibid., 38-39.

Anishinaabe Worlds and World-Travelling as Historical Approach

Benton-Banai published oral history told to him by his family about Anishinaabeg prophecy which is organized into seven periods.[375] These seven periods describe the entire history of Anishinaabeg into the future. Sally Gaikezheyongai has documented her interpretation of Anishinaabeg history in both video and book form.[376] Her oral telling and writing of it follows the same seven prophecies that Benton-Banai shares. James Dumont establishes that in order to understand Ojibway, and understand Ojibway story that is beyond "history", one must understand Ojibway ways of "seeing the world" which he conceptualizes as "a three-hundred- and-sixty-degree-vision" which is a "circular vision that sought to perceive and understand the whole nature of an object or event—it's physical reality as well as its soul".[377] This way of seeing the world includes recognition of Ojibway practices of fasting, dreaming, and regarding traditional stories as legitimate sources of Ojibway history or "legendary of mythical time".[378] The "now" of the Ojibway includes other-than-human-beings, metamorphosis, travel and experience transcending the apparent bounds of time and space, supernatural dwelling places."[379] Dumont asserts that in order to understand Ojibway history and mythical times denoted through stories, one must accept, or even try, to experience reality, non-reality, or more-than-reality (i.e. dreamtime, fasting) which is the world that Ojibway see and live in. Working in unison with her Elder, Shirley Williams, Paula Sherman created a methodology for conducting Anishinaabe history research, specifically research on the spiritual ecology of Omàmìwinini (popularly known as Algonquin). This methodology is called, "Mewzha Gaa-bi-zhisemigak Anishinaabeg Di-naagkonigewininwaa". It is based on "the epistemology of Pimaadiziwin and the Seven Grandfather Teaching. Pimaadiziwin is the epistemological impetus that guides Anishinaabe people in their dealings with the Natural World and other peoples, while the Seven Grandfather Teachings provide guidance with regard

[375] Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book.*
[376] Gaikezheyongai*, The Story of the Seven Fires: Teaching Manual.*
[377] Dumont, "Journey to Daylight-Land," 32.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Ibid., 34.

to individual behaviour within the collective community and the Natural World."[380] This approach provides a way to evaluate sources; the goal of this history methodology was to create scholarship that reflected Anishinaabe values.[381] In order to teach about Anishinaabeg worldview and human occupancy in the place known as Anishinaabewaki, Gidigaa Migisi Doug Williams utilizes a drawn time-line and a drawn circle. Using these tools, he demonstrates how long elements of the more-than-human world (i.e. rocks, flora, fauna, humans) have existed in present-day Anishinaabewaki. He then shows how long Anishinaabeg have been in Anishinaabewaki; and then, he shows how long settlers have been in Anishinaabewaki.[382]

My concrete approach to archival sources utilizes Elspeth H. Brown's, "Questions to Consider When Reading Primary Historical Documents".[383] Brown suggests conducting an independent analysis of sources and context. She provides comprehensive information and guiding questions to support a thorough analysis of archival sources. However, where I strive to "do Anishinaabe history" in this thesis is in my effort to invite the reader to see each primary source chapter as a "world"—a world, as James Dumont describes, of "legendary time" conveyed through traditional story; a watery world of materiality, anishinaabewakiziwin, and social-economics that see Anishinaabeg womxn navigating and constructing multiple realities; and, a contemporary world where memories of Anishinaabeg womxn and girls at the sugar bush are just that, memories, and where lived, active realities in the Anishinaabeg "now" are sporadic and minimal but for some, raise questions about womxn's displacement from the sugar bush.

In 1995, I was first introduced to the idea of "worlds" by James Dumont who introduced the concept of "worldview". Confused at first, I came to realize that the reality I lived in was not Reality or Truth but rather a construction made through colonial forces in Anishinaabewaki and Turtle Island. I learned that my "worldview" at the time was the result of my socialization and Canadian society. And, I learned

[380] Sherman, "Indawendiwin: Spiritual Ecology as the Foundation of Omàmìwinini Relations," 118-119.
[381] Ibid., 119.
[382] Personal communication, n.d.
[383] Brown, "Writing About History". I was introduced to this source and practice of it in Carol J. Williams' course. See footnote 28.

about Anishinaabeg "worldview". Over the years, through ceremony and reading Anishinaabeg stories, I learned that Anishinaabeg worldview conceives of "worlds". The world we are in now, on earth, is most beautiful because *here* is the only place that as *spirit*, Anishinaabeg can experience physicality. As Dumont states in his article there is this reality and there is non-reality or, what may be considered, more-than-reality.

In the days of trying to determine how to organize my sources, and how to present them, I grappled with two issues and their relationship with each other. I wanted to emphasize the historicity of my sources and because history *is constructed,* the conditions that create the events and subjects we investigate are constructed; and, the sources that shape our research, be they living or non-living, are shaped by context. Constructions can be deconstructed, and reconstructed. Transformation, therefore, is possible. The second issue was that I did not want to produce a text that overlooks the problem of what Dale Turner and Audra Simpson refer to as a "flat world". This is a metaphor created by Thomas Friedman for the ways globalization and technology in the 21st century has created a world that "is now inter-connected in complex ways such that time and space between peoples, nations, and individuals no longer matter".[384] Turner and Simpson consider what it means for Indigenous peoples to survive, "not only in a complex modern world, but to thrive as distinctive Indigenous nations within it."[385] The flat world eradicates Anishinaabe "worlds-view", if it even considered this existence in the first place. As Anishinaabe researcher who resists the flattening of Anishinaabe worlds and is committed to persisting Anishinaabe ways of seeing the world, and history, I aim to produce a thesis that takes what Vandana Shiva refers to as "the poverty of the mind", seriously. Shiva explains how "the poverty of the mind" or "the shrunken mind" has been created by contemporary economic models that equates growth with poverty reduction or alleviation. She asserts that in fact, "growth", which is

[384] Turner and Simpson, "Indigenous Leadership in a Flat World".
[385] Ibid.

based on exploitation of the natural world, creates poverty.[386] Shiva ponders how it is that humanity could have shrunken it's mind so much that we deny ourselves a multiplicity of ways to "govern our affairs; [and] how to produce and how to consume" in a way that if life-giving and that we have reduced these possibilities, as she asserts, to "one number: the GDP; the gross domestic product."[387]

I invite readers to consider seeing Anishinaabe "history", and the primary analysis chapters herein, as "worlds". My historical sources and interpretation of them in each chapter represent distinct worlds unto themselves where their conditions are distinctly historicized but not finitely located on a linear, historical line.

I borrow the concept of "world-travelling" from Argentinian feminist María Lugones. She describes the experiences of "outsiders" (i.e. women of colour) to the "mainstream White/Anglo organization of life in the U.S.".[388] Lugones "stresses…the[ir] acquired flexibility in shifting from the mainstream construction of life to other constructions of life where she is more or less 'at home'".[389] This concept applies to Anishinaabeg who have to travel *within* a flat world which is animated via the impoverished, shrunken mind and which has also been reproduced within our own urban, rural, and reserve/reservation communities. It applies to Anishinaabeg who continual to strive to travel *between* this flat world and Anishinaabeg worlds that have been (re)generated for thousands of years based upon anishinaabewakiziwin and manidoowiziwin (the art of being in relationship with spirit). While Lugones' concepts specifically apply to women of colour in the U.S. where she invites them to travel to each other's worlds as a playful, loving act of survival *and* resistance against the hostility of White/Anglo worlds, world-travelling can be applied to Anishinaabeg. Specifically, it can be applied to Anishinaabeg womxn whose histories, realities, and locations within indigenous-settler structures are varied and shifting; womxn whose histories, locations with the settler

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[386] Shiva, "Festival of Dangerous Ideas 2013: Vandana Shiva: Growth=Poverty".
[387] Ibid., 4:10 min.
[388] Lugones, "World travelling," 390.
[389] Ibid.

colonial capitalist structure, visions, values, and methods for negotiating the worlds we live in, are heterogeneous. The world Anishinaabeg, and Anishinaabeg womxn, are living in is not The World. We can travel as needed between settler colonial worlds and Anishinaabeg worlds which may be one or many. The sources I utilize in this research reveal Anishinaabeg and settler worlds that are distinct and that are intertwined but where Anishinaabeg womxn are central in these relationships.

Sugar Bush Sources as Portals to Worlds

Published Sugar Bush Stories (2008, 1993, 1902)

The breadth of cultural sources that exist in regards to the sugar bush harvest included language, visual paintings and drawings, loom art, images of basketry, short film and silent video clips, children's books and graphic novels, and traditional/classical stories. The wealth of sources required me to determine which body of sources I would focus on in this research. A project on cultural studies would well engage with all or various combinations of these sources. However, for this research, weighing my knowledge of, and experience with, various genres, assessing what each could do to elucidate Anishinaabeg womxn's relationships with the sugar bush as a matter of economic sovereignty, and considering my other selected sources, I decided to focus on Anishinaabeg stories.

There are sugar bush stories for various nations, such as the Menominee, Cree, and Anishinaabe.[390] These are mostly documented by non-Indigenous anthropologists, ethnographers, and travelers. There is also considerable overlap in narrative themes and story arcs across Indigenous nations. The Anishinaabe-focused stories I read that were related to the sugar bush include narratives about relationship with the environment; lessons; human relations including care and conflict; and, negotiation of social and economic

[390] Chamberlain, "The Maple Amongst the Algonkian Tribes," 39-43; and Nanipowisk, "The Tale of the Making of Maple Sugar," 73. Neal McLeod provided me a copy of the second cited story. Interestingly, it is a Cree narrative of negotiating territorial boundaries regarding the sugar bush between the Cree (as portrayed by a wife and husband) and the maimaykwaiswaq (the little people). The maimaykwaiswag, or memekwewesag in Ojibway, figure at the sugar bush for Ojibway as well. Amy McCoy Sayers, a contributor to Chapter Six, discusses such relations in our research conversation.

changes.[391] Based on my own circulation within cultural and ceremonial circles and activities, only a few of these stories are popularized in contemporary, living Anishinaabeg oratory. For instance, there is the story about how ininaahtigoog used to emit syrup but then was purposefully diluted into sap as a way to punish or prevent laziness amongst Anishinaabeg families, women, or clans, as various versions portray. In this story, an Anishinaabeg ancestral teacher known as Elder Brother (outside of winter) and Nanaboozhoo/Nanabush (during winter), in consultation with his grandmother Nokomis, made it so that the syrup was diluted into sap. Another popular story which commonly castes women as the lazy or fickle domestic, man as the hard-working hunter, and invisibilizes any other gender representation, is the story about how Anishinaabeg come to learn about syrup.

For this research, I selected four published sugar bush stories which are specific to Anishinaabeg peoples. Two of the stories are published in an Anishinaabe source and two are published in non-Indigenous sources. Of these, the earliest indicated date of recording is 1899 for one source. Dates of "origin" are not provided for the other three. This is most likely because they are stories that were transmitted within family and community relationships. Dates of publication include 2008, 1993, and 1802. I order them in this way so as to begin with the sap origin story which was published in 2008. Two of the four stories are republications. One of the stories was collected by a non-Indigenous mxn (i.e. anthropologist); and, the other three were documented for publication by Anishinaabeg mxn. I thinking about cultural sources, and in particular oral traditional narratives that are embodied and re-told by Anishinaabeg womxn, there is a difference between traditional sugar bush stories that centralized Anishinaabeg womxn and traditional sugar bush stories that Anishinaabeg womxn embody and impart to others. In the former, womxn are active participants in the sugar bush and with its products; in the former, womxn are active knowledge holders

[391] Kidder, "The Snow Rabbit and the North Wind"; Reid, "Nanabozho Saves Nokomis"; Kegg, "Miigwechiwendamowaad/The Give Thanks"; Chamberlain, "The Maple Amongst the Algonkian Tribes"; Benton-Banai, "Maple Sugar Stories: A Woman's Voice"; Benton-Banai, "The Bear and Maple Sap"; Jencks, "The Bear-Maiden"; Johnston, "Geemootaugaedjig: Spies".

about sugar bush stories that do not necessarily have anything to do with gender. One example is found in the reference made to Maude Kegg's grief and loss ceremony story, "Miigwechiwendamowaad (They Give Thanks), in my dedication.[392] In sources I select, there is one traditional narrative that centres womxn and females which is transmitted by an Ojibway womxn.

The stories I utilize as sources include "A Woman's Voice," and "The Bear and Maple Sap," documented and published by Edward Benton-Banai in 2008; "Geemootaugaedjig: Spies," told by Sam Ozawamik (Odawa) and collected and translated by Basil H. Johnston (Ojibway) for which no date is provided but was first published in 1993; and, "The Bear-Maiden: An Ojibwa Folk-Tale From Lac Courte Oreille Reservation, Wisconsin," told by Pä-skiń (Ojibway) and recorded by (settler) Albert Ernest Jencks in 1899 and published in 1902.[393]

These stories could be considered aadisokaanan (sacred narratives) of which so much has been published.[394] I take seriously the edict that aadisokaanan are imbued with spirit and have power. If I were to bring these stories to life orally, I would offer tobacco to gizhe manidoo and pawaaminag (protectors) and ask for guidance, indicate why I was sharing them, and seek patience in my lack of training in this art form. I would also share Anishinaabeg epistemology regarding story-telling, how we only tell aadisokaanan in the winter. I would spend considerable amount of time explaining my thought process, ethical process, and tensions navigated in sharing such stories outside of winter, if that were the case. Given I do not work closely with the communities or people from which my published sources for this chapter emerge, and because I am not trained in the art of sacred story-telling, I do not frame these as aadisokaanan. In fact, in my mind, they can only be aadisokaanan in living form; in the winter; with a ceremonial fire; tobacco;

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[392] See footnote 1.

[393] Benton-Banai, "Maple Sugar Stories: A Woman's Voice," 16-17; Benton-Banai, "Maple Sugar Story: The Bear and Maple Sap," 18-23; Johnston, "Spies: Geemootaugaedjig," 61-65; and Jencks, "The Bear-Maiden." 33-35. This last story was re-published in Karen L. Kilcup, ed., "The Bear-Maiden: An Ojibwa Folk-Tale From Lac Courte Oreille Reservation, Wisconsin," in *Native American Women's Writing, 1800-1924, An Anthology* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 2000): 20-21.

[394] Dumont, "Journey to Daylight-Land"; Brown and Gray, "Aadizookaanag, Myths," 111-127;Doefler, Sinclair, and Stark, *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies.*

intention; and, some time spent engaging with them prior to sharing orally. I am unsure at this point if some measure of community legitimation of stories as aadisokaanan, or the storyteller as a teller of aadisokaanan, is required for them to be considered aadisookaanan. In their textual forms, I frame them as traditional stories. In this research they are solely examined as significant textual, literary devices that provide understanding of Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush.

Archived Ship Manifests (1803 – 1809)

I examined the *Tom C. and Fred R. Trelfa Collection, 1802-1971* at the Clarke Library at Central Michigan University in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan between September and October 2014. This collection was donated to the library by the Trelfa's in late 1973. The acquisition record for the collection states it is a collection of Michigan and Old Northwest Territory. Contents relative to this research reflect the fur trade and commerce at Michilimackinac and Sault Ste. Marie. These contents included manifests, bills of lading, clearance papers, guaranteeing protection for vessels bound to and from Canada, documents certifying duties paid on entering goods, and other papers relating to commodities entering or departing from Michilimackinac. The acquisition file notes that since these contents includes pre-War of 1812 documents, they are of particular value because many of the commodities entered or shipped out were done so on behalf of the American Fur Company through their various agents.[395]

A ship manifest is a documented list of cargo and people on a boat. As an archival source in my research, manifests emerged as a result of my conversation with Ojibway Elder Lewis Debassige in August 2014.[396] As a matter of sharing how women from his community, including his mother, Josette Toulouse, had sharp skills and the sophisticated knowledges required to navigate the complicated waterways they

[395] Clarke Historical Library Staff, "Tom C. and Fred R. Trelfa Collection, 1802 – 1971," (Mt. Pleasant: Central Michigan University, 2003): 2.

[396] Lewis Debassige, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, M'Chigeeng First Nation, Manitoulin Island, Ontario, August 24, 2014, p. 1-26, personal file.

called home via boat; stating that maple sugar was exported from his community via U.S. boat from the bay near his community; and, indicating that womxn and children made the baskets that the sugar was stored and shipped in, I was curious about womxn navigating waterways and maple sugar export through international ports.

The manifest includes names of individuals, companies, and ports. Of the seven boxes that comprise this manuscript collection, I examined box 1 and 2 for the manifests they contained, dating between 1802 – 1860. I engaged in a preliminary review of the American Fur Company papers which are included in the remainder of box 2 however did not identify any significant information relative to my specific search for evidence of Anishinaabeg womxn, sugaring, or maple sugar. Admittedly, I had a difficult time reading the material due to legibility and because of the emotional labour that I inputted into reading the manifests, I decided not to pursue these sources for this research. I selected and analyzed the manifests that contain evidence of maple sugar, makakoon (i.e. birch bark baskets used for storing and transporting sugar), and Anishinaabe womxn's presence in this economy. These include eleven manifests dating between 1803 and 1809.

My decision to utilize settler-documented primary sources is in tension with my methodology. This warrants attention. Biskaabiiyang methodology requires the use of Anishinaabe sources, methods, or theories to produce Anishinaabe knowledges. In her research, Genuisz utilized settler anthropological sources such as those created by Frances Densmore about Anishinaabe botanical knowledges. However, methodologically, she decolonized these sources in order to make them useful to Anishinaabeg. Her approach involved working with Elders knowledgeable about plants *from within Anishinaabeg thought* who could speak to the sources and participate in decolonizing their documentation in Anishinaabeg-specific ways (i.e. through putting them in dialogue with traditional story or song).

Biskaabiiyang methodology importantly suggests that in order to return to ourselves through research, Anishinaabeg must engage significantly with Anishinaabeg living sources, methods, or theories. In

regards to Genuisz's methodology, the sources are settler produced but are put into conversation with living Anishinaabeg who know about the subject and are able decolonize them. In her articulation of this methodology, the suggestion is that settler sources are workable as long as the methodology includes living Anishinaabeg sources who can correct them and provide additional information to enhance their interpretation. But what if the living sources available to you don't remember? Or, what if they just don't know? What if their living historical consciousness differs from those documented by Anishinaabeg? With the use of settler documented sources, I muddy ideas of biskaabiiyang methodology while remaining within what I called critical biskaabiiyang methodology.

Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars problematize archives but also elucidate their limitations in order to improve or enhance analysis of them.[397] The adequacy of sources that identify and/or convey Indigenous womxn's historical lives or not yields a nuanced discussion about historical periods, representation, and the kinds of sources that must, or may, be utilized.[398] In their introductory discussion about sources and methods in Indigenous Studies, Chris Anderson and Jean M. O'Brien state that a promiscuous approach to methodologies is an emergent pattern in this field, resonating with the position that use of settler sources in indigenous methodologies may not be an either/or argument but rather a debate.[399] O'Brien specifically enunciates the emergence of a discussion of sources in Indigenous history.[400] Others also explicitly advise on sources to utilize, or which ones are underutilized, and how to utilize them in regards to Indigenous women.[401] As though speaking directly to the methodological muddiness the use of settler sources raises in this section of my research, Child identifies a historical approach in research regarding Ojibway women. She states,

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[397] Fraser and Todd, "Decolonial Sensibilities"; and Brown and Vibert, "Introduction," ix-xxiv.

[398] Kugel and Eldersveld Murphy, "Introduction: Searching for Cornfields—and Sugar Groves," xiii-xxxvi; and Mihesuah, "Commonality of Difference".

[399] Anderson and O'Brien, "Introduction," 2;

[400] O'Brien, "Historical Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies," 8.

[401] Kugel and Eldersveld Murphy, eds., *Native Women's History*; Peers and Podruchny, "Introduction: Complex Subjectivities, Multiple Ways of Knowing," 1-21; Perdue, "Introduction," 1-13; and Mihesuah, "Commonality of Difference," 37-54.

> …historical sources and documents often misunderstood and misrepresented the Ojibwe and other peoples, portraying women with great contempt or trivializing their work and moral character. Nonetheless, the historical archive—even ones produced by biased men who were colonizing North America—can shed light on the history of Ojibwe women in the Great Lake, especially when colonial documents can be put side by side with Ojibwe accounts of the past.[402]

While Indigenous scholars, including Anishinaabeg, legitimate the utilization of varied sources, "even ones produced by biased men who were colonizing North America", the varied positions yield a generative discussion and require researchers to delve deeply into considering the sources they utilize and why. I engage in this more fully in Chapter Four.

Conversations with Anishinaabeg (2014)

Wilson and Kovach advance a relational approach to research.[403] Where Wilson discerns between various kinds of relationship, Kovach emphasizes relationships with humans. She specifically articulates a conversational approach in her nêhiyaw methodology.[404] Given the problems with archival sources in Indigenous research, historical methods recommend oral histories. With this in mind, I applied for ethics approval to proceed with a conversational method. I received approval from both the Research Ethics Board and the Indigenous Research Ethics Board at Trent University in 2013.[405] My research ethics were updated and renewed in 2014 to accommodate an inclusion of group conversation method; and, renewed this again in 2018 to allow for contact with contributors so they could review how their names and their contributions were cited and referenced in this thesis.[406] With relationality as a starting point, and ethics approval received, I had conversations with thirteen Anishinaabeg throughout Anishinaabewaki (i.e. in both Canada and the United States) between April 2014 and August 2014. The people I invited to have conversations were those I knew to be involved in this work; those who have cultural or historical knowledge of the sugar

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[402] Child, *Holding Our World Together*, xvi.
[403] Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*; Kovach, *Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts.*
[404] Kovach, *Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts.*
[405] See Appendices D: Research Ethics Approval.
[406] See Appendices E: Project Update and Ethics Renewal Approval and Appendices F: Ethics Renewal Approval.

bush; or, those who I was either prompted to "go see" or who had invited me to visit upon learning about this project. I contacted each by phone, in-person, email, or direct message on social media. I introduced my project and informed them why I was contacting them.

Nine of these conversations were had in person; another was had via Skype; and, another was had with a group of three individuals. The people who contributed to this research through conversations with me were all Anishinaabeg—Ojibway, Pottowatomi, Mississauga, and Odawa. The contributors were Mary Beaver-ban, Norma Corbiere, Lorraine Debassige, George Corbiere, Lewis Debassige, Jacqui LaValley, Gidigaa Migisi Doug Williams, James Whetung, Rick Beaver, Barbara Wall, Tessa Reed, Charlotte Loonsfoot, and Amy McCoy Sayers. I make initial introductions here because I refer to content made by some contributions in Chapters Four and Five; I re-introduce each in more detail at the head of Chapter Six.

Indigenous scholars, such as Herman Mitchell as well as Debby Daynard and Jean-Paul Restoule have written about Indigenous and/or Anishinaabe ethical protocol.[407] In these conversations, I first asked each person if passing asemaa (tobacco) and offering a bundle of blue clothe was an acceptable approach to begin our conversation. Each person agreed. The offer of asemaa and clothe is a matter of ethical protocol that is practiced by some Anishinaabe, including myself. It is enacted when asking for anything of importance from the natural world or spirit and to show humility and gratitude. I chose blue clothe because the meanings I have been taught that are associated with this colour fit the occasion. Except for two, all contributors were willing in this exchange without discussion. Mary Beaver indicated she did not practice such ways, per se, but she was not opposed to accepting the asemaa or clothe. Jacqui LaValley informed me that the meaning I was attributing to the offering of clothe was inaccurate.[408] She provided a teaching about

[407] Michell, "Pakitinâsowin"; and Danard Wilson and Restoule, "Tobacco Ties".

[408] Given my reading of Mary's response, and given the tone around some of our conversations which seemed apologetic, I think it is very, very important to not assume that all Anishinaabeg practice culture in the ways some do today. Given my previous research experience with Anishinaabeg and Mushgegowak, in my initiation of this protocol, I did so recognizing that not all practice these ways. I was very sensitive to the fact that inviting people to open this way might generate discomfort. As such, I framed this as a practice that was meaningful to me, recognizing that not all participate and leaving it open for people to accept or decline.

offering clothe, how much, and the purpose. While she did not accept the clothe, she accepted the asemaa and subsequently opened our conversation with a ceremony. After the offering for this exchange and after obtaining verbal and written consent to participate from contributors, I recorded conversations using an audio recorder.[409]

The entry points for each of the conversations varied however all of the conversations were organized around a similar set of questions that inquired about memories of being at the sugar bush, cultural knowledges about the sugar bush, and the presence of diverse gender identities.[410] Having some experience with interviewing Anishinaabeg and Mushgegowak people from various age groups, I followed the conversations where people took them; I did not lead or direct. While I was conscientious about the importance of not taking up too much space with my voice and letting contributors talk, I did employ a storying technique I learned from Muskego Elder Edward Metatawabin who is from Fort Albany First Nation along the west coast of James Bay in Ontario.[411] Ed, guided me in how to work with those who were his Elders in his community. His technique was to have me read my question and then answer it for myself. Instead of asking the question our research team had created with Mushkegowak involved in the project, I was to share "my story" (i.e. the answer to my own question) *and then* ask if they had a similar or related story to share. I also utilized a copy of George Copway's representation of Anishinaabe "picture writing" to prompt or elicit culturally specific knowledge about picture writing regarding the sugar bush from each contributor.[412]

Our conversations lasted between sixty and ninety minutes. I invited each contributor to utilize anishinaabemowin as much as they were inclined, or able to. I explained that one intent of my methodology

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[409] See Appendix G: Consent to Participate.

[410] See Appendix C: "Conversation Guide".

[411] Ed Metatawabin provided guidance to myself and colleagues during a community-based research project we were involved with in Fort Albany. In preparing to interview Elders, I vetted our questions by him in advance. It was during this time that he presented another way to approach the matter. The research report that emerged from this project was called, "Pukotuskamik: The Full Effect," and it was produced by NORDIK Institute at Algoma University (2008).

[412] Copway, *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of The Ojibway Nation,* 134-135.

was to reflect sugar bush relationships *through* the language. I also shared that, being an adult language learner, I had rudimentary knowledge of anishinaabemowin that was supported by several years of community, independent, and academic learning.[413] However, while I might not understand them or not be able to accurately transcribe their words, I had the help of a language consultant for transcribing and translating.[414] At the end of our conversations, I provided each person a small gift of maple sugar candies that I made and a modest honorarium of fifty dollars which was in accordance with my research budget. For the group at M'Chigeeng, I provided Alan a $100-dollar honorarium for the group as my budget did not allow for individual honorariums for this emergent step in my method. I did however provide each of the Elders maple sugar candies.[415]

I transcribed each conversation in full text. I provided each person both a text copy of the transcript and an audio copy of our conversation, which I saved to compact disc. I asked people to review the transcripts and advise if they wanted anything edited. I also invited language speakers to edit those portions of their transcripts that were in the language if they wished. All contributors were agreeable with the transcriptions, indicating no required edits or desire to edit the anishinaabemowin portions. In effort to achieve accuracy, Alphonse Pitawanakwat transcribed the anishinaabemowin portion of Lorraine Debassige, Norma Corbiere, and Gidigaa Migisi's contributions. He also translated Lorraine's and Norma's words into

[413] Because I think adult language learning can be an important aspect of growing Indigenous research methodology, I signified the adult language learning phenomenon in this research. My motivation was to create space for other researchers to embark on incorporating their ancestral indigenous languages in the best ways they can; to employ them as a source or theoretical lens to explain the world; to seek conversations in the language; and, to build archives documented in the language. As Alan emphasized to me in a personal exchange, accuracy in language learning is extremely important. I agree with him. However, for many reasons, effort must be made to encourage Indigenous researchers to utilize anishinaabemowin in the production of new knowledges as much as possible despite the potential for inaccuracies or clunky processes along the way. Forgoing language as a source and method in research because of a lack of proficiency will not bode well for the re-creation of Anishinaabe knowledges, the creation of new knowledges, or the preservation and regeneration of language in shifting contexts. Of course, for research that includes languages, the limitations of the research must be noted and every effort for achieving (some measure of) accuracy must be made. As noted in my preamble on language, striving to achieve "accuracy" may yield interesting discussion.

[414] In their own ways of assessing this process, some contributors asked who the language consultant was. They were all in agreement with the person I was working with.

[415] I retrospectively realized that this may not have been received well by some of the Elders who had diabetes. This prompted me to consider the possible health benefits of maple sugar for Anishinaabeg and question if there was need to decolonize our relationship with our own traditional foods and our understandings of how our traditional foods interact with our bodies. These questions are not explored in this research but they did arise as a matter of this exchange.

English. These conversations were conducted in 2014, transcribed within six months, and returned to contributors for feedback.[416] I completed the chapter focusing on their contributions in May 2018 and sent to my committee for feedback before sending to contributors. I also sent it to a colleague, Laura Hall, who is knowledgeable about working with Elders. All provided positive feedback.

I made edits on organization and content and sent to all contributors I was able to contact in July 2018. The exceptions to this is Mary who passed away in January 2018. I will send a copy of the chapter post-defense to her daughter, Teri-Lynn. My contact and communication with Charlotte Loonsfoot were through social media however she has not opened these messages and appears to be off the social media platform we communicated through. I have a mailing address for her however I would prefer to confirm she still lives there before sending her any documents related to this research. In sending this chapter, and relevant other sections to Jacqui LaValley and Lewis Debassige, my request was for contributors to review how their names and contributions were included in the text and to note if there were any changes they would like me to make. At the time of writing I have received feedback from five contributors; none indicated the need to make any changes to how they're contributions were included.

As a matter of contributing to building archives created by and for Anishinaabeg, I inquired if contributors were willing to allow me to submit transcripts and audio recordings to Trent University's Library and Archives. This option was included in my method after obtaining the support from Trent University's Library and Archives. I discussed my rationale and the process with each contributor; and, each person was given a copy of Trent Library's "Request for Reproduction of Works Held in Trent University Archives, Special Collections and Rare Books," so they would know what people accessing their archived transcript would have to sign. Each person agreed to having their transcript and audio recording archived

[416] The exception to this was Gidigaa Migisi. While Alphonse provided me a transcription of this anishinaabemowin in 2015, and I began transcribing, I somehow overlooked finishing this transcription. It was only when starting work on the contributor chapter that I realized that I had not finished this and had not sent it to him. I sent this shortened transcription and chapter to him for feedback in July 2018. He reviewed this and Chapter Five and indicated no changes were requested.

which was noted on their "Consent to Participate Forms". Archiving of these sources will be concluded post-dissertation defense. There are problems of history, access, and power associated with housing Indigenous knowledges archives in universities. I cannot overcome any or perceived problem of physically locating them at Trent University versus having them housed within one or more First Nation communities. The benefit to archiving at a university is that these institutions have the archival staff available to support filing, accessing, and making a notation on public databases. All of these points support community and formal researchers to know they are there. In order to encourage the best use of these sources, a description of intent will be included with these sources when archived.

Finally, an important task in transforming living conversations into text was to avoid reproducing the dehumanizing, decontextualizing, extractive, and fragmenting effect on Indigenous relationalities and knowledges that research processes can produce. Yet, "boiling down" our conversations and organizing them into legible sections was necessary in order to make sense of them. One way to make this translation was to provide context, which I do in Chapter 6. Interestingly, and importantly, when beginning our conversations, four of the fourteen contributors purposefully, or by default, established contexts they deemed relevant before discussing their specific sugar bush memories, insights, or knowledges. These contexts reflected the importance of place; place names and relationship to place; historical beginnings of communities and how their ancestors came to be in that place; and, social and personal contexts such as displacement from, and return to, reserves and families from settler institutions (i.e. the sanitarium).[417]

Moving through the problem of translating living conversations into living texts that maintain a measure of contextual integrity, I "boiled down" our conversations. Several themes emerged from the three conversational prompts I posed in the areas of sugar bush experiences, cultural knowledges, and gender

[417] Tessa Reed in conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy (hereafter W. C. Sy), June 4, 2014; Lewis Debassige in conversation with W. C. Sy, August 24, 2014; Rick Beaver in conversation with W. C. Sy, June 12, 2014; and Jacqui LaValley in conversation with W. C. Sy, August 15, 2014.

diversity. These themes included sugar bush memories which emphasizes family and labour; land (i.e. sugar bush) as material thing and beloved place; property, products, distribution, economies, and economic structures and systems; governance and governance structures; historical shifts and changes; and, cultural knowledges including but not limited to Anishinaabemowin and traditional narratives. Often, the contributors shared their own questions, reflections, and theories about why or how something was how it was. Given the breadth and depth of their contributions, I focused on three finding: memories, clan knowledge, and gender diversity which I discuss in Chapter Six.

Anishinaabe Feminist Framework

Positionality

My research positionality is both insider and outsider. I am insider because this research is Anishinaabe-specific and I am Ojibway Anishinaabe. makwa ninodoodem (my clan is bear); Waaseyaa'sin ninidizhnikaaz (my name is Waaseyaa'sin). I fasted for both my Anishinaabe name and my clan; all my fasts were conducted by maashke nozhe odoodem (pike clan) Gidigaa Migisi Doug Williams. When seeking counsel about a way to know what my clan was from makwa odoodem (bear clan) Edna Manitowabi and explaining to her that the teachings I had heard did not resonate with my heart, I was counselled to do a four day fast. I ultimately fasted twice, four days each, for my clan. I was ceremonied into makwa odoodem in July 2016. I consider myself a reflective thinker of anishinaabe'aadiziwin (ways of being) and what this might mean in a contemporary context, how it might change in varying contexts, and the power dynamics that animate what of culture persists, dies out, or changes. I have been engaged in anishinaabe-specific land-based relationships since 2009; and, I have been learning anishinaabemowin and been a participant in and helper to various ceremonies since 1996.[418] My appearance, my maternal familial ties, my band association, and my

[418] Some of the people I have learned from over the years have been James Dumont, Gramma Jean Yandryk-ban, Genny Boyer-ban, Gary Boyer-ban, Jules Casselman, Willard Pine, Mary Beaver-ban, Peter Migwans, Howard Webkamigad, Mary Jane

status card all constitute my insider location within my research. My thinking, my values, and my praxis also reflect an Anishinaabe-ness that resonates with land-based practices and, in my opinion, the values of working class or low-income living (e.g. look out for each other, keep it real, humble, and don't allow yourself to be subjugated by others just because of your class, income, social status, or relationships). In many ways, I have very few barriers to negotiate in order to be considered, or accepted, as Anishinaabe in conducting Anishinaabe research with Anishinaabeg. My lived experiences also make me an insider to my researcher in particular ways. My insider status is born of two phenomenological trails. One, the personal pain of colonial, intersectional violence in family, public, and institutions based on my indigeneity, gender, and ways of being that I link to class (e.g. speaking candidly, prioritizing my working-class values and relations over middle class values required in certain careers, attainment of social status within a settler capitalist system, knowing what it is to live on a low income) and anishinaabe feminist thinking and doing. And two, the personal elation and liberation of learning about, and being able to practice, the sophistication, beauty, and robustness of anishinaabe'aadiziwin.

I am an outsider to my research in many ways. First, my trails do not include being raised with Anishinaabeg family. I also do not have a well-known family name that carries privilege in Indigenous circles, academic or otherwise. While I have learned positive life-changing knowledges from Midéwiwin people, I am not Midéwiwin (i.e. a ceremonial community). This may not have been relevant in years past however I have been recently told that the Midéwiwin is growing its influence in university settings and some Anishinaabe scholarship, or Anishinaabe researchers, are assessed in accordance with Midéwiwin knowledges even if they are not Midéwiwin. [419] I am an Anishinaabe practitioner of our spiritual

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Metatawabin, Gidigaa Migisi Doug Williams, Edna Manitowabi, Biskakone Greg Johnson, Jacqui LaValley, Helen Roy, Stan Peltier, and Alphonse Pitawanakwat.

[419] As one of several womxn who spoke publicly on social media in 2017 against misogynist rhetoric that a public figure was espousing in the news against Indigenous womxn, I was privately cautioned (from a place of kindness), to cease. I was told my analysis was astute but that given the Midéwewin are increasing their power in the universities, and this person was a part of that community, my critique might risk my success in the academic world. This is a perfect example of how "decolonizing the university" does not include Indigenous womxn's refusal of sexist, misogynist, androcentric, or patriarchal power and how

relationalities but as stated, am not Midéwiwin. As Child reminds, "Ojibwe people who did not participate in ceremonies of a Midewiwin medicine lodge continued to find meaning in indigenous spiritual traditions through their belief in the healing power of song, dance, medicine, and herbs; the value of dreams and prayer; and a deep reverence for sacred places and the spiritual power of the natural world."[420] Further, my experiences do not include being raised on my reserve or even *a* reserve. As indicated in my introduction of myself, I was raised in a predominately white, working class, heteropatriarchal world as an Indian girl in rural northern Ontario.[421]

I am a first-generation university graduate who has excelled in the Canadian education and economic world in terms of attaining high levels of education. And, for the most part, have always being employed and been able to pay my bills and provide for my child. While I, like many in a violent world, do know crisis, trauma, and instability, I do not know hunger, homelessness, or lack of resources for hygiene, or lack of clothing; and, I know love, affection, and the importance of respecting personal autonomy. There were holidays with lots of food and family and there were occasional family vacations. Also, in terms of researching Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush, while I first learned about the magic of the maple trees as child through my father who tapped them one time in our backyard (which was "the bush") I do not come from maternal lands that grow ininaahtigoog. Therefore, sugar bushing is not a part of my maternal family or community line. However, as my research will show, sugar bushing is a part of my family line in terms of my clan. I am also an outsider in some Anishinaabe circles because I, like others, critically, but respectfully, engage "tradition". Also, I do not fit contemporary ideas of womanhood that are

Indigenous womxn who vocalize a refusal of this public violence risk being disciplined or punished with material, economic, or social costs.

[420] Child, *Holding Our World Together,* 91.

[421] My intent is not to promote false romantic/noble ideas of the working-class or engage in class conflict. Rather, I want to signify that I do have experiences in the middle-class working world that leads me to believe that my working-class upbringing is in tension with some aspects of middle-class worlds.

positively reinforced by some women Elders (i.e. being Christian humble, do not speak, do not ask questions, wear skirts to ceremony, do not work with men, be legible with your sexuality).[422]

I embark on this research as an anishinaabe feminist which takes serious Anishinaabeg womxn's colonization, internalized colonization, oppression, and my sensitivity to the diversity and heterogeneity of the myriad realities womxn live in and negotiate daily. It acknowledges, with respect, Anishinaabeg womxn's life-force utilizing both Anishinaabeg and non-Anishinaabeg methods. My theoretical lens of the world lends itself to analyses, voice, questions, assertions, and practices that do not always resonate with status quo practices within Indigenous and non-Indigenous circle and often, surprisingly, puts me at odds with certain practices, institutional cultures, and individuals who are unsettled by, or disagree with, my praxis. It also aligns me with Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous and non-Indigenous people who theorize and practice decolonization, endurance, and regeneration with a constant consideration of the way history, structures, and systems reproduce conditions that deny, limit, steal, or regulate the resources and conditions Anishinaabeg womxn and other Indigenous womxn require to sur-thrive in their homelands and territories.

Motivations

I am motivated to conduct this research in order to produce knowledge about Anishinaabeg womxn's economic sovereignty from one particular angle: her relationships with lands and waters in her territories that continue to be actively colonized. I want to do this as a way to provide a temporary off-ramp or breathing hole for Anishinaabe womxn who are dissatisfied with the settler economic system and/or its reproductions within Indigenous communities. I say "temporary off-ramp or breathing hole" because while I recognize the need for anti-capitalist visions, actions, and sustained practice, and I see continued effort

[422] For an open conversation between two Indigenous womxn that addresses the complexities of tradition, see Anderson and Lawrence's, "Concluding Dialogue," 231-252.

towards that which I consider myself a part of, I see global economies that shape and are shaped by the agendas of nations-states and the war machine as being omnipresent forces that show no evidence of stopping. Off-ramps and breathing holes are never disconnected from this broader economic structure however Anishinaabeg, their allies, and like-minded people can carve out time and space to engage in the (re)generation of new realities.

I am motived in this research to provide knowledge to those, who, like me, intuitively know/knew Anishinaabeg womxn are economically sovereign and know that this economic sovereignty is grounded, in part, in their relationships with the natural world. But, like me, did/do not have a story to make that intuitive knowing tangible, material, legible, animate, and living; womxn who do not have a story to share with those who economically colonize or oppress her or who may disagree or contest her land-based economic sovereignty. Perhaps Indigenous womxn who are not engaged in the land-based practices of their ancestors will be inspired and able to regenerate these practices. Or, perhaps their communities will be motivated to support those who wish to do so. For those who are already engaged in such practices, understanding the myriad ways history has shaped an alienation from land and waters may signify the historical, material, social, and knowledge-producing importance of their work. If not able to actualize these relationships physically or materially, ideally this thesis will provide womxn with a story that affirms their rootedness and righteous ability to live economically sovereign lives that provides some measure of well-being even if such practices are not explicitly land-based practices. I am aware of and sensitive to the fact that many Indigenous and Anishinaabeg womxn and others are not interested in "returning to the land". I am aware that this is for many and varied reasons which I respect and understand. I still hope that this thesis operates in a good way to share a story of ancestral being and doing that will inform invigorate meanings of womxn's economic sovereignty, meanings that support womxn's ability to sur-thrive in her homelands in accordance with the laws and values that arose from respect and regard for the life-force and life-generating capabilities of the natural and spiritual world.

My intent is to provide a text-as-buoy for Anishinaabeg womxn of variable experiences. One, for those who are navigating Anishinaabeg-settler worlds unmoored from relationalities and relationships that respect and recognize her sovereignty. Also, for those who are engaged in relationships with people who see her as a labourer or a source to be exploited and benefitted from without ensuring equitable reciprocity or mutual benefit. As well, for those whose workplaces do not respect that her way of providing, or the unseen values about how to provide, may not fit the ways of the settler economy and that these differences must be respected. I wish to also contribute, with others, to the re-generation of Anishinaabeg shared or healthfully mediated power between (a)gendered beings as well in Anishinaabeg governance in regards to land and water based, sustenance relationships within our communities.

Intellectual History and Interpretive Lens

I first learned that I loved reading about girls' righteousness as a girl. My first favorite book was *Island of the Blue Dolphins* (1960) by Scott O'Dell.[423] I had my first taste of womxn's literature in high school. The womxn whose writing about womxn characters that I soaked up were Margaret Atwood and Margaret Laurence.[424] I learned about patriarchy, feminism, and the invisibility of Indigenous womxn in Women's Studies *in* Women's Studies in the early 1990s. I still have an essay I wrote on the subject of Indigenous women's invisibility in the academic literature and pop culture from this time. A psychology major, I enrolled in as many Women's Studies courses as I could. I also enrolled in three Native Studies courses. In these courses, I learned about colonization and Anishinaabe identity, psychology, and ways of being. The content was androcentric although at the time, I was so hydrated and transformed with what I was learning, I didn't notice. In a second degree in Anishinaabemowin, I read as much Indigenous literature as I could and carried Kateri Akiwenzi's *Without Reservation: Indigenous Erotica* (2003) around like the sacred text is was and

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[423] O'Dell, *Island of the Blue Dolphins.*

[424] Atwood, *Edible Woman;* Laurence, *The Diviners; and Laurence, The Stone Angel.*

is.[425] In 2007, I remember Joyce Green's *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism* when it first came out.[426] Around the same time, I took a graduate level Canadian feminism course which included some Indigenous feminist content. The Professor, of her own volition, provided me with a number of specific Indigenous feminist readings, which I found helpful. My indigenous feminist thinking is influenced by this history, this text, and many other Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars.[427]

In this thesis, I utilize most recent indigenous feminist thinking to anchor and frame my interpretations. According to Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill, indigenous feminist theories "are those theories that make substantial advances in understandings of the connection between settler colonialism and both heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism. [They] focus on the compound issues of gender, sexuality, race, indigeneity, and nation."[428] Their meaning of settler colonialism is similarly defined in my introduction chapter. Heteropatriarchy refers to how heterosexuality and patriarchy are normalized and naturalized such that any other social systems is considered deviant or less-than; and, heteropaternalism refers to how heteropatriarchal families, which are led by and centered around the father, are considered a model for the settler state and its institutions.[429]

Indigenous feminist theories centers indigenous ways of knowing.[430] Under the rubric of indigenous ways of knowing, Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill introduce two relevant concepts: land and sovereignty. Through an indigenous feminist lens, the authors discern indigenous and settler colonial ideas of land in terms of ways of knowing. They state that land itself, which is closely associated with place, *is* "knowing and knowledge".[431] A settler colonial construction views land as property. This latter conception, "tangled in the

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[425] Akiwenzie-Damm, ed. *Without Reservation: Indigenous Erotica*.
[426] Joyce Green, *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*.
[427] The writers who have influenced my feminist thinking is extensive. Aside from those identified in this thesis, they include Jennifer Denetdale, J. Kehaulani Kauani, Renya Ramirez, Lisa K. Hall, Luanna Ross, Andrea Smith, Dian Million, bell hooks, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Chandra Mohanty, and Barbara Christian.
[428] Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminisms," 11.
[429] Ibid., 13.
[430] Ibid., 14-15; 21.
[431] Ibid., 21.

ideologies of settler colonialism, [is] dependent on constructions of land as extractable capital, the denial of Indigenous sovereignty, the myth of discovery, and the inevitability of the nation-state."[432]

As discussed in my literature review in Chapter 1, according to Monture-Angus, sovereignty is about land and implies the responsibilities an Indigenous person, community, and nation has in carrying out these responsibilities. Whereas settler constructed Tribal and First Nations leadership aspire to achieve sovereignty through recognition of the state, Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill center gender and indigeneity.[433] By so doing, they also deconstruct "gender" by reminding readers that western meanings of gender and the relational expectations between gender have been imposed upon Indigenous peoples. These constructions do not reflect Indigenous meanings of gender, sexuality, or relationality (i.e. family structure, domestic organization, kinds of relationships). Indigenous feminist theories of indigenous sovereignty consider sovereignty as contoured by specific indigenous meanings of gender and the relationalities between people embedded in these meanings.[434]

Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars consistently and importantly acknowledge the activism of Indigenous womxn in achieving basic human rights required for material survival (i.e. housing), physical and sexual violence, and sovereignty. Many Indigenous womxn, such as Maria Campbell, Maracle, and Anderson and Lawrence address the significance of economics, class, and/or materiality in their autobiographical and conversational writing.[435] However, with the exception of Jocelyn Formsma who identifies themselves as middle-class as an important intervention into understanding indigenous feminism,

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[432] Ibid.
[433] Ibid., 22.
[434] Ibid., 22-23. I found the discussion under "sovereignty" difficult to follow. What I have written here is based solely on what I think the authors are trying to say when they link sovereignty with their discussion of state legislations and gender. Examples of scholarship that nuance gender and indigeneity in theorizing indigenous sovereignty include Donaldson, "'But we are your mothers, you are our sons'", 43- 55; Barker, "Gender, Sovereignty, Rights," 259-266; Barker, "Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women's Activism," 127-161; Barker, ed., *Critically Sovereign*; and Simpson, "The Place Where We All Live and Work Together," 18-24. Discerning between "gender and sovereignty" and "indigenous feminism and sovereignty" is beyond the purpose of this discussion.
[435] Campbell, *Halfbreed;* Maracle, *I Am Woman;* and Anderson and Lawrence, "Concluding Dialogue," 231-252.

indigenous feminist theorizing in Turtle Island has not yet explicitly and directly adapted itself to considerations of indigenous or settler economies (i.e. capitalism) class, and materiality.[436] Influentially, Arrente Black feminist thinker, Celeste Liddle incorporates an indigenous perspective from and on class, doing so from a working class perspective, in her intersectional feminist analysis of Indigenous womxn's lives in Australia.[437] My research actively interprets how settler and or indigenous economic, class, and/or materiality operate in my primary sources.[438] I consider how that is reproduced within Anishinaabeg communities. Finally, interpretations are also informed by elements of anishinaabe'aadizwin and most specifically arise in my reading of clan governance, labour, responsibilities, and relations. In particular, I note Anderson's assertion that more research is needed to understand the intersections between gender and clan relations. She states, "Several women have pointed out that gender-divided responsibilities have to be considered within clan responsibilities."[439] Further, Dian Million asserts that as Indigenous peoples, we need to focus less on social and structural locations and more on Indigenous clans, names, and other forms of organization and meaning-making.[440] As such, I track on the significance of the intersections between clan and gender, and understanding them while also paying attention to structural power.

Conclusion

Indigenous research is increasingly conducted utilizing indigenous methodologies. These are either framed generally around indigeneity or arise from the specific methodologies within Indigenous Nations. Gender is identified within decolonizing methodologies and Indigenous womxn's history as a subject, frame,

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[436] Formsma, "My Journey to Indigenous Feminism," 149.

[437] Liddle, "About".

[438] On class, I am influenced by various thinkers. hooks, *feminism is for everybody: passionate politics*, 7-44; hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center,* 83-115; Lourde, *Sister Outsider: Essays & Speeches,* 115-123; and Lee, "Finding the Way Home Through Issues of Gender, Race and Class," 3-44. Although a new body of knowledge to me, I am interested in and influenced by (historical) material feminism. See, Hennessy and Ingraham, "Introduction: Reclaiming Anticapitalist Feminism," 1-14; and Hennessy, "Setting the terms," 1-36.

[439] Anderson, *A Recognition of Being,* 217.

[440] Million, "Spirit and Matter: Resurgence as Rising and (Re)Creation as Ethos."

or lens that needs to be included in Indigenous research. Indigenous women's history and Indigenous scholars of Indigenous women's research identify specific methodological approaches in conducting research about Indigenous women. Where indigeneity, gender, and nation are important elements in research methodologies, critical indigenous methodologies such as decolonizing, indigenist, and indigenous feminist methodologies address structural power.

Centering these trajectories in indigenous research, I employ an interdisciplinary, intersectional methodology that is grounded in the popularized anishinaabe methodology called biskaabiiyang methodology. This methodology was first articulated by Anishinaabeg Elders Delbert Horton, Ann Wilson, Tobasonakwut Kinew-ban, and Edward Benton-Banai and advanced by Wendy Makoons Genuisz in her research that decolonized Anishinaabeg botanical knowledges. Similar to Genuisz, I utilize aadizookaan, dibaadjimowin, anishinaabemowin, and anishinaabe-izhitwaawin as sources and concepts. I build on this methodology and/or diverge from it in five ways rearticulating it as critical biskaabiiyang methodology.

My source findings and selections cover a range of cultural productions, settler documentary, and living oral contributions. In this thesis, I focus on published anishinaabe stories, settler documented ship manifests, and living conversations with thirteen Anishinaabeg throughout Anishinaabewaki. I discuss methodological issues with my sources. My ethical approaches with Anishinaabeg contributors included successfully attending to the requirements of Trent University's Research Ethics Board and Trent University's Indigenous Research Ethics Committee, continue with it through methodological changes, and ethics renewal. My ethical approach included Anishinaabe methods such as passing asemaa, clothe, gifting with home-made maple sugar, and giving a modest monetary token of gratitude to each contributor for their time and generosity. All Anishinaabeg contributors were participant in reviewing their transcripts and chapter contributions. All agreed to have their transcripts and audio recordings archived at Trent University's Library and Archives.

Drawing on my intellectual history, attending to recent articulations of indigenous feminist theory, and incorporating my understandings of indigenous feminism from within anishinaabe thought, I employ an anishinaabe feminist interpretation of all my sources. Recent articulations of indigenous feminist theory in Canada and the U.S. emphasize the necessity of linking settler colonialism with heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism, include intersectional analyses of oppression. They center the importance of indigenous sovereignty doing so through a gendered lens. Importantly, indigenous feminist interpretations include indigenous ways of knowing which are centered around land and sovereignty, specifically indigenous meanings of sovereignty. Since the 1960s, Indigenous womxn's activism has explicitly attended to the material, economic, and social ways that settler legislation creates oppressive and colonial living conditions. While some grassroot articulations of indigenous feminist theory gesture to the importance of class, and indigenous feminist theorizing in Australia centers the working-class, materiality, or economies, these categories of analysis or associated theoretical orientations do not, at this time, have a significant place within indigenous feminist theories or interpretations in Turtle Island. In this research, I attend to social status, class, and/or materiality in my interpretation of sources. My interpretations are also informed by elements of anishinaabe'aadizwin and most specifically arise through my readings of clan governance, labour, responsibilities, and relations.

Chapter Three: Interlocuters, Protectors, Strategists (2008, 1993, 1902)

> "Our emancipation from our colonial condition and toward some place that will reconnect us to our original historical continuum in the process of modernization is dependent upon the study and reclamation of our original story." ~ Lee Maracle[441]
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> "… we cannot gain a 'true' and complete knowledge of the Native's history unless we accept the episodes of 'non-ordinary reality' as valid in determining the outcome of the event, or as impinging in a vital way on the historical event itself." ~ James Dumont[442]
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> "And because the stories are knowledge, not just about knowledge, they are saying how this can go on happening. This is the power in time, for making a home in time, of these stories…" ~ George Peequatquat [443]

Introduction

The cultural life of Anishinaabeg is thousands of years old, rich, and continually animated through the tautness that exists between enduring tradition and continual change. Like many Indigenous nations, Anishinaabe culture and life-ways have been, and continue to be, broadly influenced, marked, altered, appropriated, or destroyed by European, settler, and state influences. While stories of Anishinaabeg agency in shaping these relationships or outcomes exist, this present discussion begins with the broadest structural, political, and historical social forces that have influenced Anishinaabeg life, to our collective detriment. In discussing contemporary formations of oral and textual Indigenous literatures, Maracle states, "[w]e have been deliberately disconnected from our original bodies of knowledge. This disconnection was orchestrated by the legal, military, and state machinery of the colonizer who aborted the process of knowledge transmission among First Nations knowledge keepers and their children through a variety of means."[444] It is also marked by endurance that has witnessed some periods of rejuvenations (i.e. 1970s). Most recently, in the post Idle No More era, Anishinaabeg cultural life is effusively and increasingly present in Canadian popular culture, media, and social media. It is characterized by anti-colonial, decolonial, and indigenous-

[441] Maracle, "Toward a National Literature," 79.
[442] Dumont, "Journey," 35.
[443] Peequatquat in Johnson, "Bits of Dough, twigs of fire," qtd. in Dumont, "Journey," 39.
[444] Maracle, "Toward a National Literature."

specific aesthetics. Indigenous cultural producers, and scholars, create specifically for Indigenous audiences and are striving to create structures that will work towards sustaining stable funding for Indigenous specific cultural productions. Others are grounded in their indigeneity and are informed by an indigenous aesthetic however are not wed to their cultural productions being identified as "indigenous" or even identifiable as such.

In researching Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush as a form of economic sovereignty, there were many cultural productions that portrayed this. After searching through various cultural sources that exist about the sugar bush which locate womxn at this place, I focused on published stories. These stories identify origins of anishinaabe knowledge about sap, describe conflict and it's resolution at the sugar bush during the spring season, and elucidate social-economic changes vis-à-vis the sugar bush and its processes.

Anishinaabeg have a sophisticated understanding of stories. Popularized discussion about anishinaabe stories occurs around the categories of dibaajimowin and aadisookaanan which are foundational to ways of knowing, being, and regenerating anishinaabe worlds. Whereas dibaajimowin reflect histories, personal stories, and local news, aadisookaanan are sacred stories that are told via certain structures, protocols, times of year, and various other processes that are unique to the communities, families, and individuals who share them.[445] While both have a kind of spirit, the later literally and purposefully invokes spirit(s), recognizing their power to animate life. aadisookaanan are a literary art form and specialized knowledge formation; their telling is a kind of ceremony built on training, responsibility, and talent.

James Dumont, a well-known Midéwiwin ceremonialist and educator, wrote about this subject in the late 1970s. In this context he refers to stories as myths or legends, locating them in a specific historical

[445] Genuisz, *Our Knowledge is not Primitive,* 10; Fontaine, "gi-mi-ni-go-wi-ni-nan o-gi-ma-wi-win zhigo o-gi-ma-win (The gifts of traditional leadership and governance), ii; and Doefler, Sinclair, and Stark, *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies*.

period: *before history* and *in* mythical or legendary times.[446] He situates stories more broadly within an Ojibwe approach to seeing the world. This way of seeing the world is with total, circular, or three-hundred-and-sixty-degree vision. This way of seeing refers to being able to see and exist in both physical and non-physical reality, both of which are *real* for Ojibway. He compares this way of seeing the world, which is not relegated to just one group of people, to a flat or linear-straight-ahead way of seeing the world, reminiscent of Turner and Simpson's evocation of the flat world and Shiva's poverty of the mind. Dumont states,

> [t]he tragedy has been that many of those who function with a linear vision—who attempt to see and interpret with a 'straight-ahead vision' a tradition which can only be appreciably and appropriately viewed and understood with an all-around, circular vision. This is what we have attempted to emphasize here. It is a necessary prerequisite to an appreciation of Native myth and legend to approach it with a knowledge of this special ways of *seeing* the world.[447]

Dumont is referring to Anishinaabeg who were raised in a land-based, spiritual world. This of course is a very different world then the one most live in today. The world Anishinaabeg ancestors lived in wasn't flat and organized by the GDP. This way of seeing the world, and thus Anishinaabeg stories, must be specifically nurtured in specialized conditions such as ceremonial lodges. I would argue that, given the "magical place" that is the sugar bush, this could happen there as well. In fact, Lewis Debassige spoke to this in much detail in our conversation in August 2014. After telling a funny story about childhood memories, he said,

> So as the season went on, we had story tellers. We called them giiyaadzookejig. aadizookaan were the legends of the stories and I'm not going to tell this story because there's no snow on the ground but I can tell you that Nanabush was one of the favorite topics when the snow was still on the ground. What I notice, and what I can tell you, is that a storyteller #1 would come around on a Monday and be treated to a meal. We gather up all the youngest children and the older children would be sitting behind them and the story would be told. Let's call it Nanabush legend #1 [and] storyteller #1. Second night, same thing a meal would be offer and storyteller #2, but he would tell Nanabush legend #2. And on the third night, the first storyteller would return and tell Nanabush language legend #2 and the second would come on the fourth night and tell Nanabush legend #2 and on the fifth night, all the little ones, the youngest ones would be gathered and an Elder would act as the facilitator and ask the little children what they heard, what they can recall from the legends. The older children would be there to kind of mix them up and most of the time the real younger ones would get all the characters and plots mixed up and then end up with their

[446] Dumont, "Journey".
[447] Ibid., 40.

> own legend and that was a form of entertainment the adults would really enjoy. All kinds of laughter but it was also observing and finding out what utility of the language each child had.
>
> It was a way of tracking each child, how they used the language, how confident they were becoming with the language. That was a form of teaching, traditional teaching that is sadly missing today. It was fun. It was interactive. It involved the whole family. And as the season went on, stories would change. Stories would change when there was no more snow to more to who the great grandfathers were, who the great grandmothers were, who the great medicine people were, what's the significance of the names of the places from around here. That's where history was rooted and how it was anchored was in places, what happened there and who were the principles and law. That's how history was taught. It was taught both by men and women. My mom is from Sagamok so I had the good fortune of learning the stories from there.[448]

Lewis shares a great deal of insight into the context, the process, and the purpose of storytelling at the sugar bush. He indicates different story-telling periods which have attached to them different kinds of storytelling. From his memories, change in this practice is both evident, and mourned, and through them, the world that Dumont refers to becomes demystified and much more legible to anyone unfamiliar with the worlds that Anishinaabeg developed this kind of seeing in. While Lewis emphasizes language learning, confidence, the histories, place names, and significances of ancestors, Dumont refers to the importance of engaging in more-than-reality.

Cree poet, Duncan Mercredi, shared his particular experiences with being trained as a storyteller by his grandmother. He relayed that it was serious business, required repetition and discipline, and if it was not, the art and signification would not be achieved adequately.[449] Similarly, Skahendowenah Swamp, a Mohawk professor in Indigenous Knowledges at Trent University, relayed the intensive and sophisticated training his family and community reared him up in as a ceremonialist in conveying certain narratives vital to his nation and community.[450]

[448] Lewis Debaasige in conversation with W. C. Sy, August 24, 2014, personal file, p. 6.
[449] Duncan Mercredi, personal communication, Indigenous Poetics Symposium, Trent University, 2010.
[450] Skahendowenah Swamp, personal communication, Indigenous Knowledges Graduate Course, Trent University, spring 2010.

Despite these practices and edicts, in Anishinaabewaki there are those who take up storytelling practice in different ways. In contemporary settings, forgoing such processes is a decision made for various reasons. For instance, it may be due to lack of practitioners who can teach this subject or, lack of relationships with those who can and are willing to teach this art. Taking this approach may be a way to build community and relationships. It could be a way to regenerate and reproduce anishinaabe knowledge practices and systems or, re-generate anishinaabe ways of learning between people and within individuals. Given the pressures and barriers that Anishinaabeg must navigate in a settler colonial reality, cultural change is necessary in order to continue moving. Sometimes the rules, protocols, and requirements to "do culture" are a hindrance that actually prevent regeneration of cultural practices. Ironically, in some contexts, rigid adherence to traditional formations may actually prevent Anishinaabeg from returning to our deeper, wholistic, fully animated selves. In weighing of tensions between protocol or process and the pragmatics of just doing the thing, Gidigaa Migisi, from a place of commitment to keeping the life-line going, often asserts, "Just do it!".[451]

As indicated in Chapter Two, dibaajimowin and aadisookaanan are specifically identified by Elders as important sources to utilize in Anishinaabeg research if we are to produce knowledges that are going to be helpful to us in decolonization and in returning to ourselves. dibaajimowin and aadisookaanan are foundational to what Anishinaabeg scholars, Jill Doefler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiiik Stark refer to as Anishinaabeg Studies, the disciplinary investigation and proliferation of Anishinaabeg life. In an in-depth interview discussing the myriad meanings, utilizations, and possibilities of story, as well as those who have built up this scholarship, Doefler, Sinclair, and Stark identify myriad ways that story operates in Anishinaabeg Studies: as roots, as relationships, as revelations, as resiliency, as

[451] While conversations about the debates about tradition and change are not new, identifying the merits of the old and the new, the contexts which put pressure on us as Anishinaabeg to suspend or change these principles, and the outcomes of these trajectories, are yet to be written and published.

resistance, as reclamation, and as reflections.[452] They often live, or are animated, in many of these ways at the same time. The stories I examine in this research can be thought to operate in each of these ways. However, I primarily see them as reminders. They are reminders that disrupt Anishinaabeg amnesia about who we are, and who we were, before, as Maracle states, we were disconnected from our literary bodies of knowledge.

In this chapter, the focus of my discussion is based on traditional stories that locate Anishinaabeg womxn in the sugar bush or in relation with it in some manner. Traditional stories can present as problematic when utilized as a device to elucidate a subject, particularly when doing so through the lens of linear history. Dumont's contribution to this topic discussed here, as well as in Chapter Two, elucidate this problem. Aside from portraying events or processes that Dumont describes as non-reality, or what I deem more-than-reality, traditional stories are *ahistorical*. They are meant to transcend linear ideas of history and impinge on anishinaabeg consciousness in a much more dynamic way. They *tell history* (and some tell of origins, where origins may mean various things) where history is not a construction just about the past but also about the present and the future. For instance, creation stories may tell about the future. Also, traditional stories, for Anishinaabeg, are true. Unbelievable things happen in these times and yet, through Anishinaabeg seeing, they are believable. Finally, and however, whether as oral sources in living embodied form, or as animated, spirited publications, they can be *historicized*.

Drawing from three published sources, I focus on four stories. Two falls under the narrative framework of "origins" and are called, "A Woman's Voice" and "The Bear and Maple Sap"; the third is a "conflict" narrative comprised of three short stories or vignettes and is titled, "Spies: Geemootaugaedjig"; and, the fourth is a narrative titled, "The Bear-Maiden" that reflects Ojibway life in a time of "economic and social change". I discuss contextual information for each narrative and re-tell the story in my own words in a

[452] Doefler, Sinclair, and Stark, *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies,* xxvii.

way that maintains the arcs and salient content of the story. Then, I discuss my interpretations which are derived from an anishinaabe feminist interpretative orientation. I conclude with deeper thoughts about what has been learned about Anishinaabeg womxn' at the sugar bush; what insights can be made about Anishinaabeg knowledge, views or narrative ideas of Anishinaabeg womxn at the sugar bush; and, how these stories advance an understanding of womxn's economic sovereignty through their relationship with this place and process.

Sugar Bush Stories and Interpretations

Maples Sugar Stories: "A Woman's Voice" and "*The Bear and Maple Sap"* (2008)

In 2008, Ojibwe Elder, Midéwiwin ceremonialist, and renowned educator of Anishinaabeg history, worldviews, knowledges and life-ways, Edward Benton-Banai published a young adult non-fiction book, titled, *Anishinaabe Almanac: Living Through the Seasons.* This book conveys Ojibwe world view and seasonal cycles through English text and illustrations. Published by an Anishinaabeg publisher in consultation and review by several Anishinaabeg, this almanac includes two maple sugar stories. One titled, "A Woman's Voice" and another titled, "The Bear and the Maple Sap". Like many origin narratives, these tell how Anishinaabeg learned that ininaahtigoog (our tree/maple trees) had wiishkaabaa'aaboo (sap) that could be used for sustenance. Separately each provides a unique story for how this knowledge came to Anishinaabeg. They each affirm Anishinaabeg epistemological approaches that reflect how Anishinaabeg manifest and actualize relationships with the natural and spiritual world. Considered together, they provide insights into the intersections of clan and gendered relationalities with the natural world, in this case ininaahtigoog and wiishkaabaaboo. As discussed in my literature review, scholars like Bodenhorn have noted that gender may not be most important in understanding indigenous relationships with the natural world. However, she does not consider the ways gender has been *made* significant through missionary and settler colonial forces which is relevant when utilizing sources to impart knowledge into a settler colonial context. In the interpretation

of stories whose documentation and publication has occurred within a settler colonial context, it is also important to consider how these influences have shaped the storyteller in telling the story. In a modern context where gender *is made* significant, understanding the intersections between gender and clan is relevant. As Anderson notes, more research is required on understanding this relationship.

"The Woman's Voice" tells of a time when Anishinaabeg were starving due to a scarcity in game and lack of strength to endure travelling any distance to find more. One day, a woman, desperate to find something for her three children decided to leave the camp with them. The night before leaving she went out beyond the camp and offered tobacco. There,

> [u]nder the full moon, she prayed for strength and direction, for she knew that her children would die of starvation if she did not do something. Some of the women, Mothers, and Grandmothers followed her and began to pray with her. While they were praying, a voice began to sing. When the prayer was finished, the voice, that seemed to come from a huge tree, spoke out and said, "Waabang nanaawekweg omaa bizhaak."[453]

That spirit voice told them to return to that spot the next day at noon. While some women were frightened and left, others stayed behind to talk about what happened. The next day was warm and sunny and the woman, with others, returned to the tree. As the story goes, they asked an Elder to speak. With tobacco in hand, the Elder spoke to the tree and asked for guidance during the time of hardship. As the words were spoken, a stream of sap burst forth from the sunny, warm side of the tree. The children, unafraid, were the first to taste it and said that it tasted good. At this point, Anishinaabeg knew they had found something to save them from starvation, sweet medicine water.

The second origin story, "The Bear and the Maple Sap" starts out similarly with Anishinaabeg starving due to a unseasonably hard winter that sent game away and froze waterways so thick, the fish could not be caught. This starvation was so difficult people died of it. In a different decision-making way, a Chief and others gathered to discuss the matter and decided someone had to set out to find food to avoid

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[453] Benton-Banai, "The Woman's Voice," 16.

everyone's death. A young man from makwa odoodem (bear clan) named "Gizhe Binesi" (Good Thunder Bird) who was known more for his singing voice than his subsistence skills, volunteered. The people prepared him ceremonially for his journey and a woman, who was in love with him, encouraged him upon his departure. While making camp one night with a fire, he noticed the pitch from the spruce trees under which he camped began to melt. Recalling that his uncle taught him this was something that could be ingested, he melted some and ate it for nourishment. The spruce gum is what gave him energy as he continued travelling in his search for food.

On one warm day, while walking and growing weak, he spotted makwa. He watched him roll over a log. Makwa spotted Gizhe Binesi and held his gaze; Gizhe Binesi, who was makwa odoodem, sang his clan song over and over. Communicating to his relative he noticed that makwa continued his work with the log. Eventually overturning it, makwa found frozen grubs and began to eat them. After eating its' fill, makwa walked away and then sat down looking at Gizhe Binesi, who quickly realized that he was to go to the log and also eat, which is what he did. After a short, while makwa got up and looked back at Gizhe Binesi as though gesturing to him to follow.

After walking some distance, Gizhe Binesi noticed they were in a hardwood grove. He then witnessed makwa scratch at one of the hardwood trees, removing the bark. He noticed sap gushing out of the tree and watched makwa lap it up. When he was done, Gizhe Binesi went to the tree and tasted its sweet goodness. He instantly knew that this would bring nourishment to his community. After giving thanks to makwa and promising to honour it for this knowledge, Gizhe Binesi returned to his camp. He showed the community the gift from the maple trees which they called ininaahtigoog. With the strength of the sap, they were able to again venture far to hunt, trap, and snare. A secondary, but prominent arc in this story is one of hetero-love, marriage, child-bearing, and community learning about when to tap the trees, how to collect sap, and how to boil it down into the syrup, sugar, taffy, and candy.

Interpretation

Both stories reveal how Anishinaabeg learned that sap was in the trees and could be used to prevent starvation. While starvation may be read metaphorically, I interpret it materially and as a form of subsistence. “The Woman’s Voice” reveals the independence, autonomy, and parental determination of a mother to save her children by deciding to leave the camp to find food. “The Bear and Maple Sap” portrays a young man from makwa odoodem who is spirited by community leadership and need to venture out to find something that will save his people. Both woman and man are supported by various elements of community in their process of preparing to embark on this task.

As discussed in my literature review, several authors noted that in cultural productions, particularly traditional stories, Indigenous womxn are constructed as having particular connections to the natural and spiritual world. “The Woman’s Voice” is an example of this in relation to Anishinaabeg womxn. It illustrates a particular direct spiritual relationship and communication between the natural world and womxn. In this case, it is the spirit of ininaahtigoog, or something from within ininaahtigoog, that is particular associated with womxn. This is revealed through its communication with her after she and other womxn engage in anishinaabe method of seeking knowledge and guidance.

This narrative also reflects diversity amongst womxn. For instance, when the narrator states that “women, mothers, and grandmothers” followed the mother to where she was offering tobacco, I read “women” here, as not mothers or grandmothers. They are neither child-bearing nor situated within a popular kinship order (i.e. neither mother, grandmother). Further, this story disrupts common portrayals of womxn as being married to mxn. In this story, none of the womxn portrayed are identified in regards to marital or sexual relations. The ability to receive communication from the natural world, in this case ininaahtigoog, is seemingly available to all womxn in this story because they are all able to hear ininaahtigoog speaking to the women-mother who offered her tobacco seeking help. However, not all womxn are comfortable with this communication. For example, the story indicates that some womxn were frightened

by the voice and left, while others stayed behind to discuss. The existence and power of woman collectives is also portrayed. In this case, this manifests around a womxn-mother seeking guidance in her journey to find food for her children. All the womxn follow her and petition the natural and spiritual world for help and guidance.

Where women are the receivers of communication from ininaahtigoog in this case, and where it is said they were told by ininaahtig to return to that place the next day at noon, the story portrays them as returning with their community. It also portrays them asking an Elder to speak. This Elder prayed for guidance from gizhe manidoo (the great, kind spirit) to help the people during the time of great hardship. "As the Elder was praying, a stream of beautiful water suddenly burst forth from the sunny side of the tree."[454] Unlike the women who are marked as "women" and are explicitly portrayed to be in relation with ininaahtigoog, the Elder they asked to speak is not intentionally identified as "man". It is also not indicated that this Elder was specifically selected due to gender. However, this Elder is marked with the pronoun "he" thereby marking him as a mxn. Given that it has already been established that ininaatigoog spoke to Anishinaabeg womxn, and that they were able to understand this communication, I have two interpretations of the inclusion of a male Elder whose petitions to creation are portrayed as instigating the emergence of sap.

One, having the male Elder speak is an element of the story that is unnecessary in advancing the primary goal of preventing starvation. This is because ininaatigoog responded to the womxn, and they understood. This establishes that womxn have an ability to receive communication from ininaahtigoog. Also, ininaahtigoog told the womxn to return the next day at noon. Anishinaabe feminist perspective recognizes Anishinaabeg women have inherent relationships with the natural and spiritual world that have been detrimentally transformed and supplanted by settler patriarchal social order, a pattern that has been

[454] Benton-Banai, "The Woman's Voice," 17.

documented in research extensively. As such, including the male Elder who is portrayed as repeating the same kinds of words the womxn spoke the day before operates in two ways. One, it eclipses the efficacy of women's special relationship with the natural and spiritual world, which is clearly established in the story. It also by-passes the message that ininaatigoog gave to the womxn: for *them* to return to the tree the next day. The unfolding of events as such, "women, mothers, and grandmothers" portray them individually and collectively divesting themselves of their relationship with the natural and spiritual world, a relationship instigated by a womxn-mothers' determination to prevent her children from starving. This relationship was instigated by their specific petitioning of the spiritual world for guidance. Their petitions yielded that guidance and in according to Anishinaabe relational logic, this relationship and responsibility is for them to carry out. Further, it shows womxn as deferring this power to another person which defies this Anishinaabeg logic. In this version of this narrative, womxn petition for help and guidance and then when they receive it, they defer to a male Elder. It is not clear why a female Elder or Grandmother is not portrayed as speaking these next set of words to creation thus rendering the sap from ininaatigoog.

It is also not clear why a particular set of circumstances that leads to Anishinaabeg survival is initially portrayed as being instigated by a presumably unattached womxn who is a mother, further advanced through a group of womxn of various ages and positionalities, but concluded and resolved through the presence and voice of a male Elder. An anishinaabe feminist interpretation indicates that this particular gendered dynamic reproduces settler colonial patriarchy. It does so by de-centering womxn's relationship with the land, spirit and the special communication she has with both. It also diminishes the emotional courage it took for the womxn-mother to decide to leave her community to find something for her children. It denies her, and the womxn who supported her, the honour of obtaining subsistence that could save their community. It invisibilizes her emotional and physical labour which brought her to the juncture of manifesting the relationality with the trees and the sap. It overlooks the efficacy of her words, petitioned

with asemaa. Finally, it supplants womxn's needs and efficacy in resolving them with male Elder presence, voice and power in relation to the sugar water.

A second anishinaabe feminist interpretation could argue womxn's inclusion of others and their deferral of their power to an Elder conveys a community narrative. In a settler colonial context of relational disruption, fragmentation, and transformed gender relations, as well as dominating pressure to perform within, and assimilate to, a settler hierarchical system that diminishes the elderly, womxn's deferral and inclusion of an Elder is important. Specifically, a contemporary re-telling of an origin story about sap that suggests the distribution power of this knowing across ages, genders, and relationality to create a story about shared community power and knowing is significant and legitimate. It reflects deep values of Anishinaabe meanings of shared, equitable albeit distinct powers between all Anishinaabeg which is characteristic of Anishinaabeg origin stories and land-based lifestyles. However, if distributing power regarding community well-being is to be read as an anishinaabe value that holds up Elders, then how can it be explained that the Grandmothers, who were spoken to, and of those who stayed to discuss the matter with other mothers and womxn, were not requested to carry out the petition upon return to the sugar bush? Finally, if there is a legitimate or pragmatic reason for womxn of various ages, identities, and relationalities deferring their special connection with the natural world and the spiritual world to a male Elder, this must be weighed critically for its meanings and implications within a contemporary context. The present context is animated from a historical trajectory and present structures and values that de-centers womxn, invisibilizes gender non-conforming people, and centres mxn within a system of patriarchal, capitalist power. In a contemporary context, where Anishinaabeg womxn have had their relationships with land and spiritual world marginalized, it is important to determine if cultural rhetoric of shared power in community tangibly and/or materially improves or enhances womxn's lives in community, who the womxn are that benefit

from "community", or, if the idea or rhetoric of community distracts or diverts attention from womxn's diminished subsistence, material, and social economic vitality.[455]

"Bear and Maple Sap" is a clan narrative that elucidates the ways a young heterosexual man who is makwa odoodem (bear clan) is taught through his relative, makwa (bear), about sustenance for his community. While readers learn about the nutritional value of spruce gum, makwa teaches the young man about grubs and maple sap. Despite learning that spruce gum and grubs can be eaten in a situation of starvation, it is knowledge about the maple sap that this young man returns to the camp with. Upon his return, he is celebrated. During this time, lessons about honouring makwa are affirmed and lessons about remaining humble when you have done something beneficial for your community are indicated.

The main arc of the story reflects the relationship between a young, heterosexual man and makwa. A secondary arc portrays heterosexual love as a powerful, motivating force in the endurance and reproduction of Anishinaabeg life. In this story arc, in relation to the sugar bush, woman is completely detached from the natural and spiritual world. Her character is portrayed as pivoting around the young man, his deeds, her looks, her non-land-based skills, marriage, and family reproduction. While this model of social relation for heterosexual women and men is popular in contemporary contexts it significantly erodes Anishinaabeg womxn's economic sovereignty which is grounded in *her* relationships with land and the social networks associated with that. The literature establishes that in Anishinaabeg relationships, people help each other in carrying out work. It is legitimate for Anishinaabeg of all genders to help each other in land-based practices, however womxn's work is not centered around uplifting men. Her worth is not attributed through her relationship with men or her marital status.

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[455] I write about the problem of Anishinaabeg traditional narratives reproducing womxn's marginality in Anishinaabeg community in Anderson, Campbell, and Belcourt, eds., *Keetsahnak,* 193-214. In conversation with Gidigaa Migisi about the published chapter for that book, we discussed the need for more conversations about the content of traditional narratives and how or why they are told, changed, and their impacts in the contemporary world.

This story is also a heterosexual male hero narrative that resonates with contemporary stories and gestures to class status. The story suggests that as a result of the positive outcome of his efforts and good relations, Gizhe Binesi was married to his love, Ginwaanikwe. Together they went on to have babies. In a land-based mode of living, this characterization may definitely be a portrayal of one aspect of Anishinaabeg life. Further, the details about Ginwaanikwe's beauty, support, singing voice, and orientations towards marriage and having children are humanizing which is important when compared against dominant, negative portrayals. Also, these qualities do resonate with those that some Anishinaabeg find important and meaningful. However, as stated, through this characterization, womxn's important relationship with the natural and spiritual world recedes into the background and is invisibilized. Her meaning and worth are framed solely around her connection with, and value to, a successful man. A class-based reading is that her worth is elevated because she associated with a man who is a hero and that she must be a certain way in order to have him as a husband and bearer of children with him. There is no evidence of her efficacy in procuring or provisioning.

An anishinaabe feminist interpretation further reads the main arc of this origin narrative for the value of clan relations and clan knowledge, the power of community support, and spiritual inspiration as aspects deeply grounded in anishinaabe'aadiziwin. It recognizes the significance of the male protagonists' selfless acts, desires to help his community, his love interests, and contributions. And, it reads the epistemological relationality between Anishinaabeg and animals who are considered relatives, how this is taken seriously and recognized through specialized song, careful observation and respect for the animal and it's need for space, and commitment to honour the knowledge-gifts animals give to Anishinaabeg that allow survival. In this way, anishinaabe feminist interpretation reads for the anishinaabe philosophy, values, laws, and practices that make Anishinaabe, anishinaabe.

A secondary arc reflects contemporary Anishinaabeg history; history that has been transformed by settler colonial patriarchy and manifests new kinds of gender meanings, relations, and social structures. For

instance, this narrative, with elements of a clan framework, highlights heterosexual romance, marriage, reproduction and nuclear family formations. The two however, are not put into relationship with each other. For instance, Ginwaanikwe's clan is never mentioned; and, we don't know if this marriage was arranged through clan mothers or if it is a contemporary coupling. There is no representation of gender fluidity, two-spirit, or gender non-conformity in this story. And finally, heterosexual Anishinaabeg woman is portrayed as completely detached from relationships with the natural and spiritual world; her meaning and purpose in this story is as inspiration to the male protagonist, a marital partner, and as reproducer of a nuclear family.

In terms of elucidating Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush, "A Woman's Voice" portrays womxn of varying locations as having an independent, unique and powerful relationship with the maple trees, one that elicits direct communication from them. This special relationship with maple trees is echoed in Benton-Banai's *The Mishomis Book* whereby womxn construct the first Midéwiwin lodge. In narrating this story, he says,

> The next day before dawn, the women set out to gather materials to make the lodge for the old man. They gathered Ini-na-tig' (maple) saplings because they knew that the maple was a life-giving being. They used the maple saplings for the frame of the lodge. With the guidance of the old man, they constructed the first Midewiwin Lodge.[456]

While a similar pattern exists in this story that convey groups of women being oriented towards guidance from an old man, it also shows her special relationship with the ininaatigoog, this time in building a lodge for ceremonial, healing purposes. She is once again interlocutor between Anishinaabeg life and the natural and spiritual world however the significance of this is superseded by the expert guidance of an elderly mxn. In "The Woman's Voice", women are interlocuters with the natural and spiritual world which yields a special relationship with ininaahtigoog. However, in this story, she divests of the fruits of this special relationship deferring to a male Elder. In "Bear and Maple Sap", the clan system is the mechanism through

[456] Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book,* 67.

which man is able to learn about the land, in particular maple sap. In this story, woman's main identity marker is through her associations with man.

"Spies: Geemootaugaedjig" (1993)

Basil Johnston began prolifically publishing Anishinaabeg stories in the 1970s as a way to disrupt static, myopic, stereotypical ideas non-Anishinaabeg had about Anishinaabeg. In 1993, he published a bundle of stories called *Tales of the Anishinaubaek* through the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Ontario. These were republished by the same source in 1998 with the new title, *Mermaids and Medicine Women: Native Myths and Legends*. It is not clear why the collection of stories was re-titled from a nation-focused title to a clan and gender focused title but the change is note-worthy and prompts consideration of author and publisher motives.

The stories, nine in total, were "told by Basil Johnston and Sam Ozawamik", who are from Cape Croker First Nations Reserve, Ontario and Wikwemikong First Nations Reserve, Manitoulin Island, Ontario, respectively.[457] The stories are published in English and were translated from anishinaabemowin by Johnston. One philosophical point that Johnston impressed in his publications is the importance of language and how it conveys worldview and various levels of meaning.[458] Comparing both language and literatures, he says," [t]he stories that make up our tribal literature are no different from the words in our language. Both have many meanings and applications, as well as bearing tribal perceptions, values, and outlooks."[459] In translating these stories from anishinaabemowin to English, much meaning is likely lost. However, readers can trust that the translations are made by an educator who has pride in his nation and recognizes the power

[457] Johnston, *Mermaids and Medicine Women,* 9.
[458] Johnston, "Is That All There Is?," 7.
[459] Ibid., 7.

and necessity of the deeper philosophical meanings of stories, which is what he wants to convey. It is important to note that Johnston's main audience is non-Anishinaabeg, for purposes outlined above.

"Spies: Geemootaugaedjig" is one story within this bundle of nine. It is a conflict narrative. One story is comprised of three short vignettes; each respectively conveys how conflicts instigated by unknown spies arose during the sugar bush season, at the sugar bush, and how these conflicts were resolved. The vignettes are linked temporally thereby generating a sense that these were similar experiences happening at different camps either in the same sugar bush, region, or sugaring season. The main sense is that conflicts similarly occurred across sugar bush camps, albeit in different ways. The first vignette begins by noting that some Anishinaabeg were sugaring while others had gone hunting.[460] One man had killed a bear and brought it back to camp where he and his wife cooked it; the wife stirred the fat in a big cauldron— "a huge cauldron, they say".[461]

> As she stirred, she saw a shadow cast upon the surface of the fat in her cauldron. A man was watching her. His image was clearly mirrored. He had come to look at her. Such persons as this are spies. They come to observe, perhaps to murder.[462]

She called her husband over, quietly asking him to look at what she was seeing in the bear fat. He also saw the man's image there and quickly embarked on performing his hunt of makwa for his wife. In doing so he voiced his actions and using his bow and arrow, simulated the action of taking aim. He quickly spun around and shot the spy with his bow and arrow at which time, "[t]he ground shook with the sound of others running away." While the spies were running away, the others who were hunting were making their return back and one person saw the spies running. The spies were attacked the next morning and again they fled, escaping to the place their friends were. The man who had been shot with the arrow had collapsed and died,

[460] Johnston, "Spies: Geemootaugaedjig," 61-62.
[461] Ibid., 61.
[462] Ibid.

the arrow in his chest. To avoid detection, his companions tampered with his remains so that he would not be recognized and they left him there.

"Meanwhile, other Anishinaubaek were making maple sugar."[463] In this vignette, a woman was stirring the boiling syrup and making maple sugar candy. A man had been told to come upon the camp and spy which is what he did. At some point he came upon this woman and was lying down near a wall, "lurking and spying".[464] As he watched this woman he was taken by her looks and wanted her. He thought to himself, "I'll win her affections…and if I have to I'll kill that man with her. I will own her."[465] At this point, the spy entered the house where the man was lying down and attacked him. At the same time, the woman broke off the thick maple syrup which made it like a rope and she lashed the man with it against his back. "He must have been naked, that man."[466] His back burned, she broke off more and continued at which point he let go of her husband and fled. His body was found later on a trail by some men who came to the sugar bush. "He had died, most likely burned across his back by that syrup rope."[467]

And in a third case, at another sugar camp, a spy watched a boy and a girl eating. He was hired to check up on the camp and count how many were there as the next morning they were to be attacked and killed. While watching the children, the girl reminded him of his own daughter and he became heartsick for her and for the danger these children he was spying on were in. His feelings inspired him to take pity on them and warn them about what was to come. He gave them directions on what to do to avoid the danger. They followed his instructions and the next morning when the assassins arrived the camp was empty. The spy was asked if he shared any information which he denied however the group did not believe him. They were about to kill him however he argued that some were remarkably capable of knowing what was to

[463] Ibid., 63.
[464] Ibid.
[465] Ibid.
[466] Ibid., 64.
[467] Ibid.

come. At this point, the assassins decided to flee in anticipation that the people at the sugar camp would return shortly and kill them. Johnston ends the story with, "These were scarers of beasts".[468]

Interpretation

Collectively these vignettes show that iskigamizigan is a place inhabited by Anishinaabeg womxn, mxn, and children. There is much movement back and forth to and from iskigamizigan as activities other than making sugar are carried out (e.g. hunting). This story also portrays various kinds of violence that are instigated by spies. These spies are consistently known minimally as "men" and are not identified as Anishinaabeg whereas the marker "Anishinaabeg" is utilized throughout elsewhere. This suggests the spies are non-Anishinaabeg however it is not clear if non-Anishinaabeg could be spies from another Indigenous nation, Europeans/settlers, or just generally, non-Anishinaabeg. The main point is that there is conflict instigated by non-Anishinaabeg whose interests unfold at the sugar bush. In two of the vignettes, a focus of the spies' attention is the womxn based on their beauty. Also, their desires for power, control, and ownership over Anishinaabeg womxn are made evident. This is an interesting element in this story as it reflects settler patriarchal views of womxn which attribute value on womxn for beauty thereby objectifying them. It also portrays male need to dominate and own womxn (i.e. property). However, in response, womxn and girls are portrayed as central characters who have power, authority, skills, strength, and efficacy in resolving, or being a part of resolving, these conflicts and diverting harm directed to those at their camp. Womxn may be beautiful and/or the object of desire and conquest/control, but in these vignettes their strategic responses prove efficacious in thwarting the outcomes of spies whose actions are driven by such motivations.

[468] Ibid.

In the first vignette, Anishinaabeg womxn is boiling down makwa mide (bear fat) from a bear that her husband hunted. Similar to Benton-Banai's "The Bear and Maple Sap", bear has a significant place in this sugar bush story. In this case, makwa's portrayal is not as a clan relative; makwa is portrayed as sustenance and protection. Given the husband hunts makwa and both husband and wife process its body, neither are makwa clan given there are clear laws around being in relation with a relative which do not include hunting or utilizing them for sustenance. However, given makwa is portrayed as sustenance and medicine (the fat), and given its fat reflects a spy warning the womxn of danger, it can be interpreted that makwa is operating in a recognizable way as a protector.[469] The Anishinaabeg womxn in this story is portrayed as seeing a reflection in the makwa mide and accurate interpreting what she sees. At her behest and warning, her husband acts to thwart the would-be danger.[470]

While this story does not portray the womxn and mxn making sugar, Johnston is clear to say it takes place at a sugaring camp where some are making sugar, while others are hunting. This suggests, in a quite common-sense way, that while some had fire going to make sugar, others were engaged in rendering game and medicine obtained by hunters and those preparing the meat. This vignette shows the spring sugar bush as a very active, multi-purpose place that is not immune to danger but is equipped with tools, skills, and people who can thwart non-Anishinaabeg danger.

Finally, this story, and the way it is introduced, suggests gender fluidity around labour. This is evident in the way Johnston introduced land-based activities in the first vignette. He assigned no gender to place, activity, or "role". We learn that the husband obtained the bear, the wife and husband cooked it, and then the wife rendered the fat, representing a shared distribution of work. These echoes, to some degree, Buffalohead's assertions about overlapping spheres of land-based work: where mxn obtain the game and womxn butcher it. In this case however, the husband obtains the game, the husband and wife process it

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[469] Gidigaa Migisi has taught me the importance of being able to discern between odoodem (clan) and pawaamin (protector).
[470] I utilize this story in a magazine article. See, Sy, "At the Boiling Place."

together, and the wife tends to the next stages of rendering the fat into grease. Add to the published theories about gender and land-based labour, this story shows that while the labour-intensive harvest of sap and sugar making was happening, men were hunting and women were helping in the products of the hunt. In this vignette, both are attributed as being actively and efficaciously participating in the camp and protecting it. Yet, somehow, while there are no prescribed gender roles that are assigned any kind of value, there is an evident sense of womxn's stable and important presence in the sugar bush while mxn moves in and out of this space.

In the second vignette, Anishinaabeg are "making maple sugar" and a womxn is stirring boiling syrup as a part of the process to make maple sugar candy. In this story, she is portrayed not only as someone who is making the syrup but as someone who is willing and able to protect others from physical danger. In this story, she protects her husband from another mxn who is physically attacking him. Reading this for more nuance, the Anishinaabeg womxn who is boiling the syrup presumably for ribbon taffy, candy or sugar, which is a highly specialized process, evidently also has specialized knowledge of its' capabilities. At the sign of danger, she is able to fashion the boiling syrup into a rope (i.e. taffy-state) that she uses as a weapon. This story is reminiscent of Maracle's story telling how Sto:lo females are born with a fishing weir in one hand and a weapon in another. Both Johnston's and Maracle's stories inscribe Indigenous females with the simultaneous relationships of subsistence and ability to protect using weapons.

Finally, the third vignette signifies children's presence at the sugar bush. In particular, a young girl is portrayed as being the inspiration for a spy to be emotionally moved to the point of sabotaging his groups' plan to attack and kill those at this sugar camp. While the girl-child, who reminds the spy of his own daughter, is an inspiration to the man, she is not an active agent in the story. She and the boy do however carry out the would-be spy's plans and save those at the sugar camp. This story's main arc is evidently about the transformative ability of those with ill-intentions to carry out harm to others. It is about their ability to

resist or effectively navigate the consequential, and potentially disciplinary forces, that pose a risk to them if they fail to carry out the expectations.[471]

Johnston's geemootaugaedjig stories operate to disrupt the idea of that the spring sugar camp is just about harvesting sugar. One, they show that the sugar camp is a place of continual mobility to and from its space. In this story, the ones portrayed as moving back and forth from it are Anishinaabeg mxn, mxn who are known as spies, and mxn with unclear identity markers. Two, two out of three of the stories show Anishinaabeg womxn, mxn, and children engaged in activities that have nothing to do with sugaring. In the first story the couple is working with makwa that was hunted and in the last story, the children are eating. And three, these stories saliently portray human conflict and resolution that has little to do with making sugar. They remind that the places that Anishinaabeg inhabited for land-based survival and thriving were much more than just the material and physical processes associated with them.

While gender prescriptions or "roles" are not made, Johnston and Ozawamik's telling of these stories centres Anishinaabeg womxn in the sugar bush. Where all mxn are portrayed as moving in and out of the camp, Anishinaabeg womxn and children are located there consistently. Their presence is also portrayed in active, significant ways. One, Anishinaabeg womxn detects danger and thwarts it with her husband. Two, she acts to make a weapon to stop male-violence against her husband. Three, a girl successfully warns her community that danger is upon them. These stories portray womxn at the sugar bush in righteous ways. They also suggest collective Anishinaabeg resistance against non-Anishinaabeg male intrusions, which could be interpreted as settler colonial forces and/or conflict with other Indigenous nations. Additionally, while

[471] There was this indigenous womxn who once came to a sugar bush I was working at. She said that she took it upon herself to go about here and there to find out about what was going on and to determine if what was happening was acceptable. She was not indigenous to the community I was working in. She reminded me of these stories about spies coming to the sugar bush to cause trouble or bring harm. She reminded me of what I imagine Indian Agents and missionaries to have been like. She also asked me why I was working with a mxn. When I told her that there were no womxn that I knew doing land-based work she said she knew all kinds of womxn. When I asked her who they were, she didn't answer. This was not a womxn who was interested in making this space for herself or others. She was more interested in spying, interrogating, judging, and likely gossiping. Contemporary spies in Anishinaabeg spaces exist today. And, they are not just mxn. Ironically, sometime later during another season, she arrived to that sugar bush and was behaving in ways with others that she herself would have cast judgement for.

some stability is reflected in the mobility of mxn in and out of the sugar bush and the stability of womxn and girls located at this place, Johnston and Ozawamik also signal gender fluidity in their gender-neutral description of Anishinaabeg sugaring and hunting. The second story which tells of womxn's protection of her husband with the syrup rope, renders a possible subject of male sexual violence. This arises in the description of the spy attacking her husband, who was laying down in their house. The story states the spy is naked as he is attacking the husband and as the womxn whipped his back with her weapon. Finally, a gender binarized world is portrayed, and heterosexual marriage is the only social organization reflected in these stories.

"The Bear-Maiden" (1902)

Pä-skiń-ba was an Ojibway woman from Lac Courte Oreille Reservation, Sawyer County, Wisconsin. She was "considerably more than one hundred years old" in 1899 when she told the following story to anthropologist Albert Ernest Jencks who was visiting her reservation in September to October of that year.[472] If Jencks observations of Pä-skiń's age are to be considered correct, Pä-skiń's birth occurred before 1799. In terms of the context of this narrative, Jencks was gathering stories and photographs to "further illustrate a memoir" about wild rice gathering which was published in the 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D.C.). In a note about this narrative, which is written in the third person but was presumably written by Jencks, he describes this story in the following way: "….he necessarily had to hear much which was useless in his memoir."[473] Despite including a reference to wild rice

[472] Jencks, "The Bear-Maiden," 35. Jencks "memoir" seems to be his PhD thesis. Utilizing a search tool available for an online version of this thesis, I searched for Pä-skiń's name to see if there might be more contextual information however she is only named once, very briefly in relation to practical information about wild rice. See, Jencks, "The Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes: A Study in American Primitive Economics" thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1900. In Jencks' publication of this story, he provides a two-paragraph note describing the context and his own interpretations of the story. His interpretations do not register with any of my own. They also suggest a bias he may have that Ojibway people do not change and are stuck in a pre- "Columbian" era.

[473] Ibid.

and being "useless in his memoir", "The Bear Maiden" was published in *The Journal of American Folklore,* 15,56 (1902).[474] This narrative was later re-published in, *Native American Women's Writing 1800-1924: An Anthology.*[475] This republication included information about the original published source as well as a brief footnote naming the oral source and her estimated age.

Jencks does not include enough detail about Pä-skiń and her relationship with this story to know its origins. Was it transmitted to her by someone and if so, what are the details of that? Can it be said that she embodied it sometime between 1799 and 1899 and therefore it reflects elements of that historical period? Or, was this a story that had been transmitted before her? Alternatively, did she create it herself? What *is* known is that Pä-skiń-ba told Jencks this story in a research context related to his investigation of wild rice. She offered this story in that investigation despite there only be one, in my interpretation, reference to manoomin. Due to this minimal reference to manoomin and its seemingly inconsequential importance to Jencks purpose for interviewing Pä-skiń, my sense is that Pä-skiń wanted the larger breadth of the story to be recorded. However, her reasons for doing so are unknown. What is known is that she wanted it recorded. As a womxn who had lived through the last years of the 18th century and all of the 19th century, presumably in and around Lac Courte Oreille, she would have witnessed and experienced innumerable changes which this narrative seems to reflect. Given its focus on womxn and a clan, it is likely that she wanted this story recorded for reasons associated with womxn and clans.

"The Bear-Maiden" is a narrative that tells a story about three daughters, the youngest of whom is a bear. The two oldest daughters leave to find work to provide for themselves because their mother and father became too old to work anymore. In deciding to leave, the daughters also decided they did not want their little sister to come with them so they left her behind. After journeying for a little while, they looked

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[474] Ibid.

[475] Kilcup, ed., *Native American Women's Writing,* 20-21.

around and saw their little sister "running to overtake them."[476] They brought her back home and tied her to the door-posts of their wigwam and left again to go find work. At some point, they heard a noise behind them and there was their littler sister running behind them with the posts on her back. The two older sisters untied her from the posts and then tied her to a pine-tree and carried on their way. However, once again, after some time, they heard noise behind them and there was their little sister with the pine tree on her back. This time, they untied her from the tree and tied her to a big rock and then left to go find work.

At some point, the two older sisters came across a big river that they could not get across. As they tried to figure out how to get across, they heard a noise coming behind them.

> They looked up and saw their little sister running to help them with the huge rock on her back. They untied the rock, threw it in the middle of the river, laid a pine-tree on it, and walked across. This time the little Bear went with them.[477]

After journeying together for some time, they came across a wigwam where an old womxn and her two daughters lived. The sisters told the old womxn that they left their parents to find work. The old womxn invited them in, fed them, and then the two older sisters and the old womxn's daughters went to sleep in the same bed. The old womxn and the little Bear stayed up and the little Bear told her many stories. Finally, they both appeared to fall asleep. However, the little Bear did not. She pinched the old lady to make sure she was sleeping. Then, she rearranged the girls in the bed putting the old lady's daughters on the outside of the bed and her own sisters in the middle. Little Bear herself then pretended to fall asleep. After some time, the old lady woke and pinched the little Bear to see if she was asleep. Then, thinking Little Bear was sleeping she drew her knife and killed the two on the outer edge of the bed by cutting off their heads. She then laid down and went back to sleep. At this time, the little Bear woke her sisters and they all left.

When the old woman woke she found she had killed her own daughters. She was enraged. As a result, she stole the sun and hid it in her wigwam. She hoped that the sisters and the little Bear would get

[476] Jencks, "The Bear-Maiden," 33.
[477] Ibid..

lost in the dark. As they traveled they came across a mxn with a light who was looking for the sun. Then, they came to a large village where all the mxn were going around with lights. They said their Chief was ill because the sun had vanished.

The Chief asked the little Bear if she could return the sun. She said, "Yes, give me two handfuls of maple-sugar and your oldest son."[478] The little Bear went to the old womxn's wigwam and from the top of it, she threw the sugar into the kettle where the old womxn was making her manoomin.[479] When the old lady tasted it, it was too sweet so she went to get some water to add to it. At this point, the little Bear jumped down and ran into the wigwam, retrieved the sun and threw it back up to the sky. When she returned to the village, she arranged for her Chief's oldest son to be husband to her oldest sister. The old womxn was very angry that the sun was in the sky again so in response she took down the moon. After a similar discussion with the Chief as had before, the little Bear found herself sitting atop the old womxn's wigwam. This time she threw two handfuls of salt into her kettle and soon enough she was retrieving the moon and returning it to the sky. Upon her return the village she gave the Chief's second son to her other sister. When he got sick again, he asked little Bear if she could retrieve his horse which had bells attached. Again, she agreed on condition he give her two handfuls of maple sugar and his youngest son. This time after being caught trying to take the horse by the old woman and then escaping what might have been her demise, little Bear returned to the village successful. She was given the Chief's youngest son who became her husband.

They lived near little Bear's two sisters and his two brothers, presumably now married. However, little Bear's husband would not sleep with her. She became angry with him and told him to throw her in the fire. He did so at which point her sisters came to see what was happening. He explained that she had

[478] Ibid., 21.
[479] I wonder how researchers investigating manoomin might interpret this story based on this one reference.

demanded he throw her into the fire. "When they went away he turned toward the fire, and a beautiful maiden sprang out from the flames. Then this beautiful maiden would not sleep with her husband."[480]

Interpretation

I interpret this narrative to portray a time of significant economic and social changes for Ojibway, and a time where some were navigating the changes and where others did not have to and tried to stop change from happening. It reflects characteristic aspects of Ojibway life as well as circumstances and changes that Ojibway womxn and the clan system had to navigate at a particular time, in particular the bear clan, and even more nuanced, bear clan sister. The economic and social changes being one, Ojibway womxn leaving their elderly parents to find work to provide for themselves and two, wanting to leave their clan sister behind. This is a definite sign of structural, economic, social and value shifts in Ojibway life.

I interpret the old woman who tried to kill the sisters as representing another kind of reality that womxn were navigating: enduring ways. She continued to have a relationship with manoomin, she had her own a home, she had a powerful relationship with the celestial beings and water, and she had responsibilities to care for her daughters. However, when presented with evidence that change was afoot, as represented by the two daughters who said they left their parents to find work, she violently resisted this by trying to kill them. The act of cutting heads off emerges in Anishinaabe stories. I interpret this as a metaphor for eliminating the ideas that are embodied through that character and the strong will on the part of some to extinguish those ideas.

In land-based kinship relations, people left to find food and resources to bring back for everyone. First and foremost, the elderly who could no longer provide for themselves or contribute to providing were looked after. The children were also of the same priority. Ojibway did not leave behind their parents to go

[480] Ibid., 21.

find work for themselves, alone, which this narrative indicates the main daughter characters did. To do so, suggests a great shift was underway in the lives of Ojibway and in particular, Ojibway womxn. That Pä-skiń relates the context to work, suggests that the shifts are in relation to subsistence and material needs and a possible shift to wage labour. These changes must have been destabilizing or unsettling to many, eliciting strong actions of resistance such as that seen by the wigwam-mother. Other Ojibway either did not have to make changes having their material and subsistence needs met while others may have been more inclined to adapt to the changes by choice or need. In this story, little Bear intervenes in order to help her sisters continue on their journey. Doing so, brings her into conflict with the old woman.

Beyond human relations, clan relations are a significant presence in this story. This story, to me, represented female bear clan relations. Clan relations are a simultaneous aspect of individual and familial being that are bound to broader groups of Ojibway and Anishinaabeg. And, as Heidi Bohacker states, they are particularly signified in travel and travelling relations.[481] Ojibway did not leave clans behind and, as the little sister in this narrative demonstrates, it is impossible. To consider leaving one's clan sister behind, to think it is even possible, suggests a shift in Ojibway consciousness. To enact this idea suggests that something in the womxn's worlds compelled, or legitimated, such an act. To repeatedly try to prevent one's clan from accompanying them into a particular economic world suggests these daughters felt strongly about doing this. This prompts the question: what did they know about the world they were heading into that prompted such action and effort to sever themselves from an embedded way of life, one that was quite important to safe travel? As it goes with clan relations, they are protectors and family; they bestow gifts and keep Ojibway grounded in responsibilities that are tied to Ojibway life. Perhaps the daughters knew that the world they were entering would not be compatible with, or perhaps would be in conflict with, clan-based living and relationalities. Perhaps they knew this way of living would put them, or their little sister, at risk.

[481] Bohacker, "Anishinaabe Toodaims," 93-118.

If understanding Ojibway womxn is to be realistic, this includes recognizing the whole nature, the shifting nature, and the complex nature of humanity. In this light, another interpretation is that these sisters were making these decisions based on anti-social sentiments—abandoning their parents and trying to prevent their clan from joining them—in order to provide for themselves. Such an interpretation raises a similar question: why? If this was the case, what would create such a situation? The narrative unfolds in this way such that this interpretation can be argued to support or deny it. Given so many contemporary Anishinaabeg narratives about Anishinaabe womxn construct them negatively, in this interpretation, I consider the daughters to be compelled to leave to support themselves as a matter of necessity to survive.[482] What is known is that in this story, their little sister, their clan relative, Little Bear, came after them in order to first go out ahead of them, as a protector or guide would. With every increased effort to prevent their clan relative from joining them, she returned, having uprooted the anchor to which she was tied and carrying it on her back as she made her way to them. No anchor was big or strong enough to thwart her responsibilities to be with her Ojibway sisters. This reveals that Ojibway-Clan relations are a two-way relationship: the Ojibway people have a will and way to maintain, or disrupt, relations with their clans. But also, clans have a will and a way to deflect these efforts at disruption, a way that endures their relationality and responsibility to each other. In this story, we see how this Clan sister continually and repeatedly worked for her older Ojibway sisters during various indicators of change. It reveals the intimacies and power of young, female bears in clan formation who are, in this story, identified as little sister within the intimacies of family but then once outside these confines and transitioning into new worlds, is referred to as little bear. According to Edna Manitowabi, nozhem is the spirit of the female bear.[483] nozhemenhs connotes the spirit

[482] Stories that reveal the complexities of womxn, including vices, are so important and humanizing. However, such stories require much discussion, contextualization, and critique before, and if, they are mobilized in contemporary settler patriarchal, misogynist, and rape-culture society. Further, when there is a general arc in a body of sources that continually portray womxn in diminishing or negative ways this is dehumanizing, mythologizing, and restrictive.

[483] This is noted on a plaque in Enweying at Trent University which signifies the name of the Indigenous theatre space, Nozhem theatre. This plague acknowledges Edna's role in the creation of this space and in her naming of it.

of the young female bear; "enhs" is a suffix that signifies the diminutive nature of the main verb. In this narrative we see the regard and disregard that some have for her.

A major arc in this story is the power of clans, in this case, in the formation of a young, female, bear. A second major arc is the shifting conditions that Ojibway human womxn were navigating and the decisions they made as well as the decision that were made for them. This includes the daughters and the old woman, each negotiating change in variable ways. Seemingly peripheral to the story, much like Pä-skiń's inclusion of it in her conversation with Jencks in relation to wild rice, is the relevance of womxn and the sugar bush. Given "sister" is an English female kinship term that indicate that the physical sex of this bear is "female", sister denotes gender in the form of woman or girl. The term "little" denotes age to mean she is younger than the daughters who are leaving home however this could be a term of endearment and not a literal reflection of age in relation to the daughters. I interpret this narrative as a sugar bush narrative that centralizes womxn because womxn are main characters in it; and, because their little sister illuminates a particular relationship with maple sugar and in doing so, shows it to be of high value and effect in achieving her goals of achieving some measure of security for her older sisters. While not a major arc of the narrative, it reveals female clan relationship with the products of the sugar bush.

We see the value that little Bear places on maple sugar in her exchanges with a male Chief who asks her to help him three times. On all three occasions, she requires each of his sons as exchange; in addition, for the first and second request she requires two handfuls of maple sugar and for the second, she requires salt. This exchange is important as it reflects what is of value to the little female bear. In this case, maple sugar, salt, and the Chiefs sons. We see how she utilizes the sugar and salt as her tools to thwart the old lady who took the sun, the moon, and the Chiefs horse with bells into her possession. Little Bear did so by retrieving these beings and returning them to the day sky, the night sky, and the Chief, respectively. It was maple sugar and salt that little Bear asked for in order to do the work necessary and it was the sons she asked for in order to arrange marriages for her older sisters and herself.

In asking for the Chief's sons, and then later arranging marriages, little Bear sought to secure a social economic way of being for her sisters and herself. This way was ground in heterosexual marriage of a certain class. This becomes evident in the particular context where her sisters sought work to support themselves. While the story does not tell us if they find that work, it does tell us that little bear sister didn't negotiate with the Chief in order for her sisters to have work; and, she didn't negotiate for them to have wives, or husbands who were the sons of just anyone. The little bear sister negotiated for them to have husbands who were the sons of a Chief. This suggests a kind of foresight, or insight, on the part of little Bear, about the kinds of social economic relationships that might have best provided security for her sisters in a time of change.

The ending of the narrative continues to illuminate the tensions and difficulties of a particular context rife with changes. Pä-skiń said that little Bear grew frustrated when her husband would not sleep with her, which made her very angry.[484] After she demanded to be thrown into the fire, and her sisters came to see what was happening and then at some point left, she emerged from the fire, a "beautiful maiden". [485] Transformed into a human form that was legible to her husband, she refused to sleep with him. This ending further reveals the pressures of a changing world. In this case, it shows a young man refusing the established expectations of clan governance and relation. Only once those forms are altered *and* made legible, legitimate, or desirable to him, was he willing to "sleep" with her. As an act that may be deemed resistance or refusal, little Bear consents to being made legible to him through a process that would cause great pain to her; a process that required his complicity. Once legible *and desirable* she refuses, in turn, to sleep with him. From within Anishinaabeg thought and values, this may be deemed more than resistance or refusal but rather reciprocity, and mutual reciprocity. If something of herself and her nation (i.e. odoodem governance) must be altered, then she will hold back something of herself that is valued in this new world. In this case,

[484] The font changes the "ń" in Pä-skiń's name from Perpetua font to Cambria.
[485] Ibid., 35.

she turns into a "beautiful maiden" thereby not only becoming legible to meet his requirements, she transforms into a beautiful, maiden (i.e. virgin) form thereby not only holding back her legibility but her desirability (i.e. beauty and purity) as well.[486]

Conclusion

The stories selected for this chapter locate womxn and girls in relationship with the sugar bush in variable ways providing insight into her relationship with the sugar bush. The origin narratives documented by Edward Benton-Banai, and published by an Anishinaabeg publishing company in 2008, shows Anishinaabeg women to be interlocuters with the spiritual and natural world. Womxn, however divest of this special relationship by seeking an Elder male to mediate the relationship. The second origin story identifies makwa odoodem associations with the sugar bush during the spring. It also portrays how odoodemiwin operates as a mechanism between the natural world and Anishinaabeg to facilitate life-giving, subsistence knowledge. In this story, the significant character is a male; the women's character is created solely in relation to him. These two portrayals are interpreted as reproducing settler colonial patriarchal influences with some themes of class-associations. An anishinaabe feminist interpretation also sees them as tangibly healthful possibilities in Anishinaabeg reality. However, such interpretation also must recognize the contemporary settler colonial, patriarchal, and capitalist context they are re-told and published in. This context requires such portrayals of Anishinaabeg womxn to be critically addressed. This is because the present context is one created by historical processes that have marginalized and alienated Anishinaabeg womxn from her relationship with the natural and spiritual world. If not engaged with critically, these stories may be interpreted in ways that reproduce settler patriarchal and class-based realities. Such

[486] Thank-you to Heather Tapley for having a conversation with me about this part of the story.

interpretations further entrench and normalize womxn's alienation from her relationships with the natural and spiritual world and reinforce rigid gender binaries and relational ways of being.

Conflict narratives told, translated, and documented by Basil Johnston and Sam Ozawamick from the Manitoulin and Cap Croker area the region of Georgian Bay were first published by a settler institution under a title that emphasized indigeneity and nation. These stories were later re-published under a title that emphasized Anishinaabeg womxn and odoodem. No explanation is given for this change. In stories whose main narrative convey conflict and resolution, Anishinaabeg womxn are portrayed as harvesters, medicine makers, see-ers and preventers of conflict, syrup and weapon-making experts who protect men, and where girls are inspirations and diverters of danger. These stories disrupt a pattern where womxn are portrayed in negative, marginal, or diminished ways in Anishinaabeg narratives. Compared to the origin narratives discussed in this chapter, womxn's location and presence in the sugar bush during the spring harvest is stable, generative, active, capable, and efficacious in a range of situations. One might describe some of womxn's behaviours as extraordinary, a description Theresa S. Smith complicates in her reinterpretation of sources describing Ojibwe women of the 1940s in northwestern Ontario. These behaviours are not extraordinary; they are a part of womxn's work, knowledge, and skill. Also, when viewed through Dumont's three-hundred-a-sixty-degree vision, they are considered typical and just a part of Anishinaabeg reality. These portrayals overturn existing dominant ideas about womxn needing to be protected by mxn by showing her protecting mxn. They resonate with the literature that portray mxn moving in and out of the sugar bush in hunting activities while women were situated *in* the sugar bush. It also echoes the literature on Anishinaabeg gendered divisions of labour where womxn and mxn worked together and apart in various aspects of one activity such as hunting. Children have an important presence in one of these stories. Similar to the origin narratives, makwa figures here as well. Aside from affirming makwa presence at the sugar bush, the hunting, harvesting, and rendering of makwa at the spring sugar bush disrupts ideas that only sugaring was happening at this time or that *all* womxn were engaged in sugaring; some, were helping with

the results of the hunt. The relationality between the womxn, mxn, and makwa shows that the sugar bush work was not just carried out by Anishinaabeg who were makwa odoodem. These vignettes reflect a non-Anishinaabeg patriarchal, heterosexist reality of male objectification, power, control, and desire of Anishinaabeg womxn; violence against Anishinaabeg mxn; and importantly, effective skills and abilities to prevent and stop conflict as well as the transformational potential in the destructive intentions of "spies".

A third narrative documented in 1899 by Jencks, a settler male anthropologist and published in a settler anthropological journal in 1902 was gathered from an elderly Ojibway womxn named Pä-skiń. Deemed by Jencks as "a useless" story for his purposes, it conveys the varied and complex ways Ojibway womxn negotiated economic, social, and cultural change in Ojibway lives. Centering the importance of the female clan relative of two sisters, and structuring it around the metaphorically violent conflict between remaining the same (i.e. protecting tradition) and having to change (i.e. changing, moving away from), the story shows the connection between female makwa, maple sugar, and its noteworthy value. While not a story that takes place in the sugar bush, this conflict narrative reveals the life of womxn, female makwa, and maple sugar outside of the sugar bush showing its high value, use in exchange, and practical purposes in attaining goals. This narrative also reveals a change from land-based human and clan kinship relationships that involves mobility and travel to patriarchal, heterosexist marriages, and settlement. Within this new system, a transformation from the female clan governance responsibilities (i.e. protecting, arranging marriages) is forced by the new structure of man-as-husband with his expectations of, presumably, sexual relations. It also shows how Anishinaabeg exchange and balance works in this new system.

Economic sovereignty as shown through womxn's relationship with iskigamizigan is found in her original and special relationship with ininaahtigoog rendered through her epistemological approaches to seeking advice and guidance. Her relationship with iskigamizigan proves to be one that allows her to provide sustenance and protection but also is more than this: it is in helping with processing meat and making medicine and it is, as a girl, having the ability to work with peers for the well-being of community.

Anishinaabeg womxn' economic sovereignty is found outside the sugar bush as well but with clear links to it. It is found in female makwa odoodem relationship which support her in travels and navigation of new social, economic, cultural, familial, and governance worlds. There is a strong theme of change that shows how romantic and marital associations with mxn of a certain class or social status is a new social-economic strategy for womxn. While this mode of familial organization and social economic security refuses to work with female clan governance, stories about this forced change lend insight into how Anishinaabeg reciprocal and exchange relationships work to maintain power and balance between wives and husbands.

Chapter Four: "Muccucs sugar" and Watery Worlds (1803-1824)

> "God!, how they made those baskets! They were really cases! You'd open them, one of them boxes, and oh gee, it was wonderful sugar. Wah!! That was good sugar! That was real sugar! That was good sugar, pure, with nothing but pure ingredients in it. That was our sugar."~ Gay-bay-bi-nayss[487]

> "Adapting to all shapes of work relationships with the colonizers, and often in intimate proximity, women inhabited both sides of the colonial equation."~ Carol Williams[488]

> "…these fluidic matters might very well force us to rethink the underlying spatialities and subjectivities and narratives that shore up the terrain of Western and nationalist notions of sovereignty itself." ~ Vincente M. Diaz[489]

Introduction

In the previous chapter, Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush was revealed through a literary world portrayed through four selected published traditional stories. Published traditional stories may be historicized due to their lived context (i.e. the social world the person grew up has been influenced by that) and embodiment as well as their publication context. They are also ahistorical due to their trans historical mobility and due to their intent, form, and spirit. Travelling from literary worlds where oral stories have been documented and published from within Anishinaabeg lives, bring forth Anishinaabeg ways of seeing history, and show Anishinaabeg womxn to be embedded within, and strategically negotiating, myriad worlds of starvation, potential harm by non-Anishinaabeg, and shifts from land-based practices, communal welfare and clan governance to settlement, heterosexual marriage and patriarchy, the present chapter reveals Anishinaabeg womxn's sugar bushing worlds in material and recognizably historical ways. In this chapter, womxn's and girls' relationship with the sugar bush in both Anishinaabeg and settler economic ways is made visible within the dominance of the fur-trade and dominance of a fur-trade narrative. Similar to research conducted by Norrgard and Child regarding

[487] Gay-bay-bi-nayss, "Chapter 7: Maple Sugar Time."
[488] Williams, "Introduction" in *Indigenous Women and Work,* 10.
[489] Diaz, No Island Is an Island, 103-104.

Anishinaabeg and Anishinaabeg womxn's labour, womxn's relationship with the sugar bush is also shown to exist as both an Anishinaabeg (i.e. Ojibway, Odawa, and Potawatomi) practice that extends into a settler and androcentric regulated commerce. My chapter introduces the relevance of class relations and mobility in womxn's land and water-based economic sovereignty, showing how, as Williams' states, Indigenous womxn, through their labour, lived both sides of the colonial equation. In the case of Odawa, Ojibway, and Potawatomi womxn living on Michilimackinac in the early to mid-1800s, this chapter shows how complex that was.

I utilize ship manifests from the early 1800s that "relate to the fur trade and commerce at Michilimackinac".[490] In this research, Michilimackinac refers to the well-known island located amongst an archipelagos that exists in the straits and bodies of water between naadowewi-gichigami (Lake Huron) and mishigami (Lake Michigan). Following Child's method of pairing documents with oral sources, I utilize the published reminiscences of Elizabeth Thérèse Fisher Baird-ban which documents her childhood memories of Michilimackinac between c. 1812 and 1824.[491] Because her social history is grounded in generations of relatives, her reminiscences are easily situated within a broader and longer history. These reminiscences, as well as other published oral histories, letters and reports from non-Indigenous sources and secondary sources, animate the manifests by linking them to Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush and the watery world of trade commerce of the Michilimackinac straits and beyond. I nuance existing and important understandings of upper-class Odawa and Ojibway womxn who have previously and importantly been made visible in androcentric portrayals of the fur trade as womxn fur-traders.[492] In particular, utilizing evidence of material items and food indicated on these sources, I show how womxn were present in this commerce and involved as the makers of storage baskets; as producers of maple sugar stored in said baskets;

[490] Clarke Historical Library. "Tom C. and Fred. R. Trelfa Collection, 1802-1971." Archive Description. Lansing: Central Michigan University.

[491] Baird, "Indian Customs and Early Recollections"; and Baird, "Reminiscences of Early Days in Mackinac."

[492] Clarke Historical Library. "Tom C. and Fred. R. Trelfa Collection, 1802-1971." Archive Description. Lansing: Central Michigan University.

employers of workers, hosts of the elite, and transmitters of tradition to their grandchildren at the sugar bush; and, transporters of this product over the waterways of their territories. Looking at the other side of the class relations, Indigenous womxn as servants, 'workers', and as enslaved within upper class womxn's worlds is brought to the fore.

Ship Manifests (1802-1860)

As discussed in my methodology chapter, inspiration from an oral history shared by Lewis Debassige about the womxn from his home navigating the straits of Manitoulin Island, and maple sugar being traded along these waterways, compelled me to search for evidence of export and import of commodities at a port. Approximately five hundred ship manifests documenting export and import of commodities at the port of Michilimackinac, Michigan Territory, between 1802 and 1860 includes copious information revealing a bustling commerce animated by men.[493] This mercantile commerce was carried out in Anishinaabewaki where new borderlands between the British and the U.S. were emerging, being fought over, contested (or ignored) by Anishinaabeg, and becoming entrenched at the behest of settler colonial processes.[494] During these first years, what is today known as Michigan state, was being formed into a territory in the then "Northwest Territory" as per the desires of the U.S.; it became a territory in 1805.[495] One manifest dated July 9, 1807 which included "84 Mococks Sugar for Detroit" is one of few reflecting an explicit sense of U.S. nationalism at the time.[496] George Hoffman, a collector at the port of Michilimackinac, in writing the

[493] Michigan is an anglicized word for the Ojibwe name of what is today known as Lake Michigan. In Anishinaabeg it is miishiikenh, which translates as turtle. Michilimackinac translates in similar ways.
[494] Philip C. Belfy, *Three Fires Unity*; and Sleeper Smith, "[A]n Unpleasant Transaction." I don't mean to suggest Anishinaabeg were being passive when I utilized the word "ignored". I mean to suggest that when you have lived in a place for thousands of years, the comings and goings and interests of a new people may not play that heavy a role in the *daily* concerns of "sovereignty" or "ownership". Anishinaabeg would have known that all the region was, and had been, inhabited by them and their relations.
[495] "The Library of Michigan: Territorial Council Era, 1828-1837."
[496] The rhetoric of "American built" in reference to a boat is noted in another manifest.

manifest, made reference to the schooner "General Wilkinson" being "American built" and signed it, "…this 9th day of the July A.D. 1807 in the 32nd year of the Independence of the United States of American."[497]

Michilimackinac, which refers to big turtle, and is presently known as Mackinac, is located in the straits that connect naadowewi-gichigami and mishigami. These names variably refer to the lakes being substantial in size.[498] This place was, and continues to be, historically inhabited by Anishinaabeg, most notably the Odawa and Ojibway. Some sources also include Potawatomi and the descendants of children born to Anishinaabeg and non-Anishinaabeg who are identified by writers as "half-breed", mixed-race, and/or Métis.[499] Missionaries arrived in the early 1600s proceeded by French and British traders, British and U.S. military, settlers, and tourists. Mackinac Island today is known as a destination tourist attraction. In a series of online articles meant to make Anishinaabeg visible in the history of the War of 1812 where they have been invisibilized, Anishinaabeg historian Alan Corbiere, who is from M'Chigeeng First Nation on "nearby" Manitoulin Island, identifies this place as being particularly significant to Anishinaabeg during the War of 1812.[500]

"Muccucs sugar" and Elizabeth Thérèse Fisher Baird-ban's Reminiscences

In this section I describe my documentary and published oral sources in more detail. Written in calligraphy, black ink, and variable hand-writing, the ship manifests I narrowed my focus on included entries of "sugar", "sucre" and in one entry, "Indian sugar made in the United States". These indications of sugar

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[497] Manifest, July 9, 1807, George Hoffman. Trelfa Collection, Box 1, Folder 4.

[498] Lippert and Engel, "The Great Lakes: An Ojibwey Perspective". See Appendix I: "Map, Place Names, and Sugar Bush Womxn, c. 1800-2014" (#12) for a visual of the location. Michilimackinac, in this context, is referring to the island however it is also a name for a connected place on the mainland along the coast. Today is it known as Mackinac City, Michigan and Mackinac Island, Michigan, a popular tourist locations connecting the Upper and Lower peninsula of Michigan.

[499] Recognizing that in some historical contexts, this terms is derogatory (having been called it myself in such a way), Jeremy Mumford notes the term "half-breed" was utilized to refer to the mixed ancestry of children born to Indigenous and white children and was not utilized in derogatory ways and that these people were considered by Anishinaabeg with consideration, affection, and as members of their kinship ties. Mumford, "Mixed Race Identity."

[500] Corbiere discusses this in four online essays. See, Part One as an example: Alan Corbiere, "Anishinaabeg in the War of 1812."

were all pre-empted with the kind of container they were stored/shipped in. These include "makak", "barrels", and "kegs"; one manifest indicates "boxes" which may be the English translation of makak; and, on one occasion, a "bag" was noted.[501] The manifests that included containers *with* sugar dated between 1802 and 1811.[502] The majority of entries on the manifests are in English however there is a French presence conveyed. Despite being in Anishinaabewaki, none of the manifests are written in anishinaabemowin suggesting that Anishinaabeg were not employed by the port authority and/or were not writing manifests and/or were not in charge of the water vessels.[503] However, makak is included in both the English and French manifests. After a close reading of them, it is the only anishinaabe word noted; all notations of it are in association with sugar as opposed to other items such as manoomin (wild rice) or dried berries which were also stored in makakoon.[504] Its spellings are variable and reflect English and French phonetic spellings. In the English-written manifests these spellings include: muccucs, mocock, mococks, maukacs, makac's, mok's, mok, and moks; and, in French, macaque.[505]

In total, in this collection, there are eleven manifests with references to "makak sugar". These manifests are dated between November 3, 1803 and June 26, 1809 and are the focus of the present chapter.[506] I selected these manifests because they clearly portray Anishinaabeg presence in the documents and therefore the economy. Also, they evidence Anishinaabeg relationship with the land and land-based labour, in particular a relationship with the sugar bush and birch groves. Specifically, makak sugar provides evidence of Anishinaabeg womxn presence, their participation in this economy, their land and water-based

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[501] Chamberlain notes, in 1888, that Mississauga womxn of the Bay of Quinté sold sugar to the settlers in small basswood bags. Chamberlain, "Notes," 156.

[502] An error in my notes in this part of the research is that I am not 100% sure if 1811 signifies the last inclusion of sugar in the manifests or if it is just reflecting the last manifest I copied thinking I was only interested in those that included the word "makak".

[503] It's unclear to me if the manifests were only prepared by port collectors or those in charge of the boats, men on board, and cargo wrote them. It seems to me that port collectors wrote them.

[504] Neither wild rice nor berries were indicated in any of the manifests I examined.

[505] Hereafter I utilize makak and makak sugar.

[506] The additional dates include Oct. 20, 1804; May 23 and 24, 1806; June 26, 1806; Oct. 20, 1806; June 6, 1807; July 9 and 10, 1807; and, July 23, 1807.

relationships, and labour. There is evidence that Anishinaabeg did make barrels and used them for storing and shipping sap and syrup however, because makak is a method, material item, and word developed and utilized by Anishinaabeg it warrants its own space for focused consideration.[507] What is interesting is that the presence of makakoon (plural of makak) in the English and French manifests, including the manifests that convey a particular nationalist orientation, indicates an anishinaabe consciousness in the minds of the settler men, like George Hoffman, who were hired as collectors at this port and wrote these manifests.

For the 58 years the manifests cover, there are almost 50 different places involved in this commerce. The places indicated on the manifests noting makak sugar as outbound, on board, or in bound include St. Joseph River, Detroit, the Fort of Detroit, Chicago, and St. Joseph Island (different than St. Joseph River). Various water vessels including "battoe", "boat", "caneau", "cannoes", "la berge" "barg", "brig", "sloop", "schooner", and in one entry for August 24, 1815, "an Indian canoe",[508] travelled the waterways and rivers connecting these numerous places. The Clarke Historical Library collection description states that the manifests dated before 1812 reflect commerce conducted by the American Fur Company, which operated on the island well past 1812.[509]

The manifests are in variable forms. They include generalized documentation that seemingly meet the requirements of the port collector. Others show a range of variable details and organizations with the most detailed and formulated being constructed in the form of elaborate ledgers. All the manifests document, in myriad ways, relatively the same information: boat name, boat owner, whose guidance the boat was under, whether it was inward or outward bound, it's itemized content and, on occasion, if there was a crew on the boat as well. Aside from the evidence of sugar, common items on these makak sugar manifests included peltries, furs, and skins; cow/calf hides; pork; corn; wine, whiskey, and/or "boisson"

[507] Baird, Reminiscences, 31.
[508] Clarke Library description, 21.
[509] Ibid. There are contradictory sources for when the American Fur Company

(drink); lard/butter; feathers and/or feather beds; and, fish.[510] In the more elaborate manifests, itemization of cargo and/or the initials of people whom the items were shipped by, or consigned to, are indicated.[511] There is no indication of money associated with any of the items on these particular manifests. An example of what I call a general manifest is from one of the earliest dated in the collection:

> "Twenty One Mococks of Sugar, four Trunks_One
> Barrel [illegible] chest Tea _ One Bale. One Kegg—
> MacKinac 20th Oct 1804,
> Henry B. Brevoort."[512]

One of the largest shipments of sugar in makakoon, shipped near the end of a sugaring season, the following manifest reflects more of the form of an itemized list with the initials of people associated with the items on the right:

> "Shipped on board the General
> Tracy. Peter Curry. Master by Joseph
> Guy_ Michilimakinac 23 May1806.
> 77 MauKacs Sugar_________4
> 1 Barrel____[symbol for ditto] IFL
> 80 Bushels Corn/[illegible/]
> 10 Bags_____[symbol for ditto]
> 4 Barrels_______________IN
> 1______[symbol for ditto] BL
> 1 Maukac Sugar___________"
> 1 Barrel___[symbol for ditto]____FP
> 2 Maukacs_[symbol of ditto]_____"
> 1 Bag_________[symbol for ditto] Lagrave
> 11 Cow hides shipped by
> Michael Dousman [illegible]
> to Henry Berthetat
> Adam Curry

[510] One of the most interesting manifests that did not include references to sugar or makak included one dated April 17, 1803 bound for Lake Michigan. This included numerous items which included clothing and decorative items for clothes and/or beading such as stroud, callicoe, women's jackets, rings, leggings, shawls and common shawls, beads, ribband, red cloth, white shirts, thread, white thread, ear bobs, and most interestingly, "5 belts of wampum". Manifest outward for Lake Michigan, April 17, 1803, Sam Lashley, Box 1, Folder 1.

[511] I'm not sure exactly how to interpret the initials but knowing more about this would yield an interesting method to finding out about more about the people that had the wealth or means to be involved in this commerce. Some manifests have the initials on the left with some including notations about the items being consigned to specific people at specific places.

[512] Manifest outward from MacKinac, October 20, 1804, Henry Brevoort, Box 1, Folder 2.

Master."[513]

And an example, in French, states,

"État Charger d'un Caneau Sous La
Conduite de J. Bte. Leguinac [illegible].
1 Cusette_
1 Balot [illegible symbol] March_
3 Barrels Boissons
1 Poche [illegible]_
9 Makaque Sucre_
M Kinac Le 20_October_1806
G. Pothier."[514]

In total, the number of makak sugar noted for the time period between November 1803 and June 1809 include five hundred and ninety-one. That is five hundred and ninety makakoon made. It is five hundred and ninety makakoon filled with approximately forty-seven thousand pounds of maple sugar.[515]

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On April 24, 1810, Elizabeth Thérèse Fisher Baird was born in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. The daughter of Odawa woman, Marienne LaSalière Fisher and Scottish American Fur Company trader, Henry Munro Fisher, Elizabeth was born into a well-known inter-generational family of Odawa-Scottish and Odawa-French fur-traders.[516] Her maternal Odawa family actively moved between Michilimackinac and the Grand River Valley along the waterways of mishigami (Lake Michigan) for generations. Elizabeth's families' social, economic, military, political and government relations, including those involved in the active colonization of Anishinaabeg lands, were extensive. At the age of fourteen, she became the wife of Irish lawyer Henry Samuel Baird and thereafter left her home of Michilimackinac where she had lived since 1812 for Green Bay, Wisconsin. Elizabeth was an established upper class womxn of that city whose female

[513] Manifest at Michilimackinac, May 23, 1806, Box 1, Folder 3.
[514] Manifest at M Kinac, October 20, 1806, Box 1, Folder 3.
[515] The number of barrels and kegs of sugar between 1802 and 1811 were seventy-two. The first indication of refined sugar, which is presumably white sugar (i.e. cane or beet), being introduced to a maple sugar context was imported on Oct. 30, 1803 and weighing at 132 lbs. Manifest, Oct. 30, 1803, David Mitchell, Box 1, Folder 1.
[516] Baird, "Reminiscences," 17.

descendants all married in the upper professional class. In her seventies, she contributed, upon request, her reminiscences and recollections about "Indian Customs" to the newspaper in Green Bay, Wisconsin, known variably as the Green Bay *State Gazette* and the Green Bay Gazette at the age of seventy-two.[517] These reminiscences were based on the fact that she herself was Odawa, born and raised in an Odawa-settler world where she was highly influenced by her grandmothers and the fur-trade economy.

A series of papers on the "Indian customs" she shared were published in this paper between May and July 1882. They were re-published in the Wisconsin State Historical Society (WHS) in the same year. Editor, Lyman C. Draper, introduced Baird's papers through a direct quote from an un-named *Gazette* editor, which described their purpose:

> The series on *Indian Customs* will be a valuable one, possessing at once the charm of delightful recital and romantic interest that clings to the subject, as well as a fund of information that has in small measure only been given the public from any source; and soon to be followed with a series of *Early Recollections* of this section from the same generous and accurate source.[518]

The editors' words reflect their own attitudes and societal attitudes of the time about womxn and Indigenous peoples. Elizabeth's voice carrying "the charm of delightful recital" is likely not how the editor would describe a mxn sharing his insights about a subject, even if it was about Indigenous peoples. And, "romantic interests that clings to the subject" is a reference to the larger American imaginary of "the vanishing Indian" and/or the "romantic Indian".[519] These words also convey the juvenile and trivializing attitudes that the editor, and possibility Green Bay society, had about Indigenous peoples at the time. Against this backdrop, the qualification of Elizabeth as being generous in sharing her insights could reflect an ingratiating orientation given her upper-class status. Her construction as an "accurate source" is likely a

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[517] Baird, "Indians Customs and Early Recollections," 303; and Baird, "Reminiscences," 18.

[518] Baird, "Indian Customs", 303.

[519] This imaginary had material consequences as it resulted in many settlers, instead of challenging the state and local authorities, clamoring to document aspects of Indigeneity through story, photo, and anthropological research before we all disappeared. In some cases, like with Edward Curtis, the subject was completely constructed to portray his idea of the romantic Indian, or the idea that he thought his audience wanted to see.

reflection that she was close enough to Indigenous worlds to have knowledge many settlers didn't have but distant enough to be acceptable to the newspaper culture, the editor, and the readership.

While writing papers for an audience that comprised the city's newspaper readership, papers that were quickly republished in an androcentric scholarly journal for a scholarly audience, and herself being immersed in a settler world of heterosexual, patriarchal nuclear family order, Baird's first words were:

> In jotting down a few notes concerning the Indians of the North-West and their customs, I choose to begin with the woman, she being the most useful, if not the most important member, as their own customs will show. When a daughter is born, the rejoicing is great, as the woman never follows her husband, but brings into the family-circle another hunter.[520]

Elizabeth herself, raised in the Odawa, Ojibway, and French language and with the strong presence of her maternal relatives left Michilimackinac at fourteen as a result of getting married.[521] These words, written approximately sixty years later, suggest she may have deeply suffered leaving her family and Michilimackinac in that move.

Approximately five years later, her reminiscences about Michilimackinac and Wisconsin, were published in the newspaper "between Dec. 4, 1886 and Nov. 19, 1887".[522] These were re-published in the WHS in 1898; some changes to their original publication were made in conversation with editor Reuben Gold Thwaites.[523] These later reminiscences clearly show that Baird to be still engaged in a discourse that distances her from certain Indigenous peoples. It reflects the highly classist and hierarchical structures in which she was raised.

Elizabeth's papers are riddled with problems in terms of reproducing an othering, racist, distancing, and classist discourse in regards to Indigenous peoples. However, it's words like those quoted above, and the unspoken significance of their inclusion within the context they are included in, and the seemingly

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[520] Baird, "Indian Customs," 303-304.
[521] Baird, "Reminiscences, 17.
[522] Ibid., note 1, p.18. Elizabeth died November 5, 1890.
[523] Ibid.

strategic and subversive nature of them, that from an anishinaabe feminist viewpoint, lends credibility to her text. She is not merely performing for a settler audience or for those who inscribe her with authority on the subject. It suggests that her discourse is highly constructed in order to meet or reflect the social norms of the realities she navigated, and likely did not want to unsettle, given she and her family benefited from their class status. But, it also conveys truths about the "Indian" worlds she was a part of and that were hers and her children's. From my assessment, her knowledges and reminiscences are useful sources that can, with careful reading, be placed in generative dialogue with other primary sources.

Baird's contributions to the Green Bay *Gazette* and their republication in the Wisconsin Historical Collections have been thoroughly and critically assessed by Susan Sleeper-Smith with a particular focus on how Christian religion shaped relationships and kinship ties. Sleeper-Smith indicates that "pioneer literature" characterized the interests of 19th century historical societies. She situations Baird's publications within this genre and states,

> .... Baird's writings reflect an imagined past that incorporates familiar themes: retrospective racialization, self-imposed moral agendas about Indian lands and white civilization, and the insertion of individual experiences into national narratives.[524]

Baird's publications are popularly utilized in scholarship about Indigenous womxn, Michilimackinac, and the fur trade however Sleeper-Smith is the only researcher that strives to contextualize and understand Elizabeth's voice and proclivities in her writings.[525] Sleeper-Smith interprets a disavowal of indigeneity however, in Elizabeth's more personal papers, I read a strong attachment to her Odawa grandmother and second-grandmother, Magdelaine; an affinity and affection for other relatives who she associated herself with in complex ways; and, admiration or positive regard for Odawa practices such as her grandmother's traditional dress, sugar bushing, and naming. This affinity and commitment to enduring Odawa-ness is evident in how Elizabeth's daughter was baptized at Michilimackinac in 1825 as Eliza Ann "but named by our

[524] Sleeper-Smith, "[A]n Unpleasant Transaction", 435.
[525] Ibid., 435-441.

Indian relatives, Waubunoqua (Early Morn).[526] While it's not clear how Anishinaabe names were embodied in the daily life of Odawa during this period that Elizabeth's daughter was named, that Elizabeth publicly shared this information clearly indicates relationality with and some measure of pride for her Odawa-ness.

makakoon and Maple Sugar: Anishinaabeg Women and Children

A makak is the anishinaabe word, in contemporary spelling, for a birch bark basket or box that Anishinaabeg womxn and children made for storing and distributing maple sugar. makakoon is the plural form. It is one of several kinds of containers used to hold different forms of sugar (i.e. ribbon-like taffy, granulated, cakes, and syrup). Holding anywhere up to one-hundred pounds of sugar, a makak is durable and long lasting.[527] From my own experience working with bark, the burnished orange inner layer of the wiigwaas (birchbark), velvety soft and wet when it comes off the tree, in some forms, becomes the outside of the basket.[528] It can be left plain or intricately decorated using variable techniques. The delicate white "paper" on the outside of the bark is peeled away leaving a clean, and clean-able, inside.[529]

In his detailed memories of sugaring in a reservation context between 1898 and 1977 in Leech Lake, Gay-bay-bi-nayss Peter Paul Ruffalo conveyed the significance of basketry in all aspects of the sugar bush work. Regarding preparation for the camp and the harvest, and speaking in gender neutral terms that is suggestive of collective labour across gender and age, he said,

> We collected maple sap in baskets, birch bark baskets. They don't leak. If they did leak, we'd patch them up with pitch. The stayers at the sugar bush would patch up the old baskets. Sometimes when we were making or transporting or storing the baskets would crack. The baskets generally became cracked a little bit so they graded them to see which would hold water, hold sap. They'd take the damaged ones and put them aside to work on while waiting for the others to move the winter camp.

[526] Baird, "Reminiscences," 63-64.
[527] Baird, "Reminiscences," 30; Keller, "America's Native Sweet," 122.
[528] Being raised in northern Ontario, I've always had a relationship of some kind with wiigwaasaatigoog (birchbark trees). I was first taught however, to harvest bark with Gidigaa Migisi Doug Williams during the summer of 2010 with my cohort Brigitte Evering and Pam Ouart in the PhD program at Trent University.
[529] Ibid., 30.

> They had pitch to fix them. In the spring they'd melt pitch and patch the birch baskets up. They'd get a balsam, but I think spruce is best, and take some pitch. The always had timber, lots of great spruce, blue spruce. They used bii-gii-o, those big wads of gum that are on the outside of the trees. And if the trees didn't have those wads they'd boil the pitch out. A big wad of pitch, or a little boiling, will make a lot of it. The warm pitch is soft, and when it becomes dry it hardens. That's what they used to patch the birch bark baskets. Sometimes, if the cracks were too bad, they'd put another piece of bark on top of the old and patch them up so they were just as good as new. There was no taste in the pitch. When it dried its surface was just as good as new. There was no taste in the pitch. When it dried its surface was just as good as the bark. It held firm together. They used that pitch to patch all of their bark things. They'd melt that and smear it on and leave it cool off. They crystallized it. That pitch crystalizes after it cools off. With that pitch on, there was a good basket for sap.
>
> They had hundreds of baskets, as high as five hundred to a thousand baskets. Some of them patched up five hundred baskets. That was just enough so they could handle it, and by the time the others of their group got to the sugar bush everything was already made. They were planned ahead.[530]

Describing when the sugar was cooled off in the sugaring trough he said,

> …the adults would scoop the sugar out and put it into the basket, a birch bark container. That was a special Indian birch-basswood sugar basket we call a ma-káak. Several of these sugar baskets are called ma-ka-un. These baskets were made in all sizes. They held fifty, forty, and thirty pounds of sugar. We usually had sugar boxes that contained about fifty pounds. Some of them were even bigger than fifty pounds, but we didn't want them a hundred pounds. That's too heavy. Some groups had baskets which held as high as sixty pounds. I've seen some well-packed, well-made cases. These cases of sugar, the sugar cakes, and all that they made are something to see. I've seen them yet today. By the time the sugar was done we were already prepared with those birch bark sugar-storing baskets. The adults already made or repaired the ma-ka-kun by the time we came to the sugarbush. They'd pack about fifty pounds of sugar in each basket, depending on its size, then seal them up. When they sealed them up, they'd put a cap on that basket. And they were formed really nice. Then they'd take basswood strips and sew it tight, and that sealed it. The old ladies would come along with basswood strips, that wigob, and sew them up. They made nice baskets. They were solid cases! You could drop them and they would still be solid. There wasn't a bit of sugar lost either. You couldn't get moisture or anything in there. They were sealed so that nothing could get in there and nothing would spill out. We would prepare the cake sugar for storage the same way. We'd just put the cake sugar in ma-kaak and sew it up. I've seen the days where those baskets were made and full of sugar. God!, how they made those baskets! They were really cases!

[530] Gay-bay-bi-nayss Peter Paul Buffalo, "Chapter 6: Spring Move to the Sugar Bush." While Gay-bay-bi-nayss speaks about various aspects of the sugar bush labour in gender neutral and collective terms, he also describes how the sugar bush was carried out by women. Where men participated he speculates that, in some cases, this resulted in women not liking men's bossiness and rather enjoyed working with each other. If the sugaring season was short due to warm weather, the women would help the men with their work (i.e. trapping); likewise, the men helped the women in the sugar bush with wood. He said that men didn't make a lot of money for the muskrat hides (i.e. 15 cents/hide) but it was enough to keep "the wolf away from the door" and that they would try to get syrup and sugar from the women to sell because whatever the women made together, they owned it together. For gambling games, the women would let the men use their sugar and syrup "while they stood in back of them watching and siding-in with them." He stated, "The men used sugar for gambling because it was of great value to us." I previously conducted an analysis of this source for a graduate course.

> You'd open them, one of them boxes, and oh gee, it was wonderful sugar. Wah!! That was good sugar! That was real sugar! That was good sugar, pure, with nothing but pure ingredients in it. That was our sugar.[531]

About leaving camp, Gay-bay-bi-nayss said,

> We saved our maple sugar equipment year after year. … We'd usually go to the old sugar bush where we were before so we didn't have to make all new sap-gathering baskets. … The adults would clean up the wigwam, clean up the tools, and clean up the birch bark baskets before they stored them, because they attract animals. Even then, sometimes a bear would get in there and crack the baskets, so the adults always prepared some new baskets and other necessities before we moved to the sugar bush.[532]

His example and knowledge of the making and repair of baskets reveals that it wasn't just birch bark utilized for the baskets. According to Gay-bay-bi-nayss' description, basswood was utilized for sewing and spruce gum was utilized for making pitch to repair them.

The identification of makak sugar on the ship manifests noting cargo leaving and entering the port at Michilimackinac between 1803 and 1809 indicate Anishinaabeg womxn's presence. In particular, it signals her work making makakoon, making and storing maple sugar, and, the presence of this labour in the commerce economy of that place, region, and time. In this section, I first establish womxn and children's relationship with wiigwaas (birchbark) in making and maintaining makakoon and locate this on Michilimackinac and locale. Thereafter, I discuss the maple sugar showing Anishinaabeg womxn's centrality with this place, process, and product and discussing its value.

In her reminiscences, Elizabeth gives a great deal of time and detail to describing "a visit to the sugar camp" which was "a great treat to the young folks as well as the old."[533] Presumably recalling her time living on Michilimackinac between 1812 and 1824 between the ages of two and fourteen, she describes the sugar bush season which began around the beginning of March. Baird details travelling to her grandmother,

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[531]Gay-bay-bi-nayss, "Chapter 7: Maple Sugar Time, Skáy-go-mI-zi-gáy-wIn" in."
[532] Ibid.
[533] Baird, "Reminiscences," 28.

Thérèse Marcott LaSalière Schindler's sugar bush on Bois Blanc Island which was "about five miles east of Mackinac."[534] After describing various aspects of this time of year and the camp itself, Elizabeth stated,

> Now for the work: All the utensils used in making sugar were of that daintiest of material, birch-bark. The *casseau* to set at the tree, to catch the sap, was a birch-bark dish, holding from one to two gallons. The pails for carrying the sap were of the same material, and held from three to four gallons. The men place a *guaje* or yoke on their shoulders, then a bucket would be suspended on each side. The women seldom used this yoke, but assisted the men in carrying the buckets, doing so in the usual manner. The mocock, in which the sugar was packed, was also of birch-bark and held from thirty to eighty pounds. The bark was gathered in the summer at Bark Point. The name was afterward done into French as "point aux Ecorces," meaning "bark point." The sailors now [late 1800s] miscall it, "Point au Barques".[535]

Here Elizabeth refers to the size of the container made to collect sap however as Gay-bay-bi-nayss notes, makakoon were strong and nearly indestructible, providing an excellent and reliable container for storage and transport. Unsurprisingly, gender is described in the binary and as indicated in the literature and traditional narratives discussed in Chapter Four, mxn and womxn helped in this labour. Interestingly, sharing details about place, Elizabeth notes that the bark was harvested elsewhere showing that sugar bush work extended beyond the place and time of the actual harvest. Because bark is harvested in the summer, for the most part, Elizabeth's description invokes imagination of her family and others travelling to a specific place in the summer, likely May or June, to harvest.

Describing the preparation stage for gathering sap, Baird recalls,

> The gouttière or spout, which was made of basswood, had to be cleansed each spring, before it was placed in the tree; the birch-bark for the *casseau* was cleansed by taking off a layer of the inner bark and then washing it. The buckets were made by sewing the seams with *bast* (which is taken from the inner bark of the basswood), then gummed over with pine pitch. They also were carefully washed and dried before use.[536]

In describing the end of sugaring season, with focus on one memorable harvest due to the weather that kept her and other camp-bound on Bois Blanc Island, Elizabeth, said,

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[534] Ibid., 28.
[535] Ibid., 29-30.
[536] Ibid..

> The sugar-making was ended and the camp broken up. All the utensils were placed in the house [sugar camp lodge]; the kettles were set upside down on the platform; the *casseaus* had the two stitches that held them in place as a dish taken out, leaving them as square pieces of bark; all these squares were tied in packages of a hundred each, and laid on the other platform; the barrels were placed between the fireplace and the platform; the remaining fuel was taken in, under shelter. Then some cedar bark was placed over the opening in the roof, and doors made fast by logs rolled before them. I do not remember that our premises were ever molested. In this fashion, was the camp left through every winter. Occasionally during the season that followed, it was the habit of François Lacroix to cross over and see that all was safe, returning with a goodly load of pigeons or ducks.[537]

Similar to the traditional stories in Chapter Four which disrupt ideas of womxn's relationship with iskigamizigan being static and restricted to *just* the harvest and processing, womxn' relationship with the materials to make makakoon reveal mobility, other-season preparation, planning, knowledge, skill, and care. Evidence of womxn's transmission of this knowledge to children, children's embodiment of this knowledge, and their own skill and know-how in basketry is evident in these and other oral sources that traverse historical periods and communities. This evidence reveals an enduring, shared practice across Anishinaabeg communities.

Attention to detail over makakoon is extended to Baird's description of the boiling and sugaring, as well. Baird reveals womxn's relationship with the sugar making process as being one of significant labour and time with more care and skill being required for the later stages of sugar-making. About the sap-to-syrup process, Baird states,

> … It takes over twenty-four hours to make the sap into syrup, and the boiling usually begun in the morning. The fire is kept bright all day and night. Two women are detailed to watch the kettles closely, for when the sap boils down nearly to syrup, it is liable to bubble over at any moment. The women therefore stand by with a branch of hemlock in hand; as soon [as] the liquid threatens to boil over, they dip the branch quickly, and, it being cool, they syrup is settled for a while. When at this stage, it requires closest watching. When the sap has boiled down about one-half, the women have to transfer the contents of one kettle to another, as the kettles must be kept full for fear of scorching the top of the kettle, which would spoil all. As fast as the kettle is emptied it will be filled with water and set aside, waiting the general cleaning. The kettles require the utmost care, being scoured as soon as possible each time emptied, keeping one woman employed nearly all of the time. Sand and water are the cleansing agents used.[538]

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[537] Ibid., 33.
[538] Ibid., 31.

Here, women are associated with the boiling of sap into syrup and transfer of liquids to various kettles at various stages. No names or descriptions about these womxn are given.

Speaking about the making of sugar, Baird wrote,

> When made, the syrup is placed in barrels, awaiting the time when it can be made into sugar of various kinds, the *modus operandi* thus: a very bright brass kettle is placed over a slow fire (it cannot be done at boiling time, as then a brisk fire is required),--this kettle containing about three gallons of syrup, if it is to be made into cakes; if into *cassonade,* or granulated sugar, two gallons of syrup are used. For the sugar cakes, a board of basswood is prepared, about five or six inches wide, with moulds gouged in, in forms of bears, diamonds, crosses, rabbits, turtles, spheres, etc. When the sugar is cooked to a certain degree, it is poured into these moulds. For the granulated sugar, the stirring is continued for a longer time, this being done with a long paddle which looks like a mushstick. This sugar has to be put into the mocock while warm, as it will not pack well if cold. This work is especially difficult; only a little can be made at a time, and it was always done under my grandmother's immediate supervision.[539]

Aside from the length attributed to her sugar bush memories as an indication of their significance to her, the great level of detail given to all aspects of the harvest, including the sugar bush shack that was constructed for living in, presents as an instruction guide as opposed to "romantic" details of times gone-by intended for the entertainment of a settler audience. The sense is that Baird intentionally wanted the detailed technical knowledges to be documented and conveyed; and, she emphasized her grandmother's supervision of the sugar making.

Makakoon and maple sugar are first noted as cargo on a manifest dated November 3, 1803. "10 Muccucs sugar" were outward bound for St. Joseph on a battoe:

[539] Ibid..

Clearance of a battoe the property of David Mitchell bound for St Joseph having on board the following Cargo viz
10 Muccucs sugar. 2 Kegs Snuff. 2 Kegs Wi
17 Bags Corn. 1 Keg Butter. 5 Barrels Lim
1 Sml Box. 8 bags biscuit

Mich. Nov. 3d 1803. D Mitchell

Figure 2 *Manifest 1 Clearance of a battoe, Property of David Mitchell, November 3, 1803.* Trelfa Collection, Box 1, Folder 1, Clarke Library, Central Michigan University.

David Mitchell, was a British military soldier who married Elizabeth Mitchell, an Ojibway woman, in 1776. Elizabeth "was the daughter of an Ojibwa woman and a French trader. When her father returned to Montreal, her mother married among the Odawa at L'Arbre Croche, where she was raised within the household of her mother's second husband."[540] After David resigned the army, he was appointed "as Deputy Commissioner of the King's storehouse at Michilimackinac" which "transformed the Mitchells into a wealthy family".[541] Interestingly, while Sleeper-Smith describes this family and their wealth through a description of David, Elizabeth recalls Elizabeth Mitchell in her own right. She does so in great detail covering her material wealth in terms of houses, land, and products produced from her farm, to the unfamiliar language she spoke, her business savvy, her dress and mannerisms, her interests, and her children, with whom Elizabeth's own relatives were in close friendship.[542] It is likely that Elizabeth's reminiscences of Elizabeth Mitchell do not include David because he left Michilimackinac for Potaganissing Drummond Island after the war in 1812

[540] Sleeper-Smith, "[A]n Unpleasant Transaction," 420.
[541] Ibid., 428.
[542] Baird, "Reminiscences," 35-38.

when the U.S. re-secured their presence on the island.[543] On Potaganissing Drummond Island, he was a surgeon to the Indian Department of Lake Huron.[544] While neither Sleeper-Smith nor Baird indicate Elizabeth Mitchell or any of her family worked the sugar bush, it is likely they did given their wealth, land-ownership, their trading business, and male family members' named in the manifests. One source indicates that in 1814, Elizabeth Mitchell was so kind to Ojibway people on nearby Isle Ronde that they gave her land there. There is one description of how she retreated to this place after being targeted, harassed, and accused of being a spy by the U.S. Indian Agent Puthuff after the war of 1812.[545]

Elizabeth refers to the broader market and value of sugar "in the days [she] writes of", presumably between 1812, when she moved to the Michilimackinac with her mother, and 1824, when she left it with her husband.[546] She stated, "sugar was a scarce article, save in the Northwest, where maple sugar was largely manufactured. All who were able, possessed a sugar camp."[547] In her case, her grandmother did "possess" a sugar camp however it is not clear how she came to have that camp or when she obtained that land. Given Ojibway transmitted land to Elizabeth Mitchell, it could be that Thérèse was also given land on Bois Blanc given her Odawa family had been living in that region between Michilimackinac and the Grand Valley for generations. Thérèse later developed her own trade route between Michilimackinac and L'Arbre Coche indicating strong relational ties with that place as well.

Despite Elizabeth's note that maple sugar was scarce and that all who were able to possess a sugar camp did, there were no markers of economic value on the manifests between 1803 and 1809. Maple sugar however was attributed economic value elsewhere in other historical periods. For instance, on nearby Potaganissing Drummond Island, until the 1920s, the U.S. Indian Department, which was structurally

[543] The place name for Drummond Island refers to little mortars because of the little holes in the rock along one of the shorelines there. Kevin Finney, personal communication, n.d.
[544] "Letter to Col. McDouall, Drummond Island, May 4th, 1816," 451.
[545] "Letter to His Excellency Sir F. P. Robinson, K.C. B., unsigned, undated," 410.
[546] Ibid., 28.
[547] Ibid.

organized under the authority of the U.S. military, accepted Anishinaabeg "presents of sugar, corn, mats, etc." in exchange for items from the store. This reflects, up until this time, a relationship of commodity exchange.[548] Sugar, corn, and mats were all items produced, and presumably exchanged, by Anishinaabeg womxn. One source, in 1816 notes that sugar and corn were exchanged with Anishinaabeg and then later sold for public use.[549]

Further, in his research on the economic history and implications of U.S.-Anishinaabeg treaties in the Great Lakes region, Robert H. Keller examines the notes of one U.S. Indian Agent, Alfred Brunson. Having been prompted by the Anishinaabeg about discrepancies in land values assigned in different treaties, Brunson's notes show him to be sympathetic to the unfair outcomes of treaties. Keller describes Brunson's notes in this way:

> Shortly after Christmas Day in 1841 the U.S. Indian Agent at LaPointe, Wisconsin sat at his desk and calculated how much the people of this agency had lost in a treaty which they signed the previous autumn. Alfred Brunson counted furs, sugar, birch bark, rice, fish, and game. He assigned each a cash value, added the total, and compared it with the treaty settlement. The agent concluded that his tribe had been underpaid by at least 30 percent. Such an analysis of the true economic value of Indian land was rare and incomprehensible to most 19th century Americans, as were Indian agents who openly complained about injustice in treaties. By October 1843, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had asked Brunson to resign.[550]

That this analysis of the economic value of the material products produced by Anishinaabeg womxn and others was carried out is so important. While it doesn't consider value of labour, it does show that the economic value of treaties was more than just land, it was found in the labour and products produced by Anishinaabeg womxn and others. In regards to the economic value attributed maple sugar, Jeremy Mumford, writing about Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan includes a note citing an Indian Agent who stated that at some point during the fur trade maple sugar was in higher demand than furs.[551] In making his argument,

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[548] Anderson, "Personal Narrative of Capt. Thomas," 204-205.
[549] "Letter from Mr. Trew, S. G. D. to Mr. Robertson, Storekeeper, Drummond Island, 7th March, 1816," 438-439.
[550] Keller, "An Economic History," 2.
[551] Mumford, "Mixed-Raced Identity," footnote 41, p. 14.

Brunson's notes also indicate that maple sugar was, in a particular historical moment, of higher value than furs.

After determining the inequitable treatment of Anishinaabeg across treaty contexts, Brunson furthered his analysis to consider the "real or productive value of the land" to the Anishinaabeg occupying it.[552] He stated, "The annual produce of these lands.... are worth more to the Indians than they are to receive in return therefor."[553] In his 1843 comparison of the annual values of furs, sugar, rice, birchbark for canoes, and fish and game, Brunson wrote, "The annual value of the Furs are estimated by the traders at...$25, 000 [and] [t]here are about 1000 families, who make upon an average of 300 pounds of sugar per an. worth at 10 cts. per pound.... $30, 000".[554] Of course, to put this into perspective, the value of the fish and game harvested in the amount for 1000 families to subsist was worth $100, 000.[555] Importantly, Keller considers this orientation to material products and assigning monetary values. He addressed his method of categorizing economic resources and stated,

> My separation of the Great Lakes economic resources into 10 parts no doubt does violence to any Indian who experienced water, plants, minerals, trees, and animals as one with his or her life. When Chippewa headmen spoke of land or signed land cessions, they may have expected a result quite different from the goals of lumbermen, engineers, geologists, and federal agents who, so far as we know, never consulted their dreams before cutting a forest or sinking a mine shaft. Not dreams, but assumptions about private profit (dreams of another sort) and the need for great haste—getting there fast, and first, and getting out—motivated the white man.[556]

Keller's astute self-reflexivity in his 1970s analysis of the economic value of products produced by Anishinaabeg from their land is important. There is no evidence of the wholistic worldview he refers to in Elizabeth's reminiscences that may be considered Odawa or Anishinaabeg.

The value of the products of the sugar bush persisted to the point that it instigated settler land-fraud, land-disputes, land-purchases, and multi-dollar domestic and export business in the U.S. and Canada.

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[552] Keller, "An Economic History", 5-6.
[553] Ibid., 6.
[554] Ibid.
[555] Ibid.
[556] Ibid., 19.

Sherman cites an egregious example of fraud and manipulation on the part of land speculator, Philemon Wright towards Omàmìwinini lands, including their sugaries, beginning in 1800. In the face of their verbal lack of consent and resistance to his destruction of their land through the removal of trees and creation of roads, and their disbelief of his story that he had permission, he showed them fake documentation purporting this approval *and* further threatened to interfere with funds they received from the government if they persisted.[557]

Several decades later, on August 27th, 1880 in Haudenausonee territory, Indian Agent, John McGirr wrote from the Lake of Two Mountain Agency in Oka, Quebec:

> The French people located here, of whom there are a great many, are a source of constant annoyance and trouble to the Indians. They are continually trespassing on their farms, cutting down and completely destroying their sugar bushes, which the possessors therefor have for years carefully guarded, and from which they derive, annually, some assistance through the sale of maple sugar and syrup made therefrom; the Indians inform me that a number of *habitants,* hailing from Montreal and other places in this Province, are, at this present time, busily employed in chopping cordwood and preparing saw-logs for shipment to foreign markets; while it is currently reported that their number is soon to be augments by large importations from France, in Europe, for the purpose of cutting down and disposing of all the most valuable timber on this reservation; this the Indians aver they will resist, at any risk, as they will never allow the interests which they claim in these lands to be trampled upon in any such matter.[558]

In the U.S., speaking about a time in the early 20th century in Leech Lake, Minnesota, Gay-bay-bi-nayss, who detailed makakoon, also comprehensively described the sugar bushes where families worked. He stated there could be anywhere between three to five families at each sugar bush. Through Dawes allotment, his mother had previously owned eighty-eight acres of land at a place known as Ottertail Point in Leech Lake. This was the sugar bush Gay-bay-bi-nayss went to. In talking about the various sugar bushes that families worked at, Gay-bay-bi-nayss described one place called Sugar Lake. He said that many Anishinaabeg would

[557] Sherman, "Indawendiwin," 23-24.
[558] John McGirr, "Indian Affairs Annual Report," 27.

paddle in there and sugar all around the lake. Gay-bay-bi-nayss indicates that "the white people bought it and started making lots of money making syrup and sugar".[559]

On Manitoulin Island in Ontario, Lorraine Debassige shared a story of Anishinaabeg non-consent and resistance which included several communities. She said,

> And, my husband talks about [how] there was a sugar bush, central part of the island—Ice Lake. That's where a lot of people went. It was a huge sugarbush way, way back. Ben Wilson nigozhe ndaaw [sp?]. So, the zhagaanosh took it over. ….
>
> People tried to take over but they couldn't. The zhagaanosh were too strong. …
>
> He knows about that history there. …
>
> So, there's documentation on that. Wiki people, M'Chigeeng people, Sheshegwaning people. The West end of the island, that's where they go for the sugar bush. It was huge. Yea, way back.[560]

These actions alienated Anishinaabeg from their relationship with the sugar bush. These would have had gendered impacts however would have particularly impacted womxn from various Nations and Anishinaabeg communities. And, these relationships benefitted not only womxn but their families and communities. In terms of economic resources, sap, syrup, taffy, and sugar are products that Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous womxn who have sugar bushing in their seasons cycle, do not earn any benefits from into the present.

Upper Class, Working Class, and Enslaved

The abundant sources on Elizabeth's family focus on their wealthy livelihoods as fur-trading families with emphasis on how her maternal grandmothers, Thérèse and Magdelaine, were active participants in this.[561] However, ship manifest that include "Muccucs sugar", Elizabeth's reminiscences, and other sources

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[559] Gay-bay-bi-nayss, "Chapter 7: Maple Sugar Time, Skáy-go-mI-zi-gáy-wIn."

[560] Lorraine Debassige, personal communication, August 6, 2008, 37-38.

[561] See Sleeper-Smith for a nuanced description of this for both Thérèse and Magdelaine. Sleeper-Smith, "[A]n Unpleasant Transaction," 431-435.

clearly show that the sugar bush harvest and its products were important aspects of the commerce and watery trade at the time. And, where big animals were mostly harvested by mxn, the sugar bush, where mxn were known to help just as womxn were known to participate in the harvest of fur and making hides, was womxn's realm giving some womxn a direct source for participation in the trade economy. And, evidently, that Odawa and Ojibway women were a part of contributing sugar to this commerce. Reading manifests for material clues about women's presence, and putting those sources into dialogue with published reminiscences importantly locates womxn and girls in the sugar bush, in relationship with the skill and labour of basketry, and in the trade. These sources also reveal the highly gendered, classist and complex relationships that Anishinaabeg womxn in this community and historical period negotiated, navigated, and animated.

Describing the beginning of the sugar bush season, Elizabeth sates,

> About the first of March, nearly half of the inhabitants of our town, as well as many from the garrison, would move to Bois Blanc to prepare for the work. Our camp was delightfully situated in the midst of a forest of maple, or a maple grove. A thousand or more trees claimed our care, and three men and two women were employed to do the work.[562]

As stated in my discussion of makakoon, Bois Blanc is an island southeast of Michilimackinac. It is much larger than Michilimackinac. While half of the town and garrison attended Bois Blanc for the harvest, Elizabeth's earlier statement about sugar bushes being restricted to ownership by those who "could" possess one indicates that in this period, access was not open to everybody. The fact that so many from the town travelled to Bois Blanc suggests that some owned the sugar bushes while the majority labored. Elizabeth's reference to employing men and women suggests her grandmother's hired people to help with this work that she also participated in. Her reference to three men and two women being employed is such a specific reference that there is the sense of a standard employment practice for this work and that perhaps these people were employed yearly. Later reminiscences suggest further division of "labour" to be true given the

[562] Baird, 28.

elite of the town were later called to the sugar bush for the entertaining part of the sugaring seasons. Elizabeth states,

> The pleasures of the camp were varied. In out-of-door amusement, I found delight in playing about great trees that had been uprooted in some wind storm. Frequently, each season, near the close of sugar-making, parties of ladies and gentlemen would come over from Mackinac, bent on a merry time, which they never failed to secure.[563]

This division seems to have applied in some ways to Elizabeth for a period of time as well. While she labored at the sugar bush as teen helping her grandmother, Thérèse, as a child she did not attend the sugar bush until later in the work. She says,

> All this time, if the weather favors the running of the sap, it is brought as fast as possible, and the boiling goes on. At this period, my grandmother would send me my little barrel full of the syrup. This miniature barrel I still have in my possession. The barrel bears the date 1815, and is now dark and polished with age, and is a rare memento of those halcyon days. It holds less than a pint, and was made by an Ottawa Indian, out of a solid piece of wood, sides and ends all one, the interior being ingeniously burned out through the bung-hole. The receipt of this was the signal that the time had come when I too might visit the camp.[564]

At the time of publication in 1898, one of Elizabeth's daughter's, Mrs. Louise S. Favill of Madison, Wisconsin had the barrel.

Class is further evident in Elizabeth's reminiscences regarding the sugar bush. This is reflected in her discourse illuminating her grandmother's employment of "workers", use of "servants", and close relations with a Potawatomi mother, "old Angelique" and her three children, Francis LaCroix, Louizon, and Catishe. Baird identifies Angelique and her children as servants, specifically "slaves".[565] John E. McDowell notes that this family were enslaved between Thérèse and her sister, Magdelaine.[566] In describing the process of being given the barrel of syrup which signaled she could attend the sugar bush, Elizabeth says,

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[563] Ibid., 32.

[564] Baird, 31.

[565] Baird, "Reminiscences," 38,39, 42. Others have referenced this as well. See, Sleeper-Smith, "[A]n Unpleasant Transaction," McDowell; Darcy John Bouchard (genealogy). This is very important and unexamined dynamic in the lives of It is beyond the scope of this chapter to deeply and critically discuss the practice of enslavement of

[566] McDowell, "Therese Schindler," 142. This topic is recirculated in the secondary literature but never signified and are either not sourced or the sources lead back to Elizabeth's reminiscences.

> The trip to Bois Blanc I made in my dog-sled. François Lacroix (the son of a slave), whom my grandmother reared, was my companion. The ride over the ice, across the lake, was a delightful one; and the drive through the woods (which were notably clear of underbrush), to the camp, about a mile from the shore, was equally charming.[567]

François was the son of a Potawatomi woman named Angelique of which very little is known. In Elizabeth's discussion of Angelique, and her children François, Louizon, and Catishe, Baird's tone is one of affection and familial orientations; bonds, trust, and close connection are evident.[568] One genealogical source regarding Joseph LaFramboise (business man and husband to Magdelaine) identifies Louizon, and his mother Angèlique, as being "Pottowatomie *panis* slave" and the second "Pottowatomie" husband to Marguerite Marcot, one of Thérèse's and Magdelaine's older sisters.[569] Panis slave is a French term suggesting the idea and social structure was introduced by the French.[570] If the genealogical research is correct and Louizon was the brother-in-law to Thérèse and Magdelaine, and therefore uncle to Baird, *and* that Angelique was his mother, such relational ties reveal the complexities of Odawa methods in navigating kinship and broader social structural formulations. It also reveals significant shifts in Anishinaabeg relationalities. Where odoodemiwin is not mentioned in any of the sources, religious marriage and enslavement as kinship ties do exist. Baird notes that Louizon and Marguerite died aboard a schooner en route to Grand River, home territory of the Odawa Marcott family, in 1834, further strengthening the argument that Odawa's womxn's enslavement of this Potawatomi family was also complexly tied up with marital kin relationships.

The manner in which Baird includes Angelique's' family, and by marriage, hers, seems to highlight the tension, or proprieties, she was negotiating. Her reminiscences suggest she may have been navigating the

[567] Baird, 32.
[568] Baird, 42.
[569] Bouchard, "Genealogy of Joseph LaFramboise," 56. This source seems to be an unstable source in terms of its' publication site (ScribD). For this and other reasons it requires more attention to discuss its strengths and limitations. I utilize it here for two reasons. One, given Elizabeth's reminiscences of enslavement in her maternal family; and two, given this particular kind of relationality are recirculated in other research but are not being signified and not being further investigated or sourced with any seriousness. Given the significance of such a kind of relationality, it is necessary to attend to.
[570] For more on Indigenous enslavement in Canada see, "Enslavement of Indigenous People in Canada"; Rushforth, "'A Little Flesh We Offer You'"; and Ostroff, "Colonial Canada had Slavery."

desire to acknowledge with dignity and care those parts of her social and relational world that she had affinity for. But affection and familial connection in relational worlds that included enslavement were likely not accepted in the circles she lived and moved in and from whom she wanted to maintain, or at least not unsettle, benefits and acceptance from. Her inclusion of the word "slave" and her use of it on a few occasions indicates she wanted the reader to know this about Angelique and her children, more than she wanted the reader to know that one of her aunts was married to one of Angelique's sons, and that they were her relatives. While her repeated insertion of the word slave cannot be overlooked as a marker of class relations and her maternal relative's participation in this, it does raise many questions. One, when and how did this practice become a part of Odawa practice? Was it genuinely enslavement or were Thérèse and her sister Magdelaine performing a social structure in order to attend to some other agenda, goal, or imposition? Were they enacting and persist deeply entrenched land-based values about looking out for each other to ensure material, subsistence, and social security? Were the womxn and mxn who Thérèse hired to work the sugar bush Angelique and her children? If not them, were they there in the sugar bush as unemployed 'slaves'? What were Angelique's circumstances, and the circumstances of her life and context, that she and her children became enslaved by an Odawa family. Did being a mother with children increase her vulnerability? How is 'slave' really meant? Importantly, if the sugar bush harvest in all of its' processes and the trade commerce, which wealthy Odawa and Ojibway women were a part of, could be illuminated through the reminiscences of Angelique and her children, François, Louizon, and Catishe, what would they say? And, if they could speak freely without discipline or threat of loss of material, social and economic security they had, what would each say about their relationship with the Odawa Marcott womxn of Michilimackinac who Elizabeth shows to have had a close relationship with.

Tharaise Marcotte, "Outward Bound of a Canoe"

Thérèse and Magdelaine, as well as their peer, Elizabeth Mitchell, are popularly constructed as being the wealthy wives of fur-traders and as being womxn who took on "fur-trade" when their husbands were no longer able to due to sickness, death, or in Mitchell's case, migration. There is no explicit link made in the sources examined that indicates either women's involvement in the trade or sale of maple sugar, a commodity whose value had many meanings and evidently shifted across regions and time periods. However, Baird's reminiscences and letter from her fiancé about attending Thérèse's sugar bush make a likely case for the fact that this family was involved in its trade and sale. These economic exchanges are in part, reflected through the manifests that reveal Anishinaabeg significance in this through the use of anishinaabemowin. Their participation in the trade or exchange of maple sugar is supported for a number of reasons. One, the size of Thérèse's sugar bush which allowed for the tapping of one thousand trees, extensive work that required she hire womxn and mxn to help with it and which she supervised. Two, given Thérèse had the means to make sugar, the land, and mobility/transportation to get there across the water, the tools, the ability to hire labour power, and the knowledge suggests she also would have made and sold surplus in order to make money. She, like her sister and peer, was a business woman. Lastly, in "An Account Book of a Mackinac Merchant", a manuscript held at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in which Thérèse's daughter (and Bairds' mother), Marienne LaSalière, kept a ledger of her mother's business transactions (i.e. purchase of goods from the American Fur Company with whom she was associated in the purchase and sale of goods to other fur traders) between 1821 and 1824. This shows Thérèse's business savvy and interest in economic maintenance or generation.[571] While the items are not indicated, sugar may be included. McDowell states, "Like Madeline La Framboise and Elizabeth Mitchell, both of whom became

[571] McDowell, "Therese Schindler," 135-136.

wealthy in the trade, Therese Schindler supported her family very well."[572] It is reasonable to assume that she, and her sister, as well as Elizabeth Mitchell, included makakoon sugar in their trade businesses.

For Thérèse, the life of an upper-class Odawa womxn in the early 1800s on Michilimackinac and throughout the waterways and lands that made up her familial and ancestral home to Grand River valley, entailed more than being the wife of a fur-trader or the extraordinary womxn who kept up the trade business when her husband could no longer do it. Her life of navigating the waterways of her territories as a matter of livelihood began with the generations of the womxn before her. In her own life-time, she was born into navigating waterways, harvesting the sugar bush, and knowing how to live in both land-based and mercantile, upper class worlds of the time which depended on these land-based and social relationships. She was born into this and continued it amidst the contours of her life as a mother to a child whose father abandoned them. She was engaged in this work before becoming "the wife of a fur-trader" or the extraordinary woman who stepped into the role full-time when her husband could no longer do it.

Of the five-hundred plus manifests dated between 1802 to 1860 signifying commerce at the port at Michilimackinac, the first one that was relevant to this research and the only one that identifies a boat and its cargo under the care of a womxn, is dated two-hundred and fifteen years ago:

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[572] Ibid., 136.

Outward Bound of a Canoe to the Grand
River under Care of Tharaise Marcotte
with The following Cargo —
An Capotte of Goods
3 Kegs — &
& sundry other Sea Stores —
the Property of
Mackinac 25 Augt 1803 — Laframboise & Schindler

Figure 3 *Manifest 2: Outbound Canoe Under Care of* Tharaise *Marcotte, August 25, 1803.* Trelfa Collection, Box 1, Folder 1, Clarke Library, Central Michigan University.

This manifest, which identifies Thérèse by her birth name suggests she was either no longer using her married name of LaSalière or she was no longer identified by this marriage. Thérèse left Michilimackinac port in a canoe that was under her care and heading to the Grand River, her familial home and territory. The cargo indicated is noted in overly vague terms suggesting that not a lot of oversight was given to Thérèse and/or the cargo on this outward-bound canoe. "Sea stores" is likely a reference to items that boat crew needed for the trip.[573] Given she did not write, and at this time only spoke Ojibway, Odawa, and French, it is evident she did not create this manifest.

Dated 1803, Thérèse was approximately twenty-seven years old at the time of this trip; her daughter, Marienne, would have been thirteen. The manifest states "the property of LaFramboise and Schindler", referring to Joseph LaFramboise and George Schindler, two men who were known in the trade of Michilimackinac and in close relationship with the Odawa Marcott family. Joseph LaFramboise was married to Magdalene and therefore was Thérèse's brother-in-law. He and George were also business partners. It's unclear if the boat, the cargo, or both were the property of LaFramboise and Schindler. It is

[573] For one example of what this could look like for a group of upper class travelers, see Baird's "Reminiscences".

not known when, or if, Thérèse and George would have become engaged to be married but almost a year later, on "July 12, 1804, Therese married George Schindler…and from 1805 on she made the island her permanent home."[574] What is significant here is that this manifest documents Thérèse involved in trade or transport of some kind in her territories and waterways as a womxn unto herself, not as the "wife of a fur-trader". She was unto herself providing for her child and whomever else she had obligations to at the time.

In a body of literature that either invisibilizes Anishinaabeg womxn as economic beings, represents Indigenous womxn as squ*w drudges when it comes to labour, or represents them as economic beings who are such by virtue of their associations with mxn, this manifest, when elucidated through oral histories and secondary sources, does a lot of work. It disrupts the negative or inadequate narratives about Anishinaabeg womxn's economic beings, allowing us to consider their complex lives. While this manifest does not show Thérèse's association with any kind of commodity or land-based work, it does place her in the watery world of trade and mobility, in a canoe, navigating this at twenty-seven years old, a mature age for that time. Her daughter's ledgers about her trading business tell us she, alongside other upper-class Odawa and Ojibway womxn, were able to provide financially well for their families. Her granddaughter, Elizabeth, and the reminiscences she documents, tell us that she was a sugar bush woman entrenched in, and navigating class dynamics, including enslavement that was entwined with familial ties, during a time when not all womxn were able access or carry out this work. The water vessel manifests signifying "makak sugar" convey Anishinaabeg presence in commodity trade of products they produced and show that settlers had embodied aspects of anishinaabe economic consciousness in the form of "muccucs sugar", storage containers with products that were both produced by Anishinaabeg womxn in their sugar bushes and birch groves.

[574] McDowell, "Therese Schindler," 128.

Conclusion

Utilizing ship manifests that portray male-dominate trade and commerce and published reminiscences from an Odawa womxn that highlight the womxn in her family, this chapter shows Odawa and Ojibway womxn's relationship with the sugar bush as one of material and social economic practices that extend from the Anishinaabeg sugar bush to the settler economies. Norgarrd and Child show Anishinaabeg to have utilized their land-based practices to survive harsh social-economic conditions on reservations in the late 19th to 20th century. My interpretation of the sources for this chapter show upper class womxn who were embedded in generations of Anishinaabeg-European fur trading in the Michilimackinac-Grand Valley region during the early to mid-1800s to have extended their land-based sugaring practices, and fur-trade relationships, to participate in the trade commerce, not for survival but as a matter of wealth maintenance or generation.

Williams' makes space for investigating how Indigenous womxn adapted to economic conditions by living on both sides of the colonial equation through a transnational lens. This approach could be well-applied in the historical context conveyed through my sources which portray a regional context of islands and waterways that was the site of emerging borderlands between the U.S., the British, and the Anishinaabeg. However, in this chapter, based on my sources, the most salient factor of analysis that required interpretation was class. While Odawa and Ojibway womxn are shown to be involved in the trade and commerce utilizing products inherent to their land-based practices, at this place and period in history, sugar bushing and its' link to commodity trade was limited to the wealthy. These wealthy womxn were ensconced in their own traditional practices and settler trade economies however these practices were structured through a class system of "capitalists" and "workers", where they owned the means of production and employed sugar bush workers; a class system of servants; and, enslavement of fellow Anishinaabeg, particular a mother and her children. Where Odawa granddaughter brings to the fore the matter of enslavement as though it was acceptable, and shows care and affection for this Potawatomi family, and

where secondary sources suggest marriage across class (i.e. Odawa elite marrying Potawatomi 'panis slave'), this research suggest that upper class Odawa sugar bush womxn involved in trade lived on both sides of the colonial equation.

Finally, this chapter retrieves Odawa womxn's autonomy as economically sovereign, skilled, and capable beings in her territory from the omnipresent heterosexual "wife of fur-trader" narrative. While it is evident in this and the former chapter, that heterosexual marriage could be a strategy in negotiating new social economic conditions, it is important to ask when participation in a new social structure is a strategy, which implies choice, versus when it is the only option for womxn to sur-thrive or worse, survive. In such a case, what options or consequences are there for womxn who refuse to adhere to a new way of being or do not have the option. In retrieving the autonomy of Odawa womxn from the narrative of the "wife of", this chapter shows that womxn embody the ability to expertly navigate the waterways of their lives in myriad conditions.

Chapter Five: Grandmother Sugar Bushes, Masculinization, and Family Labour (2014)

> "When our stories die, so will we."
> ~ Angela Cavendar Wilson from "Grandmothers to Granddaughters"[575]

Introduction

Travelling from literary worlds and worlds portrayed through archives and published oral histories, in this chapter, I strive to understand Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush vis-à-vis conversations with Anishinaabeg.[576] These conversations were prompted around three general areas: memories of the sugar bush; cultural knowledges; and, gender diversity. They situate Anishinaabeg womxn in the sugar bush in myriad ways, at different points in history, through the late 1800s to the present. Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush is evident in variable ways however her presence is noted to be eroded materially, economically, and eventually, in terms of physical presence. As stated in my methods chapter, I "boiled down" our conversations into several themes. These themes include sugar bush memories; land (i.e. sugar bush) as material thing and beloved place; property, products, distribution, economies, and economic structures and systems; governance and governance structures; historical shifts and changes with many technological examples being given; and, cultural knowledges including but not limited to Anishinaabemowin and traditional stories. Often, the contributors shared their own questions, reflections, and theories about why or how something was how it was. Each of these themes can be linked with subjects examined in previous chapters and some content from these conversations is utilized in previous chapters.

Given the breadth and depth of content within each theme that emerged from what contributors shared, I limited my discussion to three themes. I prioritized the content from my first, open-ended prompt

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[575] Cavendar-Wilson, "Grandmother to Granddaughters," 13.

[576] As a reminder, the "x" in womxn and mxn is to signify that religious and colonial processes for the past four hundred years have been working to transform how Anishinaabeg identify, have relationships, and organize ourselves. The "x" signifies diverse behaviors, sexualities, identifies, family orientations.

which asked people to share their memories of the sugar bush. The salient theme of family labour emerged from sugar bush memories but this structure was not discussed with any reference to odoodemag (clans). As such, I include the responses to my prompts about clans, a topic which falls under the umbrella of culture and governance. Closely linked to the discussion around family was the absence of diversity in gender representation or relationalities. One of the methods of this research was to engage the subject of Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush in a way that recognizes Anishinaabeg gender and relational diversity and heterogeneity. Simultaneously, it works to disrupt the dominant formations of gendered, relational, and familial ways of being which have been constructed through history and settler colonial processes. As such, I include contributor responses to my prompts on the subject of gender diversity. I unpack these themes and make sense of the content by structuring my discussion around the most salient concept to emerge from our conversations which was "family labour".

Travelling and Having Conversations in Anishinaabewaki

During the summer of 2014, I travelled throughout Anishinaabewaki (Ontario, Canada and Michigan, U.S.) to have in-person conversations with several Anishinaabeg with whom I have varying histories and relationships and whom I also knew had experience with, or knowledge of, the sugar bush. The exception to these summer-time visits was one conversation had on a stormy, winter day with Mary Beaver-ban, the eldest contributor to this chapter.[577] Collectively, the memories, insights, and knowledges shared form the foundation of this chapter; their individual personas spirit it.

Beginning in my hometown area of Bawating Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, they include Mary (84 yrs.) who is from Goulais Mission and Batchewana Village of Batchewana First Nation; from M'Chigeeng First Nation on Manitoulin Island, three people from waawaashekeshi odoodem, Lorraine Debassige (50s),

[577] Mary passed away in January 2018.

George Corbiere, (60s), and Lewis Debassige, (68 yrs.), and one person from animikii binesi odoodem, Norma Corbiere (64 yrs.); Mayingankwe Jacqui LaValley, waabigezhi odoodem, (70s) from Shawanaga First Nation and lives in Toronto, Ontario; from Curve Lake First Nation, Gidigaa Migisi Doug Williams, maashkenozhe odoodem (72 yrs.) and James Whetung (62 yrs.) whose mother is ngig odoodem and whose father is makade zhiishiib odoodem; Rick Beaver (60) who is from Alderville First Nation and who has a personal connection to makwa; Moktthewenkwe Barbara Wall (50s), waawaashekeshi odoodem (deer clan), who belongs to the Citizen Band Potawatomi; Makadebinesiikwe Tessa Reed (43), animikii binesii odoodem from Manistique, Michigan; Wabanongkwe Charlotte Loonsfoot (40s), ajijaak odoodem from L'Anse Indian Reservation in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan; and, Miskwemgidookwe Amooikwe Amy McCoy Sayers (40s), mayiingan odoodem from Sault Tribe of Chippewa Indians, also from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.[578]

Collectively, the contributors to this chapter represent Ojibway, Mississauga, Potawatomi, and Odawa.[579] Their ancestries and lineages are varied in terms of being Anishinaabeg (e.g. Ojibway-Potawatomi) and/or non-Anishinaabeg (e.g. Mississauga and non-Indigenous). Specifically, nine contributors speak from an Anishinaabe-Canada context (six from Northern Ontario and three from Southern Ontario); two speak from an Anishinaabe-U.S. context; and, two reflect a transnational Anishinaabeg-Canada-U.S. context. In addition to indigeneity/nation and/or familial/kin groups, gender and class are obvious factors that shape the lives, lived experiences, and perceptions of Anishinaabeg. While it is important to understand the gendered and class locations of each contributor in more detail, I did not

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[578] I note contributor's Anishinaabeg names as this is how they introduced themselves however in the chapter I utilize their English names as this how I address them outside of the moment of this research. The exception to this is Gidigaa Migisi whose Anishinaabeg name I use as was his preference.

[579] There a various ways of understanding Anishinaabeg being. One of the contemporary ways is through the lens of 'nationhood' and within this Anishinaabeg may be understood as one nation (similar to Canada) which is made up of smaller groupings such as Ojibway and Potawatomi, etc. Not represented in my research conversations are Nipissing (northeast), Algonquin (farthest east), or Saulteaux (farthest west) and this is simply due to that fact I do not know any people from these geographical or cultural groups that engage in sugar bush work. My understanding is that the word Chippewa is akin to Ojibway.

ask questions about these subjects given they are personal and not the priority in this part of the research. This said, in terms of gender, all the contributors at the time of our conversations, to my knowledge, identified as women and men (and not two-spirit, queer or non-binary, for example); heterosexual; and/or were/are married or in a common-law relationship. Class, like gender, is such a broad subject. It is readily considered to be about economic, material, or social status. These elements would have been significant, in particular ways, in pre-colonial Anishinaabeg land-based ways of living, organization, and governance. However, in a contemporary global and settler capitalist world, economic, material, and social status have variable impacts and meanings on Anishinaabeg today. For instance, whereas *everyone* ate, and had the tools, knowledge, and ability to obtain healthy food, housing, clothing, and transportation in pre-colonial land-based society, today, this ability is significantly diminished for most Anishinaabeg and detrimentally for many. However, class is more than this as well. As Rita Mae Brown stated,

> Class is much more than Marx's definition of relationship to the means of production. Class involved your behavior, your basic assumptions, how you are taught to behave, what you expect from yourself and from others, your concept of the future, how you understand problems and solve them, how you think, feel, act.[580]

In this project, to my knowledge, no contributor was without adequate food, housing, clothing, transportation and, all had supportive relations with other Anishinaabeg. Some owned land and/or houses while others did not. Many are popularly or internationally known intellectuals, educators, artists, land-based harvesters, and Elders. Some have publicly declared that they are living below the poverty line or indicated being employed contractually. Some were retired. Some were retired and still working. Some were precariously employed or unemployed. Some of the contributors were known to me through their involvement in Anishinaabeg academic circles, including the PhD program at Trent University. This may or may not reflect class status but it does gesture to location within a highly specialized and small circle of highly educated Indigenous and non-Indigenous people who have access to variable kinds of resources that

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[580] Rita Mae Brown, "Last Straw" qtd. in bell hooks, *feminism is for everybody,* 39.

the majority of Anishinaabeg do not have access to. Regardless of class location, it was evident that all contributors have a genuine regard for, and commitment to, persisting anishinaabe'aadizwin into the future.

Several of these conversations required long distance travel. For this conversation-part of the research, my then-twelve-year-old daughter, and our cat, travelled with me in our very old, trusty daaban (car). We travelled a few thousand kilometers, crossing the settler-imposed, international border at two places, the twin Saults and Sarnia, Ontario. All of these border crossings were without incident.[581] During part of this research, my home base was Nogojiwanong Peterborough Ontario, home of the Mississauga. For the other part, my home base was Okemos, Michigan, a suburb of Lansing, the state capital and contemporary home of the Odawa and Potawatomi. Our conversations were held in myriad places: at a kitchen table in a daughters home with a son-in-law making sure our coffee and cupcake needs were met; in a spacious meeting room in a First Nation elementary school where, as it happens, one woman's syrup was left on the table from a pancake breakfast; in the visiting area of a First Nation senior residence; in the then-yet-to-be finished skeleton of one room in a manoomin-processing building overlooking a quiet section of a lake; on the shoreline of one First Nation's pow-wow grounds; at a black oak savannah conservation area in another First Nation; on a walking trail in a provincial park; in the living-room of one person's home on their tribal reservation; on a walking trail in a tribal sugar bush; and, over Skype in my apartment.

In thinking about organizing and presenting the content of our conversations, and then making sense of them, my primary interest is to reflect what was important to the contributors so that the most salient contents of this chapter resonates with them. I was also very committed to ensuring that the heterogeneity of, and dynamism amongst, Anishinaabeg is evident.

[581] After much thought about the kind of documentation I would use for crossing the border, I decided to use our Canadian passports instead of our Status Cards. My decision was based solely on what would increase the likelihood of conflict-free, safe border crossing. In such structurally violent, liminal spaces, my first priority is to do and be in a way that ensures my daughter's safety. Or, put another way, reduces risk of putting her into danger. Given she was underage at the time, I was particularly sensitive to making sure we were legible to the settler state. I'm including this so that the matter of crossing settler borders in Anishinaabewaki is recognized as a matter that is not erased or simplified.

What Anishinaabeg Said

Sugar Bush Memories

Contributors to this research provided robust, rich responses to my invitations to share their experiences and knowledges around the sugar bush harvest. All indicated having some physical engagement with the harvest. These experiences were elucidated through specific details and existed in the realm of personal, familial, and community harvests, relationalities that often overlapped and intersected. Those sixty and older such as Mary, Norma, George, Lorraine, Lewis, Jacquie, James, Gidigaa Migisi, and Rick recalled working the sugar bush over a number of years as children. Anishinaabeg womxn in their forties and fifties such as Tessa, Charlotte, Amy, and Barbara had recent, or one-time sugar bush experiences with friends, community, or in educational settings which I elaborate on later in this discussion.

From this over sixty age-group, memories of being in the sugar bush as children ranged between the 1930s to 1960s, a series of decades marked by broader global and national influences such as the Depression, World War II, and anti-war and civil rights movement. In addition, Indigenous peoples in their occupied homelands and territories throughout Canada and the U.S., were negotiating reserve and reservation life, the extreme poverty of the 1930s, removal or migration to urban centers, residential schools, further encroachment of their lands, and alongside civil and labour rights, a mobilization of sovereign and inherent "rights". The effects of some of these broader forces on Anishinaabeg womxn's economic options and labour is reflected in research previously discussed in Chapter One. Specifically, I refer to Brownlie's research comparing Anishinaabeg and Mohawk womxn's economic strategies and labour in Southern Ontario during the inter-war period of 1920 and 1940. Her research begins with Anishinaabeg womxn who left their reserves for urban centers for economic reasons and while in the city, applied for enfranchisement.[582] Of course, these particular decades are preceded by WWI and a century where treaties and relocation to

[582] Brownlie, "Working Like the White Woman".

reserves and reservations was predominant and had detrimental impacts on Anishinaabeg.[583] Throughout historical periods, and regardless how attenuated or eroded, Anishinaabeg have maintained relationships with the natural world in Anishinaabewaki according to Anishinaabeg ways in varying degrees and ways.

Focusing on the land-based practices of sugar bushing work, all of the memories that contributors shared included family members such grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, cousins, siblings or beloved kin-relations. Mary, the oldest contributor, shared her memories of her time in the sugar bush, which was in Goulais Mission (c.1938). Her time in the sugar bush occurred with her maternal grandparents, Alec and Mary (McCoy) Neveau, and her maternal uncles, Wilfred and Neil, who were five and two years older than her, respectively.[584] She shared,

> I'll start with my memories from being little…about seven years old going to the sugar bush with my grandparents and my two uncles…. We were just children and we would leave in the morning. My grandfather had a team of horses and that was our ride to take the stuff there. We would spend a whole day there and my grandfather, with his helpers, would collect the sap, maybe for—I don't know how many days—but when we got there, there was lots of it. So, our job was to gather wood—kindling to help make the fire, build the fire, and collect the sap. They'd get the pot boiling… I think we had three of them. So, we busied ourselves…and time really went fast for some reason because we were always doing something. It took all day to make the syrup. … Of course, my grandmother—we always took lunch and food to eat… like dinner… She'd let us make these little things out of birchbark and little pieces of wood to pour the syrup in when it got thick. … She'd let us have some [syrup] so we could make taffy and then we put it in the snow for it to harden then sugar to make sugar cakes. When it came time to do that well we'd fill these little birch bark things and then they'd boil it down to make sugar. This was all done in a day so we always made it home before dark time.[585]

Later in our conversation, I asked Mary if she knew what the birch bark containers were called. She said they were like a cup and when I asked if they were cones, she said,

[583] The overview I give here does not do justice to the historical periods that Anishinaabeg negotiated. My intention is to couch this discussion of the sugar bush within a historical context. Brenda Child provides an effective transnational overview of broad historical, settler influences that Ojibwe in both the U.S. and Canada negotiated in Child, *Holding Our World Together.*

[584] Mary Beaver, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, Bawating Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, December 1, 2014, pg. 2, 4, and 7, personal file.

[585] Ibid., 2.

> "Yea. You could make them however you wanted, you could make it like…she had a name for it but it wasn't Ojibway. It was French. Ah, causettee … causette or something like that. I just always thought I wish I knew somebody that could tell me what it was that she called them.[586]

From her memories then, Mary recalls her grandfather having a team of horses which transported the family and equipment to the sugar bush. While he and her uncles hauled the sap days in advance, she and her uncles helped collect the wood. Her grandmother carried out the food preparation and taught the children how to make birchbark containers, using a French word to describe them. The presence of French in the language being used at the sugar bush is reminiscent of sugar bushing carried out by upper class Odawa womxn in 1800s Michilimackinac and the trade and commerce economy of the time. This work around the taffy, sugar, and birch bark containers is similar to the work Anishinaabeg womxn before have done throughout history, which I illuminate in Chapter Four.

From the M'Chigeeng Elders I spoke with, Lewis and Norma, who are from the same extended family, community and are of similar age, shared childhood sugar bush memories that reflect the late1940s to 1950s. These memories include their grandfather, parents, aunts, cousins and siblings. Both conveyed an evident fondness for those childhood times; Lewis' also included humorous memories. Each included many details about how sugar bush work was organized amongst children and adults. As indicated in Chapter Three, Lewis's description of the sugar bush camp included details describing it as a place where training in oral traditions and knowledges were undertaken with the children.[587] Switching between English and anishinaabemowin at times and, identifying historical changes, Norma said,

> During maple sugar time we used to have fun. It was like, we went camping and my mother, it took her maybe a day or two to get ready for that, to go to the bush, ziizabaakwasdakaaning wii-zhaa'aang, miijim kina gii-biidoon, miidaash oodi gii-jiibaakwed ziizabaakwadakaaning gii-ni-dagoshinaang pane gii-bodwewok [whenever we wanted to go to the sugar bush, she brought all the food, and then she cooked when we go there and always made fire] and certain times during the day

[586] Ibid., 17. In describing many details about the sugar bush harvest at her grandmother's sugar bush on Michilimackinac in the early 1800s, Elizabeth Thérèse Fisher Baird described how, "The *casseau* to set at the tree, to catch the sap, was a birch-bark dish, holding from one to two gallons." Baird, "Reminiscences", 29.

[587] Lewis Debaasige, 4-6. The number I have for Lewis is not in service. I mailed him a copy of this chapter through Norma Corbiere. I have emailed him a copy of this chapter and a section from Chapter Four. I have recently been given another number to try to call him and will do so.

> they'd do it maybe twice a day, and then in between time everybody in the family helped and I had six brothers and five.[pauses] there was thirteen of us anyway and we all helped. It was fun gathering the ziizabaakwadaaboo [maple sap]. We used to use horse and sleigh and we'd go to the sugar bush on the horse and sleigh and they would warm us up, wrap us up in blankets. Big, thick quilts and that's where we used to spend our family times, it was fun there. … [I]t was different then today, like today everything is propane and lights are, we have electric lights now [chuckles] and. [it's] not like it used to be, real pioneer. … It's so, it's different now. It's not like…children aren't allowed to do anything. The small children, we were really small. I can remember being four or five, five years old going back there. … And so that's the way it was in my days growing up as a child with my family. It was really nice. I don't think that happens anymore. Even the little children were involved, everybody had a job.[588]

George has many relations who work the sugar bush. Although some of his immediate family worked the sugar bush, he himself was "never involved in that making sugar."[589] When it came his time to share his memories, he said,

> I could try a little bit. … My dad inherited a sugar bush, woods, some land from the guy that he was brought up with. I didn't see the operation of the whole thing because I wasn't even born but my brother Ted will tell you that. But I seen the remnants of the shack and there's re-growth on that sugar bush now. I don't know if my brother owns it, my oldest brother, Archie.[590]

Nevertheless, George recalled what I call a trickster story that many of us may have experienced in various ways with friends:

> But I had quite an experience with a friend here. I tried to help one time. He had the stove *laughs* but no shack, no wood, nothing. … I had to run around for everything. He didn't even have the tool . to tap the tree. … I told him I'd help [him] but I want to know how it's done. So, he just came by, he wasn't't' there all the time. I had to get another friend to help me. … It was a real comical thing that we went through.[591]

After recalling this story and sharing some information about his own research on the sugar bush that yielded information on tools and products, George did recall one childhood memory. He shared,

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[588]Norma Corbiere, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, Lakeview School, M'Chigeeng First Nation, Manitoulin Island, pg. 3-5, personal file. The anishinaabemowin in this quote was corrected and translated by Alphonse Pitawanakwat. I mailed Norma a copy of this chapter in early July 2018 and have called twice. I have not been able to be in contact with her but will keep trying.

[589] George Corbiere, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, Lakeview School, M'Chigeeng First Nation, Manitoulin Island, pg. 9, personal file. I spoke with George by phone on August 9, 2018 and reviewed his contribution. George received the hard copy and had it for review. Minor changes were made.

[590] George Corbiere, 7.

[591] Ibid, 7-8.

> … and I [saw] another family had a big sugar bush … you know the Roy's? *asking Norma and Lorraine*. That family had a big sugar bush. And I think it was all cut up by loggers cutting logs. …Bill Roy. … I can remember when I was a child my dad went there for some reason and they gave us cakes of that, like brown sugar. … It was really good stuff [chuckles]. And taffy. … Yea. That's the time we went there. I can remember that. *chuckles*[592]

While George wasn't raised doing the sugar bush work he was personally interested in it as a matter of Anishinaabeg keeping our knowledges and our ways going.

Lorraine took me up on my invitation to speak wholeheartedly in the language. In responding to the first general question about sugar bush memories she said,

> Nahaaw, Gidi-nimikonim nango mampii maawanjidiiying. (Nidimnikonim nimgom maampii maanjidiying.) Lorraine Debassige ndi-zhinikaaz. (nidizhnikaaz). Makwendaan genii ziizabaakodakaaning (giiniziisaabaakdekaaning) gii- paa-zhaayaanh, gii-paa-daminayaanh gii-gaachiiyaanh.(niiyaaw degiiyaachiiyaaw). Mii go genii megwaach n'gii-naana-bboonigiz makwe ndamaa gii-gaachiinhyaanh momaa miinwaa mbopaa gii-maajiinigok ziizabaakodakaaning, Manitowabiinaang, wodi Wikwemikong. Mii genii oodi enjibaa'aanh, gaa bi-jibaa'aanh. Wikwemikong, Sam Manitowaabi, gaamkana zhe'e, Manitowaabi ziizabaakodakaan, Murray Hill, mii genii oodi gaa bi-ji- kendamaa wi ziizabaakodakaan, miinwaa makwendaan miijii'aanh ziizabaakadoons gii-gaachiinyaanh, naadamaageyaanh ziizabaakodaaboo wii-zhichigaadeg, makwendaan minakweyaanh wi, shki-minakweyaanh wi wii-minozhayaa'aanh. Manda ntam kaa-minakwenaa kida Nokomisba, mii dash iidig wi naa'aa mashkiki aawan kida. Bangii go eta ka minakwen, niibiishaaboo ka-ziiginaan kida. Mii dash gaa zhichigeyaanh genii mii sa gonaa giiyaabi eschigeyaanh. Nda-kiikmaak dash genii niijaansak wii-zhichigewaad wi, ndo-wiindamowaak ko mshkiki aawan wi ziizabaakodaaboo jibwaa. Mii genii gaa bi zhi-kinoomaagoowaanh. Mii dash miinwaa mampii gii-bi-zhaayaanh MChigeeng. Adam Debaasige zhinkaaza nini gaa niibiwitook. Mii dash minwaa gii-kendamaa manda ziizabaakadokaaning, gii-onaadamaage ko wiikwemkosing mii dash minwaa ziizabaakodakaaning genii gii-onaadamaageyaanh. Maankikiing zhinkaade, Kaboni temigad Wikwemkong, kchi-maankikiing oodi te. He used to go help his Uncle, his Uncle Adam, Adam Ozawamick mish-o-diminaa ziisaabaakdakaaning igaye niigiinaa taamagii'yaaw. Maankii kiin zhinkaade. It's in the kaabowaanii. In Wikwemikong. Kchi maankiikii wodite. It's a big maple bush.[593]

Translated by Alphonse Pitawanakwat, who is from Manitoulin Island and recognized and trusted by this group as a speaker and educator himself, Lorraine's words, translated to English are,

> Ok. I am greeting you at this meeting. I am called Lorraine Debaasige. I remember going to the sugar bush to play when I was small. I was thinking I was about five years old when my father and mother took us to the Manitowaabi's sugar bush at Wikwemikong. That's where I'm from. You will find Sam Manitowaabi sugar bush, that's how I got to know the sugar bush. I also remember

[592] Ibid., 9.

[593] Lorraine Debassige, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, Lakeview School, M'Chigeeng First Nation, Manitoulin Island, Ontario, p. 12-14, personal file. Miigwech to Alphonse Pitawanakwat for ensuring the spelling of this was correct.

> eating sugar candy when I was small helping to make sap. I felt good when I drank it the first time. "We will drink this first," said grandmother. And then she told us this was medicine." Drink this medicine, it cleans you every spring. Drink only a little pour some tea into it. And so that's what I did and still do. I advise my kids to do the same. I tell them that the sap is medicine. Before you cook it, save some in a jar and just drink it once in a while as a cleansing. That's how I was taught. And then I came to M'Chigeeng. Adam Debassige is the name of the man I married. Then I knew this sugar bush. I went to help at Wikwemkonsing, I went to help at the sugar bush. Maple forest zhinkaade, Kaboni temigad Wikwemikong. There is a huge maple forest there. He used to go help his uncle, his uncle Adam Ozawamick. Started going to the sugar bush where he used to help at Wikwemkonsing zhinkaadeg. He used to help his uncle Adam Ozawamick, then I would help at the sugar bush. It is called maple forest. It's in Kaboni at Wikwemikong. It's a big maple bush.[594]

Lorraine also shared information about ways her family uses the syrup which included how her husband, Adam, loves to cook and is known to make the special treats with the syrup.[595]

Speaking of her memories at Waawaashanage (Shawanaga First Nation), which is on the north shore of naadowewi-gichi gaming (Lake Huron), Jacquie recalled the following rhythms and patterns of the sugar bush work:

> We got to [make taffy] and I think it was maybe six, seven and eight-year olds were the ones that would run the sugar bush I think 100% of the time. They were the ones that would tilt the pot for the women and the women would give instruction and they would be there to see that we didn't do anything to ourselves, make sure we didn't burn ourselves. So, she would help with the pots; she was the brakes on the pot if they were going too fast or if they couldn't control it. So that's what we did. We tried to throw it in this trough and it would go down there into that trough and then it would go into that stuff and into another and go down farther. The one way over there is what they would take off, all the time, scrape the sides and put it in a small, I think it's a small trough like this, just a wooden trough, they'd put all that stuff and pound it right and it would get fluffy. It would get fluffy. But that stuff always made the fudge like stuff. And, a lot of the maple syrup came from there. There was one, two, three. This would be all the stuff they would use for sugar candy, maple fudge, all those things. The syrup came from this one because it was thick. They would say when it has a hard time flowing off the edge of the spoon that's when you would put it in the jars. We didn't have jugs. We had the big mason jars because kids couldn't handle the other things right. Couldn't direct the flow into that. We use to try. They'd give us a couple of glasses so that we can do it from plastic glass and we played around with that for most of the day so by the end of the day it's like you had like taffy in your glass. The glasses were the cut off mason jars. The kids would sleep there in the sugar shack itself. It was warm, toasty warm. They would probably be the first ones to get up in

[594] Ibid. There are sections missing from this translation which I am not clear about. For instance, in the Anishinaabemowin version, "Murry Hill" is noted but this name is not mentioned in the English version. Note: Sam Ozawamick, who was one of the Elders who helped Basil Johnston infuse Anishinaabeg cultural knowledge into Canadian society so that settlers would have a more humanized, dynamic idea of Anishinaabeg, shared the stories that portrayed womxn's and girl's centrality at the sugar bush as protectors that I discuss in Chapter Three. He is a relative of the family Lorraine identifies.

[595] Ibid., 12-13.

> the morning with the old ladies and the old ladies all had little sleighs and it had a big pot on it and she always had two little kid who always went with the old ladies. … In our family there was five old ladies, my mom's sisters.[596]

Reflective to some degree of what Angela Cavendar Wilson (now known as Waziyatawin) refers to as oral traditions, some contributors engaged in what appears to a more structured approach to sharing their experiences and knowledges.[597] Gidigaa Migisi, James, and Rick, who are all Mississauga and all known to each other, shared their memories through a specific structure of intergenerational history. That is, they shared what their Elders, grandparents, or parents told them about the old days of sugar bushing, either their own memories or lived experiences. They also shared what they themselves have experienced and hoped to persist into the future. The eldest of these three is Gidigaa Migisi (72 yrs.).

Raised in the language, Gidigaa Migisi indicated that he learned about the land, including some aspects of the sugar bush, from the "old ones" as a child and youth. "The old ones" refers to Madden Taylor (b. 1894) and Madden's friend, Makoons (born circa 1875); Madden was his grandmother, Adeline's Williams Taylor's (b. 1896) brother. Speaking first in Anishinaabemowin at length, he translated saying,

> I remember the old ones talking about going to places where the maple grew and taking their families and setting up their tents and having sort of a spring camp where [the women] would make the maple syrup and the men would help a little bit but the main reason the men would be there would be to trap the muskrat. …
>
> [They] took me on the lake and told me stories of these camps and they talked so lovingly about it, so beautifully about it and I wished we'd still be doing that. …
>
> But the old guys would say it was the women who would be doing that syrup and sugaring while they went out trapping. … Sugar was a lot of work. I remember them stirring away and using the wooden paddle and then I'd disappear because they'd want me to take my turn. It's hard work, it's not easy."[598]

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[596] Jacqui LaValley, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, August 15, 2014, Elder's Room, Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, p. 17, personal file. For the place name reference, see p. 12. I spoke by phone with Jacqui on July 23, 2018. She gave me her new email to send her a copy of this chapter. I have called her twice, leaving a message once, to follow-up. I will continue to try to connect with her.

[597] Cavendar Wilson, "Power of the Spoken Word," 101-116.

[598] Gidigaa Migisi Doug Williams, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, June 12, 2014, Pow Wow Grounds Shoreline, Curve Lake First Nation, June 12, 2014, p. 1-2, personal file. I spoke with Gidigaa Migisi in July about reviewing his contribution and sent it to him via email. He indicated that he reviewed it, stating there were no changes to make. For the full transcription of what Gidigaa Migisi said in Anishinaabemowin, see Appendix H: "Gidigaa Migisi Doug William's Transcript Section in Anishinaabemowin". I include this because it's important to signify the indigenous language of the place that Trent University

Recalling sugar bushing in Curve Lake First Nation he remembered James' grandfather's sugar bush operation, in particular. He said,

> … there were only a couple of families doing that, like Dan Whetung's family was doing that but [he] ran the store up here and what he would do is he would hire some of the locals to go and run his sugar bush, that's how he did it. I remember that sugar bush just barely because it only ran it until I was eight, maybe ten years old. Then he died and after he died, his son Murray would take his family and make syrup. Out of that family, one of them, James, is the one who has taken up sugaring and syrup making it in most recent times. So, he does and now I do it and I want to keep that kind of thing alive.[599]

Later, when our conversation turned to cultural knowledges like clan responsibilities, he indicated that Mary Jane Taylor and her husband, Ashley, Madden's brother, would join him and the old ones at the muskrat camp. After describing Mary Jane as someone who knew old-time Anishinaabe songs, he said,

> She was a rice picker. Both her and Ashley lived off the land and they'd come with us to the muskrat camp. She told me the story of achidimo and how achidimo [red squirrel] helped Anishinaabe find the sap. She was the one that I first heard it from. In fact, one day, I was five years old [1947] and I can remember this quite well, we were at the camp and of course all the men are gone and she was the only woman at the camp, we were only picking sap for tea and sometimes I'd boil it, later on I would boil it down to get syrup but I would be using their pans and pots and they didn't have that many, anyhow, I remember her saying when we were out and there was achidimo licking the sap and she said that's how Anishinaabe saw that and said there is something about this; it was achidimo who showed them that.[600]

The oral history Gidigaa Migisi shared are from the old ones in his life who were born between the 1870s and 1890s. The oral histories they shared with Gidigaa Migisi were based on their lived experiences during the 1870s to 1890s until some unknown date. These oral histories indicate that Anishinaabeg from Curve

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occupies and expose people to it where possible, as much as possible. Further, Gidigaa Migisi has mentioned many times how diminished the language is becoming in his community. Finally, he is the only Mississauga contributor in this research who speaks the language and talks about being raised in it.

[599] Ibid, 1-2.

[600] Ibid., 6. Achidimo is "red squirrel". Evidence of this story about achidimo is apparent in Figure 1 that portrays "enaatig minaawaa ziinzaabakwad" that opens this thesis. Some of the content identified in that sketch comes from Gidigaa Migisi. See Appendix A for a description of that sketch.

Lake (also known as Waashekegemonke/Mud Lake) went to their spring camps where the womxn ran the sugar camps and the mxn went trapping.[601]

Gidigaa Migisi identified the 1950s as being a time of significant change in his community which negatively impacted access to shorelines and diminished ability to participate in land-based practices.[602] Similarly, archaeological research on boiling arches which includes analysis in the areas of gender as well, show that Anishinaabeg sugar bush harvesting in Michigan and Wisconsin began to decline throughout the 20th century.[603]

James' childhood memories in the 1960s included his dad Murray Whetung, and his mother, Elbas Kobide (nee Taylor) Whetung. He said,

> One of my first memories is … we had hung pails, probably little apple juice cans on the tree tapped—my dad or my ma—I don't know who tapped them but we each had a bucket. I remember looking down into that bucket and hearing my breathe and seeing how clear that sap was and drinking that sap and just, it just stuck in me so hard, that affected me I think all my life. …
>
> And shortly after, I don't remember anything about the sugar bush until I was probably maybe ten. My dad, like when he talks about his dad [Dan Whetung] and his mom [un-named] owning a sugar bush it was usually the men who come down here and done all the work. They would cut the wood and boil the sap and take it home to my grandfather's house which is where Whetung's Craft shop is now. … So that's the stories my dad tells me about them coming out here to make syrup and all the men working here. They had three big kettles, a three-fire society. …
>
> And my dad and my mom—I remember them running the sugar bush. My dad was away working; he was trying to make money [because] we were pretty well starving and [there were] not many jobs, not many cars out here. And so, my mom would run the sugar bush out here and it was so

[601] I have not engaged in any kind of assessment of this anthropologists' research however A.F. Chamberlain wrote extensively on the Mississauga. In one article, published in 1888, which is the time when Gidigaa Migisi's teachers were alive, he said, "At Mud Lake, each family had its own hereditary hunting-ground, and trespass upon it was highly resented. At the beginning of the winter season the women retired to the village, where they remained until the maple-sugar season in the spring, while their husbands traversed the forest to the hunting-grounds of the tribe, to return laden with the winter spoils (155). He describes how women (referring to Rice Lake, where Alderville FN is located and Rick Beaver is from) carried out the ricing and how the women (referring to Chemong Lake/Mud Lake) of various ages carried out the sugar bush harvest (155-156). He said the "mocowks" that the sugar was stored in gave the sugar a particular taste. (156). "The Mississauga of the Bay of Quinté also made sugar and in the spring, and sold it to the settlers in small bass-wood bags." (156). Interestingly, just ahead of his discussion on land-based practices and gender, Chamberlain makes a note of the sexual mores amongst women and men and how this was negotiated between those who were married. His observations, which are in some cases problematic, do gesture to cultural difference between Anishinaabeg and settler ways of being in relationality. Chamberlain, "Notes on the History, Customs, and Beliefs of the Mississaguas," 150-160.

[602] Gidigaa Migisi, 3.

[603] Thomas, "Historic American Indian Maple Sugar," 302.

> nice. … I would get off the bus in the spring time … at the top of the road and I would jump off and walk down through the bush to where my mom was; she'd be running the sugar bush. To see her in the bush, it was so quiet. … My mom taught me lots and so seeing her so calm in the bush, it was so quiet, like she could sleep out there, get away from all the kids, have a chance to relax. It was nice to see her in that environment unlike at home. So, she taught by example. Some of my other brothers would sometimes jump off the bus or we'd walk out to where my mom was running the sugar bush and we'd help her burn wood and man it was primitive to set up but she done it every year. I don't know if that's one of the things that keeps me wanting to do the sugar bush. I love my mother and I appreciated her so much more and it's a little late now that she's dead but [tearing up] I loved her for when she was doing that, too. … maybe that's what keeps me wanting to do the sugar bush. It's so much work! Like, you've been in the sugar bush!. Like, why [do we do it], you know![604]

I inquired what the womxn in his family were during the time his grandfather hired men to run the sugar bush. He said, "Well, I don't hear too much about that. … I know they had … to bring up their families and that's what they were doing mostly I think…. This place is pretty well Christianized. There was no Anishinaabe going on around here."[605] Elsewhere, in conversation about Anishinaabeg women's decreased presence with the sugar bush, James states, "They were kept in the house"; and, he refers to the women in his family, his maternal grandmother and aunts, being Christianized and housewives.[606] This Christianization, domestication, and re-socializing of child-rearing practices was a model of civilization that the settler state imposed on Indigenous womxn across Turtle Island. In James' memories we see evidence of its impacts on Mississauga womxn's relationship with the sugar bush. Specifically, in her actual presence in the sugar bush and in her practice of carrying it out with her children. Gidigaa Migisi shared similar circumstances regarding his grandmother, Adeline, who had twenty children and grandchildren to care for on little money.[607]

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[604] James Whetung, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, August 22, 2014, manoomin processing building at his home, Curve Lake First Nation, p. 2-3, personal file. I spoke with by phone and emailed him this chapter for his review. I have yet to follow up with him on this.

[605] Ibid, 10.

[606] Ibid., 10, 12.

[607] Gidigaa Migisi, 3-4; 8.

When I asked James what his mother did with the syrup that was produced, he said he didn't know and the he didn't recall ever seeing it in the house or having any of it.[608] Given the poverty they lived in, and given there is extensive evidence of womxn's trading of maple sugar for other commodities or selling it for income, it is possible his mother exchanged it for other items or sold it for income, perhaps at the store that her father-in-law, Dan, had owned.[609] Maple sugar was also given to missionaries and Indian Agents, likely as payment for services rendered, however it is unclear to me if this was still in practice at the time James' mother was producing syrup.[610]

Rick Beaver (b. 1954) who is Mississauga from Alderville First Nation, began his sharing by first recognizing and honoring the maple tree and its gifts.[611] He then recalled a memory that was shared with him as a child from beloved "Uncle Norman" Marsden-ban. Uncle Norman was an Elder and the longest-standing Chief of Alderville First Nation. In sharing that recollection, Rick beckoned me into this image that Uncle Norman had passed on to him. It was an image of "the women working with the trees, the women collecting the sap and the babies hanging in their cradle boards swinging from the trees in the wind while this industry was going on in the woods".[612] Rick also shared stories his mother, Marjorie Beaver, told him about her time with her brother, George, and Grannie Beaver in those woods, "which was tended to by men and women using horses and sleighs that they often made themselves".[613] He recalled her stories about being "involved in all aspects of making sugar and syrup and candy"; her knowledge about the medicinal uses from

[608] Ibid., 13-14.

[609] James emphasizes the significant material, food, and cultural poverty his community endured and which he recalls as a child. When compared, James' and Jacqui's description of poverty illuminate that poverty has various meanings. Elsewhere in the present chapter, a family oral history disrupts the idea that Anishinaabeg, or Anishinaabeg womxn, were always poor.

[610] Gidigaa Migisi has often told me the oral history of how the islands at Stoney Lake were appropriated by the church and how this appropriation was framed as payment for settler religious and educational services delivered to the Mississauga.

[611] Rick Beaver, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, June 12, 2014, Black Oak Savannah, Alderville First Nation, p. 1, personal file. I connected with Rick through Facebook Messenger and emailed him this chapter for review. He engaged with the material and conclusions. He also indicated he did see any changes he would like made to his contributions.

[612] Ibid., 2.

[613] Ibid., 3.

the gifts of the maple tree; and, her insights about the behavior of the beings of the natural world at that time.[614] Rick remembered Grannie Beaver being involved in some elements of sugar bush work. He shared,

> In a more contemporary sense, myself and my young cousins both boys and girls would round up, in this day and age, pots and pans. We're still talking about an era where most of the houses here burned wood for their heating sources. There was no running water when I lived here with my Grannie … I knew she fully knew that it would take many times the volume of sap to make good syrup but she would have the wood cut and we would participate in that too. She would have it scheduled so that the sap would be on top of the stove but she would be doing her baking and making her big meals. We would do this in the course of a weekend and I often trudged through the snow to the trees. There were no tubes connecting all the trees in the commercial sense then. You had to physically travel between the trees not simply wait at the bottom of the hill for gravity to do its work. If there was gravity it often was the cause of you falling with half a bucket of syrup and just about to cry because you'd lost at least a day's work doing that.[615]

Rick is the same age as James but from a Mississauga community that is about an hour southeast of Curve Lake First Nation. Similarly, there is the description of a sugar bush owned by a male leader in the community where many worked. In this case, Rick recalled working with many other children, his mother, and watching his maternal grandmother produce syrup and the like in her kitchen while she carried out other household duties; his experiences were both outdoors in the sugar bush and in the house.[616]

Suggesting a generationally different experience and a possible generational shift, the group of womxn in their forties and fifties—Tessa, Barbara, Charlotte, and Amy—had had limited and recent experiences in sugar bush work. They all referred to working at, or spending the day at, other people's sugar bushes or their tribal sugar bushes. This is to say they did not recall this work as seasonal rounds of labour or as something they regularly partook in as children, teens, or even young adults. Similar to the over-sixty group, this group also indicated a desire to engage in sugar bush work as a way to maintain connections to the past; endure Anishinaabeg ways into the future; have opportunities for their children to learn; or just visit fellow Anishinaabeg. Importantly, regardless of the minimal lived sugar bush experiences

[614] Ibid.

[615] Ibid., 5.

[616] I wonder what circumstances prompted Grannie Beaver to make syrup in her house given the evaporation process makes all surfaces, such as cupboards, sticky.

and/or lack of land ownership or tenuous access to lands, many of these contributors have oral histories and knowledges that significantly convey womxn's experiences with the sugar bush and Anishinaabeg epistemologies.

As an example of maintaining connections with the past and the future and elucidating how history and settler colonial forces in the U.S. shaped Anishinaabeg life, Barbara shared a heartfelt, powerful oral history about Potawatomi removal and refugee experiences.[617] What is compelling about this story is how the power of emotion, woman's connection to the sugar bush, and kinship ties persists through generations to contemporary youth. As noted in Chapter Two, Devon Abbott Mihesuah notes the lack of sources that convey the emotions and intimacies of Indigenous womxn's lives as individuals or as collectives of womxn. This fact further marks the significance of the oral history that Barbara's Elder shared and which she contributed to this research. Told by "Elderly elder" Jim Thunder (80s) at a Potawatomi Language Conference in Dowagiac, Michigan in 2013, this oral history was his response to a question posed in an open forum of four fluent Potawatomi speakers. Barbara said,

> [Jim] spends a lot of time with all of the Potawatomi communities in revitalizing the language. He does a lot of plant knowledge in the language. Just a wonderful, wonderful guy. Very, very funny as so many of our Elders are. …
>
> But he was talking about, I forget the question he was asked but his answer was a story of the Potawatomi removal. This specific story that I think you're interested in was his grandmother but he also talks about his great-grandparents. Now Jim is in his 80s I would say so I don't know when exactly this story took place but they were in. in the 1830s, the Pottawatomi were being removed from the western shore of Lake Michigan … and his great grandmother and grandfather were fleeing, forced removal to the south, to Oklahoma and Kansas and they hooked up with the Kickapoo and ended up down in Mexico. … And when they were in Mexico the US soldiers still came after them and escaped back across the Rio Grande and were making their way to Kansas. He talks about hiding by day and travelling by night. He gets very emotional and angry about the history that's been written by, not our people, and talking about all the deaths. He said they were burying people every day in this journey. [Both upset] Yea, I was listening to it last night and it makes me cry, it makes me so upset. So that's the context of his grandparents. And I don't know the location of where this story takes place but I'm assuming that they made it back to Wisconsin, or southern

[617] Barbara Wall, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, August 18, 2014, Mark Burnham Park, Nogojiwanong Peterborough, Ontario, personal file. I was in Facebook Messenger and email communication with Barbara in July 2018. She reviewed her contributions and made name-spelling corrections.

> Wisconsin and again were pursued by the US soldiers. There's a ton of stories about the Pottawatomi removal and communities turning against each other and turning each other in for bounties. It's something that I hope to write about at some point but he talks about his grandmother having to flee northward, to northern Wisconsin where you know it's mostly mixed forest but there's not a lot of maple up there and having to leave her sugar bush. And how that was the most traumatic part of her removal. … And she just, he talks about her telling him about this and how traumatic it was to leave the sugar bush and to be jumping from place to place and not be in the sugar bush or in a specific place during sugaring season and how they resorted to tapping birch trees. … I'm assuming that that was further north in Wisconsin. …That's really what I know from what Jim has shared. But to watch him tell it and to see the expression on his face change was, it really hit your heart very hard. … Pain and anger and as he tells this story. I listened to it last night and he says, he stopped, I remembered him because he stopped and, [with emphasis] "I'm still mad about it!" And the whole room, it was just quiet for a couple minutes. I think many of our young people had never even heard that story. And they were really touched by it.[618]

Later in our conversation, Barbara referenced her own recent sugar bush experiences and importantly, her sentiments. She indicated she worked at Gidigaa Migisi's sugar bush and stated, "[it's] wonderful community and connection and just good heart feeling of being on the land and working in a way our ancestors did."[619]

Tessa shared another powerful oral history told to her about her maternal great grandmother, Sarah Sienna Williams (b. December 22, 1893). She said,

> This story that I have to share was given to me by my aunt, my mother's sister. Her name was Beverly Lewis and she is from the Lambert family. That's my mother's family. They are Ojibway and Odawa. They're father is Ojibway and he was raised in residential school and their mother is Odawa and she was not raised in residential school. Understanding my family history, I begin to think about why is it that she didn't have to go to residential school when so many other people did and so my thoughts are about what I have learned about her family. My grandmother's family was that she was raised by her mother who was single, raised them on her own but she had had several husbands. I don't know how many but I know at least two of them died. … And that she was a wealthy woman, that's what I was told because she was a business woman, she was a trader, and that she had a sugar bush. I learned this because my aunt had talked to me several times. I went to a Catholic school from the time I was in fourth grade until I was in eighth grade. It goes from first grade to eighth grade but I started in fourth grade. I was having difficulty in public school. I was getting in a lot of fights there and they were based because I was new to the area. I was born in Las Vegas and had my young childhood in Arizona and then I moved to Manistique in second grade. When I went there, although the teachers knew who I was in my family because they knew my grandparents, they had taught my mother and they had taught my aunts and uncles, the kids in the school didn't recognize me as a local, that I was someone from far away. So I had to break through that being a new kid in town kind of thing and they had already established their friends and I didn't fit and so I was fighting a lot with students. I came from Arizona and so I came dark and they didn't

[618] Ibid., 2-3
[619] Ibid., 7.

> recognize me as white but they thought I was black. They didn't know what I was and we had all that racial tension here in the beginning to I got transferred into another school. It was a Catholic school that I went to from that point and I didn't like going there. I didn't like it there. My aunt didn't like that I was in Catholic school either. [We both laugh] She didn't like that so I asked my parents to get me out. I didn't want to be there and they though it was best because there was more discipline in that school. I didn't like it because I had other friends who were in public school and I wanted to see them so my aunt gave me a lot of suggestions about how to get out of that school which pretty much [meant] breaking things and eventually like causing so much financial distress in the classroom that they would just push me out. So, she suggested I could break things in the classroom or while I was out playing on the field that I could break windows by kicking balls, like that kind of thing, into the windows. But, she told me, "You can break the windows in the school. They're glass ones but don't break the stained-glass ones on the church that are also on the perimeter of our playground ball field." She explained to me her grandmother payed for those windows to be put in that church. In her explanation she said that it's not true that we were always poor. That Ojibway were not always poor. That we had financial resources and that's how she explained to me that her grandmother was a very wealthy woman and that she had the first car in Manistique and that she also had the first refrigerator in Manistique.[620]

Of her own sugar bush experiences which were recent, she indicated being invited to various friends' sugar camps in the Bemidji, Minnesota area her first spring there and recalled positive memories.[621]

Both Charlotte and Amy described being at community sugar bushes. Charlotte's community was revitalizing this work as a strategic approach to resisting mining which, based on her description, has an overwhelming presence in the Upper Peninsula. When asked about her sugar bush experiences, she said,

> [L]ast year was my first time ever doing it but I've heard a lot about it and a lot of my family does it. There's this mine site over in L'Anse, on this hill, so for us to fight that in court, if they ever proceed, is to practice more of our cultural stuff over there in that area. So, we did this natural resource, a forestry department—we got this grant together—and we decided to start a sugar bush camp out there. … We did that cooking over the fire with a big pan…There were a lot of us out there. It was really nice. We got lots of sugar, candy. …And my little guy. Oh my god, he's like ten. He was splitting wood for them and he'd go out and gather syrup for them. It was just great for the kids to be around.[622]

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[620] Tessa Reed, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, June 4, 2014, Skype, p. 3-5, personal file. I was in Facebook messenger and email communication with Tessa in July 2018. She had no changes to make.

[621] Ibid., 10-11.

[622] Charlotte Loonsfoot, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, August 26, 2014, L'Anse Indian Reservation/Baraga, Michigan, p. 3-4, personal file. I contacted Charlotte twice in in recent months about her contribution through Facebook Messenger, which was our way of communicating. However, she has not opened my messages. I do not know if she is using this social media site at this time. I do not know if she is at the same address and as such have not mailed her a copy of the chapter.

Amy, who just participated in her community's past sugaring season, gestured towards contemporary tribal sugar bush dynamics and contributed rich, deep insights into cultural teachings about the significant of memegwesiiyag, the little people, that one of her sugar bush Elder womxn (un-named) taught her. It's interesting that there's inter-national similarities between Anishinaabeg and Nêhiyaw (Plains Cree) regarding memegwesiiyag and the sugar bush however, as indicated in my discussion of cultural sources in Chapter Two, the Nêhiyaw story is about territorial boundaries between humans and supernatural beings. Regarding the teaching about memegwesiiyag that Amy's teacher shared with her, Amy said,

> She told us to always, always, put our food out and our tobacco to feed those little people because they are out there doing their work. …
>
> So we do and this spring actually, I always try to incorporate that into my … [with] the kids that I teach. Try to empower them with building their relationships with the little people because they are still so much more connected and haven't been infiltrated with the doubts that we have as being part of the dominate mainstream system for a longer time. Their brains haven't been completely wired with the image sets that come with thinking in English. …
>
> And so, I always incorporated that into this past sugar bush season. I had a couple children really have an impact on me because you could almost see that truth about the little people was just like springing forth out of them.
>
> They were so excited to go feed them and they were so sure that when they were walking through the bush that they saw a little person. One of them saw one darting around. I could see another adult dismiss that later when we [unclear] but he came back and he whispered to me, "Would you help me make a feast for him?" …
>
> And that [dismissal] was a struggle for me because I didn't want to teach disrespect for that adult. They actually told him, "No, he couldn't have any food to go put out for them." But at the same time, it was more important to me to not be a part of that so I went behind the other adult's back and I got some food and tobacco for him and I explained to him that it's not everybody that will agree with you but you have to follow what you feel in your heart. So, it became a bigger thing. And now we're really bonded, me and that little guy.[623]

[623] Amy McCoy Sayers, conversation with Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, August 5, 2014, Soo Tribe Sugar Bush, Sugar Island, Bawating Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, p. 4-5, personal file. I was in contact with Amy in July 2018 and she has received this chapter for review. I have followed up with her about her review of her contributions however she has not responded to my inquiry on that point, having discussion about other topics instead.

In this situation, Amy has embodied this teaching and upholds the significance of ensuring cultural worldviews and practice are transmitted to our children. Despite experiencing some resistance to this from fellow Anishinaabeg, Amy diplomatically weighs the situation and strategizes on how to continue to teach Anishinaabeg children Anishinaabeg practices.

Both Charlotte and Amy contributions show similar experiences in having to deal with fellow Anishinaabeg in their communities who dismiss the cultural ways they are bringing forth and/or "have that white-thinking mentality" or "are not really traditional people. … They're more book oriented and college, you know."[624] While not a focus of the present research, these insights as well as others that appear later in the chapter, prompt an important consideration: what are the "micro-dynamics", the dynamics that are unseen or not talked about (i.e. microaggressions) that Anishinaabeg womxn have to negotiate in regards to cultural persistence in both the settler and Anishinaabeg relationalities that animate their lives.

These contributions from sugar bush memories show that inter-generationally there are differences in sugar bush experiences between those womxn and mxn over sixty and those womxn in their forties and fifties. The former group has lived, seasonal experiences of childhood sugar bush experiences with family. Some of these experiences are recurring. The latter group of womxn in their forties have limited lived sugar bush experiences which have occurred with friends or community members. While these experiences are marked by mostly positive (or neutral) experiences, some dynamics reflect that existing attitudes and practices in Anishinaabeg communities may not reflect the wish that some womxn have to practice responsible, ethical and sound relations with the sugar bush and the supernatural beings that are a part of this place. Interestingly, even though this latter group has limited lived experiences with the sugar bush, they have oral histories and cultural teachings which have been shared with them. These oral histories reveal Anishinaabeg womxn's signified relationship with the sugar bush. Amy embodied cultural knowledge an

[624] Charlotte Loonsfoot, 11, 25.

Elder sugar bush woman in her nineties shared with her. She now transmits this in word and practice to children at her own community's sugar bush despite resistance from another adult. And, Charlotte, who has been inspired by Winona LaDuke's knowledges and strategy for Anishinaabeg land and water protection, is motivated to protect Anishinaabeg lands, obtain land from the tribe intended for her and her family, and revitalize land-based practices and cultural knowledges and practices. Charlotte's energy, passion and motivation persevere despite social dynamics in her community in the area of gender, power, and worldview which create barriers.

Family Labour, Governance, Gender

Memories from those over sixty, including oral histories passed to them, show that sugar bushing is predominantly carried out through family labour. Consistently, labour is discussed in terms of gender and age; and, it is organized around a nuclear and extended family structure. Across generations, gender is represented along the gender binary of women and men; ages range from toddlers to grandparents.

In regards to the particular family structure, family, in these conversations, is described in human-centric ways. This a departure from historical organization and meanings of labour and skills that occurred in accordance with odoodemiwin (clan system). Given odoodemiwin practices or memories regarding clan-based governance, organization of labour, and associated ceremonial responsibilities were not mentioned, I prompted about this topic. When asked about clans, Jacqui said organization of sugar bushes was associated with family households.[625] Similarly, Amy said that families and extended families were involved with the harvest. Although she had not heard of anything in particular regarding clans, it made sense to her that there would be; she said that families and extended families would mean there were multiple clans working the

[625] Jacqui LaValley, 19.

sugar bush.[626] Neither Barbara nor Charlotte had heard about clan relationalities with sugarbushes but Charlotte indicated that there are people in her community that practice clan governance in land-protection camps (i.e. anti-mining resistance at Eagle's Rock).[627]

Tessa indicated that she did not know about, or hear of anything, in regard to this subject. She did state that Ojibway seem to have different methods for transmitting clans. One method is through the paternal line and the other is through the maternal line, the later method for which she indicated the sources that inform this.[628] Although he didn't elaborate on the relationship between the sugar bush and clans systems specifically, Lewis said he thought there was a connection between the two and that "the clan system is essential. Like I said, the grandmothers were the ones that followed that…"[629] Describing this earlier in our conversation, he said,

> One of the gathering places called Vermillion River which is this side of Whitefish Lake [place name unclear]…[w]hen I was a child that's when blueberry season took place. The whole river was an Indian camp all the way up the river. … Each family had a place along the river. That's when the grandmothers would get together and say, with another grandmother, and say, "So long as [they don't] belong to the same clan". She says, "I want to arrange a marriage between your first born grandson and first born granddaughter." That's how my grandfather was married. .So that was law. That was expected by the grandmothers. That was their role: make sure the blood is good. You're brining new blood in here. That was it. That's all there is to it. Those matches were made. So [that was] woman's role and also woman's role in what can be exchanged; which goods can be exchanged for maple sugar. How much maple sugar can be used, how much maple syrup can be used.[630]

While Lewis did not speak specifically about clan associations with the sugar bush, he did talk about the responsibilities with his own clan as well as how grandmothers governed marriages between clans vis-à-vis pre-arrangement. In association with this topic of clans and grandmother's overseeing integrity of marriages

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[626] Amy McCoy Sayers, 11.

[627] Barbara Wall, 7; and Charlotte Loonsfoot, 22.

[628] Regarding the maternal line, this comes from an Ojibway person from Wisconsin who said in his community the clans run through the mother's lines. Tessa also noted a book, *People of the Three Fires* (c.1980s), that documented clans as being through the maternal line. Tessa Reed, 12-13.

[629] Lewis Debassige, 25.

[630] Ibid., 7.

which were organized through clans, Lewis included that woman were in charge of exchange of maple sugar and syrup.[631]

Gidigaa Migisi discussed how clan responsibilities in his community has been absent for some time:

> Even the old guys were born in the 1800s, they didn't talk about clan responsibilities. What they talked about, what they would say is that certain areas of the lake—"That's where the Whetung family hunted" or that the Taylor's hunted Sandy Creek up into Sandy Lake over into Bald Lake. That kind of stuff, that's what they would say. Now I don't know whether or not if they were thinking clans. All I would say is that they [Taylors] were nigigwag, otters. I know there would have been because of my own seeking that information that there would have been clan responsibilities around that and that there would have been songs sung around that. The only one I remember is the women singing the manoomin [wild rice] song and it was like a lullaby.[632]

Giving some indication of processes that were at play that diminished or suppressed Anishinaabeg knowledges and practices was the unspoken sense that "you don't teach the kids this, you encourage them to go and get the white man's education."[633] Gidigaa Migisi said the womxn, like Mary Jane, knew these songs. When he sought out why these songs were not being sung he went to his mother, Amelia Williams. She shared with him that she herself was not taught these songs and said,

> [Mary Jane] knows those songs but … because it's shunned, she won't sing them to you unless she's drinking. If you go listen to her when she's drinking she will sing them to herself.[634]

This is poignant series of exchanges and illuminations between Anishinaabeg across generations and between Anishinaabeg womxn of the same age and contextual experiences regarding the loss, resistance, and desire for cultural ways and knowledges which were specifically targeted for extinguishment by settler and settler state society.

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[631] The topic of womxn's role in the exchange of maple sugar is likely related is the topic of production of large quantities of maple sugar (50, 000 pounds per season in M'Chigeeng community alone), export out of the ports, regulation by Indian Agents, and it's production as a cash crop (3). When I inquired about the money and where it went, Lewis' detailed response revealed that the money made from Anishinaabe labour and products from their own lands went to pay for the services delivered by questionable teachers, housing, Indian Agent pay, bookkeepers, administration and missionaries who "sometimes advocated for [Lewis'] community but most of the time [were] also plants for the government." (15-16).

[632] Gidigaa Migisi, 5.

[633] Ibid.

[634] Ibid., 4.

When I asked Rick if he knew about clan responsibilities with the sugar bush or any families, he said,

> Well Bear Clan certainly had a lot to do with them because of their knowledge of the forest. …The village, of course, had a lot of responsibilities. Primarily related to the people within that context, social context and of course women played a very great role in that about maintaining the cohesive structure. Not only of family but of between families because of marriage and because of child-rearing and what we came to know was in great part due to their caring and nurturing. What they taught us. Mothers and fathers are our first teachers when we come here. And, while we bring lessons of our own with us, we are also teachers in a matter how helpless looking and what have you but we do by and large remain dependent on our families for the time. Yes, Bear clan were responsible for knowing about the natural world, the position and placement of medicines, where they grew, and caring for them and then came to know about the healing properties of them but other clans would be equally involved in sugaring because of just the nature of them. It was infrequent, it was always acknowledged that you look after your leaders well. If they were wise enough to be chosen as leaders, there was a good reason for that and it's hereditary and in many respects traditional Ojibway was that way however as things began to evolve and change, settlement changed many, many things. Settlement changed first of all, our mobility. We didn't, for instance, no longer had camps on the big water and in the bush for the winter like we used to and family groups going off to work independently in the winter to trap not only for food and sustenance and that type of thing, to fish; to keep in contact with the traditional family territory. So, the whole concept of clans is deeply rooted in that traditional lifestyle of moving with the seasons and responding to scarcity and migrations and runs and stop-over points for ducks and geese. All of those things that are like calendars in their traditional lifestyle for which clans were a very important part of mediating all of those things, all of the clans were involved in those types of things. The arts, the loss of the deer clan is another huge story about transgression of natural law and the almost the retribution of setting things right through the loss of the whole clan…. And cranes you know for the leadership qualities that they provided. Often times, all of these things are evolved like rather, I rather view it this way: that rather than insofar as many things were yes mediated with responsibilities and duties, certain things were also mediated by the necessity of cooperating like, like inter-clan decisions and in the sugar bush while I'm not specifically acquainted with one's clans particular involvement except the Bear clan which I've chosen to investigate because of my personnel relationship to it but there were also decisions to be made in many things like settling disputes for which leaders were brought into play. So, they were all involved in things like, who owns that sugar bush or which community does that belong to. …If you look at our basic and fundamental needs for food and shelter, good clean water and one that is not often mentioned, but I will say it, companionship. We need each other. And then there are certain people of good honest respected council you could go to, to receive your answers and if they were broad enough issues and concerned enough people they would have to be taken to the leaders to make a decision. It's my perception, at least anyway from my understanding of those things that those decisions could be involved in activities in the forest, particularly at times when it's really tough. You would need to have the wisdom of generations to get through it and I supposed at times when although we didn't encounter too much, the forest would be dramatically altered by anomalies of climate, pests, winter ice storms, floods, fires. All manner of things could change your fate or your outlook for the next season. You'd have to have the wisdom from somebody who has been far enough afield to say there are alternatives. So those decisions, they were made. I don't know who made them but they were

> made often and they were made for the benefit of the community because of the nature of the shared resource, one that's important to everybody and sugar was that important. I mean where else could you carry energy around in a little bag that would allow you to survive. If you had sugar, you had energy and with the little bit of something else in there you were good to go.[635]

Evidently, contemporary Anishinaabeg engage in the idea of clan associations with the land, and in particular the sugar bush, in variable ways.

While the majority of Anishinaabeg indicated not knowing what clan relationalities were associated with the sugar bush, or if there were any such relationalities, they also recognized the significant and practical sense in the topic. Rick however clearly indicated that there are clan associations. He linked this to his own research that emerged from his own personal relationship with makwa. His illuminations of makwa and the sugar bush resonate with cultural discourse in community, ceremony, and text in regards to some of responsibilities and gifts associated with makwa and makwa odoodem. It also echoes with my examination of traditional sugar bush narratives that associated makwa and makwa odoodem with the sugar bush, and womxn. Rick's discussion of makwa enters quickly into discussion of community and/or land and/or sugar bush governance. From his words, it is evident that in his memory and/or research, Anishinaabeg governance was very complex, flexible, dynamic and inherently capable of being responsive to various kinds of leadership, decision-making, and contexts.

As seen, querying the idea of "family labour" at the sugar bush with questions about clan responsibilities quickly evolved into discussions about governance. This in turn brought Anishinaabeg womxn's important presence in governance, the nuances of this governance, and the fact, as Gidigaa Migisi's description of Mary Jane and Amelia portray, that there were repressive forces that diminished knowledges about clan and therefore land-based governance and/or alienated Anishinaabeg from these knowledges. This discussion shows that repression or disruption of clan knowledges and governance impacted womxn in particular ways. Similar with the content in the traditional narratives in Chapter Four,

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[635] Rick Beaver, 10-11.

Rick indicated that, and how, makwa odoodem is associated with the sugar bush. Further, he portrayed a complex, shifting, and flexible form of governance that included clans, individuals of good council, and leaders which he described as having the wisdom of the generations, longitudinal life, and/or experience.

Presumably, these positions of authority, wisdom, insights, and counsel were animated by Anishinaabeg of all genders, particularly prior to the impacts of missionaries and settler legislation. Given womxn were specifically and purposefully alienated from the land, their governance and practical knowledges, as well as their specialized skills and authority in some realms, were diminished and would have been eroded incrementally over time. As such, what once used to be complex, dynamic, and flexible methods of governance and a process of seeking and administering council, which included womxn and other gender identities, has come to be governance that is primarily held by men, who are likely heterosexual and/or married, and in more flexible communities, mxn.[636] While this subject requires more research, we just have to survey the communities we live in, be they urban, rural or reserve, and make note of how many womxn are in positions of council, authority, or governance when it comes to questions, decision-making, expert council regarding all matters associated with the natural world. How many womxn are called upon to give authoritative input, insight, and expertise particularly in regards to matters of sovereignty or, territorial jurisdiction? Womxn's and non-gender binary Indigenous peoples' absence from these positions and processes are a clear outcome of settler colonialism and it's reproduction in Anishinaabeg communities.

Gender and Relational Diversity

Gender representation and gendered relations were evident throughout all of our conversations. All of the contributors talked about sugar bush memories, insights, and knowledges in a way that reflected the gender binary (i.e. women and men), heterosexual marriage, and nuclear and/or extended families. In

[636] An example of this is given later in the chapter.

terms of gender and relational diversity, memories of the sugar bush do not reflect gender or relational diversity. No family or community member was identified as two-spirited, trans-gendered, queer, or non-conforming; all identifications were as woman or man; no relational orientations other than heterosexual were indicated which was noted through the kin markers of husband and wife; and, relational statuses were predominantly reflected as marital. Tessa noted her great grandmother as being married several times however two of her husbands died and despite these marriages, she raised her children mostly as a single mom.[637] And, Barbara and Amy did not frame Anishinaabeg womxn in terms of relational status at all. Given the absence of gender and relational diversity, I inquired about such identities/ways of being in relation to the sugar bush. With the contributors from M'Chigeeng, I also inquired about language that reflects these ways of being.

When prompted about gender and relational diversity at the sugar bush, some contributors said they did not know anything about this.[638] Some said that such diversity was, and is, a part of Anishinaabe life.[639] Despite this natural presence within Anishinaabe life, sugar bush memories were portrayed through the social organization already mentioned. However, when I queried this subject, several people contributed their insights.[640] For instance, Jacqui indicated that all the teachings she has are women's teachings that are called Thunderbird teachings; "[t]hey're like two-spirit teachings".[641] She elucidates what she means through an example:

> [W]hen you hear the Ojibway parts they say women are not fire keepers, right? And I go like, "But I'm Pottawatomi." I said, "I am a fire-keeper." … [W]hen Ojibway over here says, "Ohhhh. You can't do that. That's a no-no." Pottawatomi right up to the front. It's good to have both of those teachings.[642]

[637] Tessa Reed, 4.
[638] Tessa Reed, 19; Barbara Wall, 13; and Rick Beaver, 19.
[639] Lorraine Debassige, 31; Rick Beaver, 19; and Amy McCoy Sayers, 12.
[640] Despite not being related to the sugar bush in particular, it is important to include these contributions given the paucity of sources and knowledges that portray Anishinaabeg as socially diverse. It is also important for readers who locate themselves in non-binary identities and non-hetero relationalities to have barrier-free access to sources or knowledges that may be relative to them.
[641] Jacqui LaValley, 15.
[642] Ibid.

I interpret Jacqui's equivocation as reflecting what is understood as Anishinaabeg gender fluidity. Lewis reflects this as well in his discussion of hunting. In countering the idea that sugar bush work was womxn's realm, he said that Anishinaabeg mxn think they are "the hunters" however that is just not the case. Sharing his mom and nieces' skills as an example, he said, Anishinaabe women also hunted reflecting what can be considered fluidity in relationships with land.[643] Referring to navigating the waterways, Lewis said,

> "…some of the women that went across North Shore to Manitoulin, take the whole family with them. It wasn't the men. Men might perceive themselves as the big game hunters and all this but it was the women that…my mom did that. My mom went across by boat. And, it's not a very, could be very perilous to undertake…. She knows the prevailing winds and all this…"[644]

This idea of fluidity around land-based relationships and activities is echoed in the literature as well.

Tessa shared observations made at a ceremony in Bemidji, Minnesota where a mxn was a prominent ceremonialist. She said,

> What I was surprised at the big drums here is that one of the Chiefs is queer and that he was head of all of the ceremonies that I particularly see. For me I was really taken by his dress in that I thought he was dressed more beautifully than the other men and I really liked his shoes.
>
> [S]o I think he had on a pair of purple Converse and it looked really good with, he had a very like, a pink and blue-ribbon shirt on, very faint baby colors but he had on a darker, it wasn't coordinated but it was a purple beaded, circular necklace. I can't remember what it was called….[645]
>
> And so, I don't know how it came out in conversation with somebody else you know that he's gay and I was like, "Oh well that make sense" but I was still surprised that the community was—that he was out—and that the community was accepting of him, of his role. And, I'm happy for that but I was still surprised.[646]

Tessa didn't elaborate on her surprise but her words do reveal that there are social practices at play that made his presence in this ceremonial role surprising to her. Evidence for cultural social restrictions emerged earlier in discussion of sugar bush songs, singing, and drumming. Tessa said that she had learned that women

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[643] Lewis Debassige, 6, 9.
[644] Ibid., 9-10.
[645] This is a beaded medallion which is very popular today.
[646] Tessa Reed, 19

in that community were not allowed to sing hand drum songs and were not allowed to sit at the big drum.[647] As is the case in most, if not all communities, dominant or popular practices that oppress or restrict a particular group of people are rarely practiced in a way that is based on community consensus. Similarly, in Bemidji, there is disagreement with, resistance, and subversion of these restrictions. In relation to Tessa' surprise that a mxn was a Chief and head of all the ceremonies, this could be due to the existing context she was exposed to where girls and women were restricted to participate in cultural practices. In such a context, where girls and women are so restricted in their cultural practices, it would be surprising for a mxn, who does not reflect the norm, to be given the authority as a political and ceremonial leader.

Gidigaa Migisi indicated that in his community and in growing up, the subject of sexuality and cross-gendering was not heard being talked about. He also indicated that when he was young he wondered why one of his male elders never got married.[648] He said the subject of gender and relationality is particular to certain circles of people he has conversations with.

While Rick indicated that he was not aware of gender fluidity at the sugar bush in particular, he did say,

> This has been around as long as I can remember an acceptance of this and I suppose that's one reason why it's almost nothing to me, you know what I mean? It was the way I was certainly raised and having been acquainted with people who are two-spirit my whole life, I think it's an appropriate way of looking at things. Not only in rigidity of *pauses* in the way, an old anthropological view of societies where the duties were confined to this; and, we'd like to be able to understand [it like] that because it's a hangover form the scientific method where you like to compartmentalize things and not realize, that the minute you do, that there are edges which are harder than they need to be and that the reality is that it's not that way, it's a gradated presence that you inherit in life. Nothing *pauses* not a rigid role association. Yes, and it's been that way my entire life so I guess that sort of connection [I've] been familiar with…with friends and members of family and engaged in that way of being and not suffering censure of any kind for it. It's kind of a good thing. As long as I can remember it's been that way. [649]

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[647] Ibid., 16.
[648] Gidigaa Migisi, 7
[649] Rick Beaver, 19.

Amy shared the understanding and lived experience of being raised as Anishinaabeg to know and accept that gender fluidity is a part of Anishinaabeg life. She says,

> As long as I can remember, it's always been a given that, in our culture, there was more than just two genders. I don't know any specific teachings to sugar bush or even the roles. I mean actually I do recall a few stories here and there about roles in specific instances that come out of what, a place. I mean, in stories learning from the gifts that two-spirited people bring but off hand, I guess I didn't attach on to them when I was. I'm not able to recall what they were. …
>
> I've always been intrigued by the fact that it popped up as respected reality, culturally and then I see in real life—because of acculturation—and all the traumas we've gone through, all the internalized oppression, it's not really acted out with those, with that same respect and the way we actually relate to each other. I've always been struck by that. I think it's really important the work that you're doing and that all those pieces need to be collected and healed in our overall decolonization process.[650]

While gendered subjectivities and identities echo the gender binary, heterosexist relationalities, and nuclear family formations, I do interpret that some contributions could reflect Anishinaabeg values for, recognition of, or practice of gender fluidity in terms of labour and/or land-based practices. However, this gender fluidity does not mean queer or two-spirit but rather that within gender binary, heterosexual, marital and nuclear family worlds, men and women can and do carry out some land-based work that the other gender is typically associated with, such as womxn hunting. In addition, as indicated, Lewis did identify an Anishinaabeg way of organizing marriage that is organized very differently than settler governance of marriage today, which many Anishinaabeg participate in. Referring to the time period of 1812, he also discussed an Anishinaabe version of relationality and care that might simplistically be understood as polygamy (i.e. more than one spouse). The word he utilized to describe this was zhinoweyaaman and it refers to a process of ensuring that those without someone to help provide for their family (i.e. a widow with children) do have someone.[651]

[650] Amy McCoy Sayers, 11-12.
[651] Lewis Debassige, 25.

Making Meaning of Anishinaabeg Womxn at the Sugar Bush

Literary, archival, and living oral sources, as well as secondary sources cited throughout, situate Anishinaabeg womxn in relationship with the sugar bush as primary facilitators of the myriad gifts of iskigamizigan and sugar bush "owners". There are abundant Anishinaabeg and non-Anishinaabeg published oral and life histories, cultural productions, secondary, and tertiary sources that identify, or portray, Anishinaabeg womxn as organizing and/or carrying out the labour of the sugar bush.[652] There are sources that convey womxn with responsibilities of governance and/or control and/or authority of its harvest, its products, and distribution.[653] They show womxn as being the primary transmitters of this knowledge to children who laboured alongside them in all aspects of the sugar bush.[654] Traditional stories and cultural knowledge identify womxn as being spiritually aligned with this gift from the natural world or as having a special relationship with the maple trees. Sources indicate that historically, womxn owned sugar bushes in Anishinaabeg hereditary ways and transmitted them to their daughters.[655] One source suggests womxn may have gifted sugar bushes to womxn of neighbouring Indigenous nations.[656] In relatively recent history, methods of womxn obtaining sugar bushes, or land with sugar bushes, included U.S instigated treaty and, as seen in this research, allotment.[657] Another located Anishinaabeg womxn with maple sugar during a political

[652] See Nodinens narrative, "The Industrial Year" in Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Customs,* 122-124; Nichols, ed. and trans., *Portage Lake: Memories of an Ojibwe Childhood, Maude Kegg*, 1-35; Eliza Morrison, *A Little History of My Forest Life: An Indian-White Biography;* and Rogers, *Red World and White: Memories of a Chippewa Boyhood.*

[653] For a song, "In the Sugar Camp" recorded in the early 1900s from the Ojibway around the north shore of Lake Huron/Lake Superior area that conveys ceremony, possibly windigokahn, whereby Anishinaabeg mxn go to the door of wigwams, presumably the womxn's, and request their share of the sugar or risk some kind of action whereby they claim it for themselves if not given freely, see Frederick R. Burton, *American Primitive Music,* 223-224; and Elizabeth Hambleton and Elizabeth Warren Stoutamire, *The John Johnston Family of Sault Ste. Marie* (Washington: Hundley Incorporated, 1992), 18;

[654] Elizabeth Thérèse Fisher Baird's reminiscences reveal an example where class location suggests that this may not be the case for all children in terms of labouring with the women in their families.

[655] For Anishinaabeg hereditary transfer of sugarbushes through the maternal line, see Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 23; Landes, *The Ojibwa Woman, 127*; W. J. Hoffman, "The Menominee Indians," 288; and Reagan, "Plants used by the Bois Fort Chippewa" qtd. in Cochrane, *Minong: The good place, Ojibwe and Isle Royale,* 211 (footnote 80).

[656] Surtees, "Chapter 6: Land Cessions, 1763-1830,"10.

[657] Arbic, *Sugar Island Sampler,* 71-72; and Chapman, "The Historic Johnston Family," 13. These sources references the Treaty of Fond du Lac of 1826 of which numerous Anishinaabeg womxn were named as recipients of land. Ozhaacuscoday-wayquay Susan Johnston and her children however, were specifically named in regards to obtaining a certain section of land on Sugar Island at Bawating in present day Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Given Sugar Island was a sugaring site for Anishinaabeg womxn, being treated this land could have interfered with or displaced womxn from sugar bush places that had been worked by them through

exchange.[658] As shown, Anishinaabeg womxn produced or supervised the production of sugar in its various forms; traded it, sold it, used it to pay agents of colonization. They used it for currency.[659] There is specific evidence of a makwa, in supernatural, clan and/or protector form, having particular expectations of womxn in regards to this relationship with the sugar bush, production of maple sugar, and utilizing it to feast makwa.[660] As seen, there is a traditional story about a female bear clan relative utilizing the items of the sugar bush to advance strategies on behalf of her human-womxn relatives. And, worth repeating, there is also good reason to believe that Anishinaabeg grandmothers who teach the importance of super-natural beings at the sugar bush, in particular the memegwesiiyag, do so because they understand that as Anishinaabeg we area also bound to jurisdictional laws with the supernatural and make decisions for our families to ensure we are not violating those laws.[661]

In the conversations had for this part of this research, while womxn were admired, respected, and recognized in earnest for their participation in the family labour of the sugar bush harvest, they were neither associated with, nor attributed, this comprehensive breadth and depth of authority, material and economic security, skill, expertise, or special relationality. In these conversations, elements and echoes of the breadth and depth of the complexity of womxn's relationship with the sugar bush were rendered through oral histories of what used to be: a great grandmother owning a sugar bush and being wealthy; another

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inheritance. One source notes that Ozhaacuscodaywayquay had to pay taxes on this land and sold maple sugar to do so. See Soetebier, *Woman of the Green Glade,* 114-115.

[658] Corbiere, "Ninaatigwaaboo (Maple Tree Water): An Anishinaabe History of Maple Sugaring". This is a very interesting article whose perspectives, if put into dialogue with this thesis, particularly Chapter Four, would lead to some interesting trajectories.

[659] While there are various sources whose contributions portray the use and exchange of maple sugar as currency, the most explicit example I came across found it being utilized in comparison to gold, silver, and copper. The first production of sugar from the first harvest of sap was known to be the best and this was utilized to give to missionaries as payment to support proselytizing to other Anishinaabeg. While it is noted that an Anishinaabe man, a "chief" made the agreement with a missionary, it was an old Indian woman who showed up two months later with two baskets of sugar in hand to contribute to "the Missionary barrel for her." Others showed up after her to do the same. See, H.N. B., "Chapter 2: Early Days," 26. See also, Corbiere, "Ninaatigwaaboo".

[660] Landes, *The Ojibwa Woman,* 144-148, 173-174, and 176-177.

[661] Here I refer to Amy McCoy Sayers contribution and the nêhiyaw narrative about jurisdictional law, memegwesiiyag, sugar bushes, and womxn.

grandmother being given a sugar bush by her family; general stories of grandmothers having sugar bushes; some Elder womxn having cultural or clan knowledges of stories that were transmitted to younger generations; and in one case, an example where womxn were associated with controlling it's exchange. These examples contribute in significant and powerful ways to the existing sources however, on their own, the disparate nature of each yields a loosely woven, barely recalled sense of a phenomenon that occurred in the past.

In tension with the admiration, respect, and recognition of womxn's participation in family sugar bush labour was some explicit and implicit resistance to, and in one case, explicit rejection of, the idea that sugar bush work was Anishinaabeg womxn's "role" or "work".[662] The idea of womxn's centrality at the sugar bush was queried however, when I elaborated on research from which this idea was retrieved, this idea was not engaged. It's hard to know if this rejection was a rejection of the idea of land-based work being allocated to one gender, something that is in contradiction with an Anishinaabeg practice of gender fluidity which occurs in various contexts; if it was a rejection of womxn's special relationship, authority, governance, and security in this land-based practice; or, if it was a rejection of a reality that did not reflect truths or knowledges that resonated with contributors lived memories. In regards to the stance that sugar bush wasn't seen as being carried out by mostly womxn, one suggestion was made that this observation could be specific to that person's community.

There is some difference between the literature that signifies Indigenous womxn conducting the sugar bush harvest and in the contemporary living memories of Anishinaabeg regarding sugar bush work. There is also some difference between contemporary Anishinaabeg in terms of their consciousness about

[662] A similar sentiment was shared with me by two female Elders from Manitoulin Island who, in conversations at the sugar bush, rejected the idea that sugar bush work was women's realm. They stated that it was the men who carried this work out. While one Elder did qualify her statement stating that this may have just been within her particular family, a pattern of rejecting the idea that womxn carried out and governed this work emerges specific to this region and may indicate a possible research trajectory. I appreciated these Elder's sharing their experiences with me as it made me really re-think my biases, expectations, and awareness of the range of ideas that some have about this subject entering into this research which I refer to in my methodology chapter.

Anishinaabeg womxn at the sugar bush. Some recall oral histories that do echo the literature indicating womxn's centrality in this work and some reject this altogether framing it as family work. Historically, mxn were in and out of the place, busy fishing, trapping or hunting. They also participated as helpers with various aspects such as camp prep, gathering wood for fire, and gathering sap. This discrepancy between dominant themes in literature and Anishinaabeg memory or consciousness of womxn's centrality with the sugar bush harvest echoes, to some degree, a similar one illuminated by Child in her own lived experience with manoominike in her home of Red Lake Reservation in northern Minnesota. She writes,

> My grandfathers' knocking sticks have been a good lesson to me, a historian of Ojibwe ancestry, on the complexity of material culture and reading ethnographic objects. In this case, the knocking sticks offer an interpretation of Ojibwe labor history that is not so much an example of tradition but instead a story of Indigenous adaptability and survival. Growing up in a family where men harvested rice, I mistakenly believed men were always central to the harvest. My mother's stories about the Ojibwe work sites of her childhood—fish camp and the sugar bush, along with her own cherished remembrances of the Auginash family rice camp—contributed to my assumption, a process anthropologists describe as "upstreaming". I have now learned that the labor techniques and cultural practices of the wild rice harvest are more a legacy of our grandmothers."[663]

Just as Child thought, for various reasons, that mxn were central to the rice harvest when in fact this was historically the realm of womxn, these conversations show that Anishinaabeg historical consciousness about womxn being central to the sugar bush is varied.

What does consistently, evidently, and importantly emerge in these conversations is the fact that Anishinaabeg womxn were a part of the sugar bush harvest as equally valued laborers alongside other family members. These lived memories of womxn's participation in the sugar bush family work included all aspects of the work. This sometimes included references to things that womxn did as uniquely unto themselves including making baskets, sugar, and taffy and having certain knowledges. Based on these conversations, Anishinaabeg womxn are readily and easily legible as equally contributing laborer's in the harvest with male and child family members of various kinship relations. The majority of contributors are speaking from

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[663] Child, *My Grandfather's Knocking Sticks,* 190.

experiences, memories, and oral histories generated in their homes which by that time were reserves and reservations. In her examination of labour and family life on the reservation, Child researches her maternal grandparents', Jeanette and Fred Auginash's, labour history to elucidate the variable and shifting historical conditions that shaped the lives of Anishinaabeg between 1900 and 1950. Her research necessarily includes the resistance, strategy, and methods her grandparents and other Anishinaabeg engaged in order to survive the harsh conditions of settler colonialism on reservations. She says,

> In the 1900s, Ojibwe people performed their day-to-day labor in the midst of a catastrophic dispossession. A half century later, they were still working hard, but they were doing so under circumstances of miserable poverty that differentiated a hardscrabble existence from their former lives of freedom and economic self-sufficiency before reservations. … Despite their many struggles, "labor was both the site and foundation of Indian power, adaptation, and survival."[664]

Recognizing difference across reserves and reservations, Child's research on labour and its significance in the endurance of Anishinaabeg in harsh political times, no doubt is applicable to reserve life in Ontario as well. The emphasis on family labour in sugar bush work, and womxn's participation in that, may be considered an aspect of this kind of labour and its significance.

Within a contemporary society where everything is turned into a commodity and where everything and everyone is assigned a value and located into a hierarchy, it is significant that Anishinaabeg do not attribute valuation to labour within the sugar bush and, in these conversations, do not diminish the labour that Anishinaabeg womxn do. Given heteropatriarchal capitalism in Turtle Island does organize labour into hierarchies with upper class white men's "labour" being the most valued and Indigenous womxn's being the least valued, the fact that Anishinaabeg values towards land-based labour continues to recognize the need for everyone to do what they are good at or can, is important. Echoing this in a different context, in her

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[664] Child, *My Grandfather's Knocking Sticks,* 3; Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 4-5 qtd. in Child, *My Grandfather's Knocking Sticks,* 5.

interview on queering land-based education, Wilson asserts how there are no racial, gender, or class differences when on the land.

Despite this orientation and this endurance in equitable value of labour, the broader structures that shape Indigenous communities and Indigenous peoples lives are not undone or transformed by this persistence in attributing equal valuation of land-based labour. In fact, history, ideologies, and broader structures, such as modernity and those instigated by the Indian Act, do attribute lesser meaning to land-based work and attribute gendered meaning to this work which *is* valued according to gender. Essentially, these broader structures and forces do inscribe more value and meaning to mxn's work and less to womxn's. This is not unique to Anishinaabeg peoples. What is unique to Anishinaabeg peoples is that one, Anishinaabeg have the sophisticated land and water based knowledges that are thousand years old in the making and doing, which have allowed, and will allow, Anishinaabeg sur-thrivance; and two, Anishinaabeg have sovereign relationships with, and within, Anishinaabewaki. These two points are what distinguish Anishinaabeg from non-Anishinaabeg. And, they are the areas that settler colonial capitalist forces operate to transform and/or erode. In this case, we see how this has impacted Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush.

Related, conversations about sugar bush memories during the 1900s were entwined with the subject of land ownership which revealed settler meanings of land ownership. Land was consistently referenced as being owned by grandfathers (or grandparents), inherited from men, bought by men, or transmitted to men. Property ownership, like land, horse, and sleigh, was also associated with men. Further, in one community, men were noted to run the sugar bushes, and be "the bosses". This echoes patterns in other areas such as ricing. This historical, political, and social shift has occurred in the lives of other Indigenous womxn of other Indigenous Nations colonized by settler states. One example is found with Sámi womxn and their reindeer herding. Our conversations reveal that while womxn work alongside family members in the sugar bush as a matter of family labour, or perhaps even, community labour, mxn had, and have, the

material, economic, and knowledge resources required for this work. In one community, one contributor said the mxn had the authority in this work as well.

These changes can be described as masculinization of the sugar bush. As indicated in my literature review, this is a pattern that has been noted as occurring elsewhere in Anishinaabewaki.[665] If not masculinization, then "community"-ization or "family"-ization. What is not noted in contemporary portrayals is womxn's centrality in this place, with this work, or it's governance or the specific ways she's been erased from it through history and settler state processes.

Some contributors such as James, Gidigaa Migisi, Tessa, and Charlotte reveal consciousness about this shift and take varied approaches in making meaning of it or understanding it. For instance, James noticed that land tends to be moving through the male line. Reflecting on this matter, he stated that he is not going to question this and posits that perhaps something will change this pattern.[666] Gidigaa Migisi noticed a masculinizing shift in his own, and his community's, consciousness about spring camps. He noted that instead of these camps being understood as spring camps or sugar camps they are now considered muskrat camps; and, muskrat camps are known to be mxn's realm.[667] He also pondered the disappearance of sugar as a valuable product that womxn created. He compared this to how muskrat hunting has maintained its value but sugar has lost its value.[668] Tessa questioned how it is that her great grandmother had a sugar bush which is now moving through a male line in her family. She wondered if it should be moving through the womxn and if the patrilineal inheritance is a form of settler colonial assimilation.[669] Similar to Child, who frames the gender reversal in manoominike as being evidence of adaptations that were made for the survival of families and "the essential values of cultural sovereignty that gave meaning to Ojibwe life,"

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[665] In my own experiences with the sugar bush, I've observed and experienced dynamics where this masculinization also includes white, settler men who are either empowered to take on this work or who feel it is permissible to interfere with Anishinaabeg womxn carrying out their work at the sugar bush.

[666] James Whetung, 3.

[667] Gidigaa Migisi, 5.

[668] Ibid..

[669] Tessa Reed, 5.

Charlotte, who is dynamically reflective in trying to understand this shift, ponders the possibility that womxn gave the sugar bush work over to mxn to carry for us during repressive times.[670] She said, "

> …I keep learning over and over again that we were the ones in the camps, we were the head honcho people, we took care of everything. We did all the ceremonies and… the guys went out and hunted and we took care of everything so I think we, I think we're starting to get that back. …I think that the women gave it to the men to hold on to protect while all this stuff was going on and I think we need to have a heart-to-heart with the men to have them bring it back to us. You know what I mean? So, it's done in a good way. I don't think us women are like that to go take it.[671]

The content that contributors shared show that there is historical oral evidence of womxn's centrality with sugar bush work in the form of "grandmother sugar bushes". It is also evident that masculinization vis-à-vis material ownership, and in some cases, authority, has occurred. Whereas both of these patterns seem to contour the conversation, the concept and structure of family labour, in its transitory Anishinaabeg-settler formations, is the most salient form through which Anishinaabeg today locate Anishinaabeg womxn in the sugar bush harvest. Family labour, as a particular formation and structure, appears to support enduring forms of the sugar bush harvest and womxn's relationship with the sugar bush in the form of labour, and therefore anishinaabe'aadizwin. It also appears to detract from the masculinization of land-based practices through land and property ownership that has transitioned from womxn to mxn.

While womxn's relationship with the sugar bush has been incredibly transformed and her authority, expertise, governance, material security, and social-economic generativity associated with the sugar bush has been seriously diminished, her labour, as a part of family labour, affirms that her economic sovereignty, to some degree, endures through the sugar bush. This endurance of Anishinaabeg sugar bushing, and womxn's economic sovereignty through it, is not to be romanticized or mistaken for abundance. Another important contour in these conversations that was not emphasized, is the fact that, just as womxn's centrality with this work has been greatly diminished, there is very little value associated today with the production of maple

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[670] Child, *My Grandfather's Knocking Sticks,* 185; Charlotte Loonsfoot, 22.
[671] Charlotte Loonsfoot, 22.

sugar when made by Anishinaabeg womxn. Further, sugar bush work, as portrayed in these conversations, is no longer a systematic seasonal round carried out by many but rather an activity that peppers Anishinaabeg lives and communities throughout Anishinaabewaki. While there has been a masculinization of the sugar bush harvest where it exists in Anishinaabewaki, the sugar bush, Anishinaabeg relations with it, and the products rendered from these relationships have been appropriated by settlers and their states, generating a multi-million dollar market. In a twist of irony, or perhaps just colonization, the maple leaf is the emblem of a settler state that continues to actively colonize Anishinaabeg womxn's lands, waters, bodies, and relationships.

As stated, nuclear and extended family or household labour emerged as a salient memory of childhood sugar bushing days. By analyzing this through a lens that signifies the importance of Anishinaabe ways *and* womxn, we see "family labour" in a much more complicated light. In this case, family labour is generative in that one, it provides the physicality and bodies needed to carry out the harvest; two, it signifies Anishinaabeg relational resilience in varying contexts of settler colonial forces which relied on disrupting relationalities and kinship to advance its goals of land procurement, reorganization, and assimilation; and, three, it is a form of organization and governance through which Anishinaabeg sugar bush practices were able to persist. However, by interjecting "family labour" with questions about another element of family, that being clans, we see how "family labour", when not interrogated for Anishinaabeg-specific meaning, invisibilizes and/or eclipses Anishinaabeg forms of governance of which Anishinaabeg womxn are a foundational part of, not an option to be included or marginalized from. If Anishinaabeg womxn are not involved in governance of the natural world, it cannot be excellent governance.

Conclusion

Understanding Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush through living conversations is important methodologically. One, it operates as one of many dynamic methods to achieve a decolonial

approach in historical knowledge production which historically has relied on documentary evidence. Second, as a matter of Anishinaabeg biskaabiiyang research, it puts into practice the centering of Anishinaabeg oral histories, lived experiences, knowledges, and insights as expert contribution to understanding Anishinaabeg relationships with the land; in this case, Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush. A particular approach to these contributions was Kovach's conversational approach which is inherently relational. The power of enacting this relationality in the production of knowledge cannot be overstated. It is a living animation of decolonization and putting back together relationships and ways of being with each other as Anishinaabeg that historical processes have distorted.

In utilizing Anishinaabeg oral sources and relational methods to investigate this subject, a number of priorities had to be balanced which was difficult and time-consuming: the relationships and particular reasons each person were involved; travelling around Anishinaabewaki to carry out these conversations; the richness and depth each person contributed having to be "boiled down"; making decisions about what is included in the chapter and what is left out; continually engaging in self-reflection about interpretations, motives, and theoretical orientations; navigating difficult tensions in conversations and determining what of that, if any, enters into this chapter; navigating gaps in conversations that a more experienced, theoretically grounded researcher may have not missed and unpacked with gentle prompts conversations; and, finding the right balance between what Anishinaabeg contributed and my own theoretical analysis such that a conversation emerges amongst Anishinaabeg and is left with enough breathing space and possibility to continue. The most powerful guide for me in balancing all these matters was ensuring that what was most salient in our conversations was reflected in this text. I want contributors to recognize themselves and ourselves in this chapter; when they read this, I want it to resonate with them; and, I want them to feel critically, socially, and intellectually engaged in a conversation that they are willing to continue having with me, with each other, and/or within their own communities.

I enunciated and illuminated the particular social formations that the contributors reflected through their own social locations and relationalities as well as through their memories and knowledges. The heterosexist, gender binarized, marital, nuclear and extended formations that contributors reflect and portray are recognizable in two ways. One, as Anishinaabe formations and two, as formations created through missionary and settler state processes of colonialism and assimilation. It is true that Anishinaabeg do include human beings whose bodies can create another body and whose own body changes in that process. This is ikawe.[672] In English, settler terms, this has been reduced to "woman". For example, the word for October, is binaakawe giizis which refers to falling leaves; it does not have anything to do with "woman". In another example, Lorraine's husband Adam, who is an excellent sugar bush maker of sweets, is *jiibaakawe,* not a kind of "woman"; he is someone who is changing one thing from another as in what happens with cooking. It is also true that Anishinaabeg do include human beings as that one that is right there, standing upright, straight, sure, etc. This is inini.[673] In English, settler terms, this has been reduced to "man". So, it is true that Anishinaabeg recognized these kinds of human beings but the words "woman" and "man" were not the words we used. The meanings attached to them did not translate as "woman" or "man". Further, in regards to relationalities, Anishinaabeg also have various words for this as well. They do not just reflect heterosexual, marital, single, or widow.[674] Secondly, while Anishinaabeg *are* this ways, Anishinaabeg are also *not just* this way. There are various familial structures which include clans and there are other kinds of human beings such as aagoo'ikawe. That being who is one way but changes like/into another.[675] We need to remember that after four-hundred years of missionary, trading, settler, and state colonial influence that

[672] Fuhst, *Introduction to the Sound Based Method of Understanding Anishinaabemowin,* 172, 278.

[673] Ibid., personal communication, n.d.

[674] Dennis, "Two Spirited: being GLBT and Aboriginal."

[675] Ibid.. I inquired with language speakers about this word. None of the language speakers from M'Chigeeng that I consulted with had heard this word. However, Lorraine was able to begin to deciphering something by repeatedly saying part of the word. She recommended that I talked to a woman named Evelyn, whose name came up in other parts of this conversation as well (32). Stan Peltier provided a spelling and interpretation of it: a man who is gentle. For "agokwa" as berdache in a glossary see Morris, "Gifted woman light around you," 8. A word for queer, being "mah mah kadg" is also noted in another glossary. See, Blessing, *The Ojibway Indians Observed,* 196.

many words and understandings of our language has been lost. There are many who talk about old anishinaabemowin that not all can understand. There are many ways to be as an individual, in relationships, and in family structures that are not reflected in these dominant portrayals.

My intent in attending to this matter of gender, family organization, and relationality is to address the restrictive ways Anishinaabeg gender and relationalities exist today and to emphasize that these ways are created by historical and settler processes. I wanted to illuminate the ways settler colonial processes have altered how Anishinaabeg know our worlds and how this excludes so many Anishinaabeg who are not reflected in the realities portrayed here. This approach and discussion is not intended to resolve any issues of invisibilization; it is intended as way to write from a place that recognizes and takes seriously the fact that Anishinaabeg gender and relational diversity is foundational to the fabric of Anishinaabeg communities. Attending to these matters in this research, compels a recognition of the restrictive social formations we embody, live through today, and reproduce. In trying to understand Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush, it is evident that there is very little diversity in terms of gender or relational presentation. The majority of womxn located in the sugar bush were portrayed as mothers, daughters, cousins, aunts, grandmothers; as heterosexual; and, as married or in relation to being married. Further, gender fluidity was asserted by two contributors. One in relation to womxn taking care of the fire and another in relation to mxn not being the sole hunters in community. This prompts questions about gender fluidity in the sugar bush. Who were the mxn or Anishinaabeg who did not fit into woman or man, or ikawe and inini, who took this work up historically? How did they fit into the fold of Anishinaabeg life, or contribute to it? How did they have security, authority, or expertise in this area?

Finally, and importantly, in trying to understand Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush from fellow Anishinaabeg through their living memories, insights, and knowledges has revealed a number of important points. One, oral histories through the 1800s indicate that womxn ran the sugar bush, had powerful relationship with the sugar bush, or owned sugar bushes through which they obtained security

for their children even in the harshest of settler colonial processes. There has been a historical shift in this centrality and security. While some womxn continue to labour in sugar bush, and in some cases were known to participate in the specialized skill of making various forms of sugar, womxn are not recognized as being authorities, experts, or governing person in this realm. Their material associations and security has been eroded such that no womxn were known to own sugar bushes and property, such as horses and sleighs, were not associated with them. This de-feminization and masculinization of the sugarbush is a pattern that has occurred in other regions of Anishinaabewaki and in other land-based practices. While there are some explanations that suggest that womxn and mxn adapted to colonial forces accordingly in order to keep Anishinaabeg cultural practices and institutions alive for family and community, these do not address the reorganization of material, economic, and social realities which resulted in a severe loss to womxn and a "gain" to mxn. Nor does it explicate the underlying logic of how culture becomes lost, eroded, or diminished when womxn, who had always been carrying out the sugar bush harvest for hundreds, if not thousands of years, remain centralized in these relationships during the most colonially restrictive times. The restrictive, regulated, and punitive controls of missionaries and Indian Agents who mediated food and other resources to Anishinaabeg according to their own rules and idiosyncrasies, thereby controlling their "gendered" behaviour, must be accounted for showing these gendered transformations were not choices engaged in, in order to keep culture alive but rather imposed forms of colonial, patriarchal, and capitalist interests. However, the days of daily monitoring, regulating, and disciplining are past and Anishinaabeg do have the ability to correct these changes forced in history. There are contributors and others who do wish to see a return of womxn to land, and land to womxn, as well as a regeneration of womxn's centrality, and the benefits that come with this, in land and water based relationships. This orientation builds on decades of Indigenous womxn reclaiming these relationships and the knowledges that are generated from them as well as recent research across Turtle Island and beyond that is making space for this.

Conclusion: Following ininaahtigoog Home

> "…. these stories…recall the people and the landscape where they come from… They gather that world into the outlines of a mystery. They bring it close. The stories say this in words. They say what they do. They say: "everything is alive right here, a mystery is right here in everything. 'it's all medicine.' I think this is what…these stories can do, used to do: bring the life of things in, make it so you can see and hear and touch it. give it a face and a voice, take this care of it, bring it home like this. They can make a home out of the world. This is their power." ~ George Peequatquat[676]

> 1. indigeneity exceeds and is exceeded by gender.
>
> ~Billy-Ray Belcourt[677]

> "…the word indigenous means coming from the land. You know, we're not even a half a drop in immensity. We don't even know where the edges of the universe are so how dare we be anything but humble about our humanity." ~ Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory[678]

nidibaajimowin (A Personal Story)

This research started out as my M.A. in 2006. That project emerged from my rage and confusion with how contemporary settler economic worlds, and the cultures they create, treat Anishinaabeg womxn. That rage and confusion was bound to my sense of dignity and grounded rootedness as Anishinaabe woman in my home. I was curious about how the contemporary Canadian settler economy failed to recognize and respect Anishinaabeg woman's economic sovereignty and mediate, restrict, or deny her ability to sur-thrive with dignity, according to her own ways. And how it is able to do so, based on falsely constructed ideas of entitlement and a bizarre sense of superiority. As though in a sacred ishkode (fire), cleansing through searing heat, that pain was tended to through research and a sweet, life-giving morsel finally come my way.

As I was researching about why and how the majority of Anishinaabeg women have come to be marginalized economically in our own territories, I came across what would prove to be an example of Anishinaabeg womxn's anishinaabewakiziwin in a research paper. In her comparison of Indigenous womxn

[676] Peequatquat in Johnson qtd. in Dumont, "Journey to Daylight-Land," 39.
[677] Belcourt, "Six Theses on Why Indigenous People Die," 16.
[678] Williamson Bathory, "This Iqaluit artist is using her body to pull stereotypes apart."

in a mining town and a fur-trading town in southern Wisconsin during the early 19th century, Lucy Eldersveld Murphy identified Indigenous womxn's sugaring within diverse fur-trade communities. Her research included a sweetheart letter written in late March 1824 on Mackinac Island by Henry Baird, a young Irish lawyer. He wrote it to Elizabeth Thérèse Fisher, then fourteen, inquiring into what time he should pick her up to go to the sugar camp.[679] The camp he referred to of course, was Thérèse Marcott LaSalière Schindler's, on Bois Blanc Island.

And, there it was!

A story about a relationship with land that reflected Anishinaabeg womxn's economic sovereignty.

Being familiar with Mackinac Island and the Upper Peninsula (U.P.) of Michigan, and living in my "nearby" hometown of Bawating Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario where I was finishing up the research that brought me to Eldersveld Murphy's article and Elizabeth's grandmother's sugar bush, I imagined Elizabeth and her grandmother working in that sugar bush in 1824. I imagined those maple trees. I closed my eyes and followed the trees home. I followed them all the way through the U.P. to Bawating Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan and across the river to Bawating Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. I followed them to the land where my office in Bawating Sault Ste. Marie was and all the way north to Island Lake—my home, my backyard—which was twenty minutes north of the Soo. I followed them out to Batchewana Bay and back to Gros Cap and over to Garden River. I followed those trees right along the north shore of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron and down to Southern Ontario and into Quebec. I followed them to the east coast. I knew that if Elizabeth was working with her grandmother in her sugar bush of one-thousand trees on Mackinac Island in 1824, and this work was carried out by womxn and passed on through them, I knew this must be the case for womxn where ever the maples grew.

This was it.

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[679] Eldersveld Murphy, "To Live Among Us," 370.

This was at least one story of our economic sovereignty.

My research received institutional funding and acceptance by university Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. People were excited. As I began talking about my research in various places, it became apparent in some cases that not all were as excited as I was. When sharing that my project was about researching Anishinaabeg womxn's work at the sugar bush some of the responses I received, all from Indigenous womxn, included "Ew. That's boring", "You should just let things be", and, "It's not women who do that work. It's men." While definitely not the main response to this research, it did raise some flags for me about my own biases and excitement because I found these responses to be quite stinging. These responses however, also gave me important insight into a range of attitudes towards this subject and womxn's relationships with the land. I hadn't anticipated that there would be resistance or rejection. I came to realize that when we talk about anti-violence against Indigenous womxn, decolonization, and honoring womxn in our scholarship and communities, we don't all mean the same thing. I realized that returning to ourselves means different things for different people and the process to getting there, or even embarking on getting there, may be bumpy, perhaps painful.

This tension importantly launched me into a methodological crisis that has stayed with me through this research: is gender even important to Anishinaabeg? Or, if it is, *who* is it important to? And for those it is important to, why is it important and, how is it important? And related, how do I do this research if it doesn't resonate with womxn; if Anishinaabeg don't believe that womxn's relationship with the sugar bush is one source of womxn's economic sovereignty? Or, what if Anishinaabeg are committed to sugar bush work being mxn's work? What does it mean that my preliminary research findings, which situate womxn in the sugar bush carrying out this work, owning the fruits of their labour, controlling what is done with it, teaching the kids, and transmitting sugar bushes through their daughters are different from what living Anishinaabeg say? What does it mean when womxn resist a story about our economic sovereignty? When

Anishinaabeg do? When non-Anishinaabeg do? These are just some of the questions that emerged as this research unfolded.

These fundamental issues, as well as the abundant resources that exist and portray womxn as key figures in the sugar bush, contributed to shaping my methodology in different ways. It informed my research question; the questions I framed my conversations with other Anishinaabeg around; how I engaged in those conversations; and, how I mobilized my anishinaabe feminist interpretations. Importantly, I want this research to resonate with Anishinaabeg. If not in subject or spirit, then epistemological resonance. I want Anishinaabeg to feel invited to biskaabiiyang—to return to, or regenerate, who we are in a way that holds up individual autonomy and intelligence to decide for oneself, doing so in a way that fosters a critical eye to the settler structures that have shaped us historically and into the present. My research question, *How can Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush be understood?* answers questions about Anishinaabeg womxn's economic sovereignty. It does so in a way that opens up the subject for multiple interpretations thereby resonating with Anishinaabeg intellectual and ontological ways of being. The question breathes and opens up possibilities for method and interpretation.

Critical biskaabiiyang methodology, with an engagement in an Anishinaabe historical approach that sees reality in, as James Dumont explains it, three-hundred-and sixty-degree vision, was my selected approach. It not only engages Anishinaabe-specific methods which include particular kinds of sources, it required me to first really consider my colonial baggage. As a result, I reframed my question from one about economic governance to one about anishinaabewakiziwin. Because of the breadth of sources on this subject, I had to be discerning about those I selected. This research answered the question, how can Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush be understood, through three bodies of sources: published Anishinaabeg stories; settler documented ship manifests and published oral history; and, living history and memories contributed by Anishinaabeg. Because of my own intellectual history and evolving practice with

feminist and indigenous feminist theory and of late, anishinaabe feminist theory, I interpret these sources through an anishinaabe feminist lens.

Contributions to the Literature

Indigenous and Settler Land Practices

This research builds from literature that was examined along the intersections of Indigenous womxn and land in Turtle Island. Indigenous Studies literature is clear: land is important and it has many meanings. Mishuana Goeman acknowledges the excellent job Indigenous Studies does in interrogating settler conceptions of land as property ownership bringing forth indigenous conceptions of land. My research shows that there is a gap between this theoretical and conceptual work and contemporary Anishinaabeg consciousness about land. My conversations with Anishinaabeg show a prevalent consciousness about and orientation to property ownership. In particular, this property ownership is associated with mxn and transmission through male family lines. It may be that Indigenous peoples may have a philosophically different view of land, or did have a philosophically view of land, but in practice today, and in regards to the sugar bush, the orientation revealed in this research is towards one, land ownership and two, male land ownership. This is not to say that indigenous conceptions of land do not exist. It is to say that what emerged most saliently was the practice of masculine property ownership. Some Anishinaabeg womxn wish to question the practice of male ownership of the sugar bushes in their families and communities. In trying to understand this contemporary situation, one contributor wonders if mxn have been holding the sugar bushes for womxn. This way of theorizing the contemporary pattern of male title to sugar bushes and sugar bush work resonates with the practice and narrative of Anishinaabeg who "took ceremony underground" to protect these practices and knowledges from settler extinguishment. Further, there are mxn who recognize a pattern of sugar bushes moving from womxn toward male ownership and admit that they are not going to question this. My reading of the tone on conversations regarding sugar bush property ownership was one of

pride although I'm not sure if this is due to an idea about indigenous masculinity, social status/class or something else. More research is required in the area of property ownership amongst Anishinaabeg.

Some wish to know how it is that their grandmothers owned sugar bushes. One contributor indicated that her grandmother's family (in Canada) gave a sugar bush to her (c. late 1800s); another contributor would like to find out how her grandmother received her sugar bush; a published oral history indicates that one mother was allotted land through Dawes allotment; and, secondary sources indicates that, in some cases, Anishinaabeg womxn received land in treaties in the U.S., as gifts from other Anishinaabeg, or inherited them traditionally from mother to daughter. There is one wisp of story out there in the secondary literature about Mohawk womxn, Molly Brant receiving a sugar bush from the Mississauga. No doubt a nation-to-nation gift but one that was likely instigated and facilitated by Mississauga womxn.

A surprising and unanticipated result of this research is the place of supernatural beings in Anishinaabeg epistemological practices and worldview about sugarbush "ownership", or more broadly, conceptions of land ownership. As one contributor noted about her sugar bush work, she was taught by a grandmother sugar bush womxn about the need to feast memegwesiiyag at the sugar bush. She has put this into practice with the young ones despite some resistance from another adult. While she does not elaborate on the reason for this feasting or, if her teacher gave her a reason to do this, Anishinaabeg may glean insight about this practice from other Indigenous Nations. For instance, there is a nêhiyaw story called, "The Tale of Making Maple Syrup" which is a jurisdiction narrative. It tells of how a nêhiyaw family tried to engage in a sugar bush harvest in a particular area. However, after the husband has some difficult experiences with some beings out on the land he returns to camp and tells his wife about it. She interpreted his experience stating, "…maimaykwaiswaq; we must move away. This is their country no matter how long we stay, we will never have any maple sugar."[680] In this story, the womxn had the knowledge to interpret her husband's experience

[680] Nanipowisk, "The Tale of Making of Maple Sugar," 73.

and the authority to determine jurisdictional matters regarding presence at the sugar bush and her family's mobility as a result. This contribution and traditional story compel a deeper reflection and consideration of Anishinaabeg conceptions of land "ownership" and jurisdiction, expanding such considerations into the realm of the supernatural world.

Land Questions with "Political Heft"

Seeking to shift land questions to those with political heft, Goeman asks what is the work that we want land to do when we invoke it in our research? My research wants land and water to elucidate Anishinaabeg womxn's economic sovereignty. My research wants the sugar bush and the sugar water to return Anishinaabeg to ourselves, to bring Anishinaabeg womxn home. While my research does elucidate economic sovereignty as a relationship with land doing so through story, historical analysis, and living conversations, my anishinaabe feminist interpretation yields measured, complex considerations for each. Economic sovereignty is significantly more than land, having access to it, having the knowledge, skills, and social supports to produce and provision, and controlling the storage, distribution and exchange of the fruits of labour. Based on my research, it is about an epistemological approach to being with the land and spiritual world; about being in the sugar bush in more ways than just sugaring; about having the wherewithal, strategy, and ability to effectively negotiate social economic change while maintaining dignity and personal power in new conditions; it is about maintaining land-based practices while being able to utilize the fruits of that labour for entry into new social economic worlds (however it is not known if it is economically sovereign if that is accomplished through the exploited and hierarchized labour of fellow Anishinaabeg or any being, human or more-than-human, for that matter); and, it is about enduring labour within family formations.

Ultimately, my research shows that land and water alone cannot do any of this work if those who have it, can afford it to purchase it, or control access to it do not support womxn to also have it, afford it, or

have access to it as more than labouring bodies. Anishinaabeg must consider how settler notions of property and practices of property ownership have reshaped us and alienated and economically marginalized groups of people from inherent practices with the land. This reflection will lead to decisions about if this practice meets our visions or if this practice needs to change. Being engaged in anti-capitalist, anti-settler, anti-male-centered ownership practices regarding the little bit of land Anishinaabeg have access to within a global, settler colonial context is one way to work towards restoring womxn's economic sovereignty in her territories. If however, capitalism is a given, and Anishinaabeg do not see benefits in engaging in decolonial, anti-capitalist land practices, such as a return to communal "ownership" (where "communal" is not a veil for male-ownership or settler state ownership through the Indian Act or "trusts") and refusal to exploit and hierarchize, then another way to begin to return to Anishinaabeg womxn's economic sovereignty is to ensure womxn have title to sugar bushes, have the ability to generate knowledge of the harvest, and develop social capacity to carry it out. Regardless of the terms of land access and/or jurisdiction, Anishinaabeg, including womxn, must consider Anishinaabeg conceptions of land access, ownership, or jurisdiction including a consideration of, for instance, supernatural and clan relationalities and responsibilities.

Indigeneity, Gender, and Land

Vineyeta, Whyte, and Lynn, and Wilson advance the literature on gender and land through the lens of contemporary climate change. They do so by ensuring their literature review reflects LGBTQ identities in developing an understanding of gendered relationships with land which they argue climate change has, and will, continue to alter. The sources in this research did not render representation of Anishinaabeg who are two-spirit, and/or non-binary in relation to the sugar bush. However, this text does strive to prompt consciousness in the reader about the ways settler structures have transformed an anishinaabeg gender continuum and diverse relational dynamics to a limited gendered and relational way of being. It strives to accomplish this through the use of "x" in womxn and mxn. The limitation of this method is that "womxn"

and "mxn" do not include non-binary or agendered identities which I sense some amongst the younger generations may be striving towards.

Literary, documentary, and living sources predominantly portrayed heterosexual marital relations in regards to sugar bush work, with some gestures towards single womxn with children (i.e. mothers). However, womxn and mxn in Johnston's conflict narratives at the sugar bush and contributor memories of sugar bush labour echo what some scholars such as Buffalohead, Anderson, and Smith describe in variable and nuanced ways as shared and/or fluid labour in land-based practices. It also renders contributions from contributors regarding gender fluid presence in, and at, the sugar bush. For instance, when mxn take on work that is typically carried out by womxn such as child care. The only examples of gender fluidity given in this research however, were examples of womxn taking on masculinized land-based activities such as hunting. This could reveal an entrenched bias towards valuing men's land-based work over womxn's. This needs to be further explored in additional research.

My primary and secondary sources show historical shifts in the relationship between gender and sugar bush work. As some Anishinaabeg memories, stories, and secondary sources show, while this work was historically carried out by Anishinaabeg womxn and children in their care, attending to the sugar camp was a family and group affair. Mxn moved in and out of this space/place in order to fish, hunt, or trap. As noted in Johnston's spy stories, not all womxn were occupied with processing sap; some were involved in processing the animals brought back to camp by hunters and in rendering the animal into various products. Weather was noted in secondary sources as having an influence that determined each groups engagement with each activity. When weather altered the process for those at the sugar bush there would be more hands to help with the work of those hunting, trapping, or fishing and vice versa.

Contributors, published oral sources, and secondary sources show that there has been a masculinization of the sugar bush work in Anishinaabewaki on both sides of the settler border. This is likely concomitant with the de-feminization of land-based work and governance. Some reasons that contributors

and published oral sources noted for this transformation include restricted access to lands due to settler encroachment and/or attitudes of settlers towards Anishinaabeg, settler land purchase, decrease in value of maple sugar, and settler domestication of Anishinaabeg womxn towards norms of being off the land and in the home taking care of children, and wage labour. Settler values of patriarchy as associated with land access and ownership on reserves, as instituted through settler legislation in Canada, is a theory for this masculinization. It could be further argued that only certain men of Anishinaabeg communities acquired land as well given wherever there are rules of inclusion, there are those who don't meet them. As an example, one contributor north of the 49th parallel indicated that land had to be cleared for farming in order to obtain title. However, in his community, not all cleared land therefore they did not obtain land. Of those who did, eventually under the severe oppression of poverty, some sold it and in some cases, did so for alcohol. In the U.S., while the Dawes Allotment Act did not deny womxn land allotments, published oral sources indicate that womxn's sugar bushes were sold to settlers (likely male) who then turned these places into profitable businesses. Why would Anishinaabeg of any gender sell their land? One contributor revealed that her family likely sold their allotted land as a strategy to deal with poverty. According to another contributor, this occurred in a reserve context in Canada as well where land that had various types of timber including maple, were sold out of need, not for wealth generation. In a reservation context, one womxn indicated that she was having difficulty getting the lands management person to identify a piece of land that she was entitled to through allotment. This shows the difficulties that Anishinaabeg womxn today have in obtaining land they are entitled to due to internal processes within communities. Lastly, in regards to masculinization, the literature and films I reviewed also show that a cultural bias regarding man-the-hunter works to falsely elevate the centrality of hunting while simultaneously invisiblizing, distorting, and diminishing the value and significance of womxn's land-based relationships. This bias did present in the documentary sources and to some degree, in two modern publication of a sugar bush story.

While there is some debate about whether certain relationships with land were institutionalized or if they unfolded in more fluid ways, some scholars such as Smith, Todd, and Bodenhorn remind that gender may not be the most relevant lens through which to see these relationships. Spiritual gifts and associated responsibilities, skill and competence, circumstance, and clan relationalities are more relevant. However, contemporary indigenous-settler-global worlds are ones where gender in Indigenous lives have been *made relevant* in the last four hundred years vis-à-vis missionary, settler, and global forces. This has had detrimental impacts on womxn which is known due to gender-focused research. As such, because gender has been made important in ways that have been detrimental to all Anishinaabeg while problematically inscribing settler-defined privileges to men, examining both sides of the gender equation is necessary.

Recognizing the significance of clans in relationship with land *and* gender, Anderson raises an excellent point that the intersection between gender and clans for Anishinaabeg is an area that requires more research. This is an approach that weighs what is of importance to Indigenous peoples while recognizing and dealing with the relevant and necessary matter of gender. In my research, literary sources clearly associate makwa odoodem with the sugar bush and as being the interlocutor between Anishinaabeg and the natural world. “The Bear Maiden”, told by Pä-skiń at the end of the 19th century in Lac Courte Oreilles reservation, nuances this connection by intersecting odoodem, sex, and gender through kinship tie (i.e. little sister) with maple sugar. In the story, maple sugar is a valued exchange item that is utilized to successfully achieve various goals. Historical and oral sources, however, do not include discussions of clan relations of responsibilities in relation to the sugar bush let alone intersect odoodem with gender.

When prompted on clan associations with the sugar bush, the majority of contributors indicated that they did not know of any associations but that it would make sense that there were and are. In fact, this question rendered details about the relationships between Anishinaabeg womxn, clans, and clan knowledge which were associated with land-based practices. One contributor indicated that his mother told him that the immense pressure to learn the white man’s way resulted in attenuated practices regarding clan

knowledge and that his aunt would only sing clan songs when under the influence of alcohol. Some rejected the idea of clan associations with the sugar bush stating the organization occurred around families. And, one contributor said that makwa was associated with the sugar bush due to the relationality between makwa and the natural world as medicine. In this case, the sugar bush, as a tree, is a source of medicine, drink, and food. In this discussion, odoodemiwin (clan governance) was indicated to have eroded due to settlement; multi-modal human-centric forms of contemporary governance for "settled" lives taking the place of odoodemiwin were identified. The idea that odoodemiwin eroded due to settlement is conveyed in "The Bear Maiden". However, this narrative about economic-social change signifies that heterosexual, patriarchal marriage *also contributed* to the erosion of odoodemiwin. In this narrative, settlement and heterosexual, patriarchal marriage had particular impacts on womxn and females at the site of odoodemiwin.

That patriarchy, or androcentricity, and heterosexuality had an impact on gendered clan organization is evident in contemporary publications of Anishinaabeg origin narratives regarding how Anishinaabeg came to know about wiishkaabaa'aaboo (sap). For instance, echoing a theme in my literature review about cultural productions portraying Indigenous womxn as central in creation and origin stories, or as being figures with significant spiritual capacity, "The Woman's Voice" shows womxn of varying social locations as being interlocutors between the spiritual and natural world with specific regard to ininaahtigoog. However, in this story, womxn divest of this gift delivered to them via the spiritual world to an Elder male for them to mediate. This contemporary portrayal of an origin story reproduces the heterosexual, patriarchal way of ordering and structuring communities, erasing the presence of clans. Further, in "A Bear's Voice" women's worth and value emanates from her heterosexual relationship with a man who is recognized for his clan relations, which is makwa. The womxn's location within a clan system is invisibilized and her relationship with a man who would become her husband and father of her child is emphasized.

Social Hierarchies at the Sugar Bush

In her recent interview about queering contemporary land-based education, Wilson states that when on the land there are no hierarchies associated with class, gender, sexuality etc. Most sources interpreted in this research suggest otherwise. In "A Woman's Voice" womxn are constructed as divesting of the gifts with the natural and spiritual world to an Elder mxn, an act which is in tension with Anishinaabeg understandings of individual spiritual gifts, autonomy, power and responsibility. This contemporary re-telling of an origin narrative could be argued as portraying *and* reconstructing a hierarchy around gender. "Bear and Maple Sap" associates male heroism in regards to land-based knowledge and subsistence with heterosexual marriage with a beautiful woman who wishes to have children. Heterosexual marriages between heroic men and beautiful women who create nuclear families echo settler middle class ideals about ways of being in the world. While they surely reflect one way of being in Anishinaabe relational formations, this one model is significantly limited. Chapter four, "Muccucs sugar" and Watery Worlds (1803-1824) clearly indicates that in early-to-mid 19th century Michilimackinac, class was powerfully evident in the sugar bush. In this case, upper class Odawa grandmother, Thérèse Marcott LaSalière Schindler, "owned" a sugar bush of one-thousand trees in a context when, as her granddaughter, Elizabeth said, anyone who *could* have a sugar bush did. This indicates that access was limited, likely to the wealthy. Elizabeth described sugar bush work that was structured around a complex class system where an Odawa woman owned a sugar bush, hired men and women to work it, ensured her granddaughter was a part of the activities when it was time for festivities, entertained the elite, and where she and her sister enslaved a Potawatomie mother and her three children, at least one of whom was known to work in variable ways at the sugar bush. More research is necessary on the French concept of slavery and its impact on Indigenous peoples and the myriad ways this manifested in Indigenous relations. For instance, did Thérèse and Magdelaine truly enslave Angelique and her children or, was Elizabeth mobilizing this discourse for her newspaper and academic audience at the time? Further, *how* is enslavement when Elizabeth conveys affection, trust, and care for this mom and her

children? Were her Odawa grandmothers absorbing this family into the fold of their social economic security as a practice of marital kinship ties created by one of their sisters? Or, was it a practice of values and protection to look out for your fellow people in a time of flux? The existence of gender and materiality is rendered through contributor memories as well. In particular, with the modern practice of male land ownership and inheritance.

Indigenous and Anishinaabeg Womxn's Labour

Focusing on the literature in Indigenous womxn's labour, this research contributes in introductory ways to a transnational understanding of womxn's land-based labour where "transnational" here refers to Anishinaabeg womxn's sugar bush work in their territories which are occupied by Canada, the U.S. and bifurcated by an border imposed by these settler states. While not a focused analysis on the ways transnationality operates or is engaged, the relevance of this subject was evident. For instance, I became aware of a difference in the availability of sources and secondary literature on this subject where there are more sources in the U.S. than Canada. As such, I did strive to ensure a balance of primary Anishinaabeg sources between Canada and the U.S. Theorizing this difference could reveal something of relevance in terms of how settler states treat or signify indigeneity, gender, and land in different ways. For instance, how does the fact that the Indian Act did not allow womxn to own land and the Dawes Allotment did allow womxn to own land shape the creation of sources in Canada and the U.S.? The impact on Anishinaabeg consciousness regarding gender and relationships with land in each settler state might be an important reason for exploring this. Further, Michilimackinac and the archipelagos and straits it is a part of, is rich with possibility for transnational research on womxn's labour. In particular, for its shifting border and territorial interests between Anishinaabeg, British, and the U.S. and its land, island, and water geographical characteristics.

Feminist analysis of Indigenous womxn's labour was identified as one trajectory in the literature. Speaking broadly, I interpreted my sources through an anishinaabe feminist lens that attended to structural and social organization as well as anishinaabe knowledges and ways of being. This interpretation requires a flexible and multi-varied approach to interpreting sources. It is easy enough to identity how settler colonialism, (hetero)patriarchy, and capitalism or class are operating in the sources however, is this enough? An anishinaabe feminist interpretation must read beyond this "first round" or against it, in order to see what it's purpose might be. And, if and how, there is actual evidence of Anishinaabe or settler colonial, patriarchal, and capitalist ways of being in a particular context. It considers that perhaps both are operating and looks to context to further advance the interpretation. An example of this is evident in how I interpreted womxn's divestment of agency and power in "The Woman's Voice" , Odawa enslavement of a Potawatomi mother and her children, and the salient theme of family labour that arose in contributor sugar bush memories. In this way, an anishinaabe feminist interpretation, in epistemologically sounds ways that resonate with Anishinaabe ways of seeing the world, brings *possibilities* to light. These possibilities are not heralded as Truth or Right. But rather, as possibilities for Anishinaabeg to be introduced to and considered as Anishinaabeg individuals unto themselves who can then put these possibilities into dialogue with, and within, their own contexts. An anishinaabe feminist interpretation invites other interpretations and nods to Anishinaabeg intellectual engagement with sources from varied perspectives that tell us something about ourselves. But, like odoodem governance, it expects to have a seat at the table of interpretations and to have its expert considerations and interests regarding Anishinaabe life be taken seriously and recognized as a necessity to the greater whole. Finally, anishinaabe feminist interpretation recognizes that it gets deep at roots that structure and stabilize established ways of contemporary being. It recognizes that is yields unsettling perspectives, unsettling because it illuminates, interrogates, and challenges, settler constructed power and privilege that operates in its own ways upon Anishinaabeg and is reproduced through Anishinaabeg. It engages this hesitantly, as though in ceremony, recognizing that to not engage is less risky

and more comfortable but that if done thoughtfully and carefully, can bring forth its' perspectives in ways that Anishinaabeg are willing to consider. If Anishinaabeg womxn are to have economic sovereignty restored, anishinaabeg feminist interpretations are required consideration. Anishinaabeg feminist interpretations are not easy but they do seek to demystify what they do, and what they do, exactly.

In regards to Indigenous womxn's labour, anishinaabe feminist interpretation recognizes what is important to Anishinaabeg. In this research, family labour emerged as the most salient theme in memories of the sugar bush. Drawing on Child, family labour is significant to Anishinaabeg. In a reservation context it has allowed Anishinaabeg to persevere through economically oppressive times. An anishinaabe feminist interpretation however attended to the particular formations of family labour. It identifies the structure through which family labour occurs as being dominantly heterosexist and marital. This is restrictive and invisibilizes labour carried out by other Anishinaabeg who are not a part of such gender or relational ways of being. It also rests on masculinization of the material foundations of sugar bushing. Considering the settler colonial context and historical efforts to disrupt relationships, family labour was also recognized as evidence of relational endurance and as being an important structure through which sugar bush labour could endure. However, considering historical shifts from a time when grandmothers owned and ran sugar bushes given to them by their families in the late 1800s to the early to mid-20th century and today, when womxn were domesticated and mxn resituated on the land in particular ways, an anishinaabe feminist interpretation also sees "family labour" as a tricky veil that shrouds these significant shifts and what was once a source of womxn's economic sovereignty. It is tricky because in the present context, heterosexist, nuclear family is celebrated. To suggest that rhetoric about its generativity for Indigenous peoples operates to erase the fullness of womxn's economic sovereignty through what was historically their realm, may be unsettling for some. An anishinaabe feminist interpretation recognizes that family labour is generative, and how it is generative, *and* it identifies that it is problematic, and how it is problematic. How these matters get resolved in communities is a matter for Anishinaabeg to determine as they see fit.

This research introduces a new perspective to understanding the masculinization of land-based practices in Anishinaabe worlds. In her discussion of this shift within manoominike (ricing), Child acknowledges that the masculinization of this was likely devastating to Anishinaabeg womxn however she theorizes this change as one that was made in order to keep Anishinaabe culture alive. Thomas notes that sugar bush masculinization and mechanization has occurred in Anishinaabe country in the U.S. as well however, he does not elaborate on how this occurred or why. My conversations with Anishinaabeg in Canada yields this same masculinization of the sugar bush harvest in the early to mid-20th century. This masculinization was constructed through associations of male property ownership of sugar bushes that occurred through treaty negotiations, clearing land for farming, inheritance through the male line, and land purchase. Patriarchy can be theorized as the reason for this masculinization in most of these kinds of transactions. Patriarchal capitalism, which makes it easier for Anishinaabeg mxn to have income to purchase land in the 21st century than other gendered beings can be posited as the explanation for mxn being able to purchase sugar bush land.[681]

There is a dominant theme in Indigenous Women's History that shows how Indigenous womxn utilized their land-based labour in such activities as berrying or basketry to earn an income as a way to negotiate economically restrictive times in the early to mid-20th century. My research on Odawa and Ojibway womxn in the early to mid-1800s on Michilimackinac shows how their land-based labour was utilized to maintain and generate their wealth. One living family oral history suggests the same phenomenon. In a contemporary context in Canada where "land-based practices" seem all the rage, capitalist influences of marketability, particularly as they manifest through university institutions, may be an area of interest to track on in terms of how this shapes the reproduction of land-based practices and knowledges today.

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[681] This research does not address differences, such as class differences, amongst Anishinaabeg mxn.

Anishinaabe Methodology

The literature on indigenous methodology is rich allowing for a growing body of exciting Anishinaabe specific methodological practice. I build from and contribute to this literature by intersecting body of biskaabiiyang and Anishinaabe-specific history methodology articulated by Elders and Anishinaabeg scholars. Specifically, I add to the biskaabiiyang discussion, or rather make more explicit, an evident source of Anishinaabeg knowledge, that being anishinaabewakiziwin. I illuminate that part of biskaabiiyang methodology that requires Anishinaabeg researchers to identify and shed colonial baggage and share what that looked like for me and how this re-shaped my research approach. I incorporated the necessity of engaging in biskaabiiyang critically, which is to say that an awareness and assessment of, and engagement with, structural power that shapes the creation of our sources, the context in which we research, and ourselves as researchers, is necessary. Without this, biskaabiiyang research is at risk of regenerating our knowledges for use within contexts that still colonize us and whose systems are reproduced within our communities. Indigenous knowledges and/or cultures are not separate from the historical and structural world that, over the past few hundred years, has tried to extinguish it, integrate it into a multicultural or melting pot context, or reproduce it amongst us.

In terms of contributing to Anishinaabeg approaches to history, I attend to this abstractly in the text by incorporating James Dumont's idea of Anishinaabeg three-hundred-and sixty-degree vision. This is a concept that conveys a way of seeing the world in myriad ways such that "world" becomes "worlds" that operate on different planes of reality (i.e. supernatural and natural; superhuman, more-than-human, human). My research engages the legible historical in terms of linearity, dates, and historical contexts *and* legible history through story and the invocation to consider each body of sources as portals into worlds whose realities are distinct, connected, and not finite to the particular historical moment conveyed. Grounded in Anishinaabeg ceremonial and dream-time epistemologies, I enhance Anishinaabeg "worlds" approach by invoking Argentinian feminists Mariá Lugones' "word"-travelling whose concept attends to

negotiating power and social realities (i.e. racism) that impinge upon womxn of colour in the white dominant United States. This approach recognizes the social worlds womxn of colour negotiate and invokes "home-worlds" that can be travelled to—home worlds where she identifies the importance of love, joy, and play and generative relationships with other womxn of colour. I signify that structural and social worlds have shaped and reproduce Indigenous gendered and relational being through "x".

Contributions to Anishinaabeg (Studies)

"Following ininaahtigoog Home: Anishinaabeg Womxn iskigamizigan" generates, through a particular modern form of giikendaasowin, chapters of a story about Anishinaabeg womxn's economic sovereignty, her anishinaabewakiziwin. I do this by retrieving fragments of a story of her inherent and practiced relationship with the sugar bush; fragments left here and there in published stories, ship manifest placed in dialogue with published reminiscences, and living memories. Later, these chapters will be reworked into a story that is more recognizable rhythmically and aesthetically to Anishinaabeg. This story will be a contemporary one that reminds Anishinaabeg about womxn's inherent connection with ininaahtigoog, signified by their communication with her in her time of need for her children. This story will tell of how she honored that gift as brought forth that sap in her petition for help. It will be a story of how her fellow womxn supported her and also learned of their inherent and special relationship with the sugar bush. It will tell of how she is a helper and was helped, medicine maker, a see-er, a fashioner of weapons, protector of men, a partner, a mother, a grandmother, a granddaughter. It will be a story of her as wealthy and poor; enslaved even by her fellow Anishinaabe womxn and simultaneously loved. It will be a story of how female makwa clan relative protected her and looked out for her in a time of social economic change, used maple sugar to secure her security and told her how to not turn herself over to a new system. It will be a story of her recognition and knowing about jurisdiction and that there are supernatural beings whose jurisdiction overrides hers at the sugar bush. It will be a story of forced alienation from the sugar bush and a

story about what she and her relations do with that information. It will be a story for Anishinaabeg to feast our own home-fires; a story we can share with each other as we sit around our home-fires, accountable to each other.

I imagine in another world, if a council of Elders sent me out to retrieve the fragments of this story, they would just want the information in order to interpret it for themselves. Perhaps, a council of makwa odoodem would ask me to do the same, asking that I provide an interpretation through my knowledge as makwa odoodem. Makwa womxn might want something more nuanced. The one makwa clan grandmother I know, and who has taught me, would want an interpretation to be balanced and sensitive to the ways settler colonialism has impacted all Anishinaabeg in their gendered beings. Indeed, when I think about ever having an opportunity to share this research with fellow Anishinaabeg, I imagine a form of accountability: sitting at the fire with others and telling this story. It is hard to be an insensitive anishinaabe feminist when in such close proximity to your fellow community. It is easy to introduce and discuss beautiful, difficult things when around the fire with your relations.

This research and my interpretative lens de-mystifies feminist theory and shows it's complexity. It offers sticky-and-sweet strands of Anishinaabe life, in Anishinaabe lands. It leaves the hard work to people and communities to decide what to do with the perspectives rendered through such an interpretive lens.

Finally, this research delves deeply into a project about relationship with land and/or land-based practices. Like the pragmatic Anishinaabe who grounds the poet, this disrupts nostalgic turns to history and refuses utopic futures. The sources and anishinaabe feminist interpretation tell us that while Anishinaabe life, like sugar bush work is beautiful, it is not easy. Understanding womxn's anishinaabewakiziwin can happen in many ways. This research informs that process through literary sources, documentary evidence read with published reminiscences, and living memories. In doing so, it disrupts a forgotten story about Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush and brings to the fore why it is important to research womxn's relationships with land, a relationship that has been eroded and transformed by settler colonial forces and

entrenched within our communities. Such research can inform contemporary enduring practices, renewal and regeneration of historical ones, or the growth of entirely new ones.

From Contemporary Worlds to (a)Historical Sugar Bush Worlds and Back

This research embarks on a grand trip from contemporary indigenous-settler-global worlds that Anishinaabeg womxn are negotiating to historical and ahistorical worlds. It does so in order to retrieve a story about Anishinaabeg womxn's economic sovereignty by asking the question "How can Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush be understood?" Story in hand, it makes the trip back to the present and asks, "Now that we know something about Anishinaabeg womxn's relationship with the sugar bush, what does this say, or might it say, about life in contemporary society? What does it say about economic sovereignty in the present or what can it do to invigorate it?"

In 2009 I helped with my first sugar bush harvest at Algoma University in Bawating Sault Ste. Marie as a matter of anishinaabewakiziwin. As the story goes amongst Anishinaabe, the President at the time, Cecelia Ross had initiated a practice of tapping the trees on the property of Algoma University. However, she hadn't initiated this in some time. For some reason, she thought to get this going again and passed the task off to a coordinator of Anishinaabeg student services, Margaret Neveau who in turn, put a call out for volunteers. I was one of them. I and my colleague, Heather, helped with tapping trees and harvesting sap. I literally came to the sugar bush intent on following the trees home as a political act of decolonization and recovery of Anishinaabeg womxn's practice. I had no idea what it might mean for contemporary economic sovereignty. I just knew that I needed this in my body and I needed to move my body in the rhythms of those old time Anishinaabeg womxn. Ten years, eight sugar bush seasons of working at the boiling place in Anishinaabewaki, and one thesis later I am left with some questions: Does, or will, anishinaabewakiziwin work in an indigenous-global-settler society whose economic paradigm is akin to windigo-ism? Where everything old is new and commodifiable? Will it work for womxn in communities entrenched in four

hundred years of patriarchal, marital, heterosexist, capitalist formations and attitudes, and where masculinization of the sugar bush has occurred over the last several decades? Do womxn have the money to buy sugar bushes and the materials to do this work even if they wanted to? Do they have the support to do so if they want it? Or, rather, who are the womxn who will have the support? Who will not be supported? Do womxn have the knowledges to carry out this work? How can this time intensive work be carried out in a capitalist society?

An anishinaabe feminist interpretation of sources has created a thesis that rejects nostalgic, utopic returns to the past and, my lived experiences deny a recreation of a romantic present in regards to returning to the land. What of the future? My personal experience tells me that womxn's return to spaces that were once theirs, but are now transformed through settler colonial expectations, have become masculinized, and are inscribed with, and animated by, capitalist interests held by all humans, is rife with problems. The sugar bush as a contemporary breathing hole itself needs breathing holes. Those can be found in the quiet trails gathering sap, hearing the chickadees and boiling sap, or gazing up at the clear starry nights however, these breathing holes do not produce material security in a capitalist world. There are things to be worked out here within, and at, our own home fires. And, there are things to be worked out more broadly in a global-settler-capitalist society in order for womxn to be able to regenerate their collectives, rhythms, and cycles of land-based practices; in order for womxn to be able to live economically sovereign lives. Based on my research and my lived experiences, I do not know if the two go together in the present windigo-economic world. For now, where there was just intuition and fragments, there is a story about Anishinaabe womxn's relationship with the sugar bush made up of three sticky and sweet strands of Anishinaabe life, in Anishinaabe land. There are more.[682]

[682] For an example of more stories, see Appendix I, "Map, Place Names, and Sugar Bush Womxn, c. 1800-2014".

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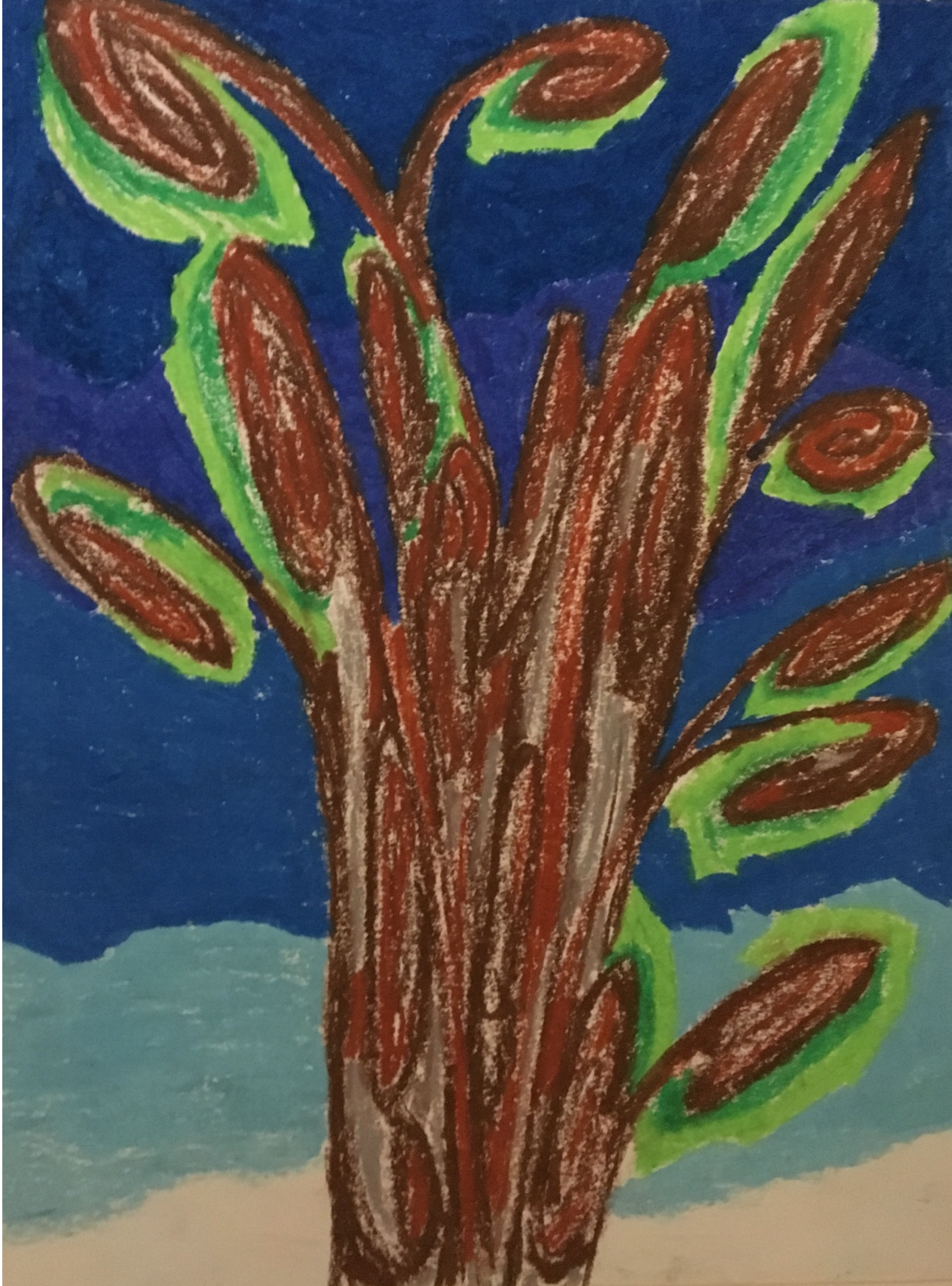

Figure 4 Painting: "ziibaakdaaboo" (sugar liquid") oil pastel, (namebin giizis [sucker moon], April 2001)[683]

[683] For more information on this image, see Appendix J: Description of "Figure 6 Painting: "ziibaakdaaboo"

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APPENDICES

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Appendix A: Description of "Figure 1 Sketch: 'enaatig miinawaa ziisaabaakode nibi kiindaasowin'"

"enaatig miinawaa ziisaabaakode nibi kiindaasowin" is a sketch I prepared for a first articulation of my research methodology in a graduate level class with Neal McLeod in the spring of 2010. He encouraged this approach to learning about my methodology. At that time, I was not very sure what I was trying to articulate however I created this sketch mapping it with anishinaabemowin and English words as prompts that signify the abundant action and knowledge occurring at and through ininaahtigoog during the spring.

The most significant aspect of this is that it was created after working with Gidigaa Migisi Doug Williams for several months as a matter of an Indigenous Knowledges class that had started in September 2009. Mark Dockstator, who was co-instructor for the class with Skahendowenah Swamp, had asked myself and my two cohort members what Indigenous knowledges meant to us and what was it that we wanted to do in this class that would teach us about Indigenous knowledges. He asked us to make a list of things. I immediately made a list of things that I wanted to do on the land and to learn how to do that in an Anishinaabe way. The number one thing I listed was to learn how to snare a rabbit which was followed by fishing, etc. Probing deeper thinking, Mark asked what was "Indigenous knowledge" about snaring a rabbit. In response to my request to do some land-based learning, Mark organized a few classes with Gidigaa Migisi Doug Williams. We went fishing, learned how to clean a duck, began learning about ricing, etc. As a part of this learning during the fall and winter months, I talked about my research and inquired with Gidigaa Migisi into Anishinaabeg knowledges about the sugar bush. This sketch is created from my embodied knowledges as well as things learned from Gidigaa Migisi. The word bgoji (sp?) refers to naturally emerging from the land and was shared by Shirley Williams in one of our methodology classes.

Appendix B: “maajiimaadiziwin: at the sugar bush (2013)”

this is not a jazz tune
rap, rock, or riff;
a tat-a-tap tapping of
cedar sticks knocking

this is the rhythm & go of
anishinaabewaki ziigwaning
(anishinaabe earth at spring)
the creaking of mitigoog (trees)
sway
the cawing of aandegag (crows)
caw
cracking of mikwam (ice) to
& fro
crunchy goon (snow) and drip-
to-the-drop of wiishkaabaaboo
(maple sap) flow

this is not the push
& pull of pen on paper
or poles harvesting rice
or fish; not a tradish
-ional or jingle. this is the
long time gather and haul
of sugar water, maple sap,
wiishkaabaaboo
the stand up and walk
visit and talk
the boiling
and toiling
in Hir ziigwan
manidoowin (ceremony)

this is the all night&day
sifting of nibi, lifting hirself up
to new life in trees,
we don’t even have to say “please”
this is Us, cajoling hir
with love into ziinsaabaakwad
for bimaadiziwin (life)

this is not the smell

of urban miijim (food)
being cooked, giigoonhsag
(fish) being hooked, or fry
bread frying, the smell of
boiling lakes coming through
manoomin in my kitchen
this is the smell of
brilliant nights alight with
chi ogimaa & odjig
anungoonhsag (chief
and fisher constellations),
fresh, frosty mornings
& daytimes warming
up, the smell of ziigwan
coming & biboon (winter)
leaving, of ishkode (fire)
burning & asemaa laid,
asemaa laid
asemaa laid
and prayed,
from wiishkaaboo
to ziigamide (syrup)
ziisaabaakwad and naase'igan
sweet life

this is not the look
of down and trodden,
lost or forgotten.
this is the look of
Anishinaabe minobimaadiziwin
(our good life)
Anishinaabe giikendaasowin
(how we know)
anishinaabe'aadiziwin
(our culture)

the look of moving life
from a long time ago
to a long time ahead

through all kinds of seasons

for all kinds of reasons,

this is the look
of one sticky & sweet strand
of Anishinaabeg life

in Anishinaabe land

this is maajiimaadiziwin,
iskamiziganing (moving life
at the sugar bush), for
manidooyag, wiin dinewemag
amiinawaa Anishinaabeg—the spirits,
our relatives, the people;

this is the look
of Anishinaabe life
in Anishinaabe land,
forever
& ever

pane shena[684]

[684] "I wrote this poem on commission for Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan and created it with the energy, spirit, and beats that I've come to know are characteristic of iskigamizigan specifically, and Anishinaabe life, generally. In exchange for creating it, I received a pound of ziinzaabaakwad (maple sugar), a brain-tanned deer hide, and a CD on ash basket making—all made by Pottawatomi Anishinaabeg and non-Pottawatomi in and around Match-e-be-nash-she-wish". Sy, "Through Iskigamizigan," 184-185.

Appendix C: Conversation Guide

DEPARTMENT OF
INDIGENOUS STUDIES

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Anishinaabemowin Historical and Cultural Knowledge Conversation Guide

1) Researcher Greetings/Thank you/Introduction in Anishinaabemowin
2) I have asemaa (tobacco) and this cloth to offer to you as a way to begin our conversation. Do you wish to proceed this way or do you wish us to just begin the conversation? (If they wish to proceed go to next questions; if they recognize this way the following will be said). This blue cloth, as I have been taught, is to recognize our Anishinaabeg ancestors. I also pass this asemaa to you in request to have a conversation about the sugar bush harvest. I'm interested in learning about historical and cultural knowledge of the sugar bush harvest and am wondering about dibaadjimowinan (a personal history), aadizookanan (a sacred stories), a nigamonan (songs), dodem (clan) responsibilities, and or visual symbols or drawings. I would also like you to share what is important to you about the sugar bush harvest in Anishinaabemowin. I may be able to understand a few of your words but after you are done, I will ask for a very brief summary of what you said in English. From here, I will ask follow up questions and if you can answer in Anishinaabemowin with an English translation that will be wonderful. Is this ok?
3) Nahaaw (Okay), so, please begin where you would like to and after I hear the English translation, I will follow up with some stories and then ask you if you can share something similar. Please, go ahead.

   Miigwech (It is everything; thank-you).

Bank of Conversation Points Researcher to Draw From:

- I have been working the sugar bush for the past five years and have been making maple sugar for the past two years. Can you share with me a dibaadjimowin (personal history) about the sugar bush in the language? Prompt for researcher: When did this happen? Where? What were the women doing (if not mentioned). Ensure English summary.
- I've learned that we can know our history through our aadizokaanan (sacred stories) or classical, traditional narratives. I've also learned through my research that there are numerous aadizokaanan (sacred stories) or classical, traditional stories about the sugar bush. Some of those stories are about how we first learned about the sap, how the sap came to be in the trees, or how the sugar bush was a place of safety for women. Do you know of any aadizokaanan or traditional stories that you can share? Prompt for researcher: Can you provide some details about where or how you learned this story? Do you have any specific instructions for me in terms of this story—how I use it, share it, or write about it? Ensure English summary.
- I've been doing a lot of reading of aadizokaanan over the past few years. During that time I've read stories that are specific to the sugar bush but also many others. Something interesting that I've noticed is that there seems to be a connection to the sugar bush harvest, particularly maple sugar, and a particular relative (i.e. animal). It makes me think that clan knowledge is embedded within our stories and that in particular, there is a clan that is responsible for the sugar bush harvest. Do you have clan teaching about the sugar bush or a

sacred story about clans and the sugar bush that you can share? (Ensure English summary and proper protocols are requested for using this knowledge for this research.)

- Nigamonan (songs) are another way we know our history and ourselves. I have a song that is recorded that I am unable to translate in entirety. I think this song may have something to do with the sugar bush. I would like to play it for you and here your thoughts on it. Is that okay? (If yes, play song off of computer.) I would also like to know if you know of any sugar bush songs that you might share or talk about? (Ensure English summary and proper protocols are requested for using this knowledge for this research.)
- So much of our knowledge was written down in birch bark scrolls, pictographs, petroglyphs, petroforms, or iconography (e.g. dodem [clan] markings). Show sections of Chapter 3 in *Books & Islands: Travelling in the Land of My Ancestors* by Louise Erdrich, that portray renditions of rock paintings from Picture Island Rock, particularly the image of manoominikeshii (the spirit of the wild rice). Do you know of any images like these that our people used to symbolize the sugar bush, or the sugar bush harvest?
- According to my research in both the archives and at least one aadizokaan indicate that the sugar bush was historically Anishinaabe women's realm of responsibility. The archives show that women "owned" the sugar bushes, harvested them, taught children what to do there, were responsible for production, storage, and dissemination of maple sugar. One aadizookan tells how it was through Anishinaabeg women's gathering together, ceremony, and petitions to gizhewe manidoo (the creator) that brought forth the sap so that the people would not starve. I've learned that men were helpers at the sugar bush until it was time to go fish or trap and their presence at the sugar bush was determined by the demands of the fishing or trapping—if the conditions were right they were away from the sugar bush shortly after opening it up and if the conditions were off they spent more time at the sugar bush. One sources says that in the latter scenario, the men were nuisances to the women because they would interfere in the work and they would also try to get maple sugar for gambling because they did not have enough fur or fish of their own for such things. Do you have any thoughts on any of this? The presence of women at the sugar bush in this way? Men as helpers? Sometimes nuisance? Any historical changes that you know of in terms of how this was organized? Follow up question: Today, we hear a lot about how Indigenous communities have more than just two genders--women and men. Some say we have four genders—those people who are male but not men and those people who are female but not woman. Other ways of describing these genders are men with a feminine spirit or women with a manly spirit. A more common phrase is two-spirited people. Do you have any knowledge of other genders in Anishinaabeg history or at the sugar bush? Do you know any words in the language? Or stories about people who are not simply woman or man?

Wrapping Up

- Is there anything else you would like to share?
- Chi miigwech for your time. [Offer honorarium and gift.] I will be back in touch with you within two weeks with a transcript for your review and feedback.

Appendix D: Research Ethics Board Approval

Christine Sy
Indigenous Studies
GCS

December 05, 2013

File #: 23169
Title: Ishkigamiziganing (at the sugarbush): reclaiming Anishinaabeg women's economy for Maajiimaadiziwin, Moving life forward

Dear Ms. Sy,

The Research Ethics Board (REB) has given approval to your proposal entitled "Ishkigamiziganing (at the sugarbush): reclaiming Anishinaabeg women's economy for Maajiimaadiziwin, Moving life forward".

The committee strongly suggests and encourages you to encrypt any data that is being collected that contains any personal or identifying information. Please add a statement to your consent form concerning this. For help with encryption services, please contact Trent's IT Department.

Please add a running footer to your consent form, with the date of Trent REB approval and consent revisions number (e.g., 01-Jan-12, Version 2), so that the consent form used can be easily identified in future.

When a project is approved by the REB, it is an Institutional approval. It does not undermine or replace any other community ethics process. Full approval depends upon the approval of all other bodies who are named as stakeholders in this research.

In accordance with the Tri-Council Guidelines (article D.1.6) your project has been approved for one year. If this research is ongoing past that time, submit a Research Ethics Annual Update form available online under the Research Office website. If the project is completed on or before that time, please email Karen Mauro in the Research office so the project can be recorded as completed.

Please note that you are reminded of your obligation to advise the REB before implementing any amendments or changes to the procedures of your study that might affect the human participants. You are also advised that any adverse events must be reported to the REB.

On behalf of the Trent Research Ethics Board, I wish you success with your research.

With best wishes,

Dr. Chris Furgal
REB Chair
Phone: (705) 748-1011 ext. 7953, Fax: (705) 748-1587
Email: chrisfurgal@trentu.ca
c.c.: Karen Mauro
Compliance Officer

Responsibility of Researcher and Supervisors

When you receive approval from the REB please remember that:

1. You are responsible for not deviating substantially from the methodology that was approved by the REB. If you do so, an annual status form has to be submitted to the REB as an amendment to the protocol stating the changes. Only upon approval of the form can you change the methodology.

2. You cannot start the collection of data or gathering research until approval has been given from all organisations vetting this application.

3. All copies of approvals from other organisations need to be submitted to the REB (preferably at the time of application when possible).

The tri-council states that university ethics committees should insure all researchers working with human participants add a statement to consent forms that provide contact information allowing participants to contact administrative staff responsible for ethics applications. We at the Trent REB believe that it is consistent with research participants rights and general research accountability that a statement outlining for participants that in addition to contacting the researcher for clarification regarding research, that they may also contact the Trent REB at the office of Research Administration with regard to any ethical questions they may have. Thus we ask that from now on all consent forms include a statement advising that research participants can also contact the Trent Research Ethics Board by either phoning Karen Mauro at 748-1011 x 7896 or emailing her at kmauro@trentu.ca.

Appendix E: Project Update and Ethics Renewal Approval

Christine Sy
Indigenous Studies
GCS

December 05, 2014

File #: 23169
Title: Ishkigamiziganing (at the sugarbush): reclaiming Anishinaabeg women's economy for Maajiimaadiziwin, Moving life forward

Dear Ms. Sy,

The Research Ethics Board (REB) has given approval to your updated proposal entitled "Ishkigamiziganing (at the sugarbush): reclaiming Anishinaabeg women's economy for Maajiimaadiziwin, Moving life forward".

A reminder that the committee strongly suggests and encourages you to encrypt your data that is being collected. For help with encryption services, please contact Trent's IT Department.

In accordance with the Tri-Council Guidelines (article D.1.6.) your project has been approved for **one additional year**. If this research is ongoing past that time, please submit a Research Ethics Annual update form, available on the Research Office website.

Please note that you are reminded of your obligation to advise the REB before implementing any amendments or changes to the procedures of your study that might affect the human participants.

On behalf of the Research Ethics Board, I wish you success with your ongoing research.

With best wishes,

Dr. Peggy Wallace
REB Chair
Phone: (705) 748-1011 ex. 7932 Fax: (705) 748-1587
Email: peggywallace@trentu.ca

c.c.: Karen Mauro
Compliance Officer

Appendix F: Ethics Renewal Approval

Christine Sy
Indigenous Studies
GCS
May 25, 2018

File #: 23169
Title: Ishkigamiziganing (at the sugarbush): reclaiming Anishinaabeg women's economy for Maajiimaadiziwin, Moving life forward

Dear Ms. Sy,

The Research Ethics Board (REB) has given approval to your updated proposal entitled "Ishkigamiziganing (at the sugarbush): reclaiming Anishinaabeg women's economy for Maajiimaadiziwin, Moving life forward".
A reminder that the committee strongly suggests and encourages you to encrypt your data that is being collected. For help with encryption services, please contact Trent's IT Department.
In accordance with the Tri-Council Guidelines (article D.1.6.) your project has been approved for up to **one additional year or the date you requested if shorter than a year**. If this research is ongoing past that time, please submit a Research Ethics Annual update form, available on the Research Office website.
Please note that you are reminded of your obligation to advise the REB before implementing any amendments or changes to the procedures of your study that might affect the human participants.
On behalf of the Research Ethics Board, I wish you success with your ongoing research.
With best wishes,

Dr. Peri Ballantyne
REB Chair
Phone: (705) 748-1011 ex. 7813 Fax: (705) 748-1587
Email: periballantyne@trentu.ca

c.c.: Karen Mauro
Compliance Officer

Appendix G: Consent to Participate Form

Note to reader: As per requirement by the Research Ethics Board, this form included a footer with the title of the project and the Research Ethics Board Approval date. This information would not translate into this document.

DEPARTMENT OF
INDIGENOUS STUDIES

1600 West Bank Drive
Peterborough, ON Canada K9J 7B8

Telephone (705) 748-1011 ext. 7466
Facsimile (705) 748-1416
Email: indigenousstudies@trentu.ca
Web: www.trentu.ca/indigenousstudies

Consent to Participate

This letter affirms my consent to participate in the Ph.D. research, "Following the Trees Home: Anishinaabe Ikawewag Iskigamiziganing (Anishinaabe Women at the Sugar Bush)" conducted by Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy, Ph.D. Candidate, with the committee supervision of Dr. Carol Williams (Lethbridge University) and Dr. Paula Sherman (Trent University) through Trent University in Nogojiwanong (Peterborough, Ontario), Michi Saagiig Anishinaabe territory. I am aware that this research reclaims historical and Anishinaabeg knowledge about Anishinaabe women's relationship with the sugar bush. Specifically, it reclaims and interprets women's work regarding the sugar bush and re-interprets it for present times.

I understand that:

- i) I have been asked to participate because I have particular Anishinaabe knowledge about the sugar bush, language, historical knowledge, and/or classical narratives and/or have an interest in keeping Anishinaabe sugar bush knowledge alive;
- ii) my involvement will be recorded electronically and that a transcribed copy of my words will be provided for my review and editing;
- iii) I will receive a copy of this transcript for my own use;
- iv) that electronic files and transcripts will be kept secure in a locked filing cabinet in Christine's home and password protected and encrypted on her personal computer and one saving device (i.e. USB key which will be secured in filing cabinet);
- v) that I will have final approval on how any of my words are quoted within her research;
- vi) that I will receive a copy, either a hard copy or electronic copy of the "Conclusion" of this research and/or a creative written rendering of this research for my own personal use (not for publication or dissemination);
- vii) that I may withdraw from this research at any time;
- viii) that I may contact her research committee, Trent's Research Ethics Board, or the Aboriginal Research Ethics Committee if I have any questions or concerns;
- ix) that this research may be used in future conference presentations, publications, creative endeavors, and/or research projects;
- x) that after the research is complete and published, a copy of transcripts and recordings will remain, with my permission, secured with Christine for her personal use and professionally referred to (i.e. lectures, public talks) within the confines of this research;

xi) that the possibility of archiving my transcript and recording at Trent University's Archives at the Bata Library has been presented and the benefits and limitations of archiving have been discussed; and further to archiving that, if I wish,

a. both a copy of the transcript (e.g. paper and cd) and a cd copy of the digital recording of our conversation will be submitted to Trent University's archival services at the Bata Library to be stored and accessed in accordance with their procedures which have been reviewed with me;
b. that I am aware that my archived knowledge may be used by persons accessing this knowledge in the future in ways that cannot be known at this time;
c. this will be completed no later than 5 years after the defense of this research at Trent University or within the requirements of a publisher of this research.

I wish to remain anonymous in this research ________.
I wish to be named in this research _________.

I give permission for a copy of my transcript and recording to remain secured with Christine for her personal or professional use within the confines of this research ________.

I wish for Christine to submit a hard copy and/or word-processed copy of my transcript and/or a digital recording of our conversation to Trent University for archiving __________.

I have received a copy of this form _________.

____________________	__________________	______________
Name (Print)	Name (Signature)	Date

Contacts:

Research Committee Contact: Dr. Paula Sherman, Committee Member, 705.748.1011 x 7940, paulasherman@trentu.ca; Dr. Carol Williams, Co-Supervisor, 403.380.1818, carol.williams@uleth.ca

Research Ethics Board: kmauro@trentu.ca or 705.748.1011 x7050

Indigenous Ethics Committee: Dr. Chris Furgal, chrisfurgal@trentu.ca or 705.748.1011 x 7953

Appendix H: Gidigaa Migisi Doug William's Transcript Section in Anishinaabemowin

The following is the first part of Gidigaa Migisi's contribution in our research conversation about the sugar bush which occurred in June 2014 along the shoreline of the Curve Lake pow-wow grounds. The full transcript is archived with the other twelve contributors at Trent's Library and Archives. This part of Gidigaa Migisi's contribution is included here as an appendix because a significant portion of this research was carried out in Michi Saagiig territory. I am aware, through Gidigaa Migisi, that the Mississauga language is quite strained. My inclusion of this part of the transcript is to support accessible language learning.

This transcript was produced by a paid language consultant for this project, Alphonse Pitawanakwat who is from Manitoulin Island and Lansing, Michigan. Alphonse is an Odawa speaker and educator of the language. This transcription is transcribed according to his expert knowledge of the Odawa language. For some reason this transcription does not include a translation into English. On the recording of our conversation, Gidigaa Migisi provides an English summary of what he said in the language and then carries out the rest of our conversation in English.

*

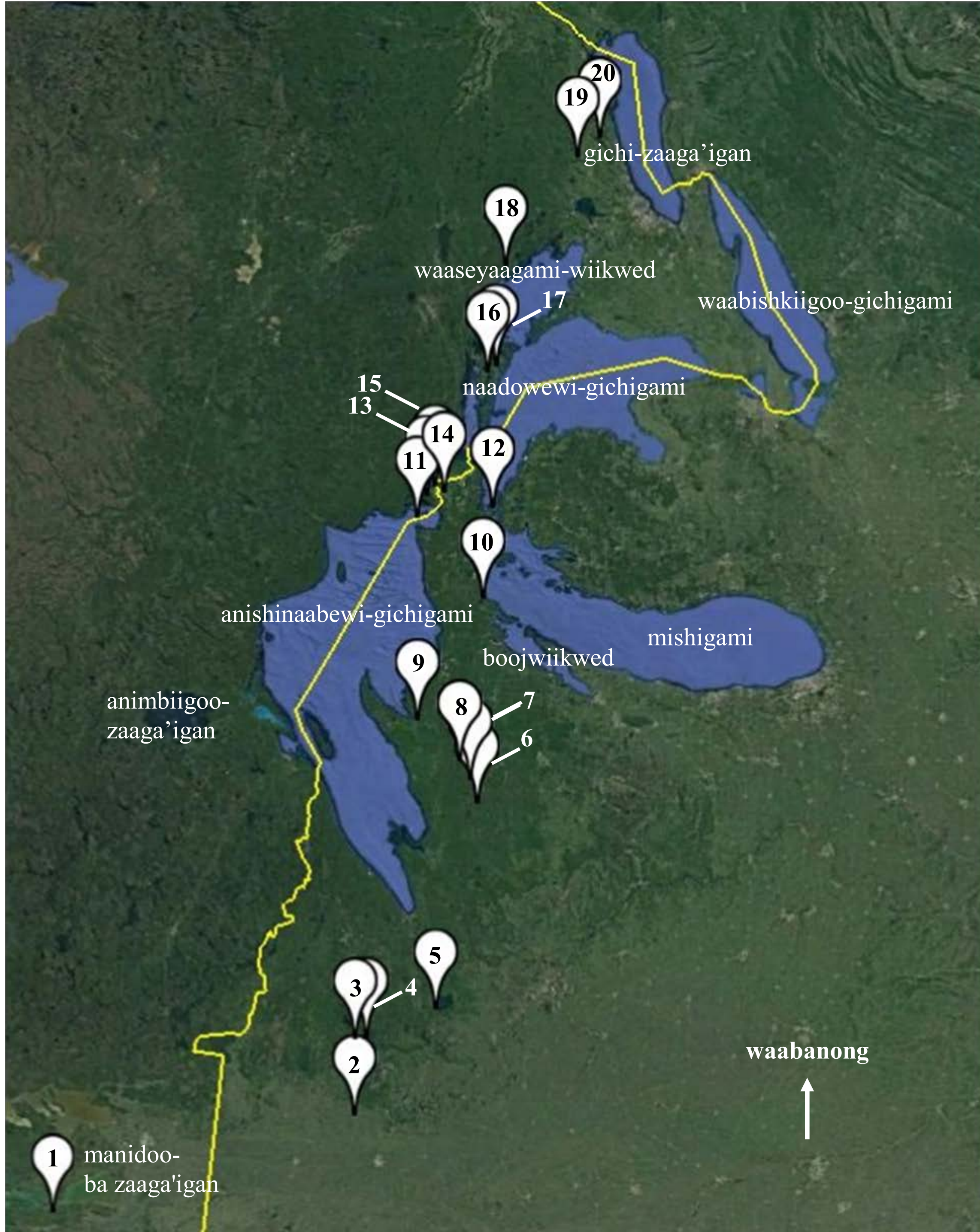
Wenesh Waa Gwejimiyin

Mii maa gii daadiziiyaanh Curve Lake. Makwendaan ow zhitowaangabane ziizabaakwad. Ngii baadakowaanaanig nanaatigoog miish maa miiwiziyaang mtigwaaboo miish wi gii-o –zamaang. Mii dash gii zamaan nanaatigowaaboo mi ji yaaman ziizabaakodaaboo (syrup) eshinikaadeg, miinwaa ziizabaakwad gaa zhitowaad merzha. Kaa gii-yaaziinaa'aa makakoon zhe'e ji ganowendamowaad dash gii-o-zhitoonaawaa dash wiigwaasa-makak. Mii kwa gaa zhi-ganowendamowaad. Niibina gii zhitowaad gitiziimag o-gii-zhitowaad ow sa (syrup) ziizabaakwad kchi-merzha. Nangwa mii eta go gaa go naa ntaa minabazasii ow Nishinaabe eshchiget, gonimaa gonaa nswi maage niiwin shkoden ndo-zhitomin. Mii o-naa'aak Nishinaabeg ezhitowaad zamawaad wi sa nanaatigwaaboo. Makwendaan shii go genii gii-gwiizensiwiyaad gaa zhichigewaapa Nishinaabeg. Genii go gii-zichigemin gii-zaamin wi pii sa gonaa gii-paa niigeyaang g gii-mookiid wa naa'aanh

Zhashk. Mii pii gaa zhitoowaang wi nii'ii ziizabaakwadwaaboo. Mii dash minkweyaang, nii ge'eh ngii-zhitoonaa niibiishaaboo wi naabijitoowaang wi sa nanaatigwaaboo,miish wi minkweyaang, aapiji gii minwagomin. Aapiji genii makwendaan gii kchi-nendamaa pii gii moowiiziiyaang wi sa nii'ii waaboo dash gii-zhitoowaang wi niibiishaaboo, kchi-nendaagwad. Nii'iing makwendaan, bangii eta go makwendaan zhitoowaad wi nii'ii sa gonaa geh'zhi-gibeshawad gaa zhidoowaad newe Nishinaabeg gii-o-zhitoowaad gii-o-miiwziwaad odi megawaakwam (megwaakwaa)baatiiniwaad nanaatigoog. Mii dash naa'aa wa Wiitam zhinkaaza gaa moowizad, Dan Wiitam maa gaa ganowendang wi nii'ii dawegamig odenaang. Miish iw gaa mii gewe gaa makwenmagwaa kina gaa-yaajigewag Nishinaaben ji wiidokaagod enjibaawaad gii- zhitoonaawaa. Eta gwaya, nii'iish dash wiigwa gii-dizhindaanaawaa mii pane gaa zhichigewaad nowonch gwaya gii-kidwaad paa zhaawaad ingoji nanaatigo gwaansigewaad. Mii dash wi eshchigewaad aapiji kina gii-miwiiziwag. Makwendaan dash wi dibaajimowaad . Mii dash wi mekwendamaa dazhimaawaad newe gitiziimag, mishomsag, nokomisag, aapiji gii-minendaanaawaa minikwewaad minwaa miijiwaad wi sa ziizabaakwaadwaaboo. Mii go maa gaa zhi-wiisiiniwaad mii go maa kina go gii-bigidinaanaa'aa maa. Wiiyaasing gego gii-toonaawaa minwaa minoomin ge gii-yaamiwaad mii ge wi gii-minopadaanaawaa miish wi maa gii-minazimoowaad minoomin. Mii ge baabiitoowaad iw sa ziizabaakwadwaaboo. Mii gaa zhi-ginowendamoowaad maa ezhi-wiisiniwaad. Ginawendaanaawaa gaa doodamiik geniin go pane baa-wiijiigwa waa ge Madden ge'e Makoons pane gii-wiijiigwaa mii wi gaa baa dibajimatowiwaad kina gaa zichigewaad gitiziimag. Kwewag mii aapiji gaa zhichigewaad gii-o-giigadoowaad, ninawog dash gii-o-wiidookwaa'aan ne'e kwewan ooshime oodi gii baa niigewog niniwog. Mii dash ge'e kwewog giishigoong gaa zhichigewaad dash wiinawaa mish niniwog gaa baa yaawaad niimwaawaad ne'e zhashkwan. Mii dash minik gaa pideg. Miinwaa binoojiinhag gii-baa-yaawag oodi gii-baa-daawog wiigwamesing. Mii maachtaawaad ji wiinaadaawaad nanaatigoog megewaatigoong gii zhinkaadaan, mii oodi gaa zhaa'aanh. Nangom dash geniin gonaa gwechtoon minwaa ji zhitowaan ziizabaakwadamigoons ezhinikaadegin gii-zhitoon wiidakoogwa binoojiinhag wii kendamowaad ge zhichigewaapan. Mii dash aapiji gichinendam genii eshchigewaad. Gii-

kendaanaawaa sa gonaa pane dash eshchigewaad, gaa dash doo-nendizii naawaa kina eshchigewaad zhitoowaad wi sa ziizabaakwad.

Appendix I: "Map, Place Names, and Sugar Bush Womxn, c. 1800-2014"



Map: "Following ininaahtigoog Home: Anishinaabeg Womxn ishkigamiziganing, c. 1800-2014" by Brigitte Evering and Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy (2018). Sources: ©Google 2018 Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO, Image Landsat/Copernicus, U.S Department of State Geographer; and, Charles Lippert and Jordan Engel, "The Great Lakes: An Ojibwe Perspective", *The Decolonial Atlas,* April 14, 2015, https://decolonialatlas.wordpress.com/2015/04/14/the-great-lakes-in-ojibwe-v2/

Icon	Place Name
1	Sugar Island, Gaa-gwe-kwekojiwang, MB Ebb n' Flow Reserve
2	White Earth Reservation, MN
3	Leech Lake Reservation, MN
4	Ottertail Point, MN
5	Mille Lacs Reservation, MN
6	Lac du Flambeau Reservation, WI
7	Partridge Lake, Vilas County, WI
8	Lac Vieux Desert Reservation, MI
9	L'Anse Indian Reserve, Baraga, MI
10	Omanitigwe'aawi Ziibing (Manistique, MI)
11	Goulais Mission, Lake Superior, ON
12	Bois Blanc Island < > Michilimackinac (Mackinac Island, MI)
13	Batchewana Village, Lake Superior, ON
14	Sugar Island, MI
15	Garden River, ON
16	M'chigeeng, Manitoulin Island ON
17	Wikwemikong Unceded FN, ON
18	Shawanaga FN, ON
19	Waawshkegemonki Curve Lake First Nation, ON
20	Alderville First Nation, ON

Map Legend: "'Sugar Bush Womxn at the Sugar Bush in Anishinaabewaki, c. 1800 – c. 2014 Map':
Place Names", by Brigitte Evering and Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy (2018)

Sugar Bush Womxn, Named

Ozhaaguscodaywayquay Susan Johnston
b. 1775 - 1840
Sugar Island < > Bawating (Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan)

Thérèse Marcot LaSalière Schindler
b. 1776 - ?
Bois Blanc Island < > Michilimackinac

Elizabeth Thérèse Fisher Baird
b. April 24, 1810 – Nov. 5, 1890
Bois Blanc Island < > Michilimackinac

Grandmother of Jim Thunder
1830s
Wisconsin (location of sugar bush not exactly known)

Nodinens Annie Jackson
b. 1836 - ?
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Wife as "Sugar Bush Helper" to Chief Buhkwujjene
1886
3 Miles in Bush < > Garden River, Ontario

Sarah Sienna Williams
b. 1893 - 1974
Omanitigwe'aawi Ziibing (Manistique, Michigan)

Mother of Way Quah Gisgig/Chief Snow Cloud/John Rogers
1896-1909
White Earth Reservation, Minnesota

Mother of Gay-bay-bi-nayss (Forever Flying-Bird) Paul Peter Buffalo
1898-1977
Bena <> Ottertail Point in Leech Lake Reservation, Minnesota

Harriet Manitowabi (grandmother to Lorraine Debassige)
(b. ?)
Wikwemigong, Manitoulin Island, Ontario

Mabel Flemming Marsden (grandmother to Rick Beaver)
(b. ?)
Alderville First Nation, Ontario

Two Un-named Womxn, Boy, Dog in Maple Sugar Sale in Town
1909
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Un-named womxn behind a pole
1909-1912?
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Un-named Womxn and child
1916
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Maggie Sam
1920
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Margaret Snow
1920s
Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin

Lizzie Young
1920s
Lac Du Flambeau, Wisconsin

Mattice Scott
1920s
Lac Du Flambeau, Wisconsin

Grandma Riel (first name unknown)
approx. 1920s
Batchewana Village, Lake Superior, Ontario

Irene (last name unknown)
approx. 1924
Batchewana, Lake Superior, Ontario

Mrs. John Mink, Maggie Skinaway, Maggie Bigwind, Um-be-quay
1925
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Mrs. John Dorr and Anna Davis Dorr
1925
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Mrs. Dick Gahbow
1925
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Mrs. Wah-boose
1925
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Lucy Clarke
1925
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Marjorie Beaver (mother of Rick Beaver, b. 1948)
(b. ?)
Alderville First Nation, Ontario

Un-named womxn harvesting sap with lodge and baskets
1930
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Rose Polar Martin
b. 1933
Lac Vieux Dessert

Two un-named womxn outside lodge
1935
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Naawakamigookwe Maude Kegg
1904 – 1968; 1946 photo
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Violet Weyaus
1946-1947
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

Mary Day
1948
Mille Lac Reservation, Wisconsin

nimkii binesii odoodem
Norma Corbiere & her mom and dad
b. 1950
M'chigeeng, Manitoulin Island, Ontario

waawaashkeshi odoodem
Lorraine Debassige
b. ?
M'ichigeeng, Manitoulin Island, Ontario

Lillian Johnson Rice
1950s
Partridge Lake, Vilas County, Wisconsin

waabigezhi odoodem
Mayingankwe Jacqui LaValley
c. 1950s
Shawanaga First Nation, Ontario

nigig odoodem
Elba (Kobide) Taylor Whetung
1960s
Waawshkegemonki Curve Lake First Nation, Ontario

Catherine (Nonoonse) Malcolm Ozhaawashko Bineshiikwe
March 14, 1911 – June 11, 2004; 1980 short documentary
Ebb n' Flow Reserve < > Sugar Island, Lake Manitoba

ojijaak odoodem
Wabanong Ikawe Charlene Loonsfoot
2012
L'Anse Indian Reserve, Baraga, Michigan

mayingan odoodem
Miskwemgidoo'ikawe/Amoo'ikawe Amy McCoy
2013
Sugar Island, Bawating (Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan)

waawaashekeshi odoodem
Moktthewenkwe Barbara Wall
2014
Curve Lake First Nation, Ontario

animikii binesii
Makadebinesiikwe Tessa Reed
Leech Lake, Minnesota

Appendix J: Description of "Visual 6 Painting: 'ziibaakdaaboo'"

"ziibaakdaaboo" is an oil pastel I made in 2001 during a time when I "did art" with a group of womxn friends in my hometown of Bawating Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. At this time of my life, I was a few years into learning anishinaabe'aadiziwin which included language, ceremony, and cultural teachings. My learning community was the urban Indigenous community in the city. The group of womxn I painted with were non-Indigenous.

This oil pastel reflects my first time pulling an anishinaabe word out of my body without checking a dictionary or asking for help. Sugar water is my first word-birth. It is incorrect however my sense is speakers would know what I mean. I had no particular reason for producing the subject I did, as the sugar bush was not a part of my life at that time. I must have just been inspired by the season even though we were in a city. Perhaps Mary Beaver-ban was teaching sugar bush words at that time during language classes and I was inspired by that.