

*It Flows from the Heart: Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag Nibi Waawiindmowin*

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## ABSTRACT

*It Flows from the Heart: Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag Nibi Waawiindmowin*

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Indigenous Knowledges and intellectual tradition emanate from relationship with land, water, spirit, and the beings of Creation. Knowledge mobilization occurs intergenerationally and through these relationships. The Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg have lived in relationship with the Great Lakes since the formation of the lakes. Our stories and practices demonstrate our intimate ties to land, water, and the other than human beings. This dissertation shares some of these practices and stories.

Settler colonialism in the Great Lakes has disrupted Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe relationships and resulted in a diaspora. Following the Federal Indian Removal Act of 1830, individual Bodwewaadmiig and families moved north and inland from the southern shores of Lake Michigan, south to the southern plains of the United States and into Mexico, or seemingly stayed in place in southwestern Michigan. As a result, Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg now reside in three colonial nation states—Canada, United States, and Mexico. The disruption of Great Lakes basin-based relationships continues, impacting cultural practices, language, and Knowledges as well as knowledge mobilization. Multilayered settler colonial processes have covered women’s water Knowledges and practices. This dissertation shares narratives of

Bodwewaadmii migration, removal and relocation through a lens of disruption and knowledge covering.

Returning to ourselves, Biskaabiiyang, is revitalization of culture, language and Knowledges. In addition, Biskaabiiyang is a way of being and a research methodology. This dissertation shares the stories and motivations of over twenty-five Anishinaabe women, men and gender fluid humans working to *uncover* Knowledges and practices and *reweave* both into their daily lives, the lives of their grandchildren and their community members. This research builds on historical literature and on a body of literature about cultural practices, water Knowledges, and Indigenous peoples' relationships with land, water, and the beings of the Great Lakes. It contributes to Indigenous research methodology, Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe history, and revitalization of language, Knowledges and practices. It has been written in a narrative style and for the benefit of our families and communities.

**Keywords:** Bodwewaadmii(g), Potawatomi, Anishinaabe(g) Women, Anishinaabeodziwin, Anishinaabe Ways of Knowing, Indigenous Knowledge, Nibi, Water, Anishinaabe Studies, Bodwewaadmii History, Potawatomi History, Indigenous Methodology, Biskaabiiyang.

Dedicated to:

Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag

Manidoog who hold our ways of knowing and being and of speaking  
who provide us physical and spiritual sustenance and strength

Who are home.

Gete Anishinaabeg, Nokmisag miinwaa Mishomisag

who hold our ways of knowing and being  
who guide us, and who hold our languages  
who survived removal and relocation and have left tracks for us to follow.

Bodwewaadmii Getsijig

who carry our Ceremonies, Sacred Objects  
whose stories, love and humor guide us.

Oshkimaadiziig Bodwewaadmii

who are picking up and carrying our ways of knowing, being and speaking.

Kwewag

who are preparing the ground for the lighting of the Eighth Fire.

Those yet to come

who will be fierce protectors of our lands and waters  
who will keep the Eighth Fire burning.

Miigwech kina gego emiigwien.

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## NOTES

### **Use of Language: Anishinaabemowin and Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin**

Anishinaabemowin<sup>1</sup> is both a source of, and a means of the transmission of our Knowledges. I have chosen to use the Wasauksing First Nation Lexicon of Anishinaabemowin throughout this dissertation. Anishinaabemowin is embedded within my writing. I have chosen to not italicize Anishinaabemowin (or Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin<sup>2</sup>), nor to continually provide a translation within the text. Meanings of Anishinaabemowin are italicized in footnotes with the first occurrence of the specific word or phrase in a chapter. Anishinaabemowin and Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin used within this dissertation are compiled in the glossary.

Wasauksing First Nation, Parry Island, Ontario, is a community of Bodwewaadmiig<sup>3</sup> and Ojibwe Anishinaabeg<sup>4</sup> and the home community of my life partner and language mentor, Stewart King-ban<sup>5</sup> or Zhngos-ban. Since his passing on April 4, 2018, Gidigaa Migizi, Doug Williams, of Curve Lake First Nation and Director of Studies for the Indigenous Studies PhD program, has provided assistance with language use. Words and phrases shared by Gidigaa

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<sup>1</sup> *Linguistic stock of the Anishinaabe People.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Potawatomi language; Potawatomi dialects of Anishinaabemowin.*

<sup>3</sup> *The keepers of the fire of the Three Fires Confederacy; the Potawatomi people.*

<sup>4</sup> *The Ojibwe Anishinaabe people.*

<sup>5</sup> *The suffix -ban is added to the name of a person who has died.*

Migizi are from the Curve Lake First Nation lexicon of the Michi Saagii<sup>6</sup> dialect of Anishinaabemowin and are noted both in footnotes and in the glossary.

On occasion, Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin place names are used in this work, typically within *Miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak: Chapter 4* and on the accompanying maps. These words are also noted in footnotes and in the glossary.

## Writing Style and Capitalization

This dissertation is written using “Indigenous Style,” a writing-style developed by Gregory Younging-ban. In addition to capitalization practice recommended by Younging, I capitalize the first letters in Knowledge and Ceremony when either is used in the context of Anishinaabe intellectual tradition. I do not capitalize the first letters in “christianity” and “euro-western.” It is my intent to privilege *our* Knowledges and Ways of Being in every way possible.

As an Anishinaabekwe,<sup>7</sup> my prayers, dreams and thoughts centre on Shkaakmiikwe and all living beings, my family, my clan and my community. So, in my writing, it feels more natural to me to use the term “we”—inclusive of all of Creation, rather than “I”—an individual with no implied relationship. However, because this research reflects my responsibilities to both my community and our Knowledges, it seems appropriate for me to sometimes alternate “we” and “I.”

---

<sup>6</sup> *Mississauga Anishinaabe.*

<sup>7</sup> *Anishinaabe woman.*

This dissertation is written for community members and for those in academia. I have attempted to write in an accessible, narrative, and lyrical style to facilitate Knowledge mobilization within our communities. Often, this writing style has led to citations of direct quotes from literature in footnotes, rather than attributions within the text.

## **Terminology**

*Bodwewaadmii, Potawatomi, Pottawatomi, Pottawatomie*

Bodwen is a command to build a fire. Bodwewaadmii(g) is Anishinaabemowin for my people, the firekeepers of the Anishinaabeg Nation. Fluent speakers Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation, and Billy Daniels, Forest County Potawatomi Community, discussed and agreed on this word and spelling for our people at a Potawatomi Language Conference in the early 2000s. I have chosen to use this spelling. Variations of this spelling as well as anglicized versions of the Anishinaabemowin/Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin (Potawatomi, Pottawatomi, Pottawatomie) are used by other writers, and in specific communities. These variations and versions are used within this text within direct quotes, and as proper names for a specific community or county.

*Uncovering and Reweaving Metaphors*

Uncovering is used to describe the recovery, reclamation, remembering and revitalization of existing yet suppressed water Knowledges and practices. I believe that water itself and

women’s water Knowledges and practices are the foundations of mino bemaadziwin<sup>8</sup> and Anishinaabeodziwin.<sup>9</sup> Both are ubiquitous and can be easily taken for granted.<sup>10</sup> In this time and space, many women’s Knowledges and practices, like water within an aquifer, remain lying beneath layers of overburden. Multiple layers of overburden, created by a history of colonization, assimilation, acculturation, patriarchy, conversion to christianity, and the marginalization of women, cover these Knowledges and practices. For Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg there is an additional layer—our diasporic experience of removal and relocation. Gratefully, there are pockets of animacy where our Knowledges and practices bubble to the surface in life-giving artesian springs. This animacy occurs where the overburden is weak or thin, or where individual women have continued the sharing and operationalizing of our Knowledges. The realization of existing pockets of animacy guides my research and leads me to envision the possibilities of complete uncovering and a strong resurgence of our water Knowledges and practices.

Reweaving is an acknowledgement of, and reference to, the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg ancestral and contemporary practice of black ash basketry. Our Wiisgaak kookbinaaganan (black ash baskets) are used for food and medicine storage, food processing, transport, and for gifts of reciprocity. I see our black ash baskets as representations of our

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<sup>8</sup> *The good life.*

<sup>9</sup> *Being Anishinaabe, embodiment of all aspects of the Anishinaabe way of life, philosophy, psychology, culture, teachings, spirituality, customs, and history*

<sup>10</sup> The ubiquitous nature of both water and women’s Knowledges was discussed with Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Michi Saagiig Anishinaabe academic and activist, on October 31, 2012, and inspired the uncovering metaphor.

people, our history and our ways of being—we are baskets. The structure and strength of our baskets and our lives have been impacted by the overburden that covers our Knowledges. Basket splints and weaving strands have been damaged and perhaps destroyed by colonization, assimilation, acculturation and relocation. We will heal by reweaving our old Knowledges and practices as new splints into the baskets that are our lives. We will become whole again.

### **Personal Reflection and Creative Writing: Mikwendmaan Gaabi Zhiwebziyan<sup>11</sup>**

Throughout my research journey and writing of this dissertation I have reflected upon my experiences, dreams, and insights in a research journal. My journal entries have been either handwritten, keyboarded, drawn, or audio recorded. Some journal entries have been retold as personal reflections or creative writing. Reflections and creative writing are occasionally included within the text of this dissertation and have been formatted in italicized paragraphs, indented from both the left hand and right-hand margins. The date and location of the personal reflections and creative writing are included in the footnotes.

---

<sup>11</sup> *To write about what I think has happened to me.*

## AAKWE NIIBNOON (First Summer)

### It Is Always Beginning: Chapter 1

*Sitting on the rocks at the edge of the Magnetawan River, a cedar stretching its limbs above while I gaze over the still, and deep water pooled in front of me to the moving water flowing beyond. I am remembering, praying, breathing and contemplating my place on Turtle Island. Sema<sup>1</sup> in my left hand, and in my right a small, flat, rounded limestone rock—a rock that has travelled with me from the shores of Georgian Bay at Cape Croker to Oakland to Wisconsin and that high place on the hill amongst the maples where I fasted, and finally to the banks of a river whose waters flow back to Georgian Bay.*

*Have I come full circle? No, not really, for there is much traveling still to do. Yet, a moment in the spiral of time is just that—a circle. For certainly I've circled, but circled forward, growing closer to home and my people.*

*I sing for Nibi waboo,<sup>2</sup> the water. I sing for my relatives. I sing for my ancestors, and I sing for those yet to come. It is a good song, sung strongly—a song for the water. As the water song softly comes to completion, with a commitment, a prayer and a tremolo, I give the rock back to the deep water. I watch the water move in receipt of the rock, and the water reveals my place in the spiral of time.*

*Ripples travel outward, with my commitment and my prayer, all moving together in gently defined concentric circles. At that moment it is clear, my place. My ancestors, the Grandmothers who dance in the Starworld, and the past stretching behind me; my children, family and Spirit partner beside me in the present; my life's work extending forward toward the future, and those yet to come. At that moment it is clear, I know exactly who I am. I know that I belong, that I matter and that I am home.<sup>3</sup>*

---

<sup>1</sup> Tobacco.

<sup>2</sup> Sacred Water, water in liquid form.

<sup>3</sup> Personal Reflection, Keene, Ontario, May 13, 2013. Reflections are included within the text of this dissertation, formatted in italicized paragraphs, indented from the left-hand columns.



In the quiet moments before sunrise, beautiful thoughts come to me with the songs of the bineshiinhyag.<sup>4</sup> As the sky in the east lightens, clarity comes. For me, it is a time of creativity, revealing Knowledge through intense dreaming<sup>5</sup> mixed with conscious thought. Our ways of knowing and being, Anishinaabeodziiwin,<sup>6</sup> embody this. This is the time of our First Fire and of our Sunrise Ceremonies. It is a sacred time for all of Creation. I am centred in Anishinaabeodziiwin, and debwewin.<sup>7</sup> Our stories, teachings and Ceremony are the source of my coming to nbwaakaawin.<sup>8</sup>

My truths emanate from, and are inspired by, Creation—our land and waterscapes—the source of our existence, our Knowledges, ceremonies, stories, and our languages. The beauty, love, and kindness of Shkaakmiikwe,<sup>9</sup> our Mother and first teacher, inspire both my ways of being and my writing. I have been taught by our Elders to look to our language, Anishinaabemowin,<sup>10</sup> for truth and guidance. In honouring these ways, I choose to weave Anishinaabemowin and personal narrative—reflections of being on the land, in Ceremony and of dreaming— into my academic writing. This is Anishinaabeodziiwin. It is who I am. My academic and life’s work is centred and grounded in Anishinaabe ways of knowing and being.

---

<sup>4</sup> *Birds.*

<sup>5</sup> Million, “Intense Dreaming,” 330.

<sup>6</sup> *Being Anishinaabe, embodiment of all aspects of the Anishinaabe way of life, philosophy, psychology, culture, teachings, spirituality, customs and history.*

<sup>7</sup> *Truth.*

<sup>8</sup> *The teaching of wisdom, the gift that you carry with you at all times.*

<sup>9</sup> *Describing the hard surface that we walk on, Mother Earth.*

<sup>10</sup> *Linguistic stock of the Anishinaabe People.*

This academic journey has been a time of tremendous learning and growth, and I am grateful. My heart is full as I write of my life's work—the *uncovering* and *reweaving* of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag<sup>11</sup> Nibi<sup>12</sup> waawiindmowin.<sup>13</sup> It flows from my heart, my genetic or cellular memory, and those Nokmisag<sup>14</sup> that guide me. It flows from our ways of knowing and being, and it flows from Anishinaabe Aki.<sup>15</sup>

*boozhoo, aanii. maktthewenkwe ndezhinikaas, waawaashkesh ndoodem.  
bodwewaadmii anishinaabekwe minwaa wemtigoozhikwe ndaaw.  
Shiishiibeniiyek Shawnee Oklahoma nindoonjibaa. Michi Saagii Anishinaabe Aki  
indidaa.*<sup>16</sup>

In the way of Nanaboozhoo,<sup>17</sup> I greet you. It is in honour of my ancestors, my relations, our language and our ways of being that I introduce myself, with humility, in a traditional manner.

---

<sup>11</sup> *Potawatomi women.*

<sup>12</sup> *Water existing on the surface of earth; lake or river water.*

<sup>13</sup> *Guidance or direction laid out in a progressive manner for one to accept or reject.*

<sup>14</sup> *Grandmothers.*

<sup>15</sup> *Land and water, all of Creation in Anishinaabe territory.*

<sup>16</sup> I have chosen to use the Wasauksing Dialect of Anishinaabemowin throughout this dissertation. Wasauksing First Nation, Parry Island, Ontario is a community of Bodwewaadmii and Ojibwe Anishinaabeg and the home community of my life partner and language mentor, Stewart King-ban.

<sup>17</sup> *The Great Teacher of the Anishinaabeg.* We are told within the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg Tradition that Nanaboozhoo, our Great Teacher, is referred to by name year-round. We honor Nanaboozhoo, also known as Weneboozhoo and Manoboozhoo, in our ways of greeting each other—Boozhoo, or Bosho. We are told that Nanaboozhoo refers to the coming of our teacher in the near future, Weneboozhoo refers to a time when our teacher is leaving, and Manoboozhoo refers to the present time and place with our teacher. I acknowledge that my journey and understanding is through the lens of a Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe, and that remaining authentic to my own traditions is imperative. However, I respectfully acknowledge that in this Michi Saagii Territory, where I am privileged to currently reside, he is commonly referred to as “Elder Brother” and his name is used only in the winter months.

My Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe name is Moktthewenkwe.<sup>18</sup> I am named for, and I am of, the water. My given name is Barbara Wall. I am Deer Clan and a caretaker of the Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands of Mshiikenh Mnis, Turtle Island.<sup>19</sup> I am Bodwewaadmii<sup>20</sup> or Potawatomi Anishinaabekwe, a strong woman and a traditional helper. I am Shiishiibeniyeek, or Citizen Potawatomi. My relocated tribal lands, and my grandfather's community are in Shawnee, Oklahoma. I now reside, as a settler, in Michi Saagii, Mississauga Anishinaabe Territory in Keene, Ontario.

G'chi miigwech mino bemaadziwin.<sup>21</sup> G'chi miigwech for this opportunity to help my sisters, nieces and granddaughters, and my people. Thank you for this opportunity to honour my Nokmisag, my Grandmothers, and our good way of life. G'chi miigwech to our sacred waters, g'chi twaa<sup>22</sup> Nibi, and to Shkaakmiikwe, our mother, for sustaining this good way of life. I dedicate my research to each of you.

## **It Begins with Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag**

*Sage smoke wafts upward from a long-used abalone shell, an unmistakable and comforting scent drifting eastward with the wind blowing against my back. The*

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<sup>18</sup> Moktthewenkwe is the Potawatomi language spelling of my Spirit name. Mookidjiwano Nibi Kwe is the Anishinaabemowin spelling. I use my Spirit name and the Spirit names of others, sometimes called Bodwewaadmii or Anishinaabe names, out of respect for them and our ways of being.

<sup>19</sup> Michi Saagii Anishinaabe Elder, Gidigaa Migizi, Doug Williams shared that in his territory the earth is referred to as Michi Mikinaak, or the Big Turtle rather than Turtle Island (May 27, 2014.)

<sup>20</sup> Bodwewaadmii or Bodwewaadmiig (plural) is used in my writing in lieu of the English word Potawatomi. Potawatomi is used only in reference to Bodwewaadmiig communities who refer to themselves using the English word, or to the Potawatomi Nation in its entirety.

<sup>21</sup> *Great big thank you for this good way of life.*

<sup>22</sup> *Sacred.*

*Spirits have joined us—full of gratitude for our presence and offerings— while clear, Sacred Water reflects a blue sky from its vessel of copper.<sup>23</sup>*

Water, Nibi waboo, is essential for all life. Water is our teacher— a living Knowledge Holder, a healer, and a source of immense beauty. Nibi waboo is the lifeblood of our Mother Earth, Shkaakmiikwe. We Anishinaabe know this to be true—we are deeply connected to our homeland of the Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands and our women<sup>24</sup> have an intimate relationship with and important responsibility to our water. Our homelands are the source of our ways of knowing, being and speaking. Our language, Anishinaabemowin,<sup>25</sup> is the language of these lands and all of our relations.

The Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe experienced a diaspora beginning in the 1830s. The forced southward removal of a portion of our families, and the fleeing of others to the north resulted in traumatic geographic, cultural, and spiritual separation of our people.

Bodwewaadmii People now reside in communities both within and outside of our traditional territories, stretching from Georgian Bay, Ontario, Canada, westward across Lake Superior to Michigan’s Upper Peninsula and northern Wisconsin, southward along the western coast of Lake Michigan to southwestern Michigan, and farther south of the ecosystems of the Great Lakes Basin to Kansas and Oklahoma, as well as Mexico. Our separation and the disconnection from our traditional territories have resulted in impairment and the covering of our cultural

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<sup>23</sup> Personal reflection, Ceremony at Catfish Lake, Algonquin Provincial Park, September 28, 2012.

<sup>24</sup> The fluidity of Indigenous gender must be acknowledged. In the context of my research, the terms woman and women refer to female persons who self-identity as women, rather than the binary dualism of woman and man.

<sup>25</sup> Anishinaabemowin, the linguistic stock of the Anishinaabe People, includes the Ojibwe, Odaawaa, Bodwewaadmii and Mississauga dialects as well as others.

identities, language, and ceremonies. Significant variation in Traditional Knowledge, ceremony and language use exists between our widespread and geographically distinct communities and ecosystems. *Uncovering* and *reweaving* of our ceremonies, Knowledges and language is imperative for healing the wounds of our disconnection. It is of particular importance for women—we have been substantially marginalized and greatly impacted by colonization and the rise of patriarchy.

### **It begins with Intention, Significance and Benefit**

The purpose of this research is to bring forward Bodwewaadmii women's water Knowledges and practices, and their *uncovering*, and to continue the *reweaving* of these practices into the lives of our Elders, women, youth, and future generations, while supporting in general the revitalization and resurgence of suppressed Indigenous women's Knowledges and practices.

*Uncovering* in the context of my research is a metaphor used to describe the recovery of existing suppressed knowledges and practices. Both water, itself, and women's water Knowledges and practices are ubiquitous and easily taken for granted. Women's Knowledges and practices, like water within an aquifer, lie beneath layers of overburden. These layers of overburden have been created by a history of colonization, assimilation, acculturation, patriarchy, conversion to christianity, and the marginalization of women. For the Bodwewaadmiig there is an additional covering—our diasporic experience of removal and relocation. Gratefully, there are pockets of animacy where our Knowledges and practices bubble to the surface in life-giving artesian springs. This animacy occurs where the covering layers are weak, or thin, or where individual women have continued the sharing and

operationalizing of our Knowledges. The realization of the existence of pockets of animacy has led me to envision the possibilities of complete uncovering and strong resurgence of our water Knowledges and Practices.

*Reweaving* in the context of my research is a metaphorical reference to our traditional practice of black ash basketry. Traditionally our baskets have been used for food and medicine storage, transport and for gifts of reciprocity. I see our black ash baskets as representations of our people, our history, and our ways of being —we are baskets. The structure and strength of our baskets, and our lives have been impacted by the layers that cover our Knowledges. Basket strands have been damaged and perhaps destroyed by colonization, assimilation, acculturation, and relocation. We will become whole again. We will heal by reweaving our old Knowledges and practices and new splints into the baskets that are our lives.

This research is important in many ways. It is important for our waters, the lifeblood of Shkaakmiikwe. It strengthens those Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe voices speaking for our waters, and is significant in the healing and cultural identity of our women. The decolonizing process of *uncovering* our Knowledges and practices resists centuries of assimilation, acculturation, and marginalization. It resists our prior conversion to christianity by *reweaving* our Traditional Knowledge and ceremonial practice within contemporary relocated Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe communities. It is important for our Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe

Getsijig<sup>26</sup>—our Elders—and our Knowledge Holders as their stories will be heard and documented for future generations. It is important for our youth and for the future of our communities for our intergenerational ties will be strengthened.

And it is important to me, as it this is a personal journey of renewal, re-emergence and healing. Renewal begins from within—through a re-emergence of language, culture and Indigenous Knowledge.<sup>27</sup> My research is opportunity for the regeneration and strengthening of my identity and renewing my responsibilities as a Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe.

This research is significant within the academic context, filling gaps in the literature, and expanding and occupying the space created by previous waves of Indigenous scholars. Within this space, this research furthers the privileging of Indigenous Knowledge and more specifically, Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag water Knowledges and voices. It is important academically in continuing the validation of Anishinaabemowin, our stories, oral histories, our songs and our ceremonies as sources of Knowledge, and it further articulates the intimate connection of Indigenous Knowledge, language and culture with the land and waters. It is important in the continued rewriting and righting of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe history through the lens of an Indigenous scholar. And it is important for our youth and future Indigenous scholars, as my research gives a strong voice to our ways of Knowing and being, and thus our identities. It is one example of many attempts at the respectful incorporation of Indigenous Knowledges and ways of knowing into the Academy.

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<sup>26</sup> *Elders*.

<sup>27</sup> Simpson, *Dancing*, 17.

The academic benefits extend to members of my grandfather's community and the Bodwewaadmii other communities. The oral histories of participating Elders and Knowledge Holders, as well as the compilation of our water Knowledges and practices, songs, stories will be given, with consent, to the respective Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe communities.<sup>28</sup>

Anishinaabekwewag carry water and water Knowledge—metaphorically and literally. Water and our associated responsibilities are significant in our identity. “The relationship between decolonization and the revival of water teachings has not yet been thoroughly explored in the literature, although it does appear in some [I]ndigenous scholarship.”<sup>29</sup> This research builds upon Anderson's *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood* and addresses this gap in the literature by specifically exploring and documenting evidence of the covering, suppressing or hiding of water Knowledges and practice, as well as their *uncovering* and *reweaving*—essentially their revitalization.

### **Making Meaning of Story—An Initial Source Review**

*She told him it was her purpose to watch over the i-kway'-wug (women) of the Earth and guide their lives. She told him of the powers of the moon and how the Moon was symbolic of womanhood and the cycle of oon-dá-di-zoo-win' (birth). She explained that woman was used by the Creator to cast the light of knowledge on man just as the Moon casts it light on the Earth. Alone, man is backwards and undeveloped. He needs the light that woman give to make him whole.*<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Details of knowledge protection and consent are presented in *G'yak chigewin: Chapter 5*.

<sup>29</sup> Szach, “Keepers of the Water,” 91.

<sup>30</sup> Benton-Banai, *Mishomis Book*, 37.



Our aa-atsokediwen<sup>31</sup> and traditional teachings both tell and teach us of our responsibilities to, and our Knowledges of, the land, Skyworld and the water. Anishinaabe Creation stories, Nanaboozhoo stories, stories of Michi Shibzhii<sup>32</sup> and Michi Bizhou,<sup>33</sup> and the stories embedded within the words of our language are our literature. As Anishinaabe Getsijig share with us Gaabi waamdamaan,<sup>34</sup> their lived experience, we gain further knowledge and insight. Oral tradition is our literature, and listening with debwewin,<sup>35</sup> truth, and geyaamaadziwin,<sup>36</sup> honesty, is a way of coming to know.<sup>37</sup> Both are a focus of *It Flows from the Heart*. In an academic context, our Getsijig and Knowledge Holders<sup>38</sup> are our oral sources. Academic literature and source reviews, conducted within Biskaabiiyang,<sup>39</sup> an Indigenous research methodology, must include oral sources and a diverse blend of written literature.

This initial source review is focused on: Indigenous, Anishinaabe and Bodwewaadmii perspectives on water; cultural revitalization; Bodwewaadmii history; the Biskaabiiyang

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<sup>31</sup> *The sharing back and forth of sacred story(ies).*

<sup>32</sup> *Underwater panther.* Michi Shibzhii is believed to live in the Great Lakes.

<sup>33</sup> *Underwater lynx.* Michi Bizhou is believed to live in smaller lakes.

<sup>34</sup> *Knowledges of our Elders as they stand at the western door, looking eastward over their life's journey.*

<sup>35</sup> *Truth, to speak the truth.*

<sup>36</sup> *Honesty, living straight and honest.*

<sup>37</sup> Debwewin and geyaamaadziwin are two of the Seven Grandfather Teachings. These teachings are considered by John Borrows to be “gifts that are supposed to animate Anishinabek lives” and among the “most sacred laws and teachings” of the Anishinaabeg (Borrows, *Seven Generations*, 11.)

<sup>38</sup> Elders are typically Knowledge Holders, however there are individuals that are Knowledge Holders who do not consider themselves as Elders. For this reason, both terms are used throughout this dissertation.

<sup>39</sup> *Returning to ourselves, making a round trip.*

methodological framework; and mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan.<sup>40</sup> It is a beginning—a foundation on which to build. A summary of themes and concepts on the perspectives on water, and cultural revitalization follows, as well an outline of specific gaps in the academic research and literature in relation to my research question. Historical, methodological and methods information and concepts gathered in this source review are woven into the respective sections of this dissertation. Multiple oral sources and a combination of scholarly journal articles, books, PhD dissertations, MA theses, conference presentations and government publications were reviewed.

### **Indigenous Peoples’ Perspectives of Water**

Indigenous Peoples, worldwide, hold water in high regard, and consider water as sacred, as a medicine, a teacher, and the sustainer of life to humans and all beings of Creation. Water plays an essential part in the Creation stories<sup>41</sup> of most, if not all, civilizations, and like the earth itself, water is commonly anthropomorphized as feminine.<sup>42</sup> The health of ecosystems and humans is dependent on water, as the Indigenous worldview and perspective on water “embodies important biological relationships with ecosystems.”<sup>43</sup> Women’s special

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<sup>40</sup> *To write about what I think has happened to me.* Mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan speaks to western autoethnographic methods.

<sup>41</sup> The Anishinaabe Nibi Inaakonigewin Report shares this significance: “Creation stories are important tools to understand sacred law. It informs understandings of the world and responsibilities towards other beings, per” including water.

Craft, “Anishinaabe Nibi Inaakonigewin,” 14.

<sup>42</sup> Kattau, “Women, Water,” 114.

<sup>43</sup> Longboat, “First Nations Water Security,” 14.

relationship with, and responsibility to, water is shared by many Indigenous societies. “This role is rightfully theirs because water is profoundly maternal: women bring babies into the world and many aboriginal cultures view water (in the womb) as the first environment for life and the ‘breaking of the water’ shortly before birth as solely feminine.”<sup>44</sup>

Colleen Kattau, in her article “Women, Water and the Reclamation of the Feminine,” highlights the perspectives of the Chipko Movement in India, the Aztec People of central Mexico and the People of the Earth, or the Kogi of northern coastal Colombia, and discusses the intimate and universal connection of women and water, and water’s essential role within ecosystems. In the eyes of traditional Indian culture water is not “compartmentalized out of its relation to other natural systems,”<sup>45</sup> but rather it is integral within the cycle of life. Trees and forests “draw rain and are in turn sustained by the rains...trees are the conduit and holders of life” because of their association with water, fertility, and sustenance. Trees give water “preventing desertification and drought while protecting living things from the ravages of storms and floods.”<sup>46</sup> Chalchiuhcueye is an Aztec female deity, responsible for lakes and streams. She is a life giver and is invoked by midwives during the Aztec birthing ceremony while drops of water are placed “in the mouth and on the chest of the newborn, assuring the infant that it would live in community, and that the water would awaken her, revive her, and

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<sup>44</sup> Szach, “Keepers of the Water,” 28.

<sup>45</sup> Kattau, “Women, Water,” 127.

<sup>46</sup> Kattau, 128.

make her grow strong.”<sup>47</sup> Kattau tell us that water is “central to the cosmology of the Kog[u]i people...First there was the sea. All was dark. There was neither Sun nor moon nor people, nor plants or animals. The sea was everywhere. It was the mother. But the sea was not people, nor was it anything. She was the spirit of what was to come and she was thought and memory.”<sup>48</sup>

Elders of the People of the Earth, the Kog[u]i people, brought a similar message to the Sacred Water Circle Gathering in May 2014. Through their interpreter they shared that water is a giver of life. “We all issue forth from water.”<sup>49</sup> Other Indigenous Elders and Knowledge Holders from across Mshiikeh Mnis and South America spoke of, and on the behalf of, water at this event. The sacred nature of water was the overarching theme of the gathering. Common themes—shared through story, Ceremony, and teachings—included water as medicine, water as spirit, the transforming and cleansing natures of water, water as a giver of life, and the immediate imperative of restoring balance and harmony by returning to live in accordance with our original instructions. These themes elucidate the Indigenous perspectives of water also reflected in written sources.

Morris Neyelle, a Sahtu Dene Elder from Délînhê First Nation in Northwest Territories, shared a story of the living water from the pulsating heart of Great Bear Lake. Because of its

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<sup>47</sup> Kattau, 130.

<sup>48</sup> Kattau, 131.

<sup>49</sup> José Dingula Moscoate and Luntana Dingula Nacogi, Sacred Water Circle Gathering, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, May 3, 2014.

strong healing powers, this water is requested by local Elders and has been used as medicine for a long time. Morris spoke of the need to protect this water and all water: “We have to come together to save what is left.”<sup>50</sup> His older brother, Charlie Neyelle, reiterated the healing and cleansing properties of water and spoke of the power of prayer, and importance of natural law. “There is natural law, the law of the land, that protects all of Creation,” Charlie said. “We must pay attention to these laws and honour them. Beyond the [sacredness] of water, fire is sacred too, [both] ensure survival.”<sup>51</sup> Charlie’s ceremonial song brought a sudden rain shower, as he sang and prayed for cleansing; a physical demonstration of the power of song, prayer and the cleansing attributes of water.<sup>52</sup>

“Water is a big medicine,” shared Jhaimy Alvarez-Acosta, Tawamtinsuyu (Quechua Nation, Cusco, Peru), “It came from the stars; it was given by Creator.” Jhaimy continued: “Water is the energy of creation. . . water is the spirit; it has transforming abilities. . . we learn from the water.”<sup>53</sup>

Within the written literature, water is recognized as essential to the spiritual, emotional, physical and intellectual life of Indigenous Peoples, and is valued for its life sustaining characteristics. In *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Eliade writes of the symbolism

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<sup>50</sup> Morris Neyelle, Sacred Water Circle Gathering, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, May 3, 2014.

<sup>51</sup> Charlie Neyelle, Sacred Water Circle Gathering, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, May 2, 2014.

<sup>52</sup> Sacred Water Circle Gathering, Ceremony at Kinooaagewaagkong (Petroglyph Provincial Park), Woodview, ON, May 2, 2014.

<sup>53</sup> Jhaimy Alvarez-Acosta, Sacred Water Circle Gathering, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, May 3, 2014.

of water: "Water symbolizes the primal substance from which all forms come. . . It existed at the beginning and returns at the end of every cosmic or historic cycle; it will always exist, though never alone, for water is always germinative, containing the potentiality of all forms in their unbroken unity."<sup>54</sup>

Recognition and validation of Indigenous Peoples' intimate connection to the land and water of our homelands is another common theme. Indigenous Knowledges emanate from this land and water connection combined with our ancient philosophies embodied within our Creation stories. "Many First Nations' creation oral history cycles begin when there was just water on earth—it is the primal substance...[W]ater is the element from which all else came; it is the primary substance within the interconnected web of life; it is the centre of the web, rather than being just one component."<sup>55</sup>

These philosophies include our Original Instructions. Indigenous Peoples, particularly our women, have a responsibility to care for the water.<sup>56</sup> "Water is a vital resource for the survival of Mother Earth, and it is important that the Anishinaabe Kwe (Women) keep and reconnect with their traditional roles as water keepers. Anishinabek people believe that water keepers have the responsibility to defend and ensure the protection, availability, and purity of water for seven generations."<sup>57</sup> Fulfilling our responsibilities to Creation is significant in our

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<sup>54</sup> Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 188.

<sup>55</sup> Blackstock, "Water: A First Nations' perspective," 3- 4.

<sup>56</sup> Anderson, Clow, and Haworth-Brockman, "Carriers of water," 11-17.

<sup>57</sup> AORMC, *Water Policy Report*, 22.

Indigenous identity,<sup>58</sup> culture and our revitalization. “Many First Nations communities are in the process of revitalizing traditions that have lain dormant through difficult times. Many individuals and communities have begun moving along a healing path. Part of this revitalization and rebuilding of Nations based on traditional philosophies is expressed through First Nations who continue to speak for the water.”<sup>59</sup>

Our Elders, Knowledge Holders, and our women all play essential roles in sharing our Knowledges and responsibilities with our youth and future generations. Josephine Mandamin-ban, former Women’s Water Commissioner for the Anishinabek Nation, speaking at the Anishinabek Traditional Knowledge and Water Policy Conference in February 2008, said that Anishinaabekwewag have not been exercising their traditional roles regarding water: “It has been put on the back burner. But now we are simmering. Young People are intelligent, gifted with knowledge and relied on. They should be treated with respect. Our Knowledges should be passed on to our youth.”<sup>60</sup> Mandamin-ban also shared her perspective on women and water: “As women, we are carriers of life. Our bodies are built that way. Men are not built that way. We are special. We are very special and unique in how our bodies are made that way. And the water that we carry, is that water of unity, that unites all of us. It unites all

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<sup>58</sup> Anderson, Clow, and Haworth-Brockman, “Carriers of Water;” Bédard, “Keepers of the Water,” 91.

<sup>59</sup> Chiefs on Ontario, *Drinking Water*, 15.

<sup>60</sup> AORMC, *Water Policy Report*, 17.

women. It unites all men. It unites all families, all nations all across the world. That little drop of water.”<sup>61</sup>

Anishinaabekwe Getsit,<sup>62</sup> Shirley Williams, tells us of water’s healing and purifying properties, its power of spirit, and how it guides us in our work. Williams also speaks to Anishinaabekwewag water responsibilities—we are to offer semaa, sing to, speak for and speak to the water, and pray for the water for what it does for us.<sup>63</sup> Norma General, Haudenosaunee Elder, shared with me her perspective of water, reminding me of the purification, cleansing and nurturing power of water and its ability to bring peace, healing and condolence.<sup>64</sup>

Water plays a significant role in women’s lives—as mothers, midwives, healers and those who care for the dead. “Women have a special connection to the life force represented by water because of their ability to harbor and nurture new life.”<sup>65</sup> Midwives welcome new life, and older women are “in charge of washing and preparing the dead for burial.” Métis Elder Maria Campbell shares: “My understanding of death is that when you leave and you come out on the other side, the old lady is there to catch you. So, I assume you don’t have a

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<sup>61</sup> Josephine Mandamin-ban, quoted in Bédard, “Keepers of the Water,” 99.

<sup>62</sup> *Elder*.

<sup>63</sup> Shirley Williams, INDG6600 Seminar, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, March 15, 2013.

<sup>64</sup> Norma General, Personal communication, Trent University Indigenous Studies Visiting Elder Program, Peterborough, ON, March 12, 2013.

<sup>65</sup> Anishinaabe scholar Susan Chiblow agrees with Campbell: “women have the primary responsibilities to nibi due to our relationship of carrying a child in our wombs.”

Chiblow, “Anishinabek Women’s Nibi Giikendaaswin,” 4.



dry birth when you come out the other way either.”<sup>66</sup> Anderson elaborates on the roles of women associated with water, explaining the distinct roles within our seven stages of life and our places within the Anishinaabe Cosmos: “Women thus have overall roles as keepers of water, and as such they are conduits between the earthly and spiritual realms. Younger women have the capacity to hold life-giving waters within, and older women are responsible for helping people move through those waters in times of transition.”<sup>67</sup>

Indigenous Peoples widely acknowledge water’s cleansing and purifying properties. These benefits extend beyond humans to all of Creation and Shkaakmiikwe herself.<sup>68</sup> Springs are the source of g’chi twaa Nibi, sacred water.<sup>69</sup> Springs also provide, according to Blackstock, “very pure water for medicinal plants; spring water is used for making medicinal tinctures. Springs are also a source of great spiritual power.”<sup>70</sup>

*The Water Declaration of the Anishinaabek, Mushkegowuk and Onkwehonwe in Ontario*, dated October 2008, eloquently summarizes the importance of water and our roles.<sup>71</sup> There is great need to respect, honour, and share the spirit of the waters in the ceremonies given to us by the Creator and to recognize the natural laws and protocols to ensure clean waters for all living things. We have ceremonies from birth to death related to the care of the

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<sup>66</sup> Anderson, Clow, and Haworth-Brockman, “Carriers of water,” 3.

<sup>67</sup> Anderson, Clow, and Haworth-Brockman, 3.

<sup>68</sup> Blackstock, “Water,” 5-7.

<sup>69</sup> Shirley Williams, INDG6600 Seminar, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, March 15, 2013.

<sup>70</sup> Blackstock, “Water,” 7.

<sup>71</sup> Chiefs of Ontario, *Water Declaration*.

waters and must teach our children about their relationships to the waters. We must honour the spirit of the waters to begin a healing process, which begins with men and women knowing their roles and responsibilities to the waters, for our responsibility is to the future generations. As the original caretakers of Turtle Island, we have the rights and responsibilities to defend and ensure the protection, availability, and purity of all waters both fresh and salt for the survival of the present and future generations.<sup>72</sup>

A limited number of key sources emerge from this initial source review. In terms of general background perspectives on water, I found Michael Blackstock's, "Water: A First Nations' spiritual and ecological perspective," to be an informative source, frequently cited by others. Blackstock's article is limited to the views of three women Elders from the southern interior of British Columbia combined with secondary literature sources. This work provides a general and diverse discussion of Indigenous perspectives on water, mirrored by oral sources.

Anderson's case study, "Aboriginal Women, Water and Health: Reflections from Eleven First Nations, Inuit, and Métis Grandmothers," with Grandmothers from across diverse North American Indigenous communities is pivotal in backgrounding of this research with regard to information content, as well as modelling respectful decolonizing and ethical methodology. I believe that Anderson's work is decolonizing in privileging the Knowledges gathered through Indigenous research methodologies, while avoiding the use of typical euro-western anthropological and historical research methods.

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<sup>72</sup> Chiefs of Ontario.

Written sources of Anishinaabe water Knowledges are growing but are limited—no comprehensive body of literature is readily accessed. The limited body of literature includes discussion of Traditional Knowledge, traditional water uses, and the actions taken by the Chiefs of Ontario and grassroots women’s groups to promote water protection awareness and share Anishinaabe water Knowledge. With regards to a specifically Anishinaabe perspective on water and Anishinaabekwewag water Knowledges, the *Water Declaration of the Anishinaabek, Mushkegowuk and Onkwehonwe in Ontario*, the Chiefs of Ontario’s Submission to the Walkerton Inquiry Committee, *Drinking Water in Ontario First Nations Communities: Present Challenges and Future Directions for On-Reserve Water Treatment in the Province of Ontario*<sup>73</sup>, and the AORMC Water Working Group’s *Anishinabek Traditional Knowledge & Water Policy Report* are excellent, authentic sources inclusive of Traditional Knowledge, spirituality and oral sources. Karen Pennesi’s Master’s thesis, “Constructing Identity Through Language: Water at Walpole Island First Nation,” provides additional perspectives of water and traditional teachings from the women’s group Akii Kwe. “First Nations Water Security and Collaborative Governance: Chippewas of Kettle and Stony Point First Nations, Ontario, Canada,” a PhD dissertation by Sherri Longboat, highlights the Anishinaabe perspective of water, and details aspects of water Knowledge and practices of the Kettle and Stony Point First Nation.

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<sup>73</sup> Chiefs on Ontario, “*Drinking Water*,” 15.

The review of written literature regarding Bodwewaadmii water Knowledges and practices was problematic. Its presence within the literature is insubstantial. John Low's 2011 PhD dissertation, "Chicago's First Indians—the Potawatomi," includes a brief reference to the Pokagon Potawatomi as "Custodians of the Land and Water," and a reference to the traditional and widespread Potawatomi belief in the Underwater panther residing in Lake Michigan. No further explanation was provided.

### **From Story Questions Emerge**

[W]hen an Indigenous worldview is forcibly changed, the tightly woven fabric of relationship unravels and people lose their understanding of themselves with their sense of place and are subsequently destroyed.<sup>74</sup>

We, the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe, along with the Mississauga, Ojibwe<sup>75</sup> and Odaawaa<sup>76</sup> Anishinaabe, the Saulteaux, Nipissing and the Omàmìwinini,<sup>77</sup> and the Haudenosaunee are the keepers of the Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands. It is here, our stories and Elders tell us, within the watershed of the Great Lakes and the watersheds of Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers, that Creator placed the Anishinaabe.<sup>78</sup> It is here that we fulfill our Original Instructions to live in harmony and balance with all of Creation. We share a core philosophy, ontology and

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<sup>74</sup> Cajete, *Native Science*, 211.

<sup>75</sup> *The Ojibwe Anishinaabeg. Derived from the term ojiboom or human shadow.*

<sup>76</sup> *The Odaawaa Anishinaabeg, known as the merchants of the Three Fires Confederacy.*

<sup>77</sup> *Algonquin People (in Algonquin Language).*

<sup>78</sup> Benton-Banai, *Mishomis Book*, 1-4.

epistemology, and a common language stock.<sup>79</sup> We share stories, medicines and Ceremony. We share common traditional responsibilities—Anishinaabekwewag are the keepers and carriers and protectors of the water,<sup>80</sup> keepers of our Ceremonies, and Anishinaabeininiwag<sup>81</sup> are the fire keepers.

In the decades following the 1830 Removal Act,<sup>82</sup> a majority of the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg relocated or were slowly removed from our traditional territories along the western, southern and southeastern shores of Lake Michigan.<sup>83</sup> In an attempt to escape removal southward to what is now Kansas, some of our families migrated north into what is now Ontario, Canada, eventually finding refuge amongst the Ojibwe and Odaawaa Anishinaabeg.<sup>84</sup> Within the context of this research, these individuals and families are referred

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<sup>79</sup> Anishinaabemowin.

<sup>80</sup> Anishinaabe-Métis scholar Aimée Craft writes: “Because of their ability to give life, women are the protectors of the water.”

Craft, “Anishinaabe Nibi Inaakonigewin,” 30.

<sup>81</sup> *Anishinaabe men*.

<sup>82</sup> The Indian Removal Act was signed into law by United States of America President Andrew Jackson on May 28, 1830. The Act authorized Presidential granting of unsettled lands west of the great Mississippi River in exchange for Indian occupied and held lands within the borders of existing states. A small number of tribes relocated peacefully. Many more resisted forced removal and relocation. Jackson, on December 6, 1830, outlined this policy in his Second Annual Message to the US Congress stating, “It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages.” Library of Congress, “American Memory Historical Collections, A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation.”

<sup>83</sup> Edmunds, *The Potawatomis*, 241; This was a continuation of removal and disconnection from the land that began with the arrival of the newcomers and continued with the growth of the fur trade.

<sup>84</sup> These communities include Wasauksing First Nation, Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve, Chimnissing First Nation (Beausoleil), Kettle and Stony Point First Nation, Saugeen First Nation, Georgina Island First Nation, and Walpole Island (Bkejwanong) First Nation.

to as the Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii, or those who use a canoe. Others fled to Mexico to live amongst our Kickapoo relatives, or to the swamps of Michigan's Upper Peninsula<sup>85</sup> and to the forests of northern Wisconsin.<sup>86</sup> Still others voluntarily relocated or were forcibly relocated first to Iowa and then to Kansas.<sup>87</sup> A small number of our families then chose to relocate even further south to lands in Indian Territory, now known as Oklahoma.<sup>88</sup> These individuals and families are referred to, within this research, as the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii, or those who use horses. Those Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe living in southwestern Michigan and northern Indiana were first relocated, then removed to reservations, or purchased tribal land for the community within their ancestral and historic territories.<sup>89</sup> Abinsaaniawag<sup>90</sup> is used in this research to describe these individuals and families.

With the removal and relocation of the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe, some of us were disconnected from the water and landscapes, our medicines, and Traditional Knowledge of our homelands. Disconnection, along with government assimilation programs and conversion to christianity, impacted—or *covered*—our ways of life, our identities, our ceremonies and

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<sup>85</sup> Hannahville Indian Community, Wilson, Michigan.

<sup>86</sup> Forest County Potawatomi, Carter, Wisconsin.

<sup>87</sup> Prairie Band Potawatomi, Mayetta, Kansas.

<sup>88</sup> Citizen Potawatomi Nation, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

<sup>89</sup> Edmunds, *The Potawatomis*, 274; Pokagon Potawatomi, Dowagiac, Michigan; Nottawaseppi Huron Band Potawatomi, Fulton, Michigan; Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Potawattomie (Gun Lake Potawattomie), Dorr, Michigan.

<sup>90</sup> *Those who stayed in place.*

responsibilities, and our Knowledge systems. Our identities suffered, and our Knowledges were impacted, and perhaps in some cases covered completely. In our new locations the lands, waters, foods and medicines were different.

The Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe story is unique in the context of Anishinaabe history. A significant number of Ojibwe and Odaawaa Anishinaabeg, also significantly impacted by assimilation and conversion, remain primarily within their traditional homelands, and continue a strong and intimate connection to the waters and lands. Many Ojibwe and Odaawaa Anishinaabekwewag maintain physical and spiritual connections with water, and their traditional practices associated with the water. Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag, living within our relocated communities—having been removed physically, and perhaps spiritually, from the Knowledge of the waters and land—do not have this choice. Those of us that have chosen to foster a spiritual connection to foreign waters and land, and to Knowledge might be physically far removed from our Anishinaabe Grandmothers and sisters—who share and perpetuate water Knowledges and practice within the watershed of the Great Lakes.

My research question emerges from this scenario of the *covering* of our Knowledges, and our relocation and disconnection—*How are Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Women’s Water Knowledges and practices being uncovered and rewoven into the lives of Elders, women, youth and future generations within our relocated communities?*

## Alignment

There is a close alignment between this research and the Trent University Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies' PhD Vision Statement. This research—from an intellectual, spiritual, and physical perspective through the lens of a Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe and using an Anishinaabe methodology that honours and demonstrates Anishinaabe Intellectual Tradition—acknowledges, articulates, discusses and documents Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag water Knowledges and practice. The intent of my research in gathering, *uncovering*, and *reweaving* these Knowledges and practices is to privilege the voices of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe women and others, while supporting in general the revitalization and resurgence of suppressed Indigenous women's Knowledges and practices.

## Aniin<sup>91</sup>—I am

I am well positioned to conduct this research. My position as a researcher is as an insider, a relocated mixed-heritage Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe, a mature woman, mother, daughter, granddaughter, auntie, sister, niece, Grandmother, and educator. I am named for, and am of the water, a water Ceremony keeper and dreamer. My family has first-hand experiences with the covering of our identity, Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe culture and language: as the granddaughter of Asa Elwood Wall, I am Second Generation removed from

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<sup>91</sup> A greeting, meaning I am.



Indian Boarding school,<sup>92</sup> I am the great granddaughter of Rachel Johnson and Fourth Generation removed from our language,<sup>93</sup> and I am Fifth Generation removed from our traditional homeland on the western shores of Lake Michigan in Wisconsin.<sup>94</sup> I am a relocated Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe, now residing and learning in Michi Saagii Anishinaabe territory, in the process of regenerating my culture, language and ways of being.

I am a committed language learner<sup>95</sup> with a deep spiritual connection to water and a passion for reclaiming our Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe ways of knowing and being. While I am an enrolled member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation of Shawnee, Oklahoma, I have lived outside of my grandfather's Shiishiibeniiyek community my entire life. My connection to traditional people of the Forest County Potawatomi Community, the Pokagon Potawatomi, Gun Lake Pottawatomie and the Wasauksing<sup>96</sup> First Nation is stronger than my connection to

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<sup>92</sup> Indian Boarding School is the American term for what is referred to as Residential School in Canada. My grandfather, born in Kansas, attended Chilocco Indian Agricultural School in Oklahoma and Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, spending most of his childhood through late teenage years at Carlisle.

<sup>81</sup> Rachel Vieux Johnson, born in Rossville, Kansas, is the daughter of Sophia Vieux and Jacob Johnson. Her Dawes Act Allotment #294 was in Shawnee, Indian Territory. A portion (approximately 12 acres) of her original 100-acre allotment was inherited by my grandfather, and then my father.

<sup>94</sup> ShaNote, a converted catholic of the St. Joseph Potawatomi was born in southwestern Michigan. She is my third-generation great grandmother. Her husband, Louis Vieux, my Menominee/Potawatomi and French third-generation great grandfather was born in Green Way, Wisconsin. They relocated to Council Bluffs, Iowa, prior to the Potawatomi removal and then to the Vermillion River Crossing of the Oregon Trail in Kansas.

<sup>95</sup> I use the term 'committed language learner' to refer to a person who is learning a language with the intention of fully incorporating the language into her/his/their life, as opposed to a learner whose motivation is oriented toward fulfilling academic requirements.

<sup>96</sup> *Shining in the distance.*

my home community. As an insider, I am not assuming a position of victim mentality; rather, I am acknowledging past atrocities and moving forward toward re-emergence.<sup>97</sup>

### **Biskaabiiyang, Dbaajimowinag, miinwaa Mikwendmaan Gaabi Zhiwebziyan**

My research is centered in, framed by, and demonstrative of Anishinaabe philosophy, Intellectual Tradition, and theory. The processes of biskaabiiyang<sup>98</sup> and mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan<sup>99</sup> guide both my research and life's journey.

Biskaabiiyang, meaning we will be returning to ourselves, or making a round trip, is a refocusing to “transform the colonial outside into a flourishing of the *Indigenous* inside.”<sup>100</sup> Biskaabiiyang is “wearing our teachings,”<sup>101</sup> a process of turning to ourselves to reclaim, re-engage, and articulate our Knowledges, values, ethics, and processes on our own terms while acknowledging, recognizing and working toward letting go of the impacts of colonization.<sup>102</sup>

Wearing our teachings, or the embodiment of our ways of knowing, requires making meaning of lived experience and coming to understand the Knowledges shared and gained.

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<sup>97</sup> This approach is central to the decolonizing concept of Biskaabiiyang.

<sup>98</sup> Simpson, *Dancing*, 51. Simpson interprets this term as “re-creating the cultural and political flourishing of the past to support the well-being of our contemporary citizens.”

<sup>99</sup> *To write about what I think has happened to me.*

<sup>100</sup> Simpson, *Dancing*, 17.

<sup>101</sup> Edna Maniowabi, personal communication, 2011; Edna Maniowabi, INDG6600 Indigenous Knowledge Seminar, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, November 12, 2012.

<sup>102</sup> The Biskaabiiyang Research Methodology is a decolonizing framework when viewed through the lens of a cross-cultural research context.

Reflective thinking is essential in the process of making meaning; reflective writing is an active way to record, further process and operationalize the making of meaning.

Mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan<sup>103</sup> describes reflective thinking and writing—it is dbaajimowinag<sup>104</sup>—a narrative of lived experience, thoughts, reflection, and analysis.

Operationalizing mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan as a component, a method, of the biskaabiiyang research framework honours the reflexivity inherent in Anishinaabe ways of being and coming to know,<sup>105</sup> as well as addressing sensitive ethical concerns regarding documentation of Ceremony, dreams, and visions.

Biskaabiiyang is both an Indigenous research methodology and a way of being.

Biskaabiiyang is “a commitment to the practiced use of and (re)generation of Anishinaabe life-ways which center on Anishinaabe ontology, epistemology and axiology.”<sup>106</sup> It is central in our adaptability<sup>107</sup> and survival<sup>108</sup> as Anishinaabeg. Biskaabiiyang is the restoration of identity and balance, and restoration of relationship with land, water, and the other beings of Creation. It is essential in reclamation of Knowledges and practices, our language, and the maintenance of our resiliency to address and heal traumas and addictions.

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<sup>103</sup> Mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan as a research methodology is comparable to autoethnography.

<sup>104</sup> *Personal stories*.

<sup>105</sup> Leanne Simpson, INDG6600 Seminar, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, January 21, 2013; Lee, “Dibaajimowinan.”

<sup>106</sup> Sy, “Following Ininaahtigoog Home,” 98.

<sup>107</sup> “Reclaiming the fluidity around our traditions, not the rigidity of colonialism. . .” (Simpson, *Dancing*, 51.)

<sup>108</sup> Geniusz, “Decolonizing,” 16.

Operationalizing Biskaabiiyang is a process of the recovery, reclamation, remembering and revitalization from within Anishinaabe culture utilizing Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology. As Anishinaabe Scholar Wendy Geniusz writes, it is not “a preservation effort, a final attempt to save strands of a dying culture;” rather, it is a bringing forward of our Knowledges and practices “so that it will be there for our children and grandchildren and their children and grandchildren.”<sup>109</sup> Geniusz’ work shares guidance regarding methods to reclaim, remember and revitalize using this “culturally specific approach.”<sup>110</sup>

Within the context of my research operationalizing Biskaabiiyang is both a personal and collective journey. It is a journey beneficial to Bodwewaadmii communities, families and individual humans including myself. As we return to ourselves, we return to our Original Instructions and reciprocal relationship with the land and waters, and the beings that reside within. In this way, Biskaabiiyang is beneficial to all of Creation.

Returning to ourselves requires a return to our intellectual traditions and ways of knowing. As discussed in *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin: Chapter 3*, Anishinaabe Intellectual Tradition emanates from our relationships with our lands and waters, and the beings that reside alongside us in Anishinaabe Aki. These relationships, and thus our ways of knowing, are storied in dbaajimowinag. Dbaajimowinag are narratives that may contain an intertwining of Gaabi waamdamaan, waawiindmowin, and teachings, as well as personal

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<sup>109</sup> Geniusz, 12. This element of Biskaabiiyang mirrors the Seven Generations Family History Model, see Figure 5.4.

<sup>110</sup> Sy, “Following Ininaahtigoog Home,” 103.

stories, Gaabin nsatamaan<sup>111</sup> or lived experience, and histories. The *uncovering* and *reweaving* of dbaajimowinag are essential in Biskaabiiyang, for these narratives “are foundational to ways of knowing, being and regenerating Anishinaabe worlds.”<sup>112</sup>

The oral histories and narratives shared by Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe and my research participants, and the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe histories authored by non-Indigenous historians, anthropologists, archeologists, ethnographers can all be considered dbaajimowinag. There can be, however, distinct differences. Histories documented by non-Indigenous authors are “colonized texts,” in that these dbaajimowinag have been written through a colonized and christian lens. More specifically, Geniusz defines colonized texts as published and unpublished written documentation that can be described as either serving the “interests of the colonizers and the processes of systemic racism and oppression,” or presenting information and interpretations of Anishinaabe intellectual tradition, Knowledges, spirituality or history through a colonizer’s lens and according to the “philosophies, cosmologies, and knowledge-keeping systems of the colonizers.”<sup>113</sup> It is important to recognize that histories written by Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe scholars and the dbaajimowinag shared by research participants might also be colonized texts as defined by Geniusz. Colonization has impacted all of us, and a majority of my research participants have been impacted by christianity.

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<sup>111</sup> “How I have come to understand it;” empirical Knowledge.

<sup>112</sup> Sy, “Following Ininaahtigoog Home,” 134.

<sup>113</sup> Geniusz, *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive*, 4.

Throughout this research, and particularly in *Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag: Chapter 2*, and *Miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak: Chapter 4*, I have used sources written by outsiders—non-Anishinaabe anthropologists, ethnographers and historians. Use of these colonized texts is unavoidable within the confines of academic research, yet is in tension with the utilization of Biskaabiiyang, my research methodology. “Biskaabiiyang methodology importantly suggests that in order to return to ourselves through research, Anishinaabeg must engage significantly with Anishinaabeg living sources, methods or theories.”<sup>114</sup> Ideally, Biskaabiiyang would only utilize narratives shared by decolonized Anishinaabeg living sources, and sources written by Anishinaabe scholars. This is not yet possible. History sources, as well as discussion and presentation of Anishinaabe cultural practices and Knowledges by biased and colonized writers can provide insight to our post-contact histories, Knowledges and practices.

Dbajimowinag, as well as aa-atsokediwenag,<sup>115</sup> are dynamic in nature and our understanding of these narratives is continually growing. For these, and all stories, are “never complete: we cannot ever fully know the meanings within the narratives for our understandings of them evolve as they continue to make more sense within our lives through ongoing reflection.”<sup>116</sup> The processes of reflection and reflexive thinking, both key in making

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<sup>114</sup> Sy, “Following Ininaahtigoog Home,” 114.

<sup>115</sup> *The sharing back and forth of sacred stories*.

<sup>116</sup> McLeod, *Cree Narrative Memory*, 8.

meaning, are operationalized through the mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan component of my research methodology.

Mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan, writing about what I think has happened to me, is a reflexive process essential in returning to ourselves. There is a relationship between our ways of knowing, specifically between learning-by-doing, Gaabi nsatamaan,<sup>117</sup> lived experience, and reflection. Mortari discusses the importance of reflectivity in research: “If learning from experience means being capable of making ‘a backward and forward connection’ . . . then reflective thinking is the mental activity that makes these connections.”<sup>118</sup> This conceptualization of reflection mirrors b’gidnan<sup>119</sup> or the letting go of the emotional and psychological baggage we carry from colonization, and the simultaneity of backward and forward connections as we work to return to ourselves. In addition, Gaabi b’gid na maagooyaan<sup>120</sup> that has been gifted through Ceremony can be ethically documented or discussed through mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan.

## Organization of Thesis

Biskaabiiyang, returning to ourselves or making a round trip, is a way of being in addition to an Indigenous research methodology. As a way of being Biskaabiiyang continually influences

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<sup>117</sup> “How I have come to understand it,” empirical knowledge.

<sup>118</sup> Mortari, “Reflectivity in Research,” 4.

<sup>119</sup> *Let it go.*

<sup>120</sup> *Sacred Knowledges that are gifted by the spirits or Creator, revealed Knowledge.*

my daily thought, my coming to know and making meaning, my practice, and Anishinaabeodziwin, as well as my writing process. Operationalizing of Biskaabiiyang, for me, is intimately tied to my journey home to Anishinaabe Aki with nbazgim<sup>121</sup> Zhngos-ban. He brought me home, and he encouraged me to return to my true self and to the seasonal cycle or round of Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag.<sup>122</sup> Gaabi nsatamaan, I have come to understand that this seasonal cycle as well as the cycle of our lifetime guides Anishinaabeodziwin, my way of being, and the circular organization of my research and this written dissertation.

As a visual thinker, processor and learner I have created drawings and diagrams to represent concepts and the meaning I have made, as well as the information I have synthesized. Figure 1.1 illustrates the beginnings of my understanding of the seasonal cycle of Mtigwaakiing e G'chi Zaagiganag.

The seasonal cycle, as shown in Figure 1.2, represents the phases of this research both within miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak<sup>123</sup>—Bodwewaadmii history since contact, and in context with our history. Dwaagek,<sup>124</sup> the time of the blending colors, precedes the time of near death. Dwaagek is the time and space of pre-contact; biboong is the time and space after contact and of settler colonialism, acculturation, assimilation, removal and relocation.

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<sup>121</sup> *My lover, boyfriend.*

<sup>122</sup> *The Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands.*

<sup>123</sup> *"This is what really happened."*

<sup>124</sup> *When the colours blend; autumn.*



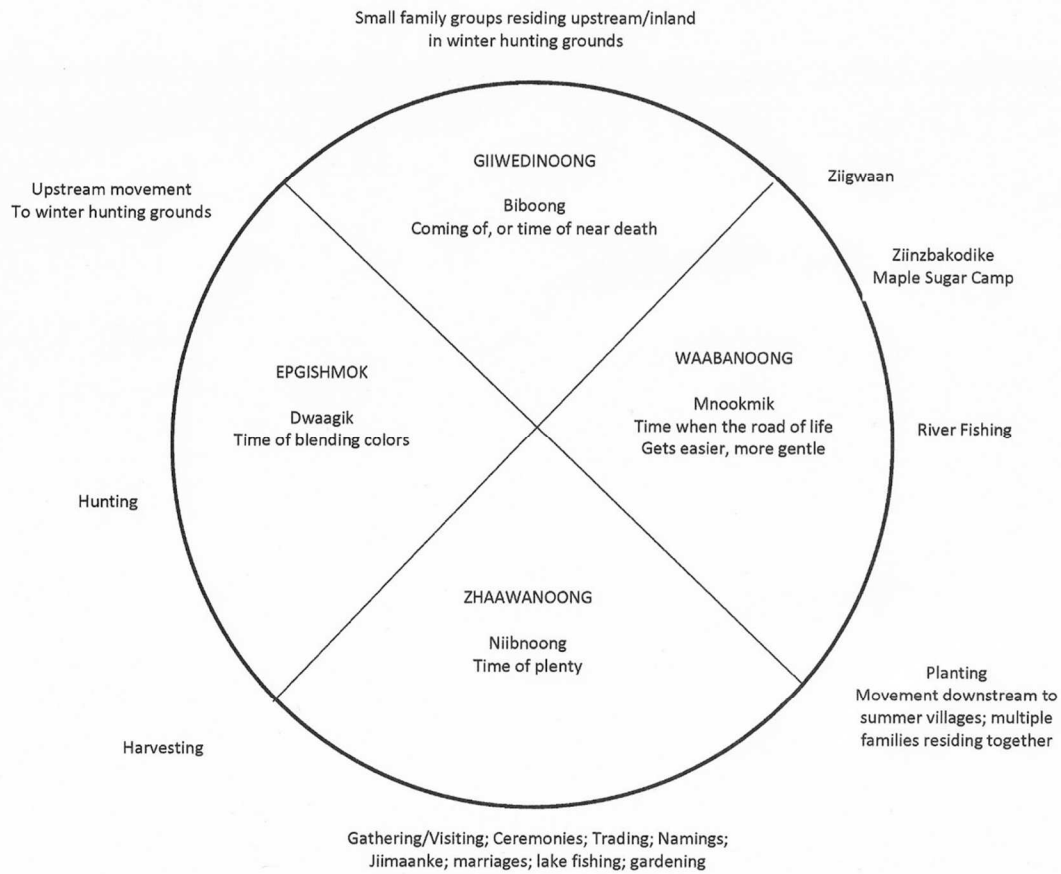


Figure 1.1: Anishinaabe Seasonal Cycle

Mnookmik,<sup>125</sup> the time of renewal and new life, is the uncovering and reweaving processes of this research. Niibnoong<sup>126</sup> is the space and time of plenty, when, historically, Anishinaabe returned to live in our larger communities, and when we in a contemporary context gather and visit. Niibnoong is Biskaabiiyang, when we as Anishinaabeg return to ourselves, making a round trip.

<sup>125</sup> The time when the road gets easier, gentler; spring.

<sup>126</sup> A time of plenty; summer.

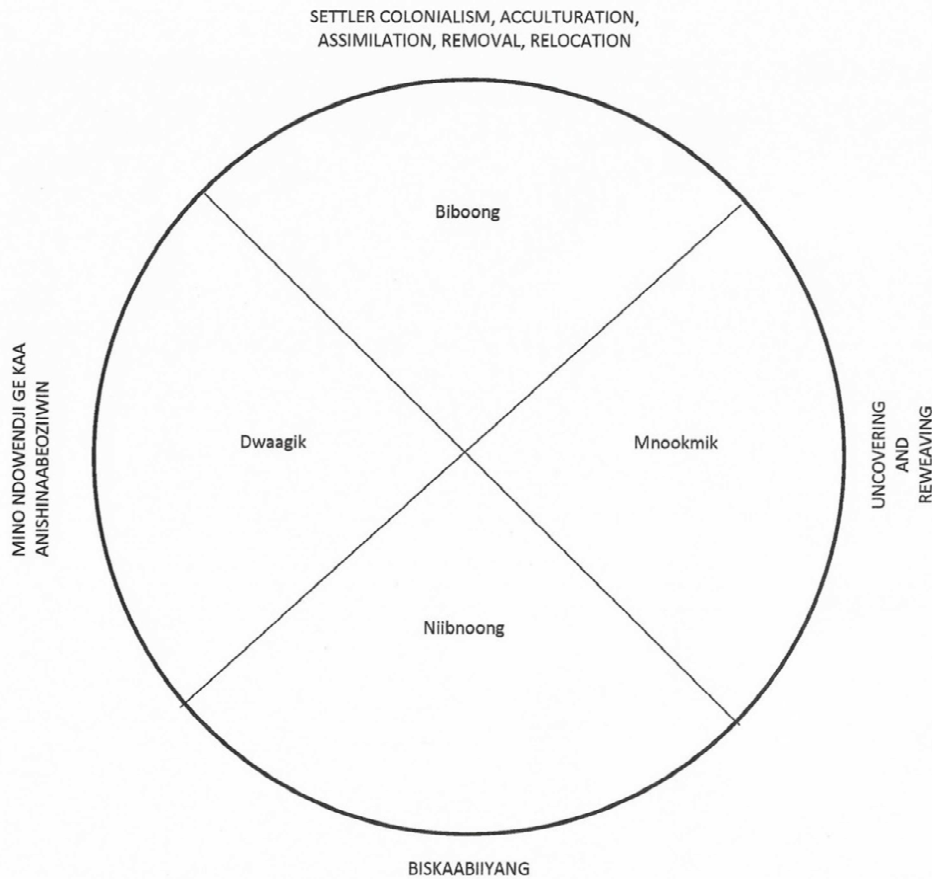


Figure 1.1: Anishinaabe Seasonal Cycle/ Dissertation Organization

Figure 1.3 builds on this interpretation of the seasonal cycle and illustrates the time and space associations of the chapters of this dissertation, as well as the relationships between chapters. The introductory chapter, *It is Always Beginning*, partially occupies the time and space of Biskaabiiyang as it begins the continuing process of returning to ourselves. Chapters 2 and 3 describe *Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag* (The Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands) and *Anishinaabeodziiwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin, E zhi nsatamaan* (Anishinaabe Theory and Intellectual Tradition). These chapters are closely connected; our theory and

intellectual tradition emanate from the land and water. Both chapters are situated within Dwaagek and Mino Nowendj Ge Kaa.<sup>127</sup> *Miisah geget gaa be Zhiwebak: Chapter 4* is situated in the time and space of near death, Biboong. *G'yak chigewin: Chapter 5* describes my research methodology and methods. It is located within the time and space of mnookmik; it begins the process of uncovering. *Niibnoong: Chapter 6* retells the stories of my research participants and is also situated within mnookmik; the sharing of these stories is essential in the process of reweaving. *Biskaabiiyang miinwaa Nowendj Ge Kaa: Chapter 7* focuses on moving forward. This chapter is situated within Niibnoong, the time of plenty.

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<sup>127</sup> Mino Nowendj Ge Kaa, the happy hunting grounds as Zhngos-ban referred to this space and time, is the place from which we come and return to; it is the physical and spiritual manifestation of ourselves, of back in the day, or before contact. Mino Nowendj Ge Kaa is the embodiment of our original instructions, the ideal of Anishinaabeodziwin, not the romanticized concept of Anishinaabe life. It is both the space and time to which I hope to return when I am finished, and the conceptualization of returning to myself.

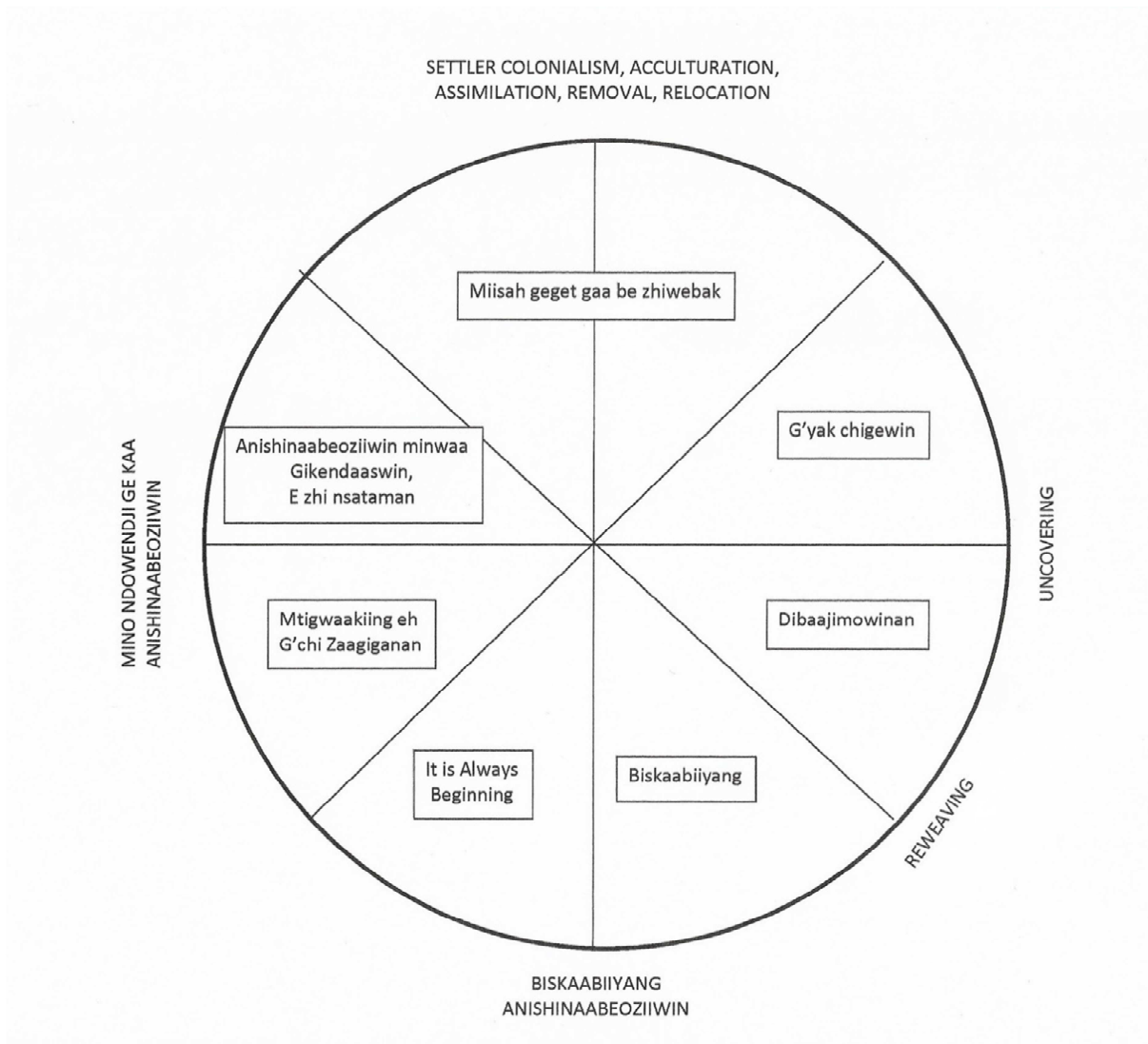


Figure 1.2: Dissertation Organization/ Chapter Time and Space

## DWAAGEK AND MINO NOWENDJ GE KAA

### Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag: Chapter 2

This chapter discusses my understanding of the Anishinaabe Cosmos within the spiral of time, and Anishinaabe Aki<sup>1</sup> within and in relation to the Cosmos. Its purpose is to describe the lands and waters, and the metaphysical beings from which Anishinaabe water related Gikendaaswin<sup>2</sup> and intellectual theory both emerge and are embodied within. This discussion is a synthesis of Knowledges shared by Anishinaabe Elders and Knowledge Holders, as well as literature authored by natural scientists, ethnographers, anthropologists, and others.

As this research is both an academic and a personal journey, there is significant intention in focusing on the both the Great Lakes Basin and the Bodwewaadmii homelands immediately adjacent to, and inland from Mishii'igan.<sup>3</sup> See Map 2.1, Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag, for an illustration of the Great Lakes Basin.

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<sup>1</sup> *Land and water, all of Creation in Anishinaabe territory.*

<sup>2</sup> *The embodiment of Knowledges; See Anishinaabeodziiwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin, Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of Knowledges.*

<sup>3</sup> *Grand lake; Lake Michigan.* Our homelands encircle Mishii'igan, extending along the western and southern lakeshore from what is known as Green Bay, Wisconsin to Chicago, Illinois and stretching northward along the southeastern shoreline to the outlet of the Kalamazoo River in Michigan.

## Anishinaabe Aki: The source of love and life itself

*My tired, box-filled daabaan<sup>4</sup> climbs yet another hill on I-35, nearly completing another day of driving. We are road weary—nbazgim,<sup>5</sup> my sweet old dog and me. Greybull, Wyoming to Mitchell, South Dakota and now further eastward, and northeastward. The wide blue skies dotted by cotton ball clouds that stretched from horizon to horizon have become smaller—now confined by encircling conifers, standing tall and dark green against the fading blue. Water fills my eyes as we crest the height of land and they first glimpse the deep blue, shimmering expanse of Nibi.<sup>6</sup> Anishinaabewi G'chi gamii.<sup>7</sup> I have returned home.<sup>8</sup>*

Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag,<sup>9</sup> the Great Lakes Basin, is more than the primary geographic context of my research. Anishinaabe Aki is home; both a landscape and a way of being shaped by and intimately tied to water. It is “both context and process.”<sup>10</sup> Anishinaabe Aki is the source of our intellectual tradition, stories and Knowledges, our language, and Anishinaabe theory. I have come home and have come to understand this place as the source of love and life itself—the source of mno bemaadziwin<sup>11</sup> and Anishinaabeodziwin.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Car.

<sup>5</sup> My lover, boyfriend.

<sup>6</sup> Water existing on the surface of the earth, lake or river water.

<sup>7</sup> Lake Superior.

<sup>8</sup> Personal Reflection, Duluth, MN, August 19, 2011.

<sup>9</sup> *The Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands.*

<sup>10</sup> Simpson, “Land as Pedagogy,” 7.

<sup>11</sup> *The good life.*

<sup>12</sup> *Being Anishinaabe, embodiment of all aspects of the Anishinaabe way of life, philosophy, psychology, culture, teachings, spirituality customs and history*

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg<sup>13</sup> physically resided within and in relationship with Anishinaabe Aki for millennia, originating west of Mishii'igan at Na Nawe Gwan<sup>14</sup> or, perhaps, having moved westward.<sup>15</sup> Odaawaa<sup>16</sup> and Ojibwe<sup>17</sup> Anishinaabeg were, according to oral tradition and Midewiwin<sup>18</sup> scrolls, divinely directed in a westward migration, following the northern waterway from G'chi gaamii Ziibi<sup>19</sup> up G'chi Ziibi<sup>20</sup> into Lake Nipissing and the French River into the upper Great Lakes.<sup>21</sup>

Mishii'igan and the adjacent land hold historic and contemporary, cultural and spiritual significance to the Bodwewaadmii. Mishii'igan is “a part of life essential to our ethnogenesis, an inheritance and birthright, a resource and a place of sustenance, a gift from our Creator, and a place to be honored, protected, and utilized.”<sup>22</sup> Oral tradition describes Mishii'igan as home to our metaphysical underwater beings. One of these, the underwater panther, lives at Mana'wa,<sup>23</sup> now referred to as Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Bodwewaadmii scholar John Low

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<sup>13</sup> *The Potawatomi People*.

<sup>14</sup> *The centre of it all, the centre of the meeting place; near Campbellsport, Wisconsin*. Jim Thunder, Potawatomi Language and History Conference, Carter, Wisconsin, August 12, 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, xxxv.

<sup>16</sup> *The Odaawaa Anishinaabeg, known as the merchants of the Three Fires Confederacy*.

<sup>17</sup> *The Ojibwe Anishinaabeg*.

<sup>18</sup> The Grand Medicine Society of the Anishinaabeg.

<sup>19</sup> *Sea River; St. Lawrence River, Ontario/ New York/ Quebec*.

<sup>20</sup> *Ottawa River, Ontario/ Quebec*.

<sup>21</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, xxxv.

<sup>22</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 80 -81.

<sup>23</sup> “The name Mana'wa refers to [the underwater panther]'s den.” (Howard, “When They Worship the Underwater Panther, 217.)

explains: “According to the beliefs of traditional Potawatomi,” Mishii’igan “became a place *before* human intervention. The intervention that did take place was a profound supernatural event; all the ancestral lands of the Potawatomi became *place*.”<sup>24</sup>

Mishii’igan and the adjacent land also hold significance in my family’s history. My Bodwewaadmii, Menominee and Wemtigoozhii<sup>25</sup> ancestors resided, worked and travelled extensively along the western shores of Mishii’igan prior to removal and relocation in the 1800s.

### **A layered, watery cosmos**

Water is ubiquitous throughout our Cosmos. Nibi exists everywhere in her physical and spiritual forms<sup>26</sup>—transforming herself from liquid to solid, or vapor and back into the flowing form that we know of as our first medicine. Nibi gives life, sustains and protects life. She has shaped Anishinaabe Aki, Anishinaabeodziwin and mno bemaadiziwin. With the assistance of Anishinaabe metaphysical beings, Nibi cleanses the Skyworld and Mtigwaaning,<sup>27</sup> bringing balance and dealing death.<sup>28</sup> She is continually teaching us and providing us with beauty,

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<sup>24</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 78.

<sup>25</sup> *The newcomers who arrived carrying a wooden cross; French, French people.*

<sup>26</sup> Water, as a giver of life, is associated with feminine energy. I am choosing to refer to water using the gendered pronouns she and her.

<sup>27</sup> *Place of shelter beneath the branches of the trees; the first realm of Creation.*

<sup>28</sup> The concept of water as “death dealing” was shared on October 2, 2019 by Marie Aloahani Brown in her First Peoples House of Learning hosted traditional teaching titled “Ka Po’e Mo’o: Hawaiian Reptilian Deities” at Trent University.

Water’s ability to take away life was a principle that emerged from the stories and teachings shared at a Nibi Gathering in 2013.



transportation, and sustenance. Water connects all beings and the physical and spiritual spaces of Creation, flowing continually, transforming and transitioning between sky and earth, and comprising a majority percentage by weight of plants, fish, four-legged beings and humans. Anishinaabe-Métis scholar Aimée Craft agrees: “Water exists not only in the form of flowing water but is found in all living things.” Nawaa’kamigoweini shared with Craft and others that “Water needs to be looked at in a holistic sense, including its impact on plants and animals. Not just water in lakes and rivers and snow . . . if we don’t have water there are no plants and medicines.”<sup>29</sup>

Gaabin nsatamaan,<sup>30</sup> as I have come to understand it, the dynamic, complex Anishinaabe Cosmos consists of Gahnoowaaniing,<sup>31</sup> Nangoskwaaning,<sup>32</sup> and Manidoowaaning,<sup>33</sup> the layers of Creation comprising the Skyworld,<sup>34</sup> and the water worlds of Mtigwaaning. These waters include G’chi gaamiing<sup>35</sup> and the smaller lakes and rivers, and springs.

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Craft, “Anishinaabe Nibi Inaakonigewin,” 43.

<sup>29</sup> Craft, “Anishinaabe Nibi Inaakonigewin,” 29.

<sup>30</sup> *“How I have come to understand it,” empirical knowledge.*

<sup>31</sup> *The place where the golden eagle flies; the second layer of the Anishinaabe cosmos above the earth.*

<sup>32</sup> *The Starworld.*

<sup>33</sup> *Spirit World, place of the spirits, where Gete Anishinaabe reside.*

<sup>34</sup> Stewart King-ban, “Historical and Spiritual Perspectives on the Language.”; Benton-Banai writes of eight levels of Creation—four levels above the Earth and four levels below—describing the levels as unseen, yet as “real and necessary for life as the water you drink” (*The Mishomis Book*, 46.)

<sup>35</sup> *The Great Lakes.*

The levels of the Cosmos are both a personal and psychological reality,<sup>36</sup> as well as a philosophical reality inhabited by manidoog<sup>37</sup> and connected by Nibi in a complex and complementary relationship.<sup>38</sup> Our Cosmos “includes all aspects of creation: land forms, elements, plants, animals, spirits, sounds, thoughts, feelings, energies and all the emergent systems, ecologies and networks that connect these elements. Knowledge from the earth, Akinoomaage<sup>39</sup> flows through the layered spirit world above the earth, the place where spiritual beings reside and the place where our ancestors sit.”<sup>40</sup> Complementary and reciprocal relationships between these spiritual beings, including Anishinaabeg, is an “enactment of a structural interchange of energy and will between powerful ‘persons’ whose behavior necessarily affects human life. . . that both reflects the lived reality of that world and helps to determine the position and existence of the human subjects there in.”<sup>41</sup>

Beginning with Mtigwaaning and moving skywards and outwards, these concentric levels include Gahnoowaaniing, Nangoskwaaning and Manidoowaaning.<sup>42</sup> As I have come to

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<sup>36</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 44.

<sup>37</sup> *Spirits*.

<sup>38</sup> Penney and McMaster, *Before and after the Horizon*, 37.

<sup>39</sup> *Learning from the earth*; “We can also use the word akinoomaage, which is formed from two roots: aki: noomaage. ‘Aki’ means earth and ‘noomaage’ means to point towards and take direction from” (Simpson, “Land as Pedagogy,” 14.)

<sup>40</sup> Simpson, “Land as Pedagogy,” 15.

<sup>41</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 2.

<sup>42</sup> Stewart King-ban, Bodwewaadmii, Wasauksing First Nation, was my life partner, cultural, spiritual and language mentor. Throughout our time together he shared many stories and teachings over cups of coffee, while travelling together and in ceremony. It isn’t possible to include a specific date on which these teachings were shared. From this point forward in this chapter, he will be cited in footnotes as sharing teachings with his name and home community.

understand, Mtigwaaning is Anishinaabe Aki—the place of the trees—where we can live and thrive as Anishinaabeg in relationship with our relatives. Our day-to-day life occurs within Mtigwaaning. It is here that Anishinaabeg, as spirits in a human vessel, reside and live within the cycle of the seasons. Ininiwag,<sup>43</sup> Getsijig,<sup>44</sup> and binoojiinag<sup>45</sup> are spiritually secured within Mtigwaaning, while physically working, teaching, learning, and holding Ceremony.<sup>46</sup> Time exists only in Mtigwaaning, evidenced by the changing Seasons.<sup>47</sup>

Gahnoowaaniing, the place where the golden eagle flies and where Animikii Binesiyag<sup>48</sup> reside, is the initial tier of that layered spirit world above the earth. Kwewag<sup>49</sup> who are carrying new life within the waters of their bodies are spiritually secured here, one level closer to G'chi Zhemnidoo,<sup>50</sup> as Co-Creators.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *Men.*

<sup>44</sup> *Elders.*

<sup>45</sup> *Children.*

<sup>46</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation.

<sup>47</sup> Benton-Banai, *Mishomis Book*, 45.

<sup>48</sup> *Thunderbirds.*

<sup>49</sup> *Women.*

<sup>50</sup> *Great, kind and forgiving spirit, Creator.*

<sup>51</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation.

Shkaabewis<sup>52</sup> Giizis<sup>53</sup> and Nokmis D’bik Giizis<sup>54</sup> travel east to west within Nangoskwaaning—the Starworld, where Gete Anishinaabeg<sup>55</sup> are spiritually secured. Jibay Miikaan<sup>56</sup> or Mashkiki Miikaan<sup>57</sup> stretches across this middle Skyworld tier, accompanied by Waasnode<sup>58</sup> and the constellations that guide Anishinaabeodziiwin.

Nibi is ubiquitous within the Cosmos. Nibi takes multiple forms in her relationship with Anishinaabe Aki and our relatives. She emerges from within Shkaakmiikwe<sup>59</sup> through mookijiwanibiigan,<sup>60</sup> cleanses the land’s surface as she flows in rivers, streams and creeks and as she overreaches riverbanks and floods or is driven further inland by storm surges or Noodin.<sup>61</sup> Nibi connects Gahnoowaaniing and Shkaakmiikwe with falling rain and snow and connects Shkaakmiikwe with Gahnoowaaniing as mist rises from our lakes, rivers and saturated land.

Nibi and Manidoog connect Shkaakmiikwe, Mtigwaaning and the Skyworld. Animikii Binesiyag bring rain and sometimes snow from Gahnoowaaniing, and fill the summer night

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<sup>52</sup> *Helper.*

<sup>53</sup> *Sun.*

<sup>54</sup> *Our Grandmother the night-time sun; the moon.*

<sup>55</sup> *The old ones, Anishinaabe Ancestors.*

<sup>56</sup> *The path of the Spirits; Milky Way.*

<sup>57</sup> *The medicine path; Milky Way.*

<sup>58</sup> *The fire that burns from afar; Northern lights, aurora borealis.*

<sup>59</sup> *Describing the hard surface that we walk on, Mother Earth.*

<sup>60</sup> *Springs.*

<sup>61</sup> *Wind.*

sky,<sup>62</sup> Nangoskwaaning. Michi Shibzhii,<sup>63</sup> the leader of the underwater beings, protects Nibi as well as the Anishinaabeg. Appearing in the sky in the early springtime,<sup>64</sup> Michi Shibzhii is further connected to the Skyworld through relationship with Animikii Binesiyag.

Nibi and these Manidoog are our relatives. We care for, acknowledge, honor, and protect them. “Maintaining the health of their environment, both physically and spiritually, continues to be a moral imperative among many Potawatomi.”<sup>65</sup> Zhngos-ban, Migizi Odoodem, Bodwewaadmii Getsit<sup>66</sup> and spiritual leader shared that the Manidoog sent him back<sup>67</sup> to tell those of us in Mtigwaaning to revitalize our relationship with Animikii Binesiyag, Miishikenh,<sup>68</sup> and Michi Shibzhii by honoring these beings through Ceremony and song as we have done in the past: “The Potawatomi have a long history of caring for the lake and its creatures through their actions, prayers, and Ceremonies. . . The Potawatomi have always had specific Ceremonies for the beings living in the waters of Lake Michigan; the performance of those ceremonies ensured safety and balance for all.”<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Animikii Binesiyag Nekaanag (Thunderbird constellation) is massive in size and fills nearly half of the night sky during the summer months. Sutherland and Moose, “Star Teachings and Moon Cycles.”

<sup>63</sup> *Underwater panther.*

<sup>64</sup> Sutherland and Moose, “Star Teachings and Moon Cycles.”

<sup>65</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 81.

<sup>66</sup> *Elder.*

<sup>67</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation, while in palliative care in March of 2018, travelled back and forth between Mtigwaaning and Nangoskwaaning for several days.

<sup>68</sup> *Turtle.*

<sup>69</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 81.

## Mtigwaaning/Anishinaabe Aki: Shaped by Nibi

The Great Lakes—Anishinaabewi G’chi gamii, Mishii’igan, G’chi Aazhoogamii,<sup>70</sup> Waabishkiigoo G’chi gamii<sup>71</sup> and Niigani G’chi gamii<sup>72</sup>—flow to the Atlantic Ocean through G’chi gamii Ziibi.

These five lakes contain more than ninety-five percent of North America’s freshwater.<sup>73</sup>

Precipitation and water entering Anishinaabewi G’chi gamii from streams and rivers, or from groundwater reservoirs “would take three hundred years to make its way to the St. Lawrence River. In other words, the water flowing out of Lake Ontario today may have carried the canoes of French fur traders crossing Lake Superior in the late eighteenth century.”<sup>74</sup>

These zaagiganag<sup>75</sup> and their outflows were shaped by Nibi about one million years ago. Nibi, as mikwam,<sup>76</sup> formed glaciers that alternatingly flowed southward and receded northward. This repetitive action “carved out the lakes and established the waterways that now comprise the great inland seas of North America.”<sup>77</sup> Glaciers sculpted the landforms of Mtigwaaning—moraines, eskers, drumlins—as meltwaters filled the lake basins and riverbeds and deposited fertile soil.<sup>78</sup> The present configuration of the Great Lakes Basin resulted from the melting

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<sup>70</sup> *Great Cross Waters Sea; Lake Huron.*

<sup>71</sup> *Lake Erie.*

<sup>72</sup> *Leading sea; Lake Ontario.*

<sup>73</sup> Grady, *Great Lakes*, 21.

<sup>74</sup> Grady, 22.

<sup>75</sup> *Lakes.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ice.*

<sup>77</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, xxviii.

<sup>78</sup> Grady, *Great Lakes*, 68.

glaciers and the formation of water drainage patterns about 4000 to 2000 years ago. As the ice melted it created a northern flow of water in what is known as the French River–Ottawa River corridor. Only a small amount of water drained southward into what is now Waabishkiigoo G’chi gamii.

Land rebounded, rising upwards, as the glaciers receded and the weight of 1.5 miles,<sup>79</sup> or nearly 8000 feet of ice was removed. Subsurface geologic forces also pushed the land upwards. “The rise of the land was as much as four hundred feet in some places during the early postglacial era (3000 to 1500 BC) and one hundred feet in other places during the period 1500 to 500 BC.”<sup>80</sup> Rebounding land created a “quarter-mile-wide rock dam” holding back Anishinaabewi G’chi gamii.<sup>81</sup> Rapids at Bawating<sup>82</sup> discharged a similar volume of water to the current discharge of Wayaanag Gakaabikaawang,<sup>83</sup> and created the “greatest freshwater fishery in North America.”<sup>84</sup> The previously formed northern drainage system was cut off, and water began to flow southward through what is now known as the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair, and the Detroit River, then into Waabishkiigoo G’chi gamii and Niigani G’chi gamii, eventually flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, through G’chi gamii Ziibi. The southward flow of drainage

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<sup>79</sup> Grady, 72.

<sup>80</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, xxx–xxxI.

<sup>81</sup> Our stories tell us of a giant beaver dam across the far eastern portion of Lake Superior. Nanaboozhoo broke this dam, creating a “Great Flood” and Lake Huron. (Murdoch, *The Trail of Nanaboozhoo*, 49.)

<sup>82</sup> *At the place of the rapids; Sault Sainte Marie, Ontario/Michigan.*

<sup>83</sup> *At the curved waterfalls; Niagara Falls, New York/Ontario.*

<sup>84</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, xxx–xxxI.

waters eroded land and deposited soil in “the rich and fertile estuaries and islands at the mouth of the St. Clair River,” including the several islands that comprise Bkejwanong.<sup>85</sup> The redirection of drainage also created the chain of islands including Bootaagan Mnis<sup>86</sup> and Odaawaa or Mnidoo Mnis.<sup>87</sup>

Prior to the shaping of the land by ice, prior to the birth of the waterways essential to Anishinaabe sustenance and ways of being, Nibi from deep within Shkaakmiikwe, in the form of magmatic water, assisted in the formation of asinag<sup>88</sup> and, in the form of mineralizing hydrothermal fluids,<sup>89</sup> brought miskwaabik<sup>90</sup> to Anishinaabe Aki. Nibi’s lifegiving abilities extend to Anishinaabe Aki itself. Nibi is “fundamental to magma genesis, evolution, and eruption,”<sup>91</sup> the geologic processes central to the formation of much of Anishinaabe Aki’s initial landforms. The significance of miskwaabik in Anishinaabeodziwin is discussed in a subsequent section of this chapter.

The Great Lakes—Anishinaabewi G’chi gamii, Mishii’igan, G’chi Aazhoogamii, Waabishkiigoo G’chi gamii and Niigani G’chi gamii—associated rivers, streams and seasonal

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<sup>85</sup> *Walpole Island, Ontario.*

<sup>86</sup> *Drummond Island, Michigan.*

<sup>87</sup> *Manitoulin Island, Ontario; Bellfy, Three Fires Unity, xxxi.*

<sup>88</sup> *Rocks.*

<sup>89</sup> “The western Upper Peninsula of Michigan is well known for hosting significant concentrations of copper in copper-dominated deposits...These deposits are interpreted to be the result of mineralizing hydrothermal fluids derived from rift-filling basaltic volcanic rocks that migrated upwards...” (Bornhorst and Barron, “Copper deposits,” 83.)

<sup>90</sup> *Red rock; copper.*

<sup>91</sup> Wade, et al, “Prediction of magmatic,” from abstract.



creeks, as well as the smaller lakes and springs populate Mtigwaaning, where the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg have resided,<sup>92</sup> thriving by living mno bemaadiziwin and embodying our ways of knowing and being.

## **Mookjiwanibiig**

Springs are sources of life-sustaining water, and medicine. Our dbaajimowinag describe the healing properties and relationship between Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe and Mookjiwanibiig.<sup>93</sup> Nibi flowing from Shkaakmiikwe heals both our lands and our people. Continuing practices of bagajigiwen<sup>94</sup> are demonstrative of the respectful, reciprocal relationship and include “offerings of animal bones, pottery, stone and bone implements, ornaments, clam shells and pipe bowls.”<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> The Anishinaabeg have inhabited Anishinaabe Aki for over 2500 years. According to Phil Bellfy in *Three Fires Unity*, “at the beginning of the historic period the Ottawa, Huron, and Chippewa were recent arrivals in the area. ... The Potawatomi moved westward just prior to the historic period [and are] the best suspects as a Native population” (xxxiv).

<sup>93</sup> *Spring*. Bodwewaadmii and Ho-Chunk villages in southern Wisconsin are associated with individual and groups of springs. In particular, springs on the north and west shores of Spring Lake in what is now Jefferson County where Prairie Potawatomi camped; the Mystery Spring in Jackson County; the Beaver Dam spring in Vita Spring Park in Dodge County that was/is shared by the Potawatomi and Ho-Chunk Peoples; and the Seven Sacred Springs near Lake Geneva, Walworth County, where the Potawatomi village of Chief Big Foot was located. *Wisconsin Archeologist*, v. 7, No. 4, n. s., p. 216. Sacred sites, such as Na Nawe Gwan in southern Fond Du Lac County, are also associated with springs (Personal Knowledge.)

<sup>94</sup> *Making offerings*.

<sup>95</sup> Brown, “Legends of Springs,” 80.

## Our Relatives Residing in Mtigwaaning

Mtigwaaning is comprised of storied forests and prairies, inhabited by our relatives, and containing mounds and populated by springs, rivers, and large and small lakes. Our relatives<sup>96</sup> include Knowledge Holders and teachers in the form of Manidoog and protectors—Little People, G’chim Sabe,<sup>97</sup> Mermaids/ Mermen, Serpents, Michi Shibzhii, and Michi Bizhou.<sup>98</sup>

Memgwesiwag<sup>99</sup> reside in Mtigwaaning in relationship with Nibi and Anishinaabeg. They are seen by some Anishinaabeininiwag<sup>100</sup> and kwewag,<sup>101</sup> as well as binoojiinag. Our stories describe these Manidoog as protectors and companions living near water in the mixed hardwood forests, in meadows, on the shores of Lakes, near Giishkaazhibikaag,<sup>102</sup> within riverbanks, and frequenting waterfalls. Pau-eehnssiwuk<sup>103</sup> residing near the water’s edge warn Anishinaabeg to be wary and cautious of Mermaids and Mermen.<sup>104</sup> Often described as miniature Anishinaabe with hairy faces, shaggy and unkempt, Memgwesiwag also look after

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<sup>96</sup> Pomedli describes the interrelationship between Anishinaabe and water beings as cousins, and more specifically the kinship tie is with kwewag (Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 168.)

<sup>97</sup> *Bigfoot*; G’chim Sabe is not explicitly, from my understanding, explicitly connected to Nibi. Therefore, a discussion of this Manidoo is not included in this chapter.

<sup>98</sup> *Underwater lynx*.

<sup>99</sup> *Little People*.

<sup>100</sup> *Anishinaabe men*.

<sup>101</sup> *Women*.

<sup>102</sup> *Rock cliff*.

<sup>103</sup> *Little People that live near the water’s edge*.

<sup>104</sup> Johnston, *The Manitous*, 151.

grieving and despondent binoojiinag. Mizauwabeekummoowuk<sup>105</sup> keep to themselves “on the mountain sides and descend[ed] from time to time to cut some overbearing humans or supernatural being down to size. It [is] unknown whether the little manitous resembled human beings.”<sup>106</sup> Others, who travel in stone canoes and live within Giishkaazhibikaa, have the power to both raise and calm a thunderstorm. When seen by Anishinaabe, they immediately flee, sometimes laughing, into either caves under the water, or into the rock face itself.<sup>107</sup>

Memgawesiwag frequent waterfalls, such as Mashkiigong Ziibi and Hardscrabble Falls in Northern Wisconsin, and roam about bodies of water—Apostle Islands in Lake Superior are “one of their main ‘stomping grounds.’”<sup>108</sup> Stories tell us that they discovered the red pipestone near Hardscrabble Falls—where Anishinaabe “hunters have heard the noise made by their stone hammers when parties of these little folk were engaged in quarrying the stone for pipe and ornament making.”<sup>109</sup> Memgawesiwag are sometimes glimpsed from a distance yet disappear when approached.<sup>110</sup> Those living in the forests prefer to make their homes in large

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<sup>105</sup> *The copper Manidoog* (Johnston’s spelling); their name is derived from the gold, copper and pyrite contained in the escarpments of their mountain homes (Johnston, *Manitous*, 152.)

<sup>106</sup> Johnston, *Manitous*, 153.

<sup>107</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 191.

<sup>108</sup> Brown, “Waterfalls,” 111 – 112.

<sup>109</sup> Brown, 111 – 112.

<sup>110</sup> Brown, 111 – 112.

beech trees.<sup>111</sup> Memgawesiwag are also associated pictographs, as they are observed to be nearby, and perhaps the beings who have created the paint and paintings themselves.<sup>112</sup>

Memgawesiwag appear and disappear suddenly; they are full of “play, laughter and mischief,”<sup>113</sup> and are frequently blamed for missing objects. Bagajige of miinan,<sup>114</sup> maple sugar and candy, and small shiny objects are gifted to them to both protect objects from going missing, and when asking for the return of missing objects.<sup>115</sup> Those that live in the rock and Giishkaazhibikaa by Nibi like gunpowder and lead shot, these bagajige are sent out into the water on a raft made from anakaanashk.<sup>116</sup> “These little men give great power if dreamed about.”<sup>117</sup>

Nebaunaubaequaen<sup>118</sup> dwell in the waters of Mtigwaaning, having been placed here during Creation. Half-fish, half-human our stories tell us they speak Anishinaabemowin and live like Anishinaabeg.<sup>119</sup> Appearing at night, Nebaunaubaequaen, are helpers to Anishinaabe and

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<sup>111</sup> Misko’o, January 12, 2020. Misko’o, also known as Kevin Finney, and I have known each other for decades. He is a Knowledge Holder and artisan of non-Indigenous ancestry, who has been adopted into the Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii family of Sydney Pigeon and George Martin. Kevin has generously shared his Knowledges and stories with me throughout the years. It isn’t always possible to include a specific date on which Knowledges and stories were shared. In these instances, information will be cited with his name only.

<sup>112</sup> Ritchie Sinclair, 2019. Shared via Facebook Post.

<sup>113</sup> Johnston, *Manitous*, 152.

<sup>114</sup> *Berries, blueberries*.

<sup>115</sup> Collective knowledge of Shopodock Family, of Wabeno, Wisconsin shared with author, n.d.; Personal practice; and Misko’o.

<sup>116</sup> *Bulrush*. Misko’o, January 12, 2020.

<sup>117</sup> Brown, “Myths and Legends,” 111 – 112.

<sup>118</sup> *Mermaid/mermen* (Johnston spelling).

<sup>119</sup> Johnston, *Manitous*, 137 – 138, 149.

are always following them.<sup>120</sup> Some Anishinaabe are lured into lakes by Nebaunaubaequaen, abducted and then mated with. As Manidoog, Nebaunaubaequaen are able to reproduce amongst themselves, yet are “susceptible to concupiscences” with Anishinaabe.<sup>121</sup>

An Anishinaabeinini became a merman after he harvested, cooked and ate a fish from a spring, despite warnings from a travelling companion. In this story shared by Basil Johnston-ban, the inini<sup>122</sup> became thirsty, and his thirst was unquenchable. Many times, his travelling companion went to the spring and brought water to inini. Yet, inini pleaded for more. Tired, frustrated, and angry, his travelling companion told inini to go to the spring for himself. Inini did, and he did not return. His travelling companion went to look for him and saw inini in the spring. Inini had become half fish. The spring then began to flow as a river. The river soon became a lake—a lake containing many fish.<sup>123</sup>

### **Michi Shibzhii miinwaa Michi Bizhou**

Michi Shibzhii, the underwater panther, is a powerful “mediator between the water, land and sky beings.”<sup>124</sup> This being “garners the utmost respect and awe from the Anishinaabeg because

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<sup>120</sup> Johnston and George, *The Star-Man*, 31.

<sup>121</sup> Johnston, *Manitous*, 149.

<sup>122</sup> *Man*.

<sup>123</sup> Johnston, *The Bear Walker*, 23 - 25.

<sup>124</sup> Nelson, “Hydromythology of the Anishinaabeg,” 213.

of his<sup>125</sup> immense power and underwater mystery.”<sup>126</sup> Residing in Mtigwaaning, specifically in Mishii’igan and the other large lakes, Michi Shibzhii “moderates and balances” the “powerful, transformative and critical space”<sup>127</sup> between the lakes and Gahnoowaaniing. This critical space is the sacred domain of Michi Shibzhii and has “protected life for the past 500 million years.”<sup>128</sup>

Michi Bizhou, the underwater lynx, resides in the smaller lakes and rivers.<sup>129</sup> Both Michi Shibzhii and Michi Bizhou are underwater Manidoog who protect Nibi, guarding our lakes and rivers and the other water beings,<sup>130</sup> as well restoring balance. In addition, Michi Shibzhii and Michi Bizhou are protectors of the Anishinaabeg, expelling enemies from the water. “In this relationship, waters help define these people [the Anishinaabe], for water comprised the greatest percentage of their human bodies, was maintained and renewed by the Thunderers, and connected the people to their ancestors.”<sup>131</sup>

Michi (also spelled Mishi) describes a being that is large in the spiritual sense, with immense power.<sup>132</sup> This power is “ambivalent, indeterminate,” and “can be used for

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<sup>125</sup> Michi Shibzhii exists, in my interpretation, within the spectrum of Anishinaabeodziwin genders. Therefore, a specific and/or masculine gender should not be assigned to this being.

<sup>126</sup> Nelson, “Hydromythology of the Anishinaabeg,” 220.

<sup>127</sup> Nelson, 224.

<sup>128</sup> Nelson, 224.

<sup>129</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation.

<sup>130</sup> Nelson, “Hydromythology of the Anishinaabeg,” 224.

<sup>131</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 174 – 175.

<sup>132</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation.

Ojibwe Peoples Dictionary defines Mishi as “giant, of legendary size” and Michi Shibzhii is described, by Skinner and Strong as “an evil power in the water” (Low, *Imprints*, 81 – 82).

malevolence or compassion.”<sup>133</sup> Respect for this power has been and continues to be portrayed in the constant wariness and caution displayed by Anishinaabeg through ceremonial offerings for “safety and long-term balance,”<sup>134</sup> and renderings of Michi Shibzhii’s image in “carvings, pictographs, effigy mounds in the Midwest” as well as on paintings, woven basswood bags, and water drums.<sup>135</sup> Without these offerings<sup>136</sup> and visual representations, Michi Shibzhii might disappear or he/she/they might seek attention through negative actions and bring water borne disease(s), decreased populations of fish, droughts or floods, and scarcities of manoomin<sup>137</sup> and other medicines.<sup>138</sup>

Michi Shibzhii is described as a panther serpent, a horned snake,<sup>139</sup> and a great horned water-panther who “possesses the ability to pass through the earth as well as its natural element [water].”<sup>140</sup> Physically weighing nine hundred pounds, Michi Shibzhii’s attributes include, according to a Bodwewaadmii Getsit, a “face like a ferocious old man, with red shining eyes edged in black,” and huge red horns. “His<sup>141</sup> body was covered with large green scales

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<sup>133</sup> Nelson, “Hydromythology of the Anishinaabeg,” 221 -222.

<sup>134</sup> Nelson, 220 – 221.

<sup>135</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 81 – 82; Howard, “When They Worship,” 221.

<sup>136</sup> Offerings of semaa (tobacco) and kinnikinnik are made by Anishinaabe when “passing by or over waters believed or know to be inhabited by these water spirits” (Brown, “Water Monster,” 27.)

<sup>137</sup> *The good berry, or the berry gifted to the Anishinaabeg by G’chi Zhemnido; wild rice.*

<sup>138</sup> Nelson, “Hydromythology of the Anishinaabeg,” 227.

<sup>139</sup> Nelson, 217.

<sup>140</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 81 – 82.

<sup>141</sup> Michi Shibzhii exists, in my interpretation, within the spectrum of Anishinaabeodziwin genders. Therefore, a specific and/or masculine gender should not be assigned to this being.

tipped with black, and his hoofs were red. His tail was so long until he could coil it around his body like a huge snake, and over his head and back through his legs. The tip of his tail was like the tail of a huge fish.”<sup>142</sup> Michi Shibzhii’s extraordinary power is demonstrated by these physical descriptions. “Both tail and horns are indications of mishebeshu’s<sup>143</sup> immense power. He uses the tail not only to travel swiftly through water but to roughen the lakes and rivers and to strike the boats upon where he and/or disrespectful humans. The horns here, as in all traditional Ojibway drawings, are signs of extraordinary power.”<sup>144</sup>

Others describe Michi Shibzhii as a huge, brown cat with webbed feet for swimming. This cat “lives in great big caves or holes in the ground. It acts something like a bear; it gathers moss and grass and places it in a hole where it hibernates until spring. This animal is always seen in the water or close to it.”<sup>145</sup> The Prairie Potawatomi describe this Manidoo as “being of an enormous size, with short yellow fur (or brassy scales), a long panther-like tail, and horns like a bull’s.”<sup>146</sup>

Michi Shibzhii has always been “a guardian of the waters and keeper of balance between the water spirits, land creatures and sky beings,” as well as responsible for controlling

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<sup>142</sup> Sherard, *People of the Place of the Fire*, 60.

<sup>143</sup> Alternative spelling of Michi Bizhou.

<sup>144</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 102- 103.

<sup>145</sup> Redsky and Stevens, *Great Leader of the Ojibway*, 120 -121.

<sup>146</sup> Howard, “When They Worship,” 217.



“the well-being of natural resources,”<sup>147</sup> including giigoohnyag and miskwaabik.<sup>148</sup> Stories are told of Michi Shibzhii’s unpredictable behavior and sudden appearance,<sup>149</sup> as well as the propensity to create storms, waterspouts, strong currents, undertows and whirlpools to protect the water and the water beings.<sup>150</sup> “Mishebeshu is the uncanny element in this world, the hidden form beneath the ice, which may suddenly crack in winter.”<sup>151</sup> In early and late Biboon, Michi Shibzhii grants sanctuary to Anishinaabe who have fallen through the ice, providing protection of their bodies until after melt.<sup>152</sup> It is said that Michi Shibzhii takes action to discourage overfishing, and to prevent lake transport of miskwaabik mined by non-Anishinaabeg. Specifically, sudden overturning of canoes, drowning of swimmers,<sup>153</sup> unexplained drowning of Anishinaabe fishers in southern Georgian Bay,<sup>154</sup> and an 1885 shipwreck of a vessel hauling a large cargo of miskwaabik,<sup>155</sup> are all attributed to Michi Shibzhii. “He is the one who holds boaters and swimmers to their death and the one who makes the

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<sup>147</sup> Nelson, “Hydromythology of the Anishinaabeg,” 224.

<sup>148</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 88; Nelson, “Hydromythology of the Anishinaabeg,” 217.

<sup>149</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 100.

<sup>150</sup> Brown, “Water Monsters,” 27; Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 115; Whirlpools are also thought to be indicators that Michi Shibzhii is coming out of an underwater cavern or tunnel (Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 113), or is simply present or approaching (Penney and McMaster, *Before and After the Horizon*, 41).

<sup>151</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 100.

<sup>152</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 178.

<sup>153</sup> Brown, “Water Monsters,” 27.

<sup>154</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation.

<sup>155</sup> Sutherland and Moose, “Star Teachings and Moon Cycles.”

ground go soft beneath your feet.”<sup>156</sup> Quicksand, swamps and other areas of wet ground are attributed to Michi Shibzhii: “He went across there. He's wet and he's happy. They say he moves like a leech on the land.”<sup>157</sup>

The underwater lynx, Michi Bizhou, possesses similar characteristics, responsibilities and powers to Michi Shibzhii, and, according to Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Getsit Stewart King-ban, resides in the smaller lakes and rivers of Anishinaabe Aki. Liz Osawamick, Odaawaa/Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Knowledge Holder from Wikwemikong Unceded Territory and Gidigaa Migizi Michi Saagii Anishinaabe<sup>158</sup> Getsit refer to Michi Bizhou as the underwater cat, not Michi Shibzhii.<sup>159</sup> Nelson and Smith also refer to the underwater cat as Michi Bizhou and not Michi Shibzhii.

Beliefs and practices associated with Michi Shibzhii are “general to all Potawatomi prior to contact.”<sup>160</sup> Prairie Band Potawatomi living in what is now Kansas use ‘nampe’shiu,’ or ‘nampeshi’k’ to refer to Michi Shibzhii.<sup>161</sup> Ceremonies associated with the underwater panther

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<sup>156</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 100.

<sup>157</sup> Smith, 100.

<sup>158</sup> *Mississauga Anishinaabe*.

<sup>159</sup> Liz Osawamik shared that the Anishinaabeg need to remember Michi Bizhou because we are forgetting this being. This was shared during questions and comments following Josephine Mandamin-ban’s Pine Tree Talk on March 7, 2016 at Trent University, Peterborough, ON; Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams) shared a story with me about seeing Michi Bizhou’s eyes through a crack in the ice on Chemong Lake.

<sup>160</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 81 -82.

<sup>161</sup> Low, 81 – 82. As I understand these names in a southern dialect of Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin, both describe an underwater being; pe’shiu a lynx and perhaps peshi’k a panther. Nam refers to under, specifically underwater in these words. Bodwewaadmii in Oklahoma use nampesho, zagma and zhagma; nambik for underwater. Bodwewaadmii in Kansas use Nambi-za (Howard, “When They Worship,” 217), and Anishinaabeg residing on Parry Island, Ontario in the 1930’s used Nzagima (Jenness, *The Ojibwa Indians*, 259).

ceremonial bundle were practiced by Prairie Band medicine man James Kagmega in 1959:

“[T]he right was an ancient one for the Potawatomi, one essential to the well-being of the tribe.”<sup>162</sup> Citizen Potawatomi Dbaajimowinag share insights to the relationship between Michi Shibzhii and the Bodwewaadmiig:

Many moons ago, longer than the oldest grandfathers in our tribe could remember, living in the big lake north of Wisconsin, and the Mississippi River were the mins (good) and the mitche’ (bad) spirit animal of the waters. At times when he was angry the roar of his voice could be heard a great distance away. Sometimes he would come out of the water and climb to the highest rock he could find to get the warmth of the sun, and watch our people. ...he [Michi Shibzhii] always knew if the Potawatomi had been doing good, and he would bring copper nuggets and leave them where they were sure to find them.<sup>163</sup>

Copper’s relationship with both Michi Shibzhii and Nibi is a common narrative with Anishinaabe Peoples and associated with the “identity of Great Lakes people.”<sup>164</sup> Miskwaabik and Nibi, each protected by the underwater panther, carry medicinal properties and are used in healing. Miskwaabik, revered by Anishinaabeg for its “supernatural powers,”<sup>165</sup> occurs in its native state in the basaltic rocks that comprise much of the land adjacent to and south of Anishinaabewi G’chi gamii, specifically Gakiwe-onigagaming<sup>166</sup> and Miinoong.<sup>167</sup> Copper deposits around the Great Lakes often coincided with places where healers came to dream and hear voices.

Anishinaabeg Elders came to the sacred copper sites in the late spring to heal their bones... Copper held healing spirits, the best energies of the earth. Some healers

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<sup>162</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 81 – 82.

<sup>163</sup> Sherard, *People of the Place of the Fire*, 60.

<sup>164</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 186.

<sup>165</sup> Morton and Gawboy, *Talking Rocks*, 97.

<sup>166</sup> *Keweenaw Peninsula, Michigan*.

<sup>167</sup> *Blueberrying place; Isle Royale, Michigan*; Morton and Gawboy, *Talking Rocks*, 85, 90.

prescribed the cold river water that ran through the exposed copper stone as a source of health and mythic dreams.<sup>168</sup>

There is a story of a woman who was gifted miskwaabik by the underwater panther. She, as a young girl, had played with Michi Bizhou. While travelling on Anishinaabewi G'chi gamii and the smaller lakes to the north, she was attacked by water serpents. Michi Bizhou, recognizing his friend, came to save her by rising out of the water and hitting the serpents. The serpents turned into miskwaabik, which Michi Bizhou gifted to her. The woman then brought miskwaabik back to her community to be used as medicine, and to purify water and make tools. According to the storyteller, miskwaabik strengthens our spiritual senses, lengthens our lifespan and takes away the pain in our bones.<sup>169</sup> Other stories tell us that Michi Shibzhii's body is also a source of miskwaabik: "Underwater manitouk also provided medicinal rocks to the Anishinaabeg...copper garnered from their own horns,"<sup>170</sup> or tails after being struck by Animikii Binesiyag.<sup>171</sup>

Narratives of Michi Shibzhii also describe this Manidoo as the provider of vermilion. Anishinaabeinini once dreamed of Michi Shibzhii or Michi Bizhou and received the red powder. The "medicine gift" was taken from between Michi Shibzhii's horns and collected in birch bark.

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<sup>168</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 185.

<sup>169</sup> Miskwaabik is known as a conductor of electricity just as our central nervous system is and our heart. Anishinaabeg used to wear copper around our chest areas as a big necklace as medicine. Sutherland and Moose, "Star Teachings and Moon Cycles."

<sup>170</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 88.

<sup>171</sup> Smith, 148.

He was given instructions to use it to cure “illness and obtain good fortune.” Unfortunately, this healer paid a “terrible price for this power”—his wife and children all died.<sup>172</sup>

Giishkaazhibikaag are an important transition between water and Skyworld, and Mtigwaaning and Skyworld—a place for pictographs, and homes for Memgawesiag and Animikii Binesiyag. Both Giishkaazhibikaag and the surface of Shkaakmiikwe are tablets for visual images. Petroglyphs, our teaching rocks, exist on rock outcroppings throughout Mtigwaaning, and asinag<sup>173</sup> themselves have been placed on the earth’s surface in petroforms, or mixed with wiyagaseh<sup>174</sup> and formed into mounds.<sup>175</sup> Our metaphysical relatives and as well as these visual images are connected to Nibi living within or above Giishkaazhibikaag, painted there or placed immediately adjacent to zaagiganag, Mookjiwanibiig and/or ziibiins.<sup>176</sup>

Mounds and petroforms exist within Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Aki, west of Mishii’igan in the southern two-thirds of what is now known as the state of Wisconsin.<sup>177</sup> These visual and physical manifestations of Manidoog are closely associated with Nibi in the forms of Mookjiwanibiig, rivers and lakes, both in the physical and spiritual sense. “Some mounds contain deposits of clay and mud. These were taken from marshes, lakes, and springs, and

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<sup>172</sup> Smith, 110.

<sup>173</sup> *Rocks.*

<sup>174</sup> *Dirt.*

<sup>175</sup> Many of the effigy mounds of Wisconsin are in the shape of either Michi Shibzhii or Animikii Binesiyag (Howard, “When They Worship the Underwater Panther,” 218.)

<sup>176</sup> Creek or stream.

<sup>177</sup> A few other mounds exist in what are now the states of Iowa, Illinois and Minnesota; Rosenbrough and Malone, *Water Panthers*, 3.

poured into the mound while they were still very wet.”<sup>178</sup> A complex, expansive group of petroforms, Na Nawe Gwan,<sup>179</sup> is constructed immediately adjacent to, and surrounding, Mookjiwanibiig. These petroforms include mirror images of Nekaanag,<sup>180</sup> solstice and equinox lines, and other formations that transcend and connect Mtigwaaning and the Skyworld. Pictographs, found throughout Mtigwaaning, are also physically and spiritually connected to Nibi, as well a connection to, and reflection of Nekaanag.

### **Anishinaabeodziwin: Relationships within the Skyworld**

Anishinaabeodziwin is living life as an Anishinaabe person—embodying our teachings, and maintaining relationships with, and fulfilling responsibilities to all of Creation. While we live *mno bemaadiziiwin* and Anishinaabeodziwin within Mtigwaaning, our relationships and responsibilities extend beyond Shkaakmiikwe, the water, land and all the beings residing within, to our multi-leveled cosmos.

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<sup>178</sup> Rosenbrough and Malone, *Water Panthers*, 3.

<sup>179</sup> *The centre of it all, the centre of the meeting place; near Campbellsport, Wisconsin.*

<sup>180</sup> *Constellations*. According to Miishikenh Abe Sutherland there is no Anishinaabemowin word that translates to the English word constellation(s). He uses Nekaanag, or relations, to refer to constellations. Anishinaabeg came from the stars and the relationship between individual stars that form images in the sky reflect our clan relationships.

There is fluidity, equity, and power in the dynamic balance<sup>181</sup> of the Anishinaabe Cosmos. Manidoog reside within, above and below Mtigwaaning; “they always have great power and can metamorphose at will.”<sup>182</sup>

The animikiig (thunderbirds) rule the sky; lightning shoots from their eyes, and thunder is their cries and the flapping of their wings. The thunderbirds’ counterparts and nemeses (and often prey) are the mishibizhiig (underwater panthers), great cats with serpent tails and horns, who govern the subsurface realm of lakes, rivers, swamps, caves, and earth. Though they represent polar opposites in the Anishinaabe cosmos, their diversity demonstrated a degree of fluidity between upperworld and underworld roles.<sup>183</sup>

Mno bemaadiziiwin miinwaa Anishinaabeodziiwin, like Nibi, was given lovingly to the Anishinaabeg by G’chi Zhemnidoo as the Seven Fires of Creation unfolded. “Gzhwe Manidoo<sup>184</sup> looked upon Creation, the incredible beauty of the Earth, the waterways, the lakes and streams, the rivers. Her Life Blood flowing below and above the ground. These are the very waters of life that feed and nourish all life, all of Creation. Her veins and her lifeblood, her bloodlines give life to all that Gzhwe Manidoo had made.”<sup>185</sup> To live mno bemaadiziiwin is both intellectually and physically challenging requiring precision, “an accurate understanding of one’s environment,”<sup>186</sup> and living “the knowledge in order to know it.” Biskaabiiyang is

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<sup>181</sup> “Anishinaabe cosmology emphasizes the complementary nature of these two zones of power and the necessary balance of cosmic dualities, whether of the thunderers and underwater beings, men and women, night and day, or youth and age” (Penney and McMaster, *Before and After the Horizon*, 63.)

<sup>182</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 62.

<sup>183</sup> Penney and McMaster, *Before and after the Horizon*, 37.

<sup>184</sup> *Kind and forgiving spirit; Creator.*

<sup>185</sup> Simpson, *Dancing*, 285.

<sup>186</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 117.

essential. “If we do not live our stories and our teachings, the echoes become fainter and will eventually disappear.”<sup>187</sup> Relationships—respectful and reciprocal, with the land, water and all beings of Creation—are also essential, for “no one can live well all alone.”<sup>188</sup>

### **Gahnoowaaniing maage Animikii Binesiyagwaaning**

Gahnoowaaniing maage<sup>189</sup> Animikii Binesiyagwaaning, the place where the golden eagle flies and where Animikii Binesiyag reside, is the initial tier of the Skyworld. Nibi exists in all her transformative states—as clouds, rain, snow, and ice. Water vapor rises from Mtigwaaning as it evaporates from the lakes and rivers protected by Michi Shibzhii, and cycles into the Skyworld, condensing and forming clouds and falling sometimes gently and other times with ferocity back to the surface of Shkaakmiikwe. Nibi connects these layers of Creation as do Animikii Binesiyag and Michi Shibzhii and other Manidoog. The seasonal cycle of melting snow and running sap, the return and departure of Animikii Binesiyag,<sup>190</sup> and the falling snow and return of the healing blanket of white connects these layers of Creation and is reflected in the constellations Nekaanag<sup>191</sup> in Nongoskwaaning.

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<sup>187</sup> Simpson, *Dancing*, 105.

<sup>188</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 117.

<sup>189</sup> *Or.*

<sup>190</sup> Animikii Binesiyag travel the cosmos. When Animikii Binesiyag grow too large to safely visit earth, they travel to and reside on Jupiter (Sutherland, “Anishinaabe Anang Gikendaasowinan miinawaa Nekaanag.”)

<sup>191</sup> Sutherland, “Anishinaabe Anang Gikendaasowinan miinawaa Nekaanag.”



Our stories tell us and teach us of the duality of the Waterworld of Mtigwaaning and the Skyworld of Gahnoowaaniing/Animikii Binesiyagwaaning, the balance and the collaborative relationship.

### **Duality of Waterworld and Skyworld: Collaborative Relationship of Balance**

Anishinaabeg conceptualization of the duality of the Waterworld and Skyworld is a collaborative, reciprocal relationship of balance between physical and spiritual spaces and beings.<sup>192</sup> Our practices of offering semaa<sup>193</sup> to the underwater beings before travelling on our lakes or fishing and burning cedar or lighting pwaaganag<sup>194</sup> with the approach of the Thunderbirds reflect Anishinaabeg understanding of, and maintenance of this reciprocal relationship. Respect is demonstrated for the power and gifts of these beings, as well as their abilities to guide and protect us. The necessity of balance is also understood, as is the potential for rebalancing through exertion of their power.

Some colonized texts, as well as some Anishinaabe narratives, represent this duality as a “complicated dialectical dance,”<sup>195</sup> or a dramatic and epic battle between powerful Manidoog:

“Power,” that awkward term that approximates unseen, unperceived agencies, can be experienced to the extent that it acts. The violent thunderstorm, the cresting waves of the agitated lake—these are powers visible in effect but also, in rare instances, in person. Thunderers (*animikiig*) and underwater panthers (*mishibizhiig*) may manifest themselves in many different ways: as a gigantic raptor with lightning flashing from its eyes, dwelling

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<sup>192</sup> Nelson, “The Hydromythology of the Anishinaabeg,” 224.

<sup>193</sup> *Tobacco*.

<sup>194</sup> *Ceremonial pipes used in prayers*.

<sup>195</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 2.

within anvil-shaped thunderheads; as a horned monster resident beneath the waters, whose serpentine tail stirs up vortices and tempests; as lesser animals, humanlike beings, and disembodied voices, or in symbols and signs.<sup>196</sup>

In addition, the protective actions resulting from the agency of Michi Shibzhiig and Animikii Binesiyag are interpreted by outsiders as negative, and independent of our collaborative, reciprocal relationship of balance: "...the underwater Manidoog continue to survive the onslaughts of the Thunderbirds and continue to act, even now, in ways that are sometimes detrimental and, more rarely, helpful to human beings."<sup>197</sup>

I have come to understand that Michi Shibzhii, as a protector of the water, assists the underwater beings—fish, turtles, frogs, insect larvae, amphibians, aquatic plants and their metaphysical relatives—by taking action to counter human initiated contamination of water, over consumption of fish, and other actions detrimental to the sustaining of all life. When Michi Shibzhii's protective actions have reached capacity, the Animikii Binesiyag are called on to provide cleansing and regeneration. "Mishebeshu appears able to regenerate himself constantly."<sup>198</sup> Rather than "onslaughts," I interpret cleansing by the waasamowin<sup>199</sup> of Animikii Binesiyag as a restoration of balance and energy, and healing of Michi Shibzhii. Restoration of water quality occurs through Michi Shibzhii stirring up "vortices and tempests."<sup>200</sup> Both types of

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<sup>196</sup> Penney and McMaster, *Before and After the Horizon*, 18.

<sup>197</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 2.

<sup>198</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 141.

<sup>199</sup> *Lightning*.

<sup>200</sup> Penney and McMaster, *Before and After the Horizon*, 18.

beings are needed “to keep the earth in harmony and balance.”<sup>201</sup> Their balancing activities are “witnessed in waking experience, dreams,”<sup>202</sup> and oral tradition.

Michi Shibzhii and Animikii Binesiyag are both “exceedingly complex,”<sup>203</sup> powerful and exist within a dualistic tension that is a “necessary and complementary element in the lives of the manitouk and the Anishinaabeg.”<sup>204</sup> This dualistic tension “is both an experience and an interpretation of that experience.”<sup>205</sup>

### **Animikii Binesiyag**

Our stories describe Animikii Binesiyag as “huge birds that live up in the sky, make thunder with their wings and shoot lightning out of their eyes.”<sup>206</sup> A story shared by Basil Johnston-ban describes the lightning as “fiery orange chains or in glowing sheets.”<sup>207</sup> Their feathers “shine with many, many colours too bright for the human eye to see,” while their song “rumbles and echoes from cloud to cloud until it becomes a booming mountain of sound that shakes the ground below.”<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Rosenbrough and Malone, *Water Panthers, Bears and Thunderbirds*, 3.

<sup>202</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 127.

<sup>203</sup> Smith, 129.

<sup>204</sup> Smith, 130.

<sup>205</sup> Smith, 128

<sup>206</sup> Rosenbrough and Malone, *Water Panther, Bears and Thunderbirds*, 3.

<sup>207</sup> Johnston, *Tales the Elders Told*, 40.

<sup>208</sup> Johnston, *Tales the Elders Told*, 40.

Thunderbirds are closely associated with the four winds, riding them from different directions and are said to “act as messengers of the Winds,”<sup>209</sup> as well as bringing rain.<sup>210</sup> The seasonal cycle of Animikii Binesiyag mirrors the movement of migratory birds, as well as the arrivals and departures of waawaaskwonensan<sup>211</sup> and Gete Anishinaabeg. Arriving from Zhawaanong<sup>212</sup> in mnookmik<sup>213</sup> with the other Bineshiinhyag, Animikii Binesiyag bring spring thunderstorms and, according to Smith, “travel through the sky on currents of air, striking the earth in search of food.”<sup>214</sup> “. . . Playful young thunderbirds like to cause wild, noisy, storms,”<sup>215</sup> and do so throughout the summer and into the fall. Young Thunderbirds are described as “often both foolish and dangerous. They have not perfected either their flights or their strikes and sometimes their behavior is rather pitiable.”<sup>216</sup> In dwaagek,<sup>217</sup> Animikii Binesiyag move southward, bringing the storms with them, and are absent from Anishinaabe Aki for biboon<sup>218</sup> returning yet again the next spring. Spring storms are typically milder, as the young

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<sup>209</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 80.

<sup>210</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 223.

<sup>211</sup> *Small white spring flowers.*

<sup>212</sup> *Southern direction.*

<sup>213</sup> *The time when the road gets easier, gentler; spring.*

<sup>214</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 76.

<sup>215</sup> Johnston, *Tales the Elders Told*, 41.

<sup>216</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 84.

<sup>217</sup> *When the colours blend; autumn.*

<sup>218</sup> *Winter; time of or the coming of near death.*

thunderbirds have matured and are thinking about “building their own nests in the northern sky.”<sup>219</sup>

These birds nest on Giishkaazhibikaag, where the “Earth’s energies [are] exposed. Animikii Binesiyag gather “these energies and disperse them, thereby mediating between the earth and sky.”<sup>220</sup> Nests are created from “scraps of clouds woven around spring ice and sleet and sealed with night mists and late frost.”<sup>221</sup> The nesting practices provide insight into the behavior and social structures of Animikii Binesiyag. It is understood that “they eat serpents and that they exist in family groups. . . They had friends as well as relatives who ate with them, a communal pattern which they shared with humans. But perhaps the most interesting is the existence and character of the young Thunderers, immature manitouk who must learn the skills of their elders.”<sup>222</sup> Their home is generally found in Epgishmok.<sup>223</sup>

Animikii Binesiyag are Knowledge Holders, teachers, and powerful communicators. Like other bineshiinhyag, they are gifts and the bearers of “messages for the Anishinaabeg because [they] can fly in the air, walk on the land, swim on the water, and dive underwater, going where we cannot.”<sup>224</sup> Helping the Anishinaabeg as they travel through Gahnoowaaniing, they “sound

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<sup>219</sup> Johnston, *Tales the Elders Told*, 41.

<sup>220</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 194.

<sup>221</sup> Johnston, *Tales the Elders Told*, 41.

<sup>222</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 84.

<sup>223</sup> *Western direction*; Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 80.

<sup>224</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 203.

their voice, not merely for show [but] in order to communicate with human beings,”<sup>225</sup> imparting knowledge, bringing gifts and medicine, “fortell[ing] the future,”<sup>226</sup> and either influencing or bringing dreams.<sup>227</sup>

Arrival of Animikii Binesiyag is signaled by Thunderstorms. The storms they create are an act of spirit, a “speech event” experienced by Anishinaabeg as “a communication from manitou to human being.”<sup>228</sup> These Manidoog both cause the storms, and are the storms—“something of a double status.”<sup>229</sup> Animikii Binesiyag “are often said to cause the sound of thunder by moving their huge wings and the flash of lightning by opening and closing their eyes. Alternatively, they produce the thunder when they speak, the lightning when they hurled bolts and/or stones to the ground.”<sup>230</sup>

Thunders are the voice of Thunderbirds, announcing their arrival and communicating to each other, giving direction to each other as to what they, as individuals or as a collective, are going to do. The lead Thunder, or Ninamidbe Bines,<sup>231</sup> speaks and the others carry the message(s).<sup>232</sup> Some Anishinaabeg speak of forty-eight thunders, “any one of whom had the

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<sup>225</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 66.

<sup>226</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 204.

<sup>227</sup> “The dreaming process with its visions and empowerments precedes and foreshadows predictions for individuals and the group” (Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 205.)

<sup>228</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 69.

<sup>229</sup> Smith, 66 and 69.

<sup>230</sup> Smith, 69.

<sup>231</sup> *The chief Thunder who sits quiet and gives orders. S/he/they may be the same as, or equal in rank with the Great Spirit, G’chi Manidoo*; Jenness, “Ojibwa Indians,” 35.

<sup>232</sup> Tim Watkinson, Wasauksing First Nation, January 12, 2020.

power to create a wind. When a breeze blows gently from a certain direction the thunders are sleeping and breathing quietly; when the air is calm they are sleeping, or else they have gone up to the sky.”<sup>233</sup> Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg of the Georgian Bay area have shared the individual names of twelve thunders. Their names, characteristics and responsibilities are described in Table 2.1.

Animikii Binesiyag represent a collective of Manidoog and “supernatural powers that work in unison.”<sup>234</sup> These powers govern Anishinaabe existence and life, as well as that of our older relatives, the plants and animals. “The thunders were the patrons of medicine men and women whose powers to heal were singular, striking, and conferred only upon a few.”<sup>235</sup>

The reciprocal relationship of respect between Animikii Binesiyag and Anishinaabeg is reflected in bagajigiwen,<sup>236</sup> the seasonal exchange of offerings. Animikii Binesiyag gift us with water as rainfall, hail and/or snow for Ceremony, medicine and nurturing our food plants. Their waasamowin energize the soil, preparing it for seeds. The energy transmitted also energizes our sacred bundles. In the spring, they clear and rebalance the air in preparation for the return of Gete Anishinaabe, our Ancestors. Animikii Binesiyag bring thunderstones and brought war clubs and war bundles to the Anishinaabeg long ago. In return, we honor them with offerings and practices of respect.

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<sup>233</sup> Jenness, “Ojibwa Indians,” 35.

<sup>234</sup> Jenness, “Ojibwa Indians,” 35.

<sup>235</sup> Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 150.

<sup>236</sup> *The practice of making offerings, gifts.*





Table 2.1: Animikii Binesiyag

Name	Description
Ninamidbe Bines	The chief Thunder who sits quiet and gives orders. S/he/they may be the same as or equal in rank with the Great Spirit, G'chi Manidoo.
Biindgak Kwaam	The noiseless thunder who operates in a cloudless sky without lightning: i.e., the thunderbolt.
Niigaan Kwaam	The "leader" in the clouds, the first thunder to come in the spring of the year.
Zhawanoo Bines	The "southern" thunder, or the thunder that operates in the south.
Beskinek Kwaam	The thunder that gives a sharp crack and sets fire to trees and houses.
Andji Bines	The 'renewer' of power.
Bezhweho Dang	The "echoer aloft"; i.e., the thunder that seems to come from the highest clouds and to mark the end of a storm.
Zhaaobiig Kwong	"Rainbow floats on water after a thunderstorm."
Baadweh Dang	The "approaching" thunder.
Giiwitaawehweh Dang	The "scout" thunder that goes all around the sky.
Bebomoweh Dang	The thunder that advances, retires, and advances again.
Mekwomii Niib	"Ice-bird"; the last thunderstorm in the autumn, which causes a thaw immediately followed by freezing. Sometimes come in winter also.

Animikii Binesiyag sometimes bring small spherical stones with their storms. These bagajige<sup>237</sup> both fall from the sky and are washed up on the shores of Anishinaabewi G'chi gamii during thunderstorms. There are many practices and stories associated with these gifts. Thunderstones are used in the dressing and tying of the Midewiwin Little Boy Water Drum;<sup>238</sup> and as "rain-bringers" and protecting "one against the power of the storm" as well as lightning strikes.<sup>239</sup> Thunderstones resemble the much larger Thunderbird eggs,<sup>240</sup> and when placed outside with an offering of semaa can "cause an approaching thunderstorm to recede" because Animikii Binesiyag will avoid the possibility of injuring their eggs.<sup>241</sup>

Another type of small balls, with a diameter of approximately one-half inch and nearly weightless, is associated with a thunder Manidoog. This Manidoog, who is invisible, "controls the thunder [and the winds], though it is not itself the thunder-manido."<sup>242</sup> These powerful balls contain "all the winds. The balls travel through the air and under the water, creating winds and waves and purifying the water in their progress." A person possessing such a ball would have dreamed of its location and will have great strength and power.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Offerings or gifts.

<sup>238</sup> Edna Manitowabi, Elders and Traditional Peoples Gathering.

<sup>239</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 87.

<sup>240</sup> Thunderbird eggs can be seen along the southeastern shore of G'chi Aazhoogamii (Lake Huron), on the lands of Kettle and Stony Point First Nation (personal experience.)

<sup>241</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 88.

<sup>242</sup> Jenness, "Ojibwa Indians," 34. Jenness is quoting Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeinini Jonas King of Wasauksing First Nation.

<sup>243</sup> Jenness, 34.

Nibi and mkomisag<sup>244</sup> are bagajige from Animikii Binesiyag, energizing the soil and objects it falls on, and those beings who drink of the water. Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag put out copper vessels as thunderstorms approach to gather this energized water to be used in Ceremony, as medicine,<sup>245</sup> and to nurture seedlings of food plants. Sacred tools and bundles are hung from trees as the spring thunderstorms approach so that they can be cleaned and energized after a long winter of use.<sup>246</sup> Seeds are planted after the first spring thunderstorms once the soil is energized by Animikii Binesiyag.

Anishinaabeodziwin practices of reciprocity extend to Animikii Binesiyag and include bagajige of semaa, burning cedar, smoking pwaaganag, and other offerings. Semaa is offered to the fire when Thunders announce the coming of a storm or placed on (or buried in) the ground at the onset of a thunderstorm. Giizhkaandak<sup>247</sup> is also burned in the fire, on top of a hot wood stove or an oven, or “in an ashtray or smudge pot reserved for this use.”<sup>248</sup> If travelling on the water, smoke from pwaaganag is offered to Animikii Binesiyag.<sup>249</sup> These offerings are intended to show respect, appeal to these Manidoog for protection, and to acknowledge their power and responsibilities.<sup>250</sup> Bagajige of food and clothing are presented to Animikii Binesiyag to “implore

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<sup>244</sup> *Hailstones*.

<sup>245</sup> Punkin Shananaquet, September 16, 2016.

<sup>246</sup> Compilation of stories shared by John Pigeon and Zac Early with Misko’o, Kevin Finney, January 12, 2020.

<sup>247</sup> *Cedar that has been cleaned and separated into small pieces to be used as medicine*.

<sup>248</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 71.

<sup>249</sup> Jenness, “Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island,” 35.

<sup>250</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 71; Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 217.

immunity from sickness” that has been foretold in a dream. “This was done by the dreamer or by someone he had already designated to speak for him. The dreamer related his dream and told the manidog that this offering of clothing was in their honor, and he implored their intercession importing off the sickness.”<sup>251</sup>

In addition to offerings of semaa, when the first Thunders arrive there is sometimes a feast for them and for sacred items and/or bundles. White cloth, or circles of wiigwoss<sup>252</sup> might be hung in trees on the western side of an Anishinaabe home to let the Thunders know Anishinaabeg live there and so they will go easy on the inhabitants with the storms. Thunder poles are also created with the same intention. A black spruce or cedar tree is peeled to remove the bark all the way except for the top, and feathers or ribbons are tied, and round rock is placed at the bottom of the pole.<sup>253</sup>

Animikii Binesiyag—their power, gifts, and protective actions toward and bagajige to Anishinaabeg—are spoken about in our stories. Our stories also tell us of how and where these Manidoog have shaped the land. The Giishkaazhibikaa along the shores of Devil’s Lake, a sacred body of water in what is now known as Wisconsin, resulted from actions of Animikii Binesiyag. Brown documented this narrative: “Thunderers shot their ‘arrows’ (thunderbolts) down into the water and the water spirits threw great columns of water and jagged boulders into the air

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<sup>251</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 217.

<sup>252</sup> *Bark of the white birch tree.*

<sup>253</sup> Misko’o (Kevin Finney) shared this with me via Facebook Messenger on January 12, 2020. This information was shared with him by Zac Early of Ponemah, Minnesota.

to combat their enemies.”<sup>254</sup> An enthusiastic, perhaps overly rough, and vigorous game of lacrosse played by young Thunderbirds caused the formation of Hudson’s Bay and the plethora of smaller lakes in northern Ontario. This story is shared by Pomedli in *Living with Animals*. As the game became rough, the ball bounced across the field “past the line of clouds building up on the horizon, down, far down, to the earth below. . . they could not catch it. . . the ball plunged to the earth below, crashing with a roar that shook the skies.” The great noise caused “several stars [to slip] from their places in the sky. They recovered, hung for a moment, and then fell headlong to the earth below. There they broke into thousands of pieces, which blinked on and off, on and off. The fall had changed the stars into fireflies.”<sup>255</sup>

The relationship and interactions between Animikii Binesiyag and Nanabush or Nanaboozhoo<sup>256</sup> are well storied. The Thunderbirds have assisted Nanaboozhoo, and vice versa, in altercations with both the underwater and underground serpents, and with underwater beings.<sup>257</sup> In one narrative, Nanabush requested the assistance of Animikii Binesiyag to “advance the seasons” to force the underground serpents to emerge from the earth. The serpents could then be easily killed.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Brown, “Water Monster,” 29.

<sup>255</sup> Johnston, *Tales the Elders Told*, 44 -45.

<sup>256</sup> *The Great Teacher of the Anishinaabeg. We are told that Nanaboozhoo refers to the coming of our teacher in the near future.*

<sup>257</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 193-194, 196.

<sup>258</sup> Pomedli, 194.

Other narratives<sup>259</sup> tell us Nanabush, following the guidance of Nokmis,<sup>260</sup> used the feathers of young Thunderbirds to give immense power to his cedar arrows that were intended to kill a very large fish that lived in Lake Superior, and could cause much harm. The feathers were obtained through trickery. Nanaboozhoo transformed into waaboozoo<sup>261</sup> and presented himself as a friendly companion for the young Thunderbirds. After convincing Animikii Binesiyag to transport him to their nest, rather than eat him, he transformed into his human-spirit form and pulled most of the feathers from the young ones, more than was needed for his arrows. The Thunderbirds became angry: “Suddenly, there was horrible lightning. It was the flashing eyes of the Thunderbirds. Thunder boomed over the earth. It was the Thunderbirds’ voices.”<sup>262</sup> Nanabush fled the nest, running from the mountains in the west and into the bush where he hid in a downed, hollow birch log. Animikii Binesiyag clawed at the pure white bark with their talons but could not get through. “Then they marked it with pictures of their babies in their sorrow.”<sup>263</sup> The Thunderbirds’ eyes “flickered off toward the heavens. Their voices faded. The wind rolled away the clouds and left Nanabush in the wake of tears that was rain dripping from the leaves.”<sup>264</sup> Nanabush said, “from now on, human beings will find the

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<sup>259</sup> Pomedli, 194 – 195; Misko’o (Kevin Finney) shared a version of this story with me via Facebook Messenger on January 12, 2020.

<sup>260</sup> *Grandmother; Grandmother Moon*.

<sup>261</sup> *Rabbit*.

<sup>262</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 194 – 195.

<sup>263</sup> Pomedli, 195; “To this day, human beings will find the marks of Nanabush in the tree’s bark. They are little dashes. They will also find patterns of the little Thunderbirds” (Misko’o, January 12, 2020).

<sup>264</sup> Pomedli, 195.

protection of this tree useful in many ways. Anyone standing under it will find shelter from lightning and storms. Its bark will make their lodges. Their food will not spoil in it<sup>265</sup> . . . Anyone using the bark of the birch tree will make generous offerings to it.”<sup>266</sup> Wiigwossatig<sup>267</sup> will almost never be struck by lightning, and if it is the Animikii Binesiyag will leave ishkotaagan.<sup>268</sup> That is their medicine gift.<sup>269</sup>

Animikii Binesiyag protect Anishinaabeg, and sometimes grow angry and impatient with the beings who bring us harm or cause us to endure “wrongs beyond all endurance.” In one narrative, the harmful beings are the white men. There will come a time when the “Thunder manitous will no longer withhold their patience. In that day they will crack open this Earth and blow it to pieces. Where the white men will be hurled, no one knows, and no one cares. After this, the manitou will then create this world a new, and put people back in it to live again. In that day they will no longer be pestered with the white men.”<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Misko’o also shared information about the anti-bacterial properties of wiigwoss (February 2016, Indigenous Studies PhD program birchbark seed containers workshop, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.)

<sup>266</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 195.

<sup>267</sup> *Birch tree*.

<sup>268</sup> *A fungus used as a fire starter*.

<sup>269</sup> Misko’o, January 12, 2020.

<sup>270</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*, 206. This is a story retold by William Jones and heard by an unidentified Fox informant.

## Nangoskwaanig

Stretching farther skyward and outward from Gahnoowaaniing is Nangoskwaanig, the layer of Creation where Gete Anishinaabeg are spiritually secured, and Gimishoomisinaan,<sup>271</sup> or Shkaabewis Giizis and Gookmisinaan D’bik Giizis<sup>272</sup> travel daily from east to west. Jiibay Miikaan or Mashkiki Miikaan<sup>273</sup> stretches across this middle Skyworld tier, accompanied by other stars, our Nekaanag, the celestial bodies of Odoodemaking,<sup>274</sup> and Waasnode. These sky relatives guide Anishinaabeodziwin with their physical presence and through our dreams.<sup>275</sup> Nekaanag are physical manifestations of many of our water-related aa-atsokediwen,<sup>276</sup> kept by omagkiiyag.<sup>277</sup>

Anishinaabe have a place on the earth and in the sky. All the instructions are there, as is the transcendent relationality of Nibi. “[K]nowing the constellations, being able to read the stars,” is important to our survival and to Anishinaabeodziwin.<sup>278</sup> One of our Creation Stories tells us Anishinaabe, as well as our clans, have come from the stars; the Water Clan are our star

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<sup>271</sup> *Our Grandfather Sun.*

<sup>272</sup> *Our Grandmother Moon.*

<sup>273</sup> Gawboy refers to this as the great shining river (*Talking Rocks*, 182).

<sup>274</sup> *Our solar system.*

<sup>275</sup> Sutherland, “Star Teachings and Moon Cycles.”; As Anishinaabe dream at night we travel the star world, and receive spiritual teachings.

<sup>276</sup> *Sacred stories.*

<sup>277</sup> *Frogs*; Sutherland and Moose, “Anang Gikendaasowinan.”; Morton and Gawboy, *Talking Skies*, 26- 27.

<sup>278</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation; Sutherland and Moose, “Anang Gikendaasowinan.”; Morton and Gawboy, *Talking Rocks*, 181.



gazers, those who knew before it happened.<sup>279</sup> Ever-present<sup>280</sup> Maang,<sup>281</sup> and seasonally-present<sup>282</sup> Gaa-bibooniked,<sup>283</sup> Michi Shibzhii, Madoodiswan,<sup>284</sup> and Animikii Binesiyag and Animikii wazison<sup>285</sup> Nekaanag remind us of our original instructions to live within the cycles of Nokmis D’bik Giizis.

Maang is Gookmisinaan<sup>286</sup> keeper of the Lakes; she is keeper of our home.

Giiwedanang,<sup>287</sup> the going home star, is within her tail. Rising in the late autumn sky Gaa-bibooniked tells us that winter, and the cleansing blanket of white is approaching.<sup>288</sup> We are

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<sup>279</sup> Sutherland and Moose, “Anang Gikendaasowinan.”

<sup>280</sup> Lee et al., *Ojibwe Giizhig Anang Masinaa’igan*, 2; An “ever-present” Nekaanag is known from a Western science perspective as a circumpolar constellation. These Nekaanag rotate counterclockwise around Giiwedanang (the north star), and do not set below the horizon.

<sup>281</sup> *Loon; circumpolar constellation.*

<sup>282</sup> Lee et al., *Ojibwe Giizhig Anang Masinaa’igan*, 2; Seasonally present Nekaanag are known from a Western science perspective as non-circumpolar constellations. These Nekaanag rise above the horizon in the east and set in the west, below the horizon, with the seasons.

<sup>283</sup> *Winter Maker, seasonal constellation.*

<sup>284</sup> *Sweat lodge, seasonal constellation.*

<sup>285</sup> *Thunderbird nest, seasonal constellation.*

<sup>286</sup> *Our Grandmother.*

<sup>287</sup> *The going home star; Polaris or the north star.*

<sup>288</sup> Sutherland and Moose, “Anang Gikendaasowinan.”; It is important to note that Nanaboozhoo, or Nanabush, is within Gaa-bibooniked, points to Bygone’ Giizhig (the Pleiades). Bygone’ Giizhig and Asabikeshiinh appear together in the winter skies; Asabikeshiinh can be seen all year. Bygone’ Giizhig and Asabikeshiinh are essential Nekaanag in the aa-atsokediwen of the lowering of the Anishinaabeg to earth. Bygone’ Giizhig is known as the hole in the sky. This Nekaanag is known as the sweat lodge by some Anishinaabe (Morton and Gawboy, *Talking Rocks*, 183); and is known as the Pleiades, and sometimes the Seven Sisters in Western contexts.

reminded of the deep freeze, and that soon the rivers and lakes will be frozen.<sup>289</sup> It is time to move inland, and upstream to our isolated winter camps.<sup>290</sup>

Michi Shibzhii<sup>291</sup> rises in late winter/early spring, guiding us from our winter camps to the sugar bush, and reminding us of our practice of semaa bagajige and that the ice will soon no longer be safe. Madoodiswan is visible early spring to late fall, guiding us to ceremony and fasting.

The summer sky is nearly filled with Animikii Binesiyag, accompanied by Animikii wazison. Both Nekaanag signal the arrival of the Thunderbirds, and the new life of the spring season. Gazing up at the stars of Animikii Binesiyag, we are reminded to sit still and listen to the Thunderbirds and the teachings they bring while travelling the Cosmos.<sup>292</sup> G'chi Ogimaa Waasamod Aki<sup>293</sup> appears adjacent to and at times within Animikii Binesiyag; this planet is home to the larger Animikii Binesiyag. When adult Thunderbirds grow too large to safely visit Earth, they permanently return to G'chi Ogimaa Waasamod Aki and reside there, thus protecting the Anishinaabeg from their immense size and power. Animikii Binesiyag lowers in the western sky in dwaagek as the hurricane season comes to an end.

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<sup>289</sup> Sutherland and Moose, "Star Teachings and Moon Cycles."; As the lakes freeze, algae settle to the bottom and provide food for fish and the other water keepers. Any sickness present in the water remains on the lake's surface, the freezing process eradicating sickness.

<sup>290</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation.

<sup>291</sup> Lee et al., *Ojibwe Sky Star Map*, 10; Abe Sutherland and Mary Moose refer to this constellation as Mishibizhiw; others refer to this as Gaadidnaway (curly tail).

<sup>292</sup> Sutherland and Moose, "Star Teachings and Moon Cycles."

<sup>293</sup> *Jupiter*.

Our relatives in Odoodemaking guide Anishinaabeodziiwin. Our Elders remind us to include these relatives in our seasonal feasts.<sup>294</sup> Gookmisinaan D’bik Giizis watches over her daughter, Shkaakmiikwe, influencing the movement of her waters. She also watches over the Anishinaabeg and influences the waters and cycles of Anishinaabekwewag.<sup>295</sup> Our Grandmother Moon teaches us how to stay in balance and live in harmony throughout our lifetimes.<sup>296</sup> Our stories tell us of the intimate connection between Gookmisinaan D’bik Giizis and Nibi. The presence of Nibi within the moon is Anishinaabe-gikendaasowin,<sup>297</sup> as is a lunar visit by Anishinaabeg. When the moon is at her full physical presence, a young Anishinaabeinini is visible. He is holding both a hand drum and a water drum.<sup>298</sup>

Shkaabewis Giizis or Gimishoomisinaan has a partner relationship with Gookmisinaan D’bik Giizis; they manifest as the duality of day and night, and influence Nibi. Shkaabewis Giizis is a reflection of the fire within Shkaakmiikwe and ourselves. The ishkode<sup>299</sup> of Shkaabewis Giizis is the fuel, the energy for all the beings that reside within Mtigwaaning. In the Skyworld and within Mtigwaaning, Shkaabewis Giizis drives the transformative cycle of Nibi, changing Nibi’s

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<sup>294</sup> Sutherland and Moose, “Star Teachings and Moon Cycles.”

<sup>295</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation; Sutherland and Moose, “Anang Gikendaasowinan.”

<sup>296</sup> Sutherland and Moose, “Anang Gikendaasowinan.”

<sup>297</sup> *Anishinaabe knowledge, information and synthesis of our personal teachings.*

<sup>298</sup> Sutherland and Moose, “Anang Gikendaasowinan.”; Full physical presence is the time of a full moon, according to Stewart King-ban.

<sup>299</sup> *Fire.*

physical form through evaporation, condensation into fog, clouds, precipitation as waaboo,<sup>300</sup> gimiwan,<sup>301</sup> mikwam,<sup>302</sup> and goon.<sup>303</sup>

The movement and visibility of Waaseyaasiged Azhebaashkaabizod Aki<sup>304</sup> reflects Anishinaabekwewag co-Creation abilities and water carrying responsibilities. She is called upon during pregnancy complications. Waaseyaasiged Azhebaashkaabizod Aki rises in Waabanoong<sup>305</sup> before sunrise for nine months, then disappears for a short time before reappearing in Epgishmok just after sunset. She is then visible as the evening star for a period of nine months, before a short time of non-visibility, and reappearing as the morning star in Waabanoong.<sup>306</sup> The appearance of Ditibininjiibizon Gitigani Aki<sup>307</sup> and the encircling rings guide our summer harvests.

Waasnode connect Nangoskwaaning and Manidoowaaning,<sup>308</sup> demonstrating our relationships within the spiral of time. Waasnoode are the physical manifestation of Gete Anishinaabeg's relationship with those yet to come, as well as with us here in the present. The

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<sup>300</sup> *Liquid.*

<sup>301</sup> *Rain.*

<sup>302</sup> *Ice.*

<sup>303</sup> *Snow.*

<sup>304</sup> *The bright planet that spins backwards; Venus; Lee et al., Ojibwe Sky Star Map, 30 -31; Also known as Ikwe Anang—the women's star.*

<sup>305</sup> *Direction of the rising sun; the eastern direction.*

<sup>306</sup> Lee et al., *Ojibwe Sky Star Map, 30 -31.*

<sup>307</sup> The ring around the garden; Saturn.

<sup>308</sup> *Spirit World, place of the spirits, where Gete Anishinaabe reside.*

significance of Waasnode in Anishinaabeodziiwin is definite. Elders' and Knowledge Holders' interpretations of this Manidoog are diverse: "In the winter the grandfathers remain near their lodges and do not venture abroad. They keep their fires burning. It is the reflection of their fires that is seen in the northern skies, sometimes bright, sometimes faint, sometimes vivid, sometimes soft."<sup>309</sup> Waasnode, or the fire that burns from afar, is the fire that Gete Anishinaabe keep to welcome home those Anishinaabeg who have passed on.<sup>310</sup> "It was also said that the northern lights were the glow of torches that the grandfathers used to illuminate the Path of Souls for the soul-spirits on their way to the Land of Peace,"<sup>311</sup> or our relatives "dancing in the sky."<sup>312</sup> Visible primarily in the winter, and early fall, Waasnode is the Skyworld manifestation and reflection of the cedar paths we construct around our fasting lodges,<sup>313</sup> just as Shkaakmiikwe constructs a cedar path around the circumference on Giiwedinoong as she fasts during Biboon.

## **Gikendaaswin**

Anishinaabe Aki is the source of our Intellectual Tradition, stories and Knowledges, our language, and Anishinaabe theory. Our lands and waters are the source of sustenance, resiliency, and survivance and the foundation of intimate relationship. Relationships with our

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<sup>309</sup> Johnston, *Ojibwe Heritage*, 27.

<sup>310</sup> Stewart King-ban, *Wasauksing First Nation*.

<sup>311</sup> Johnston, *Ojibwe Heritage*, 27.

<sup>312</sup> Sutherland and Moose, "Anang Gikendaasowinan"; Gawboy, *Talking Rocks*, 182.

<sup>313</sup> Sutherland and Moose, "Anang Gikendaasowinan."

other than human relatives, including metaphysical beings residing within Anishinaabe Aki, are integral to Anishinaabeodziwin and mno bemaadziwin, as well as Biskaabiiyang.

Operationalizing Biskaabiiyang, the returning to ourselves, involves restoration and maintenance of these relationships. We continue to learn and like Michi Shibzhii, we Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe regenerate ourselves constantly.<sup>314</sup> I have come to understand Michi Shibzhii as a model of resiliency. The realm in which they reside—the intersection of water, sky, earth in the Anishinaabe Cosmos—creates a “behavioural environment”<sup>315</sup> for the flourishing of Anishinaabeodziwin and Gikendaaswin. The following chapter, *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin*, discusses Anishinaabe Intellectual Tradition.

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<sup>314</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 141. "Over and over in the myths we are told that mishebeshu has been killed and yet he continues to resurface. Like the rough water, mishebeshu, who is one and many, will always return."

<sup>315</sup> Smith, *Island of the Anishinaabeg*, 116-117.



## Anishinaabeodziiwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin, E zhi nsatamaan:

### Chapter 3

The focus of this chapter is Anishinaabe theory as it applies to our Intellectual and Philosophical Traditions, and our Knowledges. The chapter title incorporates three concepts in the language: Anishinaabeodziiwin<sup>1</sup> is being Anishinaabe—an embodiment of all aspects of the Anishinaabe way of life, philosophy, psychology, culture, teachings, spirituality, customs, and history; Gikendaaswin<sup>2</sup> is an embodiment of all types of Anishinaabe Knowledges (see “(Re)Definition of Integral Biskaabiiyang Concepts: Relationship and Progression of Knowledges” in *G’yak chigewin: Chapter 5*). Anishinaabe Theory is a combination of these concepts as I understand it, e zhi nsatamaan.

### **Aambe Maajaadaa!**

*In the moments before sunrise a drum is heard, sounding its voice and reverberating through cool, quiet air. A song begins as Anishinaabeg voices join the drum—Aambe Maajaadaa! Djibwaa biidaabang, gkenmigoomin, giizhoknigegoomin!<sup>3</sup>—telling of a journey that began just before the time of the Eighth Fire. We must prepare, in a good way, for this journey and all that is to*

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<sup>1</sup> *Being Anishinaabe, embodiment of all aspects of the Anishinaabe way of life, philosophy, psychology, culture, teachings, spirituality, customs, and history.*

<sup>2</sup> *The embodiment of knowledges.*

<sup>3</sup> *Let’s get going! Before it begins to dawn. They have known of us; they have done their work, completing their plans for us.*



*come. It has been prophesized; the Grandfathers and Grandmothers have planned everything. They have known of us for seven generations.*<sup>4</sup>

*...In looking back, they would notice things others had left beside the trail and they would go back and pick them up and bring those things with them into where we are now. The things that were left behind were the various Ceremonies, the medicines, the drums, the songs, the dances, the languages, the stories—all those things that gave meaning to being [Anishinaabe].*<sup>5</sup>

Eh piichok,<sup>6</sup> time from Anishinaabe perspective, spirals outwards, upwards, and inwards; “[p]ast present, future perfect and future exist at this moment.”<sup>7</sup> Anishinaabe time spirals upwards through our realities of story, dream, and visions, and inwards through our ways of knowing and being. When we live balanced lives—in a good way—the stories of our lives are Ceremony. Mno bemaadziwin<sup>8</sup> and Anishinaabeodziwin is Ceremony, and Ceremony is Knowledge, spiraling inwards bringing the past forward and the future back to present. Our Aa-atsokediwen,<sup>9</sup> our sacred stories, and dbaajimowinag,<sup>10</sup> the stories of our lives, intertwine and transcend time—for the beginning of story is always happening.<sup>11</sup> Our realities of story, prophecy, dream, Ceremony, and vision are key in Gikendaaswin, embodiment of our

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<sup>4</sup> This interpretation of the Prophecy Song was shared with me by Stewart King-ban. September 14, 2014. Personal reflection, Keene, ON, September 14, 2014.

<sup>5</sup> *Gaikeshoyongai*, *The Seven Fires*, *unpaginated*.

<sup>6</sup> *Time*.

<sup>7</sup> Colorado, “Bridging Native and Western Science,” 54.

<sup>8</sup> *The good life*.

<sup>9</sup> *The sharing back and forth of sacred stories*.

<sup>10</sup> *Personal stories (plural)*.

<sup>11</sup> Dumont, “Journey to Daylight-Land,” 11-23.

Intellectual Traditions, and in Anishinaabeodziiwin, our way of being. These realities reflect individual, family, and community ways of knowing and being, and a reflection of the Anishinaabeg, and the lands and waters of Mtigwaakiing eh G’chi Zaagiganag miinwaa Aangwaamsajik Mshiikenh Mnis.<sup>12</sup>

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe share with all the Anishinaabe Peoples, common essential and core Intellectual Traditions.<sup>13</sup> We share story and foundational philosophies. Acutely aware of our relationality, we must acknowledge our differences—we speak in different ways, as we live on different lands and waters.

As a Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe first, and second as a Dual-Tradition Scholar,<sup>14</sup> I can write only of what I know and have come to understand. This interpretation of Anishinaabe Gikendaaswin and Anishinaabeodziiwin is a beginning of my coming to know through my lived experience, and through teachings shared by Elders, Knowledge Holders, as well as the land and waters.

### **It is always beginning**

Debwewin.<sup>15</sup> It is true. It is always beginning —our spirals of time, story, and Knowledges. I have come to a beginning of understanding the vastness of Anishinaabe ways of Knowing and being.

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<sup>12</sup> *Caretakers of the Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands of Turtle Island.*

<sup>13</sup> Because of these commonalities, Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe(g) is used, in this chapter, interchangeably with Anishinaabe(g).

<sup>14</sup> Dual-Tradition Scholar, as defined by the Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies at Trent University refers to an Indigenous scholar who is both a Knowledge Holder and a western-trained academic.

<sup>15</sup> *Truth, to speak the truth.*

I have thought deeply, experienced fully, yet I have only begun to scratch the surface. I see our intellectual traditions as multidimensional spirals of time, language, responsibility, story, relationship, heart-knowledge, reciprocity, Spirit and love. These nested or concentric spirals extend into our future, and flow back through our past and present simultaneously emerging from a complexity of points tied to our lands and waters. It is always beginning. Our ways of knowing are in constant flux, evolving and changing through our lives and through generations of lived experience and story.

### **Anishinaabe Gikendaaswin**

“Anishinaabe-Gikendaasowin has been around since before the birth of the first human being,” writes Anishinaabe Scholar Wendy Geniusz.<sup>16</sup> She attributes our Knowledge systems to our Great Teacher, Nanaboozhoo,<sup>17</sup> as “one of the original contributors to Anishinaabe-Gikendaasowin.”<sup>18</sup> Nanaboozhoo, in his storied journeys across Turtle Island, gained Knowledge through multiple ways of knowing, and multiple sources. Nanaboozhoo gained understanding through the foundations of Anishinaabe Gikendaaswin.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Geniusz, *Our Knowledge Is Not Primitive*, 11.

<sup>17</sup> *The Great Teacher of the Anishinaabeg. We are told that Nanaboozhoo refers to the coming of our teacher in the near future.*

<sup>18</sup> Geniusz, *Our Knowledge Is Not Primitive*, 11.

<sup>19</sup> *The embodiment of knowledges*; This spelling uses the Wasauksing First Nation lexicon and is used throughout this dissertation.

Our Knowledges are integral to our identities, our ways of being, to Biskaabiiyang,<sup>20</sup> Inzhitwaawin,<sup>21</sup> Inaadiziwin,<sup>22</sup> and are imperative to our survival as Anishinaabe. Our Knowledges are both individual and collective, gained through generations of lived experience, coming to know, learning from the land and waters, from Ceremony, from visions, dreams and stories that have been shared inter-generationally.

### **Components of Gikendaaswin**

My current understanding of our Knowledges parallels and builds upon the three very broad types of Indigenous Knowledges originally categorized by Marlene Brant Castellano—revealed, empirical and traditional.<sup>23</sup> Knowledges are revealed through relationship with multiple beings, observed in multiple ways, and shared through aa-atsokediwen and dbaajimowinag. Coming to know requires engagement—Knowledge is active, lived, it is something you do,<sup>24</sup> and coming to know is cumulative process. E zhi nsatamaan, as I understand it, Gikendaaswin is the embodiment of Castellano’s Indigenous Knowledge categories and additional components.<sup>25</sup> Throughout our lives there is a natural progression of knowing, and embodiment of

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<sup>20</sup> *Making a round trip, returning to ourselves.*

<sup>21</sup> *Anishinaabe psychology, way of being.*

<sup>22</sup> *Anishinaabe culture, teachings, customs, history, traditional legends, ceremonies.*

<sup>23</sup> Brant-Castellano. “Updating Aboriginal Traditions of Knowledge,” 24.

<sup>24</sup> McGregor. “Traditional Ecological Knowledge,” 105.

<sup>25</sup> These additional components of Gikendaaswin are summarized in Table 5.1.

Knowledges. Our coming to know expands and deepens as we move through Niizhwaaswi e bi ziaakshkaak bemaadiziiwin,<sup>26</sup> the Seven Stages of Life, culminating in the wisdom of our Elders.

Niizhwaaswi e bi ziaakshkaak bemaadiziiwin is a foundational cultural teaching.<sup>27</sup> This teaching can be illustrated within a circle divided into eight sections, see Figure 3.1. Stewart King-ban, Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Getsit,<sup>28</sup> shared that the eighth section of the circle, shaded black, is representative of the unknown and G'chi Zhemnidoo.<sup>29</sup> The first stage of life, O'shki Bemaadizit,<sup>30</sup> and the seventh stage of life, Getsijig,<sup>31</sup> are adjacent to and on either side of the unknown; close to G'chi Zhemnidoo and symbolic of our strong connection to the Spirit world as both an infant and an Elder. Ideally, we progress through each stage, from infancy to Elder. Life circumstances—traumas, addictions, physical/spiritual/mental health issues—might delay or even stop this natural progression.

We gather Knowledges and come to understand as we grow, and gain lived experience.

Throughout our lives we come to know through Kinoowaabimin (Knowledges gained by

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<sup>26</sup> Stewart King-ban, Bodwewaadmiig Spring Fasting Ceremonies, Na Nawe Gwan, Campbellsport, Wisconsin, June, 2015; Stewart King-ban, Bodwewaadmii, Wasauksing First Nation was my life partner, cultural, spiritual and language mentor. Throughout our time together he shared many stories and teachings over cups of coffee, while travelling together and in Ceremony. It isn't always possible to include a specific date on which these teachings were shared. From this point forward in this chapter, he will be cited in footnotes as sharing teachings with his name and home community.

<sup>27</sup> Niizhwaaswi e bi ziaakshkaak bemaadiziiwin is comparable to the Four Hills of Life. The Four Hills of Life is an Ojibwe Anishinaabeg teaching shared by Basil Johnston-ban in his book *Ojibway Heritage* (1976), by John Borrows in *Drawing Out Law* (2010), and by Thomas Peacock in his book *The Four Hills of Life: Ojibwe Wisdom* (2006).

<sup>28</sup> *Elder.*

<sup>29</sup> *Great, kind forgiving spirit; Creator.*

<sup>30</sup> *Purity stage of life, ages 0 to 3 years.*

<sup>31</sup> *Elders.*

observation),<sup>32</sup> Kiinoomaagewag Aki Manidoo miinwaa Nibi Manidoo (learning from the land and water Spirits), Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad (learning from Ceremony), and Gikendaaswad bewaajigewin Manidoo (Knowledge gained from dreams and/or visions).<sup>33</sup> Also constant throughout the natural progression of Niizhwaaswi e bi ziaakshkaak bemaadiziiwin and coming to know is Gaabi b'gid na maagooyaan<sup>34</sup>—sacred Knowledge that is gifted by the Manidoog,<sup>35</sup> Nokmisag<sup>36</sup> and Mishomisag.<sup>37</sup> This sacred Knowledge is carried within the Spirit that accompanies the heart, mind and body of conceived new life and is readily accessed throughout O'shki Bemaadizit, the Purity stage of life.

As other ways of knowing, such as formal education, become predominant in our lives during mino Kwagnigaaza,<sup>38</sup> we begin to think and be in different ways. Sacred Knowledges are no longer readily revealed. Beyond this life stage, these Knowledges are typically revealed only through Ceremony, visions, dreams, and fasting. Gaabi b'gid maagooyaan is Knowledge placed in your hands, as you sit fasting on the lap of Shkaakmiikwe,<sup>39</sup> asking and searching, palms

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<sup>32</sup> McInnes, *Sounding Thunder*, 158.

<sup>33</sup> Gidigaa Migizi, Doug Williams, personal communication, December 14, 2018.

<sup>34</sup> *Sacred Knowledges that are gifted by the spirits or Creator, revealed knowledge.*

<sup>35</sup> *Spirits.*

<sup>36</sup> *Grandmothers, ancestral women.*

<sup>37</sup> *Grandfathers, ancestral men.*

<sup>38</sup> *The stage of life known as the good life, ages 4 to 12 years.*

<sup>39</sup> *Describing the hard surface that we walk on, Mother Earth.*

raised, wrists blackened. Or it comes through Nsemaa<sup>40</sup> and the pwaagan.<sup>41</sup> This gift of revealed Knowledge, Gaabi b'gid na maagooyaan, is not always to be shared; it is for you to embody over your lifetime as you develop deep understanding.

Kendaaswin is gained as we participate in classroom education. Kendaaswin, as I understand it, is second-hand Knowledge that has been given to you, as endaakendaasat<sup>42</sup> by a human teacher, eknoomaaget,<sup>43</sup> through the pedagogies of dominant society. Kendaaswin is Knowledge of human origin, most definitely a mental and perhaps a physical knowing. It can be commodity-like, and typically static and finite.

*Figure 3.1: Niizhwaaswi e bi ziaakshkaak bemaadiziiwin or Seven Stages of Life*

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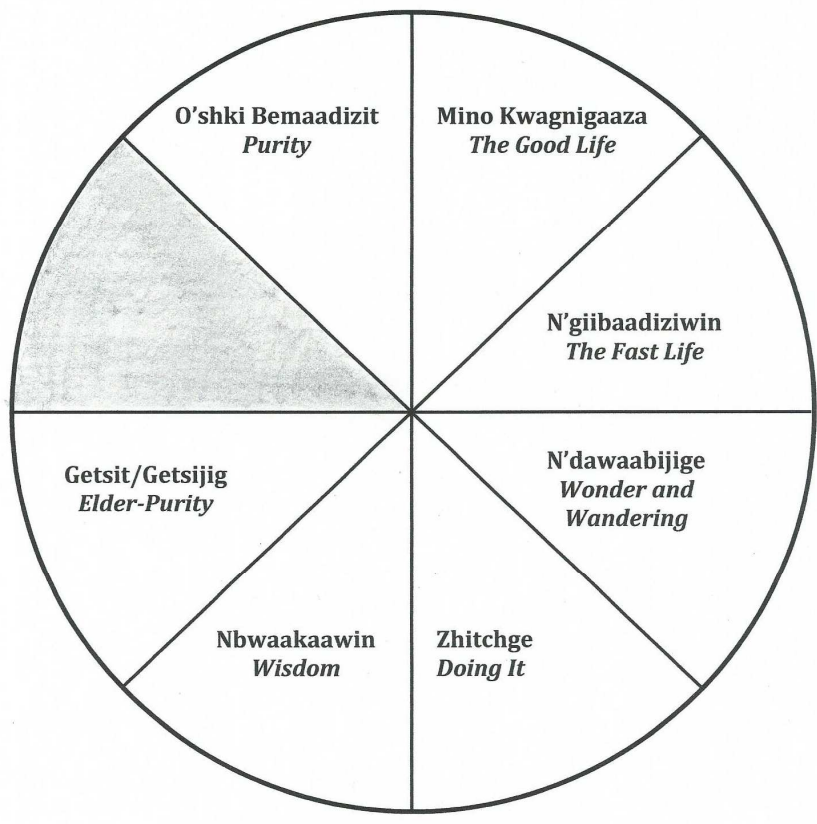
<sup>40</sup> *The medicine that you breathe in and breathe out; tobacco.* See “Sema, asemaa, nsemaa: Our Teachings of Reciprocity and Respect” in this chapter.

<sup>41</sup> *Ceremonial pipe used in prayers.*

<sup>42</sup> *Student.*

<sup>43</sup> *Teacher.*

**Niizhwaaswi e bi ziaakshkaak bemaadiziiwin**



As we enter Weshniig jig/N'giibaadiziwin,<sup>44</sup> the fast life, and N'dawaabijiige,<sup>45</sup> the stage of wandering and wondering, we receive guidance or direction, Waawiindmowin,<sup>46</sup> from our

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<sup>44</sup> *The fast life.*

<sup>45</sup> *The wandering and wondering stage of life.*

<sup>46</sup> *Guidance or direction associated with Knowledge and laid out in a progressive manner for one to either accept and embody or reject.*



Elders, teachers and families and communities. Waawiindmowin is laid out before us in a progressive manner, for us to either accept or reject. This type of guidance can become embodied Knowledge. It is continual, dynamic and a choice—reflecting the Anishinaabe ethic of non-interference.<sup>47</sup>

Lived experience, and the integration of gained and gifted Knowledges comprise Gaabin nsatamaan<sup>48</sup>— “how I have come to understand it.” This is practical Knowledge embodied by its holder, and readily shared. The embodiment of Gaabin nsatamaan begins in the early stages of life, deepening and expanding as one reaches Zhitchge/Ogitchidaa<sup>49</sup> and Nibwaakaawin.<sup>50</sup>

Gaabi waamdamaan<sup>51</sup> is the Knowledges of our Getsijig as they stand at the western door, looking eastward over their life’s journey. It is “what I have been shown so far in my life,” Knowledges shared through dbaajimowinag, teachings, Ceremony and waawiindmowin.

Living and embodying these Knowledges transforms to Gikendaaswin. Lived experience is the conversion of all types of Knowledges to wisdom, and wisdom is shared by the Elders.

While our life’s journey through Niizhwaaswi e bi ziaakshkaak bemaadiziiwin is individual, we journey immersed in relationship with family, clan and community and society. Knowledges gained are both individual and collective. Examples of collective Knowledges might include family history, clan teachings, and community dbaajimowinag, ecological or land and

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<sup>47</sup> The ethic of non-interference is cultural practice reflecting and honoring individual agency.

<sup>48</sup> *“How I have come to understand it,” empirical knowledge.* This is a component of Gikendaaswin.

<sup>49</sup> *The doing it stage of life.*

<sup>50</sup> *Wisdom; the wisdom stage of life.*

<sup>51</sup> *Knowledges of our Elders as they stand at the western door, looking eastward over their life’s journey.*

water-based knowledges, food harvesting and preparation, and/or spiritual society Knowledges.

### **Relationality and Responsibility to our Knowledges**

E zhi nsataman, as I understand it, we have both an intimate and spiritual relationship with, and an ethical responsibility to our Knowledges and practices, and to ourselves, our families, and our communities. To give voice to our ways of knowing and being is an essential responsibility. Sharing with and teaching our families—our children, our siblings, our parents, or our colleagues—is vital in Biskaabiiyang and Anishinaabeodziwin. Our Knowledges and practices are shared—in accordance with community protocols—through Ceremony, traditional teachings, aa-atsokediwen, dbaajimowinag, by learning through Anishinaabemowin<sup>52</sup> and Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin,<sup>53</sup> and through learning by doing, and from the land and waters.

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<sup>52</sup> “‘Learning through the language’ provides those who are not fluent with a window through which to experience the complexities and depth of our culture” (Simpson, *Dancing*, 49.)

<sup>53</sup> *Bodwewaadmii language*.

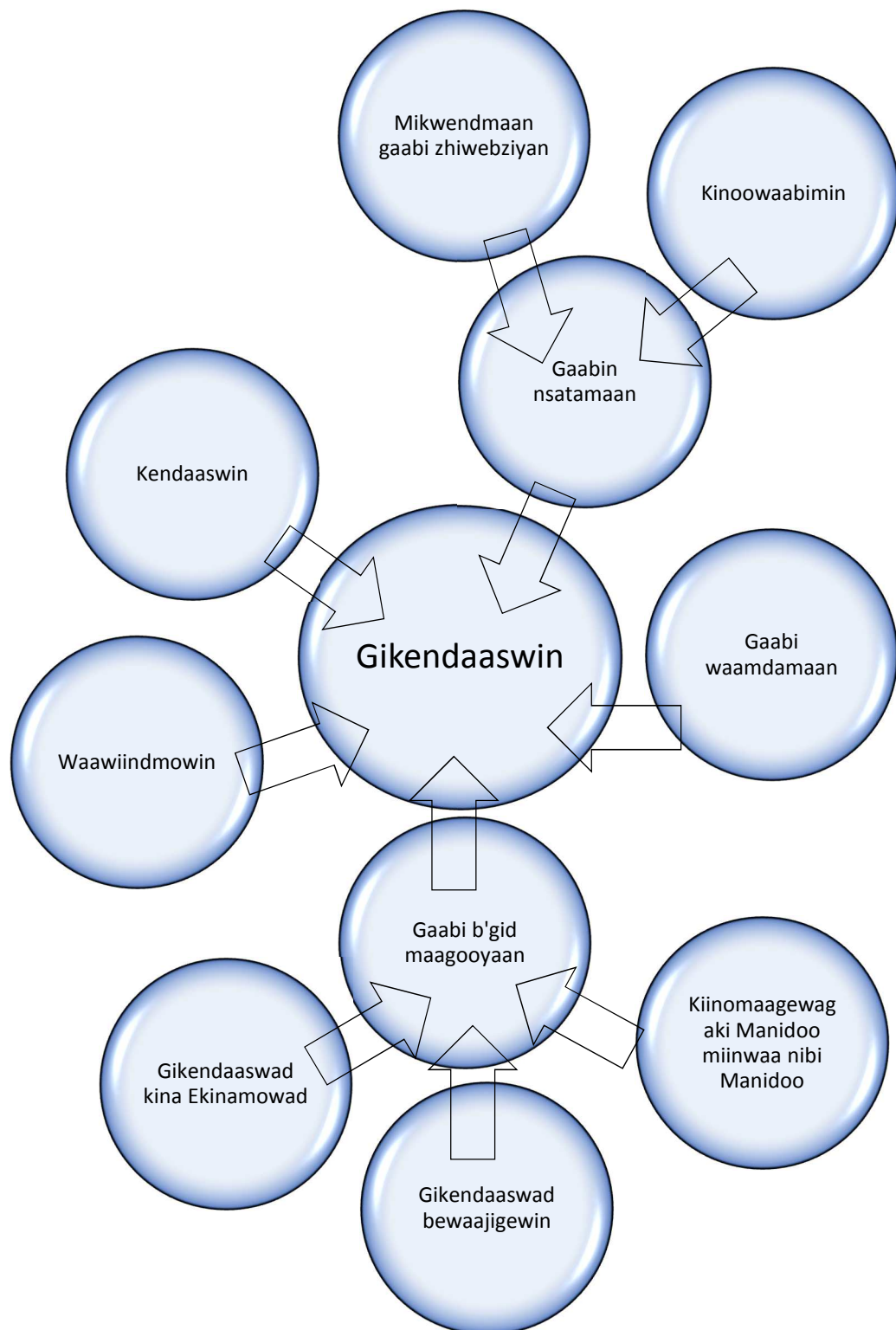


Figure 3.2: The Relationship of Knowledges

## Foundations of Gikendaaswin

### Prophecies: Ways of Knowing, Ways of Hope

It is a beginning, Ziinsbaakodike Giizis.<sup>54</sup> It is no coincidence that these words and my understanding of the foundations of Gikendaaswin first began flowing from my fingertips at this new beginning. My dissertation research journey is a multi-year journey and has continued through the days of Ceremony at the Great Lakes Water Gathering, and when peoples from across Mshiikenh Mnis<sup>55</sup> gathered in unity, and in prayer with the water protectors at Standing Rock. We are truly one—all of us—connected intimately. This resurgence of Ceremony and of our cultures and language, and this resurgence of Indigeneity is within all of us. I believe that the time of the Eighth Fire is upon us. Algonquin scholar Paula Sherman explains:

We are not working to find our way back to what we once were in the past, but are, instead, diligently struggling to bring forward those teachings, Ceremonies, practices and ways of relating that can help to rebuild a strong cultural base from which to resist contemporary colonialism and the cognitive elimination that accompanies the physical changes to our territories and bodies.<sup>56</sup>

We are always beginning. The predictions of the Anishinaabe's Seventh Fire Prophecy speak both of our history and our future, from the beginning. Getsijig and Anishinaabe Scholars alike have recognized the importance of this prophecy: “. . . after a long period of colonization

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<sup>54</sup> *Maple Sugar Moon*.

<sup>55</sup> *Turtle Island; North America*.

<sup>56</sup> Sherman, “The Friendship Wampum,” 120.

and cultural loss, a new people, the Oshkimaadiziig<sup>57</sup> emerge.”<sup>58</sup> The Oshkimaadiziig “will not let all the pain and anger and lies stop them from finding out the truth about who they are and what has happened.”<sup>59</sup> “They will retrace their steps to find what was left beside the trail. Their steps will take them to the [E]lders who they will ask to guide them on their journey.”<sup>60</sup> This is Biskaabiiyang.

Within the time and space continuums of the Seventh Fire Prophecy, the Oshkimaadiziig or the new people of the Seventh Fire, have a responsibility of resurgence, revitalization and resistance achieved by picking up the pieces, the seeds, left beside our journey’s path by our ancestors. It is my understanding that these responsibilities are directed toward a cultural and political renaissance, if you will; a revitalization of language and our ways of being and knowing, a returning to ourselves, and a revitalization of our responsibilities as caretakers of the Great Lakes and Eastern woodlands.

Many Anishinaabeg believe we are in the time of the Seventh Fire. Bodwewaadmii Elders tell me that during the time or transition between the Seventh and Eighth Fires, Mshiikenh Mnis will experience intense environmental and ecological degradation fueled by the extractive greed of dominant society further threatening our ways of knowing and being, while heightening the immediacy of fulfilling our responsibilities as caretakers of the land and waters.

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<sup>57</sup> *The esteemed new people.*

<sup>58</sup> Simpson, “Oshkimaadiziig,” 14.

<sup>59</sup> Gaikeshoyongai, *The Seven Fires*, unpaginated.

<sup>60</sup> Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 91-93.

Consultation with Bodwewaadmii Elders has instilled the belief that we are entering the initial phases of the Eighth Fire. In addition, I am coming to understand that Anishinaabekwewag<sup>61</sup> have prepared the ground for the lighting of the Eighth Fire.

I see the *uncovering* and *reweaving* of Anishinaabekwewag water Knowledges and practices within our relocated Bodwewaadmii communities as a continuance of picking up the pieces left beside the path by our ancestors; it is fuel for the Eighth fire. It is a dream, as well as a story of the Eighth Fire.

*Enh henh,<sup>62</sup> the time is now. Nana, nana.<sup>63</sup> Listen to the drum as your heart beats strongly. Nana, nana. Sing strongly like your voice has never sung before. Embrace our resurgence as we embrace our mother with loving arms of gratitude. All across Turtle Island and the world Indigenous peoples are uniting. It is a time of healing by coming together. It is a time of dreams and visioning. It is a new beginning of unity between all of humanity. Unity is the fuel for this time and for our Eighth Fire; unity, while honouring and revitalizing our own unique ways of being through our Ceremonies, songs and stories. We all are Indigenous to the land; together we are preparing and lighting the Eighth Fire.<sup>64</sup>*

### **Kinomaagewag Aki Manidoog miinwaa Nibi Manidoog: Learning Through Relationship with the Land and Water**

Our reciprocal relationship with the land and water, and all of Creation is a beginning of our Intellectual Traditions. Our lands and waters, and the beings whom we live alongside are

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<sup>61</sup> *Anishinaabe women.*

<sup>62</sup> *Yes, affirmative.*

<sup>63</sup> *An exclamation to draw attention and cause someone to listen with all their senses.*

<sup>64</sup> *Personal reflection, Keene, ON, March 9, 2013; modified August 19, 2016.*

sources of Knowledge. They are our teachers. “If knowledge is knowing how, then animals and rivers also have this knowledge.”<sup>65</sup>

We learn, as Nanaboozhoo does, from our respectful, reciprocal relationship with the land, waters, and our relatives, and through patient observation and listening, and by embracing the validity of their ways of knowing and teaching.

Willie Ermine, Cree Scholar, writes, “There are also the people of the animal and plant world who steward certain doors to knowledge of the inner space.”<sup>66</sup> Our quiet observation of all our relations opens doors of understanding, teaching us how to live within the ecosystem of the Sugar Bush, and within the cycles of the natural world. Michi Saagii<sup>67</sup> Getsit Gidigaa Migizi, Doug Williams, shares that he knows the *ziinsbaakdaaboo*<sup>68</sup> is running when *jidmoonh*<sup>69</sup> is seen lapping sap from scratches made in the bark of *Ininiaatig*<sup>70</sup> and *Ziigwan’s*<sup>71</sup> warm breezes are felt.<sup>72</sup>

Relationship and reciprocity with the land and waters, and within this plant and animal world is an elemental philosophical underpinning of Anishinaabe intellectual tradition.

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<sup>65</sup> Waters, “Introduction,” xvii.

<sup>66</sup> Ermine, “Aboriginal Epistemology,” 106.

<sup>67</sup> *Mississauga Anishinaabe*.

<sup>68</sup> *Sweet water, clear maple sap*.

<sup>69</sup> *Squirrel*.

<sup>70</sup> *Man tree; hard or sugar maple tree*.

<sup>71</sup> *The young woman (Manidoo) who is a helper to Mother Earth; early spring when the ice and snow is beginning to melt*.

<sup>72</sup> Gidigaa Migizi, INDG6600 On-the-Land activities and Traditional Teaching.

Anishinaabe philosophy is, according to Louise Erdrich, bound up in the land.<sup>73</sup> It is through this “relationship with the land we receive the gift of knowledge.”<sup>74</sup> Tewa Scholar, Gregory Cajete explains this philosophical underpinning of Indigenous Intellectual Traditions, in general, as ecological: an “interaction of body, mind, soul, and spirit with all aspects of nature.”<sup>75</sup> He also writes of the land as an extension of the Native mind, as the land holds memory.

*As we stand, our feet rooted in the coarse snow, the vibrant sunshine warms our faces. We stand together as Anishinaabeg, under a vibrant blue sky, each of us storytellers—Getsit, niizh Ogichidaakwewag,<sup>76</sup> Shkinwenh<sup>77</sup>—each of us teachers and learners. Our stories unfold along with Creation as we stand in near silence with ininiatigoog, our Elder brothers. My heart and spirit sing with the sounds of Michi Saagii Mtigwaaning.<sup>78</sup> Aandeg<sup>79</sup> sounds her voice, joining in with the wondrous rhythms of ziinsbaakdaaboo drops and story reverberating in the silver coloured maakak<sup>80</sup> now adorning our brothers. G’chi miigwech mino bemaadiziiwin. G’chi miigwech Mishomisag.<sup>81</sup>*

There is much gratitude, and grounding in maankiki, the Sugar Bush. Our being on the land is meaning making, and at the core of our essential Intellectual Tradition. “The water, along with the land, defines our identities, sustains our families and communities, and provides

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<sup>73</sup> Erdrich, *Books and Islands*, 85.

<sup>74</sup> Cajete, *Native Science*, 24.

<sup>75</sup> Cajete, “Philosophy of Native Science,” 46.

<sup>76</sup> *Two women who lead a high and honorable life.*

<sup>77</sup> *Young man speaking with a new voice.*

<sup>78</sup> *Place of shelter beneath the branches of the trees; the first realm of Creation.*

<sup>79</sup> *Crow.*

<sup>80</sup> *Container, pot.*

<sup>81</sup> Personal reflection, Curve Lake First Nation: Tapping trees in the Sugarbush, March 2, 2012.



us with the Knowledge of how to live as Nishnaabeg<sup>82</sup> people.”<sup>83</sup> We build community, as together we watch and experience the seasonal changing of the land, the sky, the melting of the snow as water nourishes the soil and resting plants and seeds. Stories—Knowledges—are shared as we work together tapping, gathering, and boiling. Fragmented Anishinaabemowin enters our conversations like the significant and seemingly random drops of ziinsbaakdaaboo that we lovingly gather, weweni.<sup>84</sup> The link to our Grandmothers is palpable—relationship, reciprocity, respect are encoded within our genetic or cellular memories. It is amazingly simple to connect and remember:

*I am visioning biskitenaaganan<sup>85</sup> carefully positioned at the base of large maples beneath cedar spiles inserted into a v-notch cut by a quick and highly trained movement of a sharp axe. There are multiple sets of various sized moccasin footprints in the granular snow, leading from the main trail to each ininiaatig. During the day new life flows, it is a beginning. Kwewag spend the cold nights by the fires, carefully watching while sweet steam hangs in the air and exhausted children sleep nearby.<sup>86</sup>*

Without question, our deep connection, our respectful and reciprocal interaction with the land, the water and the beings of Creation is our inherent intellectual tradition.

*Our connection to Shkaakmiikwe is strong, for our umbilical cords extend beyond humanity, transcending time, space and connection. Our cords extend into and emerge from the ground, extend into the future to those yet to come, and extend into the past to generations upon generations of our Grandmothers.*

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<sup>82</sup> Anishinaabeg.

<sup>83</sup> Bédard, “Keepers of the Water,” 91.

<sup>84</sup> *In good time, in a good way; doing something carefully with deep consideration.*

<sup>85</sup> *Folded birch bark dishes for sap collection.*

<sup>86</sup> Personal Reflection, Keene, ON, Ziinsbaakodike Giizis, 2014.

*Shkaakmiikwe is truly our mother—providing us with sustenance and nurturing—she is our first teacher, our essential source of Knowledge, relationship, understanding and beauty. We, as Anishinaabe, mirror our mother. We are comprised of asin<sup>87</sup> and Nibi<sup>88</sup>, just as she is. A fire burns intensely within us, as it does within our mother. Water is the lifeblood of our mother and of ourselves; Nibi cleanses us both, internally and externally. Water is life; water gives life. Water unites all females, all humans, and all of our family of Creation. Water is a beginning.<sup>89</sup>*

Our teachings tell us of the Original Instructions given to the people by Creator. “These instructions include the woman’s responsibility to care for, and to protect the water—which is instrumental in support of life.”<sup>90</sup> It, too, is a reciprocal relationship of responsibility and respect—Anishinaabekwewag miinwaa Nibi—each cares for and nurtures the other. It is a relationship that teaches, informs, and uplifts, bringing Knowledges in many forms. We learn from quiet, intimate observation. Anishinaabe scholar Renée Elizabeth Mzinegiizhigo-kwe Bédard writes: “Water teaches us strength, the ability to endure, and patience. If water can take thousands of years to wear down, transform, and break through a rock, then we too can have the patience to do anything.”<sup>91</sup> Nibi teaches us joy, uplifting us through its song as it flows

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<sup>87</sup> Rock.

<sup>88</sup> Water existing on the surface of the earth, lake or river water.

<sup>89</sup> Personal reflection, Keene, ON, March 2013.

<sup>90</sup> Goulais, “Women Accepting Traditional Role,” 17.

<sup>91</sup> Bédard, “Keepers of the Water,” 97.

over the land.<sup>92</sup> The sacredness of Nibi reflects the sacredness of our life cycles—mino bemaadziwin is reflected by g’chi twaa<sup>93</sup> Nibi, both are Ceremony.

Our odenag,<sup>94</sup> our Spirits and our thoughts are intimately connected to Anishinaabe Aki. The source of our Knowledges and truths is this reciprocal relationship. Odebwewin, or debwewin, is “sounding from the heart,” the Anishinaabemowin word meaning truth.<sup>95</sup> Truth, Knowledge and love indeed flow from the heart, just as water—the lifeblood of Mother Earth— flows.

Water, in her diversity of forms, is also a great teacher.<sup>96</sup> We learn from her ability to flow and move to all locations, to nurture, provide beauty, song, and exhibit strength, power, and gentleness in her quiet ubiquitous presence. Her ability to restore balance is also a lesson. Biboon’s<sup>97</sup> healing blanket of snow provides Shkaakmiikwe with a respite from the intensity of bringing forth, sustaining and maturing life. At the end of the respite, as biboon gives way to Ziigwan, Nibi takes the form of ziinsbaakdaaboo providing nutrients and sweetness to all beings

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<sup>92</sup> Nibi also teaches us balance, and of the balance between life and death. She has the ability to take life, to cleanse our lands with springtime floods and summer thunderstorms, and to heal Shkaakmiikwe with winter snows.

<sup>93</sup> *Sacred.*

<sup>94</sup> *Hearts.*

<sup>95</sup> Simpson attributes this concept to Anishinaabeg Elder Jim Dumont (Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle’s Back*, 59); Stewart King-ban’s understanding of debwewin is similar; Basil Johnston-ban also explains the meaning of w’dae’b’wae as truth in the introduction of his book *Anishinaubae Thesaurus* (page x), and in the glossary of his book, *The Manitous* (page 241).

<sup>96</sup> Water, herself, is a teacher and Knowledge Holder. Anishinaabekwe Violet Caibaiosai shared “We must remember how much knowledge there is in water – understanding about life.”

Craft, “Anishinaabe Nibi Inaakonigewin,” 25.

<sup>97</sup> *Winter.*

of Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag miinwaa Aangwaamsajik. The melting snow and ice combined with the return of the rains brought by the Thunderbirds cleanses debris from Shkaakmiikwe as she is preparing to give birth to a new cycle of life. Her spring floods bring balance—depositing rich soil on the lands adjacent to the blood veins of our Mother—and restore nutrients. Michi Shibzhii<sup>98</sup> and Michi Bizhou,<sup>99</sup> keepers of the big lakes and small bodies of water, act as her agents assisting in the restoration of balance when too much is taken by our fishers, or by the extractive mining of miskwaabik.<sup>100</sup> Nibi, when contaminated by human activities, brings illness—a reminder of our inability to meet our responsibilities in providing protection.

### **Anishinaabemowin: The Language of Anishinaabe Aki**

Anishinaabemowin is intrinsic to our intellectual traditions and our ways of being. Anishinaabe-Métis scholar Aimée Craft shares: “Language is central to our understandings of who Anishinaabe are as people and the way we live our lives.”<sup>101</sup> Our ontologies centre on energy and movement—Anishinaabe reality consists of energy, animacy, relationship with all of Creation, and a deep connection to the land. Imbued with teachings, Spirit and Knowledge, our verb-based language naturally reflects our way of being. “All things are animate, imbued with

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<sup>98</sup> *Underwater panther.*

<sup>99</sup> *Underwater lynx.*

<sup>100</sup> *Red rock; copper.*

<sup>101</sup> Craft, “Anishinaabe Nibi Inaakonigwein,” 15.

spirit and in constant motion.” The underlying Indigenous philosophy is holistic and cyclical or repetitive, relational, process-oriented, and firmly grounded in place.<sup>102</sup>

The essential elements of Anishinaabe thought, identity and Intellectual Tradition are reflected in the polysynthetic structure of Anishinaabemowin and the various dialects of our communities. “We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation.”<sup>103</sup> Different communities speak differently, I believe, because of the variation in land and waterscapes. Basil Johnston-ban,<sup>104</sup> Anishinaabe Getsijig, fluent speaker and writer says, “language confers an identity . . . It is language that imparts up on people different values, ideals, insights, outlooks, perceptions, understandings, aspirations, institutions and influences their customs and traditions and manners.”<sup>105</sup> Our language, Anishinaabemowin, is a holder of Knowledge, a keeper of our philosophy and key cultural teachings. Anishinaabe scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson writes:

Indigenous languages carry rich meanings, theory and philosophies within their structures. Our languages house our teachings and bring the practice of those teachings to life in our daily existence. The process of speaking Nishnaabemowin,<sup>106</sup> then, inherently communicates certain values and philosophies that are important to Nishnaabeg being.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Little Bear, “Jagged Worldviews Colliding,” 77.

<sup>103</sup> Sapir, “Male and Female Forms of Speech,” 220.

<sup>104</sup> *The suffix ban is added to the names of Anishinaabeg who have gone home or passed away.*

<sup>105</sup> Johnston, *think INDIAN*, 129.

<sup>106</sup> *Linguistic stock of the Anishinaabe People.*

<sup>107</sup> Simpson, *Dancing on Our Turtle’s Back*, 49.

A quality of Spirit is intrinsic in the words and structure of Anishinaabemowin. Nouns have no designation of gender, as is common with many European languages; rather, nouns are designated as either animate (living) or inanimate (non-living). Use of animacy echoes the essential Anishinaabe belief of a living spirit inherent in each and every aspect and object of the natural world. For the most part man-made objects are designated as inanimate; however, man-made items used in Ceremony are designated as animate. In his discussion of animacy, Spirit and the life energy, and responsibility to language, Gregory Cajete writes of the essential elements of Indigenous epistemology:

Indian spiritual traditions hold that spoken words and language have a quality of spirit because they are expressions of human breath. Language in the form of prayer and song has therefore a life energy that can affect other energy and life forms toward certain ends. For American Indians, language used in a spiritual, evocative, or affective context is “sacred” and has to be used responsibly.<sup>108</sup>

Animacy and Spirit extend to the land, emphasizing a deep connection between the language and the land. Language and the land work in unison, both echoing and creating “an ever-deepening relationship between the speaker and the environment.”<sup>109</sup>

Our language is sacred— “It was given to us, a particular people, in a particular place, with a specific spirituality. There is an interaction between the people, the land and the spirituality. It was given to us in one package.”<sup>110</sup> Anishinaabekwe Elder, Shirley Williams, states,

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<sup>108</sup> Cajete, *Native Science*, 264.

<sup>109</sup> Daniels-Fiss, “Learning to Be A Nêhiyaw,” 238.

<sup>110</sup> Lindsay Marean, Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe, language learner and linguist, in an interview with author, Spring 2012. This interview was not associated with this research. Permission to quote Marean in this dissertation was obtained.

“Creator gave us a sound. That sound is our language. It is a gift.”<sup>111</sup> “Our language is love . . . we must have it, our children must hear it.”<sup>112</sup> All that follows and all that precedes our aasokediwen, our lived stories, our teachings, and our ways of knowing and coming to know are held within and are given voice and true and complete meaning through Anishinaabemowin. Earl Meshigaud, Bodwewaadmii Elder says, “language drives the culture; it is the base for everything. It is our director and our instructor.”<sup>113</sup> Anishinaabemowin links us to the land, to water, to our Ceremonies and to our future. Meshigaud shares It is a spiritual language:

Spiritual language, its vocabulary, was reserved for Ceremony time and ceremonial places. But over the years, people stopped going to Ceremony and the vocabulary was lost. It is the language that moves the Spirit, it is our songs; it is the drums that move the Spirit. If we don’t keep the language [alive] think about the journeys of our loved ones, think about the young ones coming up. Where will they be?<sup>114</sup>

I, like Anishinaabekwe, independent scholar, and writer Leanne Betasamoke Simpson, am inspired by the very small beginnings of my knowledge of Anishinaabemowin to write from my heart, and to include emotion and spirit within my writing for Anishinaabemowin “encodes our worldview, the land, our stories, philosophies, concepts and ways of beings. . . Anishinaabemowin emphasizes relationship, humility, precision and personal truths. Anishinaabemowin words often connect us to emotion and to the land.”<sup>115</sup> It is the beauty of

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<sup>111</sup> Williams, Shirley. Lecture for “Introduction to Indigenous Knowledge.”

<sup>112</sup> Taylor, “Traditional Anishinaabe Family Values.”

<sup>113</sup> Earl Meshigaud, interview with author, February 7, 2012. This interview was not associated with this research. Permission to quote Meshigaud in this dissertation was obtained.

<sup>114</sup> Earl Meshigaud, interview with author, February 7, 2012. This interview was not associated with this research. Permission to quote Meshigaud in this dissertation was obtained.

<sup>115</sup> Leanne Simpson, Personal communication via email, Peterborough, ON, December 20, 2012.

these truths that catalyze an intimate personal and communal connection to the land and the waters, and the Knowledges contained within. It is these truths that connect the Anishinaabeg to the wisdom and Knowing of all our relations.

*My language learning began many years ago yet begins again now at this time of the Seventh/Eighth Fire in Michi Saagiig Anishinaabe Territory at Trent University. In a sense, I have returned home.<sup>116</sup> It is here that the language of the land speaks louder to me. I sense it when looking over the water, when walking in the Sugar Bush or through the black oak savannah. I hear it while winnowing manoomin,<sup>117</sup> in the song of dripping ziinsbaakdaaboo, and during class, and in the hallways. Anishinaabemowin is the language of our land, the Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands. It is the language spoken and understood by our plant, animal, swimming and winged relatives. It is the language spoken and understood by the Manidoog, our mashkikiwan,<sup>118</sup> and our ancestors whose bones make up the ground on which our maakinzindan<sup>119</sup> gently travel. It has been here since the beginning.<sup>120</sup>*

### **Weweni maage Debnaak—the necessity for precision**

Weweni. Debnaak!<sup>121</sup> These words are significant in Anishinaabeodziwin, and their sound easily conveys their meaning. Within mno bemaadiziwin, and embedded within Anishinaabeodziwin, are the continual processes and practices of experiential learning, sharing, creating and re-creating, as well as the necessity for precision. The necessity for precision, weweni, is an

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<sup>116</sup> I have returned home to the Great Lakes/St. Lawrence River Watershed, not to the traditional territory of the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe; “Finding our way home is a search to return to our own roots, dignity, and humanity as the Creator originally intended” (Kathleen Absolon, “Kaandosswin,” 103.)

<sup>117</sup> *The good berry, or the berry gifted to the Anishinaabeg by G’chi Zhemnidoo (Great, kind and forgiving spirit; Creator.) Also known as wild rice.*

<sup>118</sup> *Medicines.*

<sup>119</sup> *Upon my feet as I walk gently on this Earth, also known as moccasins.*

<sup>120</sup> Personal reflection, Keene, ON. April 2013.

<sup>121</sup> *An admonishment used when something is done hastily, carelessly.*



Anishinaabe way of being and a matter of survivance. Within the maintenance of resilience, and the *uncovering* and *reweaving* of Knowledge, and with the revitalization of Anishinaabeodziwin, there is a necessity of precision with movement, words and tools. Deep consideration and thought are essential. Yet, precision and thought must be balanced with doing, with acting and creating. If one is not balanced and kind, relationships will suffer, and work will be more difficult than it need be. Living and doing in good time and in a good way, *weweni*, maintains balance and relationships while promoting efficiency, understanding and kindness. I have come to understand *weweni* as an essential guiding principle of Anishinaabeodziwin. If one is not careful, if one is not precise. *Debnaak!* Time and materials will be painfully wasted, and there will be gaps in communication and understanding. One must be efficient, purposeful and quiet. In this way, living *mno bemaadiziiwin* is Ceremony. It is meditative, grounding and empowering.

### **Aa-atsokediwen miinwaa dbaajimowinag: Foundational Teachings Embedded within Story**

Rich Knowledge is shared in each spoken, written or imagined word of Anishinaabemowin, the most fundamental of Anishinaabe Intellectual Traditions. Rich Knowledge is lived within our reciprocal relationship with *Aki miinwaa Nibi*, and in Ceremony; and it is awakened through our dreams, visions and fasting. Anishinaabe Knowledges transcend and spirals through time, always beginning as Creation continually unfolds. Our foundational teachings and sacred stories

exist within these intertwining spirals, embedded together, and embedded within each other.

There is timeless value in our teachings.<sup>122</sup>

Aa-atsokediwen, Sacred stories, have been left along the trail. They wait for us, the people of the Seventh Fire, to pick them up from along our paths, our trails—the Good Red Road—along which we walk. Aa-atsokediwen and narratives of lived experience, dbaajimowinag, are alive within our Elders, who too, wait for us. “The reflective memories of our Native elders have stories that explain human reality and confrontations in the world.”<sup>123</sup> All that we need to know to live in balance and harmony, all that we need for Anishinaabeodziwin, is carried by our teachings embodied within aa-atsokediwen and the lived experience of our Elders.

The cyclic and dynamic nature of understanding between humans, all of Creation and the Spirit World is shared through our sacred stories— “they speak of how meaning and life, that seems to be of another reality, is brought into the ordinary reality we are born into.”<sup>124</sup> Our stories relate poignant valid Knowledge. Through humour and the ethic of non-interference, an underlying philosophy of Anishinaabe Intellectual Tradition, we make meaning. Brian Yazzie Burkhart writes: “There is only what we actually need to know, and this is a function of our practical lives . . . Knowledge is then always concerned first and foremost with what is in front

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<sup>122</sup> Brant-Castellano, “Updating Aboriginal Traditions,” 4.

<sup>123</sup> Waters, “Introduction,” xvii.

<sup>124</sup> Dumont, “Journey to Daylight-Land,” 19.

of us and at our feet.”<sup>125</sup> We make—and take—meaning from aa-atsokediwen through the lens of our past experiences, and our current realities and needs. It is a “progressive growth of self through a cyclical journey of repetition, experience, and construction of meaning.”<sup>126</sup> Yet, meaning extends beyond the listener, building a reciprocal relationship—between story, teller, and listener—each enriches the other’s meaning and experience, and each gives back.

### **Aa-atsokediwen—Creation Stories: Our Sources of Knowing**

Respectful relationships of reciprocity with Aki<sup>127</sup> and Nibi, Manidoog, and with all of Creation, and between male and female, and individual and community are central to Anishinaabeodziwin. Relationship and responsibility create the truths, balance and harmony that are lived and shared within our Creation stories. At least four, and perhaps as many as seven, Anishinaabe Creation stories<sup>128</sup> are told by our Getsijig within our oral tradition and as well as in written form.<sup>129</sup> These stories represent the multiple truths of Creation within the spirals of time and Anishinaabe Knowledges and through a diversity of perspectives. Perhaps there is a simultaneous timeless and nested nature of our stories, perhaps not. I do not know; I was not there. Our stories speak of Creation within the elements of Water, Air, Fire and Earth,

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<sup>125</sup> Burkhart, “What Coyote and Thales Can Teach Us,” 21.

<sup>126</sup> Ermine, “Aboriginal Epistemology,” 106.

<sup>127</sup> *Refers to the Earth, or land, ground.*

<sup>128</sup> Personal communication, Leanne Simpson, Peterborough, ON, April 9, 2013.

<sup>129</sup> Creation Stories have been published by Ojibwe Anishinaabeg Edward Benton-Banai (*The Mishomis Book*), and Basil Johnston (*The Manitous*), and by Ojibwe Anishinaabekwe Edna Manitowabi (in Leanne Simpson’s *Dancing on Our Turtle’s Back*). Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg Shup-Shewana (Howard Lahurreau) has also written the Creation Story in unpublished form.

while some variations of Creation stories focus on each element. Perhaps the Beings who we are told came out of the water carry their own story of Creation, they were there. Or our variations of story might very well originate within the diversity of Anishinaabe Aki and Anishinaabemowin. Yet with each story there is a consistency of multiple truths connected and intertwined with teachings.

Of significant relevance is Anishinaabekwe Getsit Edna Manitowabi's telling of the Seven Fires of Creation story from a kwewag perspective. The teachings of the sacredness of water, air and the fire within each Anishinaabe are embedded within the story. We are told of the intense beauty of Shkaakmiikwe, our Mother Earth and her deep connection and vital similarities with Anishinaabekwewag. Through these teachings, Anishinaabekwewag of all ages come to understand ourselves as Shkaakmiikwe, and Shkaakmiikwe as ourselves. We are givers of life, and carriers of *g'chi twaa Nibi*. We are beautiful, we are sacred. We are the mothers and Grandmothers to generations yet to be born. We have an umbilical bond to all of Creation.<sup>130</sup>

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Elder Stewart King-ban tells us our name for our people, Anishinaabe, does not literally include women. I understand this to be not an erasure, but an honouring of kwewag. Women, in King-ban's interpretation of our Creation teachings, were not lowered to Earth by our Creator like men, rather Anishinaabekwewag, the givers of life, are held

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<sup>130</sup> Edna Manitowabi quoted by Leanne Simpson (*Dancing on Our Turtle's Back*, 36- 37).

in, or anchored within a different level of Creation than ininiwag.<sup>131</sup> We are seen as co-Creators, existing closer to Creator in Gahnoowaaniing,<sup>132</sup> where the Golden Eagle flies.<sup>133</sup>

Nanaboozhoo's conversation with the Manidoo of his Grandmother, as written by Benton-Banai-ban, tells us of the source of women's Knowledges:

She told him of the powers of the moon and how the Moon was symbolic of womanhood and the cycle of oon-dá-di-zoo-win' (birth). She explained that woman was used by the Creator to cast the light of knowledge on man just as the Moon casts its light on the Earth. Alone, man is backwards and undeveloped. He needs the light that woman give to make him whole.<sup>134</sup>

Shup-Shewana's Creation story and teachings are told from Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe perspective. Within the "Anishenabe Gikinoigun, Netam Nagamon" we are told of Creation in a time when all was water and fog.

The sun, stars of the night and the moon were created and set into motion. With this goodness it blew, the sky cleared and the waters ran off. He who is spirit, created spirit. The sun was given to the men as their grandfathers, the Earth as their first mother. From this first mother the fish, soft shell turtles, animals and birds were born. Bad spirits, bad men and water monsters were created. Flies and mosquitos were created. Within the inward parts of the first mother the young people were seen. They were happy and stayed with the spirits. Berries were eaten and all felt happy, lively and at one's best. The bad spirits, a powerful serpent guardian destroys, brings bad weather and brings death. People go and stay within the first world, the womb of the Earth.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> *Men.*

<sup>132</sup> *The place where the golden eagle flies; the second layer of the Anishinaabe cosmos above the earth.*

<sup>133</sup> King-ban refers to four levels of Creation. Mtigwaaning, the tree world or the earthly plain where men do their work, and young children learn from their Grandparents; Gahnoowaaniing, where the Golden Eagle flies; Nongoskwaaning, the Star World; and Manidoowaaning, the place of Creator; Stewart King-ban, "Historical and Spiritual Perspectives on the Language."

<sup>134</sup> Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 37.

<sup>135</sup> Shup-Shewana, *Ahnishenabe Gikinoigun*, unpaginated.

Within this finite piece of the story, I find relevance and connection to my people. We are told of the duality that exists within Creation, and of our deep connection to Spirit and our Mother. We are told of water spirits and monsters and one of our first medicine—berries. Perhaps, in the action of meaning-making of this piece of the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Creation Story a further connection can be seen—a connection between the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe and the Michi Saagii Anishinaabe. Michi Saagii Getsit Gidigaa Migizi, Doug Williams, tells a story of the emergence of Nishnaabeg from the Earth,<sup>136</sup> the womb of our Mother. We must acknowledge that “[t] here is no limit on Indigenous intellect.” Our Creator dreamt our world into existence.<sup>137</sup> All thought, creative energy and potential for life was placed in seeds in the Fifth Fire of Creation. Our thoughts and understandings, the meaning we make is based on our actions. “Knowledge is shaped and guided by human actions, endeavors, desires and goals. Knowledge is what we put to use. Knowledge can never be divorced from human action and experience.”<sup>138</sup> As we grow older and experience more of life, we make further connection and begin a new level of understanding. Anishinaabe Knowledges, our Intellectual Traditions, are indeed, always beginning.

Aa-atsokediwen are the source of the Niizhwaaswi Mishomisag Kinoomaagewin, the Seven Grandfather Teachings. We are also told through Nanaboozhoo’s journey about the

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<sup>136</sup> Gidigaa Migizi, Doug Williams, INDG6600 on-the-Land activity, Petroglyph Provincial Park.

<sup>137</sup> Simpson, *Dancing*, 42.

<sup>138</sup> Burkhart, “What Coyote and Thales Can Teach Us,” 21.

Anishinaabe protocol of the gifting of asemaa<sup>139</sup> when seeking Knowledge or assistance, as well as the gifts of the four directions. In coming full circle, in coming back to the beginning, I find there to be additional meaning of these teachings carried within Anishinaabemowin.

### **Niizhwaaswi Mishomisag Kinoomaagewin: Our Guiding Philosophy**

Niizhwaaswi Mishomisag Kinoomaagewin, the Seven Grandfather Teachings,<sup>140</sup> are principles for living well, principles of Anishinaabeodziwin. These grouped teachings are “amongst the most sacred laws and teachings we have ... [and] should lie at the heart of our motivations.”<sup>141</sup>

The origin of the Teachings is said to be story and Ceremony. Each teaching, our Elders tell us, is a gift the Anishinaabeg carry.<sup>142</sup> As we use these seven gifts collectively, our experience of living is enriched.

Figure 3.3 places these seven principles within eight divisions of the medicine circle. This is a reflection of the continual presence of, and respect for G’chi Zhemnidoo and the unknown. Zaagidwin<sup>143</sup> and minaadendmoowin<sup>144</sup> appropriately envelop the shaded eighth division representing this spiritual entity.

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<sup>139</sup> *Sacred tobacco.*

<sup>140</sup> These teachings are also referred to the Seven Grandmother Teachings in Michi Saagii territory (Simpson, *Dancing*, 125); The Noongwa e-Anishinaabemjig, a language and cultural website of the University of Michigan, includes miigwe’aadiziwin, generosity, in the seven principles while omitting geyaamaadziwin, honesty.

<sup>141</sup> Borrows, *Seven Generations*, 11.

<sup>142</sup> I understand these teachings as guiding ways of being, or responsibilities, both for individuals within their community, and as related to community survival. The teachings, like all of our foundational teachings, work together as a whole within the multidimensional spiral of simultaneous Knowledge and ways of being.

<sup>143</sup> *Love, profound affection for self, offspring, spouse and others.*

<sup>144</sup> *Respect, to think well and be respectful of others.*

### Niizhwaaswi Mishomsaak Kinoomaagenan

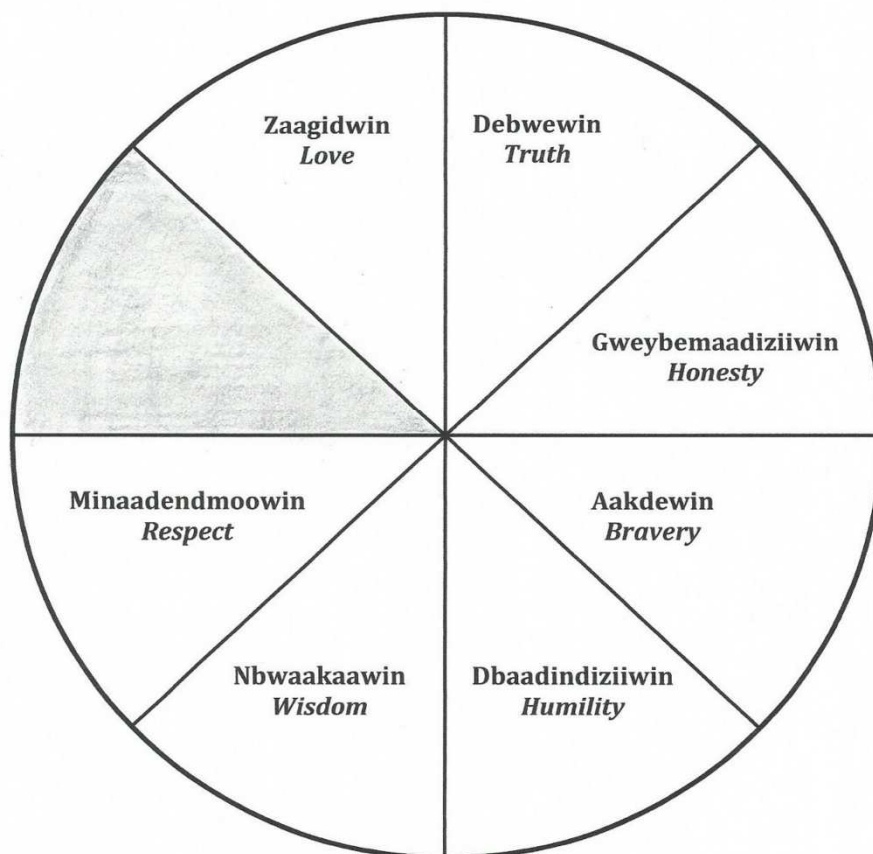


Figure 3.3: Niizhwaasi Mishomisag Kinoomaagewin or Seven Grandfather Teachings

### Semaa, asemaa, nsemaa: Our Teachings of Reciprocity and Respect

*In the cool pre-dawn air, the falling leaves of maple sound like rain as they softly blanket the hill in yellow. Barely visible through the trees, the eastern deep blue sky begins to pale. Thin strips of Birch bark curl as they wait on the brown earth beneath small twigs and branches carefully placed with love. Whispered prayers are heard by the Spirit of the Asemaa gently embraced in my left hand. As the first rays of morning burst forth and dance on the red rock placed by my ancestors, the first fire is lit. Asemaa is offered to the flames in gratitude for this*



*new day. Whispered prayers rise with the pungent smoke as I lift my drum and my voice.*<sup>145</sup>

Our stories tell us of tobacco, the gift from Waabanoong,<sup>146</sup> the source of all Knowledges, and how we are to use this medicine—there is, according to Basil Johnston-ban, a “custom of burning tobacco at the onset of storms, of offering tobacco during journeys in those places deemed dangerous or sacred, and the implanting of tobacco in the earth while gathering medicines. . .”<sup>147</sup> and tobacco is burned to “[let] its smoke carry your prayers to Gitchie Manitou. This smoke will be like your thoughts as if you could see them.”<sup>148</sup> It is in reciprocity, and with respect for the Knowledges held in Waabanoong and carried by our Elders, we are taught to gift semaa when asking for guidance or assistance. Semaa is also offered to the water and the spirits that care for the water.<sup>149</sup>

This protocol speaks to our relationship with, and responsibility to all of Creation and our respect for our ways of Knowing and being. We introduce ourselves through words or song as we ask for guidance and assistance from our medicines, from ininiaatigoog before we tap, from the miinan<sup>150</sup> and from manoomin before we harvest, and from our Getsijig. A gift of semaa is

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<sup>145</sup> Personal Reflection, Campbellsport, WI, October New Moon, 2010.

<sup>146</sup> *Direction of the rising sun; the eastern direction.*

<sup>147</sup> Johnston, *Ojibway Ceremonies*, 33.

Anishinaabe scholar Susan Chiblow also writes of this custom: “I canoe and kayak rivers and lakes and was taught by Elders to always make an offering before being on nibi.”

Chiblow, “Anishinabek Women’s Nibi Giikendasswin ,” 6.

<sup>148</sup> Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 17-18.

<sup>149</sup> Craft, “Anishinaabe Nibi Inaakonigewin,” 33.

<sup>150</sup> *Berries, blueberries.*

placed carefully on Aki, or in Nibi, or in a soft loving hand of an Elder. Edward Benton-Banai-ban retells the story of Nanaboozhoo travelling the world, listing and learning. He was told: “[t]he Creator has placed spirits everywhere. There are spirits in the rocks. There are spirits in the water. All of us spirits are an extension of Gitchie Manitou. All of us must answer to him. Greet us with Tobacco and we will tell you the secrets of the Creation.”<sup>151</sup> The power of semaa is, like our Knowledges, unlimited.

It has been my experience and teachings<sup>152</sup> that a small amount, just enough to fill the bowl of a pwaagan, should be gifted. Wrapped in thought and calico fabric,<sup>153</sup> the tobacco tie becomes a means of communicating, not only prayer, but respect, relationship, responsibility, and reciprocity. As we pray with semaa our words are mingled with our breath. When our semaa-filled pwaagan bowl is lit, our prayers are breathed in through the pwaagan, and breathed out with the smoke. This teaching is wrapped within the Anishinaabemowin—semaa. According to Getsit Stewart King-ban, nese is *to breathe*; wgii nesemaan is *s/he breathed it in and out*. Nsemaa is then “the medicine that you breathe in and breathe out.”<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 54.

<sup>152</sup> Traditional Teachings received from Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe Brenda Jacobson of Forest County Potawatomi Community, Wabeno, WI.

<sup>153</sup> Calico fabric is used to represent and honor waawaaskwonensan, the small flowers that carpet the ground in spring. These flowers remind us of the Spirit lights, waaskwonensan, of our Grandmothers and Grandfathers that watch over and comfort us (Stewart King-ban, Traditional Teaching, Delanson, NY, April 9, 2010).

<sup>154</sup> Stewart King-ban, INDG2601 Lecture.

## **Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad miinwaa Gikendaaswad bawaajigewin Manidoog: Knowledges gained through Ceremony, Dreams and Visions**

Anishinaabe Getsit James Dumont writes of dreams and visions as reality.<sup>155</sup> He tells us that in order to access Indigenous Knowledge and Intellectual Traditions, this “non-ordinary reality” must be accepted as valid. Marlene Brant-Castellano, Mohawk, defines this validity: “The ultimate test of the validity of knowledge is whether it enhances the capacity of people to live well.”<sup>156</sup> Indeed, our dreams and visions do enhance our ways of being and knowing. Edna Manitowabi, Getsit Anishinaabekwe, encourages us to pay attention to our dreams.<sup>157</sup>

Dreamtime has always been a great teacher for me. I see my dreams as guides or mentors, as the Grandfathers and Grandmothers giving me direction in my life. Dreams are how my own spirit guides me through my life.<sup>158</sup>

I often dream at biidaaban.<sup>159</sup> In the quiet moments before sunrise, beautiful thoughts come to me with the songs of the bineshiinhyag.<sup>160</sup> As the sky in the east lightens, clarity comes. For me, it is a time of creativity, revealing Knowledge through intense dreaming,<sup>161</sup> mixed with conscious thought. Our ways of knowing and being, Anishinaabeodziwin, embody

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<sup>155</sup> Dumont, “Journey to Daylight-Land: Through Ojibwa Eyes,” 11-23.

<sup>156</sup> Brant-Castellano, “Updating Aboriginal Traditions of Knowledge,” 12.

<sup>157</sup> Edna Manitowabi, personal communication, 2011; Edna Manitowabi, INDG6600 Lecture.

<sup>158</sup> Edna Manitowabi, *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies*, 283.

<sup>159</sup> *Dawn is coming, it is nearly daybreak*; Biidaaban is the time of our First Fire and of our Sunrise Ceremonies. It is a sacred time for all of Creation.

<sup>160</sup> *Birds*.

<sup>161</sup> Million, “Intense Dreaming,” 330.

this. Dreaming is an essential “element within our intellectual framework. Our dreams are part of our methods as we co-create with [the] universe and the Ancestors.”<sup>162</sup>

*I dream, guided by those Nokmisag, of asin, and I dream of asinag and Nibi together. As I travel in the reality of dreams and fasting visions, rock guides me, as does ishkode.<sup>163</sup> Copper, hematite, standing spires of rock, paths of rock and lined with rock, tabular dark rock—rock is medicine. We, Anishinaabekwewag,<sup>164</sup> carry water<sup>165</sup> within vessels of rock, of miskwaabik, while our protectors and supporters, those who balance the water, Anishinaabeininiwag,<sup>166</sup> light our sacred fires with shkitaagan,<sup>167</sup> and a striker of flint and steel. We are told that Shkaakmiikwe provides all that we need—Anishinaabe traditional territories are rich with copper, hematite<sup>168</sup> and flint. All are found on the skin of our mother; we do not need to cut deeply into her to extract these gifts. Hematite, when tempered in a fire, becomes a natural striker. We are told that Shkaakmiikwe provides all that we need—the traditional territories of the Naadowe, the Haudenosaunee, are rich with flint.<sup>169</sup> We are told that many times in the spiral of*

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<sup>162</sup> Shawanda, “Baawaajige,” 38.

<sup>163</sup> *Fire.*

<sup>164</sup> I have come to understand women and others with wombs literally as carriers of water (amniotic fluid surrounding and protecting a growing baby in the womb) and other humans as well as all beings as carriers of water. Water comprises a majority percentage of the weight of our bodies and the bodies of all our relatives. We are all water carriers, regardless of our gender identity.

<sup>165</sup> Bédard, “Keepers of the Water,” 89.

<sup>166</sup> *Anishinaabe men*; Within the context of Anishinaabeodziiwin and gender-related responsibilities, I understand ininiwag (men) are Spirits in human-form that identify with masculine energy and may or may not be cis-gendered males.

<sup>167</sup> *Fungus harvested from a yellow birch tree.*

<sup>168</sup> Deposits of pure or native copper (Cu) are found in Houghton, Ontonagon and Keweenaw Counties along the southern shore of Lake Superior, and on Isle Royal. Indigenous peoples mined copper in this area, and evidence of copper trading routes across Mshiikenh Mnis exists; Hematite (Fe<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>) is a common mineral found in rock of all ages. Significant deposits exist around the shores of Lake Superior in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota

<sup>169</sup> Flint (SiO<sub>2</sub>) and chert (SiO<sub>2</sub>) are common minerals used in combination with steel strikers in starting fires. Deposits of these minerals are found as stream gravel and field stones throughout the states of New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania; My childhood home was located in Haudenosaunee traditional territory. One of my early cultural mentors, my grandfather’s cousin David Big Bear Johnson, lived in Hogansburg, NY on the Akwesasne reservation and received much of his teachings from Mohawk Elder Tom Porter. Much of my graduate teaching assistant experience was with “Introduction to Indigenous Environmental Studies,” a Haudenosaunee culture

*time the Anishinaabe and the Haudenosaunee came together, hematite and flint, with sparks of conflict and violence.<sup>170</sup> Yet, we are both caretakers of the Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands. We share this dish.<sup>171</sup> Our Intellectual Traditions, because of the land and water, are intertwined yet distinct; both are undergoing resurgence, re-emergence and revitalization as we return to ourselves and in the process begin to heal. Each of our bodies of thought and philosophy have similar sources and commonalities<sup>172</sup>—our Creation stories, aa-atsokediwen, languages, Ceremonies, prophecies, clans, teachings, dreams, and visions. We both use water drums. At this time, at this new beginning of healing and unity and resurgence in this place on Mshiikenh Mnis, the Anishinaabeg and the Haudenosaunee are coming together, hematite and flint, creating a spark.<sup>173</sup>*

G'chi twaa Nibi inspires song and visions. She is honoured in Ceremony. Ceremony “compel[s] us to make more inward journeys” and provides us with a “multidimensional clarity, [a] connection of physical and metaphysical.”<sup>174</sup> Ceremony Knowledge spirals inward and outward intertwined with the spiraling of time. Knowledge is gained as we simultaneously look and experience inward, as the Spirits join and guide us in Ceremony, and as we simultaneously look and experience outwards.

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based undergraduate course. There is a long standing and intimate connection between the Haudenosaunee and my family.

<sup>170</sup> Shpuniarsky, “You Know What I Heard?” 5.

<sup>171</sup> This is a reference to Gdoo-naaganinaa, Our Dish, the concept of the territory of Southern Ontario shared between the Anishinaabeg and the Haudenosaunee; Gdoo-naaganinaa “acknowledged that both the Nishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee were eating out of the same dish through shared hunting territory and the ecological connections between their territories” (Simpson, “Our Elder Brothers,” 83-84).

<sup>172</sup> Personal reflection based on INDG6600 Lectures, Teachings and On-the-Land activities, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, 2012-2013.

<sup>173</sup> Personal reflection, Keene, ON, April 2013; The Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee, as well as many other Indigenous peoples from North and South America, came together in June 2012 at the headwaters of the Mississippi River. This condolence gathering resulted from a dream of Tekaronianeken (Jake Swamp-ban, Wolf Clan, Akwesasne). The intentions of this Ceremony were to heal from past atrocities and move forward in this time of flourishing with the spirit of hope—Biskaabiiyang (Skahendowaneh Swamp, INDG6600 Lectures).

<sup>174</sup> Ermine, “Aboriginal Epistemology,” 109.

It is through Ceremony that we access Gaabi b'gid na maagooyaan, Knowledge essential to our contemporary being and identity, to our resilience and survival, as well as our resurgence. Ceremony is both an immersion in and application of Gikendaaswin, as teachings, aa-atsokediwen, dbaajimowinag, and song flow together while individual and collective relationships with Manidoog, Aki, Nibi, ishkode and medicine are nurtured. Ceremony creates and holds space for a balanced way of being. It deepens our thought processes and allows existence at a different level than most of us human persons can maintain in our current context. Lee writes, "it is through relationship and ceremonies that knowledge flows as an unstoppable gift within the colonial context because such knowledge underlies the rest of our anti-colonial work: our resistance to colonialism is fortified by knowing who we are and by continuously deepening this self-knowledge we embody resurgence."<sup>175</sup> Ceremony is also our connection to Gete Anishinaabeg<sup>176</sup> and the past, and our connection to the future. Through ceremony we strengthen these connections as well as our identities. "[C]eremony allows us to see ourselves in the knowledge we hold within the teachings that originate from our relationship with the land. This knowledge helps to shape our identity."<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Lee, *Dibaajimowinan*, 14.

<sup>176</sup> *The old ones, Anishinaabe Ancestors*.

<sup>177</sup> Battiste and Henderson, *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge*, 41–42.

Ceremony, dreams, and visioning are intimately connected through Spirit. Each are “revealed knowledges”<sup>178</sup> and intrinsic to Anishinaabe intellectual tradition. Cajete tells us: “[d]reams and visions are a natural means for accessing knowledge and establishing relationship to the world.”<sup>179</sup> Dream reality is a visual narrative, a holistic sensory experience resulting from the traveling of our spirit. Through dreams and in visions we journey into the inner realm of meaning and this journey “is actual experiencing.”<sup>180</sup> We also make meaning, and experience Knowing, through prayer. Willie Ermine explains: “Prayer becomes power and by its very nature becomes another instrument in Aboriginal ways of knowing.”<sup>181</sup> Ceremony, according to Cajete, is a context for transferring Knowledge and a way of remembering our responsibility and relationships. “Native Ceremony is associated with maintaining and restoring balance, renewal, cultivating relationship, and creative participation with nature.”<sup>182</sup> Anishinaabe scholar Susan Chiblow agrees. Chiblow writes: “My understanding from ceremony, Anishinabek Elders, and practitioners is that the way of knowing is the way of being.”<sup>183</sup>

Revealed Knowledges are affirmed reality as Anishinaabekwewag pray and speak for Nibi in Ceremony, as we sing for and to Nibi, and as we vision. G’chi twaa Nibi unites

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<sup>178</sup> “Revealed Knowledge is acquired through dreams, visions, and intuitions which are understood to be spiritual in origin” (Brant-Castellano, “Updating Aboriginal Traditions of Knowledge,” 4).

<sup>179</sup> Cajete, “Philosophy of Native Science,” 54.

<sup>180</sup> Dumont, “Journey to Daylight-Land” 19.

<sup>181</sup> Ermine, “Aboriginal Epistemology,” 109.

<sup>182</sup> Cajete, “Philosophy of Native Science,” 54.

<sup>183</sup> Chiblow, “Anishinabek Women’s Nibi Giikendaaswin,” 3.

Anishinaabekwewag, physically and spiritually reinforcing and representing our respectful relationship of reciprocity with Shkaakmiikwe and all of Creation. Our revealed Knowledges intersect, overlap and spiral together to another beginning, a reclaiming and revitalizing of women's water Knowledge, song and Ceremony:

*We are told at the time of the Bear Moon, over a decade ago, a Ceremony was held in the bush of Kitigan-Zibi.<sup>184</sup> Within the spiraling of time, this Ceremony had not been done since the time before hand drums came to our women, in the time when Anishinaabekwe still played the sticks. Creation of this beginning was revealed Knowledge—a four-year process of one Nokmis dreaming, fasting and visioning. We are told that thirteen Nokmisag participated in this Ceremony, Grandmothers from all four races, Omàmìwinini Grandmothers, mixed blood Grandmothers. We are told that these anonymous women of the Seventh Fire, the keepers of this Ceremony, have asked this Ceremony be shared with all women of the world.*

*The Ceremony is a simple one, to be done at the new moon, the Bear Moon,<sup>185</sup> the song, sung only by women<sup>186</sup> and accompanied by birch clapper sticks or hand drums. A circle of Anishinaabekwewag and women of the world standing in the darkness of night, on the ice in order to absorb the teachings from Nibi beneath their feet. A sacred fire, lit at sundown burning for thirteen hours through the night, a feast and giveaway—kwewag sharing Knowledge and teachings with one another.<sup>187</sup>*

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<sup>184</sup> Garden River, an Anishinaabe/ Omàmìwinini community in Maniwaki, Quebec.

<sup>185</sup> *This is the moon that opens up the door when the ancient Grandmothers are most easily accessed; Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission, "The story behind "NIBI WABO" a women's water song."*

<sup>186</sup> Because of our connection to Nibi, the cleansing life-blood of our mother and our bodies' process of cleansing itself through our monthly cycle.

<sup>187</sup> Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission, "The story behind "NIBI WABO" a women's water song."



## Balance and Relationality: Ways of Being

Relationship and balance are at the core of Indigenous Knowledges and ways of being—“it is part of the cosmological understanding of our universe.”<sup>188</sup> The maintenance of dynamic balance and harmony with all relationships to and within Creation is essential, according to Couture, for “nothing exists in isolation, everything is relative to every other being or thing.”<sup>189</sup> Reciprocity within all relationships is Anishinaabeg and Indigenous reality—“Reality is based on mutual reciprocity. . . the world operates on a constant flow of give-and-take relationships.”<sup>190</sup> Everything must be carefully balanced and nurtured for our survival.<sup>191</sup>

Our teachings speak to the importance of balance in all aspects of Anishinaabeodziwin. Balance begins with ourselves. The four components of our being—Spirit, Heart, Mind, and Body—must be balanced to live *mno bemaadiziiwin*. Anishinaabe concepts of health encompass spiritual, emotional, mental and physical health, reciprocal relationships with our Ancestors and those yet to come, and connection with both the land and water as well as the cosmos. Continual balancing and rebalancing of our lives is needed as we work to decolonize and heal, while we are subjected to and frequently succumb to the expectations of dominant society. We are forced to use mind thought, and many of us satisfy body through self-indulgence, and self-medicate with the colonizers’ medicines.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Waters, “Language Matters,” 103.

<sup>189</sup> Couture, “Explorations in native Knowing,” 59.

<sup>190</sup> Cajete, “Philosophy of Native Science,” 55.

<sup>191</sup> Waters, “Language Matters,” 103.

<sup>192</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation.

Our pwaaganag simultaneously symbolize and bring balance. Nehiyowak or Cree Getsit Peter O’Chiese-ban shared the symbolism of the components of our pwaagan—the pipe stem symbolizes “the straight road that we have to follow,” while the stone bowl symbolizes “the strength that we must have in order to keep our faith and our way of life. That fire that is there symbolizes a source of life, wild life or food.”<sup>193</sup> In addition, we are told the pipe bowl represents feminine energy as co-Creator, holding both medicine and life (mashkiki and ishkode), and the stem represents masculine energy.<sup>194</sup> Both must work together in balance to honor our relationship with, and to reconnect with, spirit and Gete Anishinaabeg.<sup>195</sup> The spiraling of some pipe stems reminds us of balance—the cycling of day and night, and a balance of light and dark in Anishinaabeodziiwin.<sup>196</sup>

Processing of flint corn for traditional corn soup reflects balance. Nibi and ishkode, feminine and masculine energies, water, and ashes from a hardwood fire work together to break down the shell of each kernel of corn, add minerals, catalyze creation of enzymes, enhancing micro-nutrients to create a near perfect Anishinaabe miijim.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> O’Chiese. “Statement on the Aboriginal Man and the Treaties.”

<sup>194</sup> Pwaagan teachings shared with author, during Ceremonies, by Bodwewaadmii Getsijig Stewart King-ban of Wasauksing First Nation, Ontario and Brenda Shopodock of Forest County Potawatomi Community, Wisconsin.

<sup>195</sup> Basil Johnston-ban writes of the use of pwaaganag in governance, preparation for war, Midewiwin and Wabeno Society Ceremonies, as well as naming and marriage Ceremonies (*Ojibway Ceremonies*, 29, 76, 108, 118, and 160.)

<sup>196</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation.

<sup>197</sup> *Food*.

Our individual freedom is balanced with community needs and guided by relationality—Indigenous Peoples are related to all of Creation. Our actions in the world relate to all things, we must keep all of Creation in mind when we act.<sup>198</sup> There is, according to Cajete, a “. . . set of core beliefs in the sanctity of personal and community relationship to the natural world, which are creatively acted upon and expressed at both the personal and communal levels.”<sup>199</sup>

*I seek balance in my ways of Knowing and being, and I've come to Trent and my research because of my balance seeking. I seek Nokmisag and Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag Knowledges. My human teachers and mentors have all been male—Uncles, Elders. There has been a distinct and curious absence of women, of living Grandmothers, in my spiral of physical existence. Reflecting on my life experiences and learning—and through my developing understanding of colonization, assimilation, and the rise of patriarchy—I clearly see erasure of my Grandmothers and their stories and Knowledges. Yet, through heart-Knowledge I have come to know they are not truly absent. Their voices join mine in song, their feet dance softly in rhythm with my drum and heartbeat. My Grandmothers exist within me, fueling the fire of my personal resurgence with intense passion and yearning. With sadness and determination, strength and healing, and through my research I will make those invisible Grandmothers visible.<sup>200</sup>*

## **Naming: Understanding our Gifts and Responsibilities**

Original Man, our stories tell us, was instructed by Creator to walk this Earth and name all of our relations—the land and waterscapes, the plants and medicines, the four legged, the swimmers, the crawlers and the flyers.<sup>201</sup> He did so with the language of the land,

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<sup>198</sup> Burkhart, “Coyote and Thales,” 21.

<sup>199</sup> Cajete, “Philosophy of Native Science,” 15.

<sup>200</sup> Personal reflection based on INDG6600 Lectures, Teachings and On-the-Land activities, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, 2012-2013.

<sup>201</sup> Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 5 -9.

Anishinaabemowin. Each of the names of our relations holds within it a teaching, a story, telling of the gifts and responsibilities given by Creator. Our medicines' names tell us of their uses and appearances. Anishinaabemowin names of birds and animals tell of their responsibilities or ways of behavior.<sup>202</sup>

The naming of individual Anishinaabe persons begins the revealing of our promised agreements with Creator, or our responsibilities or ways of behaviour.<sup>203</sup> Our names come from the Spirit World; accessed through the fasting, meditation, prayer or dreaming of an Elder or Medicine Person who carries the gift of naming. Benton-Banai-ban's narrative shares the importance of naming Ceremonies:

At a gathering of family and friends, the medicine person burns an offering of Tobacco and pronounces the new name to each of the Four Directions. All those present repeat the name each time it is called out. In the way the Spirit World comes to accept and recognize the young child with the new name. . . . It is through this naming act that they [the spirits] look into the face of the child and recognize him as a living being. Thereafter, the Spirit World and all past relatives watch over and protect this child.<sup>204</sup>

Naming is important for our babies and children, and for Anishinaabeg of all ages. Names may be given to adults, or even late in one's life. Receiving a name is particularly significant in the lives of Anishinaabeg that have been disconnected or removed from our culture, or not raised

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<sup>202</sup> Gahnnoo, Golden Eagle, the animal of Waabanoong is responsible for carrying our prayers and thoughts skyward to Creator. Gahnnoo is derived from wgah noot maak—'he will speak for you.' Migizii, Bald Eagle, is a source of medicine for the Anishinaabeg. Migizi is derived from migizi geh—'wiping your spirit clean.' Mkwaa, bear, is derived from mah kwab jig e—the one who uncovers and digs up. Shibzhii, mountain lion, comes from wgah shig bi nig—'he will tear you up', while gaazgenhs, housecat, is said to be derived from wgah gaazh bi nig—'he will scratch you' (Stewart King-ban-ban, INDG2601 Lecture).

<sup>203</sup> Traditional Teachings received from Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe Brenda Jacobson of Forest County Potawatomi Community, Wabeno, WI.

<sup>204</sup> Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 9.

in a traditional household. Bestowed with a name is spiritual guidance and direction, acknowledgement, belonging, and the comfort of self-identity. It is truly a good thing when our people, young and old, are asking for their names.

## **Ogimaa, Gimaa, Ogimaa, Wokimaajmah: Our Teachings of Leadership and Governance**

*Enh henh, the time of the Seventh Fire is now. Nana, nana. Listen. Listen to the young people emerging from all across Mshiikenh Mnis—young women singing, young men walking, young ones standing with our Elders, standing with our lands and waters. Listen. They are strong and eloquent speakers. The truth is within the simple beauty of their voices, words spoken with honesty, courage and respect. Listen. They speak for Shkaakmiikwe, with vision and love. Oshkimaadiziig, the new people, the ones we've been waiting for, have come. It is a new beginning.<sup>205</sup>*

Our teachings surrounding governance and Clans are particularly important at this new beginning—in the time of the Seventh Fire, and on the cusp of the Eighth Fire. The contemporary governmental systems imposed by the colonizers on our communities are not working. These systems are not serving our needs; they are not aligned with Anishinaabeodziwin and our ways of being. Our ogimaag,<sup>206</sup> or leaders, typically campaign and are elected rather than emerging, as they did traditionally, from within our communities based on current need, issues, and skills. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson writes of her understanding of the emergent nature of our leaders:

It is my understanding that formal governance occurred most often in the summer months, when the clans gathered together or as it was needed when issues arose. . .

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<sup>205</sup> Personal Reflection, Keene, ON, March 9, 2013.

<sup>206</sup> *Esteemed leaders or chiefs.*

[L]eaders emerged according to their expertise (a combination of authentic power, knowledge, experience and personal gifts or attributes as recognized by the collective).<sup>207</sup>

Our Elders tell us that our leadership was temporary and need-based,<sup>208</sup> and that our ogimaag served with reluctance and “out a of sense of responsibility and sacrifice, rather than desire for esteem and accolades.”<sup>209</sup>

These leadership teachings emerge, like much of our Knowledge, from within the language Creator gave us—Anishinaabemowin. Basil Johnston-ban uses the word Ogimauh as *the foremost leader*. According to Johnston-ban, in the past, our leaders did not seek their position. Rather, they were sought out by their community; and the word Ogimauh is derived from Ogindaussoowin, meaning to *count* or *calculate*. Aligning ogindaussoowin with the essential Anishinaabeg concepts of relationality, responsibility and respect, the term for leader then “*means he (or she) who counts a number of followers and, conversely, he (or she) who many count.*”<sup>210</sup> Fluent Anishinaabemowin speaker Stewart King-ban relates ogimaa, gimaa<sup>211</sup> and kimaa to their original form, wokimaa,<sup>212</sup> meaning chief or king. King-ban believes wokimaa is a shortened form of wokimaajmah.<sup>213</sup> Again relationality, respect and responsibility are reflected in the language—wo refers to *about with great honour*, ki refers to *all over the Earth*,

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<sup>207</sup> Simpson, *Dancing*, 120.

<sup>208</sup> Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 61 -63.

<sup>209</sup> Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams) of Curve Lake First Nation, quoted in Simpson, *Dancing*, 121.

<sup>210</sup> Italics added.; Johnston, *The Manitous*, 244.

<sup>211</sup> *Leader, chief.*

<sup>212</sup> *Chief or king.*

<sup>213</sup> *S/he/they who speaks to all of the Earth with great honor and Knowledge.*

and maajmah refers to *speaks or talks to*. Wokimaajmah, our leader, is then he (she, or they) who speaks to all of the Earth with great honor and Knowledge.<sup>214</sup>

The spirals of our Knowledges, stories and language can guide us from the past to our present and into our future. We simply have to listen.

Creation unfolds as it should, as it did in the beginning. Our Knowledges lie within our Original instructions, our genetic or cellular memories, within our language<sup>215</sup> and our deep passionate connection with our lands and waters.

My understanding is at a simple beginning, I will be forever learning. This is my individual reality, it is a reflection of Anishinaabe reality, and a reflection of the Seventh Fire Prophecy.

*I wait in Mtigwaaning, catching glimpses of blue through the intricate beauty of yellow swaying in the breezes of the new moon. Shkaabewis,<sup>216</sup> who lights the sky, moves purposefully higher. Time stands still as His light descends from directly above. We are told this is a special time, a time to look about, to see all that surrounds us. I see beauty, I feel connected, and I feel love. Gratitude abounds for these ways and the many gifts I have been given. I light the thin strips of curled Birch bark waiting on the brown earth. The second fire is fed carefully with small twigs, as I whisper prayers of thanksgiving to the spirit of the Asemaa gently embraced in my left hand. Pungent smoke rises with my heart and my song. G'chi miigwech mno bemaadziwin.<sup>217</sup>*

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<sup>214</sup> Stewart King-ban, INDG2601 Lecture.

<sup>215</sup> Anishinaabe scholar Susan Chiblow emphasizes the relationship between Knowledge and language: "An intimate knowledge of the land is embedded in Indigenous languages."

Chiblow, "Language is Land," 3.

<sup>216</sup> *Helper*.

<sup>217</sup> *Great big thank you for this way of life*; Personal Reflection, Campbellsport, WI, October New Moon, 2010.

## BIBOON (Winter, a time of near death)

### Miisah geget gaa be Zhiwebak: Chapter 4

#### **Dbajimowinag of our collective history**

Where common memory is lacking, where people do not share in the same past, there can be no real community. Where community is to be formed, common memory must be created.<sup>1</sup>

Many contemporary Bodwewaadmii—individual persons, extended genealogical families, and remnants of our historic communities—are separated both geographically, and within our existing communities into a multitude of factions. These separations and divisions result from colonization, christianity, assimilation and acculturation, unique diasporic lived experiences, and adaptive resistance. As our contemporary communities work together in resurgence, revitalization, and Nation-building, I believe the creating and sharing of a common memory or understanding of our lived experiences is essential.<sup>2</sup>

This is a collective history, a telling of what really happened to our People as a whole and a partial telling of the histories of our contemporary communities. This telling attempts to

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<sup>1</sup> Charles, “Our common memory.” Within this editorial, the author quotes George Erasmus, Dene Nation, Co-chair of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Erasmus’ quote is also used in the Kairos Blanket Exercise.

<sup>2</sup> This is also essential in my reconnection with my community, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation of Shawnee, Oklahoma. My grandfather, Asa Elwood Wall, was the last Wall family member to live within our ancestral community.



share the big picture and bring together stories of our shared history through dbaajimowinag<sup>3</sup> of those who participated in this research, Getsijig<sup>4</sup> who share at our annual history and language conference, and through the work of academic historians (Bodwewaadmii, Anishinaabe and outsiders). When the collective history is shared, our understanding of what happened to us deepens, and healing can begin. In addition, connections can be drawn between communities and between the lived experiences of Bodwewaadmii on both sides of that artificial, political border.

Researching and writing this chapter is a beginning; a beginning of coming to understand our common memories, and a beginning of healing. The process has been intense for me. It has been unsettling and difficult. Working to understand the big picture is overwhelming both on a geographic scale and when considering the widespread use of deceit coupled with greed and racism that has resulted in widespread trauma and loss. There were many times when I found myself seemingly paralyzed, unable to move forward in synthesizing sources or in finding the words to describe our connected yet unique diasporic stories. There were times in this process when verbalizing the memories of others (as I used dictation software) triggered a break-down, bringing me to tears. These times, I now comprehend, were the entry-points to noojimo'iwewin<sup>5</sup>—healing generations of trauma and of loss, not only for my family and community but for the land, water and our collective Ancestors. Our healing is

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<sup>3</sup> *Personal stories.*

<sup>4</sup> *Elders.*

<sup>5</sup> *Healing.*

needed to move forward and simultaneously backward, in the spiral of time and return to ourselves. Our healing is needed for Biskaabiiyang.<sup>6</sup>

Operationalizing Biskaabiiyang pushes me to think and position our collective history as well as myself within the spiral of time, rather than along the linear progression of western historical thought processes. Operationalizing Biskaabiiyang pushes me to lead with Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe<sup>7</sup> voices and narratives in lieu of the voices of settlers, and to share dbaajimowinag of my research participants. Our prophecy of the Seventh Fire pushes me to explore my connection to Gete Anishinaabeg,<sup>8</sup> and bring forward the names, and therefore the voices, of the previous seven generations of my family.<sup>9</sup>

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeodziiwin<sup>10</sup> is guided by aa-atsokediwen<sup>11</sup> and Ceremony, Gikendaaswin,<sup>12</sup> resurgence and resilience. Dbaajimowinag, and placenames in our language share our histories of and our intimate relationship with Anishinaabe Aki.<sup>13</sup> Our ways of being

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<sup>6</sup> *Returning to ourselves, making a round trip.*

<sup>7</sup> *The Potawatomi People.*

<sup>8</sup> *The old ones, Anishinaabe Ancestors.*

<sup>9</sup> This also enhances my personal connection to my grandfather's community—the Citizen Potawatomi Nation of Shawnee, Oklahoma—where I am an enrolled member. I am second generation removed from Indian Boarding school and my grandfather's community, fourth generation removed from our language, and fifth generation removed from our traditional homeland on the western shores of Lake Michigan in Wisconsin.

<sup>10</sup> *Being Anishinaabe, embodiment of all aspects of the Anishinaabe way of life, philosophy, psychology, culture, teachings, spirituality, customs and history.*

<sup>11</sup> *The sharing back and forth of sacred stories.*

<sup>12</sup> *The embodiment of Knowledges.*

<sup>13</sup> *Land and water, all of Creation in Anishinaabe Territory/ies.* In the context of this research, Anishinaabe Aki is the Great Lakes Basin. See Map 2.1.

and our experiences that began after the arrival of the Wemtigoozhii<sup>14</sup> have been interpreted by a horde of non-Indigenous historians, anthropologists, archeologists, ethnographers, and writers of fiction. These interpretations are colonized texts,<sup>15</sup> and do not “truly tell how the dominant world has so often ignored our people’s true history... they choose not to tell it at all.”<sup>16</sup> Indigenous Scholars are beginning the accurate retelling of our lived experiences from Anishinaabe perspectives, using narratives and privileging our voices.<sup>17</sup> This is significant in truth-telling, making meaning and operationalizing Biskaabiiyang.

Biskaabiiyang requires an understanding of centuries of our collective lived experiences to actively decolonize, heal,<sup>18</sup> and return to ourselves. It is my understanding that within Anishinaabeodziwin, time spirals—the past, present and future occur simultaneously. This conceptualization, miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak,<sup>19</sup> of our collective history begins within this

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Anishinaabe scholar Susan Chiblow writes of the relationship between land and language: “Language is land and land is language.”

Chiblow, “Language is Land,” 4.

<sup>14</sup> *The newcomers who arrived carrying a wooden cross; French, French people;* The author acknowledges that there was, most likely, contact between the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg and other European peoples prior to this time.

<sup>15</sup> Geniusz, *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive*, 4. Geniusz defines colonized texts as published and unpublished written documentation that can be described as either serving the “interests of the colonizers and the processes of systemic racism and oppression,” or presenting information and interpretations of Anishinaabe intellectual tradition, Knowledges, spirituality or history through a colonizer’s lens and according to the “philosophies, cosmologies, and knowledge-keeping systems of the colonizers.” See the “Dbaajimowinag” section of *G’yak chigewin: Chapter 5* for a discussion of colonized texts.

<sup>16</sup> Halfaday and Oja, “From the Ashes,” 3.

<sup>17</sup> Two Indigenous Scholars doing this work are John Low and Phil Bellfy.

<sup>18</sup> Understanding our lived experiences can address the shame we carry—shame related to feelings of not being enough, not knowing our languages, teachings, Knowledges and practices.

<sup>19</sup> “*This is what really happened.*”

spiral and privileges our own narrative, lived experiences and dbaajimowinag to tell miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak. The entry point into this spiral is Giiankobaajianwag<sup>20</sup>—when we were becoming untied or disconnected from and dispossessed of our lands and waters, and zhaamaganek giiba nanawag<sup>21</sup>—when the soldiers came and took some of us away. This narrative then spirals, circling to when we first met the Wemtigoozhii and began building new kinships, and adapting to new ways of relationality to our other than human relatives and to each other. Retelling of our lived experiences then spirals to giizhnaadsewag<sup>22</sup>—a time of chaos and rapidly changing relationships that led to Giiankobaajianwag miinwaa zhaamaganek giiba nanawag. Our narrative continues as we look to the Seventh Fire and Biskaabiiyang and look even further envisioning Anishinaabeodziwin Apane<sup>23</sup> and the Eighth Fire. Figure 4.1 illustrates these moments within the spiral of time.

Gaabin nsatamaan,<sup>24</sup> our lived experiences, and our contemporary ways of being and knowing, are a complex intertwining of relationship, settler colonialism, greed, resistance, linguicide, resilience, adaptation, disconnection, migration and emigration, cultural genocide and revitalization, and Nation building. To fully understand these complexities in relation to their effect on Anishinaabeodziwin requires a deep and comprehensive analysis of the

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<sup>20</sup> *Removal; they became untied.*

<sup>21</sup> *Removal, forced removal; those the soldiers came to get.*

<sup>22</sup> *Chaos; a pitiful state of chaos.*

<sup>23</sup> *Always, continually being Anishinaabe.*

<sup>24</sup> *“How I have come to understand it,” empirical knowledge.*

colonization and settlement of Anishinaabe Aki by newcomers from France, Great Britain and Western Europe, as well as the formation of the American and Canadian colonial governments and their Indian policies. Key in this understanding is the recognition and acknowledgment of newcomer greed for land and resources,<sup>25</sup> and the perception of our people as obstacles to achieving their goals of settler colonization. This insatiable hunger was, and continues to be fed, as well as divinely justified, by the Doctrine of Discovery<sup>26</sup> and Manifest Destiny.<sup>27</sup> The foundations of both originated with the Papal Bulls of the fifteenth century.<sup>28</sup>

This retelling of our lived experiences purposefully pushes to the background the western conceptualization of a linear historical timeline<sup>29</sup>—a timeline that begins with contact and ignores our stories of *miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak* from time immemorial. This retelling also works to bring forward the seven generations of my own family—bringing Gete Anishinaabe forward to this moment in the spiral of time to assist us in preparing the ground for the lighting of the Eighth Fire. In this way, my retelling acknowledges and recognizes

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<sup>25</sup> Bukowczyk et al., *Permeable Border*, 115. Bukowczyk describes the dual purposes of French colonization of St. Lawrence River Valley and Great Lakes basin “as a means to proselytize the Catholic faith and funnel wealth from the continent’s interior.”

<sup>26</sup> Detailed discussion of the Doctrine of Discovery is beyond the scope of this dissertation and chapter. Please see Appendix E, Further Reading, for sources of additional information.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered*, 118. Manifest Destiny refers to the belief that expansion of the United States was divinely ordained, justifiable, and inevitable. Detailed discussion of Manifest Destiny is beyond the scope of this chapter.

<sup>28</sup> Newcomb, *Pagans in the Promised Land*, 194.

<sup>29</sup> A linear conceptualization of post contact history is presented in tabular form in Appendix A. These chronological tables include places and dates of contact; locations of Bodwewaadmii villages; military action; christian and political activities; treaties; family genealogy and history; and historic events relevant to the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe lived experience.

Oshkimaadiziig.<sup>30</sup> Embedded within these collective Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe histories of colonization are excerpts and vignettes of my family history. “Our family history is in fact a powerful microcosm of the history of our people.”<sup>31</sup> These vignettes are indented and presented in italicized font, similar to the personal reflections included through this dissertation. This format is intended to distinguish the dbaajimowinag of my family history from research participants’ dbaajimowinag and written and oral narratives from Elders and those shared by Getsijig at the 2015 Potawatomi History and Language Conference while supporting and enriching an understanding of our collective histories.

The spiraling of Anishinaabe time continues. It is not possible within this research to present the full spiral as it continues to unfold. A complete discussion of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe lived experiences is beyond scope of this dissertation.<sup>32</sup> Rather, this chapter presents an abridged, yet lengthy, discussion focused on illuminating how the processes of colonization, settler colonialism, cultural genocide,<sup>33</sup> and linguicide impacted and continue to

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<sup>30</sup> *The esteemed new people.*

<sup>31</sup> Robin Wall Kimmerer, Guided Discussion, August 17, 2017. Robin Wall Kimmerer is my sister. We have journeyed together, along with our parents, in uncovering our family’s history and ancestral ties to Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe.

<sup>32</sup> Informative maps and tables are included in Appendix A to supplement the written text of this dissertation and to provide additional information to interested researchers. Maps and tables are organized by kiiowad (time period). The maps provide visual narratives of the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe presence in the Great Lakes Basin and beyond. Tables summarize the context and specific events of miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak.

<sup>33</sup> Tasker, “Residential schools.”

impact Anishinaabeodziwin.<sup>34</sup> This discussion focuses on how these processes have covered<sup>35</sup> multiple components of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Gikendaaswin, as well as our practices.<sup>36</sup> By creating this beginning of a common understanding, our individual and collective

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<sup>34</sup> This description of booch Zhaaganoshioziis (settler colonialism) was introduced by the commissioners of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, chaired by Justice Murray Sinclair. Sinclair, speaking on CBC Radio's *The House*, said: "I think as commissioners we have concluded that cultural genocide is probably the best description of what went on here [in Canada's Residential School system]."

<sup>35</sup> Covering is a metaphor used in this work to describe the suppression or burying of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Gikendaaswin including women's Knowledges and practices. Our Knowledges and practices emanate from the land and waters, and prior to contact were a ubiquitous way of being. They now lie beneath layers of overburden created by colonization, assimilation, acculturation, patriarchy, conversion to christianity, and the marginalization of our women. For the Bodwewaadmii there is an additional covering—our diasporic experience of removal and relocation.

<sup>36</sup> This general covering of our Knowledges extends to the covering of kwewag Nibi-related Knowledges and practices, the focus of this research.

revitalization processes can begin to remove the overburden layers and allow our ways of knowing to bubble upward from the buried aquifer, and flow into our contemporary lives as these ways originally flowed from the land since time immemorial.<sup>37</sup>

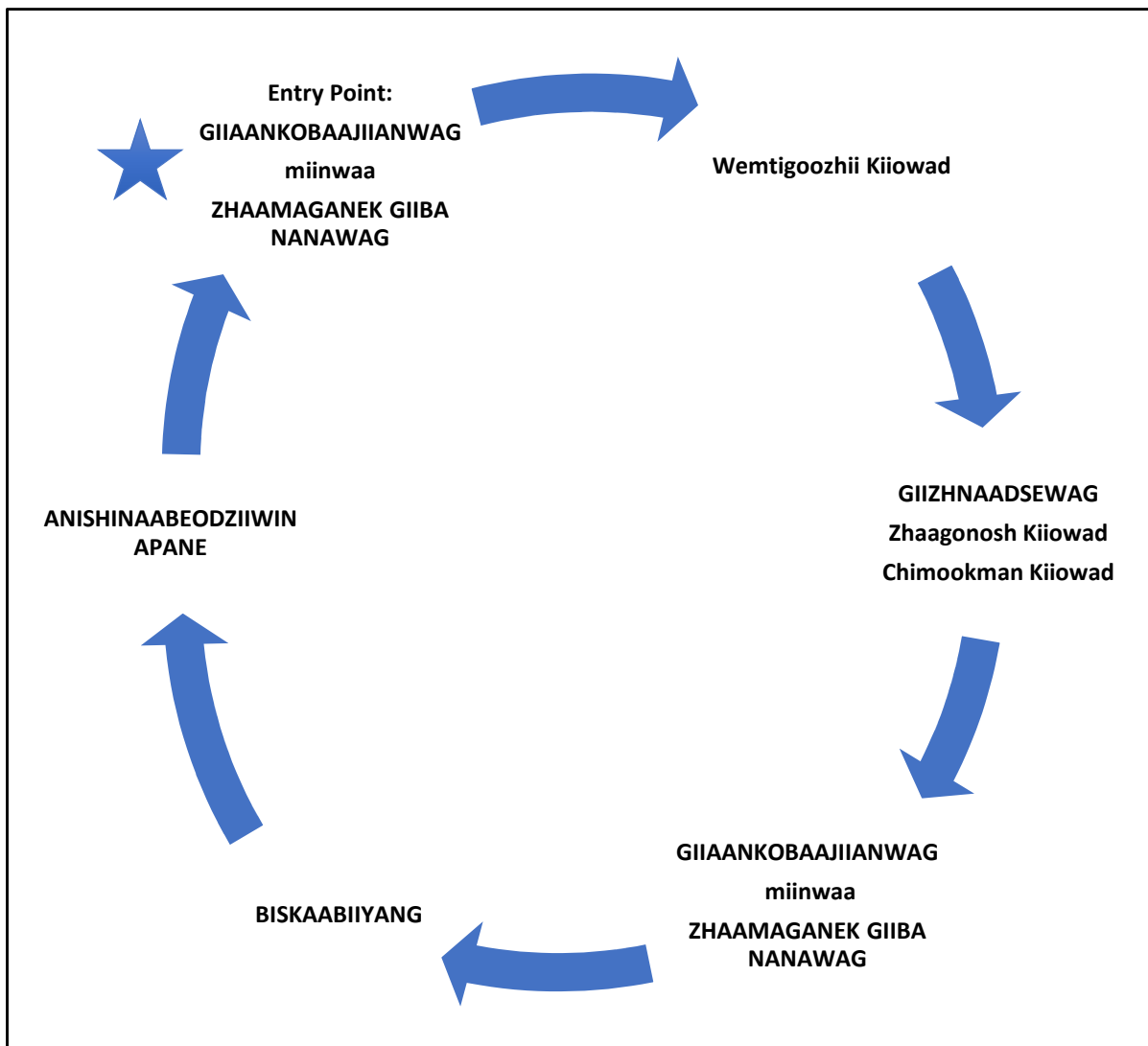


Figure 4.1: Spiral of Miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak

<sup>37</sup> It is important to acknowledge that doing this work as a dual scholar, as Bodwewaadmikwe (a Bodwewaadmii woman) carrying familial and community historical trauma, is more than a retelling of history. It is a process of addressing, bringing to the forefront and, rather than assuming a victim role, actively working to let go, and to heal. It is being able to write from a centered place, knowing fully the history, with the commitment to move forward, while spiraling backward as we return to ourselves.



## Booch Zhaaganoshiioziis

Colonization, Booch Zhaaganoshiioziis,<sup>38</sup> is the overarching catalyst in the covering of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg Knowledges.<sup>39</sup> Gikendaaswin is more than a Knowledge system, it is a way of knowing and being.<sup>40</sup> Specifically, it is a way of being in reciprocal relationship with, and fulfilling our responsibilities to, land, water and all the beings of Creation. These beings include Manidoog<sup>41</sup> and Gete Anishinaabe. It is not possible to embody Anishinaabe Gikendaaswin without acknowledging and embracing the spiritual elements. Lee Maracle-ban wrote: “[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 Nation knowledge keepers and their children through a variety of means.”<sup>42</sup> Our disconnection from our ways of knowing and being began with contact and our engagement with the Wemtigoozhii and the Fur Trade, and continually intensified with conversion to christianity, and dispossession from our lands and waters.

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<sup>38</sup> *Forced to live like a Zhaaganosh (English or British person); Settler colonialism.*

<sup>39</sup> Anishinaabe scholar Susan Chiblow writes of the ignoring of our women associated with colonization, rather than covering of our Knowledges: “The continuous ignoring of Anishinabek women is embedded in colonialism, is historic, and persists today.”

Chiblow, “Anishinabek Women’s Nibi Giikendasswin,” 2.

<sup>40</sup> See *Anishinaabeodziiwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin, E zhi nsatamaan: Chapter 3*, and *G’yak chigewin: Chapter 5* for further discussion of Gikendaaswin.

<sup>41</sup> *Spirits.*

<sup>42</sup> Maracle, “Toward a National Literature,” 78.

Booch Zhaaganoshioziis resulted in fragmentation and severely altered our relationships with the beings of Creation, and thus negatively impacted Kiinoomaagewag Aki Manidoo miinwaa Nibi Manidoo.<sup>43</sup> The conversion of many of our People, to christianity disrupted Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad,<sup>44</sup> our Knowledges gained in and transmitted through Ceremony (see *Figure 4.2, Impacts of booch Zhaaganoshioziis*). Situating Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe history within the larger picture of North American history is essential in making meaning and creating deep understanding of the impacts of colonization and settler colonialism on Bodwewaadmii Knowledges and practices.

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<sup>43</sup> *Learning from the land and water spirits.*

<sup>44</sup> *Knowledges gained from/through Ceremony*

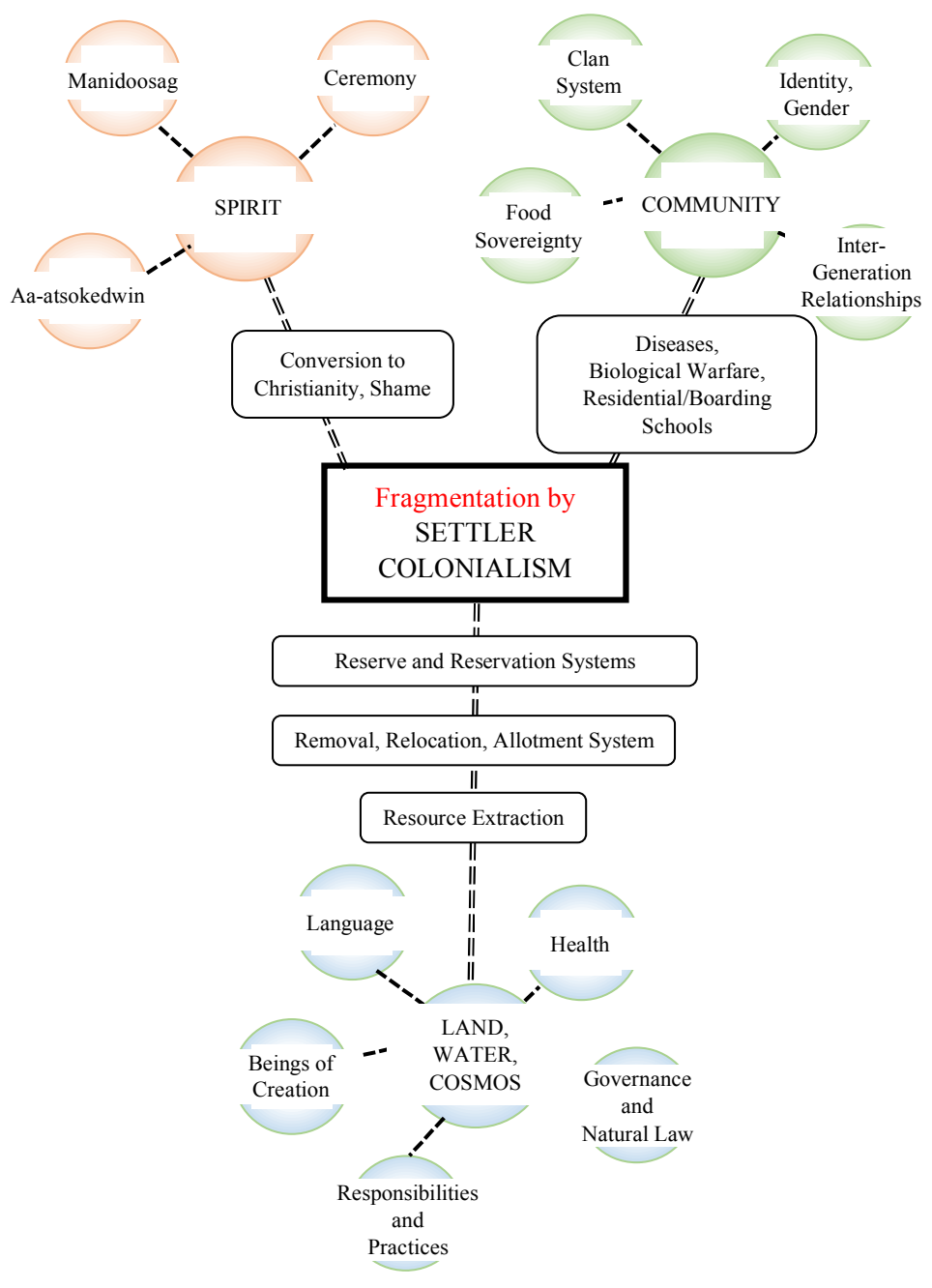


Figure 4.2: Impacts of Booch Zhaaganoshioziis

Booch Zhaaganoshioziis resulted in the imposition of a new paradigm, and continues to impact, the covering of Knowledges, language, values and spirituality. Anishinaabe Scholar, Waaseyaa'sin Christine Sy explains, "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 lifeways have been, and continue to be, broadly influenced, marked, altered, appropriated, or destroyed by European settler, and state influences."<sup>45</sup>

Our lifeways embody our ways of knowing, and our ways of knowing are intimately intertwined with our ways of being and our day-to-day practices. Figure 4.3 illustrates this intertwining and categorizes the essential elements of Gikendaaswin. The following discussions of miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak highlight the covering of our ways of knowing.

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<sup>45</sup> Sy, "Following Ininaahtigoog Home," 134.

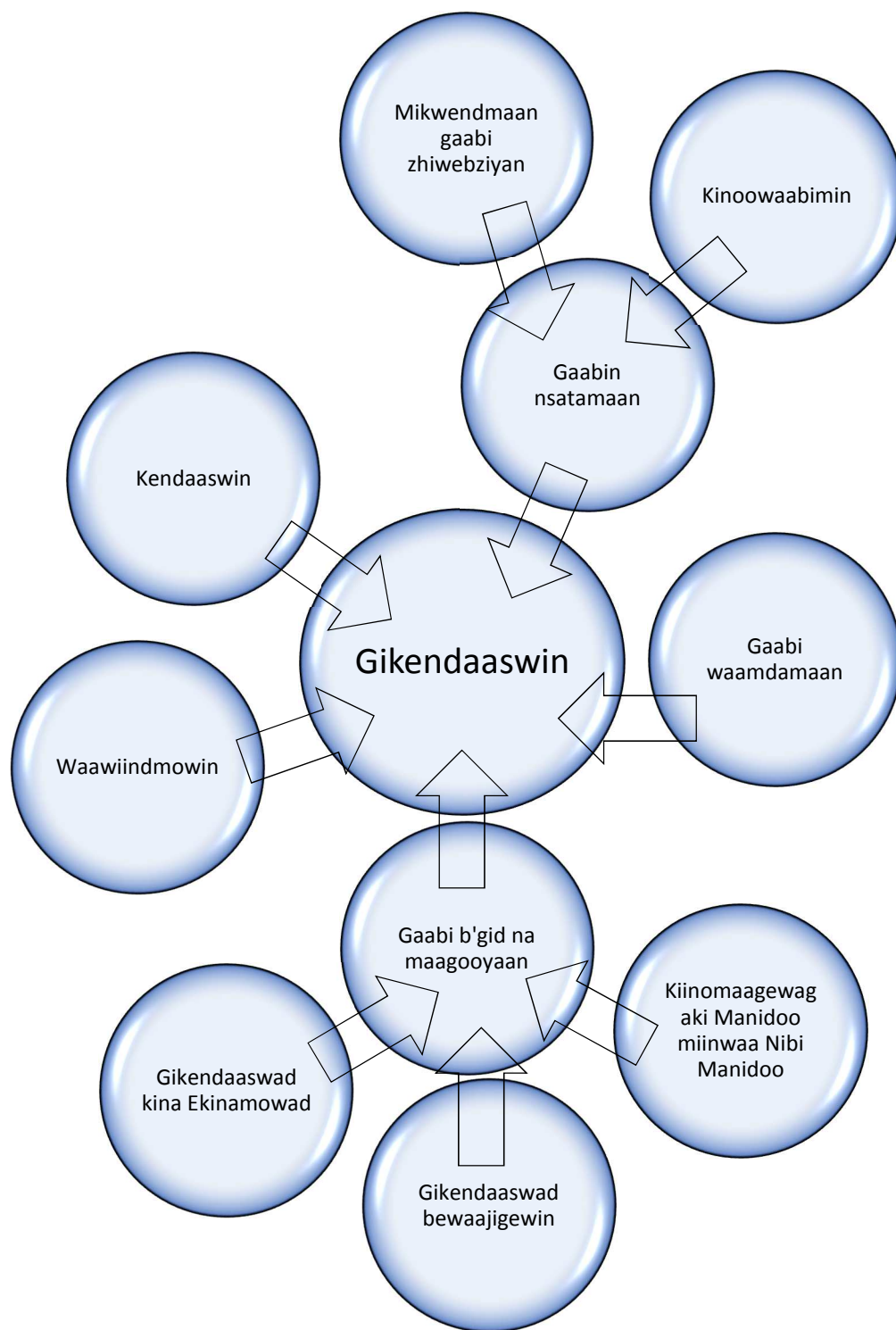


Figure 4.3: The Relationship of Knowledges (repeated from Chapter 3)

## **Giaankobaajianwag miinwaa Zhaamaganek Giiba Nanawag Kiiowad (~1830 - 1900)**

This retelling of “what really happened” begins here. It started when we began to be untied from our Ancestral lands. Our relationship with our lands, waters and those who reside alongside us had been fraying for two hundred years. This moment in the spiral of time represents both the physical untying of our connection to our lands, waters and each other, and our further disconnection from Anishinaabe Gikendaaswin, our ways of knowing and being, all as a result of a series of treaties with the American government. These treaties, signed prior to and immediately following the Federal Indian Removal Act of 1830, facilitated the cession of land and the relocation of many of our Ancestors away from G’chi Zaagiganag.<sup>46</sup>

This retelling privileges Boom bye goo,<sup>47</sup> Abinsaaniawag<sup>48</sup> and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo<sup>49</sup> Bodwewaadmii voices and stories of what really happened. It includes dbaajimowinag—historic, family and personal stories—of those who participated in this research, of Getsijig from the Forest County Potawatomi Community, and of my own family. The lived experience of my Ancestors both complements and broadens the voices of others—some emigrated voluntarily to Iowa Territory, Kansas Territory and then to Indian Territory (Oklahoma); some were forcibly removed on the “Trail of Death;” and others remained in Wisconsin or stayed in Kansas after emigrating there from Iowa.

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<sup>46</sup> *The Great Lakes.*

<sup>47</sup> *They use horses.*

<sup>48</sup> *Those who stayed in place.*

<sup>49</sup> *They use a canoe.*

## Booch Zhaaganoshiioziis

Booch Zhaaganoshiioziis, and its impacts on Gikendaaswin, had begun more than two hundred years prior. New France had become Upper Canada, the British colonies had become the United States, and settler colonialism and immigrants' hunger for land was accelerating. This was a time of turmoil for all the Anishinaabeg of G'chi Zaagiganag—the Fur Trade was declining, military posts replaced fur trading posts, the newly opened Erie Canal improved settler access to the Great Lakes Basin and “funneled resources east,”<sup>50</sup> while the newly completed Michigan Road intersected the National or Cumberland Road. These roads now stretched from the Potomac River to the Ohio River and connected the Ohio River to Lake Michigan through Indianapolis, Indiana Territory, effectively opening the Northwest Territory and its smaller portioned territories for further settlement by settler colonialists. The Monroe Doctrine exerted US control over land and resources, and the desire for natural resources and the land urged settlers to look westward beyond lands they were already using and occupying, to the lands claimed by the Lewis and Clark Expedition.<sup>51</sup> Manifest Destiny was about to be in full operation as territories were rapidly being partitioned and becoming States.<sup>52</sup> Indigenous Peoples, including the Anishinaabeg, were perceived as an obstacle to westward movement and the occupation of land and extracted of resources by settler colonists.

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<sup>50</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 22.

<sup>51</sup> Clifton, *Place of Refuge*, 22.

<sup>52</sup> Statehood dates: Ohio – 1803; Indiana – 1816; Illinois – 1818; Missouri – 1821. Michigan -1837; Iowa – 1846; Wisconsin – 1848; Kansas – 1861; Oklahoma – 1907.

The Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe communities and extended family odenoong,<sup>53</sup> at this moment in time, were separate and distinct yet inter-related, and extended from Boojwiikwed<sup>54</sup>/Kwejikwet<sup>55</sup> southward along the western shores of Mishii'igan<sup>56</sup> to Minwakiing<sup>57</sup> and Zhigaagong,<sup>58</sup> and northward to Senjawen Zibé,<sup>59</sup> as well as eastward across what is now known as the lower peninsula of Michigan to Waawiyaataanong<sup>60</sup> and Waawiyaataan<sup>61</sup> (see Map 4.7). Transmission of Gikendaaswin continued through Gaabi waamdamaan,<sup>62</sup> Gikendaaswad bewaajigewin Manidoog,<sup>63</sup> Kinoomaagewag Aki Manidoo miinwaa Nibi Manidoo, Kendaaswin, and for some, Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad.

*My Ancestors, including my 4<sup>th</sup>-great-grandfather,<sup>64</sup> Jacques Vieux, employed by the American Fur Company with Jack Knife Trading Posts along the western shore of Mishii'igan from Giwani<sup>65</sup> to Minwakiing, were residing in Kwejikwet, Skunk Grove and Minwakiing. ShaNote, my 3<sup>rd</sup>-great-grandmother and daughter of*

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<sup>53</sup> *A place of the heart; village.* Villages were self-contained yet connected through kinship ties.

<sup>54</sup> *Horn bay; Green Bay, Wisconsin.*

<sup>55</sup> *Green Bay, Wisconsin.*

<sup>56</sup> *Grand lake; Lake Michigan.*

<sup>57</sup> *At the good land; Milwaukee, Wisconsin.*

<sup>58</sup> *On the skunk; Chicago, Illinois.*

<sup>59</sup> *Rocky flowing river; St. Joseph River, Michigan.*

<sup>60</sup> *At the curved shores; Detroit, Michigan.*

<sup>61</sup> *Curved shores; Lake St. Clair, Michigan/ Ontario.*

<sup>62</sup> *Knowledges of our Elders as they stand at the western door, looking eastward over their life's journey.*

<sup>63</sup> *Knowledge gained from dreams and/or visions.*

<sup>64</sup> This style of describing multi-great kinship terminology is based on The Chicago Manual of Style, a standard style in the genealogical field. The pattern of hyphenation is based on guidelines published on The Golden Egg Genealogist website (Donna Cox Baker. "Multi-great style or the great-great-great-great tongue twister" August 27, 2016. <https://gegbound.com/great-great-greats-question-style/> (accessed August 11, 2020).

<sup>65</sup> *Prairie Chicken; Kewalnee, Wisconsin.*



*Chesaugan*<sup>66</sup> (*Bodwewaadmii*) and *Abita-niminokoy* (*Bodwewaadmii*) was in the *Senjawen Zibe*<sup>67</sup> area.<sup>68</sup>

## The Treaties

Gete Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe became untied from our Ancestral lands through a total of seventeen land cession treaties in a short and chaotic period of twelve years (see Table 4.1). Land was sold, according to Low, “usually at a fraction of the land’s true value. American negotiators frequently used chicanery to secure the signatures needed.”<sup>69</sup> New lands, negotiated for in these treaties, were later ceded as well (see Table 4.2). Our Ancestors were constantly on the move, beyond our movement with the seasonal cycle, living within the animated tautness “between enduring tradition and continual change.”<sup>70</sup> This was driven by booch Zhaaganoshioziis and the American government.

Anishinaabeodziwin and the elements of Gikendaaswin continually adapted, for adaptation was essential for our survival in new lands. Cultural practices were pushed into memory as many were no longer relevant during our flight from imposed relocation and removal. Non-Indigenous historian R. David Edmunds wrote as the closing of his dissertation: “Potawatomi lands would be divided and taken from them. It was only a matter of time. The

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<sup>66</sup> Chesaugan was a signatory to the 1821 Treaty of Chicago, 1828 St. Joseph Treaty, and 1836 Treaty of Tippecanoe.

<sup>67</sup> *Rocky flow river; St. Joseph River, Michigan (and other states).*

<sup>68</sup> Wall Family history.

<sup>69</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 22–23.

<sup>70</sup> Sy, “Following Ininaahtigoog,” 134.

Potawatomis were a doomed people.”<sup>71</sup> We were not doomed. We are still here, and this is what really happened.

Two years following the Federal Indian Removal Act, the US Congress appropriated \$20,000 for the negotiation of treaties to terminate Bodwewaadmii land title in Indiana, Illinois and the Territory of Michigan.<sup>72</sup> In that same year, “Chief Menominee”<sup>73</sup> and others<sup>74</sup> signed the second Treaty of Tippecanoe, ceding portions of their land and exchanging it for twenty-two sections (one section of land is one square mile or 640 acres) as a reservation in Indiana, and securing the continuance of hunting and fishing rights. The following year, 1833, the Treaty of Chicago and the amendment signed one day later was negotiated. It was the last “great treaty between the United States and the American Indians in the Great Lakes Region.”<sup>75</sup> The Treaty of Chicago ceded all the remaining Mishii’igan area lands to the Chimookman<sup>76</sup> in exchange for the same amount of land (five million acres of land, or eight thousand square miles) along the

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<sup>71</sup> Edmunds, “A History,” 313.

<sup>72</sup> Mosteller, “Place, Politics, and Property,” 32.

<sup>73</sup> According to Forest County Potawatomi Community Getsit, Jim Thunder, “Chief Menominee’s name was Manoomin, and he was Menominee rather than Bodwewaadmii. The Bodwewaadmii surname of Rice can be traced back to this individual”; Menominee, Odaawaa, Ojibwe and Bodwewaadmii People are interrelated and lived together in our communities. The US and Canadian governments grouped us together as Bodwewaadmiig, or as the ‘United Band of Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi’ out of convenience. (Jim Thunder, Potawatomi Language and History Conference); According to Murphy, the United Band included persons of “Ottawa as well as Chippewa ancestry . . . there are also individuals among them of Sioux, Menomonie and Sac blood, but they are all classed as Pottawatomies” (Murphy, “Potawatomi Indians of the West: Origins of the Citizen Band,” 18).

<sup>74</sup> My 4<sup>th</sup>-great-grandfather, Chesaugan, is a signatory to this treaty.

<sup>75</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 22.

<sup>76</sup> *Big knives; American people (non-Indigenous, settler colonists); refers to the skinning knives used in battle.*

Missouri River in Iowa Territory,<sup>77</sup> and a distribution of one million dollars.<sup>78</sup> Stories of the treaty council tell us that the negotiations (lubricated with substantial amounts of alcohol)<sup>79</sup> were lengthy, lasting nearly two weeks, and were attended by over six thousand Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg. These Bodwewaadmiig included those labelled as the “United Band” comprised of “Indians of the State of Illinois and Wisconsin Territory” and the “Potawatomi Indians of Michigan Territory south of the Grand River,” and “Pokagon’s Band” of the southwestern Michigan area.<sup>80</sup> Chicago streets and the area just north of the village limits along the Chicago River was filled with Bodwewaadmiig. The negotiations were described as “carnival-like” and “an odd sort of emporium, a strange multi-cultural bazaar, a unique kind of exchange.”<sup>81</sup> Also present were creditors, traders, Indian Agents and opportunists of all kinds.<sup>82</sup> These opportunists included “horse-dealers, and horse-stealers, ... men pursuing Indian claims, some for tracts of land, . . . creditors of the tribes, or of particular Indians,”<sup>83</sup> including my 4<sup>th</sup>-great-

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<sup>77</sup> Clifton, *Place of Refuge*, 30; Low, *Imprints*, 26.

<sup>78</sup> Gerwing, “*Chicago Indian Treaty*,” 130 – 133; Distribution of funds include \$280,000 for guaranteed annuities for a period of twenty years. The remainder was to be directed toward payments to individuals who had asked for reservations and those who had claims against the tribes, as well as funds for mills, houses, blacksmith shops in new villages and for the “support of physicians, millers, smiths, farmers and mechanics who would assist and instruct them there.” Seventy thousand dollars was set aside for “education and encouragement in the domestic arts”; Mosteller, “Place, Politics, and Property,” 33 – 34. According to Mosteller, annuities were to be annual payments of \$14,000 per year for twenty years. \$150,000 was allocated for improvements and services. Additional distributions included \$100,000 in trade goods and \$70,000 for the education of Bodwewaadmii children.

<sup>79</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 22 – 23.

<sup>80</sup> Murphy, “Potawatomi Indians of the West,” 1-19.

<sup>81</sup> Clifton, “Chicago,” 88.

<sup>82</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 28; Gerwing, “*Chicago Indian Treaty*,” 124.

<sup>83</sup> Gerwing, “*Chicago Indian Treaty*,” 154. The author is quoting Charles J. Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America* (New York, 1835), II: 153

grandfather, Frenchman Jacques Vieau and his mixed-blood sons, my 3rd-great-grandfather, Louis Vieux and Jacques Vieux.<sup>84</sup> Vieux sibling, Peter, share a bit of this history with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin: “I think it was in 1833 that the last Indian payment was made in Chicago. My father went there with a lot of goods, and to present claims; for the Indians nearly always bought on credit and were ever owing a great deal to the traders—claims which could be collected at the time of government payments, when money was plenty.”<sup>85</sup>

Wall family dbaajimowinag surmise that Louis Vieux met his future wife, ShaNote, at this treaty council or in Skunk Grove, Wisconsin Territory:

*The older Jacques Vieau was a Frenchman, born in Lower Canada in 1757. He married Menominee French Angelique Roi<sup>86</sup> in Kwejikwet in 1786. Two of their sons, Louis (my 3rd-great-grandfather) and Jacques Vieux, later lived amongst the Bodwewaadmiig in Skunk Grove, Wisconsin Territory, where they traded and farmed. Both Louis and Jacques married Bodwewaadmii kwewag.<sup>87</sup> “They carried on farming as well as trafficking, in a small way, at the Grove, and afterwards claimed their place under the pre-emption law. Then [when] the Pottawattomies were removed, in 1837, Jacques and Louis sold out their claim and emigrated with the Indians to Council Bluffs, and then to Kansas.”<sup>88</sup> Louis and Jacques left Skunk Grove together, “under the direction of L.N., Lands Superintendent of the Chippeways, Ottowas and Pottawattomies”<sup>89</sup> and moved to a “new wilderness in*

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<sup>84</sup> Vieau, et al., “Narrative of Peter J. Vieau,” 460; Jacques Vieux and Louis Vieux were each awarded one hundred dollars in lieu of Reservations. (Forest County Potwatomi.com, “Treaties.” Schedule A of September 26, 1833, Treaty of Chicago).

<sup>85</sup> Vieau, Thwaites, and State Historical Society of Wisconsin, “Narrative of Peter J. Vieau,” 460.

<sup>86</sup> Campbell, *ONE WOMAN’S FAMILY*. Angelique Roi is the daughter of Mahteenose Oskinanonotame (Menominee Kwe born at Green Bay, Wisconsin) and Joseph Roy/Roi (“an Indian trader of French and Indian extraction”)

<sup>87</sup> *Women*.

<sup>88</sup> Vieau, Thwaites, and State Historical Society of Wisconsin,, “Narrative of Andrew J. Vieau,”234.

<sup>89</sup> Wyckoff, “Potawatomi Removal” 25.

*Council Bluffs, Iowa.*<sup>90</sup> *Schedule A of the 1833 Treaty of Chicago lists Louis Vieux and Jacques Vieux (and siblings Joseph and Josette) as each having been awarded a monetary settlement of one hundred dollars in lieu of reservations.*<sup>91</sup>

This last great treaty, in combination with earlier treaties, prompted the Bodwewaadmii Diaspora.

*Table 4.1: Treaties and Land Cessions 1821 - 1836*

Ancestral Lands Ceded	Date	Treaty Name <sup>92</sup>
All lands in Michigan Territory south of the Grand River; and an easement around the southern coast of Mishii'igan between Zhigaagong and Waawiyaataanong (Detroit, Michigan). Established the Nottawaseppi Reserve in southwestern Michigan.	1821	Treaty of Chicago
Established peace with the Sioux and boundaries of hunting territories.	1825	Prairie des Chien Treaty
Land cession related to the Michigan Road construction through Indiana.	1826	Mississnewa Treaty

<sup>90</sup> Burgess, Wamego Historical Society brochure, un-paginated.

<sup>91</sup> This vignette includes information from genealogical records, muster rolls and a narrative recorded by a historical society. Each of these sources endorse the colonized perspective of paternal lineage. Women were not frequently included in historical narratives. When colonized texts are used to explore our history the paternal perspective is perpetuated, and erasure of our Grandmothers and their Knowledges and practices continues. Privileging Indigenous women's voices is essential.

<sup>92</sup> Kansas Heritage.org, "Treaties; Spelling of the English version of Bodwewaadmii in these treaties was inconsistent and has not been corrected in Tables 4.1 or 4.2.

<p>Land cession of lands on/near River Rouge and River Raisin in southeast Michigan; Kalamazoo River in southwest Michigan; created a consolidated reservation between Kalamazoo and St. Joseph Counties.</p>	<p>1827 1828</p>	<p>St. Joseph Treaty</p>
<p>Land cession of northwest Illinois, southwest Wisconsin (including Zhigaagong); established reservation in western Illinois for Prairie Band Potawatomi, preserved hunting rights.</p>	<p>1829</p>	<p>Prairie Du Chien Treaty</p>
<p>Land cession by Chiefs and Warriors of the Potowatomies of the State of Indiana and Michigan Territory of lands in States of Indiana, Illinois and south of the Grand River in Michigan Territory. Reservations granted for Po-ca-gan's village and the village of Notta-we-sipa. Lands set aside for nine existing villages, and 75 individuals.</p>	<p>1832</p>	<p>Treaty of Tippecanoe</p>
<p>Land cession in Indiana by Chiefs, Headmen and Warriors of the Pottawatomie Indians; eight separate tracts were reserved for the bands of Aub-be-naub-bee, limited reservation set aside,</p>	<p>1832</p>	<p>Treaty of Tippecanoe</p>

annuities arranged. Some Bodwewaadmii flee to Canada.		
Potawatamie Tribe of Indians of the Prairie and Kankakee Ceded land on Lake Michigan south of Chicago River to a point on Kankakee River ten miles above its mouth, along Kankakee and Illinois River to mouth of Fox River and to the State line between Illinois and Indiana; twenty-one separate tracts were reserved for individual Indians.	1832	Treaty of Tippecanoe
Land cession of five million acres including all land west of Lake Michigan to Lake Winnebago, and lands in Illinois; hunting and fishing rights preserved; in return granted no less than five million acres of land west of Mississippi River, on east side of Missouri River (and distribution payments); removal to granted land will be at the expense of United States.	1833	Treaty of Chicago (September 26, 1833)
Ceded land in Territory of Michigan south of Grand River (Notawasepe Reservation), and land on St. Joseph River opposite the town of	1833	Supplementary Articles to Treaty of Chicago (September 27, 1833)

Niles to the State of Indiana (To-pe-ne-bee and Pokagon villages).		
Ceded two sections of land reserved for Chief Com-o-za and his band in 1832 Treaty of Tippecanoe for payment of goods and one-time annuity.	1834	Treaty of Lake Max-ee-nie-kue-kee
Ceded six sections of land reserved for Chief Muck Rose and his band in 1832 Treaty of Tippecanoe for payment of goods and one-time annuity.	1834	Treaty of Indiana
Ceded title and interest to reservation granted in 1832 Treaty of Tippecanoe, a total of two sections of land and mills on the Tippecanoe River, agreement to provide needed goods, and farming utensils.	1834	Treaty of Potawottimie Mills
Ceded four sections of land granted to Chief Mota and his band in 1832 Treaty of Tippecanoe.	1834	Treaty of Logansport
Ceded lands granted in two of the 1832 Treaties of Tippecanoe.	1836	Treaty of Tippecanoe (Two in total)



Ceded lands granted in the other 1832 Treaty of Tippecanoe.	1836	Treaty of Yellow River
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## Diasporic Experiences

The diasporic lived experience of migration, or relocation, removal and emigration is complex and highly variable and unique to individuals. Our Ancestors moved either as individuals or nuclear families, extended families, portions of families, or in aggregate groups. Some of our Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii Ancestors voluntarily moved south. Those who did not, were rounded up and forcibly removed by Chimookman soldiers.

Some Bodwewaadmii family members emigrated while others refused to relocate; some used their conversion to christianity to avoid relocation, and others fled into the bush and swamps to escape Zhaamaganek.<sup>93</sup> At the time of removal westward, “there were 600 strolling Pottawatomie, who had avoided the removal and were somewhere in Michigan.”<sup>94</sup> Others, the Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii, escaped relocation and emigrated, as refugees<sup>95</sup> across the waters of G’chi Zaagiganag, or on horseback or on foot across the lower peninsula of Michigan Territory to Ontario, Canada. They settled in Anishinaabe lands with similar ecosystems to Bodwewaadmii lands in Wisconsin Territory, and amongst Anishinaabe kin with whom they had formed relationships during the military actions of the War of 1812/War for

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<sup>93</sup> *Soldiers*.

<sup>94</sup> Halfaday and Oja, “From the Ashes,” 32.

<sup>95</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*,<sup>97</sup>. After emigration, these Bodwewaadmii would not be able to lay claim to any homelands in the United States.

Upper Canada.<sup>96</sup> Still others, the Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii, remained in Michigan Territory, escaping the untying by “merging with their Anishinaabeg relatives on lands reserved for the Odaawaas<sup>97</sup> and Ojibways,”<sup>98</sup> or through adaptive resistance.

Motivations behind the choices made to remain, to voluntarily relocate, to resist, and/or to flee were most likely equally complex and variable as the choices themselves. These motivations have not been explicitly shared and can only be surmised. No matter the choice, there was loss and disruption of the elements of Gikendaaswin.<sup>99</sup>

### **Giaankobaajianwag—Dbaajimowinag of Loss**

This untying resulted in dispossession of and disconnection from our lands and waters and, for many, the covering of our ways of knowing and being including water Knowledges and practices. Kiinoomaagewag Aki Manidoo miinwaa Nibi Manidoo was disrupted. Human-to-human relationships of families and communities became untied as well, impacting Kendaaswin and Gaabi waamdamaan. The focus became survival. As we focused on survival in new lands or on the run from Chimookman Zhaamaganek, our practices and ways of being were set aside<sup>100</sup> and pushed to the background of our day-to-day lives.

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<sup>96</sup> Clifton, *A Place of Refuge*, 33-37; These emigrating Bodwewaadmiig are also called Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo (they use a canoe) throughout this dissertation; Bodwewaadmii soldiers were employed by both Canada and the United States in this war.

<sup>97</sup> *The Odaawaa Anishinaabeg, known as the merchants of the Three Fires Confederacy*.

<sup>98</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 97.

<sup>99</sup> See Figures 4.2 and 4.3.

<sup>100</sup> Jim Thunder, Potawatomi History and Language Conference, Carter, Wisconsin August 12, 2015; Of course, not all practices were set aside. Jim Thunder’s mother shared that seasonal practices such as gardening and maple

### *Scattering of Community*

Barbara Ann Warren, Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmiikwe Getsit<sup>101</sup> and research participant, spoke to the dissolution of family and community, and disruption of Gaabi waamdamaan:

“When you have an event like the removal of the Potawatomi, the Trail of Death, people are scattered. When you scatter a family, family history is lost. Family morals are lost, all these things are lost. *Those ways of our Grandmothers were just set aside as if they were nothing.*”<sup>102</sup>

Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiikwe and research participant, Kim Wensaut believes that the diaspora negatively impacted both Gaabi waamdamaan and Kendaaswin, the Knowledges and practices that were shared, “because the People were so scattered at that time. Really, their focus must have been on *just surviving* the Removal Period.”<sup>103</sup>

### *Disconnection, Dispossession and Survival*

Kelli Mosteller, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe, historian and research participant, studied the removal and relocation of Bodwewaadmiig who settled in the southern plains of Kansas and eventually in Indian Territory. Her dissertation<sup>104</sup> presents the progression of treaties, and

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sugaring were continued while his grandfather’s family was on the run between Indiana, Mexico and Kansas. Gardens were planted and left; the family would later return to weed and harvest. Maples were tapped whenever possible, and in places without maples, yellow birch were tapped.

<sup>101</sup> *Elder.*

<sup>102</sup> Warren, guided discussion for this research. See *G’yak chigewin*: Chapter 5 for etails of guided discussions, and Appendices B and C.

<sup>103</sup> Wensaut, guided discussion for this research. See *G’yak chigewin: Chapter 5* for details of guided discussions, and Appendices B and C.

<sup>104</sup> Mosteller, “Place, Politics, and Property.”

dispossession of land. Kelli shared with me her understanding of the disruption, and the painful impacts and chaos of relocation and removal:

You've taken a People whose clan systems are largely connected back to the water, whose origin stories and oral traditions of the underwater panther and all these other things that are related back to this place, the Great lakes—Creator told us we would come to where we were supposed to be when we came to the place where food grows on the water. This is a central part of who we are, of our cosmology and how we made sense of ourselves as a people for so long. Then to be put in the plains of Central Kansas, and then into Indian Territory, there is just no frame of reference anymore.

I think you become a People who are unmoored, and being unmoored from your teachings, and your cosmology, and everything that was used to shape and frame your life—the medicines that were used to heal the sick don't grow here anymore. All of these things are taken away and then you also have the added element of being forcibly removed, with this going on and the Civil War raging all around you, and you are being crammed into locations with other tribes that you have either never experienced before or tribes that you have warred with for centuries.

I don't know if the water Knowledge just went away or it was suppressed or maybe, it was just too painful. I would imagine if I had grown up in the Great Lakes, even in only my younger years, and would've tried to pass this Knowledge on as an older woman in a place that is so drastically different—I imagine it would be painful. Were they [the Grandmothers] passing it on or were they pushing it away because it wasn't helping the day-to-day reality of feeding your family of staying alive, or was it just too painful to talk about?<sup>105</sup>

Kelli's understanding illustrates disruption of Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad related to water, as well as Kiinoomaagewag Aki Manidoo miinwaa Nibi Manidoo. Ruby Whitlow-ban, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii Getsit and research participant's story echoes this lived experience. Ruby-

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<sup>105</sup> Mosteller, guided discussion for this research. See G'yak chigewin: Chapter 5 for details of guided discussions, and Appendices B and C.

ban's great-grandfather, John Baptiste Bruno,<sup>106</sup> helped select the land in Indian Territory that many Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii migrated to from Kansas. Ruby-ban's Ancestors migrated voluntarily; they were not forced nor were they scattered. She grew up with extended family on her grandfather's eighty-acre Dawes Act allotment<sup>107</sup> (her grandmother's allotment had been sold). During her childhood, Ruby-ban spent time with her grandparents, aunts and uncles daily. The value of kinship relationships and family remained intact. Ruby-ban shared with me that there were no Ceremonies or specific practices associated with the water her family used, yet she grew up knowing the importance of water. She believes that when our People relocated from Kansas to Oklahoma their sole focus was re-establishing an existence. The Ceremonies were left somewhere along the way.<sup>108</sup> The focus was on survival only. Ruby-ban shared that there is no record in her family's oral tradition of Ceremonies.

Shawnee Oklahoma-based Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii Getsijig, Ozetta Peltier, interviewed by others in 1983 for an oral history project shared comparable experiences to Ruby-ban's. Born in 1894 and one of the oldest tribal members interviewed, Ozetta was not

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<sup>106</sup> Ruby described her great-grandfather as a fluent speaker of Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin. He was twenty-seven years of age when the selection of land was made.

<sup>107</sup> He received this allotment when he was a young teenager; her grandmother received her allotment when she was five years old. Neither were a head of household. Heads of households received three hundred and sixty acres.

<sup>108</sup> It is important to acknowledge that ceremonies were considered illegal based on the Code of Indian Offences. The fourth rule declared ceremonies as "Indian offences," and any person found guilty of participating was punished by withholding rations or incarceration.

M. Teller to Hiram Price, Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, "Rules Governing The Court of Indian Offenses," n.p.

raised Indian and although her memory was sharp, she knew “little of the Indian traditions.”<sup>109</sup> Her story speaks to loss of Gikendaaswin, as does Getsit Mike Bruno’s story. During his interview, by others for the oral history project, Mike said, “I don’t know anything about the traditional ways. Well, really, up until recent years, people didn’t know what a Pottawatomie was. I’m sure when I was little, people knew I was Indian but there was nothing said about it. I mean you was just like anybody else. Really, when you stop to think about it, the majority of them then all had Indian blood in them.”<sup>110</sup> Autwin Pecore shared: “The Citizen Band never did follow religious traditions like the other bands. . . . They lost their language when they came down here. . . . When the Pottawatomie tribe moved down here from Kansas, they were past traditional ways.”<sup>111</sup> Autwin’s words illuminate the covering of not only Gikendaaswin, but also Anishinaabeodziwin. As the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii set aside “religious traditions” and language, the Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii used new religious traditions to avoid relocation.

#### *Abinsaaniawag and Adaptive Resistance*

Survival for many Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii, during this kiiowad,<sup>112</sup> required adaptive resistance through conversion to christianity—catholicism, and/or the methodist or baptist religions. The “somewhat civilized and educated elements of the Michigan and Chicago

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<sup>109</sup> Levier and Sulcer, “Grandfather Tell Me a Stor,” 53.

<sup>110</sup> Levier and Sulcer, 10.

<sup>111</sup> Levier and Sulcer, 50–52.

<sup>112</sup> *Time period.*

Potawatomi” were excluded from removal.<sup>113</sup> These christianized Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii were not perceived as an obstacle or a threat to settler colonists,<sup>114</sup> and were allowed a “religious exemption from removal.”<sup>115</sup> Several individuals and families of the southwestern Michigan “Huron Pottawatomie” managed to either evade removal, or returned to their former homes (on the Nottawaseppi Reserve established by the 1821 Treaty) after having been taken to Kansas.<sup>116</sup> Leopold Pokagon, headman of the “Potawatomi Indians of the St. Joseph River Valley,” negotiated an amendment to the Treaty of Chicago by “emphasizing the conversion of himself and his followers to Catholicism.” Pokagon’s Band was allowed to remain in southwestern Michigan.<sup>117</sup> While not completely dispossessed or disconnected from traditional homelands, conversion to christianity impacted Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii identity and cultural practices in a destructive way, while it assisted in the preservation of language.<sup>118</sup> Adaptive resistance disrupted Gaabi b’gid na maagooyaan,<sup>119</sup> specifically Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad, and Anishinaabeodziwin.

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<sup>113</sup> Murphy, “Potawatomi Indians of the West,” 18.

<sup>114</sup> Stewart King-ban, Bodwewaadmii, Wasauksing First Nation was my life partner, cultural, spiritual and language mentor. Throughout our time together he shared many stories and teachings over cups of coffee, while travelling together and in ceremony. It isn’t possible to include a specific date on which these teachings were shared. From this point forward in this chapter, he will be cited in footnotes as sharing teachings with his name and home community.

<sup>115</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of MI*, 109.

<sup>116</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 2.

<sup>117</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 29.

<sup>118</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of MI*, 109.

<sup>119</sup> *Sacred Knowledges that are gifted by the spirits or Creator; revealed Knowledge.*

Lillian Rice-ban, Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo, of the Forest County Potawatomi Community, shared her story of a form of adaptive resistance at the 2015 Potawatomi History and Language Conference. Lillian, born in 1932, raised her children at Partridge Lake Wisconsin. She would travel to Hayward, Wisconsin to birth her children. In Hayward, she noticed the preacher there treated everyone kindly, so she figured she had to pretend to be Catholic to be treated well. She would say, “Yes, Father.” It was a matter of survival.<sup>120</sup>

## New Lands

Treaty making between the Bodwewaadmii and the US government continued after the signing of the Treaty of Chicago in 1833, the last “great treaty.” This further set the stage for removal to the West. The first series (1834 - 1836) of these subsequent treaties involved ceding land that had previously been negotiated for in the earlier treaties (see Table 4.1). The second series of treaties, summarized in Table 4.2, negotiated lands in the west to which the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii were relocated to, or forcibly removed to. Table 4.2 summarizes the movement to “New Lands” by the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg. These New Lands included lands within G’chi Zaagiganag in Upper Canada, “Mexican Texas,” and in the southern plains of the US.

*Table 4.2: Relocation and Removal to New Lands – Treaties and Land Cessions, Migration, and Indian Residential/ Boarding Schools*

New Lands	Date	Event
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<sup>120</sup> Potawatomi History and Language Conference, 2015, Carter Wisconsin, August.



<p>Upper Canada<sup>121</sup></p> <p>Note: Bodwewaadmiig were considered refugees as they were not able to lay claim to any homelands in the United States</p>	<p>1835 to 1837</p>	<p>First wave of Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii emigration to Upper Canada (Ontario)</p>
<p>Land set aside for Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii (United Band, and others from Michigan), and Osage River Reservation established.</p>	<p>1837</p>	<p>Treaty of Washington D.C.<sup>122</sup></p>
<p>Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii evicted from Platte Purchase Territory as it was annexed to the State of Missouri.</p>	<p>1837</p>	<p>Presidential Proclamation</p>
	<p>1837 to 1843</p>	<p>Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii (individuals, nuclear families, and aggregate groups) emigrate to Bkejwanong (Walpole</p>

<sup>121</sup> Clifton, "A Place of Refuge;" and Koennecke, "Wasoksing, The History of Parry Island" contributed information to the summary of emigration to Upper Canada.

<sup>122</sup> Treaty information obtained from: Kansas Heritage.org, "Treaties between the Potawatomi and the United States of America."

		Island) and Sarnia area; Manitoulin Island; Saugeen; Thames Valley
Forced march of 859 Bodwewaadmii from northern Indiana to Kansas Territory, a distance of 660-miles. The lack of horses and wagons meant most walked. It was a drought year and water was often scarce. Forty-one died along the way.	1838 Sept. 4 – Nov. 4	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii Trail of Death
	1840s	Two major emigrations of Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii south to Osage River Reservation
United Band of Pottowautomi <sup>123</sup> Indians, Pottowautomies of the Prairie, Pottowautomies of the Wabash, and Pottowautomies of Indiana to be united in one common location and abolish all minor distinctions of bands. Ceded all land to which	1846	Treaty of Council Bluffs and Treaty of Osage River

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<sup>123</sup> Spelling of the English version of Bodwewaadmii in these treaties was inconsistent and has not been corrected in Tables 4.1 or 4.2.

<p>they had claim including land north of the Missouri River, within the Territory of Iowa, and on or near the Osage River in the State of Missouri. Granted thirty square miles of land on Kansas River. Improvement fund established.</p>		
<p>Cession of lands on northern shore of Lake Superior from Batchawana Bay to Sault Ste. Marie, and the northern shores of Lake Huron to Penetanguishene; established 16 square mile reserves for 35 First Nations.</p>	1850	Robinson Huron Treaty and Saugeen Surrenders, Upper Canada
	1850	Parry Island Reserve (Wasauksing First Nation) established, Ontario
<p>Allotment of lands to individuals or family units, unallotted land to revert to public domain after five years. This treaty was the basis for a number of land claims in the State of Michigan beginning in 1948; played role in termination of Bodwewaadmii and subsequent re-affirmation of Pokagon Band,</p>	1855	Treaty of Detroit

Nottawaseppi Huron Band and Gun Lake Band.		
	1861	US Civil War begins
Dispossession of portion of reservation in Kansas (1846 treaties) and allotment of land to individuals, as well as land in common in Indian Territory. Granted Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad privilege of buying remainder of land. Operationalized the division of Kansas-based Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii into Citizen Band (allottees) and Prairie Band (title to the open, diminished reserve in Kansas).  (Louis Vieux was a signatory.)	1861	Kansas River Agency  Treaty (Rossville, Kansas)  Prairie Band Potawatomi  and Citizen Band  Potawatomi
	1865	US Civil War ends
Revision of definition of heads of families to include all adult persons of tribe, including women.	1866	Treaty of Washington D.C.
Purchase of land (not exceeding thirty miles square) in Indian Territory with funds from sale of lands in Kansas to Leavenworth,	1867	Treaty of Washington D.C.

<p>Pawnee, and Western Railroad Company; created Citizen Band Potawatomi by granting citizenship in the United States to those who choose to move from Kansas to Indian Territory; established Business Committee (Colonial governance structure); granted land for St. Mary's Mission and American Baptist Mission.</p>		
	1870	Hannahville Indian Community land designation
	1879	Carlisle Indian Industrial School opens in Carlisle, Pennsylvania
	1880	Canadian Residential Schools established
	1883	Gun Lake Pottawatomi "Indian Colony" in Wayland Township, Michigan

	1883	Saint Joseph Indian School opens, Keshena, Wisconsin
	1884	Chilocco Indian Agricultural School opens in Chilocco, Indian Territory (Oklahoma)
	1884	United States Indian Industrial Training School opens in Lawrence, Kansas (became Haskell Institute in 1887)
	1887	Dawes General Allotment Act (aka Dawes Severalty Act)
	1893	Mount Pleasant Indian Industrial Boarding School opens in Mount Pleasant, Michigan

	1893	Tomah Indian Industrial School opens in Tomah, Wisconsin
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### Fleeing to Upper Canada

Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii evaded removal to Iowa, Kansas and Indian Territory by migrating north either to the bush and swamps of what is now Wisconsin and the upper peninsula of Michigan, or by emigrating across the lakes and into Upper Canada. Most of these families, strong in Gaabi na b'gid maagooyaan, practiced Bodwewaadmii spirituality and were perceived as heathens by settler colonists as well as other Anishinaabeg.<sup>124</sup> Table 4.2 includes a general summary of the emigration to Upper Canada. The first waves of emigration began in the summer of 1837—approximately three hundred of our Ancestors from Illinois and Wisconsin territories travelled through G'chi Mikinaakong Mnis<sup>125</sup> on their way to Mnidoo Mnis<sup>126</sup> and Penetanguishene. Three hundred others crossed the G'chi gamii Ziibi<sup>127</sup> into Sarnia and the Upper St. Claire Reserve. An additional 432 Bodwewaadmii from the Minwakiing area emigrated to Manitowaaning, and 218 settled in the Saugeen area. By late summer, about two

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<sup>124</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation, Ontario; Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 106.

<sup>125</sup> *Mackinac Island, Michigan*.

<sup>126</sup> *Manitoulin Island, Ontario. Also known as Odaawaa Mnis*.

<sup>127</sup> *Sea River; St. Claire River, Michigan/Ontario*.

thousand Bodwewaadmiig had emigrated to Upper Canada from Wisconsin Territory<sup>128</sup> (see Map 4.3.)

Stewart King-ban's family dbaajimowinag is demonstrative of emigration to Upper Canada. King-ban's stories tell of emigrating from Meshequinong,<sup>129</sup> on the Door Peninsula of northern Wisconsin across Mishii'igan, passing by Mackinac Island and Manitoulin Island,<sup>130</sup> and traveling to the southeastern reaches of Georgian Bay. King-ban's paternal second great-grandfather, Ogimawajwong, was familiar with this area, having served with the British military in the war for Upper Canada. As 'heathens' they were not allowed to land their jiimaan<sup>131</sup> on the gently sloping shoreline adjacent to the recently established St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church<sup>132</sup> at the harbor of Penetanguishene. Instead, according to family stories, these Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii were directed to land to the west of the harbor in an area of steep sandy clay hills. King-ban, a historian and fluent speaker specializing in etymology of Anishinaabemowin, shared that this place was called Bebooshnangwoshinhn<sup>133</sup> by his Ancestors, and was later anglicized to Penetanguishene. From Bebooshnangwoshinhn King-ban's Ancestors moved to the Coldwater Settlement, and then to Chimnissing<sup>134</sup> finally settling

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<sup>128</sup> Clifton, *A Place of Refuge*, 68.

<sup>129</sup> Location of this Bodwewaadmii Odenoong is shown on Map 20 (Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, 98).

<sup>130</sup> Clifton, *A Place of Refuge*, 68; Other families stopped and settled on Manitoulin Island.

<sup>131</sup> *Canoe*.

<sup>132</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation, Ontario; St. Anne's was established in 1832 by the Jesuits.

<sup>133</sup> *The place where little balls of clay roll down the steeply banked shoreline and splash into the water.*

<sup>134</sup> *Big Island; Christian Island, Ontario*; Christian Island is one of three islands comprising the Beausoliel First Nation in southern Georgian Bay.



on Parry Island.<sup>135</sup> King-ban's maternal second great-grandfather, Waagosh (James Isaac) also emigrated to Upper Canada, from the Maumee River area of Ohio, traveling by Jiimaan across Lake Erie and then perhaps overland, and settling in the Georgian Bay Bodwewaadmii community now known as Moose Deer Point First Nation.<sup>136</sup>

The second waves of emigration to Upper Canada began in 1840, after the relocation and forced removal of Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii southward. Perhaps these refugees were the 'scattered Potawatomi' of Michigan. Approximately, two thousand Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii arrived in the Sarnia area, and another eight hundred were preparing to emigrate. The US military, from Fort Gratiot and Kalamazoo, Michigan were in pursuit of the refugees. About 270 Bodwewaadmii from Indiana came into Upper Canada in the first few months of 1840, some going to Manitoulin Island, others to the St. Claire River area and the Thames Valley.<sup>137</sup>

## Removal to the southern Plains

While waves of refugee Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii fled to Upper Canada, the relocation and forced removal of Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii was beginning, and the covering of Gikendaaswin continued. The relocation of our Ancestors from G'chi Zaagiganag to the southern plains of Kansas Territory included Bodwewaadmiig of Michigan (St. Joseph

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<sup>135</sup> The Coldwater Settlement is also known as the Coldwater Narrows Reserve.

<sup>136</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation, Ontario.

<sup>137</sup> Clifton, *A Place of Refuge*, 71.

Potawatomi Indian Band) and Indiana (Kankakee and Wabash Bands), as well as a portion of those living at Council Bluffs. Those who resisted relocation were forcibly removed on the “Trail of Death.”

*ShaNote, my 3<sup>rd</sup>-great grandmother, was born in 1820 in the St. Joseph River area of Michigan Territory. She is the daughter of Chesaugan and Abita-nimi-nokoy and lived the Potawatomi “camp life” until her marriage to Louis Vieux in 1835. ShaNote’s father, Chesaugan, who practiced traditional Bodwewaadmii lifeways, is a signatory on numerous treaties: the 1795 Treaty of Greenville Ohio (signed on his behalf by his brother), 1809 treaty signed at Fort Wayne Indiana, 1821 treaty signed at Chicago, 1828 treaty signed at the St. Joseph Mission in Michigan Territory, and on the 1831 and 1836 treaties signed at the Tippecanoe River in Indiana.*

*In 1838 Chesaugan was residing with his family outside of Chief Menominee’s village at Twin Lakes, Indiana on eight acres of land where they planted corn. Chesaugan and his wife did not convert to christianity. However, several of their children did, including ShaNote. Her baptismal name is Charlotte. ShaNote married Louis Vieux in Skunk Grove, Wisconsin around 1835. She died in 1857, the same year a cholera epidemic swept through Uniontown, Kansas.<sup>138</sup> ShaNote had married into a “prominent Wisconsin trading family, the Vieaus (Vieux), a few years prior and was living in Iowa Territory. Chesaugan did not willingly submit to removal from Indiana. Chesaugan’s spirituality might have played a significant role in his choice to remain in Indiana and not relocate to the southern plains with those Bodwewaadmii who had converted to Catholicism.<sup>139</sup>*

*According to historical journals, his family was rounded up by volunteer militia and brought into camp on the fourth day of removal. The “Muster Roll of a remnant of Pottawatomie Indians of Indiana collected by John Tipton at Twin Lakes” lists Chesaugan with one other adult male and two females in his family group.<sup>140</sup> “The militia who gathered the Potawatomi people together wanted to ensure that they didn’t return to Indiana and so many of their homes were burned behind them; their lands were eventually sold. In an address delivered*

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<sup>138</sup> Campbell, *ONE WOMAN’S FAMILY*, 80.

<sup>139</sup> Wall Family history.

<sup>140</sup> Campbell, 29–30.

*before the Indian House of Representatives on February 3, 1905, Representative Daniel McDonald stated that ‘the teepees, wigwams and cabins were torn down and destroyed and Menominee’s village had the appearance of having been swept by a hurricane.’”*<sup>141</sup>

Chesaugan was one of the 859 Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii forcibly removed to Kansas` via the Trail of Death. The forced march totaled 660 miles, from Twin Lakes Indiana to Osawatomie, Indian Territory.<sup>142</sup> Between August 30 and September 3, 1838, volunteer militia rounded up Bodwewaadmii. The march began on September 4. “The removal entailed much mental and physical suffering.”<sup>143</sup> Most of our Ancestors traveled on foot; there were not enough horses. Catholic missionary Benjamin Marie Petit accompanied his congregation. Petit’s detailed journals described the lack of water, supplies and three hundred cases of illness in the first two weeks of the march. An estimated 657 survived, thirty died enroute, and others escaped (including Jim Thunder’s family as described in the following section, “Escaping to Mexico.”)<sup>144</sup>

Some Michigan Bodwewaadmiig had left G’chi Zaagiganag earlier, settling in Missouri Territory in the area that became the Platte Purchase. They were evicted in 1837 by a Presidential Proclamation. The US government intended to consolidate all the Bodwewaadmiig together on the Osage River Reservation, and in two principal settlements—Pottawatomie

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<sup>141</sup> Campbell, 30.

<sup>142</sup> Kansas was part of Indian Territory until it became a state in 1861.

<sup>143</sup> Murphy, “Potawatomi Indians of the West,” 108–109.

<sup>144</sup> Mosteller, “Place, Politics, and Property,” 18.

Creek and Sugar Creek.<sup>145</sup> Those evicted from Missouri Territory either went north to Iowa and Council Bluffs, or south where they “scattered among both settlements, and some were living with family and friends at the nearby Kickapoo and Fort Leavenworth Agency.”<sup>146</sup>

*Louis Vieux was listed on the 1839, 1842, 1843, 1845 and 1847 annuity rolls for Indians residing at Council Bluffs. ShaNote and Louis’ daughter Sophia or So-pe, my 2<sup>nd</sup>-great-grandmother was born there in 1839. In 1846, Louis and his brother Jacques led the Council Bluffs Bodwewaadmiig to Kansas. Louis Vieux, ShaNote and family moved to Indianola, Kansas (about fifteen miles north and west of St. Mary’s) in 1846/47. Here they farmed, raised livestock and operated a ferry on Soldier Creek. “Indianola had no buildings at this time and the Potawatomi live in the timber, after the manner of Indians.”<sup>147</sup> The family is reported to have lived in a double log cabin “located at the place where the Oregon Trail crossed Soldier Creek, north of Topeka.”<sup>148</sup> Louis Vieux and ShaNote’s father, Chish Ah Gen (also spelled Chesaugan), were listed on the 1848 Fort Leavenworth annuity roll.*

*Several of ShaNote and Louis’ children, including So-pe, went to school at the Jesuit Mission of St. Mary’s.*<sup>149</sup>

Association with different christian denominations contributed to the scattering and factionalizing of the Bodwewaadmii. In turn, the factionalizing contributed to the covering of our Knowledges and practices, specifically Gaabi b’gid na maagooyaan. “The mixed-bloods [were] almost exclusively Catholic,”<sup>150</sup> and remained in close relationship with the Jesuits. Jesuit Missions were established in 1837 at both Council Bluffs, Iowa Territory and at Sugar Creek on

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<sup>145</sup> Murphy, “Potawatomi Indians of the West,” 105.

<sup>146</sup> Mosteller, “Place, Politics, and Property,” 41–42.

<sup>147</sup> Campbell, *ONE WOMAN’S FAMILY*, 30.

<sup>148</sup> Burgess, Wamego Historical Society brochure, un-paginated.

<sup>149</sup> Wall Family history.

<sup>150</sup> Murphy, “Potawatomi Indians of the West,” 72.

the Osage River Reservation. The St. Joseph Potawatomi settled at Pottawatomie Creek, while Potawatomi of the Wabash settled about fifteen miles south on a “small piece of land between the forks of Big Sugar Creek.”<sup>151</sup> Methodist missionaries were also active on the Osage River Reservation, yet a mission was not established there. “The Methodist impact on the last tribe seems to have been of less consequence than that of the Baptists and Catholics . . . [It] was significant as one further bit of contributing testimony to the Pottawatomie receptivity to white and Christian influence.”<sup>152</sup>

*Oppressive summer air hangs over us. Perhaps it's the heat and humidity. Perhaps it is not. The midmorning Kansas sun is intense as it beats down on my uncovered head and arms. We joke a bit, trying humor to ease the tightness in our chests. The historical trauma of this land and our relatives' removal makes it hard to breathe, let alone laugh. They came here to St. Mary's Mission and Indian School on the Kansas River—my 2<sup>nd</sup>-great-grandmother, Sopé, went to school here, travelling by wagon from her family's Vermillion River homestead. Once a year her father was a caller at the pay station. Louis Vieux would call out our relatives' names from the treaty roll for the distribution of the annual annuity payments and government supplies from the small stone building. The survival of those Bodwewaadmii who came here to the windy, hot southern plains from the Great Lakes depended on those commodities. I can't wrap my thoughts around this place, nor can I catch my breath. Tears flow as I watch worshippers silently arriving for mass, their heads covered in lace.<sup>153</sup>*

The Jesuits, Baptists and Methodists competed for federal government funding to provide education and strengthen their presence amongst the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii. The transmission of Kendaaswin by family and community members was replaced by euro-

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<sup>151</sup> Mosteller, “Place, Politics, and Property,” 41–42.

<sup>152</sup> Murphy, “Potawatomi Indians of the West,” 177.

<sup>153</sup> Personal reflection, 2020, Keene, Ontario written about a visit to St. Mary's Mission Kansas in 2009, December.

American pedagogies as teachers in these schools were non-Bodwewaadmii. All three denominations educated Bodwewaadmii boys, while the girls attended a boarding school run by nuns from the Society of the Sacred Heart.<sup>154</sup> The rivalry between the Jesuits and Baptists enhanced disconnection between our Ancestors living on the Osage River Reservation. This factionalism continues to have lasting impacts on our People. “Wittingly or unwittingly, a great deal of factionalism was promoted among the Indians [by the missionaries]. Factionalism and rival communities or settlement would continue to characterize them on the [Osage River] reservation . . . and also still later in the Indian Territory.”<sup>155</sup> It is important to acknowledge the factionalism as another form of covering and/or disrupting the transmission of Gikendaaswin and well as Gikendaaswin itself.

*In the mid 1850s, my 3<sup>rd</sup>-great-grandfather and grandmother, ShaNote and Louis Vieux, moved their family from Indianola to land purchased on the Vermillion River. “Louis’ was the first farm opened and cultivated on his allotment land on what was still known, in 1893, as the ‘Old Louis Vieux Crossing.’ The family’s log house, ‘where hundreds of strangers have been welcomed to a night’s rest’ was built in 1855 and stood in the same yard with the family burial plot.”<sup>156</sup> They sold beef, pork, grain and hay, as well as vegetables to Fort Riley (located fifty-two miles west of the St. Mary’s Mission). It was here that Louis built a toll bridge for the combined Oregon Trail and Fort to Fort Road crossing of the Vermillion River. Oregon Trail wagons crossed the river in front of the family home. Louis also operated a horse stable for a stage line stop. ShaNote and Louis’ daughter So-pe attended school at St. Mary’s Mission school until the age of thirteen. So-pe married Jacob Johnson in 1856. Jacob moved to the Vermillion River crossing*

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<sup>154</sup> Mosteller, “Place, Politics, and Property,” 43.

<sup>155</sup> Murphy, “Potawatomi Indians of the West,” 127.

<sup>156</sup> *Wamego Times*, Dec. 22, 1893.

*family home of Louis Vieux and worked as a toll-bridge collector for his father-in-law.*

*This allowed Louis Vieux employment with the US military as a “caller,” working at the pay station at St. Mary’s, Kansas. He would call out the names of Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii waiting outside for annuity payments. Louis, fluent in Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin,<sup>157</sup> also served as an interpreter for the American government, and was designated “chief.” As a result, he traveled numerous times to Washington, D.C. on behalf of the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii.<sup>158</sup>*

1861 was yet another year of change for the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii. The “free” state of Kansas was carved from Indian Territory,<sup>159</sup> the US Civil War commenced, and late in the year the Kansas River Agency Treaty was signed in Rossville, Kansas. The treaty resulted in the sale and dispossession of a portion of the Bodwewaadmii reservation in Kansas as well the creation of allotments in Kansas. The stage was set for the separation of the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii into two distinct groups—one that remained in Kansas, and the other who relocated further south to Indian Territory. Article 1 of the November 15, 1861 treaty states:

The Pottawatomie tribe of Indians believing that it will contribute to the civilization of their people to dispose of a portion of their present reservation in Kansas . . . and to allot lands in severalty to those of said tribe who have adopted the customs of the whites and desire to have separate tracts assigned to them, and to assign a portion of said reserve to those of the tribe who prefer to hold their lands in common . . . The remainder of the land, after the special reservations hereinafter provided for shall have been made, to be sold for the benefit of said tribe.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> *The Potawatomi language; Potawatomi dialects of Anishinaabemowin.*

<sup>158</sup> Wall Family history.

<sup>159</sup> Kansas was admitted to the Union as a free state.

<sup>160</sup> Forest County Potawatomi.com, “Treaties.” Article 1, Treaty with the Potawatomi, November 15, 1861, ratified April 15, 1862.

Males and heads of families deemed “sufficiently intelligent and prudent to control their affairs and interests” were able to request allotment of land to be “conveyed to them by patent in fee-simple. . . . And on such patents being issued . . . such competent persons shall cease to be members of said tribe, and shall become citizens of the United States.”<sup>161</sup> Article 5 of the treaty granted the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad the privileges of buying the remainder of land—land that was not claimed as an allotment or held collectively.<sup>162</sup> This treaty operationalized the fragmenting and factionalizing of the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii, and contributed to further covering and disruption of Gikendaaswin. The mixed blood, christianized families formed what is now known as the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Other families chose to remain on the diminished reserve in Kansas forming the Prairie Band Potawatomi. According to Indian Agent Clarke, prior to the signing of the 1861 treaty there were divisions between the two groups. The Prairie Band of Bluff Indians, strong in Anishinaabeodziwin, “despised work, adhered to the hunter life, and denounced the elements of the tribe which adopted the ways of civilization and the cultivation of the soil.”<sup>163</sup> From the perspective of the US government’s Indian Agents, there was a lack of leadership. Hereditary chiefs were set aside by “bold, artful and ambitious men, who have usurped their places, and who, by threats, awe the peaceful portion of all the people into submission.”<sup>164</sup> Perhaps my 3<sup>rd</sup>-great-grandfather was one of these

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<sup>161</sup> Forest County Potawatomi.com, “Treaties.” Article 3, Treaty with the Potawatomi, November 15, 1861, ratified April 15, 1862.

<sup>162</sup> Forest County Potawatomi.com, “Treaties.” Treaty with the Potawatomi, November 15, 1861, ratified April 15, 1862.

<sup>163</sup> Murphy, “Potawatomi Indians of the West,” 361.

<sup>164</sup> Murphy, 367.



bold and ambitious men; he was a signatory on the 1861 treaty and had led Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii from the “Bluffs” to Kansas.

*My 2<sup>nd</sup>-great-grandmother So-pe and her husband Jacob Johnson moved to Rossville, Kansas in 1861. My great-grandmother Rachel Johnson was born there in 1863. Louis Vieux is the first name to appear on the 1863 tribal roll of the Citizen Band Potawatomi.<sup>165</sup> Although Louis and his family chose to ally themselves with the Citizen Band and accept allotments, Louis himself remained for the most part living in Kansas on land he had purchased outside of the reservation. His daughter, So-pe, and her husband, Jacob Johnson, who was adopted into the Pottawatomie Tribe,<sup>166</sup> moved to Indian Territory in the early 1870s<sup>167</sup>.*

## Escaping to Mexico

Other Bodwewaadmii evaded removal by escaping south to Mexico<sup>168</sup> to find shelter and refuge amongst our Great Lake Basin allies, the Kickapoo. The Bodwewaadmii and the Kickapoo had fought together, aiding the British in the War of 1812. The Kickapoos, in the late 1820s, had been permitted to relocate to land in “Mexican Texas,”<sup>169</sup> and were later granted a reservation by the Mexican government. Bodwewaadmii escapees from the Trail of Death who fled to Mexico<sup>170</sup> were allowed to reside on this reservation. These families remained safe by hiding

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<sup>165</sup> Campbell, *One Woman’s Family*, 81.

<sup>166</sup> Goulette, “The life of Jacob Johnson.”

<sup>167</sup> Wall Family history.

<sup>168</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 29 – 30.

<sup>169</sup> Milwaukee Public Museum, “*History of the Mexican Kickapoo.*”

<sup>170</sup> Not all escapees from the Trail of Death fled to Mexico; some remained in hiding in the Great Lakes Basin and became known as the remnant or strolling Potawatomi.

during the day and traveling only at night, and by using their spiritual power.<sup>171</sup> Many Forest County Potawatomi Community families descend from Trail of Death escapees. Jim Thunder and his sister Mary Jane, both Forest County Potawatomi Getsit, have shared family dbaajimowinag told to them by their mother. Jim and Mary Jane's great-grandfather escaped the Trail of Death. Jim described the chaos of the time—there were bounties for Bodwewaadmii children and adults; “Indians were fleeing all over from the soldiers.”<sup>172</sup> “The Neshnabé people used fog when they were on the run to Mexico. That’s what my grandfather told me, my mother’s father. When they were on the run that’s what they used, they asked for fog, so that they wouldn’t be seen by those who were trying to kill them. Those old men did ceremonies, that’s how they used the fog. That’s what they used when they escaped. They were far way when whoever it was that wanted to catch them woke up.”<sup>173</sup> Once Jim’s great-grandfather’s family and others were trapped by the pursuing American soldiers somewhere in Illinois:

When it got dark, one old man told them, “OK, I will ask for a really heavy rain,” he said. “The wind will really blow,” he said, “and at that time you will run away,” he said to them. Then they got ready. And so the old man started singing there in his little house. Ah, the wind really blew and it rained hard. And also our Grandfathers (the Thunders) really walked (rolling thunder). They struck here and there as they went along (lightning). . . . And so when they went to take the old man with them, “Oh, no,” they were told by him. “I have used up how much I was blessed with (spiritual powers and my time on this earth). At this time I must go home,” they were told by him. “Before tomorrow I will leave,” they were told by him. “Get out of here,” they were told by him. And so in the middle of the wind and rain storm they ran away, they escaped, those Potawatomi. Some of them went

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<sup>171</sup> Thunder, Potawatomi Language and History Conference.

<sup>172</sup> Thunder, Potawatomi Language and History Conference.

<sup>173</sup> Thunder and Thunder, *Wete Yathmownen*, 15.

and helped the soldiers' horses to escape. Then they fled all night long. That's how they ran away. That old man, that's how much he valued his fellow Neshnabé people. What our Creator blessed him with.<sup>174</sup>

Our ways of being and power protected Jim and Mary Jane's great-grandfather. They eventually made it to Mexico and resided with the Kickapoo. Trail of Death escapees were allowed to remain here because the Bodwewaadmii, together with the Kickapoo and Seminoles, had fought the Apaches in support of the Mexican government. Jim and Mary Jane's grandfather was born in Mexico on the Kickapoo Reservation. Chimookmaan zhaamaganek giiba nanawag—US soldiers, presumably motivated by bounties, went into Mexico to get the Bodwewaadmii. Some Bodwewaadmii were able to evade the zhaamaganek and remain with the Kickapoo;<sup>175</sup> the Thunder family was not. Jim and Mary Jane's grandfather fled northward, with the intention of returning home to G'chi Zaagiganag. Alcohol aided their escape. While the men were out hunting, the soldiers herded the women and children across the Rio Grande River and into the US. The soldiers, according to the dbaajimowinag of the Thunder family, went "on a drunk," and Jim's great grandfather's family and others cut the soldiers' horses loose and were able to escape northward and eventually to Kansas.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Thunder and Thunder, 19.

<sup>175</sup> Bodwewaadmii continue to reside in Mexico with our Kickapoo relatives. The Bodwewaadmiig are the only Indigenous People living in each of the three countries of contemporary G'chi Mishiikenh (the big turtle, or North America).

<sup>176</sup> Thunder, Potawatomi History and Language Conference.; The dbaajimowinag of the Thunder family's return to Wisconsin is shared in Wete Yathmownen.

## **New Lands Diminished and Divided—Dawes Act**

The General Allotment Act, or Dawes Act, furthered the untying of our Ancestors from land, each other, and our ways of knowing and being. Combined with the nearly simultaneous implementation of the off-reservation and on-reservation boarding school program, the 1887 act was a pillar of the US Federal Indian Policy tripartite strategy of using “land, law, and education” to disrupt our kinship systems, introduce the notion of privately held property, and legally dispossess our Ancestors of “extra land.”<sup>177</sup>

The allotment system began in the 1860s in Kansas and continued in Indian Territory with the General Allotment Act of 1887. Awarding of allotments resulted in the dividing of treaty lands into individually, privately held family homesteads “checker-boarded” throughout Indian Territory, rather than collectively or community held lands. Checkerboarding is the intentional intermingling of Indigenous held land amongst land held by settlers and lands granted to railroads in conjunction with westward expansion. The purpose behind the intermingling was to destroy our cohesiveness. Prior to the Dawes Act and what Murphy called the “debacle of the Kansas allotment experiment,”<sup>178</sup> Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii maintained a frayed yet cohesive identity. Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii Getsit Bill Battese explained in his 1983 interview for the Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe’s oral history project:

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<sup>177</sup> Cahill, “You Think It Strange,” 108.

<sup>178</sup> Murphy, “Potawatomi Indians of the West,” 432.

The purpose of that Act [Indian Allotment Act]<sup>179</sup> was to destroy the Indian cohesiveness because the government felt it could not work with Indians as a group, and a united group. So the Allotment Act worked out to the tribal estates, taking the land on which the Indians lived at that particular time and allotting the land to each individual that was a living Pottawatomi. They divided all the land between the Indians that had been counted and they had a small parcel of land that was left over. They left this left over land in tribal ownership – a parcel of land in Kansas as no man's land.<sup>180</sup>

*So-pe, Sophia Vieux, my 2<sup>nd</sup>-great-grandmother, her husband Jacob Johnson and their children were part of the 1400 Pottawatomi who separated from the Prairie Band in 1871. They relocated to Sacred Heart, Indian Territory in 1872. So-pe's father, Louis Vieux, remained in Kansas. So-pe, Jacob and their children moved about. In 1878 they were living at Salt Creek, near Sacred Heart, raising corn, potatoes, hogs and cattle, as they waited to see where the Pottawatomi would take their allotments. Around 1883 they moved to a two-room log home, built on So-pe's allotment. Rachel Johnson had her own Dawes Act allotment.<sup>181</sup>*

For those Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii living in Indian Territory on individual, checker-boarded allotments, Anishinaabeodziiwin was replaced by assimilation, acculturation and conversion to christianity. “Our tribal elders remember little about the old ways – it was, after all, THEIR grandparents who made the transition from the traditional culture to that of the white man. . . . Life on the frontier was a battle for acculturation. Times were harsh and survival on each new day called for originality and inventiveness from a people whose historical mode of existence quite simply no longer existed.”<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Battese is referring to the Indian Allotment Act in Kansas, prior to General Allotment Act. This was the US government's first attempt at creating allotments in the 1860s and was instituted in Kansas.

<sup>180</sup> Levier and Sulcer, “Grandfather, Tell Me a Story,” 4.

<sup>181</sup> Wall Family history.

<sup>182</sup> Levier and Sulcer, vii.

## Christianity

Christianity was introduced to the Bodwewaadmii nearly two hundred years before the relocation and removal. Many of our Ancestors chose<sup>183</sup> to convert and many, after removal, relied on the Catholic, Baptist and/or Methodist missions for supplies and community. These denominations bid for control of Bodwewaadmii conversion and education. The Boarding School system institutionalized christianity through mandatory participation in religious services by students. Conversion to christianity changed our ways of being and suppressed, and in some cases replaced, our spiritual and ceremonial practices. Christianity continues to be practiced in our contemporary communities, creating factionalization and at times controversy. Jim Thunder explains: “Religious differences among those who [converted] were real and persistent and had serious effects on people’s lives.”<sup>184</sup> Dbaajimowinag of our people highlight the impacts of christianity. What follows are personal stories shared by those participating in this research and in a 1983 tribal oral history project, as well as a book self-published by Bodwewaadmii Getsijig, Jim and Mary Jane Thunder.

Jim Thunder spoke to the arrival of christianity, and its impact on Ceremony: “When these white people first came here to our lands, they always sent missionaries here. Trying to

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<sup>183</sup> There were many reasons for making this choice. Kristy Phillips points out that the choice was made for political reasons. Kristy shared in our guided discussion: “We had to become Christian to keep our lands. A lot of those who walked the trail of death were forced to [do so] for not becoming Christian” (Phillips, Guided Discussion for this research); Chesaugan, my 4<sup>th</sup>-great-grandfather, did not convert to christianity while his daughter ShaNote did. ShaNote and Louis Vieux’s daughter, So-pe, was a practicing Catholic at the time of her death according to written narratives in our family archives.

<sup>184</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 107.

talk the Neshnabé people out of what they knew, what they were given [by the Creator].

Whenever they [Neshnabé people] were doing their ceremonies, then some ‘ones who wear black,’ as they were called, Catholics, came to talk them out of [using our ceremonies].”<sup>185</sup>

Brenda Shopodock and Jennifer Porter each spoke about christianity impacting their families and their connections to our ways of Knowing and being. Jennifer attributes women’s lesser roles in our communities to christianity: “I think that overall Christianity does not honor women.” She explained the contrast in value and importance of women between Anishinaabe practices and those of christianity. Kristy Phillips, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii<sup>186</sup> does not like to use words like prayer because she feels it symbolizes a non-Bodwewaadmii context and “brings people into a different perspective”—a perspective that disconnects people from the earth and diminishes women. “If we can get past thinking of Creator as a man, then we can get re-connected, and we can understand these medicines and the ways our Ancestors thought.” Barbara Ann Warren, Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii Getsit, emphasized the changes that removal and christianity brought to our ways of being: “All these people, during a certain amount of time after the removal, adopted the non-Nishnaabe<sup>187</sup> [and christian] way of thinking. One of those was that women weren’t important.” Herb Whitlow, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii inini,<sup>188</sup> echoes the perceptions of these kwewag.

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<sup>185</sup> Thunder and Thunder, *Wete Yathmownen*, 31.

<sup>186</sup> Kristy requested additional specificity to her Bodwewaadmii identity in this dissertation. “We are Shiishiibeniyeek, or Mission Band Potawatomis . . . There are so much history, culture, and connection with this title.”

<sup>187</sup> *(Non-)Anishinaabe*.

<sup>188</sup> *Man*.

Herb welcomes any spirituality or religion that is open, non-judgmental and teaches love, respect and compassion. He shared his observation that the stronger the christian influence is in a community, the less “you hear from the women.” Herb believes that the influence of christianity in Oklahoma, combined with the fragmentation of community caused by allotments, contributed to the covering of cultural practices. “Our Ceremonies were looked down upon by the christian church, probably because of the spiritual connection to and the belief that everything in Creation has spirit. The church doesn’t teach that.”

Phil Shopodock links the loss of Ceremonial practice to a “skip in the record” caused by a generation of Bodwewaadmiig attending boarding schools, and by both the conversion to christianity and the outlawing of Ceremony.<sup>189</sup> “There were those who couldn’t participate, who weren’t allowed to participate—not by their choice, but by policy. There was a big skip—a lot of people turned to christianity because it was the acceptable way to go. Today many of them are still fearful of [Ceremony].” Kelli Mosteller shares Phil’s perspective: “Ceremony either went underground or at least it was less openly practiced,” as a result of the constant presence of “the various religious authorities.”

Interviews of Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii in 1983 for the Citizen Band tribal oral history project include stories of the impacts of Catholicism on Ceremonial practice and

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<sup>189</sup> Zotigh, “Native Perspectives.”; The 1883 Code of Indian Offenses, de facto laws of the US Department of the Interior, punished “Indian dances and feasts by imprisonment or withholding food (treaty rations) for up to 30 days. Any medicine man convicted of encouraging others to follow traditional practices was to be confined in the agency prison for not less than 10 days or until he could provide evidence that he had abandoned his beliefs.” Traditional religious practices were not protected until 1978. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act was amended in 1994.



language use. Mike Bruno's Catholic family "never practiced any of the Indian ceremonies, and no one in his family spoke Pottawatomi."<sup>190</sup> Nell McCalip's family was Catholic too, and "didn't practice any religious ceremonies, not if you are talking about Indian religion." Nell's story links the covering of Ceremony to boarding schools: "I don't know of any one of them [family members] that did [engage in Ceremony], because after they went to school, anything like that, the Catholics thought it was pagan and they didn't allow you to do it." Aspects of Nell's family experience mirrors Bruno's—language use was impacted as a result of Catholic boarding school (Sacred Heart Mission School). Nell told her grandma's story: "They didn't allow them to speak Indian at school. My grandma couldn't talk Potawatomi. I guess when she was a little girl she did, though. My uncles would teach me how to cuss in Potawatomi and she knew what they were saying. When people came to the house to visit and talked Potawatomi, she knew what they were saying but she couldn't talk it." Nell's grandfather went to a boarding school as well. He "could talk some Potawatomi. He didn't do it every day, just when people around talked Pottawatomi, he would talk with them. They believed in God like everybody else. They didn't have no ceremonies or anything. Grandpa had songs that he would seem to keep the evil spirits away."<sup>191</sup>

Kelli Mosteller points to Christianity as a player in the changing of gender roles: "I do believe that once christianity really made its way in this community there was a shift in [gender roles], as kids were taken [to Boarding Schools] and especially when we got to Kansas and

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<sup>190</sup> Levier and Sulcer, "Grandfather, Tell Me a Story," 5.

<sup>191</sup> Levier and Sulcer, 34.

where day in and day out in the Catholic school there was a much more colonial approach to gender roles. There was a concerted effort, and there is no point in arguing that christianity didn't make some change in our society, that it didn't make an impact because it did and there is no getting around it."

Herb shared that he was thirty-three years old when "we got our Spirit back<sup>192</sup> and were able to start living our culture. I guess [before 1978] if you had the culture you had to hide it. You had to go out in the woods. If the people did Ceremonies, the Ceremonies were usually closed. You had to be invited—if somebody knew who you were you could be invited. It wasn't open to the general public, the big Ceremonies I mean—not powwows. We always had powwows, but that is a social gathering." Autwin Pecore of Shawnee Oklahoma referred to the covering of the Citizen Band's ceremonial practice in his interview in 1983: "The Citizen Band never did follow [Native] religious traditions like the other bands. In their meetings the others have sort of a religious ritual. The Citizen Band never have anything like that. They lost their language when they moved down here. Very few of them can speak Potawatomi. What they do try to follow a tradition with the powwow."<sup>193</sup> The Citizen Band Potawatomi, or Citizen Potawatomi Nation's annual intertribal powwow is no longer held, instead there is an annual family reunion festival. The festival honors the descendants of the original families removed or relocated to Indian Territory.

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<sup>192</sup> Whitlow is referring to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.

<sup>193</sup> Levier and Sulcer, "Grandfather, Tell Me a Story," 5.

There can be controversy when Christian practices are brought into our revitalized Ceremonial practice. Marie Tredway, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe Getsit, does not believe “the old ways” and Christianity can be combined. She believes the old ways are so pure in teaching ways of honoring all of Creation. Marie shared that she dislikes when our people bring western ways into Ceremony, in particular praying in a Christian way and invoking the Lord Jesus. While she will not criticize or judge the spirituality of others, Jennifer Porter agrees and wonders: “is that combination working for them? Is it good for them overall?” Jennifer believes there is a significant difference between our traditional spirituality and christianity, specifically in the manner of speaking about the relationships between humans and Creation. Aabita Biboon Anungosh, Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiikwe, who was raised Catholic, works to revitalize traditional practices in her daily life. She shared her experience of observing the combining of traditional and Christian practices:

My native grandparents were buried with a Catholic funeral. My grandfather passed away in 2013, and my grandmother passed away in 2007. They had very Catholic burials, although from my grandmother’s funeral to my grandfather’s funeral there were many changes in terms of Native Ceremony. My grandmother had a little bit of Ceremony. But when my grandfather passed away, they had a pipe ceremony in the funeral parlour. They smudged in the funeral parlour, and they had Native singing, there was also a Native Knowledge Holder who came and spoke. There was smudging and tobacco ties. The pipe was the one thing that I was just floored by, there was nothing like that at my grandmother’s funeral! People had tobacco ties but that was about it. Now they did have a fire burning for four days for both my grandparents. The smoking of the pipe in the funeral parlour happened up in Sault Ste. Marie [Ontario]. I guess they are quite advanced in those parts with all the Natives that live in that area.

Aabita Biboon Anungosh’s perspective is interesting in that she views the incorporation of Anishinaabe practices into Catholic funerals as progressive rather than problematic or

disrespectful.<sup>194</sup> Shannon Martin endorses spiritual practice in her inspiring message to Bodwewaadmii youth and holds space for those who combine traditional and Christian practice. Shannon encourages our youth to be strong in their Bodwewaadmii identity:

It is really [about] honoring your Ancestry, honoring your language, your culture in any way, shape or form that you can. You are always going to be Anishinaabe; you can't deny that, you can't suppress that. And being Anishinaabe doesn't have to be in conflict with any other faith or belief that you may have. Still be proud and honor what you can and what you know. Use your language, no matter what words you have, don't be afraid to use your words that you know. Don't feel there is conflict with honoring the water; don't feel in conflict with offering tobacco or greeting the sun. Have somebody find your Anishinaabe name and your clan if you don't know it. All of those things are giving you that direct connection to all your relatives that came before you, and what they knew and what they intended for you to know in this time and place. Because it is beautiful, we are beautiful people. We have beautiful spirituality, culture and connection to this earth and an understanding of it that is unique, not like any other people in this world. So, don't ignore it and don't dismiss it, and don't let it . . . don't feel like your Anishinaabe-ness is in conflict with your christianity, your Catholicism or your Nazarene...there is room for it all.

### **Further Scattering of Community – Indian Boarding School Program**

The US government Indian Boarding School Program interrupted intergenerational relationships and the processes of gaining and sharing of our Knowledges and practices, as well as disconnecting students and future generations from our language.<sup>195</sup> Our family members were stolen and taken away as children from family and community to boarding schools spread across the US<sup>196</sup>—Carlisle Indian Industrial School (Pennsylvania), Chilocco Indian Agricultural

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<sup>194</sup> She shared: “some acknowledgement of native culture is better than nothing. My grandparents were Catholic and did want that christian burial. Colonization did what they set out to do, but I am proof that reclamation of culture is happening and possible for our future generations.”

<sup>195</sup> A similar program of government-sponsored, church run Residential Schools was implemented in Canada.

<sup>196</sup> United States Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual report for the year 1886*; In practice, children were regularly forcibly removed from their homes. This practice was justified because Indigenous parenting practices were seen

School (Indian Territory), Haskell Institute (Kansas), Sacred Heart Mission School (Indian Territory), Mount Pleasant Indian Industrial School (Michigan), Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial School (Wisconsin), Purcell Indian School (Indian Territory), Cordell Indian School (Indian Territory), Tomah Indian Industrial School (Wisconsin), Hayward Indian Boarding School (Wisconsin) and others. The common goal of these schools was assimilation through immersion<sup>197</sup> and integration. Assimilation was based on the "Kill the Indian in him, and save the man"<sup>198</sup> philosophy of Carlisle's founder Colonel Henry Pratt, and focused on dissolving "tribal identity and erasure of] Indigenous beliefs and practices."<sup>199</sup> Immersion in settler colonial culture included military regimentation and discipline, farming and domestic training, and attending weekly christian services. Boarding Schools were preferred to Day Schools because the "negative influence of a child's Indian parents" could be replaced with the "positive influence of white parent-figures." These replacement parental-figures "would teach students to revile their parents' culture."<sup>200</sup>

As a result, feelings of shame were introduced and Kendaaswin and Waawiindmowin<sup>201</sup> were disrupted. Family and community members were replaced as teachers by euro-American

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as inferior to mainstream, white parenting styles. The denial of native parental rights was legalized in 1891 and led to the mass forced removal of native children. The 1976 Indian Child Welfare Act ended the forceful removal of native children from their parents; Eastman, *Pratt, the Red Man's Moses*, 216; Minimum age for students was fourteen, and the term of education was five years.

<sup>197</sup> Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, xiv.

<sup>198</sup> Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, "Kill the Indian, and Save the Man."

<sup>199</sup> Lomawaima, "Chilocco Indian Industrial School."

<sup>200</sup> Cahill, "You Think It Strange," 110.

<sup>201</sup> *Guidance or direction laid out in a progressive manner for one to accept or reject.*

and Christian instructors. The choice of accepting the guidance/direction of Waawiindmowin was eliminated; students were expected to accept what was being taught or be punished. Gaabi b'gid na maagooyaan was eliminated with mandatory attendance of weekly christian services. In addition, our grandparents and parents were, according to Oshana, "forced to let go of cultural gender roles and assimilate to what white men believed they should do in society. Women traditionally held important political, social and economic power as most cultures promoted gender equity."<sup>202</sup> The Boarding School Program interrupted this. Instructors forced girls and young women to learn the industrial and domestic skills appropriate to european American gender roles. For many of them, this cultural assault led to confusion, alienation, homesickness and resentment."<sup>203</sup> Disruption of gender roles was intended to "break the cycle of tribalism in a single generation."<sup>204</sup>

Many Boarding Schools had summer outing programs "designed to expose students to actual European American home life and to prevent any [student] interaction with their tribal communities that might interfere with the schools' assimilation policy."<sup>205</sup> Carlisle Industrial Indian School's outing program forced students to work in homes as domestic servants or on farms or in businesses.<sup>206</sup> Another immersion and integration tactic was the encouragement of

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<sup>202</sup> Oshana, "Native American Women," 46.

<sup>203</sup> Davis, "American Indian Boarding School Experiences," 20.

<sup>204</sup> Cahill, "You Think it Strange," 109.

<sup>205</sup> Shillinger, "Community Versus Assimilation," 11 -24.

<sup>206</sup> Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 37.

interracial marriage, and marriage between ‘educated Indians.’ “Administrators believed that the marital arrangements of former students played a significant role in their retention of ‘civilized’ traits.”<sup>207</sup> The founder of the Hampton Institute, General Samuel Armstrong, worried that “if former students did not marry other educated Indians, they would have ‘to mate themselves with savages,’ and under such conditions ‘relapse was inevitable.’”<sup>208</sup> Intermarriage was supported by Pratt who “advocated amalgamation by marriage as a necessary and desirable part of the assimilation process.” The prevailing opinion was that with a mixture of the races, “the inferior [race would be] elevated and finally absorbed and lost in the superior [race].”<sup>209</sup>

*My grandfather, Asa Elwood Wall, attended Chilocco Indian Agricultural School in Chilocco Indian Territory and Carlisle Industrial Indian School in Carlisle Pennsylvania. Most of his young childhood and adolescent years were spent within the Boarding School system. As a young man, he fought in France during WWI. I am told that Dada, as we called him, would readily share stories from his lived experience as an American soldier. Yet, when asked about Boarding School, he would simply say, “That was a long time ago.”*

*Rachel Johnson married John Jacob Wall in 1881 in Arkansas City, Kansas. Asa Elwood Wall, my grandfather, was born in Cherokee County Kansas in 1887. Asa attended Chilocco Indian Agricultural School (Chilocco Indian Territory) from about 1892 to 1895, and then, living in Shawnee, he attended the Quaker Mission School. At the age of eight, Asa began attending Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania.<sup>210</sup> His stepfather signed the papers to send him off to Carlisle.*

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<sup>207</sup> Cahill, “You Think,” 109.

<sup>208</sup> Cahill, 109.

<sup>209</sup> Cahill, “You Think,” 111.

<sup>210</sup> Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Asa Wall Student File.; Jim Gerencser, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, email communication, August 12 – 13, 2020; My grandfather entered Carlisle on September 7, 1895. He was eight years old. His student file lists his age as ten. The error is either due to an

*Asa's sister, brother, cousin Jim Thorpe, and Uncle David Johnson were also at Carlisle. Wall family dbaajimowinag tell us that this provided some connection with family and home, but my grandfather remained very homesick and felt abandoned. He graduated from Carlisle in 1903. After Carlisle, and at the recommendation of the Indian Agent in Indian Territory, Asa entered the Hampton Institute in Newport News, Virginia, completing his studies in 1906. My grandfather participated in Hampton's Outing System, working on a farm in West Cornwall, Connecticut and another in Conway, Massachusetts in the summers of 1904 and 1905. He was paid eighteen to twenty dollars per month in addition to his room and board. Dada reported that food was not plentiful.<sup>211</sup>*

*My grandfather had aspirations of studying law at Dartmouth College but lacked the requisite high school courses for admission. He went to Milton, Massachusetts to attend high school, supporting himself by working on a farm and sleeping in a barn. An administrator at Hampton found a sponsor willing to pay for my grandfather's education at Kimball Union Academy in New Hampshire. Dada initially accepted the sponsor's offer, then changed his mind. He wanted to pay his own way. Unfortunately, for reasons unknown, he wasn't able to do so. My grandfather returned to Shawnee, Oklahoma, formerly Indian Territory, in 1907 and worked as a clerk at the Indian Agency as well as a Deputy US Marshall for about a year. He returned to New York State, managing an automobile repair shop and working as a chauffeur. During the next six years, Asa was back and forth between New York and Oklahoma. He farmed in Oklahoma in 1911, 1912 and 1914. In September, 1917 he joined the US Army and was shipped off to France, where he participated in seven major offensive and defensive campaigns. Asa returned from France in April, 1919 and married Inez Coddington in 1920. My father, Robert Leland, was born in 1930, the youngest of five siblings. Asa's last visit to Oklahoma was in 1944 to attend the funeral of his mother.<sup>212</sup>*

My grandfather's reluctance to speak of his experiences at Boarding School is a common response. Our immediate family's connection to Bodwewaadmii ways of Knowing and being, ended with Dada. Kim Wensaut's grandmother was also sent to boarding school, although not

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incorrect assumption by the Indian Agent or a lie told by his stepfather. Students under the age of twelve were discouraged from enrolling.

<sup>211</sup> Wall Family history.

<sup>212</sup> Wall, "Timeline of the Life of AE Wall, Sr."; Wall, "The Indian Boy."



to Carlisle. Her grandmother was of the generation that grew up with traditional people and Elders who held our Knowledges. Kim Wensaut, Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii, believes that widespread conversion to Christianity and Boarding Schools created a gap and “a reluctance to speak about those things.” Punkin Shananaquet, Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii, refers to this gap as a “slash” in our families’ Knowledge lineage and speaks of the Boarding School era as a time “when our grandparents were thought of as less than human and [were] taken away and stripped of language and spirituality.” Her maternal grandmother, Gladys Sand, was taken at the young age of seven to attend boarding school and was later “shipped out to Haskell” in Kansas. She didn’t return to her family and community until she was twenty-two. Gladys “lost all of those connections, she wouldn’t speak the language.”

Jennifer Porter, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii, shared her grandfather’s experience at Chilocco Indian Agricultural School: “Granddad used to say there were Cherokee, Sac and Fox and Potawatomi [students]. It was quite a mixture. They were throwing tribes together that had issues with each other. They would sneak away together when they could to do their stomp dances, and of course they would get found out and get punished a lot. There was a lot of abuse. He escaped from there. I always knew he had bad memories from being there—he only hinted at things.”

May Neddeau Fairchild, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe and Wemtigoozhiikwe<sup>213</sup> attended several boarding schools including Cordell Indian School, Purcell Indian School and

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<sup>213</sup> *French woman.*

Shawnee Indian School. May was interviewed in 1983 for an oral history project of the Citizen Band Potawatomi. In her interview, she shared her experiences at boarding school:

[Y]ou know back in those days of the Indian school, of course they took in Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Kickapoo, Sack and Fox, your five tribes here. Took all the Indians in who lived around here. They had a matron that would go out into the Indian homes and talk to parents into letting them kids go to the boarding school. It wasn't easy on the poor little things. . . . They tried every way to make us forget we were Indians. They tried to make us go the white man's way. See, they took the Indian things away from us. They took the robes and Indian dresses away from us. They put us into dresses, or they said uniforms, that were wore out here and took our moccasins and gave us shoes we weren't used to wearing them. So you see, we weren't encouraged to be Indian. They were trying to get us to be white but it didn't bother the Pottawatomie whole lot because they weren't a whole lot of Indian anyway. . . . We were discouraged, if anything, and now they are trying to get us back on the track again.<sup>214</sup>

The intergenerational traumas of the Boarding School Program are manifested in our families in a myriad of ways<sup>215</sup>—the “slash” in our families’ Knowledge lineage, physical hiding and the hiding our Indian-ness,<sup>216</sup> loss of language<sup>217</sup> itself or the reluctance to speak “Indian,” as well as substance abuse. Healing involves understanding our history and historical traumas and

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<sup>214</sup> Levier and Sulcer, “Grandfather, Tell Me A Story,” 13–14.

<sup>215</sup> An in-depth discussion of intergenerational traumas caused by the Boarding School Program in the US and the Residential School Program in Canada is beyond the scope of this dissertation. It is important for me to acknowledge that this trauma extends far beyond the examples presented within this paragraph and the following paragraphs and dbaajimowinag. Please see *Appendix E, Suggested Reading*.

<sup>216</sup> Hiding of Indigenous identity was catalyzed by feelings of shame and the need to protect children from the abusive treatment experienced by survivors of Boarding Schools.

<sup>217</sup> Loss of language also occurred with relocation and emigration of Bodwewaadmiig to Upper Canada. Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin is spoken and being revitalized in our communities in the US. I am not aware of Bodwewaadmiig in Ontario First Nations communities speaking Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin; if language is spoken or taught in these communities, the language is Anishinaabemowin.

returning to ourselves. Our healing journey is continual and will take generations of our people working together.

Lillian Rice-ban is an example of both this work and lived experience of the trauma. She became aware of our diasporic history when she became involved in assisting our people in healing from and addressing chemical dependency and alcohol abuse issues. Lillian-ban shared at the 2015 Potawatomi History and Language Conference that she wanted to do this important work to help our people, particularly our women. Lillian-ban believed our women were in trouble because they didn't know men's roles and women's roles, and that this confusion was caused by government boarding schools. Learning our history brought Lillian-ban an "understanding of why things happened the way they did." Her cousins were taken to boarding school; she avoided it by living in the backwoods with her grandmother.<sup>218</sup> Every time they would hear a car approaching, the "medicines drying on the porch would quickly be taken down and hidden. When the car was gone the medicines would be put back up." Living with her grandmother both prevented her from being taken and kept her family's Knowledge lineage intact. Lillian-ban shared that she did everything her grandmother did—she learned how to dry meat and fish, to pick and dry berries, to harvest and process manoomin,<sup>219</sup> to gather wiigwoss,<sup>220</sup> to grow squash and corn, and to do beadwork. She learned about medicine gathering, preparation and use, and moccasin making. And she learned how to hide.

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<sup>218</sup> Rice, Potawatomi History and Language Conference.

<sup>219</sup> *The good berry, or the berry gifted to the Anishinaabeg by G'chi Zhemnido; wild rice.*

<sup>220</sup> *Bark of the white birch tree.*

Jim Thunder also learned how to hide: “When we were at our home, the missionaries used to come. We ran away from them; we ran into the woods. We lived in the middle of the woods. Sometimes we ran out through the windows when we saw them coming. Our parents didn’t holler at us when we did that.” His grandfather, his mother’s father, told him that “when they were little kids, they didn’t play all around. They were always near the house when they played. White people or some other Indians would come and snatch those children or women as they [played] around somewhere.”<sup>221</sup>

Punkin remembers her Nana, Gladys Sands, making a game out of hiding:

I remember now that sometimes when a car would drive in . . . when somebody would come in, she would tell us to run and hide. She made it a game, she didn’t make it scary, but she would say “go and hide there is somebody here.” We would go and hide and after a while she would go and meet the person at the door and send them on their merry way. She would go, “you can come out now, come out of your hiding places,” and we would come out. We didn’t think anything of it, it was just a game and we had to be fourteen or fifteen and we were still doing that.

And then walking home, sometimes she would walk with us to the bridges, that was about half-way home and whenever there was a car coming, back then you could hear them coming you know from miles down the road, they would tell us to go and hide in the ditches. She would always have her walking stick with her, even when she would answer the door, we always thought that she just needed her cane or her walking stick and she had her walking stick as she walked to that halfway point with us, to that bridge . . . and she would tell us to hide. I remember doing that as kids, it was just a game . . . We had to be sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen, and when we were walking if we heard a car we would run and hide in the ditches and we would peer out looking like animals until the car went by.

You know, when I think back to her boarding school, she was protecting us because she thought those people were coming to take us away, coming to take us and never been seen again until we were older. That was her way of protecting us, her Indian way of

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<sup>221</sup> Thunder and Thunder, *Wete Yathmownen*, 27, 33.

thinking . . . “I am going to hide these kids, they are not going to take them away, they are not going to do what they did to me.”

Jennifer Porter was told by her non-Native father: “Don’t say that you are Indian.” She believes this was said from a place of caring and to protect her from prejudice. Her maternal grandfather, a boarding school survivor, would always mention that they were Indian, and he would draw a “little Native chief face” to entertain Jennifer and her siblings, and to remind them that they are Indian. Jennifer’s mother moved with her family from Oklahoma to California. She says she was not exposed to “Native life at all because granddad took them away [from it], to get away from all the trouble that the church caused. Also, our tribe didn’t really have the resources in those days to help anyone. I don’t think he wanted the reservation life.”

Andy Jackson’s aunties and uncles attended boarding school, and a “slash” in the family’s knowledge lineage resulted. There was a time in Andy’s community when there weren’t women around to assist with Ceremony. Andy believes it is women of her mother’s generation who were absent: “My mom never did those things.” The previous generation of women was also impacted. Andy’s grandmother refused to speak the language:

My grandma would never talk to me about things, though. I remember to this day, what she wore, where we were and what her house dress looked like. I asked her when I was a kid, she lived in Dowagiac, I asked her how do you say grandma in Potawatomi? She told me it was none of my business and that I did not need to know that, and that they would make fun of [me] and they will hurt [me]. And then she was done with it, she walked away. Her kids were taken away and put in boarding school and she was afraid they were going to do that to us, because she didn’t know any different.

Phil Shopodock’s father was forced to attend St. Joseph’s Indian Boarding School on the nearby Menominee Reservation. “My dad never really wanted me to learn the language. He

taught me some words. He didn't want me to be Indian because he didn't want me to suffer the same way that he did." Phil's father was a fluent speaker and could speak five different dialects. "Just about anywhere he went he could communicate with the Native People. He didn't teach me that much, maybe I didn't participate as much as I should've either. I don't mean to put it all on him, but I don't think he wanted me to be involved as much as I am."

Brenda Shopodock's (Phil's wife) father was forced to go to St. Joseph's. Brenda, too, spoke about language loss and her parents working to protect her and her siblings. When her father was young, he went to a lot of Ceremony. He lived in the woods, he knew his language, and spoke his language. Ceremonies were outlawed, and "they had to go way back in the woods, on horseback, and travel a long way. They would build these huge fires and that is where they had their Ceremonies. There was no English." Then her dad was taken away to boarding school. "He was brainwashed and beaten and all those kinds of things. Because that was done to him, he blocked out his language. And when we came along, they felt they were protecting us by not sharing any Ceremonies. He was really careful about offering teachings and because he grew up having to be very careful about what he said and what he did." Brenda's parents, as a result of her father's schooling at St. Joseph's and her mother's upbringing in a local Christian church, sent her and her siblings to church. Brenda believes her mother did so to protect them as she thought they needed to go to church and learn "these things to be able to fit into society." Perhaps Brenda's mother had learned this from her own parents. When her parents settled in Carter, Wisconsin, Brenda's grandfather was a medicine person. "He kept it very quiet because it was against the law, but people came from all over to come and see him."

Brenda's mother remembered, as a child that a lot of people would come "to see them all the time, and she knew that they were sick, and when they left, they were feeling much better." Her father practiced in secret and chose not to teach his children: "They thought they were protecting the children by not teaching them, by not showing them." Instead, the children would be kept busy doing something else "so they wouldn't have access to all these things, and to see and learn. It was to protect the children."

Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii children and youth, such as Andy Jackson's aunties and uncles, and Punkin Shananaquet's grandmother, were removed from their families to attend boarding school in different locations.<sup>222</sup> Mount Pleasant Indian Industrial Boarding School, in Isabella County, Michigan opened in 1893. "The children of the Pine Creek settlement (HPI) were regularly educated there. This practice continued until the school was closed in 1934. Numerous Huron Potawatomi children also attended the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] school at Genoa, Nebraska, and Haskell Institute."<sup>223</sup> Participating in christian religious practices was expected. Boarding school education and the adaptive resistance by the Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii to avoid removal resulted in the covering of the elements of Gikendaaswin.

The untying of Boom bye goo, Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo, and some Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg from our lands and waters, during Giiaankobaajiiianwag<sup>224</sup> miinwaa Zhaamaganek giiba nanawag, further severed already fraying relationships. In

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<sup>222</sup> Andy's relatives attended Holy Childhood Boarding School in Harbor Springs, Michigan. Punkin's Nana, Gladys Sands, first attended boarding school at the Mount Pleasant school, and then attended Haskell Institute in Kansas.

<sup>223</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 229.

<sup>224</sup> *Removal; they became untied.*

addition, the disruption of relationships with the other beings of Creation, between communities and families, and with each other, continued. Forced participation in christian religious practices and education by the organized factions of the christian churches through missions, schools and boarding school educations drastically changed our relationship with Manidoog, and our Ceremonial practices. Multiple components of Gikendaaswin were covered—Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad, Kiinoomaagewag Aki Manidoo miinwaa Nibi Manidoo, and Gaabi b’gid na maagooyaan. Intergenerational transmission of Gikendaaswin was disrupted, as well. Our Ancestors living during this kiiowad experienced an acceleration of loss through assimilation and acculturation processes. Initial losses had begun two hundred years prior, during what is referred to in this dissertation as the Wemtigoozhii Kiiowad.

The remainder of *Miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak: Chapter 4* briefly summarizes the Wemtigoozhii Kiiowad, as well as giizhnaadsewag or the Zhaaganosh<sup>225</sup> and Chimookman Kiiowad. The telling of our history then circles forward to revisit Giiakobaajianwag miinwaa Zhaamaganek giiba nanawag, and continues forward to Biskaabiiyang and Anishinaabeodziiwin Apane.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> *Newcomers who arrived with transparent skin and a distinct sour odour; English; English-speaking or British people.*

<sup>226</sup> See Figure 4.1, for an illustration of this spiral of time. A detailed discussion of these periods of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe history is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Additional information is included in Appendix A.



## **Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg in the Great Lakes Basin:**

### **Wemtigoozhii Kiiowad (1615 – 1763)**

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg were residing within the Great Lakes Basin, living and thriving in accordance with the seasonal cycles for millennia on lands primarily adjacent to the southeastern and western shores of Mishii'igan,<sup>227</sup> prior to the coming of the Wemtigoozhii.<sup>228</sup> Wemtigoozhii inini Samuel de Champlain first arrived on G'chi Mshiikenh in 1608.<sup>229</sup> Jean Nicolet arrived in 1618. Our first encounter with Nicolet occurred along the western shore of Mishii'igan, on the Door Peninsula of Wiiskosing<sup>230</sup> in 1634.<sup>231</sup> Nicolet was followed by Catholic missionaries, Jesuits, and fur traders. Interaction with the Jesuits, and early engagement in the Fur Trade began a continuing disconnection between the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe and the land, water and our relatives of Creation, and created new kinship ties. Later, our entanglement in the Fur Trade<sup>232</sup> encouraged non-sustainable practices contrary to Anishinaabeodziwin and our philosophies embedded within naagan ge bezhig emkwaan.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Bodwewaadmii lived as far north as what is now north eastern Wisconsin and south into what is now Indiana.

<sup>228</sup> Bellfy, "Cross-Border Treaty-signers," 9 and 21.

<sup>229</sup> Koennecke, "Wasoksing.;" In the early 1600s, the French settled along the shores of the G'chi gamii Ziibi. Anishinaabe of the Georgian Bay and Muskoka areas began trading with the French after the 1614 visit of Champlain to Huronia.

<sup>230</sup> *The place of the reeds in the water; Wisconsin.*

<sup>231</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 18. Mitchell, "Tribal History."

<sup>232</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 18-19. I have adopted Low's use of 'entanglement' to describe Bodwewaadmii involvement in the Fur Trade.

<sup>233</sup> *One Dish, One Spoon*; Jacobs and Lytwyn, "Naagan ge bezhig emkwaan," 200; The metaphor of one dish and one (or many) spoons is a key principle in the philosophy of Indigenous Peoples' reciprocal and respectful sharing land and waters, and food sources.

*Changes in Relationship and Lifeways*

Before the coming of the Wemtigoozhii, the national identity of the Bodwewaadmii and other Indigenous Peoples was both ambiguous and dynamic. Following the newcomers'<sup>234</sup> arrival, "we are forced to adapt to a radically different way of life in a relatively short span of time, and our culture was changed forever. Change that may have taken untold generations in the past to unfold now took place within a generation or less."<sup>235</sup> Kinship relationships and intermarriage between Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe and Wemtigoozhii "fostered cultural and political connections in which neither party dominated the other. The French learned the Pottawatomie language and generally traded according to native customs."<sup>236</sup> Bodwewaadmii and other Anishinaabe Peoples' reciprocity-based familial, clan and village relationships and responsibilities began reorganizing in response to the interaction with the Wemtigoozhii.<sup>237</sup> Our Knowledges and practices, dependent on relationship with land, water, and the beings of Creation, as well as Manidoog, were negatively impacted and covered by this reorganization.

As the Haudenosaunee and other Indigenous Peoples from the east pushed into the Great Lakes because of the advancement of booch Zhaaganoshioziis and the colonizers,<sup>238</sup> the intensity of regional conflicts strengthened. Old rivalries between the Anishinaabeg and

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<sup>234</sup> I have chosen to use newcomer in reference to the Wemtigoozhii, rather than colonizer, to reflect the initial relationship between the Bodwewaadmii and French Peoples.

<sup>235</sup> Bellfy, "Cross-Border Treaty-signers," 21.

<sup>236</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 18 - 19.

<sup>237</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 18 - 19.

<sup>238</sup> Colonizers refers to the Dutch and British.

Haudenosaunee were exacerbated as trading alliances were altered, and access to trapping territories became problematic. There was an “unending assault upon traditional Pottawatomie culture and lifeways.”<sup>239</sup> As a result, the Bodwewaadmii relocated to the western shores of Mishii’igan as a result of rivalry conflicts, and were living in villages along rivers, streams and larger lakes and in close proximity to the Sac, Fox, Menominee, Kickapoo and Ho-Chunk (see Map 4.5, Wemtigoozhii Kiiowad, 1615 – 1700.)

Narratives presented on the Prairie Band Potawatomi history website attribute the cultivation of corn, beans, squash, tobacco and medicinal herb gardens by Bodwewaadmii kwewag to interrelationships with these Indigenous Nations. Prior to this time, ancestors of the Prairie Band relied on hunting, fishing and gathering food from land, rather than agricultural practices.<sup>240</sup> Agricultural practices were also learned from association with the Wemtigoozhii, and the tendencies of some Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe to reside near Fur Trade settlements and the Jack Knife Trading posts that extended from Kwejikwet or Boojwiikwed to Minwakiing. These interrelationships played a role in the processes of adaptation and transculturation, and thus the covering of Knowledges and practices.

In addition to agricultural responsibilities, Bodwewaadmii kwewag and ininiwag<sup>241</sup> fished the waterways and hunted. Waterways were our transportation routes, providing protection

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<sup>239</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 18.

<sup>240</sup> Mitchell, “Tribal History”; Other Gete Anishinaabe, particularly those residing in areas southeast of Mishii’igan, practiced agriculture.

<sup>241</sup> *Men*.

and sustenance, as well as Kiinoomaagewag Aki Manidoo miinwaa Nibi Manidoo. In dwaagek,<sup>242</sup> individual families moved upstream into the bush, residing there throughout Biboon,<sup>243</sup> hunting deer, elk and woodland bison. Families moved again, in Ziigwan,<sup>244</sup> from their winter camps to mankiki,<sup>245</sup> tapping ininiatigoog<sup>246</sup> and making ziinsbaakwad<sup>247</sup> for use throughout the following cycle of the seasons and for trade.<sup>248</sup> This was a kiiowad of adaptation of ways of being and knowing, catalyzed by outside forces.

### *New Alliances and Transculturation*

By the end of the 1600s, the Bodwewaadmii had formed a close relationship with the Wemtigoozhii, negotiating trade as equals. Bodwewaadmiig allied with the Wemtigoozhii against the alliance of the Haudenosaunee and British. In 1671, at Bawating, Nicholas Perrot claimed the interior of North America, including G'chi Zaagiganag, for the Wemtigoozhii. Perrot invited the Anishinaabeg, and other Indigenous Peoples, "to come to Sault Ste. Marie to attend

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<sup>242</sup> *Autumn; when the colours blend.*

<sup>243</sup> *Winter; time of, or the coming of near death.*

<sup>244</sup> *The young woman (Manidoo) who is a helper to Mother Earth; early spring when the ice and snow is beginning to melt.*

<sup>245</sup> *Sugar bush.*

<sup>246</sup> *Man tree; hard or sugar maple tree.*

<sup>247</sup> *Maple sugar.*

<sup>248</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation, Ontario; Gary Mitchell, "Tribal History.;" Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams), personal communication; Kevin Finney (Misko'o), personal communication. Misko'o, also known as Kevin Finney, and I have known each other for decades. He is a Knowledge Holder and artisan of non-Indigenous ancestry, who has been adopted into the Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii family of Sydney and George Martin. Kevin has generously shared his Knowledges and stories with me, and many others, throughout the years. It isn't always possible to include a specific date on which Knowledges and stories were shared. In these instances, information will be cited with his name only.

the Native-French Council.”<sup>249</sup> Bawating was chosen as the place to hold this Ceremony of possession because it was both a center of the Fur Trade, and an important meeting place for Anishinaabe.<sup>250</sup> Meanwhile, Bodwewaadmii families and communities moved southward from Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet to Mnedowék,<sup>251</sup> and Minwakiing, as well as residing in the Senjawen Zibé valley. Individual, community, and political identities continued to change. According to Koennecke, Anishinaabe society was restructured into “larger and more complex political alliances.”<sup>252</sup> The Wemtigoozhii and other newcomers distinguished and grouped Bodwewaadmii using geographic-related, political labels: Potawatomi of the Prairie, or the Woods; St. Joseph River or Wabash River Potawatomi. These labels were used later in treaty negotiations and the selection of ogimaag<sup>253</sup> as treaty signatories. As groups and kinship relationships were reorganized, intermarriage<sup>254</sup> also continued, altering individual and family identities. Kelli Mosteller, Bodwewaadmii historian and research participant writes in her dissertation: “Evidence of the close relationship between the French and the Potawatomi is seen in the large number of French surnames and métis children in the tribe as a result of intermarriage between French men and Potawatomi women.”<sup>255</sup> Bodwewaadmiikwewag

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<sup>249</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 5

<sup>250</sup> Bellfy, 5.

<sup>251</sup> *Spirits; Manitowac, Wisconsin.*

<sup>252</sup> Koennecke, “Wasoksing,” 47.

<sup>253</sup> *Esteemed leaders or chiefs.*

<sup>254</sup> Intermarriage refers to country marriages as well as formal church-sanctioned marriages.

<sup>255</sup> Mosteller, “Place, Politics, and Property,” 25; Mosteller did not capitalize métis. This is contrary to my use of Younging’s “Indigenous Style” (see “Writing Style and Capitalization” in *Notes*.) In addition, the use of métis to

remained the center of the family, transmitting Knowledges and practices, yet transculturation was occurring. Anishinaabeodziwin and mino bemaadziwin were impacted as Bodwewaadmii and Wemtigoozhii cultures converged and there was an “amalgamation of cultures into something new.”<sup>256</sup>

*The 1701 Great Peace of Montreal*

The 1701 Great Peace of Montreal ended the large-scale raiding between the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe<sup>257</sup> and the Haudenosaunee. Bodwewaadmii families then returned to the Bojwiikwed/Kwejikwet area, and others migrated to Waawiyaataanong to reside in close proximity to the Wemtigoozhii fur trading post established by Antione de la Mothe Cadillac.<sup>258</sup> Villages of those with close relationships to the Jesuits were centered around the mission near Zenba Odan,<sup>259</sup> now known as South Bend, Indiana, and also remained in the Senjawen Zibé valley. Waawiyaataanong became an area of significant intertribal conflict; trading here was disrupted by the Fox War of 1712-1733, and Michilimackinac was reinvigorated as the northern center of fur trading. The Fox War made travel to and from the west impossible and began a

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denote mixed blood individuals can be problematic. According to Younging, in a Canadian context, Métis is typically used as a collective noun referring to individuals or a group of people with French-Indigenous descent who were at the center of the 1869 Red River Resistance in Manitoba. I identify as Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe rather than Métis, while acknowledging my French-Indigenous ancestry.

<sup>256</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 5-6; Transculturation continues with the operationalizing of Biskaabiiyang as a way of being.

<sup>257</sup> The Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe’s allies included the Odaawaa, Miami, Fox, Shawnee, and Ojibwe and others.

<sup>258</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 23-24.

<sup>259</sup> *Ribbon Town; South Bend, Indiana.*

separation and distinction of the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe in southern Michigan.<sup>260</sup>

Bodwewaadmiig residing near Waawiyaataanong moved further inland to the upper reaches of the Huron River and became known as the Potawatomi of the Huron.<sup>261</sup>

*It is within this time period, that records of my ancestors first appear. Jean Viaud, father of my 6<sup>th</sup>-great-grandfather immigrated from France to Mooniyaang,<sup>262</sup> and his son, Jacques Vieau, was born in 1716 on Mshiikenh Mnis.<sup>263</sup> My Menominee ancestor, Ahkenpoweh, and presumably his daughter, Mahteenose Oskinanonotame, were residing west of the Fox River at Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet in 1729. During the French and Indian Wars,<sup>264</sup> Jacques Vieau Senior was born in 1757, and coureur de bois, Joseph Roi, future partner of Ahkenpoweh's granddaughter, Anglique, arrived in Michilimackinac from Mooniyaang in 1761. Roi was later based out of Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet and the Duck Creek Trading Post.<sup>265</sup>*

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe were active in the French and Indian War and were present at Fort Duquesne when Zhaaganosh<sup>266</sup> General Edward Braddock was defeated in early July of 1755. According to dbaajimowinag of tribal history shared on the Prairie Band Potawatomi website, it was here that we obtained horses: "The Pottawatomies gathered up more than two

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<sup>260</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 28.

<sup>261</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 226; The Potawatomi of the Huron (now known as the Nottawaseppi-Huron Band of Potawatomi) remained in this area until the era of the War of 1812. Within this dissertation, this Bodwewaadmii community is grouped within the Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe, or those who stayed in place.

<sup>262</sup> *Montreal, Quebec*.

<sup>263</sup> *Turtle Island; North America*.

<sup>264</sup> The French and Indian War, as it is commonly referred to in the United States, is known in Canada as the Seven Years War.

<sup>265</sup> Wall Family history.

<sup>266</sup> Newcomers who arrived with transparent skin and a distinct sour odour; English; English-speaking or British people.

hundred horses from those slain.”<sup>267</sup> Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe war parties, allied with other Indigenous Peoples and the Wemtigoozhii, fought in the Ohio River Valley, as well as in New England and at Fort Ticonderoga and Fort William Henry in what is now northern New York State. Just prior to the 1763 Treaty of Paris, through which the Zhaaganosh acquired all the Wemtigoozhii territory east of Misi Ziibi,<sup>268</sup> Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe from the Waawiyaataanong and Senjawen Zibé areas were heavily involved in the Pontiac Rebellion. Phil Bellfy writes, “the British were attacked by the Miamis, Delawares, Shawnees, Mingos, Senecas, Odaawaas, Ojibways, Wyandots, Weas, Potawatomis and Mississaugas.”<sup>269</sup>

The transition, at the end of the Seven Years War, from the Wemtigoozhii to the Zhaaganosh Empire was challenging and tumultuous for Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe. Our century-old relationship and kinship ties with the Wemtigoozhii had mostly been “mutually beneficial,” and despite transculturation, our ways of life remained somewhat intact. Zhaaganosh attitudes toward, relationship with, and perceptions of Indigenous Peoples were quite different from the Wemtigoozhii. According to Bellfy, “while the French had been quite content to live with and marry into the Native tribes, the British were deathly afraid of their

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<sup>267</sup> Mitchell, “Tribal History”; Within a few years, the most southern Bodwewaadmii began to use horses for transportation across the land, crossing Misi Ziibi, the Mississippi River, to hunt, and travelling into what is now known as Missouri and Iowa.

<sup>268</sup> *Mississippi River*.

<sup>269</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 33-34.



own subjects choosing to do this and believed that those who had ‘gone Native’ would be impossible to control.”<sup>270</sup>

*Transculturation: Marriage a’ la façon du pays*

The covering of our Knowledges and practices continued as we experienced transculturation or “extensive social and cultural changes because of their interaction with traders and settlers of European origin.”<sup>271</sup> Yet, we persevered with our struggle of maintaining our land base, autonomy and identity.<sup>272</sup>

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe engagement in the Fur Trade within G’chi Zaagiganag continued throughout this period of chaos, as did the close relationship between the Wemtigoozhii and the Anishinaabe. Marriage a’ la façon du pays, or common-law marriages “after the custom of the country,” between Anishinaabekwewag and European fur traders resulted. These common-law marriages, reportedly based on a combination of Anishinaabe cultural norms and local practices, were fundamental to the growth and flourishing of the Fur Trade. According to colonized texts,<sup>273</sup> Anishinaabekwewag acted as cultural liaisons between their immediate and extended families and the fur traders. Transculturation was significant in marriage a’ la façon du pays. Our great-grandmothers, as they have always done, adapted to

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<sup>270</sup> Bellfy, 38.

<sup>271</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 235.

<sup>272</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, xvi.

<sup>273</sup> See *G’yak chigewin: Chapter 5* for an explanation of colonized texts. In this instance, I am referring to *Many Tender Ties* authored by Van Kirk. Research to uncover Bodwewaadmii dbaajimowinag of our engagement in the Fur Trade, and specifically narratives told by our grandmothers, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

these new relationships and living conditions taking advantage of available European technologies and trade goods. Use of copper and iron kettles, knives and awls, as well as woolen cloth became part of their daily lives. In this adaptation and transculturation, our great-grandmothers' personal autonomy was lessened as "country wives were forced to the trader's patriarchal views on the ordering of home and family." Within fur trade communities, such as the intertribal and Wemtigoozhii community at Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet, Anishinaabekwewag roles began to shift, and became defined more in terms of their relationship to the male trader. According to Sylvia Van Kirk, roles of worker, wife, mother and daughter prevailed over culturally grounded roles of center of the family and community. As these roles shifted, our Knowledges and practices were most certainly pushed to the background, or completely covered.<sup>274</sup>

Following the Treaty of Paris, Wemtigoozhii dominance of the Fur Trade and control of G'chi Zaagiganag began to wane. Zhaaganosh began trading in Ontario and taking over Wemtigoozhii trading posts in the upper G'chi Zaagiganag, including Kwejikwet. Despite the transfer of political power, French-Canadian men continued to dominate the Fur Trade and live amongst the Indigenous Peoples of G'chi Zaagiganag. Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Wemtigoozhii alliances and Zhaaganosh alliances were location dependent. Waawiyaataanong Bodwewaadmii allied with the British, while Bodwewaadmii residing in odenoong in near

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<sup>274</sup> Hynes-Cernia, "Women in the Fur Trade," 13; Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, 13-17.

Senjawen Zibé remained allied with the French. Thus began a time of continuing and intensifying change for Bodwewaadmii People.

### **Giizhnaadsewag 1763-1830**

Giizhnaadsewag describes a pitiful state of chaos, and indeed this kiiowad or finite portion of the spiral of Bodwewaadmii time was chaotic. The lived experiences of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe included a transition between the imposed colonial regimes, intensification of settler colonization and missionary activity, trade and political wars, and multiple treaties first with the Zhaaganosh and later with the Chimookman. All of these experiences contributed to the prolonged disruption of Anishinaabeodziiwin, and the changing and diminishing Bodwewaadmii land base, autonomy and identity. Relationships and alliances between Bodwewaadmii odenoong and with settler colonists were impacted by and supported this chaos. Our people, families and odenoong were categorized and given labels by settler colonial governments according to these relationships. Treatment and valuation of Bodwewaadmii groups by political regimes was based on these relationships, and the factionalization of our people continued.

The regime of New France was followed by British rule, and for a brief window of time, in southwestern Michigan, control by the Spanish. Our people resided in a “wide belt” of territory along the western shore of Mishii’igan from Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet or Green Bay southward, to the east of Minwakiing or Milwaukee, and across the south of what is now the

State of Michigan to Waawiyaaataanong.<sup>275</sup> A continual and ever strengthening whirlwind of political and military actions occurred across G'chi Zaagiganag during giizhnaadsewag, including those areas under Bodwewaadmii control.<sup>276</sup>

*Royal Proclamation of 1763*

The Zhaaganosh delineated land west of the watershed divide of the Appalachian Mountains as Indigenous-only land in the Royal Proclamation of 1763. Private purchase and settlement of this land by settler colonists was outlawed. This boundary was considered temporary and moveable to allow a future and further westward extension of settler colonization.

The Royal Proclamation was confirmed by twenty-four Indigenous Nations<sup>277</sup> via the 1764 Treaty of Niagara and thus secured a political and trading relationship between multiple Anishinaabe Nations (including Bodwewaadmii) and the Haudenosaunee with the Zhaaganosh. A narrow strip of Haudenosaunee (specifically Seneca) land on the western shore of Niagara River was transferred to the British. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 in combination with 1764 Treaty of Niagara 1764 established a Nation-to-Nation relationship with the British Crown.<sup>278</sup>

Imposition of a British colonial government on Anishinaabe Aki and the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe created significant change in internal and external relationships. Northern

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<sup>275</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 39-40; Low, *Imprints*, 18-19.

<sup>276</sup> Jung, "Forge, Destroy and Preserve the Bonds of Empire," 25.

<sup>277</sup> These Nations included the Haudenosaunee, Wyandot, Menominee, Abenaki, Nipissing, Michi Saagii, Algonquin, Ojibwe, Odaawaa, Bodwewaadmii, Lenape, Miami, and some Shawnee.

<sup>278</sup> According to John Borrows, Anishinaabe legal scholar, the combination of the proclamation and the treaty recognizes Indigenous sovereignty while mandating non-interference of the Crown in Indigenous governance and land; Hele, "Treaty of Niagara, 1764."

Bodwewaadmii communities maintained alliances with the Wemtigoozhii through fur trading networks and Marriage à la façon du pays, while others residing near Waawiyaataanong remained allied with the Zhaaganosh. Shifting alliances began the factionalization of the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg, which in turn impacted Knowledge transmission. The annual distribution of gifts and trade goods, or the “King’s presents,” initially provided by the Wemtigoozhii, was continued by the Zhaaganosh. However, the distribution changed in both location and content. Wemtigoozhii gifting had been generous, and key in maintaining diplomacy and mutual relationship. Receipt of gifts from the Zhaaganosh required travelling further distances for diminishing content.<sup>279</sup> Zhaaganosh favoritism toward their Bodwewaadmii allies, combined with new distribution locations, impacted existing relationships between Bodwewaadmii communities as well as relationships with our Indigenous allies.<sup>280</sup>

Anishinaabeodziwin and Gikendaaswin continued to be impacted by booch Zhaaganoshiioziis.<sup>281</sup> Our people were engaged in numerous military actions. Alliances were diverse, varying between communities, and we remained entangled in the Fur Trade.<sup>282</sup> A summary of treaties, political and military actions during this kiowad is presented in tabular form in *Appendix A: Tables and Maps of Historical Periods*.

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<sup>279</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 44.

<sup>280</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation.

<sup>281</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 235.

<sup>282</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 12. Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 40-42. Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, 84-100.

*Impacts of Changing Colonial Rule: Wemtigoozhii to Zhaaganosh to Chimookman*

The Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg transition from Wemtigoozhii to Zhaaganosh rule was complicated in 1783 by Chimookman independence from Great Britain and the drawing of the US-Canada international border. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 was one catalyst in the initiation of the American Revolution;<sup>283</sup> the Chimookman wanted access to the land west of the Appalachian Mountains protected by the Proclamation. A majority of the Indigenous Nations approving the Treaty of Niagara were military allies with the Zhaaganosh in both the American Revolution and the War of 1812,<sup>284</sup> including my 5<sup>th</sup>-great-grandfather Jacques Vieau (Bodwewaadmii/Wemtigoozhii) and 6<sup>th</sup>-great-grandfather Kaush-Kau-Mo-Ngine (Menominee).<sup>285</sup> Building on the treaty relationship the Zhaaganosh, according to Bellfy, “used Native fear of the American’s desire for more land—Native and British land, to be more exact—to exhort the warriors to fight for the “British” cause since it was, indeed, their cause as well.”<sup>286</sup> Bodwewaadmii living around the southern tip of Mishii’igan were not allied with the Zhaaganosh, rather ogimaag viewed the Megwehn<sup>287</sup> as the “legitimate successors” to the Wemtigoozhii and worked to form strong ties to traders further south in St. Louis, Spanish

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<sup>283</sup> Calloway, “The Proclamation of 1763,” 33–34.

<sup>284</sup> Hele, “Treaty of Niagara, 1764.”

<sup>285</sup> Campbell, *ONE WOMAN’S FAMILY*; Wall family archives.

<sup>286</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 59.

<sup>287</sup> *Those who speak with a strange voice; Spanish People*.

Louisiana Territory.<sup>288</sup> In the early 1780's, during the American Revolution, this Bodwewaadmii–Megwehn alliance grew to include Metis and Chimookman and seizing of Fort St. Joseph.<sup>289</sup>

The 1783 Treaty of Paris officially ended the American Revolution and established boundaries between the Zhaaganosh empire and the United States of America. Zhaaganosh ceded the Northwest Territory,<sup>290</sup> including Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe homelands to the Chimookman. Zhaaganosh policies focused on protecting Canada against Chimookman expansion and worked to maintain posts with the Great Lakes. The treaty supported the sovereign powers of Indigenous Peoples and their rights to their lands. Indigenous Peoples “were able to remain in control of their territory and the Americans were either to treaty with them for their land, or purchase it. They were assured that they could not be forced off their land nor punished for their role in the war.”<sup>291</sup> Unfortunately for the Bodwewaadmii, these aspects of the treaty were not upheld; Chimookman independence and the Northwest Ordinance<sup>292</sup> led to a series of land cessions, removal and disconnection from our homelands and our relatives, and intense christian missionization.

The 1785 Treaty of Fort McIntosh created reserved land for Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe in the Ohio Country, and ceded areas surrounding Fort Detroit and Fort Michilimackinac.

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<sup>288</sup> Jung, “Forge, Destroy and Preserve,” 116–20.

<sup>289</sup> Jung, 125.

<sup>290</sup> The Northwest Territory, formerly part of the Province of Quebec, included land roughly bounded on the east by Pennsylvania, the west by the Mississippi River, the south by the Ohio River, and the north by the Great Lakes.

<sup>291</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 45; Jung, “Forge, Destroy and Preserve,” 129–130.

<sup>292</sup> The Northwest Ordinance (1787) established the Northwest Territory and formalized methods for admitting new states to the union.

Violent conflict between Indigenous Peoples and settler colonists continued. The 1789 Treaty of Fort Hamar was intended to address issues inducing the violence yet succeeded only in reiterating the terms of the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Fort Stanwix to the Bodwewaadmii, Odaawaa, Ojibwe, Sauk, Wyandot, Lenape and Haudenosaunee of Six Nations. The Shawnee and Miami allies of the Bodwewaadmii refused to sign. The failure of this treaty led to escalating violence and the formation of the Western Confederacy. This military alliance of Bodwewaadmii, Odaawaa, Ojibwe, Lenape and Shawnee fought against the United States to protect the Ohio Country from settlement. These efforts failed and the Confederacy was defeated at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. The 1795 Treaty of Greenville defined and limited “Indian Country,” and initiated the US government practice of annual payments to tribes ceding land.

*Chesaugan, my 4<sup>th</sup>-great-grandfather and father of ShaNote (my 3<sup>rd</sup>-great-grandmother and wife of Louis Vieux) was a signatory on the Treaty of Greenville. Louis Vieux's father Jacques and his family were actively trading at Minwakiing and established a jack knife trading post at Giwani on the western shore of Mishii'igan.<sup>293</sup>*

The Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, while Zhaaganosh trading continued in the Great Lakes and established Fort Miami on the Maumee River in the Ohio Country. Following the 1795 Treaty of Greenville, the United States government established government trading houses in competition with Zhaaganosh fur traders. Jay's Treaty (1796) formalized a trade agreement between the Chimookman and

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<sup>293</sup> Wall Family history.



Zhaaganosh and granted Indigenous Peoples the freedom to cross the US-Canada border for trade and commerce.

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe odenoong, the most important political-geographical unit of our people, were widely scattered. The notion of villages based on solely on clan kinship was no longer viable by the early 1800s; instead, villages included a diversity of clans. Egalitarian relations, organized by familial lineages—both direct and metaphorical kinship—within villages, extended within and between odenoong. We remained a single tribal organization. The Chimookman applied a concept of separate subtribes or bands to the Bodwewaadmii<sup>294</sup> as additional land cession treaties were made. Settler colonialism and “intensive missionization and education programs” impacted our villages in southern Michigan and Indiana territory.<sup>295</sup> Missionaries were embedded in trading villages and were particularly strong in Waawiyaataanong and Zhigaagong areas.<sup>296</sup> Each of these actions continued the covering of our Knowledges and practices.

#### *Northwest Territory*

Expansion of Chimookman settler colonialism and chaos intensified in the Northwest Territory. Most fur traders operating west of Mishii’igan continued to work for Canadian fur companies

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<sup>294</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 244; United States Department of the Interior, *Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of MI*, 99.

<sup>295</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 246.

<sup>296</sup> Mosteller, “Place, Politics, and Property,” 27.

and Zhaaganosh Indian Agents at Fort Malden<sup>297</sup> provided annual gifts of clothing, weapons and gun powder to the Bodwewaadmii and other Great Lakes tribes. In addition to annual gifts, the Zhaaganosh began arming Indigenous Peoples against the land-hungry Chimookman. The alliance between the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe residing west of Zhigaagong and the Zhaaganosh remained strong. John Low, Bodwewaadmii scholar, explains: “Pressures to relinquish more lands to the United States continued, and Indian anger over the constant demands for land mounted as the fur trade came to an end. Dependency and trade goods, and the impact of disease, alcohol, and non-native technology all contributed to Native frustrations and fears.”<sup>298</sup> Eight million acres of Bodwewaadmii, Ojibwe, Odaawaa and Wyandot land, and three million acres of Bodwewaadmii, Lenape and Kickapoo land along the Wabash River were ceded in the 1807 Treaty of Detroit<sup>299</sup> and the 1809 Treaty of Fort Wayne, respectively. Bodwewaadmii from the Senjawen Zibé area joined in the “intertribal Indian resistance to colonization and conquest” by the Chimookman led by the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa and his brother Tecumseh. This resistance ended in 1811 with the Battle of Tippecanoe.<sup>300</sup> As Indigenous Peoples were pushed off lands in the Northwest Territory, the opening of the land for settler colonists would soon be facilitated by the National Road (aka Cumberland Road) and

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<sup>297</sup> Fort Malden sits on the eastern bank of the Detroit River, south of Waawiyaaatanong and immediately north of Bois Blanc Island, near the present-day city of Amherstburg, Ontario.

<sup>298</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 22.

<sup>299</sup> This land was sold for about 1.2 cents per acre. Several small reservations were set aside for the predecessors of the Nottawaseppi Huron Bodwewaadmii; United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 244–248.

<sup>300</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 22.

the Michigan Road. Construction of this conduit, that stretched from the Potomac River to the Ohio River and to the Misi Ziibi began in 1811.<sup>301</sup> Bodwewaadmii odenoong and surrounding lands and waters were affected.

*War for Upper Canada/War of 1812*

Increasing economic and political tension, and other issues between the Zhaaganosh and Chimookman led to the War for Upper Canada (also known as the War of 1812).<sup>302</sup>

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe, for the most part, remained allied with the Zhaaganosh and fought against the Americans. Bodwewaadmii military engagement was centered in the eastern Great Lakes Basin, in the area stretching from the western shores of G'chi Aazhoogamii<sup>303</sup> and Waabishkiigoo G'chi gamii<sup>304</sup> to lands north of Niigani G'chi gamii.<sup>305</sup> Our Ancestors, who had previously traveled and traded throughout G'chi zaagiganag, thus became more familiar with the land and waterscapes of these ecosystems. This familiarity and the deepening of relationships with Anishinaabeg who resided here led to Bodwewaadmii settlement in

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<sup>301</sup> The National Road was completed in 1837; extensions of the road were completed by 1849. The Michigan Road, constructed between 1830 and 1840 intersected the National Road in Indianapolis, Indiana.

<sup>302</sup> Bellfy writes that the War of 1812 “was a fur trade war fought mainly for commercial reasons” (*Three Fires Unity*, 58). Further discussion of the complex causes of the war and the geographic arenas of battles is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

<sup>303</sup> *Great Cross waters sea. Lake Huron.*

<sup>304</sup> *Lake Erie.*

<sup>305</sup> *Leading sea; Lake Ontario.*

Zhooniyaang Zaaga'igan<sup>306</sup> and Bkejwanong<sup>307</sup> areas in southern Ontario, as well as emigration of some of the Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii to Canada after 1830.<sup>308</sup> Other Bodwewaadmii, specifically those residing in the Ininwewi Ziibi<sup>309</sup> area, refused to support the Zhaaganosh, and did not provide direct military assistance to the Americans; instead, intelligence to the Chimookman Indian Agent in Peoria was provided.<sup>310</sup> The 1814 Treaty of Ghent ended this war and restricted fur trade in the Northwest to Chimookman only. Indigenous Peoples had "lost their most powerful and effective ally against American encroachment."<sup>311</sup> Consequently, the Zhaaganosh abandoned G'chi Mikinaakong Mnis leaving it under American control and established a new post at Bootaagan Mnis.<sup>312</sup> Zhaaganosh continued to provide gifts to the Bodwewaadmii and the Indigenous Peoples from the newly ceded Northwest Territory, regardless of where they resided with respect to the border between the United States and Canada.<sup>313</sup>

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<sup>306</sup> *Lake Simcoe, Ontario.*

<sup>307</sup> *Where the waters divide; Walpole Island, Ontario.*

<sup>308</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation; Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 77.

<sup>309</sup> *Illinois River.*

<sup>310</sup> Jung, "Forge, Destroy and Preserve," 160.

<sup>311</sup> Jung, 170.

<sup>312</sup> *Drummond Island, Michigan*

<sup>313</sup> Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 61.

*Labels and Land Cessions*

Factionalization between Bodwewaadmii communities and cession of lands, both of which contributed to the covering our Knowledges and practices, continued during the next fifteen years. This was an “unusually turbulent [period] for the Anishinaabeg.”<sup>314</sup> The predecessors of the contemporary Nottawaseppi-Huron Bodwewaadmii community migrated from the Huron River to the Nottawaseppi Prairie and resided with some families from Senjawen Zibé and those who ceded their lands near the Detroit River.<sup>315</sup> The 1816 St. Louis Treaty ceded lands surrounding Zhigaagong, Mishii’igan and the Ininwewi Ziibi and was signed by a new legal entity—“United Tribes of Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi.”<sup>316</sup> This label from the Chimookman created a “straw tribe,” that was exclusionary in its application to members of these three tribes residing on the Illinois and Milwaukee rivers and on the southwestern parts of Mishii’igan. The majority of the Odaawaa and Ojibwe Anishinaabe and the “Potawatomi of the Woods” were not included yet this legal entity became the “lever by which the autonomy of the Potawatomi was subverted.” The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan petition for federal recognition shares:

By the vehicle of the United Tribe, the bands of Potawatomi in Indiana and Michigan were pried from their birthright and then forced to emigrate across the Mississippi. The so-called United Tribe was kept compliant by cooperative half-blooded Indians and annuities. Treaties of cession by the Potawatomi in 1816, 1817, 1818, 1821, 1826, 1829,

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<sup>314</sup> Bellfy, 81.

<sup>315</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 235, 250.

<sup>316</sup> Families and communities comprising the United Tribes were the predecessors of the contemporary communities of the Hannahville Indian Community, Forest County Potawatomi, Prairie Band Potawatomi and Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

1832, and 1833 were negotiated with only slight difficulty as the authority of the principal chiefs was circumvented by the mixed-bloods Billy Caldwell and Alexander Robinson, who were the popularly chosen principal chiefs of the 'straw' tribe in 1829. These two dominated the final treaty of Chicago in 1833 and then undertook the task of removing the Potawatomi westward."<sup>317</sup>

The treaties of cession signed prior to 1830 and in addition to the St. Louis Treaty, included the 1817 Rapids of the Maumee Treaty, 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's, 1819 Treaty of Saginaw, 1821 Treaty of Chicago, 1826 Mississnewa Treaty, 1827 Treaty of St. Joseph, and 1829 Prairie Du Chien Treaty. These treaties set up the removal of our Ancestors from the G'chi Zaagiganag and were associated with Indiana and Illinois Statehood (1816 and 1818), followed by Michigan and Wisconsin Statehood in 1836 and 1848, respectively. The 1821 Treaty of Chicago established the Nottawaseppi Reserve and ceded approximately four million acres lying south of the north bank of the Grand River, north of the south bank of the St. Joseph, east of the eastern shore of Lake Michigan and west of the boundaries of the Detroit and Saginaw treaties. This land base includes the contemporary cities of Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo Jackson, Albion, Battle Creek, Niles, Three Rivers, Hillsdale, Coldwater, Adrian, Allegan, St. Joseph and Benton Harbor, in Michigan and Elkhart and South Bend in Indiana.<sup>318</sup> Chimookman treaty negotiators noted a specific Bodwewaadmii trait. Mosteller explains in her dissertation: "the persistent tendency of these people to intermingle with and welcome the presence of the white man. The Potawatomi had an inclination from very early times to associate with, to intermarry with, and generally

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<sup>317</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of MI*, 101.

<sup>318</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 260.

intermingle with people of white and European background. French names became plentiful within their various bands. This custom of giving fraternity, even tribal membership, to whites was not unique with these Indians."<sup>319</sup> By 1824, laws of Michigan Territory defined *la facon du pays* as illegal,<sup>320</sup> demonstrating an intensification of Chimookman-attempted control over Bodwewaadmii families and relationships.

*Unrelenting Booch Zhaaganoshioziis*

The Monroe Administration added to giizhnaadsewag experienced by Bodwewaadmii and other Indigenous Peoples with a change in Federal Indian Policy. The Chimookman government believed in preserving and civilizing the Indians to save them from extinction. This policy involved the beginning of compulsory education of reading, writing and arithmetic as well as the teaching of agriculture. Agricultural education was a significant focus tied to control of land. The Monroe administration believed that Indigenous Peoples should not be allowed to control more land than they were able to cultivate. By 1824, there were more than forty-one mission schools run by eleven different missionary societies. Monroe's policies set the stage for the next two centuries of Federal Indian Policy.

Economic considerations contributed to the Indian Policy. The War of 1812 bankrupted the Chimookman government. The buying and selling of Indian land resulted in large profits and the 1830 Federal Indian Removal Act. The 1833 Treaty of Chicago, as Low writes, was "one of

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<sup>319</sup> Mosteller, "Place, Politics, and Property," 30–31.

<sup>320</sup> Jung, "Forge, Destroy and Preserve," 233; The impacts of the illegality of *la facon du pays* on the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe residing in Michigan Territory are not known and are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

the first treaties negotiated and ratified under [the Indian Removal Act's] terms. The Indian Removal Act granted the president authority to negotiate the cession of all Indian lands within the states and territories of the United States, and for removal of those Indian peoples to a new "Indian Territory" to be secured for them in parts west of the Mississippi River."<sup>321</sup> Removal and relocation of the Bodwewaadmii is discussed in detail through dbaajimowinag earlier in this chapter.<sup>322</sup>

*Throughout this time of chaos, my Bodwewaadmii and Menominee Ancestors were active in the fur trade along the western shore of Mishii'igan and fought with the Zhaaganosh in the War of 1812. My 4<sup>th</sup>-great-grandfather Chesaugan was a signatory on multiple treaties both before and following the war. According to Wall family archives, and the genealogy work of Louis Vieux, descendant Susan Campbell Jacques Vieux, 4<sup>th</sup>-great grandfather spoke fluent Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin and was licensed as a fur trader by the Chimookman government. In 1816, he was at G'chi Mikinaakong Mnis, then again at Minwakiing with the American Fur Company where he retired in 1819. Vieux turned over his Minwakiing trading post to his son-in-law, Solomon Juneau, who became the first mayor of the City of Milwaukee. Vieux then worked with his son, Louis Vieux, at their Skunk Grove, Wisconsin trading post until 1824. Louis' future wife, ShaNote (daughter of Chesaugan and Bodwewaadmiikwe Abita-niminokoy) was born in Senjawen Zibé area around the same time. Jacob Johnson, my 2<sup>nd</sup>-great-grandfather and husband of ShaNote and Louis' daughter, Sopé, was born in Washington, D.C.<sup>323</sup>*

### *Spiraling Forward*

Giizhnaadsewag kiiowad spirals into Giiaankobaajjianwag—when we were becoming untied or disconnected from and dispossessed of our lands and waters, and zhaamaganek giiba

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<sup>321</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 25.

<sup>322</sup> See the section: "Giiaankobaajjianwag miinwaa Zhaamaganek Giibaa Nanawag Kiiowad."

<sup>323</sup> Wall Family history.



nanawag—when the soldiers came and took some of us away. This telling of miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak began with Giiaankobaajianwag miinwaa zhaamaganek giiba Nanawag. The narrative now continues as we look to the Seventh Fire and Biskaabiiyang.

### **Biskaabiiyang, Resurgence and Revitalization (1900–present)**

After periods of chaos, unrelenting booch Zhaaganoshiioziis, removal and relocation, the Boom bye goo, Abinsaaniawag, and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe worked first to survive, and now work to thrive and operationalize Biskaabiiyang. Our people primarily reside in three colonial countries: Canada, Mexico and the United States of America. Our contemporary communities<sup>324</sup> are within the Province of Ontario and the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas and Oklahoma (see Maps 4.6 and 4.7.) Urban Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe, and those living outside of official communities or ‘off-reserve’ reside in large and small American and Canadian cities and nearly every state of the US.<sup>325</sup> During the past quarter century we have been reconnecting and rebuilding relationships between our communities and with each other through the Annual Potawatomi Gathering. This annual gathering began in 1994 as a cultural and traditional gathering, and now includes a language and history conference in addition to a pow-wow, ceremonies, and cultural workshops. In addition to this national gathering, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation of Shawnee, Oklahoma holds regional

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<sup>324</sup> Designated as First Nations in Canada and Federally Recognized Tribes in the United States.

<sup>325</sup> Urban Bodwewaadmii populations in the US can be attributed to the Indian Relocation Act of 1956.

meetings across the United States, and community language programs in the US collaborate frequently and share resources.

## Early to Mid-1900s

*Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii*

At the beginning of the 1900s, the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii were geographically scattered from Indian Territory and the state of Kansas to nearly every state in America. About fifty percent of the Citizen Band or Mission Band Potawatomi were residing on Dawes Act allotments in Indian Territory, as was my great-Grandmother Rachel Johnson. Many, writes Murphy, were seen as assimilated and civilized: “It appears also that very many made the adjustment of simply melting into the general citizenry of the United States. They are intermarried with the whites until many of them appear as white people.”<sup>326</sup>

*My Grandfather Asa Wall graduated from Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1903, and then attended the Hampton Institute in Hampton Virginia where he participated in the Outing Program working on farms in Connecticut and Massachusetts during the summers of 1904 and 1905. After graduating from Hampton and in order to gain acceptance to Dartmouth College he attended high school in Milton, Massachusetts and worked on a farm in exchange for room and board. In 1907, when Indian Territory became the State of Oklahoma, Asa worked in an automobile garage in New Hampshire and then returned to Oklahoma. Here, he served on the Business Committee of the Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe, farmed and worked as a clerk for the Indian Agency and also as a US Deputy Marshall. In September 1917 he joined the US Army and was shipped off to France, where he participated in seven major offensive and defensive campaigns. Asa returned from France in April, 1919 and married Inez Coddington in 1920. My father, Robert Leland, was born in 1930, the youngest of five siblings. Asa’s last*

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<sup>326</sup> Murphy, “Potawatomi Indians of the West,” 495. Appearing as white people can be interpreted to include both visual appearance and cultural behavior.

*visit to Oklahoma was in 1945 to attend the funeral of his mother. My grandfather died in 1965 in the Veteran's home in Green, New York.*<sup>327</sup>

*Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii*

Citizenship was automatically conferred upon all American Indians who were not yet US citizen, in 1924.<sup>328</sup> US-based Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii communities were established around this time. The Hannahville Indian Community's reservation land, approximately 14,400 acres in the upper peninsula of Michigan, was created by an act of congress in 1913.<sup>329</sup> The Forest County Potawatomi Community purchases 11,786 acres of land in northern Wisconsin to establish a reservation. The Hannahville Indian Community received federal recognition in 1937 when the tribal charter was ratified. Tribal members also received "tools and a horse, but were not given instructions on how to use these tools for farming. They sold their tools and horses when they needed money to feed their family. Which then wrecked the government's attempt to make farmers out of them."<sup>330</sup>

Canada-based Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii were residing in multiple Anishinaabe communities around Waaseyaagamii wiikwed<sup>331</sup> and G'chi Aazhoogamii. Cultural and legal practices were severely restricted by the Indian Act. Attendance at Indian Day or

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<sup>327</sup> Wall, Timeline of the Life of AE Wall, Sr.; Wall, "The Indian Boy."

<sup>328</sup> Krouse, *North American Indians and the Great War*.

The Citizen Band Potawatomi were made US citizens in 1867 as a result of the Treaty of Washington, D.C.

<sup>329</sup> Halfaday and Oja, "From the Ashes," 33–34.

<sup>330</sup> Halfaday and Oja, 33–34.

<sup>331</sup> *Shining waters bay; Georgian Bay*.

Indian Residential Schools became compulsory with a 1920 amendment. Indigenous Peoples in Canada were not granted citizenship until 1956.

#### *Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii*

Families comprising Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii communities were residing on reservations and within urban areas in southwestern Michigan. These Tribes were terminated in 1953. The Indian Termination Act granted all the rights and privileges of citizenship to Indigenous Peoples while terminating tribal sovereignty, freedom and the trusteeship of reservations. Termination resulted in the immediate withdrawal of federal aid, services and protection, as well as the end of reservations. Federal recognition of the Pokagon Potawatomi, Nottawaseppi-Huron Band of Potawatomi, and the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan and restoration of the associated reservations was achieved in 1994, 1995, and 1998 respectively. The documentation of Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii tribal life gathered for petitions for federal recognition proceedings provides a detailed snapshot of resiliency through community members' narratives. These narratives also demonstrate continued covering of our Knowledges and practices, contributing to the evidence presented earlier in this chapter. A thematic summary follows.

#### *Women's Roles and Responsibilities*

In the early 1900s, the principal roles and responsibilities of kwewag included managing the family home, raising children, cultivation of family gardens and harvesting of berries and medicines from the land. Berry harvesting was a "requisite subsistence activity" and a social activity that kwewag looked forward to. Women and their daughters canned cultivated crops

and berries for winter use.<sup>332</sup> The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan petition for federal recognition provides additional details:

Women had a principal role in the making of maple sugar and syrup. They carried up to 100 sap buckets, each two-feet square, on their shoulders to a “sugaring off” area, a grove of suitable trees. Men and women poured the collected sap into large brass kettles in order to “boil off” the inedible elements of the sap. This boiling process left a sugar residue that was packed in “mocoeks,” a container made by the MBPI [Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan] members of birch bark. The containers, which held from 1 to 150 pounds of sugar, were decorated by the members with hedge-hog [porcupine] quills and stained bright colors.<sup>333</sup>

#### *Kookbinaagan Making*

Black ash basketry was a source of income for kwewag and their families. Zhoonyaa<sup>334</sup> made from the sale of baskets to tourists was used to purchase food and clothing. “Basket making had been a cottage industry in the community [Notawaseppi-Huron] for several decades.”<sup>335</sup> A similar cottage industry existed for the Sprague family of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, and for the Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii of Parry Island, Ontario. Kwewag frequently sold birchbark quillwork baskets to tourists at the docks in Depot Harbor and the Parry Sound town docks.<sup>336</sup> The Spragues earned “significant

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<sup>332</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 33.

<sup>333</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of MI*, 273.

<sup>334</sup> *Money*.

<sup>335</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 233 – 34.

<sup>336</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation.

supplementary income through basketmaking as late as the 1950s,” creating about one hundred kookbinaaganan<sup>337</sup> per year and selling them for about three dollars apiece.<sup>338</sup>

#### *Intergenerational transmission of Knowledges*

Intergenerational relationships and teaching were significant in the making of kookbinaaganan and jiimaanke.<sup>339</sup> The Huron Potawatomi petition for federal recognition explains further:

Prior to 1950, older Pine Creek residents were sometimes found wading in the Pine Creek River looking for a birch or ash tree that had the “perfect” bark that could be removed to build a canoe or basket. Elders took pride in the design and construction of their baskets and canoes. As they constructed them, the elders often had a small audience of younger adults and older children who closely observed their work step-by-step. The young observers hoped to design and build their own “perfect” baskets or canoes someday . . . Elders were highly respected by the younger generation for their general knowledge of the group’s history and of the ways to subsist successfully off the land. The Huron band of Potawatomi elders, fond of telling jokes were important to the community in imparting a humorous outlook on life.<sup>340</sup>

#### *Language Use and Loss*

Many Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii families retained the language until the 1940s.

Conversations amongst the kwewag selling kookbinaaganan to tourists were reported to be in the language,<sup>341</sup> and most Match-e-be-nash-she-wish (MBPI) community members used the

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<sup>337</sup> *Baskets.*

<sup>338</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of MI*, 210, and 217; Stewart King-ban’s mother, Maggie, sold her three-inch diameter quillwork baskets for a similar price to tourists. Wholesale prices were half of the tourist price.

<sup>339</sup> *Making a canoe.*

<sup>340</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 32.

<sup>341</sup> United States Department of the Interior, 329; Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation.

language at home and during community activities.<sup>342</sup> “Up until 1930, 99 percent of the [MPBI] members, children and adults, spoke Ojibway, the following decade the percentage declined to 96 percent. The rate of percentage decline has increased in every subsequent decade.”<sup>343</sup> Language use on the Pine Creek reservation (Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi) was similar. “Potawatomi was spoken in most of the petitioners’ homes on and near the reservation. Contemporary (circa 1990s) Potawatomi adults who were children during these decades not only remembered parents and grandparents speaking Potawatomi, but many of these older adults spoke, or at least understood, Potawatomi as children.”<sup>344</sup> In the 1950s and 1960s, children living in this community had some exposure to Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin; about twenty percent of parents, older aunties, uncles and grandparents spoke the language at a conversational level. A 1957 newspaper article “cited community elders complaining that young mothers were no longer speaking Potawatomi to their babies.”<sup>345</sup> Language use in the MBPI community was impacted by a string of English-speaking ministers. In deference to these ministers, conversational language changed from Anishinaabemowin to English after church services and in mission-organized meetings. English then became the community’s principal language.<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of MI*, 284.

<sup>343</sup> United States Department of the Interior, 303.

<sup>344</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 36.

<sup>345</sup> United States Department of the Interior, 40.

<sup>346</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of MI*, 284. The MPBI community is a mix of Bodwewaadmii, Odaawaa and Ojibwe. Information in the petition for federal recognition refers to this community speaking Ojibwe. I have used Anishinaabemowin rather than Bodwewaadmii

*Impacts of Christianity*

Missions associated with these two Abinsaaniiawag Bodwewaadmii communities provided political structure and governance, while influencing language use—essentially contributing to language loss—as well as Ceremonial and spiritual practices, and continued factionalization of our People. Methodist camp meetings were popular with the MBPI community since the early 1900s.<sup>347</sup> By the 1950s, the “political leadership of the Huron Band of Potawatomi was interwoven into the lay leadership of Pine Creek Indian Mission, Bradley Indian Mission, Salem Indian Mission (ten miles west of Bradley), Allegan Indian Church, the Catholic church in the Hartford area, and the Grand Rapids Indian Mission.” Christian ideals and conservative religious practices were a “fundamental bonding element” between this community and the MBPI Bradley settlement.<sup>348</sup> The Methodist mission churches at Bradley, Salem and Grand Rapids were key in the continuance of a formal tribal structure. MBPI maintained dual-purposed political authority through church boards and committees. Church boards and committees served the goals of the missions and served the needs of both the “secular and non-secular members of the MBPI community, including non-mission MBPI descendants . . . MBPI mission and non-mission members built church additions, helped each other construct homes, raised

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Zheshmowin for accuracy. The importance of language in relation to Knowledges is discussed earlier in this chapter, in *G’yak chigewin: Chapter 5* and in *Niibnoong: Chapter 6*.

<sup>347</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of MI*, 198.

<sup>348</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 41.



substantial money to begin to re-buy their original reservation lands, and served certain health and social needs of their community.”<sup>349</sup>

Beginning in the 1950s, traditional funerary practices were blended with christian practices. The Huron Potawatomi petition for federal recognition includes the following description of blended practices: “After arriving at the funeral site, attendees often went to the home of the deceased where they held a traditional all-night vigil or wake. The wake, a Potawatomi tradition honoring the deceased, was followed by relatives attending a funeral service at a nearby town’s funeral parlor or at the community’s church. Services were followed by a cemetery burial and community feast.” Traditional Indians were not permitted to be buried in the church cemeteries. Churches would on occasion allow an Indian who was deemed a “good Christian” to be interred in the cemetery.<sup>350</sup> “Indian traditionalists” in the Nottawaseppi-Huron community were led by two families. Members of these families and others participated in traditional “Indian religion” and Ceremonies and were actively involved in Knowledge mobilization to the younger generation. These traditionalists also traveled to Bkejwanong, in the 1960s, to learn traditional ways.<sup>351</sup>

Conversion to Christianity and a growing interest in revitalization of traditional ways intensified factions within the Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii.<sup>352</sup> By the 1970s, the divide

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<sup>349</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of MI*, 21–22.

<sup>350</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 43–44.

<sup>351</sup> United States Department of the Interior, 59, 359.

<sup>352</sup> In this dissertation, factions are defined as political groups which persist over time, cross kinship lines, and are concerned with more than one issue. Similar factions exist, and have existed, within the Boom bye goo and Jiimaan

between Evangelical and/or Catholic-oriented Elders, the younger generation, and “Indian traditionalists” widened, and each faction became increasingly suspicious of the others.<sup>353</sup> The number of traditionalists was growing, perhaps catalyzed by the American Indian Religious Freedom Act. The younger generation promoted a future that, like funerary practices, combined the “best features of the modern world with that of the traditional Potawatomi.”<sup>354</sup> The desire for revitalization of traditional cultural and spiritual practices was expressed by about one third of Nottawaseppi-Huron adults, who shared that the community’s “redemption for today and tomorrow could be found only by adhering to the principles of Huron Potawatomi’s traditions—traditions as they had existed prior to the founding of the settlement of Athens, and had been maintained by other Potawatomi entities.”<sup>355</sup> Other Bodwewaadmii entities practicing principles of our Ancestors’ traditions, in the 1970s through today, are diverse—individuals, nuclear and extended families, and groups of families in all of our communities as well as Bodwewaadmiig in urban settings. These entities exist in both the US and in Canada.

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gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii. See the “Giiaankobaajjianwag miinwaa Zhaamaganek Giiba Nanawag Kiiowad” section of this chapter, *Niibnoong: Chapter 6* and *Biskaabiiyang miinwaa Mino Nowendj Kaa: Chapter 7*.

<sup>353</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 65, 104. Despite this discussion of factions, Indian traditionalists residing near Pine Creek and practicing Potawatomi religion had a “pluralistic view toward religion,” and didn’t “look down upon their Christian counterparts.”

<sup>354</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Huron Potawatomi*, 104.

<sup>355</sup> United States Department of the Interior, 105–06.

## Mid to late-1900s

### *Federal Indian Policies*

The colonial and christianity-based federal governments of the United States and Canada continued the implementation of “Indian” policies in the latter half of the 1900s. Legislative and parliamentary actions are summarized in *Appendix A: Tables and Maps of Historical Periods*;<sup>356</sup> those actions that contributed to the covering or uncovering of our Knowledges and practices are briefly discussed below.

### United States

The 1956 Indian Relocation Act, over a thirty-year period, relocated about 750,000 Indigenous people from US-based reservations to specific federal government designated cities for employment and vocational training. Young, single, male Indigenous persons and young families were the majority of those participating in relocation.<sup>357</sup> Intended to relieve widespread poverty and high unemployment on reservations and to reduce government obligations to tribes,<sup>358</sup> relocation also contributed to the covering of our Knowledges and practices by disrupting intergenerational relationships and the transmission of Knowledges and practices, while severing relationships with the land.<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>356</sup> See “Biskaabiiyang Kiiowad.”

<sup>357</sup> It was unusual for single women, pregnant women, and women who were single parents to be accepted into the relocation program. Pollak, “Reflections,” 88.

<sup>358</sup> The relocation program also aimed to “reduce federal obligations to Indian nations, open up access to natural resources on tribal lands, and assimilate Natives into broader American society” Pollak, “Reflections,” 86.

<sup>359</sup> There were many impacts of the Indian Relocation Act. Urban Indigenous communities, such as the San Francisco Bay Area Indian community, were strengthened and supported by Friendship Centers. Friendship Centers

Acknowledgement of the unique educational needs of American Indian and Alaska Native students led to the Federal Indian Education Act of 1972, which established the Office of Indian Education and the National Advisory Council on Indian Education and several competitive grant programs. The Great Lakes Inter-tribal Council was awarded a grant in 1973 and established the Wisconsin Native American Language Program in association with the Native American Language Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. Forest County Potawatomi Community (FCP) Elder Billy Daniels-ban, fluent speaker of Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin, was key in creating language curriculum.<sup>360</sup> Daniels-ban was instrumental in the revitalization and teaching of the language and traditions in his community and the Potawatomi Nation as a whole.<sup>361</sup>

In 1978, two pieces of legislation—the American Indian Religious Freedom Act and the Indian Child Welfare Act—contributed to the uncovering of our Knowledges and practices. The Religious Freedom Act protected and preserved the inherent right and basic civil liberty to “believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to workshop through ceremonials and traditional rites.”<sup>362</sup> Restored

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played a significant role in Indigenous activism. Recommended reading: Lobo, Susan. *Urban Voices: The Bay Area American Indian Community*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002.

<sup>360</sup> Wetzel, “Neshnabemwen Renaissance,” 64.

<sup>361</sup> Daniels-ban taught language in the FCP community’s preschool and was a frequent contributor to the Potawatomi language conference. He also assisted other Bodwewaadmii communities in the creation and implementation of language programs.

<sup>362</sup> American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, 42 U.S. Code § 1996.

access to sacred sites, objects and ceremony has benefited the uncovering of Knowledges and practices for many Bodwewaadmii.<sup>363</sup> Seasonal Ceremonies have been held by FCP spiritual leaders at Na Nawe Gwan<sup>364</sup> in southern Wisconsin since the late 1990s; Ceremony participants have included Boom bye goo and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii.<sup>365</sup> The Child Welfare Act gave tribes exclusive jurisdiction over children residing on reservations. Parents gained the legal right to deny placement of their children in off-reservation schools, and community control over foster care placements was enhanced.<sup>366</sup> Restoration of parental rights in combination with the Federal Indian Education Act created opportunity for revitalization of community-based education.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 has also provided opportunity for our communities to uncover Knowledges and practices. NAGPRA requires federally funded agencies and institutions to return cultural items such as human remains, sacred and funerary objects, and “objects of cultural patrimony” to lineal descendants, culturally affiliated Indigenous communities and organizations.<sup>367</sup> The returning of Ancestors to

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<sup>363</sup> Narratives of research participants Herb Whitlow and Brenda and Phil Shopodock mention this Act. See *Niibnoong: Chapter 6*. Stories of holding Ceremony secretly and well-hidden in the woods have been shared by Forest County Potawatomi Community Elder, Jim Thunder, at our language and history conference and in his book *Wete Yathmownen Real Stories: Potawatomi Oral History*. Brenda Shopodock has shared similar stories with the author.

<sup>364</sup> *The centre of it all, the centre of the meeting place; near Campbellsport, Wisconsin.*

<sup>365</sup> Personal experience of the author.

<sup>366</sup> U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, “Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA).”

<sup>367</sup> Bureau of Reclamation, “The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.”

Abinsaaniiawag and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii communities has revitalized and uncovered funerary practices.<sup>368</sup>

## Canada

The Indian Act was revised in 1951, restoring legalization of Potlatch and Sundance Ceremonies. Kwewag were given the right to vote in band council elections, and communities were allowed to file land claims against the federal government. Revisions also gave the provinces jurisdiction over Indigenous child welfare. This created the “Sixties Scoop”—allowing provincial child welfare agencies to “choose to remove children from their homes rather than provide community resources and support.”<sup>369</sup> Most significantly, the revision included a new definition of “Indian,” replacing the concept of “Indian blood” with status through registration. The privileging of male lineage continued, and kwewag status had direct connection to their husbands.<sup>370</sup> This provision was upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1973. Bill C-31, passed in 1985, reinstated status and band membership to kwewag who lost status through marriage. Children of women whose status was reinstated were denied status, disrupting

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<sup>368</sup> Personal experience. Research participants Punkin Shananaquet and Shannon Martin (Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomí Indians of Michigan a.k.a. Gun Lake Pottawatomí) and Brenda Shopodock (FCP Community) have shared their repatriation of Ancestors experiences with the author.

<sup>369</sup> Leslie, “1951 Amendments to the Indian Act.”

<sup>370</sup> Leslie, “The Indian Act: An Historical Perspective.”

“intergenerational continuity.”<sup>371</sup> Disruption of intergenerational continuity caused by the “Sixties Scoop” and Bill C-31 more than likely had a negative impact on the transmission of our Knowledges and practices, effectively contributing to their covering.

*Bodwewaadmii Collaboration and Reconnection*

Contrary to the closing words of Edmunds’ dissertation—“The Potawatomi were a doomed people”<sup>372</sup>—we are still here, and many of our people are working to uncover our Knowledges and practices and reweave this way of Knowing and being into our daily lives. We are reconnecting and rebuilding relationship within and between communities. Key in this reconnection is the annual Potawatomi Gathering. The Gathering, which began in 1994 as a cultural and traditional gathering hosted by Wasauksing<sup>373</sup> First Nation, has been continuous until the global Covid-19 pandemic. The gathering now includes a language and history conference in addition to a powwow, Ceremonies, and cultural workshops.

The Potawatomi Language Scholars College (PLSC) grew out of the 1994 Potawatomi Language Advisory Committee, and was established in 1997 with funding from a grant from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) and supported by the Ontario Ministry of Education. The primary goal of PLSC, according to Chris Wetzel, was “to prepare adult Scholars to become community language instructors by increasing their fluency, teaching skills, and resources for

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<sup>371</sup> This is a very simplistic description of status provisions; an in depth and critical discussion is beyond the scope of this dissertation; Fiske and George. "Bill C-31," 54.

<sup>372</sup> Edmunds, “History of the Potawatomi,” 313.

<sup>373</sup> *Shining in the distance.*

self-guided learning. The college's curriculum was divided into enrichment and teaching streams." This was a collaborative effort between our communities as well as academia. Laura Buszard-Welcher, a linguistics graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley initiated a work plan through an ANA language planning grant.<sup>374</sup> Most certainly, the PLSC contributed to both the uncovering and reweaving of our Knowledges and practices through revitalization of Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin. Two participants in this research, Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmiikwe Getsit Majel DeMarsh and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiikwe Kim Wensaut partook in the PLSC. DeMarsh, in our guided discussion, mentioned the PLSC and how it has inspired her to continue to learn, use and teach the language.

Language revitalization efforts continue today in all of our communities and have expanded to include language learning in early childhood education,<sup>375</sup> adult learning and apprenticeships with fluent speakers.<sup>376</sup> Collaborative efforts facilitate frequent contact between Bodwewaadmii and have created extensive inter-community relationships while promoting mobilization of cultural Knowledges. Wetzel explains: "Supratribal language revitalization efforts create new prospects for Neshnabemwen and imagining the nation. The national-level programs are not symbolic efforts or token gestures: they are concrete collaborations that enable the tribes to completement their respective strengths. . . . In these

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<sup>374</sup> Wetzel, "Neshnabemwen Renaissance," 75–76.

<sup>375</sup> Examples of early childhood education programs are the Zagbagon: An Early Learning & Development Academy and the Gte Ga Nes Preschool of the Pokagon Potawatomi and the Forest County Potawatomi Community, respectively.

<sup>376</sup> Val Niehaus, "Pokagon Apprentices Invest Four Years Into Learning the Potawatomi Language."



efforts there is no agenda to homogenize approaches to revitalization, to promote a unified national language over local vernaculars, or to preempt tribal linguistic pedagogies."<sup>377</sup>

*My parents began attending the Annual Potawatomi Gathering in the mid 1990s connecting with cousins, Susan Campbell and Herb Whitlow, and members of my grandfather's community. My mother, Pat, was at the time researching our family's genealogy, and the building of a relationship with Susan answered multiple questions.*

*Ryan, my 6-month-old son, was the youngest Citizen Potawatomi at our regional council meeting in California. He and I didn't know anyone in attendance. Glancing at name tags I recognized my great-grandmother's last name. Hesitantly approaching the three older women I asked, "are you related to Sophia Vieux and Jacob Johnson?" They shook their heads from side to side, "no, but our husbands are!" I had found my grandfather's cousins, Richard and David (Big Bear) Johnson. Big Bear-ban became my Uncle and mentor, teaching me, sharing family stories and our Knowledges and practices. He believed in me, guided me and was a Grandfather to my son and daughter. He sent me home to our relatives in G'chi Zaagiganag for Ceremony, for further connection and out of love. Zhngos-ban and others had dreamed of my return. Biskaabiiyang and the uncovering of our Knowledges and practices had begun. In August 2011, the moving van was on its way and my daabaan was packed. My dog and nbazgim<sup>378</sup> accompanied me as we stopped overnight for one last visit with Big Bear.*

*Big Bear hugged me tightly and told me, "Always remember that you are Potawatomi, no one can take that away from you."<sup>379</sup>*

## **Common Memory and Anishinaabeodziwin Apane**

Boom bye goo, Abinsaaniawag and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii are operationalizing Biskaabiiyang. We are returning to ourselves through the uncovering and reweaving of our

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<sup>377</sup> Wetzel, "Neshnabemwen Renaissance," 81.

<sup>378</sup> *My lover, boyfriend.*

<sup>379</sup> Personal Reflection, August 1, 2021, Keene, Ontario written about David "Big Bear" Johnson-ban.

Knowledges and practices and the restoration of our common or collective memory. In doing so we move beyond the Seventh fire and lead our people to Anishinaabeodziwin Apane.

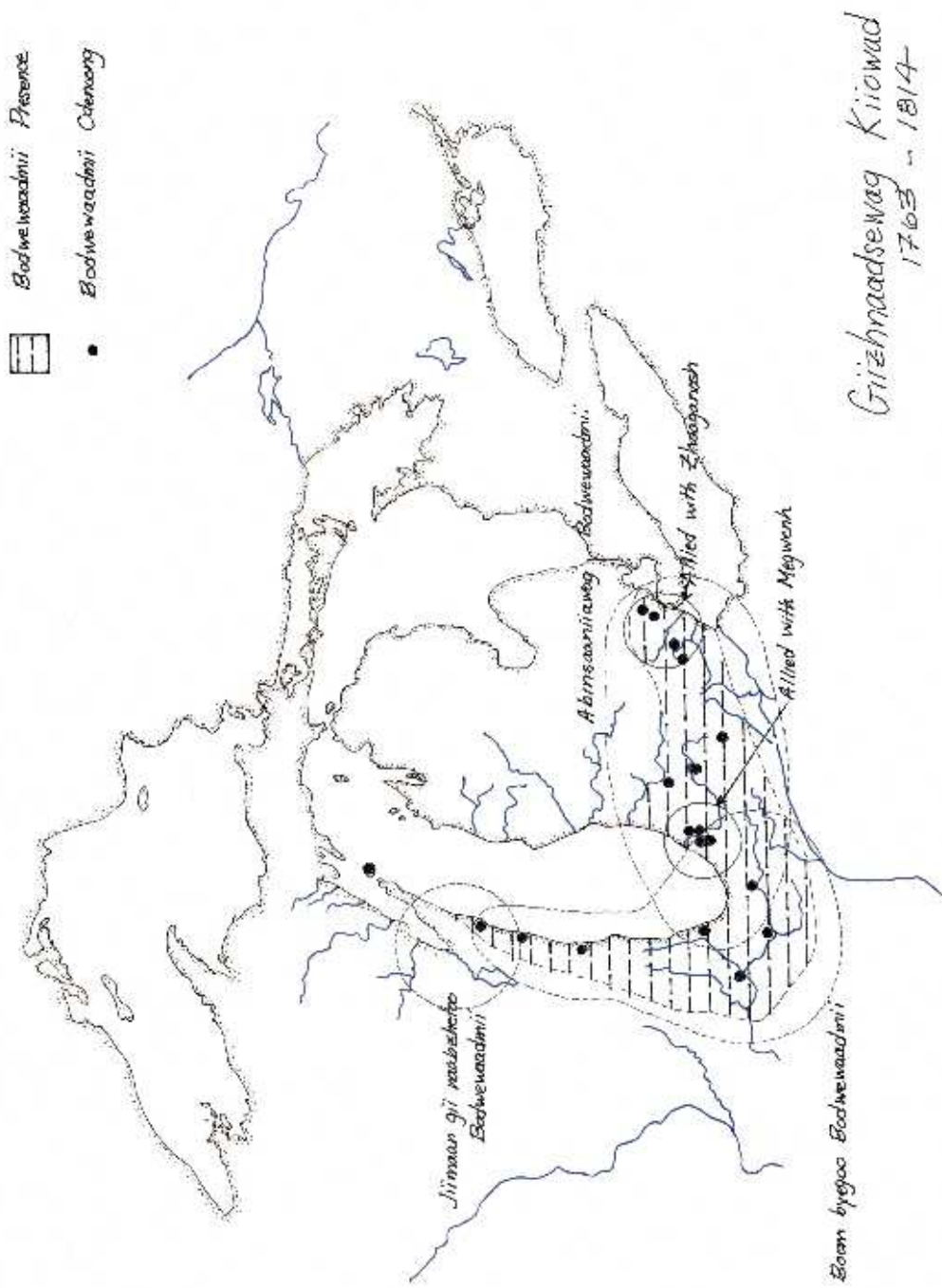
Pokégnek Bodéwadmik<sup>380</sup> Bodwewaadmii scholar John Low connects our practices, traditional arts, and artifacts to a common or collective memory. “Retrieval of the past is how memory and history are reconfigured. The power is in reconnecting the past to the present and to the future.” Memory is a simultaneous mobilization and production of knowledges. Common memory stored in practices and/or within sacred sites, according to Low, “can be reified and reinterpreted for new purposes” in our contemporary lives. Spiritual practices, Intellectual Tradition, stories, songs and images are all part of our individual and collective memory. “Collective memory is metaphoric and legitimizing. It can embody a shared past and a national/group identity.” Bodwewaadmii collective memory has the power to not only revitalize Knowledges and practices, but to build identity and strengthen relationships.<sup>381</sup>

Our collective memory and an understanding of miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak are essential in our survivance and the flourishing of future generations of Bodwewaadmii. Dbaajimowinag of Giiaankobaajiiianwag, zhaamaganek giiba nanawag, and giizhnaadsewag carry debwewin of who were then and insights into who we can be in the future.

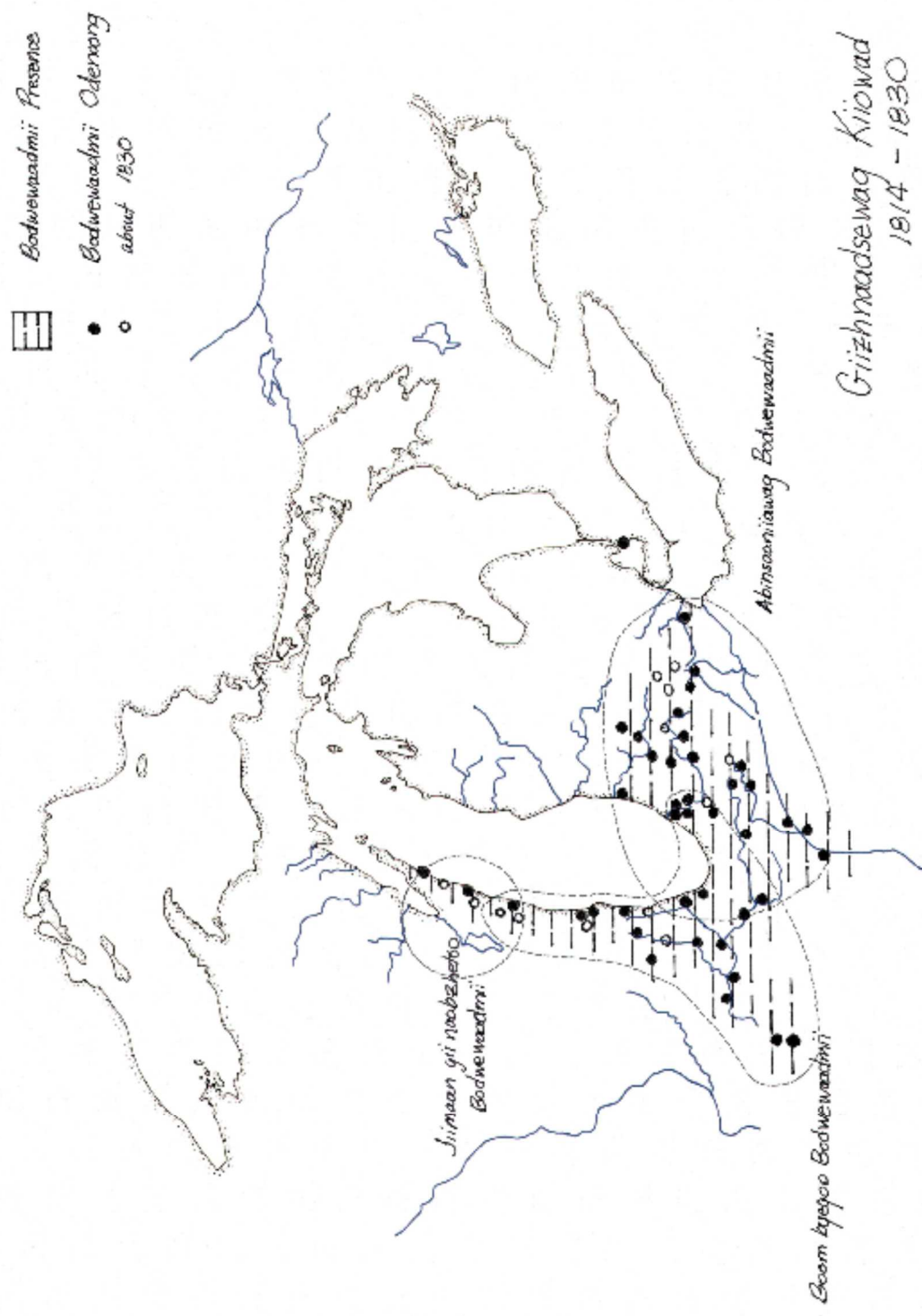
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<sup>380</sup> Pokagon Potawatomi Community, Dowagiac, Michigan.

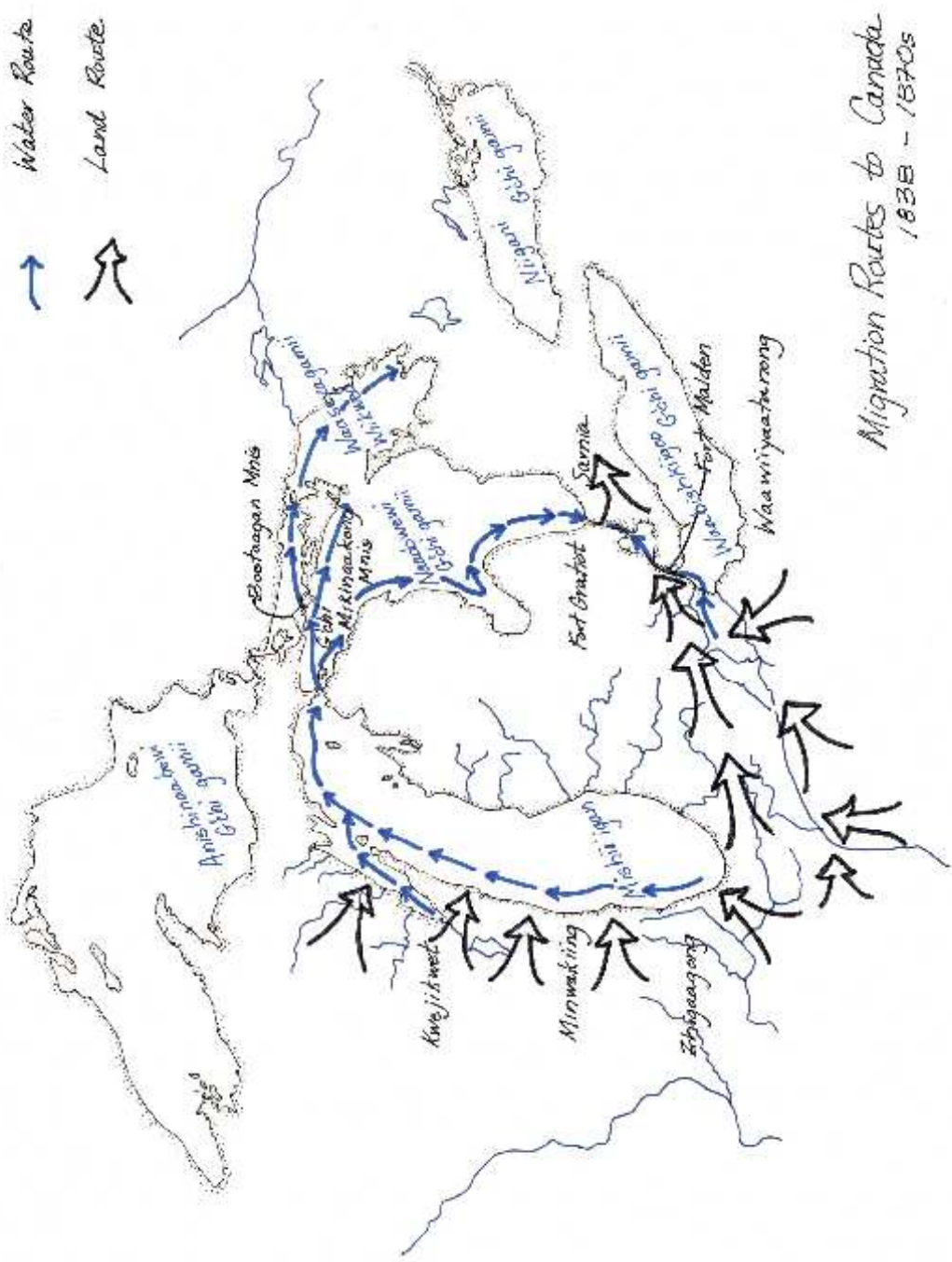
<sup>381</sup> Low, *Imprints*, 9.



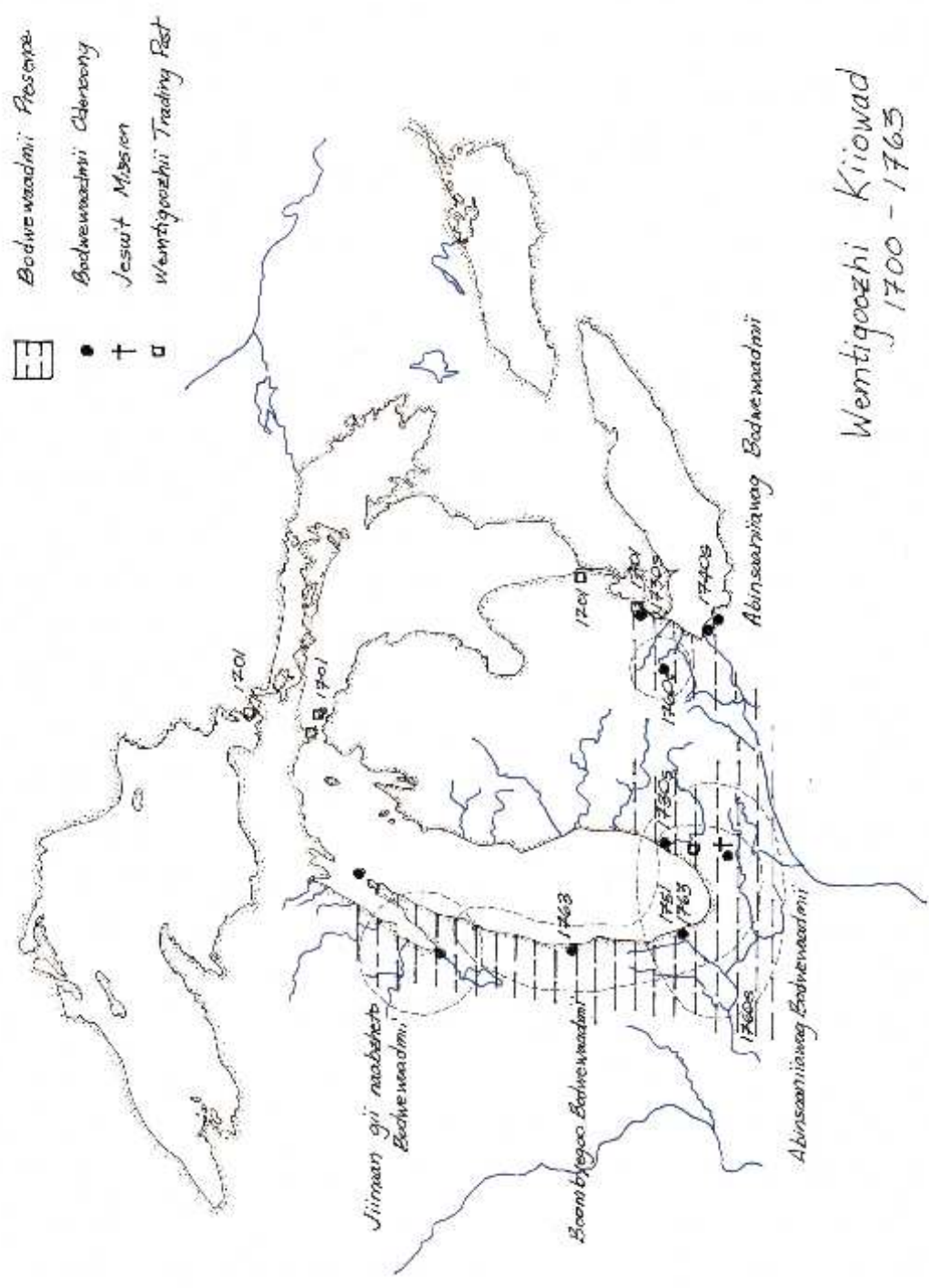
Map 0.1: Giizhnaadsewag Kiiowaad 1763-1814



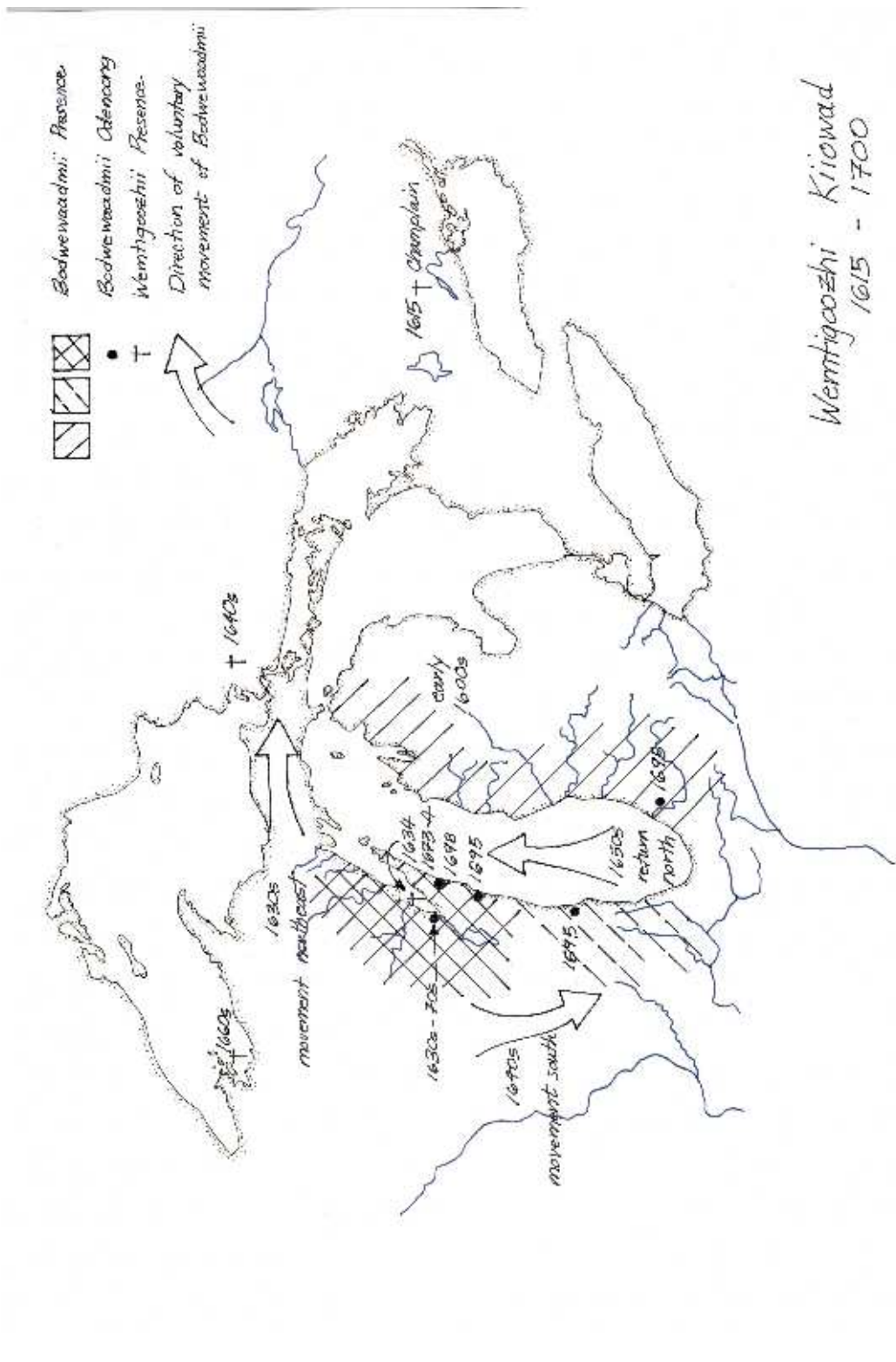
Map 0.2: Giizhnaadsewag Kiiowad 1814-1830



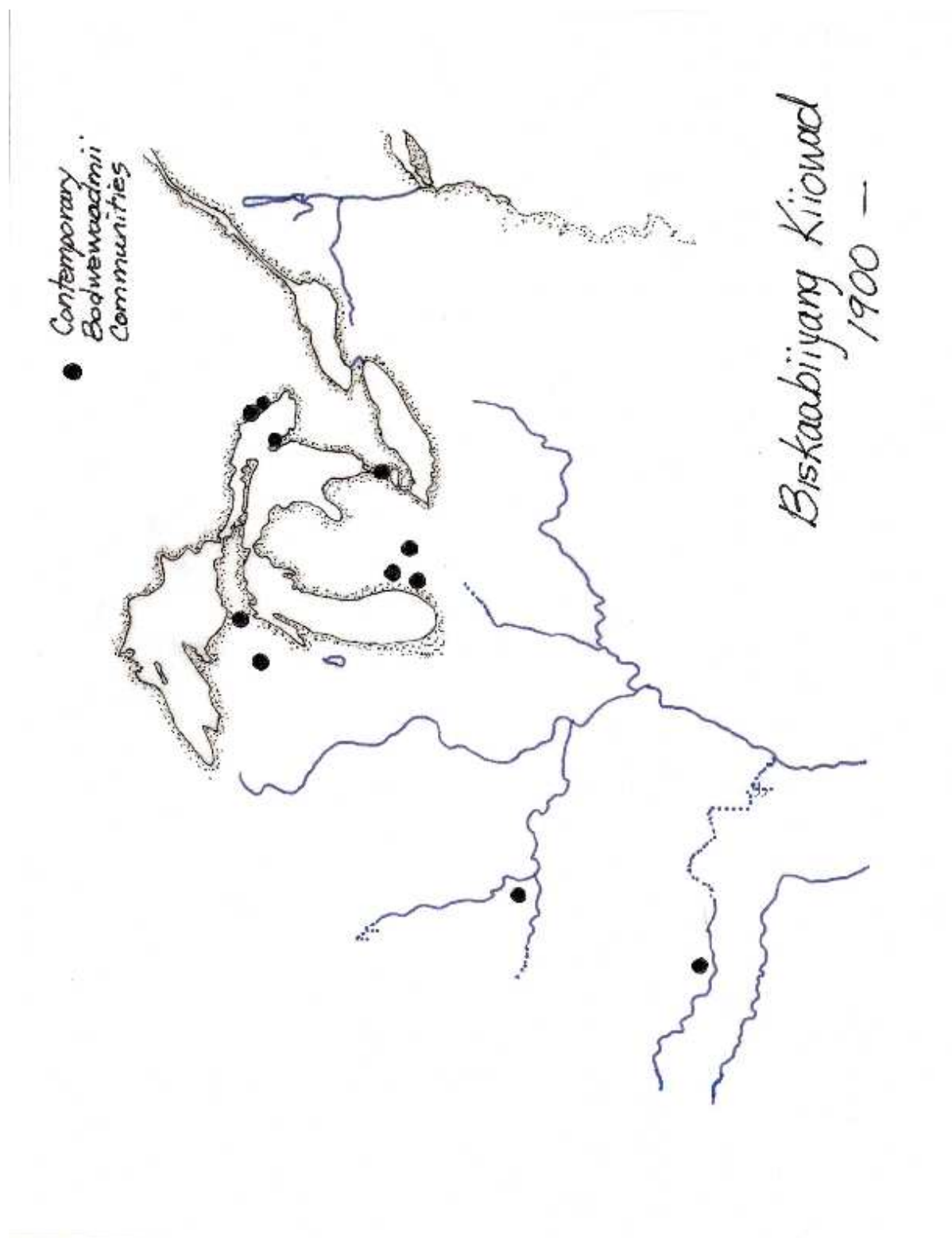
Map 0.3: Migration Routes



Map 0.4: Wemtigoozhi Kiiowad 1700-1763

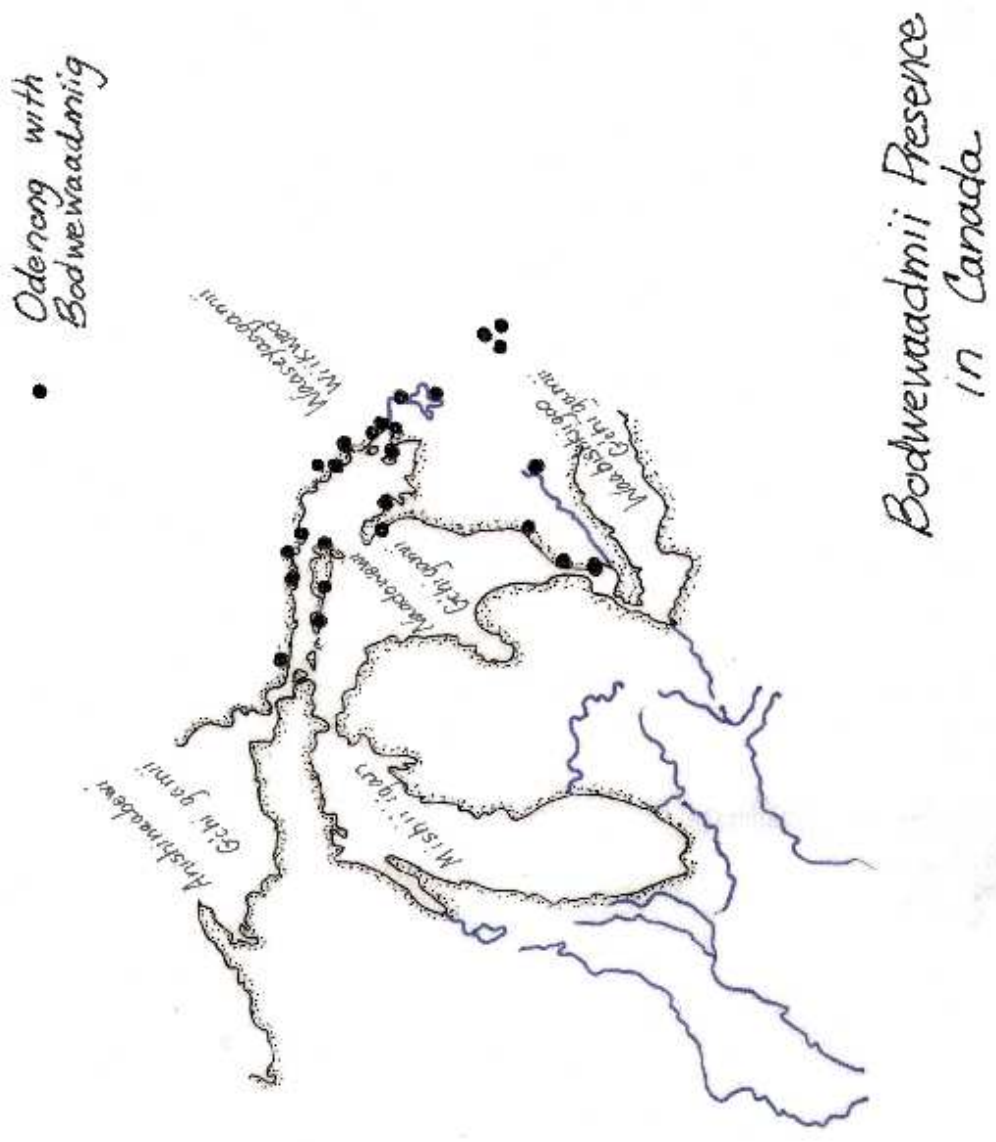


Map 0.5: Wemtigoozhi Kiiowad 1615-1700



Map 0.6: Biskaabiiyang Kiiowad 1900–Present





Map 4.7: Bodweaadmi Presence in Canada

## G'yak chigewin: Chapter 5

For many years I have been doing task after task that has been set before me. I have had to put aside my own wishes and desires. There are still questions that I have not answered for myself.<sup>1</sup>

*I have carried the bundle of mothering, meeting my continuing responsibility of caring for my children and preparing them for their own work. I am now picking up another bundle, the bundle of my life's work with Nibi, Indigenous Knowledges and story.*<sup>2</sup>

Many Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe are working to remember, reclaim and revitalize our Knowledges, practices and languages as well as our relationships with Creation and each other. This process, Biskaabiiyang, or a returning to ourselves, is an act of love and both the inspiration and the guiding methodology of my culture-specific and culturally grounded research.<sup>3</sup> This chapter first discusses my application of the Anishinaabe-specific research methodology of Biskaabiiyang, and mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan,<sup>4</sup> and then presents details of my research methods.

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<sup>1</sup> Excerpt of Nanaboozhoo's conversation with the Firekeeper's daughter in Benton-Banai's *The Mishomis Book* (35).

<sup>2</sup> Personal reflection, Keene, ON, April 26, 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Simpson, *Dancing*, 51; Simpson interprets Biskaabiiyang as "re-creating the cultural and political flourishing of the past to support the well-being of our contemporary citizens."

<sup>4</sup> *To write about what I think has happened to me.*

## **Anishinaabeodziwin**

Our intellectual traditions continually guide Anishinaabeodziwin<sup>5</sup> and our individual and collective living of mno bemaadziwin.<sup>6</sup> Each step taken is a greeting to Shkaakmiikwe.<sup>7</sup> We must continue to be mindful of the tracks we leave behind for our tracks are seen by all of Creation; they will be seen by the people of tomorrow, and by our Ancestors. The Knowledge of Creation is endless; the path of our Knowledges flows in all directions. We are, in dreams and visions, given glimpses of our future. We need to pay attention and reflect deeply on what we have been shown. Meaning is made and our Knowledge is taken in, not only with our minds, but also with our Spirits and our hearts. It flows from the heart.

## **Biskaabiiyang miinwaa Mikwendmaan Gaabi Zhiwebziyan: Research Methodology**

My research is centered in, framed by, and demonstrative of Anishinaabe philosophy, Intellectual Tradition, and theory. The processes of Biskaabiiyang and Mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan guide both my research and life's journey.

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<sup>5</sup> *Being Anishinaabe, embodiment of all aspects of the Anishinaabe way of life – philosophy, psychology, culture, teachings, spirituality, customs, and history.*

<sup>6</sup> *The good life.*

<sup>7</sup> *Describing the hard surface that we walk on, Mother Earth.*

## Wearing Our Teachings

Biskaabiiyang, meaning we will be returning to ourselves, or making a round trip, is a process evocative of our Seven Fires Prophecy<sup>8</sup> and its instructions of picking up what has been left along our path by our Ancestors.<sup>9</sup> It is a refocusing to “transform the colonial outside into a flourishing of the *Indigenous* inside.”<sup>10</sup> Biskaabiiyang is “wearing our teachings;”<sup>11</sup> a process of turning to ourselves to reclaim, re-engage, and articulate our Knowledges, values, ethics, and processes on our own terms; while acknowledging, recognizing and working toward letting go of the impacts of colonization.<sup>12</sup>

The wearing of our teachings, or the embodiment of our ways of knowing, requires making meaning of lived experience and coming to understand the Knowledges shared and gained. Reflective thinking is essential in the process of making meaning; reflective writing is an active way to record, further process and operationalize the making of meaning.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The Seven Fires Prophecy is “a series of sacred predictions that have foretold our history since the beginning of Creation” (Simpson, “Oshkimaadiziig,” 14).

<sup>9</sup> Simpson, *Dancing*, 17; Gaikesheyongai, *The Seven Fires*, unpaginated. Gaikesheyongai applies the process of Biskaabiiyang in referring to the new people as “a new generation who would not let all the pain and anger and lies stop them from finding out the truth about who they are and what has happened.” Gaikesheyongai writes about the new people looking back, and noticing the “various ceremonies, the medicines, the drums, the songs, the dances, the languages, the stories” that have been “left beside the trail” and “pick[ing] them up and bring[ing] those things with them into where we are now.”

<sup>10</sup> Simpson, *Dancing*, 17.

<sup>11</sup> Edna Manitowabi, personal communication, 2011; Manitowabi, INDG6600 Lecture.

<sup>12</sup> The Biskaabiiyang Research Methodology is a decolonizing framework when viewed through the lens of a cross-cultural research context.

<sup>13</sup> Reflection is one point of the five-pointed star Anishinaabe scholar Susan Chiblow uses to represent *g’giikendaawinmin*, Anishinaabe ways of knowing and being.

Chiblow, “Anishinaabe Research Methodology,” 6.

Mikwendmaan Gaabi Zhiwebziyan<sup>14</sup> describes reflective thinking and writing—it is dbaajimowinag<sup>15</sup>—a narrative of lived experience, thoughts, reflection, and analysis. Operationalizing Mikwendmaan Gaabi Zhiwebziyan as a component, a method of the Biskaabiiyang research framework, honours the reflexivity inherent in Anishinaabe ways of being and coming to know,<sup>16</sup> as well as addressing sensitive ethical concerns regarding documentation of Ceremony, dreams and visions.

## **Biskaabiiyang**

Biskaabiiyang is both an Indigenous research methodology and a way of being. Biskaabiiyang is, according to Anishinaabe scholar Christine Sy, “a commitment to the practiced use of and (re)generation of Anishinaabe life-ways which center on Anishinaabe ontology, epistemology and axiology.”<sup>17</sup> It is central to our adaptability<sup>18</sup> and survival<sup>19</sup> as Anishinaabeg. Biskaabiiyang is the restoration of identity and balance, and restoration of relationship with land, water and the other beings of Creation. It is essential in reclamation of Knowledges and practices, our language, and the maintenance of our resiliency to address and heal traumas and addictions. Making a round trip includes throwing off the patriarchal and colonial oppression of organized

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<sup>14</sup> Mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyaan as a research methodology is comparable to autoethnography.

<sup>15</sup> *Personal stories*.

<sup>16</sup> Leanne Simpson, INDG6600 Seminar; Lee, “Dibaajimowinan.”

<sup>17</sup> Sy, “Following Ininahtigoog Home,” 98.

<sup>18</sup> “Reclaiming the fluidity around our traditions, not the rigidity of colonialism” (Simpson, *Dancing*, 51.)

<sup>19</sup> Geniusz, “Decolonizing botanical Anishinaabe knowledge,” 16.

christianity,<sup>20</sup> and the restoration of our relationships with the land and water, our Knowledges and practices, and our language. It means returning to mno bemaadziwin and Anishinaabeodziwin.

Biskaabiiyang, an interdisciplinary, Nation-specific<sup>21</sup> Indigenous research methodology is comparable to Kaupapa Maori approaches to research.<sup>22</sup> Biskaabiiyang was first developed by the Seventh Generation Education Institute<sup>23</sup> in 2003, as foundational to their post-secondary degree programs. Biskaabiiyang is described by Anishinaabe Scholar Wendy Geniusz as 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.”<sup>24</sup>

In ridding ourselves of this “baggage” there is a necessity of b’gidnan,<sup>25</sup> or letting go, to catalyze the carrying forward of our Knowledges and practices and utilizing both in our contemporary lives. B’gidnan involves consciously acknowledging and working to heal and leave behind the traumas resulting from colonization, assimilation, and acculturation; it requires us to

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<sup>20</sup> Organized christianity refers to the patriarchal and hierarchical dogma of the Churches, not the teachings of Christ. I am reminded by our Christian elders that the teachings of Christ are similar to the Seven Grandfather Teachings of the Anishinaabeg. Yet, within the context of Biskaabiiyang, and returning to ourselves, it must be acknowledged that the teachings of Christ are not our original teachings.

<sup>21</sup> Sy, “Following Ininaahtigoog,” 98.

<sup>22</sup> These approaches come from the intellectual traditions of the Maori—language, culture, teachings and philosophy.

<sup>23</sup> Seven Generations Education Institute is located between Couchiching First Nations Reserve and Fort Frances, Ontario on Agency One Land.

<sup>24</sup> Geniusz, *Our Knowledge is not Primitive*, 9.

<sup>25</sup> *Let it go*.

assume a position of power and action, rather than a position of victim. According to Taiaike Alfred, controversial Kanien'kéha scholar, "[w]e need to rebel against what we've become and start remembering and acting on who our ancestors were, what they were like, and the things they believed in." We must provide "a dignified alternative to the indignity of cultural assimilation and political surrender" by operating from our own truths to rewrite and empower our stories, our histories and our identities in order to honor our ancestors and future generations.<sup>26</sup> B'gidnan is a life-long process. The journey of my dissertation research is part of my life-long process. Within this context there is a need to consider the colonial baggage "I carry that might impact my research."<sup>27</sup>

My position as a researcher is an insider, a relocated mixed-ancestry Boom bye goo<sup>28</sup> Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe with colonial baggage. My family has first-hand experiences with the covering of our identity, Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe culture, language, Knowledges and practices. We were disconnected from my grandfather's community, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation of Shawnee, Oklahoma by the Indian Boarding School system. Our relationship with G'chi Zaagiganag<sup>29</sup> and our traditional homeland on the western shores of Lake Michigan in Wisconsin was broken five generations ago by voluntary migration as well as treaty-catalyzed relocation and removal.

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<sup>26</sup> Alfred, "Warrior Scholarship," 97.

<sup>27</sup> Sy, "Following Ininaahtigoog Home," 101.

<sup>28</sup> *They use horses.*

<sup>29</sup> *The Great Lakes.*

I have carried heavy colonial baggage throughout my life—shame, fear, and identity loss. As a youth I carried confusion and a sense of not-belonging; as a young adult, grieving the covering of cultural connection, there was the shame of not being enough. Now, as a mature woman in the Nibwaakaawin<sup>30</sup> stage of my life, I've learned to let go and pick up the bundles of a Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe. Still my white-passing<sup>31</sup> phenotype, at times, brings fear of identity politics and not being Indian-enough. Gratefully, my genetic or cellular memory draws a distinct line and a deep remembrance of connection. Both facilitate b'gidnan and Biskaabiiyang.

Colonial baggage impacts my research in multiple ways. My privileged academic foundation of colonized sciences and thought processes must be balanced with my ever-growing understanding and application of Anishinaabe intellectual and spiritual tradition. Balancing both Knowledge Systems has required me to spiral back to re-consider the narratives and information presented in sources, particularly “colonized texts”<sup>32</sup> focused on Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe history and relationships with the newcomers. For example, historical information

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<sup>30</sup> *Wisdom; the wisdom stage of life*. Wisdom is the sixth stage of life. See *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin, E zhi nsatamaan: Chapter 3* for a discussion of Niizhwaaswi e bi ziaakshkaak bemaadiziiwin, the Seven Stages of Life.

<sup>31</sup> The term ‘white-passing’ is used in reference to my light skin tone. It does not imply disassociation or rejection of my Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe identity.

<sup>32</sup> Geniusz, *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive*, 4. Geniusz defines colonized texts as published and unpublished written documentation that can be described as either serving the “interests of the colonizers and the processes of systemic racism and oppression,” or presenting information and interpretations of Anishinaabe Intellectual Tradition, Knowledges, spirituality or history through a colonizers lens and according to the “philosophies, cosmologies, and knowledge-keeping systems of the colonizers.” See the “Dbaajimowinag” section of this chapter for a discussion of colonized texts.



gathered from genealogical records, muster rolls and narratives recorded by a historical society endorse the colonized perspective of paternal lineage. Women were not frequently included in historical narratives. When colonized texts are used to explore our history, the paternal perspective is perpetuated, and erasure of our Grandmothers and their Knowledges and practices continues. Privileging Indigenous women's voices is essential.

Operationalizing Biskaabiiyang is a process of the recovery, reclamation, remembering and revitalization from within Anishinaabe culture utilizing Anishinaabe ontology and epistemology; as Geniusz writes, it is not "a preservation effort, a final attempt to save strands of a dying culture." Rather, it is a bringing forward of our Knowledges and practices "so that it will be there for our children and grandchildren and their children and grandchildren."<sup>33</sup> Geniusz' work shares guidance regarding methods to reclaim, remember and revitalize using this "culturally specific approach."<sup>34</sup>

Within the context of my research, operationalizing the Biskaabiiyang is both a personal and collective journey. It is a journey beneficial to Bodwewaadmii communities, families and individual humans including myself. As we return to ourselves, we return to our Original Instructions and reciprocal relationships with the land and waters, and the beings that reside within. In this way, Biskaabiiyang is beneficial to all of Creation.

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<sup>33</sup> Geniusz, "Decolonizing botanical Anishinaabe knowledge," 12.

This element of Biskaabiiyang mirrors the Seven Generations Family History Model, see Figure 5.4.

<sup>34</sup> Sy, "Following Ininaahtigoog Home," 103.

## (Re)Definition of Integral Biskaabiiyang Concepts: Relationship of Knowledges

Central to the application of Biskaabiiyang and the *uncovering*<sup>35</sup> and *reweaving*<sup>36</sup> of Knowledges and practices is an understanding of the origins of our Knowledge systems and ways of knowing. Anishinaabe intellectual tradition is a gift from Manidoog.<sup>37</sup> It emanates from the land and water of our territories and is continually expressed through our language, our ways of being, our Ceremonies, and our stories. Wendy Geniusz, articulates this in her dissertation, titled “Decolonizing botanical Anishinaabe knowledge: a Biskaabiiyang approach” and book, titled *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive, Decolonizing Botanical Anishinaabe Teaching*. Geniusz introduces Biskaabiiyang, tracing the genealogy of this research methodology to its origin at Seven Generations Institute of the Fort Frances, Ontario area. Within Geniusz’s interpretation

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<sup>35</sup> *Uncovering*, in the context of my research, is a metaphor used to describe the recovery of existing suppressed Knowledges and practices. Both water, itself, and women’s water Knowledges and practices are ubiquitous and easily taken for granted. Women’s Knowledges and practices, like water within an aquifer, lie beneath layers of overburden. These layers of overburden have been created by a history of colonization, assimilation, acculturation, patriarchy, conversion to christianity, and the marginalization of women. For the Bodwewaadmiig there is an additional covering—our diasporic experience of removal and relocation. Gratefully, there are pockets of animacy where our Knowledges and practices bubble to the surface in life-giving artesian springs. This animacy occurs where the covering layers are weak or thin, or where individual women have continued the sharing and operationalizing of our Knowledges. The realization of the existence of pockets of animacy has led me to envision the possibilities of complete uncovering and strong resurgence of our water Knowledges and practices.

<sup>36</sup> *Reweaving*, in the context of my research, is a metaphorical reference to our traditional practice of black ash basketry. Traditionally, our baskets have been used for food and medicine storage, transport and for gifts of reciprocity. I see our black ash baskets as representations of our people, our history and our ways of being—we are baskets. The structure and strength of our baskets and our lives have been impacted by the layers that cover our Knowledges. Basket strands have been damaged and perhaps destroyed by colonization, assimilation, acculturation and relocation. We will become whole again. We will heal by reweaving our old Knowledges and practices and new splints into the baskets that are our lives.

<sup>37</sup> *Spirits*; Geniusz, *Our Knowledge Is Not Primitive*, 67; See *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendasswin, E zhi nsatamaan: Chapter 3* for detailed discussion of Anishinaabe Intellectual Tradition.

of Biskaabiiyang, there is a decolonizing imperative to use Anishinaabemowin, our own language, in (re)defining concepts integral to Biskaabiiyang.

Geniusz uses the Anishinaabemowin word Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin as for Anishinaabe psychology and way of being, and Anishinaabe-inzhitwaawin as Anishinaabe culture, teachings, customs and history. Geniusz also uses dbaajimowinan as the plural form of teachings, ordinary stories, personal stories and histories; while traditional stories and Ceremonies are aadizookaanan. Anishinaabe-Gikendaasowin, from Geniusz's perspective, translates to Knowledge, information, and the synthesis of our personal teachings.<sup>38</sup>

Within this work, as a committed language learner,<sup>39</sup> I embody and adopt Geniusz's Anishinaabemowin use imperative. In returning to myself, I have made modifications to and expanded upon Geniusz's use of concepts expressed in the language using the Wasauksing First Nation lexicon and by incorporating additional concepts to describe the cumulative progression of Knowledges<sup>40</sup> toward embodying Anishinaabe-gikendaasowin. Table 5.1 summarizes these modifications and additional concepts. These Knowledge-related concepts are utilized in my application of Biskaabiiyang; each plays a role in my research methods from the gathering,

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<sup>38</sup> Geniusz, *Our Knowledge Is Not Primitive*, 11.

<sup>39</sup> I use the term 'committed language learner' to refer to a person who is learning a language with the intention of fully incorporating the language into her/his/their life, as opposed to a learner whose motivation is oriented toward fulfilling academic requirements.

<sup>40</sup> The cumulative progression of Knowledges as one moves through the Seven Stages of Life is discussed in *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin, E zhi nsatamaan: Chapter 3*.

making meaning, and sharing of research participants' dbaajimowinag, to learning on the land and water, and to receiving Knowledge through Ceremony.

Anishinaabeodziwin, in the Wasauksing First Nation lexicon, is a combination of Geniusz's Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin and Anishinaabe-inzhitwaawin; while Anishinaabeaadziwin encompasses only Anishinaabe-inzhitwaawin, living as an Anishinaabe person. Aa-atsokediwen and aa-atsokediwenag<sup>41</sup> are the Wasauksing First Nation Lexicon equivalent of Aadizookaanan. Gikendaaswin is the equivalent of Anishinaabe-Gikendaasowin. Within this work, Gikendaaswin is the embodiment of all types of Knowledges. My understanding of the relationships between these Knowledges is illustrated in Figure 5.1.

*Table 5.1: Anishinaabe Gikendaaswin*

<b>Wall Terminology Of Concepts</b>	<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Geniusz Terminology of Concepts</b>
	Anishinaabe psychology and way of being	Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin
Anishinaabeodziwin	Anishinaabe culture, teachings, customs and history.	Anishinaabe-Inzhitwaawin
Dbaajimowinag	Teachings, ordinary stories, personal stories and histories.	Dibaajimowinan

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<sup>41</sup> *The sharing back and forth of sacred story(ies).*

Aa-atsokediwen, Aa-atsokediwenag	Sacred stories, Creation stories, Nanaboozhoo stories, Michi Shibzhii/Bizhou stories.	Aadizookaanan
Gikendaaswin	Living and embodying all the following Knowledges.	Anishinaabe-Gikendaasowin
Gaabi b'gid na maagooyaan	Sacred Knowledge that is gifted by Creator, the Manidoog, and/or the Gete Anishinaabe or Nokmisag and Mishomisag.	
Kendaaswin	Second-hand knowledge that has been given to you by a human teacher, through the pedagogies of dominant society.	
Waawiindmowin	Guidance or direction laid out before us in a progressive manner, for us to either accept or reject.	
Gaabin nsatamaan	Lived experience, and the integration of gained and gifted Knowledges.	
Gaabi waamdamaan	Knowledges of our Getsijig (Elders) as they stand at the western door,	

	looking eastward over their life's journey.	
Mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan	To 'write about what I think has happened to me.'	
Kiinoomaagewag Aki Manidoo miinwaa Nibi Manidoo <sup>42</sup>	Learning from land and water.	
Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad <sup>41</sup>	Knowledges gained through Ceremony—Individual and collective.	
Gikensaawad bewaajigehwin Manidoo <sup>41</sup>	Knowledges gained through Dreams, and/or Visions.	
Kinoowaabimin <sup>43</sup>	Learning through observation.	
Anishinaabeodziwin	Being Anishinaabe in heart, spirit, mind and body; living mino bemaadiziwin.	Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin miinwaa Anishinaabe-Inzhitwaawin
Anishinaabeaadziwin	The Anishinaabe way of life, or living as an Anishinaabe.	Anishinaabe-Inzhitwaawin

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<sup>42</sup> Gidigaa Migizi, Doug Williams, personal communication, December 2018.

<sup>43</sup> McInnes and Rice, *Sounding Thunder*, 158.

Gaabin nsatamaan<sup>44</sup> is lived experience integrated with gained and gifted Knowledges. Kinoowaabimin, learning by observation, and reflective thinking or writing, mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan both contribute to our lived experience and the Knowledges gained. Kendaaswin is second-hand Knowledge that has been shared or given to you by a human teacher through the pedagogies of dominant society. Waawiindmowin is guidance or direction laid out before you in a progressive manner; it is for a learner to either accept or reject. Gaabi waamdamaan is the Knowledges of our Getsijig<sup>45</sup> as they stand at the western door, looking eastward over their life's journey. Each contributes to our understandings, enhancing and deepening the Knowledges we embody.

Embedded within Gaabi waamdamaan is the wisdom of lived experience, as well as important teachings regarding ways of knowing—360-degree vision, walking around the fire, and the necessity for precision. These teachings, operationalized in my research methods, have been shared with me by Getsijig and Indigenous scholars. Anishinaabe Getsit<sup>46</sup> and scholar Jim Dumont writes of the necessity of employing 360-degree vision, a circular and comprehensive perspective that utilizes physical, mental, emotional and spiritual ways of knowing.<sup>47</sup> This way of

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<sup>44</sup> *"How I have come to understand it;" empirical knowledge.*

<sup>45</sup> *Elders.*

<sup>46</sup> *Elder.*

<sup>47</sup> Dumont. *Journey to Daylight-Land,* 11 -23.

perceiving our experiences and making meaning is essential in Biskaabiiyang and is mirrored by the teaching of walking around the fire.<sup>48</sup>

Ishkode,<sup>49</sup> central in Anishinaabeodziwin, performs several roles—physical, metaphorical, philosophical and spiritual. Mishomis<sup>50</sup> ishkode provides warmth and connection, while holding and sharing Waawiindmowin and Gaabi b’gid na maagooyaan.<sup>51</sup> Sacred, Ceremonial fires facilitate connection and communication with Gete Anishinaabeg<sup>52</sup> and other Manidoog. Operationalizing Biskaabiiyang encourages us to sit with Mishomis ishkode when seeking guidance, comfort, and/or understanding. Rather than viewing, considering and reflecting on ishkode from a stationary location, this teaching guides us to walk entirely around the fire while pausing to consider all angles and views of a situation. This provides a multidimensional and deep understanding and is particularly important in an academic context when evaluating sources, specifically, when using and evaluating colonized texts.

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<sup>48</sup> Stewart King-ban, Bodwewaadmii, Wasauksing First Nation was my life partner, cultural, spiritual and language mentor. Throughout our time together he shared many stories and teachings over cups of coffee, while travelling together and in ceremony. It isn’t possible to include a specific date on which these teachings were shared. From this point forward in this chapter, he will be cited in footnotes as sharing teachings with his name and home community.

<sup>49</sup> *Fire.*

<sup>50</sup> *Grandfather.*

<sup>51</sup> *Sacred Knowledges that are gifted by the spirits or Creator, revealed Knowledge.*

<sup>52</sup> *The old ones, Anishinaabe Ancestors.*



Weweni<sup>53</sup> articulates a careful and mindful approach, while Debnaak describes a hurried, careless approach.<sup>54</sup> Both are connected to our ancestral survivance Knowledges and a necessity for precision.<sup>55</sup> Weweni plays an important role in Biskaabiiyang, whether Biskaabiiyang is used as a research methodology or as a way of being. I believe revitalization and continuance of our Knowledges and practices is needed for our cultural survival and healing. Meaningful revitalization requires patience and care, as does academic research. Gaabi b'gid maagooyaan is sacred Knowledges that have been gifted by the Manidoog, Nokmisag<sup>56</sup> and Mishomisag.<sup>57</sup> These Knowledges include Knowledge gained from the Spirits of the land and waters or Kiinoomaagewag Aki Manidoog miinwaa Nibi Manidoog,<sup>58</sup> Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad or individual and collective learning from Ceremony, and Gikendaaswad bewaajigewin Manidoog or Knowledge gained from dreams and/or visions through spirits of Dreams, and/or Visions.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *In good time, in a good way; doing something carefully with deep consideration.*

<sup>54</sup> These concepts were presented in my Bimaadiziwin Experience presentation, "Gowyikedaa," on January 16, 2015. *The Bimaadiziwin/Atonhetseri:io* is a required course within Trent University's Indigenous Studies PhD program. Students apprentice with an Elder or Knowledge Holder over an intense period of time. Upon completion of the course, students make a formal presentation to the Traditional Advisory Council. Dr. Daniel Longboat, Kanien'kéha scholar, sits on the Traditional Advisory Council for Trent University's Indigenous Studies PhD program and was present at my Bimaadiziwin presentation. Longboat shared his understanding and connected these Anishinaabe concepts to Indigenous Peoples' ancestral survivance Knowledges.

<sup>55</sup> See *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin: Chapter 3* for a detailed discussion of weweni, debnaak and the necessity for precision.

<sup>56</sup> *Grandmothers.*

<sup>57</sup> *Grandfathers, ancestral men.*

<sup>58</sup> *Learning from the land and water Spirits.*

<sup>59</sup> Gidigaa Migizi, Doug Williams, personal communication, December 2018.

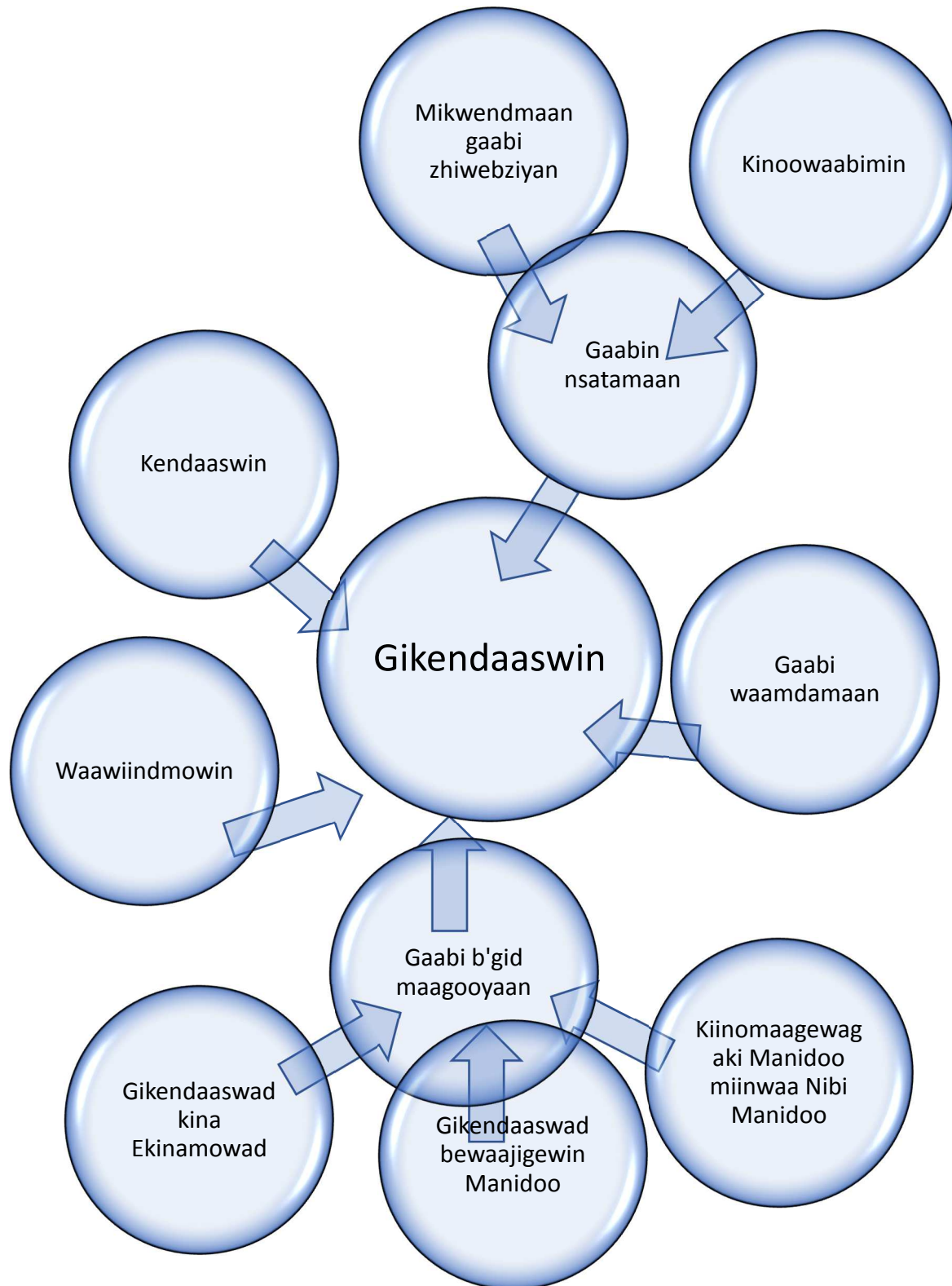


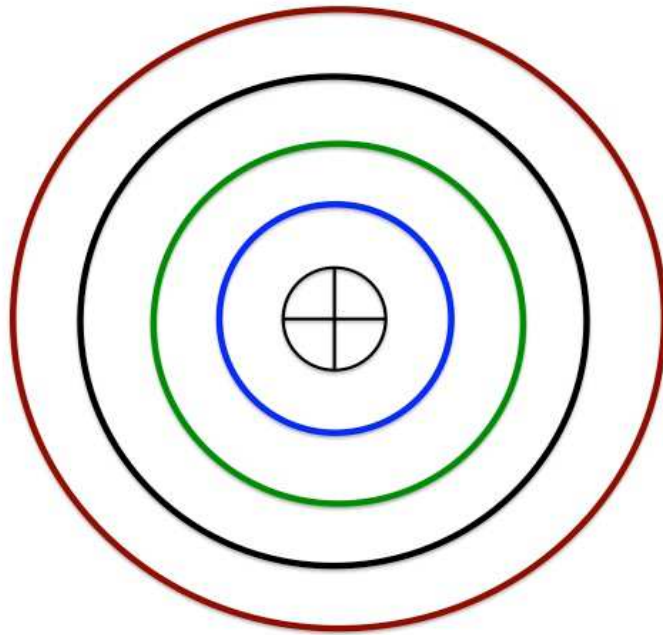
Figure 5.1: The Relationship of Knowledges (repeated from Chapter 3)

There is an ethical responsibility to our Knowledges and practices in relation to ourselves, our families, and our communities. To give voice to our ways of knowing and being is vital in Biskaabiiyang. Our Knowledges and practices must be ethically and transparently<sup>60</sup> transferred—to our children, siblings, and other family members, as well as to our peers and community members—in accordance with respectful and reciprocal community protocols. My research, research methodology and methods operationalize this responsibility.

Figures 5.2 and 5.3 illustrate our relational responsibilities to Gikendaaswin. The interior, or smallest of the concentric circles shown in Figure 5.2 represents the four parts of our being—spirit, heart, body, and mind. Our first responsibility is to ourselves: to seek, gain and embody Gikendaaswin in ways that promote balance of our entire being, and *mino bemaadiziiwin*. Simultaneously, our responsibility to share these Knowledges outward from ourselves, first to our families and then to our clans, community, and Nation. This outward and continually expanding responsibility is represented in Figure 5.2 by each ever-larger concentric circle. As the circles enlarge so does the transmission of Knowledge. As the circles enlarge relationships and understanding grow stronger and deeper.

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<sup>60</sup> Transparency refers to explicitly naming those beings who have transferred Knowledges to us. See the “Respect, Responsibility, Relationship and Reciprocity—Ethical Protocol” section of this chapter for a discussion of methods used in transparency.



*Figure 5.2: Concentric Circles of Relationality and Responsible Transference of Knowledges*

Our relational responsibilities are multidimensional and lie within our conceptions of time and space. These responsibilities extend beyond our relationships with living humans in current time and space to our Ancestors and to those yet to come. In addition, our relational

responsibilities include the cosmos with our connection to the Earth and Mtigwaaning<sup>61</sup> as well as to Gahnoowaaniing,<sup>62</sup> Nongoskwaaning<sup>63</sup> and Manidoowaaning<sup>64</sup> and the Manidoog.<sup>65</sup>

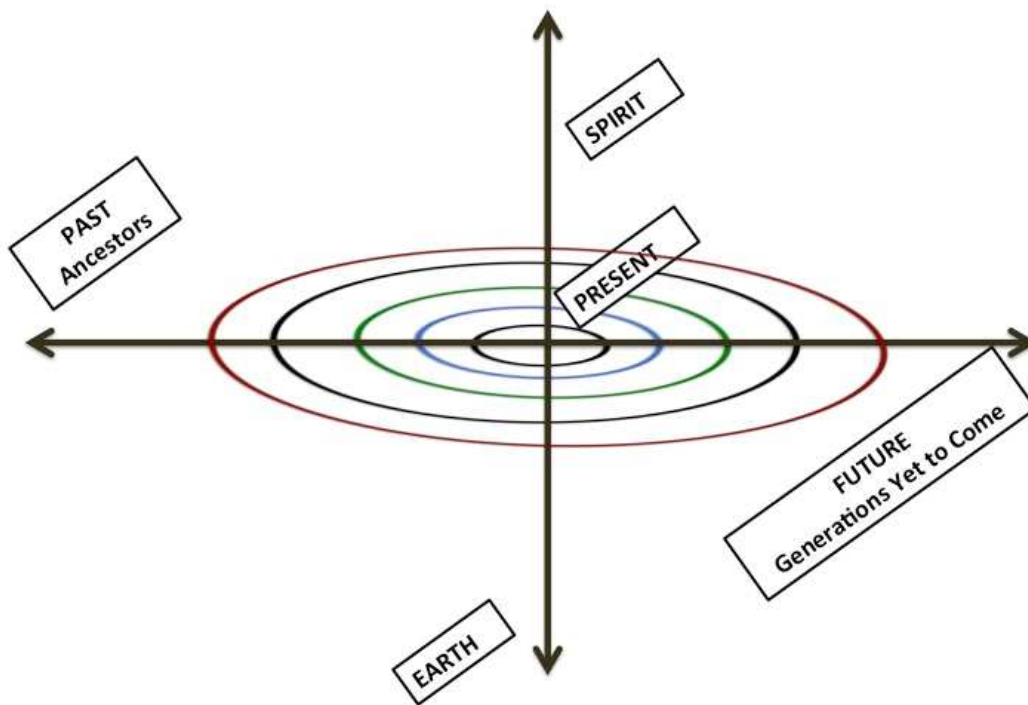


Figure 5.3: Concentric Circles of Relationality to Time and Space

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<sup>61</sup> Place of shelter beneath the branches of the trees; the first realm of creation.

<sup>62</sup> The place where the golden eagle flies, the second layer of the Anishinaabe cosmos above the earth.

<sup>63</sup> The place of the stars, and the sun and moon.

<sup>64</sup> Spirit World, the place of the spirits, where the Gete Anishinaabe reside.

<sup>65</sup> See *Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag: Chapter 2* for a description of the realms/layers of the Anishinaabe Cosmos.

## Responsibility to Knowledges

### Dbajimowinag

Returning to ourselves requires a return to our intellectual traditions and ways of knowing. As discussed in *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin*: Chapter 3, Anishinaabe intellectual tradition emanates from our relationships with our lands and waters, and the beings that reside alongside us in Anishinaabe Aki. These relationships, and thus our ways of knowing, are storied in dbajimowinag. Dbajimowinag are narratives that may contain an intertwining of Gaabi waamdamaan, Waawiindmowin, and teachings, as well as personal stories, Gaabin nsatamaan and histories. The *uncovering* and *reweaving* of dbajimowinag are essential in Biskaabiiyang, for these narratives, as Sy writes, “are foundational to ways of knowing, being and regenerating Anishinaabe worlds.”<sup>66</sup>

The oral histories and narratives shared by Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe and my research participants, and the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe histories authored by non-Indigenous historians, anthropologists, archeologists, ethnographers can all be considered dbajimowinag. There can be however, distinct differences. Histories documented by non-Indigenous authors are “colonized texts,” in that these dbajimowinag have been written through a colonized and christian lens. This lens views Indigenous Peoples as less than, and devalues Indigenous Knowledges, ways of Knowing and being. More specifically, Geniusz defines colonized texts as published and unpublished written documentation that can be described as either serving the

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<sup>66</sup> Sy, “Following Ininaahtigoog Home,” 134.

“interests of the colonizers and the processes of systemic racism and oppression,” or presenting information and interpretations of Anishinaabe Intellectual Tradition, Knowledges, spirituality or history through a colonizer’s lens and according to the “philosophies, cosmologies, and knowledge-keeping systems of the colonizers.”<sup>67</sup> It is important to recognize that histories written by Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe scholars and the dbaajimowinag shared by research participants might also be colonized texts as defined by Geniusz. Colonization has impacted all of us, and a majority of my research participants have been impacted by christianity.

Throughout this research, and particularly in *Mitigwaakiing eh G’chi Zaagiganag: Chapter 2* and *Miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak: Chapter 4*, I have used sources written by outsiders—non-Anishinaabe anthropologists, ethnographers and historians. Use of these colonized texts is unavoidable within the confines of academic research, yet it is in tension with the utilization of Biskaabiiyang, my research methodology. “Biskaabiiyang methodology importantly suggests that in order to return to ourselves through research,” according to Sy, “Anishinaabeg must engage significantly with Anishinaabeg living sources, methods or theories.”<sup>68</sup> Ideally, Biskaabiiyang would only utilize narratives shared by decolonized Anishinaabeg living sources, and sources written by Anishinaabe scholars. This is not yet possible. History sources, as well as discussion and presentation of Anishinaabe cultural

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<sup>67</sup> Geniusz, *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive*, 4.

<sup>68</sup> Sy, “Following Ininaahtigoog Home,” 114.

practices and Knowledges by biased and colonized writers can provide insight into our post-contact histories, Knowledges and practices.

Dbaajimowinag, as well as aa-atsokediwenag, are dynamic in nature and our understanding of these narratives is continually growing. These, and all stories are, as Cree scholar Neal McLeod writes, “never complete: we cannot ever fully know the meanings within the narratives for our understandings of them evolve as they continue to make more sense within our lives through ongoing reflection.”<sup>69</sup> The processes of reflection and reflexive thinking, both key in making meaning, are operationalized through the Mikwendmaan Gaabi Zhiwebziyan component of my research methodology.

### **Gikendaaswin kina Ekinamowad: Ceremony**

Returning to ourselves is returning to Anishinaabeodziwin or being Anishinaabe.

Anishinaabeodziwin, using Geniusz’s terminology, is the embodiment of both Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin and Anishinaabe-inzhitwaawin. Anishinaabeodziwin is mino bemaadiziwin, it is Ceremony, and Ceremony is essential to our ways of being and of Knowing.<sup>70</sup> It is through Ceremony that we gain Gaabi b’gid na maagooyaan, Knowledge essential to our contemporary being and identity, resilience, and survival, as well as our resurgence. Damien Lee, Canada Research Chair in Biskaabiiyang and Indigenous Political Resurgence shares:

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<sup>69</sup> McLeod, *Cree Narrative Memory*, 8.

<sup>70</sup> See *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin: Chapter 3* for additional discussion of Knowledges gained through or gifted during Ceremony.



Ceremony is an important source of Anishinaabe knowledge, from which flows the teachings we can interpret within our current context . . . Relationships and ceremonies are key to resurgence because it is through relationship and ceremonies that knowledge flows as an unstoppable gift within the colonial context because such knowledge underlies the rest of our anti-colonial work: our resistance to colonialism is fortified by knowing who we are and by continuously deepening this self-knowledge we embody resurgence.<sup>71</sup>

Ceremony is our connection to our ancestors and the past, and our connection to the future. Through Ceremony, we strengthen these connections as well as our identities, and our relationship with our land, water and each other. Lee explains: "Ceremony allows us to see ourselves in the knowledge we hold within the teachings that originate from our relationship with the land. This knowledge helps to shape our identity."<sup>72</sup> Like Biskaabiiyang, participating in Ceremony is resistance to colonization; it is healing, resurgence and renewal combined, as well as a conveyance of our Knowledges and ontology.<sup>73</sup> Ceremony facilitates a return to ourselves by creating a supportive space where we can truly be who we are and who we are meant to be.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Lee, "Dibaajimowinan," 14.

<sup>72</sup> Battiste and Henderson, *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge*, 41 – 42.

<sup>73</sup> Lee, "Dibaajimowinan" unpaginated; Sy, "Following Ininaahtigoog Home," 25.

<sup>74</sup> Lee, "Dibaajimowinan" unpaginated; This has been my experience in Ceremony. It must be acknowledged that Ceremony does not always create a supportive space. Please see *Niibnoong: Chapter 6* for a discussion of "Holding Back Two Spirit, Queer, Non-binary and Gender Fluid Persons" in Ceremony.

## Kiinoomaagewag Aki Manidoo miinwaa Nibi Manidoog: Land and Water as Teacher

The land recognizes who we are, our Spirit, our gifts when we are in reciprocal relationship with the land.<sup>75</sup> Relocation and removal of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe changed our relationship with the land and the waters, covered our Knowledges and disconnected us from the ecologies of G'chi Zaagiganag. Returning to our traditional homelands impacts healing and restoration of identity. It is key in Biskaabiiyang for reconnecting to the land and water is reconnecting to ourselves. This is particularly important for our kwewag<sup>76</sup> in fulfilling responsibility and continuing the enactment of our responsibilities and Original Instructions. "Indigenous womxn and land are discussed as co-constituted, they are part of each other." Sy continues and explains: 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 relationships."<sup>77</sup>

Sitting on our land and beside our waters, or presencing, a term introduced by Lee, is a key component of Biskaabiiyang as a research methodology and a way of being. Presencing is about "being active within our relationships to our lands."<sup>78</sup> It is also decolonizing as it embodies the wearing of our teachings, Anishinaabeodziwin, and a returning to ourselves.

Renewing our land and water relationships is one step forward in the *uncovering* and *reweaving*

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<sup>75</sup> See *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin: Chapter 3* for additional discussion.

<sup>76</sup> *Women*.

<sup>77</sup> Sy, "Following Ininaahtigoog Home," 32.

<sup>78</sup> Lee, *Dibaajimowinan*, unpaginated.

of our Knowledges and practices. Therefore, within the context of this research, presencing is both methodology and method. I agree with Lee that “our identities as Anishinaabeg are the expressions of our lands, [and] the knowledges that arise from our lands.” This relationship, in combination with Ceremony, provides “the unstoppable gift of knowledge” as we connect to where we come from, as well as the “channels through which knowledge flows.”<sup>79</sup>

*(Re)turning again to Na Nawe Gwan,<sup>80</sup> centre of the meeting place, our sacred grounds where I find safety in returning to my truths and the place of my Ancestors. (Re)turning to that place of Spirit and of spirits, of Grandfathers and grandfathers, of namesakes and teachings. (Re)turning to ourselves for healing, guidance and Ceremony, and to know. Each visit is a new beginning, renewal, each experience enriching, affirming and beyond imagination. Fasting on the hill overlooking the spring well as the bloodroot pushes upward carpeting the maple forest, and the Animikii binesiyag<sup>81</sup> first return to Anishinaabe Aki<sup>82</sup> shaking the ground on their arrival. Fasting again, as yellow Nibiishag<sup>83</sup> of the ininiaatig<sup>84</sup> fall like rain and kookookoo<sup>85</sup> sounds its voice, just before the Spirits take leave. The scent of burning wiigwoss<sup>86</sup> fills the air while small twigs are gently fed to the first, then the second and the final fire of each of the four days. Memories of a women’s gathering, so long ago, when the Old Ones, the kwewag were seen laughing and singing at moktthewen<sup>87</sup> and I first found my true self.<sup>88</sup>*

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<sup>79</sup> Lee, unpaginated.

<sup>80</sup> *The centre of it all, the centre of the meeting place; near Campbellsport, Wisconsin.*

<sup>81</sup> *Thunderbirds.*

<sup>82</sup> *Land and water, all of Creation in Anishinaabe territory.*

<sup>83</sup> *Leaves.*

<sup>84</sup> *Man tree; hard or sugar maple tree.*

<sup>85</sup> *Owl.*

<sup>86</sup> *Bark of the white birch tree.*

<sup>87</sup> *Bubbling spring.*

<sup>88</sup> Personal reflection, Na Nawe Gwan, Wisconsin, October 2013.

## The Bringing Forward of Knowledges

In returning to ourselves and *reweaving* Knowledges and practices into our lives and the lives of youth and future generations, it is necessary to engage with, and to enhance intergenerational relationships. Our Intellectual Traditions acknowledge the important role of grandparents in both holding and bringing forward Gikendaaswin.<sup>89</sup> Within Anishinaabeodziwin our Nokmisag miinwaa<sup>90</sup> Mishomisag are eknoomaaget,<sup>91</sup> sharing Gikendaaswin with aahnkoobdehnsag.<sup>92</sup>

The Seven Generations Family History Model, Figure 5.4, illustrates intergenerational relationships and the transference of Gikendaaswin in the simultaneous spiral of time. This model was inspiration for my guided discussions with research participants. The shaded circle at the center represents the location of my research participants within a linear time continuum, situated between three generations of the past and three future generations. Intergenerational connection and responsibilities are represented by the circular outlines stretching from grandparent to grandchild. These responsibilities include, yet are not limited to, caretaking, teaching, and Knowledge transfer.

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<sup>89</sup> *The embodiment of Knowledges.*

<sup>90</sup> *And.*

<sup>91</sup> *Teachers.*

<sup>92</sup> *Grandchildren*; Translation of aahnkoobdehnsag is much deeper than the English word 'grandchildren.' Breakdown of the Anishinaabemowin word refers to a little heart, bound by a metaphorical rope of biological connection and ancestral knowledges (Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation).

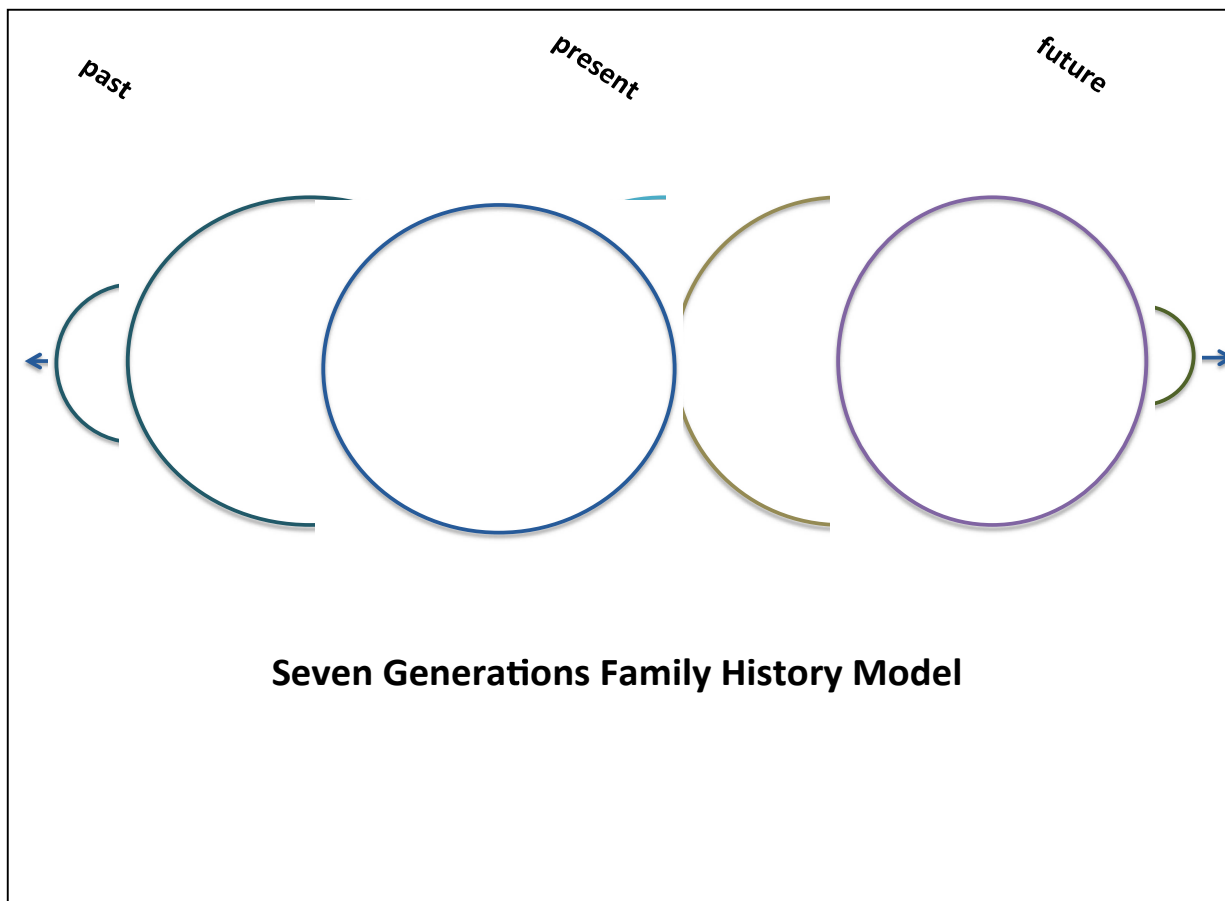


Figure 5.4: Seven Generations Family History Model

### **My Research Journey—It Flows from the Heart: Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag Nibi Waboo Waawiindmowin**

Our Elders maintain that we must continue to tell our own story by following our protocols, in our own ways and language in this circle of life.<sup>93</sup>

*It Flows from the Heart* is a metaphor of complexity. It is a statement of the passion and commitment of our kwewag, the heart of our families, communities and Nation, in the

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<sup>93</sup> Metallic, "Strengthening our Relations," 61.

reclaiming of our ways of knowing and being. And it is a statement of the origins of our truths, and our natural ways of knowing. Biskaabiiyang, as both a research methodology and a way of being, coupled with Mikwendmaan Gaabi Zhiwebziyan has guided my heart in answering my research question—*How are Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Women’s Water Knowledges and Practices being uncovered and rewoven into the lives of Elders, women, youth and future generations within our relocated communities?* It has been a multiple-year journey, and it is a journey that will continue with each step, each Ceremony, and each day.

### **Contributions: Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe and Academy**

This research journey is an important contribution<sup>94</sup> to healing and the restoration of cultural identity of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe, particularly those of us whose Ancestors were removed from our traditional homelands. Telling the story of my family as a microcosm of the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii diasporic experience leaves footprints on the healing pathway for others to follow. This research journey also gives voice to our waters and educates about our relationship and responsibilities to Nibi. Sharing the outcomes of this journey honors my responsibility to our Knowledges, and to our Elders and our Knowledge Carriers. The *reweaving* process is important for our youth, future generations, and our communities. Our youth will see themselves and the re-emergence of their water-related cultural practices within this research. The loving guidance of Knowledge Carriers and Elders, and their commitment to uplifting the younger generation (and thus future generations) is demonstrated in dbaajimowinag of the

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<sup>94</sup> A detailed description of the importance of this research is presented in *It is Always Beginning: Chapter 1*.

research participants. This is one step in strengthening intergenerational ties. Sharing our collective historical narrative is one step in understanding our common experiences as well as healing relationships between communities.

While the intentions of this research are focused on benefiting Boom bye goo, Abinsaaniawag,<sup>95</sup> and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo<sup>96</sup> Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe, my research is also significant within an academic context. *It Flows from the Heart* works to fill literature gaps, and to expand and occupy the space created by previous waves of Indigenous scholars. Within this space, my research furthers the decolonizing of the academy by privileging of Indigenous Knowledges and languages, while pushing forward respectful incorporation of Anishinaabemowin, our stories, oral histories, songs and Ceremonies. *It Flows from the Heart* also contributes to the continued rewriting and righting<sup>97</sup> of history of settler colonialism through the lens of an Indigenous scholar.

### **Methods Emerge from Story**

Our aa-atsokediwen, our sacred stories, are both a narrative of Anishinaabe Knowledges—informing us of our place within Creation, our reciprocal relationships, and our

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<sup>95</sup> *Those who stayed in place.*

<sup>96</sup> *They use a canoe; Canoe Bodwewaadmii.*

<sup>97</sup> de Leeuw, "Writing as righting," 61. "Writing as Righting," according to Sarah de Leeuw, is a concept related to truth and reconciliation and rewriting the geography of colonial Canada. de Leeuw's phrasing inspired this wording.

responsibilities—and the philosophical underpinnings<sup>98</sup> of how we make meaning. The literal, metaphorical and conceptual layers<sup>99</sup> of meaning of aa-atsokediwen, and the storied journeys of our Great Teacher Nanaboozhoo<sup>100</sup> inspire Anishinaabeodziwin and our collective living of mino bemaadziwin. Nanaboozhoo, as the first Anishinaabe researcher, has also inspired my research methods—traveling, visiting, building relationship and gathering and sharing of

Knowledges:

Nanaboozhoo's travels begin in the east, Waabanoong<sup>101</sup>—the source of all Knowledge—with a single step, moving both forward and beyond the tasks and responsibilities that fill our day-to-day lives. It is a journey of seeking answers and seeking balance. Nanaboozhoo's journey is one of coming to know through making meaning of experience; it is one of gathering and sharing Knowledges.

Travelling westward across Mshiikenh Mnis<sup>102</sup> and then returning back to the land of the Anishinaabe, Nanaboozhoo uses full sensory observation in experiencing the processes of Creation, and in learning from the land and water. Nanaboozhoo takes time to listen to all of our relations, and time in building long-term relationships. Nanaboozhoo participates in Ceremony—singing, dancing and praying—learning as Knowledge is revealed. Nanaboozhoo dreams, visions, laughs and teaches, reflecting deeply on each

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<sup>98</sup> See *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin, E zhi nsatamaan: Chapter 3* for a detailed discussion of Anishinaabe Intellectual Tradition.

<sup>99</sup> Leanne Simpson, INDG6600 Seminar.

<sup>100</sup> *The Great Teacher of the Anishinaabeg*. Also known as Nanabush, Elder Brother and Weneboozhoo. We are told within the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg Tradition that Nanaboozhoo, our Great Teacher, is referred to by his/her/their name year-round. We honor Nanaboozhoo, also known as Weneboozhoo and Manoboozhoo, in our ways of greeting each other—Boozhoo, or Boshoo. We are told that Nanaboozhoo refers to the coming of our teacher in the near future, Weneboozhoo refers to a time when our teacher is leaving, and Manoboozhoo refers to the present time and place with our teacher. I acknowledge that my writing is through the lens of a Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe, and that remaining authentic to my own traditions is imperative. However, I respectfully acknowledge that in this Michi Saagii Territory, where I am currently privileged to reside, our Great Teacher/her/their is commonly referred to as “Elder Brother” and his name is used only in the winter months.

<sup>101</sup> *Direction of the rising sun; the eastern direction.*

<sup>102</sup> *Turtle Island or North America, also known as The Big Turtle.*



experience. Our Great Teacher learns and practices the use of semaa,<sup>103</sup> and the Anishinaabe protocol of gifting tobacco. Nanaboozhoo is mindful of the tracks left on the journey, realizing that they will be seen by the people of tomorrow. Through traveling, making meaning and sharing knowledges, Nanaboozhoo helps the Anishinaabe and all of Creation. Our Great Teacher works hard, makes mistakes, uses humor and learns through action . . . and always Nanaboozhoo gives back with gratitude.<sup>104</sup>

Figure 5.5 illustrates elements of Nanaboozhoo's research methods, while my research methods are summarized in Figure 5.6.

Like Nanaboozhoo's journey, my life and this research are both journeys of coming to know, of making meaning, and gathering and sharing the Knowledges that flow from Anishinaabe Aki, and our Elders and Knowledge Carriers. Throughout my research I, like Nanaboozhoo, have used full sensory observation, including amansoowin,<sup>105</sup> as I sat in Ceremony with Nibi<sup>106</sup> and with our other-than-human relatives (Nokmis D'bik Giizis,<sup>107</sup> Nongosag,<sup>108</sup> awesiinhyag,<sup>109</sup> asinag,<sup>110</sup> mtigoog<sup>111</sup> and mashkikiwan<sup>112</sup>). As I traveled and visited, like Nanaboozhoo, I continued learning, sharing and listening with my heart, spirit and body.

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<sup>103</sup> *Tobacco.*

<sup>104</sup> My interpretive summary of "Waynaboozhoo and the Search for His Father" and "Waynaboozhoo and His Return to the People," from Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 35-59.

<sup>105</sup> *Intuition.*

<sup>106</sup> *Water.*

<sup>107</sup> *Grandmother Moon; Nighttime sun.*

<sup>108</sup> *The stars.*

<sup>109</sup> *Animals.*

<sup>110</sup> *Rocks.*

<sup>111</sup> *Trees.*

<sup>112</sup> *Medicines.*

My research methods, while grounded in Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe culture yet different than Nanaboozhoo's methods, include an intertwining of Indigenous ways of knowing and academic ways of knowing and researching. The following sections of this chapter describe these research methods.

### **Steps Forward: Indigenous Ways of Knowing and Being, and Academia**

My research journey, like Nanaboozhoo's journey, began in Waabanoong—at Trent University—with a single step,<sup>113</sup> and was followed by preparatory journeys in the summers of 2013 and 2014. Biskaabiiyang has guided my honoring of intra-community, clan and family relationships, as well as the building of the academic foundation of my research through a source review.

Niibin<sup>114</sup> is the traditional time for our people to gather, to reconnect and share. In 2013, I continued building new relationships and strengthening existing relationships with Elders, Knowledge Carriers, and youth by attending the annual Potawatomi Language Conference and Traditional Gathering<sup>115</sup> in Dowagiac, Michigan. The conceptualization of my research was shared in conversations and at the General Council meeting. As a result, a handful of Elders and Knowledge Carriers expressed interest in participating in *It Flows from the Heart*. Referrals from

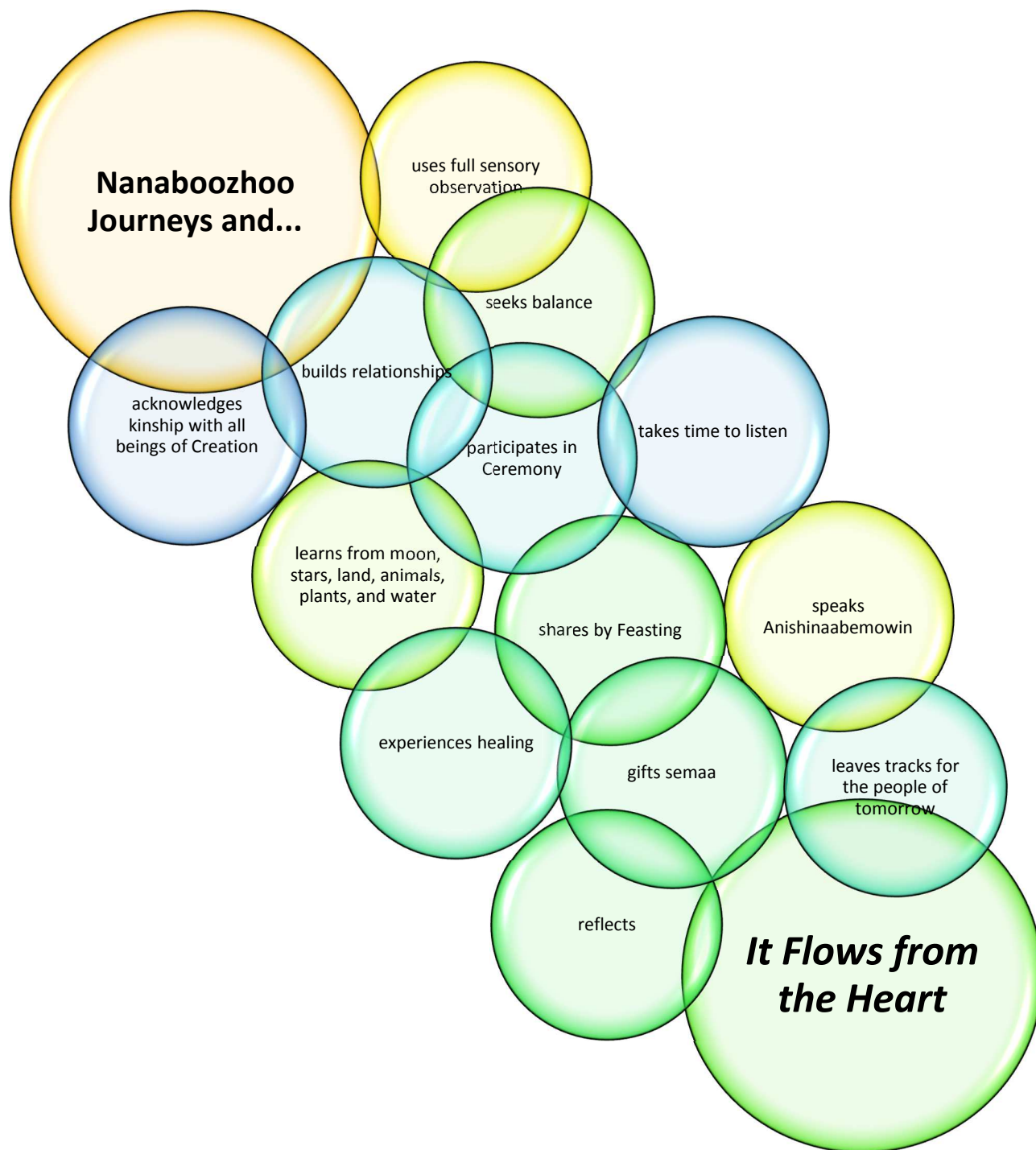
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<sup>113</sup> This single step entailed making a commitment to Nibi and to my life's work. This step is described in the personal reflection shared on the opening pages of *It is Always Beginning: Chapter 1*.

<sup>114</sup> *A time of plenty; summer.*

<sup>115</sup> The nine separate and recognized bands of the Potawatomi have been gathering annually since 1994. Gatherings are hosted, on a rotating basis, by each of the different bands on their contemporary lands. The Gathering expanded in 2006 to include the Potawatomi Language Conference. Winter storytelling gatherings have been held occasionally. Beginning around 2017, the annual Gathering now includes additional communities from Canada.

these individuals, as well as from community leaders, further identified other potential research participants.



*Figure 5.5: Nanaboozhoo's Journey—The Inspiration: Travelling, Visiting and Learning by Doing*

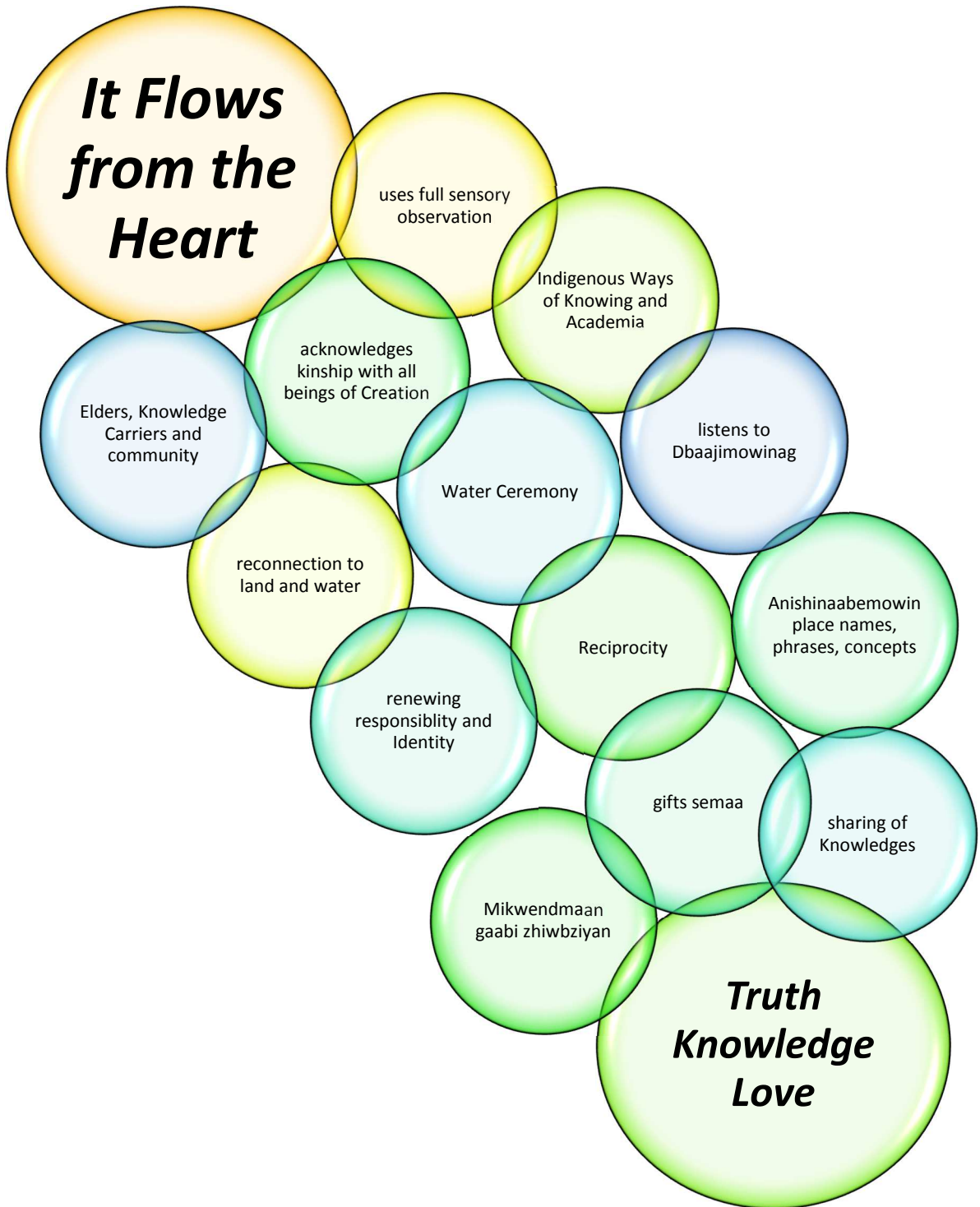


Figure 5.6: It Flows from the Heart—My Research Journey

As relationship building continued, I completed my initial source review. Academic literature reviews are an entry point in the planning and implementing of research. The source review for this research extended beyond academic literature (scholarly articles and books, dissertations and master theses) to include grey literature; historical society publications; museum bulletins; ethnographies; archival materials—tribal, family, Jesuit and American Fur Company; language dictionaries and lexicons; academic lectures; conference, webinar, and workshop presentations; unpublished documents authored by tribal members; written and video-recorded versions, and in-person sharing or telling of aa-atsokediwen; Ceremony; teachings from Elders and Knowledge Carriers;<sup>116</sup> songs; and lived experience. Social media, blogs and tribal/First Nations websites were also included. The outcomes of my source review are incorporated throughout this dissertation, not in a separate and distinct chapter, but within the narratives of the appropriate chapters and chapter sections.

The initial source review was used to build the geographical and historical context of my research, and to identify and adapt a culturally relevant research methodology. Principles of Anishinaabe Scholar Wendy Geniusz’s perspective of the Biskaabiiyang research methodology were applied to the analysis and synthesis of historical information gathered from sources other than my research participants and Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Getsijig.

*“The Emigrant Métis of Kansas: Rethinking the Pioneer Narrative.” This dissertation dated 2012, caught my attention as I was searching for relevant*

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<sup>116</sup> These teachings were shared in a variety of ways including gatherings (such as the Sacred Water Gathering in 2014, First Peoples House of Learning’s annual Elders and Traditional Peoples Gathering or any of the Annual Potawatomi Gatherings), FPHL Traditional Teaching events, during preparation for Ceremony, or during in-person visits or telephone conversations.

*sources. I was intrigued for multiple reasons—the association of the Métis with a pioneer narrative and the assumed presence of Métis in Kansas—and was curious about the author’s interpretation and analysis. When I opened the PDF, I was greeted by a photo of my 4<sup>th</sup>-great-grandfather’s family cemetery, a place I had visited in 2009. I soon realized that my family history and photos and Citizen Potawatomi history comprised the majority of this dissertation. Reading this source elicited a somewhat strange combination of pride and anger; pride that a non-Potawatomi historian had found interest and value in my family’s lived experience, and anger that a non-Bodwewaadmii historian had shared my family’s lived experience and photos of my Ancestors without permission. I was also dismayed that a doctoral candidate in history misunderstood Métis identity, imposing métis as an adjective to describe mixed-race people as well as a cultural label. To my knowledge, no one in my extended family identifies as Métis or would describe themselves as métis. This dissertation serves as a reminder of the issues with outsiders telling our stories and labelling us according to their interpretation, and emphasizes the importance of research ethics. The author’s acknowledgement of the archivists and librarians at the Citizen Band Potawatomi Family History Center in Shawnee, Oklahoma caused me to carefully consider my research participants’ archival options and to be explicit with second use clauses included in my informed consent documents.<sup>117</sup>*

The review of sources continued as my research progressed, connections were made, and new sources became available. Information, dbaajimowinag, Knowledges and practices gathered in the source review were hand coded and synthesized by themes. Themes were used to organize both my thought processes of making meaning, and the dissertation chapters.

Use of Anishinaabemowin throughout this dissertation is one example of operationalizing of Biskaabiiyang, as a research methodology and way of being, and demonstrates the wearing of our teachings.<sup>118</sup> Decolonization is pushed further by including

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<sup>117</sup> Personal reflection, Keene, Ontario, 2014.

<sup>118</sup> Manitowabi, personal communication.; Manitowabi, INDG6600 Indigenous Knowledge Seminar. ; Essential concepts of Anishinaabeodziwin are embedded within our language. Place names contain dbaajimowinag of the

place-names in the language on maps<sup>119</sup> and within the text, the formatting and translation of in-text choices made, as well as the use of capitalization and terminology articulated in Younging's Indigenous style guide.<sup>120</sup> As a committed language learner<sup>121</sup> and beginning speaker, a variety of language sources were used. The primary source was my language mentor, Stewart King-ban of Wasauksing First Nation. Word use and translation was primarily based on the Wasauksing lexicon.<sup>122</sup> Occasionally, King-ban and I would need to consult other sources to develop a word or phrase. These sources<sup>123</sup> included Anishinaabemowin and Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin classes and conferences; published and on-line dictionaries;<sup>124</sup> communication with a Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin linguist and a language apprentice;<sup>125</sup> consultation with Gidigaa Migizi of Curve Lake First Nation; the publications, and the quarterly magazine, of the

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land and waters. For additional discussion see "Anishinaabemowin: the Language of Anishinaabe Aki," in *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendasswin, Chapter 3*.

<sup>119</sup> See Map 2.1.

<sup>120</sup> Younging, *Elements of Indigenous Style*. See the *Notes* section at the beginning of this dissertation.

<sup>121</sup> I use the term 'committed language learner' to refer to a person who is learning a language with the intention of fully incorporating the language into her/his/their life, as opposed to a learner whose motivation is oriented toward fulfilling academic requirements.

<sup>122</sup> King, *Wasauksing Enweying Nishnaabemying*.

<sup>123</sup> Written language sources are listed separately in the bibliography. Throughout this dissertation, sources of specific or individual words and phrases in Anishinaabemowin have not always been cited. Words and phrases are collective Knowledge—either from a community or associated communities. Exceptions to this include words or phrases that can be directly attributed to an individual or a publication and are included in the glossary.

<sup>124</sup> These sources include Dictionaries compiled by Baraga, Macauley, et. al., Nichols, and Rhodes; unpublished Wasauksing First Nation Lexicon; and Introduction to Anishinaabemowin textbook by Shirley Williams.

<sup>125</sup> Lindsay Marean and Kyle Malott, respectively.



Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission;<sup>126</sup> and the online Decolonial Atlas.<sup>127</sup> The process of consulting other sources was used to either trigger King-ban's memory of words he no longer used regularly, or to adapt a found word into the Wasauksing manner of speaking and writing.

### **Consent, Gifting of Semaa and Reciprocity**

To create the foundation for my Anishinaabe and academic protocols of consent, I introduced the intentions and concepts of *It Flows from the Heart* to Bodwewaadmii tribal leaders during the Nation's Council Meeting held at the 2013 Potawatomi Gathering. The following summer, a Resolution of Support for my research was put forward by the Hannahville Indian Community<sup>128</sup> and was passed by the General Council. A copy of this Resolution of Support is included as Appendix B.

Having obtained community consent and consent of the Potawatomi Nation to move forward with my research, I then crafted an invitation to participate, and an informed consent form for individual research participants (see Appendix B). In accordance with community protocol and the wishes of community Elders, I individualized the informed consent form, which included permission to take and use photographs of participants, and permission to

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<sup>126</sup> GIDAKIIMINAAN (Our Earth), An Anishinaabe Atlas of the 1836 (Upper Michigan), 1837, and 1842 Treaty Ceded Territories of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, and Mazina'igan, A Chronicle of the Lake Superior Ojibwe, various dates.

<sup>127</sup> Lippert and Engel. *The Great Lakes: An Ojibwe Perspective*, Nayaano-Nibiimaang Gichigamiin.

<sup>128</sup> The Resolution of Support was presented to council by Tammy Meshigaud (Tribal Secretary) on behalf of Chief Ken Meshigaud of the Hannahville Indian Community.

record and use guided discussions, oral vignettes, songs, and stories of water and water beings in part or in their entirety.

With participants' understanding that they may withdraw any information or their complete participation at any time, I appropriately recorded and filed written or verbal consents. Throughout the research and defence processes, I securely kept written notes, transcriptions, audio and video recordings, and photographs; and made these accessible at all times to participants and communities. Audio files and transcripts were and are stored on a password-protected, encrypted external hard drive. Following completion of this dissertation, and as per item 10 of the written informed consent to participate, permission will be requested from participants to retain audio files and digital transcripts for my future use. Future uses include potential lectures, public talks, and presentation of digital stories. I have ensured that destruction or surrender of any of the documentation is in accordance with community protocol. I consulted participants regarding accuracy of transcriptions, interpretation and presentation of their shared stories, experiences and Knowledges.

In keeping with each community's protocols and desires, I neither photographed, nor used, exhibited or published photographs of land or water without the approval of community leaders and Elders.

Bodwewaadmii practices of passing semaa and gifting were followed.<sup>129</sup> Semaa was passed to research participants as face-to-face guided discussions began. Gifts of homemade

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<sup>129</sup> Gifting or making an offering with the action of asking is also Anishinaabe protocol.

preserves, beadwork, blankets or foodstuffs such as flour were given on conclusion of our visiting and face-to-face discussions.<sup>130</sup>

### **Traveling, Visiting, and Reconnecting to Land and Water—Simultaneous Uncovering and Reweaving**

*Families sit outside the gift shop, ice cream dripping down their arms onto sun-warmed benches. The atmosphere is almost carnival-like. For most, it is a summer road trip attraction—The Big Spring at the Palms Book State Park, the source of water for Indian Lake. For me and nbazgim,<sup>131</sup> G’chi Mashkiki Nibi is much more. Our Ancestors travelled here—walking, snowshoeing and by horse—to gather g’chi twaa<sup>132</sup> Nibi as medicine, for medicine, and for Ceremony. Today we’ve traveled by car, and the parking lot is full of RVs, SUVs and cars with canoes on their roof racks.*

*I stand in line to join the maximum number of passengers allowed on the small raft and endure the chatter of tourists. It’s difficult to find a place at the rail. Asemaa<sup>133</sup> in hand, I silently mouth, “Miigwech<sup>134</sup> Nibi, miigwech Gete Anishinaabeg.” The water is clear, and deep. Mokthhewen bubbles, shifting the white sand. I watch the bubbles and count: bezhig, niizh, nswi,<sup>135</sup> and in my heart I gather Nibi. The clanking of the raft’s wire rope pulley system distracts me. We’ve reached the other side of the spring. Pink lady slippers bloom on the shore, maakinzindan<sup>136</sup> tracks of Gete Anishinaabe? A young child, helped by her father, struggles to pull the raft back to the landing.*

*Lost in thought, the tourist chatter drifts around me as I follow others off the raft. They purchase knickknacks from the gift shop before returning to their cars, while*

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Chiblow, “Anishinaabe Research Methodology,” 8.

<sup>130</sup> For those research participants whose guided discussions were conducted over the phone or via Skype, semaa and gifts were given to on the first occasion of seeing each other in person.

<sup>131</sup> *My lover, boyfriend.*

<sup>132</sup> *Sacred.*

<sup>133</sup> *Sacred tobacco.*

<sup>134</sup> *Thank you for all that you give.*

<sup>135</sup> *One, two, three.*

<sup>136</sup> *Moccasin.*

*I make my way to the dark, moist soil to stand by the water's edge and sing under the hemlocks. My song grows in volume as I remember the cool shade of other hemlocks standing, protecting the spring where I first learned to gather water.<sup>137</sup>*

Traveling, visiting and reconnection began during mnookmik<sup>138</sup> of 2015. A continuance of my reconnection to Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe territory as well as a reweaving of Knowledges and practices occurred during Spring Ceremonies at Na Nawe Gwan. While I had been participating in Ceremony at this sacred site for a decade, this year was unique. It was a time of simultaneous *uncovering* and *reweaving*. I worked with others in the restoration and physical uncovering of moktthewen to dig out accumulated mud and fill the spring well with rounded cobbles. Instructions given during a solitary pwaagan<sup>139</sup> Ceremony at the spring well the previous mnookmik had guided me to do this physical work, and to hold Ceremony in this place on the summer solstice. Ceremony was held with kwewag, aanagoininikwewag,<sup>140</sup> and Getsijig. Additional guidance was received during Ceremony as our relationship with moktthewen, the land and Gete Anishinaabeg was deepened. As a collective, we were simultaneously *uncovering* water practices through Kiinoomaagewag Aki Manidoog miinwaa Nibi Manidoog and Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad, and *reweaving* water Knowledges and practices as we shared this experience.

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<sup>137</sup> Personal Reflection, Palms Book State Park, Michigan, June 2016.

<sup>138</sup> *The time when the road gets easier, gentler; spring.*

<sup>139</sup> *Ceremonial pipe used in prayers.*

<sup>140</sup> *Two-Spirit persons.*

Traveling, Ceremony, and the gathering and sharing of water Knowledges and practices continued throughout Niibin. Visiting, *reweaving* through Ceremony continued, and guided discussions commenced in August 2015 at the Annual Potawatomi Gathering hosted by the Forest County Potawatomi Community in Carter, Wisconsin. A discussion of the methods used in all guided discussions follows.

Guided discussions were held with a total of twenty-six purposefully selected research participants, who, together, represent a cross-section of the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe and Anishinaabe genders.<sup>141</sup> These discussions initially focused on Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii, and Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Elders, Knowledge Carriers, adults and youth.<sup>142</sup> I gathered oral histories, and water Knowledges and practices. As the covering impacts of our relocation and forced removal were acknowledged and given voice, research participants began to move forward toward personal and collective healing. Our Knowledges and practices then flowed in stories and from Ceremony. As my research progressed, the circle of Anishinaabe Knowledge Carriers was expanded to include self-identifying non-binary, Two-Spirit and queer Anishinaabeg.

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<sup>141</sup> See *Appendix C: Guided Discussions and Research Participants* for a table summarizing the identities of research participants.

<sup>142</sup> Some research participants are regarded within their communities as Elders or Knowledge Carriers. Other participants identified themselves as adults or older youth. I am choosing to refer to all of the research participants as Knowledge Carriers in acknowledgement of their gifts and their Knowledges gained from lived experience.

Participants received, in advance, written and/or verbal information outlining the scope of discussions, and overview of the research intent and processes. Our guided discussions were facilitated by discussion prompts,<sup>143</sup> rather than a series of questions, and focused on:

- lived experiences and recollection of the Elders and Knowledge Carriers relative to the *covering* of Knowledges—impacts of settler colonialism on themselves and family, their community, and the remembering, use and sharing of water Knowledges and practices
- gathering of water Knowledges and historic and contemporary practices, their sources and transmission
- gathering of water stories and stories of water beings
- lived experiences of the Elders and Knowledge Carriers relative to the *uncovering*—the remembering, using, and sharing—of water Knowledges and practices
- Elders’ and Knowledge Carriers’ experiences with, and thoughts on gender responsibilities
- Lived experiences of Elders and Knowledge Carriers relative to the *reweaving*—the sharing of water Knowledges and practices with youth and others, as well as the motivations for sharing

Verbal or written consent was obtained prior to guided discussions. The majority of guided discussions were audio recorded using a digital audio recorder. Audio files were downloaded onto my personal, encrypted laptop as soon as possible following our visits. Audio files were

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<sup>143</sup> See *Appendix C: Guided Discussions and Research Participants* for a summary of discussion prompts.

then transcribed, by the author, in entirety. Word documents of transcripts, as well as audio files, were uploaded to an encrypted and password protected external hard drive and deleted from my personal laptop. Transcripts were either emailed or printed and mailed to research participants for their review. All research participants responded to this review, either via email or by requesting a telephone conversation. Some participants added additional thoughts or supplemented our discussion by sharing other stories.

Handwritten notes were taken during guided discussions with research participants who declined audio recording. Notes were transcribed into Word documents, and a review process similar to that used for audio recorded discussions was followed.

With permission from local Elders and Knowledge Carriers, I sat with the land and water in Ceremony,<sup>144</sup> learning directly from Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Aki<sup>145</sup> and using still photography of the land and water as a means of self-reflection and remembering.

*Uncovering and reweaving* of water practices occurred during the Sunrise Ceremonies held at the 2015 Potawatomi Gathering. These Ceremonies were held on four consecutive mornings, and each morning, Ceremony followed the practices of a different Bodwewaadmii

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<sup>144</sup> According to Sherri Longboat, “the practice of ceremony is one way the Anishinabek meet their obligations to the Creator for maintaining relationships in the web of life, and receive the knowledge for the appropriate behavior along this path.” (First Nations Water Security, 187); Deborah McGregor writes, “guidance comes from ceremonies and Elders...” (“Traditional Ecological Knowledge: An Anishnabe Woman’s Perspective,” 104).

<sup>145</sup> *Land and water, all of Creation in Anishinaabe territory.*

community.<sup>146</sup> Songs, stories and Knowledge was shared by Elders and Knowledge Carriers and gifted to youth and those participating.

Traveling and the simultaneous *uncovering* and *reweaving* resumed with visits to the southwestern Michigan Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii community of Pokégnek Bodéwadmik,<sup>147</sup> first in Mnookmik and then in late Niibin of 2016. Abinsaaniawag research participant, Andy Jackson, extended an invitation to participate in the Pokégnek Bodéwadmik community Water Ceremony and Water Walk, as well as her community's powwow. During this visit I spent time in Ceremony on the land and by the water of spiritually significant spring fed lake further *uncovering* water practices through Kinoomaagewag Aki Manidoog minwaa Nibi Manidoog, and Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad. Collective sharing and *reweaving* water Knowledges and practices was also furthered during the community Water Ceremony and Water Walk.

*Enveloped in nagamonan<sup>148</sup> of the orioles, I sit here—Jiigibiig, a liminal space existing along the water's edge the transition between worlds physical and spiritual. Reflections of Mtigwaaning join Nibi and sky. The medicine of moktthewen is encircled by shining white sand, glowing through clear turquoise water. Nibiseh Manidoosag and Nokmisag dance together adorned in green, singing ancient songs. The circle of old ones faces inwards toward the source of life, knowledge and sustenance. Joy and connection honor her.*

*My song lifts with the spiral of pwaagan aatig, both echoing of the spiral of life and the simultaneity of time. Animikii binesiyag add their voices preparing to*

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<sup>146</sup> These communities included Boom bye goo, Abinsaaniawag, and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii.

<sup>147</sup> Pokagon Potawatomi Community, Dowagiac, Michigan.

<sup>148</sup> *Songs.*



*bring water from the skyworld. Their arrival expands that sacred liminal space. Jiigibiig and Mtigwaaning transform into the green fire of Waasnode,<sup>149</sup> and the wind picks up carrying prayers, smoke and gratitude.<sup>150</sup>*

In between these visits to Pokégnek Bodéwadmik Akiing,<sup>151</sup> I again participated in Ceremony at Na Nawe Gwan—personally fasting for Nibi, and *uncovering* and *reweaving* water Knowledges and practices with Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo and Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg.

In early dwaagek,<sup>152</sup> I travelled to the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii community of my Mishomis<sup>153</sup> to visit with research participants, and to participate in the Fall Feast and Ceremonies at “The Hill.”<sup>154</sup> Dbaajimowinag of family histories, disconnection and the covering of water Knowledges and practices were gathered during guided discussions with Getsijig in their homes. Water Knowledges and practices were also *uncovered* in these discussions, and as I reconnected with the land and waters of my grandfather’s family.

*Two hard-packed red soil tracks lead through the entrance marked by a pillared break in a rock wall. This old road guides us into lush green gentleness past the spring-fed pond rippling in the breeze. Sema is offered with gratitude and reverence before proceeding. Mindful of chiggers and ticks, my sister and I step carefully from the two-track searching for the life sustaining springs. It is easy to*

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<sup>149</sup> *The fire that burns from afar; Northern lights, aurora borealis.*

<sup>150</sup> Personal reflection, Pokégnek Bodéwadmik Akiing, August 2016.

<sup>151</sup> *Country or territory.*

<sup>152</sup> *When the colours blend; autumn.*

<sup>153</sup> This community is the federally recognized Citizen Potawatomi Nation of Shawnee, Oklahoma. I am an enrolled member of this nation.

<sup>154</sup> A detailed discussion of my connection to this community is included in *Miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak: Chapter 4. “The Hill”* is discussed in *Niibnoong: Chapter 6.*

*feel the comfort this oasis-like refuge provided by our Ancestors. My mind sees, my ears hear, and my heart remembers Nokmisag gathering Nibi here—cool, sacred water to lift and share in long-practiced Ceremony learned on the shores of Mishii'igan.*<sup>155</sup>

To honor my reciprocal relationships with research participants, the land and waters, and to fulfill my responsibility to Knowledges gained throughout my research journey, I initiated the process of *reweaving* by sharing Knowledges and songs with my Boom bye goo relatives while we were together in Ceremony.

There was a lapse in my traveling, visiting, *uncovering* and *reweaving*. The health issues of my partner, Stewart King-ban, required me to take on full-time caretaking responsibilities and limit my travel. As a result, face-to-face guided discussions pivoted to telephone conversations and/or via video conferencing. Visiting and sharing with research participants at the 2016 and 2017 Annual Potawatomi Gathering was not possible, nor was it possible in 2018 as I was observing a full year of mourning.

This *reweaving* has continued in other spaces, places and settings. Throughout my research journey I have shared dbaajimowinag, Knowledges and practices in presentations at academic conferences and events, within course lectures, and during Sunrise Ceremonies at the

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<sup>155</sup> *Grand lake; Lake Michigan*. Personal reflection, Sacred Heart Oklahoma, September 22, 2016.

Elders and Traditional Peoples Gathering.<sup>156</sup> *Reweaving* has also contributed to my methods of making meaning.<sup>157</sup>

### **Making Meaning—Dbaajimowinag and Mikwendmaan Gaabi Zhiwebziyan**

*It Flows from the Heart* has been a journey using Indigenous ways of knowing and academic methods to learn, reconnect, revitalize, share, and make meaning. My traveling and visiting, combined with building context through story, and learning by doing flowed together in this data analysis phase of my research. Categories of data analyzed include dbaajimowinag from guided discussions; written and oral personal reflections from all aspects of the research; songs; visual images; oral and written stories of our water relations; and historical/archival documents.

Dbaajimowinag, Knowledges, discussions of water-related practices, and narratives of both the process of sharing Knowledges and the motivation to do so, were compiled from the guided discussions with my research participants. All were hand-coded by theme and analyzed through Thematic Content Analysis. Content-related themes were used to group and synthesize shared information, and to organize the chapters of this dissertation. *Niibnoong: Chapter 6* and

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<sup>156</sup> The First Peoples House of Learning at Trent University organizes this annual gathering. Academic conferences and events have included the Indigenous Women’s Symposium and Sustainable Trent Conference at Trent University, the opening of “Nibi Bimadiziwin” at the North Space Gallery at Humber College (North Campus), and CINSA 2020 (Canadian Indigenous and Native Studies Association). Course lectures have been delivered by the author at Trent University and Queen’s University in Ontario.

<sup>157</sup> Making meaning is comparable to the processes of synthesizing and analysing gathered data.

*Biskaabiiyang miinwaa Mino Nowendj Ge Kaa: Chapter 7* are organized according to these themes of water-related practices and motivations for sharing Knowledges. Dbaajimowinag of removal and relocation shared by research participants and written narratives and historical information gathered from other sources<sup>158</sup> were also hand-coded by theme; they are incorporated into *Miisah geget be zhiwebak: Chapter 4*.<sup>159</sup> Historical information was used to construct a timeline from the early 1600s through 2020. Construction of the timeline was key in my making meaning as it facilitated processing and synthesis of connection and relationship between Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe communities, newcomers, political actions and events in Europe, and on the Big Turtle related to settler colonialism, cultural genocide and the acculturation and assimilation of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe. *Miisah geget be zhiwebak*<sup>160</sup> was divided into *kiiowadag*,<sup>161</sup> or periods, from a Bodwewaadmii perspective and named to reflect the Bodwewaadmii experience. The intention of the historical component of this research is to acknowledge and summarize events and/or actions that resulted in the covering of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Knowledges and practices. As such, much of *Miisah geget be zhiwebak* is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Yet, the importance of *Miisah geget be zhiwebak* remains; historical actions and events for each *kiiowad*<sup>162</sup> were summarized into

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<sup>158</sup> These sources include published academic writing as well as published and unpublished grey literature.

<sup>159</sup> *Miisah geget be zhiwebak* is what really happened.

<sup>160</sup> *"This is what really happened."*

<sup>161</sup> *Time periods.*

<sup>162</sup> *Time period.*

tables and are included in *Appendix A: Tables of Maps of Historical Periods* for review by readers and those conducting research on Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe.

Research participants were asked to review my analysis and interpretations of their shared stories, Knowledges and practices. Word document drafts of chapters 4, 6 and 7 were emailed to all research participants, as appropriate. Draft chapters were accompanied by an index of pages containing content specific to the participant. Research participants completed content review and gave approval—some requested revision of content for clarity or provided additional interpretation.<sup>163</sup> Email and telephone communication were used to discuss requested revisions. Revisions were reviewed by individual research participants; most participants did not make a request to review the revisions.

Biskaabiiyang principles were applied in the process of making meaning. Returning to ourselves and our ways of creating understanding included walking on Aki,<sup>164</sup> Kinoomaagewag Aki Manidoo miinwaa Nibi Manidoo, sitting beside and with Nibi, creating visual images and maps, sharing and applying gained Knowledges, and adapting verbal processing into Mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan. I have written about what I think has happened to me—reflecting upon shared experiences and stories, healing, identity and indigeneity, and Ceremony in my research journal. Reflexive thinking and writing were an entry point in the processing of my emotions associated with the historical trauma of the removal and relocation of

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<sup>163</sup> Two of the twenty-five guided discussion participants chose to not complete content review. These participants gave implicit approval.

<sup>164</sup> Refers to the earth, or land, ground.

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg.<sup>165</sup> In addition, it has facilitated b'gidnan and continued noojimo'iwewin.<sup>166</sup> Contents of my research journal and audio-recorded reflections were coded by theme in the same manner as guided discussion transcripts and other sources. A limited number of these reflections are interspersed throughout this dissertation with the intention of demonstrating connection and methods of making meaning, as well as to enhance the reader's understanding.

Returning to ourselves honors our Knowledges and the making of meaning by applying Knowledges and embodiment of practice. Water practices shared by research participants were embodied during my on-the-land research and in Ceremony. My understanding deepened with each application, as I made connections between practice, Knowledges and lived experience. Likewise, the transcribing of connections and my beginnings of understanding into visual images is a step forward in our returning to ourselves. These visual images are reminiscent of the use of symbolism/narratives told by pictographs, scrolls and petroglyphs to record journeys and make meaning. Images have been shared throughout this dissertation with intent of enhancing the understanding of readers from our communities, as well as supporting the work of future Indigenous scholars. Early in my research process, I was encouraged by mentors and colleagues to use this journey as an opportunity to gather and write about the Knowledges that

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<sup>165</sup> See *Miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak: Chapter 4*.

<sup>166</sup> *Healing*.

could fill a gap—knowledges that I had needed to access or read in my own Biskaabiiyang journey. As the concepts and themes flowed together, meaning was made, and restorying<sup>167</sup> or interpretation followed. Meaning was then storied and presented through written narrative, digital storytelling and compilation of still photography.

### ***Reweaving: Sharing Knowledge and Stories***

Reciprocity is an essential element of Anishinaabeodziiwin. This research embodies reciprocity through the *uncovering*, *reweaving* and community sharing of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag’s water Knowledges and practices. I strongly believe in giving back in multiple ways to all involved—the Bodwewaadmii, Shkaakmiikwe and g’chi twaa Nibi. Reciprocity has flowed from the heart. Documented Knowledges and practices, insights and interpretations were shared directly with research participants and their communities, and the Bodwewaadmii Nation as a whole.

I acknowledge my responsibility to the Knowledges and practices gathered, and my responsibility to our waters. Sharing or *reweaving* is a continual on-going process, flowing from my heart to our youth, Elders and communities. This *reweaving* has continued in other spaces, places and settings. Throughout my research journey, I have shared dbaajimowinag,

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<sup>167</sup> I am using the concept of “restorying” in similar ways to the context of Jo-ann Archibald’s Indigenous Storywork, Leanne Simpson’s cultural revitalization and resurgence context, and in the Indigenous theatre context of using story and narrative analysis to create new narratives or stories. (Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork*; Simpson, *Dancing*.)

Knowledges and practices (in accordance with permission given in consent forms) in presentations at academic conferences and events, within course lectures, and during Sunrise Ceremonies at the Elders and Traditional Peoples Gathering. In addition, this research has resulted in the development of a half-year course, “Indigenous Knowledges, Water and the Great Lakes,” for the Indigenous Environmental Studies and Sciences program<sup>168</sup> at Trent University.

In addition to the formal dissertation produced for the Academy, I have created a digital story to introduce the sharing of water-related Knowledges and practices, and to honour our multi-sensory ways of gathering and experiencing Knowledge. This will be first presented at the 2021 Annual Potawatomi Gathering hosted by the Hannahville Indian Community in late summer. The digital story, as well as water-related Knowledges and practices, including songs, will be shared in a workshop. A Sharing Circle, Water Ceremony and feast will follow the workshop.<sup>169</sup> The reciprocal intention of the workshop, Water Ceremony and Sharing Circle is the further *reweaving* or open transmission of Knowledges and practices between our Elders, Knowledge Carriers and youth. Within Indigenous Research Methodologies, Sharing Circles are opportunities for sharing of story and Knowledge, and involve sharing “all aspects of the

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<sup>168</sup> This program is an emerging academic discipline with the Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies. This course will be offered for the first time during the 2022 winter term.

<sup>169</sup> The global COVID-19 pandemic postponed the 2020 Annual Potawatomi Gathering. The intended completion of this research was to have occurred at this gathering. The 2021 Annual Potawatomi Gathering was again postponed due to pandemic. I now anticipate presenting my research at the 2022 Annual Potawatomi Gathering hosted by the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi.



individual—heart, mind, body and spirit.”<sup>170</sup> Each person participating—Elders, Knowledge Carriers and youth, as well as the facilitator—are of equal importance in the process. “There is a recognition that the spirits of our ancestors and the Creator are present in the circle and guide the process . . . The circle is “nonjudgmental, helpful and supportive.”<sup>171</sup>

A copy of the digital story, audio recordings and transcripts of discussions will be given to participating Elders and Knowledge Carriers. At the request of individual research participants, the digital story, electronic versions of their guided discussion transcripts, and copies of their audio recordings will be given to the appropriate Bodwewaadmii community.

### **Respect, Responsibility, Relationship and Reciprocity—Ethical Protocol**

Mi’gmaq scholar, Fred Metallic shares, “through ceremony, we are reminded of our agreements with all beings—with the water, and with all the beings that depend on the water.”<sup>172</sup> Aimée Craft, Anishinaabe-Métis scholar, explains further and extends these agreements to relationality, responsibility, and collective and individual obligations:

The Anishinaabe way of life is centered on relationships, and responsibilities are associated to each of those relationships. These relationships give rise to rights, obligations and responsibilities. Right, obligations and responsibilities are exercised both individually and collectively by the Anishinaabe.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Lavallée, *Practical Application*, 22.

<sup>171</sup> Lavallée, paraphrasing Nabigon, Hagey, Webster and MacKay, 28.

<sup>172</sup> Metallic, “Strengthening our Relations,” 64.

<sup>173</sup> Craft, *Breathing Life into the Stone Fort Treaty*, 16.

Inspired by Craft, and my Elders I acknowledge my responsibility as a Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe to g'chi twaa Nibi, to Anishinaabe Aki, to my Clan, my community and my Nation. I acknowledge my responsibility to our youth and to our future generations—the people of tomorrow will see my tracks. I acknowledge my responsibility to our Knowledges, our ways of being and coming to know. And I acknowledge the trust of Elders, and my responsibility to uphold this trust. These responsibilities and relationships guide my journey.

Knowledge genealogy must also be recognized and shared when upholding responsibilities to Knowledges. Gikendaaswin, dynamic and ever-changing, is not human-sourced or created by one individual. Rather, it is collective, with a lineage of teachers stretching back through the spiral of time to Nanaboozhoo, the original Anishinaabe researcher. Nanaboozhoo learned from the land, from the beings of Creation and from Manidoog. Explicitly naming those beings<sup>174</sup> who have transferred Knowledge to us, either as individuals or collectively, is akin to academic citation of sources. Throughout this research and writing, there has been, whenever possible, an acknowledgement of Elders, Knowledge Carriers and other beings who have generously gifted Knowledges. The application of the diversity of forms of Knowledges over a duration of time deepens one's personal understanding. This is challenging to cite in accordance with academic protocols, but has been addressed by the extensive use of footnotes.

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<sup>174</sup> In addition to non-human teachers, Gikendaaswin is transmitted by human individuals such as a parent, grandparent or great-grandparent, as well as academics, language teachers, Knowledge Carriers and Ceremony leaders.

## Semaa and Gifting

I remember that as Nanaboozhoo traveled the world, listening and learning, this Knowledge was given: “The Creator has placed spirits everywhere. There are spirits in the rocks. There are spirits in the water. All of us spirits are an extension of Gitche Manitou. All of us must answer to him. Greet us with Tobacco and we will tell you the secrets of the Creation.”<sup>175</sup> Like our Great Teacher, I have followed our ethical protocol of responsibility, relationship, respect and reciprocity. I gifted Semaa, or sacred tobacco, to tribal leaders when I presented the intent of my research and requested permission to proceed, and to Elders and Knowledge Carriers when I requested their participation. Research participants were gifted with fruit preserves, canned vegetables and/or other useful handmade items during individual guided discussions. Reciprocity to research participants, youth and community members flowed from the sharing of Knowledges and practices, as well as the Water Ceremony and the feast following our Sharing Circle.

## Protection of Knowledges

Key in my research protocol is the ownership, protection and sharing of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe water Knowledges and practices. I understand that our Knowledges belong to and with our Knowledge Carriers, their families, clans and communities, and, by extension, to our Nation as a whole. I consulted Knowledge Carriers during the gathering, interpretation and

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<sup>175</sup> Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 54.

presentation of Knowledges. Unless specifically requested, I did not record, photograph, document or share Ceremony in any written form.

## **Second Use**

All research participants, as per the written informed consent to participate (see *Appendix B: Research Ethics*), were made aware of the second use of this research, including future conference presentations, publications, and creative endeavors. If secondary writing, publication or presentation of this research will occur, participants will be contacted for secondary approval as appropriate and in advance. In addition, participants will be listed as co-authors of any secondary publications, and any proceeds from royalties will be given to participants' community language or culture/history department, or an equivalent organization that a participant might specify.

As previously discussed, permission will be requested from participants to retain audio files and digital transcripts for my future use, specifically for professional use including potential lectures, public talks, and presentation of digital stories. The possibility of archiving research participant transcript(s) and recordings at the archives of the Potawatomi communities in Wisconsin, Michigan, Kansas, Oklahoma and Ontario was discussed with each participant during the informed consent process. The benefits and limitations of archiving were discussed, as well as the unknowns of how archived information might be used in the future by unknown persons accessing this information. No research participants have requested archiving of the recordings and transcripts of their guided discussions.

## **Application of Biskaabiiyang to Knowledge Transmission and Mobilization**

The transmission or mobilization of Knowledges shared within the seven chapters of this dissertation embody returning to ourselves through our stories and through reflective, as well as reflexive writing. The organization of this dissertation using the seasonal cycle/spiral of Anishinaabeodziwin both reflects and demonstrates Biskaabiiyang, as does the choice to move beyond the hegemonic dogma of a rigid dissertation format by incorporating the source review and the use of Anishinaabemowin throughout the seven chapters.

*It is Always Beginning: Chapter 1* demonstrates returning to our ways of understanding the space/time continuum in the intentional organization of this dissertation within the cycle of the seasons. The application of Biskaabiiyang in *Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganan: Chapter 2* includes multiple 'round trips'—returning to and embodying relationality with land/water and beings; understanding the layers of complexity from which knowledge and language come from; use of Anishinaabemowin place names to remove the names and land-related concepts of the newcomers (ownership, dominance and commodification); acknowledging the land as our relative and Ancestor; and bringing forward the narratives of the land and our mutual relationship. *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin, E zhi nsatamaan: Chapter 3* decolonizes Anishinaabe theory by bringing forward our intellectual traditions, teachings and culture. Centering theory within Anishinaabeodziwin validates Anishinaabe Knowledges and philosophies and brings healing.

Principles of Biskaabiiyang were applied in the writing of *Miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak: Chapter 4*. The narrative of what really happened to our People, the Bodwewaadmii

Anishinaabeg, privileges our own stories, or dbaajimowinag, told in our own voices. In addition, this narrative decolonizes the linear nature of history told from a settler colonial perspective. Rather than beginning with the arrival of the newcomers, our lived experiences begin with a specific entry point into the Anishinaabe spiral of the space/time continuum.

*Dbaajimowinag: Chapter 6* and *Biskaabiiyang miinwaa Mino Ndowndgige Kaa: Chapter 7* follow this chapter's discussion of G'yak chigewin, Methodology and Methods, and share the findings of this research using a decolonizing approach. Both Chapters 6 and 7 privilege Anishinaabe voices, lived experiences and work to bring our Knowledges, practices and perspectives to the forefront of a continuous time of plenty, Apane Niibnoong.

## EKO NIIZHING NIIBNOONG (Second Summer)

### Niibnoong: Chapter 6

Niibnoong,<sup>1</sup> a time of plenty, is the season of visiting, gathering, of Ceremony, trading, jiimaanke,<sup>2</sup> namings, marriages and gardening. It is a space and time of Knowledge sharing between extended families and communities. Sharing a synthesis and details of the dbaajimowinag<sup>3</sup> and water practices shared with me by Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo<sup>4</sup> Bodwewaadmii, Boom bye goo<sup>5</sup> Bodwewaadmii, Abinsaaniawag<sup>6</sup> Bodwewaadmii and other Anishinaabeg is the focus of this chapter. Knowledges gained from sources other than my research participants,<sup>7</sup> and my own making meaning of my research journey experiences are also shared.

### **Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad**

*A circle surrounding giizis<sup>8</sup> is mirrored by our family gathered for spring Ceremonies. Our circle imagines mtigwaakik's<sup>9</sup> coming. This guidance from a bright blue cloudless sky, prompts me to sit amongst thick mosquitos and lift*

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<sup>1</sup> *A time of plenty; summer.*

<sup>2</sup> *Making a canoe.*

<sup>3</sup> *Personal stories.*

<sup>4</sup> *They use a canoe; Canoe Bodwewaadmii.*

<sup>5</sup> *They use horses.*

<sup>6</sup> *Those who stayed in place.*

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix C for a table of research participants.

<sup>8</sup> *Sun.*

<sup>9</sup> *Water drum.*

*Nokmis pwaagan.<sup>10</sup> Sitting on the trunk of a moss-covered downed maple, moisture rose through the bottom of my moccasins, through my skirt, connecting us. Heart and eyes look over moktthewen<sup>11</sup> as smoke curls, a spiral drifting upwards. Fireflies light a solstice circle of singing kwewag.<sup>12</sup> Our voices are accompanied the old ones who also came to the spring well in song and Ceremony. Beneath the drum, waaskwonensan<sup>13</sup> dances within the well, Nibisehn Manidoog.<sup>14</sup>*

Research participants have shared their personal understandings of water practices and teachings that have been gained through participating in and experiencing Ceremony. This diversity of individual and collective Ceremonies includes personal offerings, Water Ceremony, Sunrise Ceremony, Full Moon Ceremony, Pipe Ceremony, Fasting, Sweat Lodge, funerals, as well as regenerated Ceremonies, and recently created practices such as Water Walks. Knowledges and practices transmitted, learned and relearned through Ceremony are essential to reclamation, identity, belonging and our practices of caretaking.

*Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad<sup>15</sup>*

Honoring Nibi<sup>16</sup> through offerings, song, and prayer is practiced both individually and collectively either as a stand-alone Ceremony or as a significant part of more complex and

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<sup>10</sup> *Grandmother pipe.*

<sup>11</sup> *Bubbling spring.*

<sup>12</sup> *Women.*

<sup>13</sup> *Spirit light.*

<sup>14</sup> *Water spirits; Personal reflection, Na Nawe Gwan, Campbellsport, Wisconsin, June 2016.*

<sup>15</sup> *Learning from Ceremony.*

<sup>16</sup> *Water.*



layered Ceremonies. Water Ceremony and its elements are frequently unique to individuals, families, and communities, reflecting individual agency and the ethic of non-interference. A consistency of practice and protocol is noted amongst Ceremony families and specific ceremonial lodges, yet interpretation of song and speaking for, or about, Nibi may vary with the individual holding Ceremony. These various interpretations originate from individuals' dreams and fasting, teachings from Nibi herself, and teachings of Elders and other Knowledge Holders from both inside communities and/or lodges, and from throughout Anishinaabe Aki.<sup>17</sup> There are a multitude of water songs shared amongst the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe and the Anishinaabe Peoples. Songs shared by Knowledge Holders in this research are included, with permission; words to shared songs are included within Appendix D. Copper vessels are commonly used to hold and share water in Ceremony, as well as to gather water for Ceremony.<sup>18</sup> Spring water, well water, rainwater, specifically Nibi brought by Animikii Binesiyag<sup>19</sup>, and bottled water are all used by those holding water Ceremony.

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<sup>17</sup> *Great Lakes Basin, Anishinaabe homelands.*

<sup>18</sup> See *Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag: Chapter 2* for additional discussion of miskwaabik (copper) and its use by Anishinaabeg.

<sup>19</sup> *Thunderbirds.*

Marie Tredway, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe Getsit,<sup>20</sup> did not learn water songs and Ceremony from others, she learned through meditation<sup>21</sup> and has brought the practice forward to her granddaughter. Walter Cooper-ban, an important Elder, mentor and teacher for Marie and her family, told her [that “we as women know what we know [water practices and Ceremony]. We have to feel it, to let it out from inside ourselves.” Marie shared her process of coming to know and recreating this practice—she puts her semaa<sup>22</sup> down and meditates, preferably in front of a fire. She asks, again using her semaa in the early morning or evening, if it [her water practice] is being done right. Marie observes the fire. She shared that one can learn a lot by watching the fire, specifically how ishkode<sup>23</sup> responds to people’s semaa offerings and words: “Semaa smoke flare-ups indicate the Ancestors are listening.” Through this individual and personal process, Marie came to know and to hold water Ceremony with her family and the Bodwewaadmii and inter-tribal communities in Oklahoma. Marie’s embodiment and understanding of water and water Ceremony is deep and filled with emotion: “Water is life, it is purity.”

Marie’s granddaughter, Kristy Phillips lovingly remembers. “I got to see that water [ceremony] every summer, spring, winter and fall when we had that fire behind our house

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<sup>20</sup> *Elder*; Kristy Phillips, Marie’s granddaughter, requested additional specificity to her family’s Bodwewaadmii identity. “We are Shiishiibeniiyek, or Mission Band Potawatomis...there is so much history, culture, and connection with this title.”

<sup>21</sup> Marie is hesitant to use the word ‘prayer’ as she associates the practice of praying with christianity and Catholicism. Her granddaughter, Kristy Phillips, shares this hesitancy, explaining that prayer has a religious context and possibly connotes a different perspective than her conceptualization of prayer.

<sup>22</sup> *Tobacco*.

<sup>23</sup> *Fire*.

[during seasonal feasts], there was the water. She [Marie] always talked to the water.” As a youth, Kristy’s perspective and understanding was quite different than it is now. “At the time it was methodical and just something what you do. And now that I am older, I think it was really insightful that she instilled that in us, I just didn’t understand at the time.” Kristy is proud of her Grandmother’s work to reclaim and recreate water Ceremony: “It almost makes me tear up because she had to drop her ego and say well, I may look Native, but I don’t know, and what can we do to start knowing it again. And she has worked to bring that back to us. Water was always so amazing to her.” Marie would gather rainwater and ask Kristy to speak to it. Kristy shared that she would laugh and ask Marie what she should say. Now, in her thirties, Kristy has a deeper understanding of water teachings and Ceremony. She embraces both, carrying these practices forward with her daughter. Kristy’s understanding of water and water teachings is intimately connected with her identity. “The teachings that the water gives us, the water can literally bring us back to who we are as Anishinaabeg people. As a recovering Catholic, it is water that helped me understand Nishinaabe<sup>24</sup> concepts. I am really grateful for that.”

Kristy<sup>25</sup> was born and raised in Oklahoma. She now lives and works within the Hannahville Indian Community in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula. Nibi inspired her to go north: “The Great Lakes, they called me. I remember the first day I came up here, I went to the lake, and I put some semaa in it. I felt like I had been there before.” She spoke of coming home and

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<sup>24</sup> *Anishinaabe*.

<sup>25</sup> Kristy identifies herself in Zhitchge, the ‘doing it’ stage of life. The Seven Stages of Life are discussed in the “Components of Gikendaaswin” section of *Anishinaabeodziiwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin, Chapter 3*.

gaining deeper understanding and connection with not only the land and water, but also with the language. Kristy implicitly spoke about her genetic or cellular memory: “I have lived here before. I am home. We lived by the water with the trees, the flora and fauna that lived by the water, not like in Oklahoma. You come up here and the language makes so much sense. A whole flood of the things that I had been taught; it all made sense.” Her coming to know is assisted and enriched by a non-human teacher. Kristy’s non-human teacher is connected physically and spiritually to Nibi, associated with where the water comes from. This being travels with and within in Nibi, bringing teachings to her.

Kristy’s perspective and understanding of water is beyond emotional; it is deeply spiritual and an embodiment or physical manifestation of G’chi Zhemnidoo.<sup>26</sup> In Kristy’s interpretation, G’chi Zhemnidoo, the Creator, is a wavelength and type of matter. This form of matter is both large enough to make up the universe and small enough to be in living cells of all beings, and in lightning. Nibi is an example of this frequency/wavelength/matter—it takes on the form of anything that is in. “Water is small enough to be in our cells; it is large enough to be in clouds. It is always around us, but we don’t see it. It is the most mysterious thing on this planet because it can be solid, liquid and gas. Everything we use in our lives is water or involves water.”

Lakota Pochedley,<sup>27</sup> Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe, also feels the pull of the Great Lakes. “Lake Michigan was always home. When I moved away it made me realize how much

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<sup>26</sup> Great, kind and forgiving spirit; Creator.

<sup>27</sup> Lakota identifies herself in Zhitchge, the ‘doing it’ stage of life.

love I had for those places and how that [feeling] doesn't exist other places. Those types of waters don't exist in Oklahoma." Lakota understands, through informal and experiential learning, the importance of the Great Lakes waterways and water systems. She also speaks to the disconnection with the land and water of Anishinaabe Aki experienced in Oklahoma as being an obstacle to incorporate revitalized water teachings into her daily life. "I am always trying to think about how I can really apply it to my life—you know, live it. How do you live it in Oklahoma? Because growing up, up north you are still in that environment that these animals lived in; our stories make sense there. Here in Oklahoma, it doesn't always translate. Constantly a question I have is how do we revitalize these practices in a place where they don't always make sense?"

Lakota, as a youth and now as a young woman, has experienced and participated in water Ceremonies while attending the annual Potawatomi gatherings and language conferences. She remembers water Ceremony and understanding why gratitude for Nibi was being expressed. While working and living in Oklahoma, Full Moon Ceremony and Water Ceremony were being revitalized within her Bodwewaadmii community.<sup>28</sup> Lakota participated and began to learn songs that honor Nibi. One song in particular resonated with her, and her identity. "It was the 'Nibi Waboo'<sup>29</sup> song. Sometimes it is hard to explain but I feel like water is

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<sup>28</sup> Lakota shared that most of her teachings come from participating in Seasonal Feasts at the Hill (see footnote 33 for explanation of "The Hill"), as well as Full Moon ceremonies and other ceremonies. Her teachers include Esther Lowden, Ruby Withrow-ban, Shelley Watson, and Rhonda Rhodd.

<sup>29</sup> See *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin: Chapter 3, and Appendix D: Nagomanan*.

such a core to who we are as Potawatomi, but also as women.” Lakota shared that water teachings are particularly important in Oklahoma where women are not always respected.<sup>30</sup>

Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe, Kelli Mosteller<sup>31</sup> has reclaimed and revitalized water practices through Ceremony learned by traveling north from Oklahoma to multiple Bodwewaadmii communities. Her story is one of individual and collective learning and teaching. Kelli has brought Water and Full Moon Ceremonies to the Citizen Potawatomi Nation in Shawnee, Oklahoma. Kelli speaks to the diversity of ceremonial practice:

I can tell you that of all the water Ceremonies that I have been to, I don't think that I have been to two that have been the same, ever! But the underlying meaning is there, the underlying premise of standing before your community and taking on that woman's role of speaking for the water and thanking Creator and thanking Mother Earth for it are always there. Now the mechanics, the actual Ceremony itself changes slightly and I think it is beautiful to have another woman come in and share what she has been taught . . . I think it is a beautiful thing.

Esther Lowden, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe and Osage Getsit,<sup>32</sup> holds Seasonal Feast Ceremonies, Sings<sup>33</sup> and gatherings at “The Hill.” The Hill is an eighty-acre remnant of Esther's grandmother, Jane Curley Kahdot's 360-acre Dawes Act Allotment. The family has kept this remnant—it will never be sold.<sup>34</sup> A small community of Bodwewaadmiig, self-identified as the Mission Band of Potawatomi, have collaborated in the building of a round house housing

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<sup>30</sup> See “Gender Roles,” later in this chapter, for additional discussion.

<sup>31</sup> Kelli identifies herself in Zhitchge, the ‘doing it’ stage of life.

<sup>32</sup> Esther identifies herself in Getsit, the Elder stage of life.

<sup>33</sup> Sings are gatherings where participants sing and drum.

<sup>34</sup> The eighty acres are within the middle portion of the original allotment and include the site of the “old home place.” Esther shared that that are two graves here. Two young children (an infant girl and a small boy) passed away, long ago, during the winter months. At the time of their deaths, burial in the cemetery was not possible.

the sacred fire, a longhouse and cook shack, as well as a sweat lodge on the land. Water Ceremony plays an essential role in the seasonal feasts, both at sunrise and sunset, and is held prior to Pipe Ceremony. Esther's understanding and practice of Water Ceremony has inter-tribal roots. She grew up with both Osage and Bodwewaadmii teachings and practices, attributing practices of taking care of and conserving Nibi to her Osage upbringing. Water Ceremony, as Esther holds it during seasonal feasts, was brought to Oklahoma by the Pokégnek Bodéwadmik.<sup>35</sup> The wives of John Warren and Clarence White spoke with Esther and other women in their community, teaching them the Ceremony and sharing a water song. Additional ceremonial practice is added as the seasonal feasts continue. "Peggy Malone used to go up north a lot, Minnesota or Michigan. She would visit with some Ojibwes.<sup>36</sup> She said they are a lot like the Potawatomis. She would bring stuff, things back about the water." The copper vessel and wooden bowl and spoon that Esther uses in Ceremony were gifts from a Bodwewaadmii inini,<sup>37</sup> David Whittall, and a male Elder of the Kickapoo Tribe, respectively.

Barbara Ann Warren,<sup>38</sup> sister of John Warren and Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmiikwe Getsit,<sup>39</sup> has helped to revitalize Water Ceremony within her family and community. Barbara Ann learned through observation and participation. Her mentor Abinsaaniawag

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<sup>35</sup> Pokagon Potawatomi Community, Dowagiac, Michigan.

<sup>36</sup> *Ojibwe Anishinaabeg.*

<sup>37</sup> *Man.*

<sup>38</sup> Barbara Ann identifies herself in both Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life, and as Getsit.

<sup>39</sup> *Elder.*

Bodwewaadmiikwe Getsit Majel Winchester Skenandore DeMarsh of the Thunder Clan<sup>40</sup> is Barbara Ann's primary source of teachings and learnings. She has also learned from other kwewag, experiencing different versions of this Ceremony. Majel's coming to know echoes Barbara Ann's experience. Majel brought water teachings and Ceremony to her community. She came to know through participation and observation of both at the American Indian Health and Family Services facility in Detroit. Majel shares: "We honor the water with those songs and those prayers because Creator gave us this gift, the medicine. The water is a blessing to us . . . we are blessed with fresh, clean, pure, drinkable water from the Creator." The diversity of Water Ceremony is present and readily accepted when carried out with good intent, in earnest and with true humility. "Water Ceremony is called for, in our community, by the men whenever there is a Ceremony—a Pipe Ceremony, a funeral, whatever type of Ceremony, when the pipe is called on—and the men, the pipe carriers, call on the women for a water song, a Water Ceremony—a prayer to honor the water . . . some of our people are Midewiwin<sup>41</sup> and were glad when it is done, in the best way, with the best intent, but not necessarily the Midewiwin way."

Kim Wensaut,<sup>42</sup> Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiikwe, also came to know and practice Water Ceremony from experiencing and participating in Ceremony, going to gatherings and feasts. "You just kind of observe things and learn. I knew some of the same women that Majel knows from Detroit—Deanna Francis from the east coast." She also learned from reading

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<sup>40</sup> Majel requested use of the long version of her English name with the first mention of her name, and only this one time. This is to honor her parents. Majel identifies herself in Getsit, the Elder stage of life.

<sup>41</sup> *The Grand Medicine Society of the Anishinaabeg.*

<sup>42</sup> Kim identifies herself in Zhitchge, the 'doing it' stage of life.



literature as a student. Kim shared that in the early 1990s “everybody was talking about identity. Everybody was talking about reclaiming our traditions and cultures. It was always what you heard—Water is Life, and women are responsible for the water as the givers of life.” Kim has also participated in Water Walks.<sup>43</sup> She was part of the Migration Walk in 2001 with others from Wisconsin and Ontario. This walk retraced the Anishinaabe migration route from the east coast to Madeline Island, in western Lake Superior. “We stopped at each of the seven places where the Ancestors stopped, and we did Ceremonies at each of those places. That journey took about three months . . . and at every body of water we crossed—a river or a lake—we always put our tobacco in the water because we have the belief that through our prayers for the water, we can help heal the water.”

## Water Practices

*Strength and connection fill me. Nibi is lifted within a copper vessel. Gete Anishinaabe,<sup>44</sup> Nokmisag<sup>45</sup> add their voices to my song. I am home. I belong here in this lodge, by this fire. This. This is my work. This is where I am most comfortable, and when I am fulfilled. This speaking for and singing for and about Nibi.<sup>46</sup>*

Water practices include those passed down through intergenerational teachings, lodge teachings, and dbaajimowinag as well as those gifted through dreams and visions, and

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<sup>43</sup> Water Walks are action-based initiatives in which the organizers and participants walk around bodies of water, carrying water in a copper vessel. Water Walks are intended to raise awareness of the importance of water and the need for protection of water.

<sup>44</sup> *The old ones, Anishinaabe Ancestors.*

<sup>45</sup> *Grandmothers.*

<sup>46</sup> Personal Reflection, Keene, Ontario, September 2020.

recreated practices. While the specifics of practices differ between practitioners and their families/communities, the intention of expressing gratitude, respect and honoring Nibi and water beings is ubiquitous. Sema offerings either precede these practices or comprise the practice in totality.

Water Ceremony is practiced by Boom bye goo, Abinsaaniawag and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiig. Honoring, praying to and singing to, speaking for and sharing Nibi is the role of kwewag,<sup>47</sup> and precedes any other elements of Ceremony. “Basically, it is a woman’s responsibility to speak for the water. They speak much better for it than a man does,” shared Phil Shopodock, Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii Getsit. “But . . . if there are no women around then a man has to speak for the water.” For Phil it is about getting people to respect Nibi, rather than taking her for granted and assuming that we will always have access to water. According to Andy Jackson,<sup>48</sup> Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmiikwe of the Turtle Clan, when male Elders in her community first started doing Ceremony again, “women weren’t around, and they had to sing the water song themselves.” Clarence White shared with Andy: “Now that the women have stepped up and that they are back in the circle again, we need to respect them in whatever they are doing. These women make our circle complete, and they bring our balance. So, he always makes us women go first and do the Water Ceremony and then he does his Pipe Ceremony.”

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<sup>47</sup> See “Gender Roles” section of this chapter for an in-depth discussion of gender roles.

<sup>48</sup> Andy identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

Ruby Whithrow-ban, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmikwe Getsit, was raised Catholic and had no exposure to Ceremony and specifically Water Ceremony until she began going to seasonal feasts at The Hill,<sup>49</sup> and two other locations. Ruby-ban's first exposure to Water Ceremony was at a funeral conducted by Clarence White; two women from those in attendance conducted the Water Ceremony. Ruby-ban found it to be both beautiful and touching.

Punkin Shananaquet,<sup>50</sup> Mide'waanokwe<sup>51</sup> and Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii of the Lynx Clan, spoke about participating in Water Ceremony at the beginning of Midewiwin seasonal Ceremonies and the connections that are built between participants themselves and with Nibi:

When everyone has that drink, we are preparing our spirit, internally, our molecules, at the molecular level...that this is the work that we are about to take ahold of for the rest of the day, and that there shouldn't be any other work for those four days, it is ceremony and that is what you are supposed to focus on. I think that water lets [us] know that what we are preparing for is work of the spirit, so that we are spiritually connected through that water. Everybody, that is how we all get connected. And the water, like if you could see it in a painting, you could see how that water is moving through the lodge, connecting us spiritually, physically, emotionally so that we are focused on Mide'<sup>52</sup> work of the day.

Alex Wilson, Opaskwaya Anisininew<sup>53</sup> from Opashwayak Cree Nation in Manitoba, sees ceremonial life as "every day and ordinary," and the formal ritual of Water Ceremony as

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<sup>49</sup> Ruby-ban's sister, Mildred-ban, and Norman Kiker were instrumental in bringing Ceremonies to the Shawnee Oklahoma area.

<sup>50</sup> Punkin identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

<sup>51</sup> *A woman who is member of the Midewiwin Lodge.*

<sup>52</sup> *Abbreviated form of Midewiwin.*

<sup>53</sup> *Omashkiigoo Anishinaabe or Cree; Alex identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.*

reclaiming or even re-creating things that didn't exist prior to contemporary times. "There is a kind of pan-Indianism thing happening. I know that people get pressured to want to have a ceremonial life that seems very kind of dramatic. Some of these things are just so ordinary for us over here anyway. We existed in small family units and travelled around and would gather at certain times of the year. But in general, our lives were and still are about moving along in relation with the environment and nurturing and respecting that spiritual relationship in an ongoing manner."

*Breastfeeding and Pregnancy*

Theo Paradis<sup>54</sup> is Aagokwenini<sup>55</sup> Haudenosaunee with Anishinaabe Métis children. Many of their teachings are from relatives of their children. As an adoptive mom, they spoke about kwewag's connection to birth waters and their own spiritual connection to the waters that another woman is carrying. They emphasized the importance of the practice of prayer—prayer for the amniotic waters, for the women that are carrying that sacred water, and for our future generations: "You can pray for those spiritual waters and those spiritual babies that are being carried in those waters, and not be physically carrying the water. I am spiritually connected to my children's' water before they came through that birth family and through that spirit. I connect spiritually to the waters that my children were carried in, and I connect spiritually to

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<sup>54</sup> Theo identifies themselves in Zhitchge, the 'doing it' stage of life.

<sup>55</sup> *Two Spirit; aanagoninikwe is also used.*

the waters that generation came through and from. They sit over on the left-hand side of my heart. I pray for these waters and these babies.”

Barbara Ann Warren acknowledged that water is more than just an essential element for our bodies: “It is a healing medicine. We are born in water. We are created in water. Our bodies crave it. Breast milk is very watery, it is nothing like cow’s milk, it is very watery.” Pashko Banks,<sup>56</sup> Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe, spoke of breastfeeding as an essential and sacred water practice. She shared her commitment to and experiences of breastfeeding, as well as her recollection of teachings around raising infants that were shared in the language with her by Jim Thunder,<sup>57</sup> Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii inini Getsit. These teachings were connected to Jim’s discussion of respect. Pashko shared that Jim said we as Bodwewaadmiig

carried our babies for at least a year in their cradleboards so that when they would walk, they would know where they were. When a baby is in a cradleboard all the baby can do is observe. He shared that it was, in previous times, the practice that Bodwewaadmiikwewag would breastfeed their babies for a year. Now days mothers feed their babies food too soon. Jim said we are going to lose this. They told him that we would lose all this.<sup>58</sup>

Pashko committed to continuing the practice of breastfeeding, and the acknowledgement of its connection to respecting women and women’s bodies. She spoke passionately: “I am not going to lose that; I am going to teach my children and make it natural for them to see [breastfeeding], and [to continue its practice] and expect it from their spouses.” Pashko is the mother of three boys and one girl. She shared that being breastfed, as well as

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<sup>56</sup> Pashko identifies herself in Zhitchge, the ‘doing it’ stage of life.

<sup>57</sup> Jim Thunder is a fluent-speaker and well-respected Elder of the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe.

<sup>58</sup> Pashko, guided discussion for this research.

being present while siblings are nursing, is an important way to teach our young ones respect for women, respect for girls and how important women's bodies are:

Our bodies, they make life, and that is part of it. People don't have that respect anymore for our bodies, the amazing things we can do with it. [What] I want to instill in my daughter is respect for her body. We sustain life with breastfeeding. That is what Creator intended us to do. We don't need to do what other people want us to do; we need to do what we are supposed to do. It is a sacred thing, to be able to feed your baby, to be able to look at your child and know that you are nourishing them and giving them everything that they need. You are the only person who knows what her heartbeat sounds like [from the] inside; that is something *special!* Nowadays, with the invention of formula and bottles and stuff, we lose that. We are not taught that. To me, it is just not natural. Even though I was as young as I was [when I first became a mother], I knew, I knew that is what we are supposed to do, that is how we are supposed to be.

#### *Miskwaabik*

Miskwaabik<sup>59</sup> vessels are used to gather Nibi, and to both share and carry water for Ceremony.

Miskwaabik is one gift from Shkaakmiikwe<sup>60</sup> common within the land surrounding

Anishinaabewi G'chi gamii.<sup>61</sup> Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmiikwe Andy Jackson shared, "it is the gift she gives us, and that is the gift we need to use."<sup>62</sup> Majel DeMarsh, Andy's mentor, also spoke to this gift to the Anishinaabeg: "It is beautiful when you think of it, the minerals that were left behind for our use—copper. The copper is also healing [as is the water], and our people have used it in so many ways, in Ceremony and in everyday use, and obviously for trade. The different deposits in the different places, are such a gift . . . it is precious." Aunties, sisters,

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<sup>59</sup> *Red rock, copper.*

<sup>60</sup> *Describing the hard surface that we walk on, Mother Earth.*

<sup>61</sup> *Lake Superior; see Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag, Chapter 2 for additional discussion of miskwaabik and its use by Anishinaabeg.*

<sup>62</sup> Andy had asked Nokmis (Grandmother) Josephine Mandamin-ban about our use of copper. This is what Josephine told her.

and older siblings mirror the generosity of Shkaakmiikwe with the practice of gifting a newborn with a copper cup. This gift, according to Punkin Shananaquet, signifies the baby's connection to water: "[Babies] were in that water realm for nine months and it is the water that breaks and cleanses that sacred life to come and be part of this mother earth place. That little child should have that cup be right there from the moment of his or her appearance here on earth." This physical gift also brings the gift of water teachings and the understanding of humans as a bundle of spirit and physicality, whose lives are lived by the teachings of the Seven Grandfathers. Copper is the only material that can hold and honor the sacred gift of water.

*Drinking Nibi on Waking*

My grandfather, Asa Elwood Wall-ban, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii inini, would drink warm water first thing in the morning.<sup>63</sup> Punkin Shananaquet, a Mide'waanokwe<sup>64</sup>, spoke about this practice. Punkin explained the importance of the practice of drinking water from a copper cup before any other morning routine: "That first drink of water signifies to the Spirits that we are ready to work and make the day fulfilling. It is that relationship between your body and water, that water transmits to every neuron in our own body that we are in a good place, a good mindset, now let's go and get ready for the day." Shannon Martin, Punkin's younger sister shared a teaching from their Nokmis:<sup>65</sup>

[Nana] told me that it doesn't matter how old you are, Shannon, what age you are. She told me you get up in the morning and the first thing you do is you drink water. I don't

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<sup>63</sup> Robert Leland Wall, Wall family dbaajimowinag.

<sup>64</sup> A woman who is member of the Midewiwin Lodge.

<sup>65</sup> Grandmother.

want you to drink Tang, I don't want you to drink pop. And that is the last thing I want you to do before you go to bed—you brush your teeth, and you drink a full glass of water and you go to bed. She let me know how important water was to my life and that my body needed it, especially when I would be without taking in any type of liquid or food. She said you are going to be sleeping for six or seven hours and your body needs water before you go to bed and when you wake up. She said you do that and you will be healthy.

### *Fasting*

*Gii'igoshimowin. There are several of us simultaneously fasting here at Na Nawe Gwan.<sup>66</sup> At sunrise and sunset, our songs drift through the maples to each other's ears and hearts. In the darkness of night, nagamonan<sup>67</sup> bring healing and connection. My circle is away from the others and near maktthewen, my namesake. Their circles are up the hill near ishkode, the central fire. Each of us are here for our own reasons seeking Knowledge, healing, understanding or all three.*

*The Thunderbirds visit throughout the afternoon of our third day. As they approach, I take semaa and my miskwaabik makak<sup>68</sup> from my bundle and place it on Aki,<sup>69</sup> remembering the teachings of my Elders. Animikii Binesiyag bring energized Nibi to be gathered and used in Ceremony. The heavy rains fill my copper pail, and seep through the seams of my tent floor.*

*Gratefully, day four begins clear and hot. I spread my blankets and sleeping bag out over the small trees and bushes of the understory. The heat dries them and my thirst returns. I ignore the copper vessel of Nibi, it is for those who are finishing today to break their fasts.<sup>70</sup>*

Just as our nightly fasts are broken with a drink of Nibi, so are our Fasting Ceremonies. That first sip of Nibi after two or four days and nights of going without is a powerful teaching of gratitude

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<sup>66</sup> *The centre of it all, the centre of the meeting place; near Campbellsport, Wisconsin.*

<sup>67</sup> *Songs.*

<sup>68</sup> *Container.*

<sup>69</sup> *Refers to the earth, or land, ground.*

<sup>70</sup> *Personal Reflection, Na Nawe Gwan, Nibiin 2017.*



and generosity. Nibi is our first medicine. Water used to break a fast is frequently gathered from a spring, or is water brought by Animikii Binesiyag. Occasionally, a faster will have the responsibility for gathering this water during their fast. Stewart King-ban taught me the practice of a faster refusing Nibi that is offered.<sup>71</sup> The first sip of Nibi is offered and those breaking their fast refuse it, saying “no, give this water to the Elders.” Water is offered again and again it is refused— “no, give this to the children.” Again, water is offered and refused; the faster asks that this water be given to their parents. Only with the fourth offering of Nibi does the faster accept a sip.<sup>72</sup>

*Feasting Water, Making Offerings*

Offerings to Nibi or the Spirits of springs, lakes and rivers are a practice commonly shared by Abinsaaniawag and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiikwewag. Andy Jackson has helped to revitalize this practice within her community through the guidance of Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Getsijig,<sup>73</sup> Jim Thunder, Mary Jane Thunder and Lillian Rice-ban. These Elders had traveled to southwestern Michigan for one of the earlier annual Potawatomi Gatherings, and Andy brought them to a spring-fed lake within the Pokégnek Bodéwadmik land base. Getsijig recognized the spiritual significance of this place, named the lake, and shared about the Water Spirit: “[They

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<sup>71</sup> Personal experience, Na Nawe Gwan, Campbellsport, Wisconsin, April 2006.

<sup>72</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation, Ontario. Stewart King-ban was my life partner, cultural, spiritual and language mentor. Throughout our time together he shared many stories and teachings over cups of coffee, while travelling together and in Ceremony. It isn’t possible to include a specific date on which these teachings were shared. From this point forward in this chapter, he will be cited in footnotes as sharing teachings with his name and home community.

<sup>73</sup> *Elders.*

were] wanting to wake up and be treated as they should, just as Elders are treated. They [bodies of water and the Spirits within] need nourishment to keep them clean and to know how much we need and respect them.” Andy then began offering ground corn as well as strawberries mixed with Nibi from the lake, as instructed by Mary Jane, speaking to the Water Spirit, and sharing the feast offering all around the lake. She and kwewag of her community have now done this for years. Nokmis Lillian-ban shared with Andy that while visiting this lake, it was the first time in her life “that her feet felt at home.” Andy shared that the lake has changed physically, and she attributes this change to the practice of feasting the Water Spirit. “When you go there now, you can see the sand bar and the water, it glows at you. It is so powerful.” This practice, according to Andy, extends beyond this specific body of water. “The ladies, the ladies in the community that are Mide’ like to usually go to different ones of our water bodies to feast. I am not Mide’ myself, but they are my Elders, and they are my teachers, so when they say we are going to do this, I am like ‘yes, ma’am, I will follow you and we will go do this.’”

Majel DeMarsh shared her practice of feasting the water. Majel and Andy are from the same community; both learned from Lillian Rice-ban Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmikwe. Being Thunder Clan, Majel uses ground yellow corn but also adds coarsely ground blue corn, berries (either strawberries or blueberries), semaa, maple sugar or syrup, and water from the lake, spring or stream she is feasting. Nibi is also feasted with offerings of traditional foods placed in small birchbark bowls. Individual kwewag set these bowls in the water with prayer and songs.

Punkin Shananaquet spoke to clan responsibilities in the preparation and offering of a bundle to Nibi at seasonal Ceremonies. A bundle is made and offered to the Water Spirits.

“Usually the fish clan people, Turtle clan, assemble that bundle; ginebek,<sup>74</sup> Snake Clan, I have even heard of Frog Clan people [participating]. Those are the ones that assemble it and take it out to the water.” Sturgeon Clan kwewag work with the bundle as well. The bundle includes clan ties, offerings of food similar to those foods used by both Andy and Majel, as well as fish bones.

All of those clan ties are brought in and there is every color there, beginning from the Turtle Clan, because it is the Fish Clan and the Turtle Clan that lead that bundle and then each successive clan brings in those colors. And we know that in our language, colors are animate; I haven’t even tried to think about what that does. But seeing those clan colors tied, and seeing the beauty of all those colors, it is just one of the most beautiful things you will ever witness in your life. Everybody is represented on that line. The bundle is gathered up in red cloth and then the Mide’waanokwe paddle out or walk out on the ice and offer that to the Spirit of water. And that is done before the Ceremony, the day before the fire is lit is the Water Ceremony. It is that balance again of fire and water opening up your ceremonial door, petitioning the Spirits to be part of that lodge, people of the heart, part of those people gathering.

Kim Wensaut shows respect and gratitude for Nibi through offerings of tobacco: “I always try to have respect and be thankful for the water that we have and to treat it with respect. When I am around lakes and rivers or streams [I make an] offering of my tobacco and thanks and healing for that water. And of course, fasting—through fasting you really realize how much you need that water. When you go without it for four days, you realize!”

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<sup>74</sup> Snake.

*Full Moon Ceremony*

Boom bye goo, Abinsaaniawag and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe kwewag gather in Ceremony at the full moon, the time when Nokmis D’bik Giizis<sup>75</sup> is at her maximum physical strength.<sup>76</sup> Nokmis D’bik Giizis watches over her daughter, Shkaakmiikwe and the waters that are her lifeblood just as she watches over our kwewag, and those waters carried within. While in general, this ceremonial practice is consistent, the details of practice vary with those holding Ceremony individually and collectively, and their own teachings and methods. These collective gatherings include kwewag within nuclear or extended families and within communities as well as an individual holding Ceremony alone. The sacred fire is lit and kept by firekeepers of all genders.<sup>77</sup>

Punkin Shananaquet sees the Full Moon Ceremony gathering of kwewag as a reflection of the kwewag Manidoog<sup>78</sup> that gather about Nokmis D’bik Giizis at this time of her twenty-eight-day cycle. These Spirit women are the shkaabewisag<sup>79</sup> to Nokmis, helping her do the work with the waters. Punkin shared that these shkaabewisag include those Manidoog that watch over the springs; those that watch over the rivers, creeks, and lakes;<sup>80</sup> Manidoog that work with

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<sup>75</sup> *Grandmother Moon; the nighttime sun.*

<sup>76</sup> Time of new moon when Nokmis D’bik Giizis is at her spiritual strength, is time of rest for Bodwewaadmiig that do spiritual work for others. We pause to replenish our strength so that we can continue to do our work. The new moon is a beginning of a new cycle. Following the new moon the physical/visual presence of the moon grows in size. (Stewart King-ban, Bodwewaadmii, Wasauksing First Nation.)

<sup>77</sup> Male, female, two-spirit, gender-creative and transgender.

<sup>78</sup> *Spirits.*

<sup>79</sup> *Helpers.*

<sup>80</sup> These Manidoog make their homes near the springs, just as Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg make their homes and communities near springs.

the clouds, the fog and the snow; those that work with the rain; the one that works with the ocean; and the one that works with the water of women carrying life. When Nokmis D’bik Giizis is in full face, they are all assembled and dancing around her, as part of that Ceremony. These Manidoog bring healing to all the waters and to the kwewag gathered in Ceremony. After the full moon and until the full face appears again, these Nibi Manidoog are lowered to Mtigwaaning<sup>81</sup> to do that work for the next moon cycle—to heal Shkaakmiikwe, Nibi in all forms, and the grandchildren of Nokmis D’bik Giizis, the Anishinaabeg.

Punkin also spoke of the balance of fire and water within the Full Moon Ceremony, sharing that Nibi is the prominent part of that teaching and is blessed by Nokmis D’bik Giizis. Nokmis acknowledges Nibi and odeminan<sup>82</sup> that are brought to ceremony. “When we lift that water and bring it back down through those four levels of the Skyworld, it becomes medicine. And it is the same with the berry. There are similar teachings about the berry and the water and how those two go together.” Aabita Biboon Anungosh,<sup>83</sup> Jiimaan naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe, shared dbaajimowin of her experience with Nibi from a Full Moon Ceremony as medicine:

I think we need to give credit to the water. It hears us, it feels us, it listens. Because when I say that I respect the water, the water respects itself and it changes. I don’t even think it is just the water at the lake. Full Moon Ceremony water is another water that I use regularly. I rarely, rarely get headaches and I got this really bad headache for a few days, and I took some pills and that wasn’t helping. So, I got my Full Moon Ceremony water,

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<sup>81</sup> *Place of shelter beneath the branches of the trees; the first realm of creation.*

<sup>82</sup> *Strawberries.*

<sup>83</sup> Aabita Biboon Anungosh identifies herself in Nibwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

and I took, I drank that water and I thanked that water. I would say that within an hour, after having excruciating pain in my head, the headache went away.

Punkin holds Full Moon Ceremony within her community. Her dbaajimowin of her experience at one Ceremony speaks to the depth of learning and knowledge that can be experienced at Ceremony, and its application into our daily lives:

At last night's full moon there was something revealed that I had really never noticed before. Maybe it is by doing these Ceremonies monthly that I finally was able to see that relationship within that circle of Full Moon Ceremony participants and those four sacred doorways that represent our four sacred directions. There is a real time teaching about path, your bemaadiziiwin,<sup>84</sup> where we can feel where new life comes in from the east. You can feel that part, that Spirit is there. And then as we travel to that southern direction, we experience what it is like to be a young person again. As we make our way to that western doorway, we as Grandmothers and mothers can know what it is to experience life. And when we look in that north direction, we see where we are going to be as Grandmothers. And we then circle back fully to that eastern doorway; it feels that that Spirit is working in there showing us about life, continuity and continuation. [Also showing us] that the fire path is related to the water—that sacred water altar is placed there by that Grandfather. I realized that as we travel to that path where that water and that berry sit in relationship to that fire, and when we place our Spirit there, we are placing our physical self next to that path of life. And as we petition Nokmis D'bik Giizis, our Grandmother moon, and it feels like you are so close to that path [of life]. We see that relationship only in that one Ceremony; [only] one time a month can you get that feeling of being so close to that path of life. The Grandmother moon looks down and can feel you, hear you and sense you and hear your prayer, your desires, your petitions and [it is] that relationship with our Grandmother moon, how she works with the waters of all the Creation that causes this. I can see, I can almost sense why this is a women's Ceremony because us being givers of life and holders of the water when we give that gift of life to our children. She [Nokmis D'bik Giizis] plays a role in the teaching, in the life giving of water, and how influential she is to all of Creation in that work that she does each and every month. When she turns her beautiful full face and acknowledges her daughter the Earth, and she acknowledges us as her granddaughters.

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<sup>84</sup> *Life.*

Brenda Shopodock, Jiimaan naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe Getsit, also holds Full Moon Ceremonies within her extended family and community. Teaching the children and grandchildren is an important aspect of Ceremony. “We do these teachings in the winter when we have our Full Moon Pipe Ceremonies and we always start with the Water Ceremony and in there [within the Water Ceremony] is the teachings, letting them know where it comes from and how important it is and to appreciate it. And when we talk in our circle after the Pipe Ceremony, some have questions. And the questions are answered then and if not then we find out for them. It is a learning process for everybody.”

Kelli Mosteller went north to participate in, experience and to learn Full Moon Ceremony. Kelli holds Ceremony within the Bodwewaadmii community in Shawnee, Oklahoma. “We have a women’s group, a group of about thirty women who are regularly involved in moon Ceremonies.” I, too, first experienced Full Moon Ceremony in Anishinaabe Aki during the 2001 annual Potawatomi Gathering hosted by the Jiimaan naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe community of Wasauksing<sup>85</sup> First Nation in Ontario. Those participating were given the teachings and asked to bring this Ceremony home to our families and communities and continue the practice. Our small group of inter-tribal kwewag continued Full Moon Ceremony in the East Bay area of northern California for about ten years until I came to Trent University.

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<sup>85</sup> *Shining in the distance.*

Within these teachings was the imperative of including kwewag of all stages of life, and those experiencing all phases of their moon-cycle.<sup>86</sup>

As Punkin shared, Full Moon Ceremonies are a Ceremony for women. It is my understanding that the protocols of who is welcomed, and how they are welcomed into Ceremonies, including Full Moon Ceremonies, is the prerogative of the individual(s) holding the Ceremony.<sup>87</sup> The defining of women, or who is a woman, and what/how/when these women can participate in Ceremony varies throughout Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg communities and between Getsijig, Knowledge Holders and Ceremonialists. In many instances throughout Indian Country, women who are on their “moon-time” are not welcome to participate in Ceremony or dance at powwows. Ruby Whithrow-ban does not agree with the “taboo” on women’s moon times. She believes this comes from back in time when women did not have tampons or sanitary napkins. Ruby-ban commented that men now say that the strength of women on their period will overpower them. She does not agree with this either. Ruby-ban shared a dbaajimowin of when her mother, Beatrice<sup>88</sup> was in the convent at Sacred Heart Mission and had her first period. She didn’t know what was happening. No one had shared with her what would happen as she matured. Beatrice went to one of the Sisters, who took her to a little room and gave her a bag of rags. The Sister also showed her how to roll up the rags and put

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<sup>86</sup> Moon-cycle refers to the approximately twenty-eight-day menstruation cycle. ‘Moon-time’ and ‘on my moon’ are common terms used to refer to this time of passing menstrual blood.

<sup>87</sup> “How they are welcomed” refers to protocols of dress, states of being (i.e. sober and clean, and for how long), and acceptance of gender fluidity. These topics are discussed in more detail in the “Exclusion” part of the “Gender Roles” section later in this chapter.

<sup>88</sup> Beatrice is the daughter of Mary Rhodd.



them in her underwear. Beatrice had to wash out the rags and hang them to dry in that little room, and then put her rags into her own little bag. The bags were kept in the little room.

Sharp Dopler,<sup>89</sup> Tsalagi/Meshwakie/Ashwakie/Irish Two-Spirit shkaabewis<sup>90</sup> and carrier of Ceremony, shared their experience with “moon-time stuff” and “dutifully wearing” their skirt. Sharp’s dbaajimowin is a powerful, kind and inclusive teaching:

I learned some of the most powerful moon[-time] teachings from a man, from my Elder who just passed. Years ago, when I was first his helper, I was a lot younger, and I still had my moon time. I was being a good little Indian girl like I told you. He was carrying the veteran’s eagle staff at the time, and we were going down to a November 11<sup>th</sup> event at the national veteran’s monument. I was going to be picking him up. Wouldn’t you know the morning I was to pick him up I started my period. I was horrified because, of course, I can’t touch anything, I might hurt it! I managed to avoid touching anything when I picked him up. We get to the monument, and he goes to hand me the eagle staff, ‘here I need to go and do something.’ ‘Gasp, I can’t!’ He says, ‘why not?’ ‘Because I am on my time, I can’t, I might hurt it.’ He says, ‘Oh, being a man, I don’t have those women’s teachings. But can I ask you a few questions?’ I said, ‘yeah, sure.’ He says, ‘do you intend to hurt this staff?’ I said, ‘oh no, I would rather die.’ He says, ‘do you believe this staff has its own medicine to protect itself?’ ‘Oh, I never thought of it like that, I guess so.’ He says, ‘oh, I could be wrong, but it seems to me that if you intend no harm and you believe this staff has its own medicine to protect itself, what possible harm could there be in you holding it?’

That day I found my own voice. I watched him, I had asked him to be there because [this was Sharp’s first public pipe ceremony] he was my pipe Elder, and I watched him. And the women came in and asked ‘oh, Grandfather do we need to put on skirts?’ He said, ‘it isn’t for me to tell you what to wear, that is your choice.’ And this woman came over, she was practically bent over double, and she says, ‘oh, Grandfather I am on my time and I really feel the need to smudge, would it be okay?’ He says, ‘well you know there are all kinds of teachings about that, but it seems to me that you of all people know what medicines you need when you need them, so of course you are welcome to smudge. Now I do know that there are some who have the teaching that you shouldn’t even sit in this circle with this pipe because of the sacred place you are in right now. So I want to ask you a favor. If those teachings are your teachings and you won’t sit in the circle, will you sit behind me or

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<sup>89</sup> Sharp identifies themselves in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

<sup>90</sup> *Helper*.

beside me? Because I want the person with the strongest medicine in the room protecting me when I am vulnerable and doing Ceremony.’ Now how much better is that than ‘Sit over there in a circle of cedar so you don’t hurt somebody’? That is honoring and respecting the power of the life givers. That is respect.

### *Funerals and Feasts for the Dead*

The association of Nibi, life, and Nibi’s ability to sustain life is emphasized by the exclusion of Water Ceremony at funerals and our annual Feasts for the Dead.<sup>91</sup> However, cedar water is used in preparing the body for burial. This is a practice that Andy Jackson is revitalizing in her community and with local funeral homes. “We are trying to teach these people how to honor their Elder, or their mother or their father. They told me a long time ago that the women in the family usually bathe the women, and the men in the family usually bathe the men. But in a community where so many people have lost all of those teachings, they don’t know. We use cedar water. I put cedar in there [the room with the body] and we give them [guidance]. The ladies and the girls will help, and I just have to tell them you pat their body, you take care of them.” When Zhngos-ban<sup>92</sup> began his journey home, we made cedar water, with giizhkaandak<sup>93</sup> from his home, and washed his body before covering it with a blanket.

### *Gathering Water*

*The balsam scented air is refreshingly cool as I step from a sundrenched dusty dirt road toward moktthewen. Nibi sings, shining in the dappled light of early*

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<sup>91</sup> Feasts for the Dead are also known as Ghost Feasts; This is based on teachings shared with me and given to me to carry by Stewart King-ban. These teachings are not universal to the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe.

<sup>92</sup> Stewart King-ban of Wasauksing First Nation, Ontario.

<sup>93</sup> Cedar that has been cleaned and separated into small pieces to be used as medicine.

*morning. Water pools between asinag<sup>94</sup> as it bubbles forth from the sand. Sema leaves my hand to join the offerings from mornings past as gratitude is whispered. Zhngos stands beside me smiling at my awkwardness. I balance over the pool, carefully dipping bottles to gather Nibi for Ceremony.<sup>95</sup>*

Nibi is gathered from springs, rivers, lakes. Summer rains and rainfall brought by Animikii Binesiyag is collected. Collection and gathering practices are diverse. Offerings of semaa, the asking of permission and expressions of gratitude are uniform. Nibi gathering practices from a spring logically seem dependent on the size of the spring, human-made improvements and the vessel being used. In the case of smaller natural springs, the gathering vessel or bottle is submerged in spring, or gently held where the Nibi emerges from the earth. Earl Meshigaud, Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii inini Getsit, shared how to gather water from large and deep springs such as G’chi mashkiki Nibi,<sup>96</sup> where his Grandmother used to get water for Ceremony. The process is synchronous with the upward movement of the water—as water bubbles from Shkaakmiikwe it is gathered just as the third or fourth bubble emerges.<sup>97</sup> Andy Jackson shared she gathers Nibi from the spring-fed lake in a copper vessel held overboard from a jiimaan.<sup>98</sup> If spring water is not available, well-water is used. Esther Lowden shared: “We used to always get spring water, sometimes we would get it over there at the [Sacred Heart]

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<sup>94</sup> *Rocks.*

<sup>95</sup> Personal reflection, Wasauksing First Nation, Parry Island, Ontario, August 4, 2001.

<sup>96</sup> G’chi Mashkiki Nibi is also known as G’chi Dakibiing, Anang Waabomoojichaagwaan Mookijiwan, Ojichaagobiisin Waakwi Mookijiwan; or according to the Michigan State Park name, Kitch-iti-kipi. This spring is located west of Manistique, Michigan (Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission, *Gidakiminaan*, 41).

<sup>97</sup> Meshigaud, Tthayek ginan gwi neshnabemmenn.

<sup>98</sup> *Canoe.*

Church at the Benedict springs, but they let that grow up and get so terrible. The last time we got water over there, I had to boil it and strain it and boil it, but it was beautiful, it tasted sweet—it was really nice, good water. We don't get over there anymore. We've been using our well water." It is my understanding that Nibi from flowing rivers or creeks is scooped up in a vessel; water is gathered by inserting the vessel into the water and moving it with the flow of the water.

Punkin Shananaquet shared a teaching and practice of collecting rain falling during thunderstorms in copper vessels. As Animikii Binesiyag approach an offering of semaa is made and copper pails are placed outside. Her grandparents taught her this. "We knew that [the rain brought by Animikii Binesiyag] was electromagnetically charged water . . . it already has a spirit, but it has been given that extra bump, if you want to call it that. It has that extra element added to it, that maybe when we take that in, like the spring water, it gives us that extra little charge that every little atom or molecule in our system needs to keep that spark going."

Collection of rainwater is an important practice for Brenda Shopodock as well. She uses this practice to teach her children and grandchildren about respecting and protecting precious Nibi and appreciating themselves:

I guess for me, it is about teaching our young ones so that they don't have the struggles we had. We were always told about the water, that someday we would be paying for it; it was hard to believe that back then. But here we are today, buying water and seeing our springs dry up. What we really teach our kids is to pray, not only for the water and the earth, but the thunderstorms that come, the water from the sky. We have a garden, and we collect that rain, and we really appreciate it. We teach the kids that too—how precious the water really is and how important it is to put your tobacco down before you use it. They know and understand now that without the water we are no longer. They know how precious this water is. It is not only [about] going to the water and using the water but appreciating yourself because you are water also.

*Fishing*

Pashko Banks shared with me the common practice of tobacco offerings associated with fishing.

“You gotta take your semaa and you pray before you fish, you let Creator and that water know what you are there for. Let those Spirits know.”

*Ice Break-up*

Shannon Martin,<sup>99</sup> Abinsaaniawag Two Spirit Bodwewaadmiikwe, shared a story of being taught about offering semaa at the first sound of ice break-up. It is also a story of remembering teachings when they are needed.

Grandma Nan taught me. I was older, I must have been eight or nine years old when she gave me this teaching. It came back to me this year because there was a whole slew of deaths here and in other communities, and it made me pause one night. I woke up in the middle of the night; I was distraught and fretting over all these deaths and trying to think about what is going on here. And this teaching that she gave me came back, it was triggered by that. I was so moved by it that I shared it with Willie here, and I messaged Punkin, and I called my mom about. And it triggered Punkin’s and mom’s memories; they said she had pretty much told them the same thing, but they had forgotten.

Essentially, she told me one time, and this was during one of the years that winter kept lingering, it keeps lingering on and on, and she told me, “Shannon, my girl, Bunny—” (she used to call me Bunny), “I want you to listen to this.” She said, “My Elders in my family told me and I am telling you that you need to honor the first time you hear a thunder and the first time you hear that ice cracking, when you hear that rumbling in the water. You need to use your tobacco and thank the winter Spirit for its work; for all that winter does for us. Let winter know that ‘I hear you.’ You are signaling to winter that ‘you need to rest now and let spring do her work.’” And she said when we don’t do that as Anishinaabe, winter that Spirit will not leave . . . And so that has to with water, the changing of the

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<sup>99</sup> Shannon identifies herself in both Zhitchge and Nbwaakaawin, the ‘doing it’ and wisdom stages of life, respectively.

seasons. And she said when winter stays and lingers it becomes harsher and that is when winter starts taking life because it feels that it didn't do its work.

That is what I was thinking about all these deaths and what was happening. I didn't even use my tobacco when I heard thunder snow, that was in February. I just didn't. And I don't live near the water. I used to put tobacco out when I lived near my folks and I would hear the ice cracking. But I don't hear that anymore because I live in the city. But I did hear the thunder snow, and that is when you put your tobacco out and thank winter and let winter know that it is time for spring to take over, she needs to arrive, let her come. And that is where that terminology comes from 'winter kill.' It takes human life, it takes plant life, it takes animals, fish life when it lingers.

### *Jiimaanke*

Nibi is used in the birthing of a newly constructed wiigwossi<sup>100</sup> jiimaan. A Water Ceremony is held, and the Nibi that has been prayed for and spoken and sung to is offered to the canoe. Kwewag apply this Nibi along the gunwales and the bow and stern of the jiimaan.<sup>101</sup>

### *Physical Relationship and Connection to Nibi*

Visiting with and being on and in Nibi is an essential and individually significant water practice. Going to the water to be beside it or within it is calming and healing for many people. At times, Nibi provides guidance as well. Specific bodies of water are visited time and time again. Robin Wall Kimmerer,<sup>102</sup> Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmikwe, shared "one of the places where [water practices and teachings] became an even more spontaneous part of my life was when my grandchildren were born. I wanted them to be by and in the water. I wanted them to be—it

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<sup>100</sup> *Made of birch bark.*

<sup>101</sup> Personal experience, Indigenous Studies PhD Program Canoe Build, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, February 2016.

<sup>102</sup> Robin identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

was so important to me that they both came to Cranberry Lake<sup>103</sup> almost right away, I needed them to be there.” Barbara Ann Warren spoke about being in Nibi. She had experienced a back injury and immersed herself in her community’s therapy pool. “I stood in there, and I thought I am in water; I should do the water song. And I did my water song, and it is quiet in there. It’s a time to meditate, a time to move your body and to renew your body, and to renew your spirit. Whenever I go in there, I do my water song.” Theo Paradis also spoke of the need to be in water and the healing that physical immersion brings. Their Elders had guided them to this practice and also told them that they need to listen to whale music to “hear the teachings of the ancient ones.”<sup>104</sup> Specifically, they were told that they had to be in that water because that water offers so much healing and would let them get rid of those things that they don’t need to carry. They shared that being immersed in water “reminds me of how much I am loved and supported in my community, and in the universe. All you have to do is get in it sometimes or touch it and feel it and taste it. That water can do the healing for that individual and for ourselves.”

Physical connection with Nibi catalyzes connection with relatives and healing. Pashko Banks was told by her grandma, “when you want to feel close to your momma, you will feel that closeness when you are taking a bath, that water is going to come over you, and that is when you will feel the closest to her.” Immersion in that warm water mimics being within your

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<sup>103</sup> Cranberry Lake, in the Adirondack Mountains of New York State, is home to the SUNY-ESF Biological Station where Robin regularly teaches in the summer months.

<sup>104</sup> They explained further that water teachings are hidden within the whale songs.

mother—within her womb. Pashko elaborated: “Immersion in Nibi evokes connection through memory. The connection is amplified by the sound of your heartbeat, again mimicking being in utero.” Nibi has provided comfort to Pashko’s grief: “When I feel that water come over me, it really is soothing. You really feel that connection with the Earth, because that water is really giving everything life.” Theo Paradis’ experiences in rebuilding water teachings for the women who are at the Ottawa detention center mirrors the comforting aspects of immersion in Nibi. Incarcerated kwewag don’t have access to Nibi in rivers or lakes. Immersion in Nibi through showering provides a physical connection: “They can pray to that water, and they can sing to that water and they can love that water and ask for that water to heal and to collect those things that they no longer need to carry. And they can let that water go down the drain and it will go into the land, and the land will take care of it for them. That they no longer need to carry it.”

#### *Native American Church*

The Native American Church is a center of spiritual practice for some Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii. Created in Indian Territory, now known as Oklahoma, the Native American Church is a mixture of Indigenous spirituality and christianity.<sup>105</sup> Esther Lowden learned respect for and care of the water through her lived experience, exposure to the Native American Church and from teachings gained from going North. “All I have to say is water, it is so important for everyday life and all the time, and we should show respect for it. [A relative of

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<sup>105</sup> An in-depth description of the Native American Church, and the associated practices, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.



mine] was Ponca and was born and raised around the Native American Church too, so she explained to her daughters things about the water. And you just kind of put it all together, what I learned from those ladies from Michigan and what I learned from my family.”

Pashko Banks, who has family in both Oklahoma and Kansas, attends the Native American Church. “With my mom’s side we would go into the Native American Church and there was always this high respect for water. Before our feasts, we would drink the water, they have certain songs for the water. In the morning time, they bring in the morning water. Water is always right there, and it is always important.” She shared the practice of putting water out for the meals and the culminating feast, “of course in anything we do water is the first thing. When we eat that morning breakfast, the water goes around first, then the other things, the staples—the meat, the berries, those things that are supposed to be there. It is that appreciation of that water; to me it is a beautiful thing. When we have our feasts, they put the water out and you have to drink a little bit of water first. I remember being a little girl and thinking, ‘oh yeah, I gotta drink that water first, you drink that water first.’” Pashko spoke about how men and women share responsibility for Nibi:

Midnight water is brought in by the fireman. He will always speak and pray at that time, and everybody really prays. While I am praying, and maybe if I am done praying, I just sit there and I hear everybody’s prayers. It makes you feel really good to hear people praying for the water. It is really touches you, when you hear someone really speak about it . . . when you really listen to them you get an appreciation for it. And that is what is lacking, people don’t talk about it anymore. They don’t talk about how sacred [water] is, how life-giving it is. It is just so accessible and so . . . it is just water, we can waste it, we can whatever. And they don’t care about it. A woman will bring in the water and the breakfast. She will be asked to pray over the water and the food.

*Pwaagan*

The life-giving abilities of Nibi and its feminine energy<sup>106</sup> are used in the bringing forth, or birth, of a newly created or reclaimed pwaagan bowl. Majel DeMarsh shared this practice: “When we are gifted a pipe—a brand new pipe—we bury that pipe in spring water, or into the lakes or ponds. [We] wait those four days and Creator tells us that it is a good pipe, and it should be used for the community.”

*Singing to, and for, Nibi*

Singing and speaking to Nibi is a common practice that is done both formally and informally, individually and collectively. The practice impacts those singing, Nibi herself, and the water beings. Pashko Banks fondly remembers stories about her great-Grandfather, a medicine person, that were shared with Pashko by her mother. He was her mother’s protector; he would go to the nearby creek and sing “and the turtles would come up and dance.”

There are a number of water songs sung throughout Anishinaabe Aki and within the Boom bye goo, Abinsaaniawag and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiig. These songs are typically shared and learned through Ceremony within communities. It seems that many of the songs were originally brought to communities through kwewag’s association with intertribal centers. Songs are adapted to local dialects, and melodies also vary.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Both Nibi and the bowl of Bodwewaadmii pwaaganag are perceived to hold feminine energy.

<sup>107</sup> Lyrics of water songs shared through this research are included in *Appendix D: Nagamonan*.

Ruby Whitlow-ban sings “Wishi ta du ya.”<sup>108</sup> She believes she first heard this song during a sunrise Ceremony at one of the annual Potawatomi Gatherings.<sup>109</sup> I understand the pacing and rhythm of this song to reflect both the quiet meandering flow of a river and its fast-paced turbulent flow through rapids. “Wishi Ta” was brought to the Sudbury, Ontario area and has since been shared widely. The words share that women come from the water, that water is life, and that women are the carriers of the waters.<sup>110</sup> Majel DeMarsh spoke about this song as a universal water song of perhaps Mi’kmaq origin. “It could be Mi’kmaq from up that way, near where the Passamaquoddy People live. Women sing it all over Turtle Island and that is because of Maggie Paul and all of her going to different communities and sharing her teachings. The Passamaquoddy way of life; to me they are whale people. They have that connection with the water, the big, big water. They make offerings to the water and to the whales.” Andy Jackson shared that this is the song sung during her community’s annual water walk. “All the kids know it, and so a lot of the community knows it. We have a [different and] sacred song that we try and sing at Ceremonies and funerals and things.”

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<sup>108</sup> Spelled phonetically.

<sup>109</sup> I recall that several years ago, after working beside Stewart King-ban at this particular sunrise Ceremony and asking my sister to sing with me, I received an email from Ruby-ban asking for a recording of this water song. I declined to share it over the internet. Ruby-ban did receive a recording of this song from my sister, Robin Wall Kimmerer. I include this to illustrate the ways in which songs are shared and learned.

<sup>110</sup> This was shared by Francine D’jardins during a workshop led by the author, “Kwewag Nibi Waawiindmowin minwaa Nagamowin: Sharing Water Knowledges through Song,” at Indigenous Women’s Symposium at Trent University, 2014.

This sacred song was shared with me by Majel DeMarsh. Majel believes this song to be very old, having origins at least three generations ago. Majel learned it from her Elders Betty and Judy Pamp, who learned it from their Elders. The song lyrics include a mix of Anishinaabemowin and Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin.<sup>111</sup> As with many songs, there is a teaching embedded within. The song asks who and not what. The reply is moktthewen, or spring water. This is significant and illustrates the notion and belief that Nibi has Spirit and is alive. As the song continues the lyrics describe the beauty of shining, flowing spring water and how we as Anishinaabe are happy and grateful to have this beautiful water. Majel asked that this song be shared widely.

Barbara Ann Warren and Aabita Biboon Anungosh both sing an Ojibwe Anishinaabe water song, the Nibi Song, created by Dorene Day, Mide'waanokwe, that is popular with Water Walkers in Ontario.<sup>112</sup> The creation of the song was inspired by Day's grandson. The lyrics speak to the love and respect for water, and express gratitude for Nibi. Barbara Ann sings the song through four times: "I like to add a fifth round, when I lay my copper bowl of water down on the ground and when I offer it up and to the sky." Aabita Biboon Anungosh learned this song as she participated in a number of Water Walks.

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<sup>111</sup> *Bodwewaadmii language; Potawatomi language.*

<sup>112</sup> Jackson, "Niibi Song."

“Nibi Waboo” is an Algonquin water song, originating in the community of Kitigan-Zibi<sup>113</sup> in Québec.<sup>114</sup> Sharp Dopler shared their practice of singing this water blessing song: “The words of the song translate to: ‘The water within me is the blood of Mother Earth.’ And so, when you sing that song, we sing it to the four directions to help heal the water, all around Mother Earth. To help heal that water all around Mother Earth.”

### *Sweet Water*

In late winter/early spring during the maple sap run, sap is gathered and sometimes used in Water Ceremony. Maple sap, like Nibi, is medicine. Many Anishinaabeg drink small amounts of maple sap daily for the twenty-eight-day moon cycle of Ziinsbaakodike Giizis.<sup>115</sup> Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiig in Forest County, Wisconsin include sweet water with the feasting associated with many different Ceremonies, including fasting and the feasting of Ceremonial Bundles.<sup>116</sup> Kim Wensaut shared this practice with me, saying: “They use the water, the sugar-water when they do the Ghost Feasts and the funerals and things like that. They always have that sugar-water on the table. But I don’t know. I never asked why is there water? And why is it

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<sup>113</sup> *Garden River; an Anishinaabeg/ Omàmìwinini community in Maniwaki, Quebec.*

<sup>114</sup> See *Mtigwaakiing eh G’chi Zaagiganag, Chapter 2* for a detailed discussion of the song’s origins.

<sup>115</sup> *Maple Sugar Moon*; Personal experience, Michi Saagii Anishinaabe territory, Ontario, 2012 - present; Exploration and discussion of women’s knowledges of the sugarbush, and the resurgence of these practices is beyond the scope of this research. Anishinaabe scholars Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Waaseyaa’sin Christine Sy, and Brenda Child have published on this topic. See *Appendix E, Further Reading*.

<sup>116</sup> Personal experience, Na Nawe Gwan, Campbellsport, Wisconsin. 2016-present.

sugar-water? I never asked. Some things you just kind of accept. They always share that water with everybody, and everybody has to drink it.”

*Thunderers, Thunderbirds*

The arrival of Animikii Binesiyag is significant in the Anishinaabe seasonal cycle.<sup>117</sup> This event is anticipated and marked with individual and collective offerings, and feasts and Ceremony throughout Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe communities. “I honor those first Thunders when I hear them. I put out some salmon or fish to feast them, along with my semaa, up by one of our lakes here,” shared Majel DeMarsh.

Punkin Shananaquet remembers her Grandmother’s offerings to Animikii Binesiyag and perceptions of the associated tornadoes:

Whenever the Thunders would come, Nana would put cedar on her little woodstove to make the house smell like cedar and burn cedar for the Thunder people. She would listen to the radio and if there was a tornado warning she would burn her cedar, and she’d say, “I do this so those Cloud people, those tornados won’t come harm us, they will travel around us and won’t come be part of their—” she called it their cleansing. She didn’t refer to it as a destructive thing, or a life-taking thing. She just said it was a cleansing and that they have to do their work. So, she never talked negative of anything. She always tried to turn it into a positive. When she lit the cedar, it would tell them not to come here and hurt us. They would go around us. We were never worried about it.

Stewart King-ban, Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii inini Getsit, shared dbaajimowin and practiced his parents’ teachings of offering semaa to Animikii Binesiyag. He would place semaa on the ground at the first sound of approaching thunder in gratitude and respect for these beings, these relatives. He would thank them for the gift of the rain and

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<sup>117</sup> For additional discussion of Animikii binesiyag, see *Mtigwaakiing eh G’chi Zaagiganag: Chapter 2* and the section “Gathering Water” in this chapter.

cleansing of the air, and also ask them to not cause any damage to his family's home or garden while they did their work. Stewart-ban and his family would sit quietly, not speaking, as the thunderstorms passed over. His mother, Maggie (Williams) King-ban, was strict about remaining quiet and would take out and light her pwaagan during thunderstorms.<sup>118</sup>

## Water Walks

Nibi Walks are a recently created water practice begun in 2001 and popularized by Anishinaabe Mide'waanokwe Getsit Josephine Mandamin-ban in 2003. Significant in raising awareness of the sacredness of Nibi, the inequities in the accessibility of clean drinking water, and the impacts of the extractive resource industries on sources of drinking water, Nibi Walks are now practiced in Anishinaabe communities throughout the G'chi Zaagiganag<sup>119</sup> and G'chi Gamii Ziibi<sup>120</sup> drainage basins. Water walks are both individual and collective experiences that build identity and community while enhancing participants' physical and spiritual connection to and understanding of Nibi.

Sylvia Plain,<sup>121</sup> Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiikwe and Mide'waanokwe, participated in the 2011 Four Direction Water Walk alongside Josephine Mandamin-ban. This walk brought together and honored salt-water from the Pacific Ocean, Gulf of Mexico,

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<sup>118</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation, Ontario.

<sup>119</sup> *The Great Lakes*.

<sup>120</sup> *St. Lawrence River*.

<sup>121</sup> Sylvia identifies herself in Zhitchge, the 'doing it' stage of life.

Hudson's Bay and the Atlantic Ocean. Water was carried from the four directions, converging at Madigan Lake near Bad River, Wisconsin.<sup>122</sup> Walking with and for Nibi was Sylvia's "entrance into learning about women's roles and responsibilities around water." She had never been to the Midewiwin Lodge and is now known as "the girl who walked to the Lodge from the West Coast." Sylvia shared her story of the water walk:

My exposure to the teachings and the protocols was seeing Josephine as an example, seeing her do her work. After a week of walking, she had to leave to go start the southern direction. I was left with her articles and the responsibility to get the water to the Great Lakes. It was a huge responsibility carrying Josephine's staff, all of her articles, and having to take care of the responsibility of getting the water to the Great Lakes. It was very beautiful, a lot of people that were meant to come together, came together. To see those waters converge and then be put in the lakes [was very powerful].

Andy Jackson, inspired by Josephine Mandamin-ban, has been leading water walks within her community. Pokégnek Bodéwadmik provided food, lodging and supplies for one of Josephine-ban's walks circumnavigating Mishii'igan.<sup>123</sup> Prayers were also provided. Andy shared this story:

Before [Josephine] left, she made two of us come up to her truck she was in and made us put our hands in the water. She told us that she wanted our prayers and [for us] to put our hands in the water. I was trying to be gentle [motions with her hands] and careful as I stuck my hand in. Josephine said that she needed our Pokagon women's prayers to walk with her and said, "No, you stick your whole hand in it, swirl it to make the waves. I need to know that your prayers are in there, all the way to the bottom." I said, "Yes Ma'am, yes Ma'am!" So, we said our prayers, and we sent her on her way. She looked at us from her truck. I can still see what she wore, you know, she is so powerful. [Josephine] said: "You have to carry this on, and you have to show your women and your girls how to care for this water."

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<sup>122</sup> Mother Earth Water Walk, 2011 Water Walk.

<sup>123</sup> *Grand Lake; Lake Michigan.*



Andy has done just that, at the end of each summer. Her community participates in a day long Nibi Walk on the Friday before their Kee-Boon-Mein-Kaa Pow Wow. The walk connects the community and two lakes within the reservation. The day begins with Sunrise Ceremony and is supported by Tribal Police and the local Fire Department. Andy explains that water walkers stop along the route at everyplace “where you can see the water and the water is flowing, the cricks and things. We go down there [to the water] and we lay semaa. A lot of the time the grannies can’t crawl or climb down the steep inclines, so I will go down. Then I just shout up to the them if they can’t see and tell them that it [semaa] is in, and I have said my prayers. And then someone will lead them in a prayer. They will pray for water, and for the healing of the water. They pray that everyone will keep it clean. The grannies pray every time we do.”

Aabita Biboon Anungosh has also participated in Nibi Walks with Josephine Mandamin-ban:

It was a wonderful time to get to know the Grandmother who had started this journey and was passing on the teachings so others could continue her work. I did nine out of the ten days of the walk. Now, because it was so small, and there were just a handful of us to do the walking, you could really get into the mode of appreciating the water, and being in tune with the water, and really valuing the work that we were doing for her. There was little socializing. When we had that pail and we walked, we sang. Some of the people I remember talking. My whole focus was on the water and bringing that water to where it needed to be. I was focused every single day and so committed, and by this time I had sung that water song many, many, many times and you realize the value of doing this work. I think that once you do it, it is a journey like no other. I think it is hard to describe—it is something personal, you have a personal connection with that water that you never had before, and then it seems like nothing is more important than the water, than doing the work, and appreciating everything that you have.

After participating in this walk, Aabita Biboon Anungosh continues working with and for Nibi. She goes to the lake she lives on, daily, and prays for the water. As a result, the water and the shoreline has changed. “I am baffled that I can now see about twenty plus feet from the water's edge. I was able to walk the shoreline in both directions from the boat launch without sinking. This was never possible. The rocks, stones, the algae, I can see so much of the lake and the water was clear.”

Kim Wensaut participated with others from Wisconsin and Ontario in a migration walk in 2001.<sup>124</sup> The walk retraced the migration route of the Anishinaabeg from the east coast on the Atlantic Ocean to Madeline Island.<sup>125</sup> “We stopped at each of the seven places where the Ancestors stopped, and we did Ceremonies at each of those places. That journey took about three months. At every body of water, we crossed—a river or a lake—we always put our tobacco in the water because we have the belief that through our prayers for the water, we can help heal the water. Personally, water is medicine. It is a medicine. I was told that water in itself is medicine and that you can pray over that water, to heal you and help you.”

Alex Wilson, Asininew from Opashwayak Cree Nation in Manitoba, is a grassroots land and water protector. Her water protection work is focused on the Saskatchewan River Delta.

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<sup>124</sup> This Water Walk, the Migration Journey, was a “widening of the circle of awareness and a continuation of the work that began during last year’s [2000] ‘Walk to Remember’ around Lake Superior. That walk gave a voice to many communities affected by the contamination of their waterways and watersheds, from human and animal waste to PCB and mercury contamination.” Kevin Best and Butch Stone (Bad River Anishinaabe) are named as organizers of this walk. Kim Wensaut, in addition to being a participant, was involved in the public relations activities associated with the Migration Journey; It should be noted that the Migration Journey and the Walk to Remember preceded the Water Walk Movement. (Wensaut, The Migration Journey, Press Release.)

<sup>125</sup> Madeline Island is located near Chequamegon Bay, in western Lake Superior. It is also known as Mooniingwanekaaning mnis (Northern yellow-shafted flicker island).

Alex understands the significance of the practice of water walking in highlighting the need to protect water, and shared it is not a practice common to Cree women: “I don’t think that would happen over here because it doesn’t fit well with our Cosmology.” Alex’s further explanation speaks to newness of water walks, as well as gender roles associated with water and the resulting regulation of women’s bodies:

I think [Water Walks are] part of the new activism or movements. Of course, this is my perspective, and it is not meant to be offensive to anyone. [Water walking] is almost performance<sup>126</sup> and so then I could see how people could feel pressured to participate. With performance comes roles, right? Think of it as a TV show, or play, or any other kind of performance; certain people will take on certain roles, and the roles unfortunately take on a kind of gendered essentialist style. It is not just like somebody gets to pick a role and act. It is that you have this specific body and based on that you are assigned this clothing and this kind of behavior and all that. I think it is important to think about how this happens and unpack it—it is generally women that don’t have a lot of leeway, they are assigned to that role and if they don’t fit the role, then they are not allowed to be part of the show. It is the regulation of women’s bodies. And often it is women that are oppressing women by putting other women in those roles. I think it is a manifestation of hetero patriarchy, other women are impacted. While some people may gain power from that, others are oppressed by that, even if they don’t necessarily articulate it that way.

## **Gender Responsibilities and Roles**

The premise of this research is that Anishinaabe kwewag assume specific roles and responsibilities related to Nibi. This premise is based on teachings shared with me and on practices I have observed. As a woman and who has given birth to my two children, I experience the profound connection and association between women and water and understand how Bodwewaadmii kwewag identities can be intimately tied to Nibi. We are the

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<sup>126</sup> The performative characteristic of Water Walks is also discussed by Emma S. Norman in her book, *Governing Transboundary Waters, Canada, the United States, and Indigenous communities*.

carriers of Nibi—we carry Nibi in the vessel within our bodies. Our gift of lifegiving capabilities mirrors Nibi’s lifegiving and life sustaining capabilities. Our cultural role and its related responsibilities to speak for, sing for, and pray for Nibi can be an extension of this lifegiving role. Both are reflected in the work that we kwewag do in Ceremony, through activism, and within our families and communities. Many kwewag willingly accept and uphold these responsibilities, and many ininiwag<sup>127</sup> support this role through fire keeping. The acceptance of, and experience of, these responsibilities vary amongst my research participants. It is important to consider all voices and all perspectives in making meaning and in moving forward. It is important to walk completely around the fire,<sup>128</sup> observing and acknowledging all experiences.

Cisgender research participants’ dbaajimowinag, lived experience, insights and teachings highlight these assumed, imposed gender roles. Female-bodied, gender fluid research participants who identify as Two Spirit and Queer<sup>129</sup> call into question gender-specific roles, responsibilities, inclusion and dress codes, while also highlighting imposed gender roles. These shared dbaajimowinag and teachings are thought-provoking and impactful on the continuation of water practices and Ceremony.

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<sup>127</sup> *Men.*

<sup>128</sup> See *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin: Chapter 3* for further discussion of this teaching.

<sup>129</sup> All such research participants happen to be assigned female at birth. Some identify as cisgender as well as queer or Two Spirit. Others identify as gender fluid, nonbinary or in some way in between or beyond binary gender. It should be noted that while this research represents a range of genders, there are many voices still missing, such as queer and Two Spirit people who were assigned male at birth, and trans-identified individuals who have moved from one binary gender into the other.

The following discussion of gender roles and responsibilities begins with my understanding as a cisgender woman. The perspectives of other persons, including those that identify as male, female and gender fluid, are then presented. The process and methodology of Biskaabiiyang, or returning to ourselves, prompts an exploration of a perspective beyond our physical selves and consideration of feminine and masculine energies. Discussion of inclusion/exclusion and dress codes (i.e., skirts for kwewag) is interwoven throughout all of these perspectives.<sup>130</sup>

### *Relationship*

As I understand it, the connection to and dependence on Nibi is not exclusive to human beings. All beings of Creation, all beings of the Cosmos, naturally maintain a reciprocal, responsible and respectful relationship with Nibi, with the exception of some humans. Human existence is dependent on Nibi regardless of how we identify in terms of gender. The association of a specific human gender with the role and associated responsibilities to and for the water is nonsensical, human-centric, superficial and colonial in both understanding and application. It ignores our original instructions—the responsibility of all humans to sustain life—and the fluidity of human gender. When viewed from a lifegiving and life-sustaining perspective, the imperative becomes the human relationship with and responsibility to Nibi, and *not* a gender-specific role. As Bodwewaadmiig, we have the responsibility to maintain and to nurture a

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<sup>130</sup> The ceremonial dress code requirement for women to wear skirts is a controversial and debated topic, and beyond the scope of this dissertation. Michi Saagii scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Cree scholar Alex Wilson (research participant), and Mi'kmaq scholar Cyndy Baskin are three of many Indigenous scholars currently writing about skirt-wearing protocols. See *Appendix E: Further Reading*.

reciprocal, responsible and respectful relationship with Nibi, with ishkode, as well as with all beings of Creation. This is our responsibility as the youngest beings, the last to arrive. It is our Original Instructions. While I acknowledge that female-bodied humans are the only door through which new human life comes, I cannot conceptualize that our Original Instructions were divided by gender-based responsibilities. Our roles and associated responsibilities were and are focused on the survival of our families, our clans and our communities through reciprocal, respectful relationship and mutual interdependence.

Historic and contemporary cultural responsibilities and division of roles are pragmatic and essential to our survival. Mothers and others have responsibilities in the care of newborns; mothers have agency in picking up the responsibility of breastfeeding their children. On all levels, an individual's agency and skills combined with the needs of family, clan, and community dictate roles—not gender. Colonization and christianity imposed a binary of gender and gender roles, as well as influencing interpretations of roles/responsibilities as we, as Indigenous Peoples, were studied through a settler colonial and christian lens.<sup>131</sup>

Operationalizing Biskaabiiyang requires us to unpack the imposed gender binary while teasing out colonial concepts from our own minds. Accomplishing this requires work and reflection; Ceremony is key as is communication with our Ancestors and Manidoog. Returning to our teachings, specifically Medicine Circle teachings of duality, can guide us. There is a distinct division within the duality of light and dark, day and night, and female and male. Yet

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<sup>131</sup> See *G'yak chigewin: Chapter 5* for a discussion of colonized texts.

there is also a continuum of transformation; the duality is dynamic and changing, just like Nibi. Holding Knowledges and ways of being for all genders is a necessity for our collective and cultural survival.

*Pragmatic Division of Roles; Nibi as Everyone's Responsibility*

Robin Wall Kimmerer views the division of gender roles as a “pragmatic and democratic distribution” of responsibilities, not meant to exclude nor to define any individual. Rather, the specification of roles is “to be sure that we have our responsibilities [met] and nothing has been forgotten.” She acknowledges her own affinity for water as women’s responsibility and recognizes the profound cultural responsibility of women for water. This association between women and water was emphasized for Robin when her grandchildren were born. “I certainly thought of it during the birth of my grandchildren, of them arriving in water, and being carried around in that little ocean inside of their moms. So yes, it certainly feels to me like a profoundly women’s responsibility.” Beyond the profound connection between women and Nibi, Robin believes that keeping and protecting the water is everyone’s responsibility, no matter their gender identity. She explains, “we all have a responsibility for water, just as water has responsibility for us. It is reciprocal. If water takes care of us, we have to take care of water, regardless of who we are, and water takes care of everybody. My personal understanding of responsibility is perhaps at odds with traditional cultural practices. But that is how I feel about it—it is a matter of reciprocity.” Theo Paradis also articulated the importance of everyone, regardless of their gender identity, caring for the water. “We all are made of that water, and we all lived in that water to come to life here on this earth.”

Brenda Shopodock echoes Kimmerer's perspective of a pragmatic-based division of responsibilities that promotes women and men balancing one another. Gender roles and responsibilities "work together; no one walks behind the other because they balance each other," and the working together is about survival. Brenda and her siblings were taught hunting skills by their father. "He told us is that he was going to teach every one of us how to hunt because if you are a woman and you don't have anyone there to provide, you still have to survive. We all learned hunting and fishing. And there are some places I have gone to in Ceremony, and they have told me that women aren't supposed to be doing that, and men are supposed to do this. But it is survival, you have to do it. Things still have to go forward." Theo's perspective also speaks to survivance: "When the men went off and the women stayed home and cooked, the women took care of that fire within the home. The men weren't always there to take care of that fire. So, the women were very much roled in fire-keeping, as well as water carriers."

This pragmatic-based division of responsibilities is essential in sustaining healthy communities and families, according to Phil Shopodock, Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii inini Getsit. Phil shared his understanding of gender roles as associated specifically with life-giving and life-taking responsibilities, and the importance of teaching our youth through experience:

Those roles are as defined. Women are the life-givers, and the men dig the graves and handle the bodies and the death-associated responsibilities—the hunting and the killing. The lines [between gender roles] are so blurred today, I don't think anyone understands it anymore. So, when we do speak about it, and we do occasionally, everybody gets a real dumb look on their faces. They don't understand. We've tried to bring some of the Elders in to teach the young girls, this is a women-thing, and the women go off and do a



Ceremony for a girl. And the men, helping the young men to build sweat lodges, to build lodges and talk with them about those responsibilities as we go through it.

Theo's dbaajimowinag as aanagoninikwe<sup>132</sup> parallels this notion of balance, and accentuates the valuation of each individual's gifts:

I believe, and a lot of my Elders believe, that those roles were much more fluid. Our binaries were not just male and female, there might have been up to thirteen different genders that our communities recognized. Our communities looked at gender by what you were good at, and they helped you promote those [gifts]—the medicine and the strengths that you showed. It wasn't just male and female gender roles that we have created in our society. It was that we all had to work to create the best for each individual in our communities, and to build that for the next generation. It was based on what you were good at, it wasn't based on male or female.

#### *Kwewag Responsibility*

Within the Midewiwin Lodge that Shannon Martin has attended, cisgender women are the keepers, protectors and “prayer people over water.” Shannon explains it is because of the connection that kwewag have with Shkaakmiikwe and Nokmis D’bik Giizis. This connection is why it is primarily women who steward and care for the Full Moon Ceremonies:

We are the ones who do that, to solidify and keep that connection with Grandmother Moon with our feet firmly planted on our Mother the Earth. That energy flow is all about water, it is all about life, as we know Grandmother Moon in her rotation around the Earth. She moves the waters on her daughter—the tides, ebbs and flows and from the surface waters to the waters and rivers that we can't see, the lifeblood of Mother Earth and it is cleansing. She cleanses and keeps things moving. She keeps her daughter alive by doing that work. That is exactly what she does for us as women, with our sacred strawberry blood; she moves that for us and keeps us cleansed, so we can renew ourselves every month.

Shannon explained that this connection and the associated responsibilities flow through different lines of Grandmother teachings—whether it be songs or prayer or Ceremonies for the

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<sup>132</sup> *Two Spirit person.*

water—and is significant in identity. “Responsibility for the sacredness of the water that we carry in each one of us is exactly what strengthens us as women, [and] keeps us healthy.”

Sharp Dopler reflected on their initial learning about gender roles. Sharp shared that their journey was “pretty much the same journey as for anyone”—women and water, men and fire—and that this division was readily accepted. “What I learned was that women are very strongly connected to the water because we have a cycle that reflects the cycle of the moon, that twenty-eight-day cycle, and the moon takes care of the water and that we bring forth life, if we choose to, or sometimes we don’t actually have a choice, but we bring forth life through water because that life is carried in that water.”

*Colonized Notions, Gender Binary*

Looking back and operationalizing Biskaabiiyang has led Sharp to understand this division of roles as being influenced, if not emanating from colonized thought. They acknowledged their own colonization and that many Elders carry colonial concepts and thoughts. “Colonization is insidious. We have lived in it for five hundred years, and as we take back what was ours, we take it back through the colonizer’s lenses because we don’t know any other way of being in the world.” Sharp acknowledged with gratitude that they have had opportunity to learn from and work with Elders who have done “some of that work to decolonize some of that stuff and have an understanding that all of these rigidities [gender binary and roles] that create criteria to keep people away from Spirit and Ceremony and prayer and community and belonging are not ours. That is the colonizers, that is who owns those teachings.” Sharp learned some of the water teachings they carry from a Two Spirit man. These teachings had been given to him by a

Grandmother to help him when he was struggling. This Elder had told the man that even though he was not female-bodied, because he was Two Spirit he could carry water Ceremony—a simple water blessing Ceremony to be able to use that water when you can't use those other medicines. With regards to our physical bodies, Sharp reminds us that irrespective of gender we are “more water than solid. We are ALL water carriers, therefore all of us are connected to that water which is our life.”

Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwewag, Jennifer Porter<sup>133</sup> and Kelli Mosteller, both articulated the influence of patriarchy associated with christianity on the establishment of rigid gender roles. Jennifer spoke to the narrowmindedness of patriarchy, while Kelli addressed the impact of the Catholic church within the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: “I do believe that once christianity really made its way in this community there was a shift. When we got to Kansas [during removal], and where day in and day out our kids were in the catholic school, there was a much more colonial approach to gender roles. There was a concerted effort, and there is no point in arguing that that didn't make some change in our society.”

Milosipiyskwew,<sup>134</sup> Dana Wesley, a Two Spirit cis woman from the Moose Cree First Nation, also spoke to colonialism as the instigator of the indoctrination of the hetero-patriarchy and gender binary into our ways of being. “It is really clear [that] gender binary, or at least the restrictions based on that binary, is more a western idea, a Eurocentric idea than it is an

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<sup>133</sup> Jennifer identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

<sup>134</sup> Milosipiyskwew identifies themselves in Zhitchge, the 'doing it' stage of life.

Indigenous idea. If we look at the way that colonization indoctrinated Indigenous communities into believing in this hetero-patriarchal view of the world then you can see how those ideas were violently enforced over hundreds of years and throughout the world, and you can see that is it something that people are deeply invested in now within our Indigenous communities.”

Binaries, according to Milosipiyskwew, do not originate with the complex Indigenous understanding of the world. “Binaries are something that are not complex, they are one or the other. This enlightenment categorization idea [is one] that comes straight out of Europe. That kind of thinking—the categorization and strict classification of things like gender—is not something that originated with us. That is not to say that our communities didn’t have concepts of men or women, but that the ways we think about it now stem from that kind of thinking, the western enlightenment thinking.”

*Holding Back Two Spirit, Queer, Nonbinary, and Gender Fluid Persons*

Theo also acknowledged binary-based gender roles as a product of colonization, and as being imposed through the residential school system, as well as these roles resulting in exclusion. “It is also holding back some of the ceremonial gifts that Two Spirit people, that aanagoninikwe people carry, that I carry in doing healing work in our communities, and for the water.” When binary-based roles are imposed on gender-non-conforming persons, colonial perspectives are perpetuated. Theo’s experience illustrates this with respect to life-givers speaking for, praying for and singing for Nibi. “[Despite] being someone who has adopted children and carried them, spiritually, and struggled with my own infertility issues of carrying the water, [I have been] asked to pray for that water in Ceremony. I am very much coming at it as one who couldn’t

carry a child within that water in my own body.” Theo feels that performing the role of an Anishinaabe woman and wearing a skirt and carrying water conforms to the “whole fundamental belief of what a woman should do,” when they, themselves do “not fit into that colonial piece of what a woman or a man should be.”

The possessing of life-giving abilities required by many teachings for an individual to perform Water Ceremony do not need to be limited to the biological and reproductive abilities of female-bodied persons. Milosipiyskwew believes it is important to closely consider what life-giving abilities entail, and to not embrace only a literal interpretation. She urges thinking beyond the definition of being able to physically give birth to a child because it is “problematic for multiple reasons.” For instance, she asks, what does a literal interpretation mean “for women who identify as women, and cannot have a child? It is not just LBGQT or Two Spirit Indigenous folks that this impacts. It impacts everyone if life-giving is defined as being physically able to give birth. It is an issue for everyone, but I think it comes to the forefront when Two Spirit folks are not able to participate in those things because of those barriers.” She perceives that the diversity of actions taken in supporting life are equitable with being able to give life and cites adoption as an example. “In that case, the parents, or whomever is raising or parenting that child, didn’t physically create that child, but [are] supporting that life and nurturing them—anything like that is giving life.” Milosipiyskwew defines life as “our spiritual connection to all of Creation,” and believes that there are a myriad of actions and methods to support and to give life. “Like gardening and supporting or nurturing anything around. Even

what we do in the University,<sup>135</sup> we support people, we help out students. That is nurturing or supporting life, that is life-giving. The definition can be as open as you want it to be. But for some people it is not.” It is the narrow, literal interpretation that is exclusionary.

### *Exclusion*

Examples of gender-based exclusion were shared within the dbaajimowinag of Boom bye goo, Abinsaaniawag and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii as well as other Anishinaabe research participants. Their stories of exclusion extend beyond Nibi-related responsibilities to other ceremonial roles and responsibilities such as fire-keeping, drumming, and carrying pipes.<sup>136</sup> Exclusion can take different forms—exclusion from teachings and learning, participation in Ceremony,<sup>137</sup> and performing Ceremony or specific aspects of Ceremony.

Shannon Martin’s dbaajimowin is illustrative. Shannon is the youngest daughter in a Midewiwin family. She used to work with Nibi within the lodge. She attributes this change in responsibility to her gender identity as Two Spirit, and her choice to not be a life giver:

There have been distinct roles now for women within the Lodge called the Mide’waanokwe work, which is the water line of generational women working with the water. Which opts me out, because I am not a breeder. I am not going to have my own line. Those direct lines were acknowledged and raised up in the Midewiwin lodge that I go to within the last fifteen years, so they [Mide’waanokwe] are responsible [for working

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<sup>135</sup> Milosipiyskwew worked with Trent University’s First Peoples House of Learning at the time she participated in this research.

<sup>136</sup> While the focus of this research is women’s water practice, other practices such as fire-keeping, drumming responsibilities and the community-based responsibility for carrying pipes are all intertwined with water practices and Ceremony. It is for this reason I have chosen to include discussion on these responsibilities as they relate to women.

<sup>137</sup> Some of my research participants spoke about skirt protocols as problematic and exclusionary, particularly for gender-non-conforming persons participating in Ceremony. In depth analysis and discussion of skirt protocols is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

with Nibi]. I don't really work with the water anymore, and I used to. I used to love working with the water. The whole Lodge knows I am Two Spirit. I never hide it. Before it was evidently clear, I used to work with the water and some of the older women would ask me to stand up and hold the water or help pass out the water. But then, when those water Ceremonies with the last ten to fifteen years, those water Ceremonies that take place in the Lodge, I don't get selected anymore.

The exclusionary notion of restricting teachings within a gender-binary based Knowledge system perpetuates colonial thought and practice and is counter-productive in revitalizing our Knowledges and practices. Milosipiyskwew expressed deep concern regarding exclusion from teachings and elaborated on the resulting harm. She described it as a missed opportunity for our communities and our personal spiritual connection with other humans and all of Creation: "I think that as long as people are willing to learn the teachings and live that life, I don't see why we can't, why the gender binary is something that would stop people. Especially now when we want people to pick up those bundles, we can't say, "No, sorry. You don't identify as a male or as a woman, or you don't identify as anything within that binary, then sorry you can't learn it."

The gender binary roles of men as fire-keepers and women as carriers of the waters are strongly upheld in the ceremonial practice of some within the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii community in Shawnee, Oklahoma. Herb Whitlow,<sup>138</sup> Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii inini and a regular participant in Seasonal Ceremonies and Feasts at two locations shared his experience. "As far as Ceremonies, the women handle the cedar and the water because they are the water

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<sup>138</sup> Herb identifies himself in both Nbwaakaawin, and Getsit, the wisdom and Elder stage of life, respectively.

carriers. They bring the water. The men handle the other parts of the Ceremonies [fire-keeping, pipe and most of the speaking and facilitating of the Ceremony itself]. The women, they handle their Moon Ceremonies whereas the men don't. If they run a sweat that is just for women, then the women do the pour. If it is a mixed lodge then it can be done by both people, male and female." Kelli Mosteller holds Full Moon Ceremony within this community. She shared: "I do have these issues of women being kept out of certain things if they don't have a countering role. I think it is very different to leave women out and to be able to go through a full Ceremony and have no female role." Kelli attributes the rigidity of women's responsibilities partially to the community's history of removal and relocation:<sup>139</sup>

It is very much a generational thing, the ladies down here come from a generation that was just trying to survive the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] of the 70s. The BIA was doing their damndest to take over everything and then all of the political back and forth that went down here. Now, I know every community has that, but they have been through the long and really turbulent political history. They are a little bit more conservative about certain things, especially women's roles. Where I think [one our women Elders] would much rather feed someone than conduct a Ceremony for someone. It is just the way she was raised. Very conservative Native women are often around the cook-fire all day.

And I do know that there are some, like, [younger women] who are ten years younger than me, are a little bit more . . . what's the word? They have less sympathy for that whole generational excuse, and I do believe they would call it an excuse. Where they are saying they don't understand, women have these rights, and we need to step up. And I don't disagree with them. I don't think older women are doing it to keep us in some subservient roles. I think that just in their lives, not only throughout their traditional lives in Ceremony, but just as women who were raised in very conservative Oklahoma, seeing women who stand by or maybe in front of men is an uncomfortable position for them. So, the breakdown tends to happen in women around in their late forties. The older ladies, they are much more comfortable having their leadership play out in different ways, outside of Ceremony.

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<sup>139</sup> Conversion to christianity goes hand-in-hand with the removal and relocation of the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii.



Both Kelli and Herb discussed Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwewag in relation to pwaaganag. Herb shared his experience: “We have a few women in Oklahoma that do carry the pipe, so they are responsible for that—they do Pipe Ceremonies, and they pass the pipe when they do their Moon Ceremonies. We have a young girl now that is starting to come into the circle when we do our Seasonal Ceremonies and as far as my thinking on it, I think that if she carries the pipe that she should be able to come into that circle and do the Seasonal Ceremonies.” Herb believes that kwewag have the Knowledge and the strength and the spirit to carry a pipe. “I don’t see why they would be kept from it, that’s my opinion. I have been to a lot of Ceremonies and done a lot of things with women, and the women are the strength, they have so much spiritual strength. It would be a shame to not let that woman exercise her spirituality and to teach people.” Kelli sees the pipe as a metaphor for balance between genders in ceremonial practices:

In a very twenty-first-century sense, gender roles can be very exclusive. You know, keeping women away from this, and keeping men away from that. The beautiful thing, in the way that things have been passed down, [is that] you can’t conduct a full Ceremony without having both a man and a woman involved. By making them so necessary, even if their roles are separate, you have to bring the two together. It is like the pipe, separated out it is not this sacred object, when you put the two [pipe bowl and pipe stem] together it becomes this sacred vessel, it becomes this way of bringing the community together and sending our prayers to the Creator. The two must be brought together and each have their very important and distinct roles.

Andy Jackson and Kim Wensaut both spoke to kwewag being restricted from drumming. Andy shared her experience bringing together kwewag to sing and drum with hand drums: “I was told by a grandma that Potawatomi women don’t mess with drums.” Kim’s understanding

is that women are restricted from sitting at the Big Drum. She explained: “The Big Drum was brought by a *woman*, so women do not sit at that drum, the Big Drum, the ceremonial drum. I feel perfectly fine about having a hand drum and a shaker, because those are my personal articles that I use in prayer. That relationship is between me and the Creator alone, nobody has ever told me personally that I can’t have those things.” Andy asked multiple Bodwewaadmii Getsijig about hand drum restrictions before she was given this answer by an inini: In the past kwewag didn’t use drums, rather they used shakers when singing.<sup>140</sup> This Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Elder also shared that he was comfortable with Andy and other women using hand drums. Andy explained further, sharing that the grandma, who initially objected, later told her that we as Bodwewaadmii people have lost so much because we were assimilated, and she has teachings herself that say that women didn’t use hand drums. Yet, says, Andy, “she has been in our community, and she has sat in our drum groups. She’s told us that she wouldn’t do it [hand drum] herself, but she wouldn’t sit any place else. She likes to sit with us and hear us sing and hear our voices, and to hear that drum. And she says that what you have to remember is that [because of] assimilation our traditions have to evolve and change.”

Exclusion is harmful and detrimental to the continuation of Ceremony. Several research participants emphasized the importance of continuation of cultural practices regardless of

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<sup>140</sup> See *Mtigwaakiing eh G’chi Zaagiganag*, Chapter 2, and the “Nibi Waboo” song in *Appendix D: Nagamonan*. This song is accompanied by birch sticks rather than a hand drum because the song comes from a time before the drum came to the Anishinaabeg.

gender responsibilities.<sup>141</sup> Kelli Mosteller extended this concept to Ceremony as she shared teachings received by Getsijig from the North:

I have been taught that if it is supposed to be done by a man or a woman, and there is not a man or a woman there to do it, it is more important that it gets done, rather than it be done in exactly the right way [by the appropriate gender]. So, if you can't get a man to step up and start your fire, then you do your best to start the fire. It is more important that you do the Ceremony to honor the Creator or do what you need to do for someone that has walked on, or whatever it may be, than it be done in exactly the right way. So, you know, there is that fine line of bringing the community along, of men and women, at a pace to where we can fully take care of all the responsibilities and all Ceremonies and do all of the things we need to do, and then saying, 'well the men won't step up, so we are not going to do that Ceremony.' Well no, at some point you need to do it, if you have the Knowledge and you know what needs to be done, and you can't find someone to step up and you need to do it, and you need to try that much harder to get them involved in the future.

Phil Shopodock reiterated this importance of having a practice completed no matter what gender is present: "Getting people to understand that, basically, it is a woman's responsibility to speak for the water, they speak much better for it than a man does. But a man, if there are no women around, then a man has to speak for the water."

### *Language as Teacher*

Milosipiyskwew looks to Anishinaabemowin for teachings and to help her make meaning. The teachings embedded in the language include concepts that are spiritual and genderless;<sup>142</sup> there is an inclusivity within Anishinaabemowin that doesn't exist in English. "A lot of this I just

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<sup>141</sup> See "Pragmatic Division of Roles," earlier in this chapter.

<sup>142</sup> This is also reflected in the transformative characteristics of Nanaboozhoo, the Great Teacher of the Anishinaabeg, shared in our oral traditions. Nanaboozhoo is demonstrative of gender fluidity beyond the colonized conceptualizations of gender. Our stories tell of Nanaboozhoo's experiences of transforming between various genders and species of life, as well as the ability to walk in the bodies of whatever life form is of interest or appropriate given the situation.

started thinking about because of taking the language, and I've learned to always go back to it when we have questions. It is my understanding that if you uncover the deeper meaning of what kwe means—it is not just woman, it is feminine-energy." When the notion of kwe as female energy is operationalized, water teachings and performative Ceremony opens up to everyone. "Gender responsibilities surrounding water Ceremonies become the responsibility of people who have feminine energy, then that is everybody! Anyone who is interested in harnessing that feminine energy and working with water." This conceptualization reflects the gender spectrum and inclusivity embedded in both our language and teachings. Those holding Ceremony can be inclusive by choosing to "say female or feminine energy rather than woman. Then it doesn't matter what you identify as, male or female or anywhere on that spectrum. If you, in the moment, at that moment identify with feminine energy. It doesn't necessarily mean that you have an obligation to always identify with feminine energy or that place on the continuum of gender. Things like that change, identities change."

*Moving Beyond Our Physical-selves—Wearing Our Teachings*

As we operationalize Biskaabiiyang, we can wear our teachings by moving beyond the colonial confines of a human-centered perspective and gender binary based on our biological selves. Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg are Spirits in human form. We are composed of Spirit, emotion, body and mind and within our composition are both feminine and masculine energies. Our Cosmos, like Nibi, is in constant motion and constant transformation. The Seven Grandfather

Teachings guide us in living Anishinaabeodziiwin<sup>143</sup> and mno bemaadiziiwin<sup>144</sup> ethically and with integrity. These notions of humility, truth, honesty, bravery, love, respect, and wisdom promote inclusion, acceptance, and change.

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<sup>143</sup> *Being Anishinaabe, embodiment of all aspects of the Anishinaabe way of life, philosophy, psychology, culture, teachings, spirituality, customs, and history.*

<sup>144</sup> *The good life.*

## AAKWE NIIBNOON (First Summer)

### Biskaabiiyang miinwaa Mino Nowendj Ge Kaa: Chapter 7

Niibin, or Niibnoong,<sup>1</sup> is the space and time of plenty. It is the time when historically Anishinaabe returned from winter hunting camp, maple sugar camp, and fish camp to live in our larger communities, and when we in a contemporary context gather and visit. Niibnoong is also Biskaabiiyang, when we as Anishinaabeg return to ourselves, making a round trip. As we return to ourselves, picking up what has been left by Gete Anishinaabeg<sup>2</sup> along our path, we connect our present, past and future. Apane Niibnoong, e zhi nsatamaan, is a space and time when we are continually operationalizing Biskaabiiyang, when there is a flourishing of the Indigenous inside<sup>3</sup> and we can wear our teachings<sup>4</sup> and live life as Anishinaabe forever.

### **Aaniish**

This research explores Aaniish (how) Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag<sup>5</sup> within our relocated communities are *uncovering* and *reweaving*<sup>6</sup> water Knowledges and practices into their lives

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<sup>1</sup> *A time of plenty; summer.*

<sup>2</sup> *The old ones, Anishinaabe Ancestors.*

<sup>3</sup> Simpson, *Dancing*, 17.

<sup>4</sup> The concept of wearing our teachings was shared by Anishinaabekwe Getsit (Elder) Edna Manitowabi in a personal communication in 2011 and in a INDG6600 Indigenous Knowledge Seminar at Trent University, on November 12, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> *Potawatomi women.*

<sup>6</sup> See *It is Always Beginning: Chapter 1* for an explanation of the metaphors of *uncovering* and *reweaving*.

and the lives of Elders, women and youth. “Aaniish na?” is not a simple question, nor is there a simple or singular answer. Revitalization of cultural Knowledges and practices involves language revitalization, restoration of relationship—relationship with place, with Elders, with community and between communities, with each other, with Manidoog<sup>7</sup> and Gete Anishinaabeg, and with remembering. This revitalization and restoration is being accomplished through the intertwining of Ceremony, lived experience, summer gatherings, social media, virtual visiting,<sup>8</sup> sharing of Knowledge, and academic settings. What follows is a synthesis of the ways my research participants are operationalizing Biskaabiiyang.

#### *Language Revitalization*

For over three decades, the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe have been collectively<sup>9</sup> revitalizing our language and dialects. In the context of this research, language revitalization is an entry point into restoration, reclamation of cultural practices and Knowledges, and a re-establishing of relationship(s) between communities. As an entry point, it has opened a door to understanding for many of my research participants. While the door remains open, language revitalization continues to be a consistent motivating factor in revitalizing culture and practices. This is not to say that language revitalization is a requirement in the *uncovering* and *reweaving*. Rather,

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<sup>7</sup> *Spirits*.

<sup>8</sup> As a result of the global pandemic which began in March 2020, Indigenous People have turned to social media and video conferencing to continue our practices of visiting and Knowledge-sharing. Facebook, Instagram, Zoom, and Microsoft Groups have become sources of connection. The Annual Potawatomi Gathering was postponed until 2021. In lieu of gathering in person, we gathered virtually in August 2020. A group of Bodwewaadmiikwewag Knowledge Holders and artists from many communities continues to meet virtually.

<sup>9</sup> Collectively as a Nation, and collectively as communities, and as families.

because language and culture are so closely tied, language revitalization has the potential to enhance and deepen the *uncovering*, understanding and application of water practices and Knowledges.

The re-establishing of relationships between communities and individuals through language conferences, immersion weeks, and online classes has not only catalyzed interest in the *uncovering* and *reweaving* of multiple cultural practices and Knowledges and helped to facilitate these processes, but it was also essential in my reaching out to the majority of my research participants. Getting to know each other through language conferences and immersion activities built respectful relationships and trust between us and created the environment needed for the depth of sharing that occurred during our discussions.

Robin Wall Kimmerer, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe,<sup>10</sup> shared how language learning has impacted her: “Learning the language, in the tiny, tiny way that I have tried to do that, has been a huge eye opener for me and has also fed that hunger of wanting to know more. The language is so humbling; it is both humbling and exhilarating. It is exhilarating because it is so beautiful and powerful and full—like poetry, but humbling because you know nothing, and it is so hard to learn.” Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe Getsit<sup>11</sup> Ruby Withrow-ban’s family lost the language when her Grandmother was placed in the convent at Sacred

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<sup>10</sup> *They use horses; Bodwewaadmii woman*; Robin identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life. The Seven Stages of Life are discussed in *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin: Chapter 3*.

<sup>11</sup> *Elder*.



Heart Mission.<sup>12</sup> Ruby-ban came across language tapes<sup>13</sup> in the tribal gift shop some years ago and began listening and learning while she commuted to her job as a Registered Nurse. She later joined language classes in Shawnee<sup>14</sup> because she realized the important connection between language and culture. Ruby-ban also taught and hosted language classes in her home.

Punkin Shananaquet,<sup>15</sup> Abinsaaniawag<sup>16</sup> Bodwewaadmikwe and Mide'waanokwe<sup>17</sup> of the Lynx Clan, sees language revitalization as an important element in the *uncovering* and *reweaving* of water practices and Knowledges: "I always hear those that have the language say that we have imagery, we have stories, we have teachings [in the language] that describe something that you cannot say in English. That is why language is so important in this revitalization effort, to get our children back into the language to our culture." She also believes it is significant in our healing process and reclamation of identity: "You need four sacred parts to your being—who, what, where, and why—and once you have those four parts you are becoming a whole spirit again. The who is you're Anishinaabe, your clan? Where are you from? Where is the land that your Spirit cultivates itself from? The language defines who you are as an Anishinaabe, and it forms you, it forms your voice, it forms your Spirit, your mind."

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<sup>12</sup> See *Miisah geget gaa be Zhiwebak: Chapter 4* for Ruby's dbaajimowin. Ruby's lived experience, and that of her family, is an example of a Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii cycle of the covering, *uncovering* and now *reweaving* of Knowledges and practices. Ruby works continually to reweave Anishinaabeodziwin into her life as an Elder.

<sup>13</sup> Created by Norman Kiker.

<sup>14</sup> Taught by Justin Neeley.

<sup>15</sup> Punkin identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

<sup>16</sup> *Those who stayed in place.*

<sup>17</sup> *A woman who is a member of the Midewiwin Lodge.*

Majel DeMarsh, Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmikwe Getsit, finds hope in the process of language and cultural revitalization and the young people and children who are engaging and becoming apprentices and second language speakers. She believes the language resides “in the hearts of the people,” and moves us to access “that blood memory and let those words come out.”

*Blood memory/Ancestral Knowledge*

Accessing our genetic memory, cellular memory and/or Ancestral Knowledge is a method of reclaiming, re-creating and *uncovering* Knowledges and practices. While Majel describes blood memory as heart Knowledge and associates it with ways of knowing language, this process can also be used in remembering our Ancestral relationships with water. Both Robin and Punkin articulated this notion of genetic memory as inherent, encoded Knowledges or as Robin said, “Knowledge that comes to you without you knowing where it came from, when you feel the presence of teachers around you . . . the Knowledge you get in Ceremony,<sup>18</sup> in fasting, the Knowledge that you get in moments of transcendence.” Punkin referred to this as accessing “tissue memory, or memory-memory, [memory that is] in their DNA, its encoded in them.”

If we can remember or uncover Knowledges and the associated practices through accessing Ancestral Knowledges, we can reclaim our relationship with the water sources and spaces of our ancestors. Robin spoke to water as both a carrier of life and a storyteller when

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<sup>18</sup> “Gikendaaswad kina Ekinmowad, Knowledge gained through Ceremony” is discussed in detail in *Anishinaabeodziwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin: Chapter 3*.

relating a trip to ancestral spaces in northeastern Wisconsin. “I had to find Jambo Creek. I needed to see that water. Once we found Jambo Creek and put our semaa<sup>19</sup> [down], I felt like a little loop, a circle had been closed. I felt connected through that water.”<sup>20</sup> When Nibi<sup>21</sup> is acknowledged as a “carrier of relationship,”<sup>22</sup> we can begin to understand how being physically present, on the land and water, within the Great Lakes Basin can bring healing and strengthen our identities.

*Going home/Great Lakes Basin*

Sylvia Plain,<sup>23</sup> Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo<sup>24</sup> Bodwewaadmikwe, sees herself as a “lake person.” The Great Lakes form the basis of her identity: “It is in me. It is what I know. I know the smell, the food we eat out of it.” Sylvia’s individual and family connection with G’chi Zaagiganag<sup>25</sup> is in stark contrast to the Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii experience. Kelli Mosteller, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmikwe,<sup>26</sup> speaking about relocation in the 1860s shared, “our world, once we moved into the plains of Kansas and then further south into Indian Territory, our worlds were almost dictated by the lack of water.”

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<sup>19</sup> *Tobacco*.

<sup>20</sup> Jambo Creek is named after a Wall ancestor. Jambo is a corruption of Jean Beau, a nickname for Jacques Vieux. See *Miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak: Chapter 4* for further details of the family history of the author.

<sup>21</sup> Water existing on the surface of the earth, lake or river water.

<sup>22</sup> Robin Wall Kimmerer, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmikwe.

<sup>23</sup> Sylvia identifies herself in Zhitchge, the ‘doing it’ stage of life.

<sup>24</sup> *They use a canoe; Canoe Bodwewaadmii*.

<sup>25</sup> *The Great Lakes*.

<sup>26</sup> Kelli identifies herself in Zhitchge, the ‘doing it’ stage of life.

“I decided that I should go where the water is . . . the Great Lakes, they called me,” said Kristy Phillips, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii<sup>27</sup>. Returning to Mishii’igan<sup>28</sup> from Oklahoma strengthened Kristy’s identity and connection to the land: “They [United States government] tried to remove us on the Trail of Death, and [now] I am home. It is not like in Oklahoma, you come up here and the language makes so much sense.” Kristy’s brother moved north with her. She shared his words: “I am Anishinaabe, and this is where I belong. This is where I need to be.” Lakota Pochedley, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii<sup>29</sup> reminisced about bringing younger Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii<sup>30</sup> to G’chi Zaagiganag: “They get to swim in Lake Michigan and Lake Superior. To just watch them and the water, it is always fun. Those types of waters don’t exist in Oklahoma.”

Majel DeMarsh, who lives in southwestern Michigan, attributes living within the Great Lakes to her “attachment” to water: “Because we live in the Great Lakes we are always surrounded by water. I call it our Holy Land. It is a holy place to be—one continuous body of fresh water. It is not just this lake and that lake and the other lake, it is one continuous beautiful gift from the Creator. When I offer my Semah at the Lake Michigan shore, I know that there are other Anishinaabe offering their Semah all across these Sacred Waters—this gives me

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<sup>27</sup> Kristy identifies herself in Zhitchge, the doing it stage of life; Kristy added specificity to her Bodwewaadmii identity: “We are Shiishiibeniyeek, or Mission Band Potawatomi . . . there is so much history, culture, and connection with this title.” Kristy lives and works within a Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii community in Michigan—The Hannahville Indian Community.

<sup>28</sup> *Grand Lake; Lake Michigan.*

<sup>29</sup> Lakota identifies herself in Zhitchge, the ‘doing it’ stage of life.

<sup>30</sup> *Bodwewaadmii women.*

a great sense of peace and joy.”<sup>31</sup> Kim Wensaut,<sup>32</sup> Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiikwe, says we can learn to respect ourselves and our identities as Bodwewaadmii through our respect for the waters that surround us: “If you respect yourself, that goes outward to everything and everybody, including the water. If you have the understanding of who you are and that you have that Spirit that the Creator gave you, and that is something sacred, our connection and that everything that the Creator made is sacred, including water.” Kim Wensaut also shared we as Bodwewaadmiig have adopted too much in our mindset, in our way of thinking from western European, white society: “Somehow we have to change our thinking and our perception of who we are.” Changing our thinking from a colonial mindset is operationalizing Biskaabiiyang. Listening to and learning from our ancestral lands is one of many methods research participants are using to catalyze the return to ourselves.

*Listening to the Land and Natural Law*

To “keep alive what has been given to us, [and] to pass on the ability to learn again from the land” is an essential element in *uncovering* our ways of knowing, according to Robin Wall Kimmerer. She emphasized the contemporary importance of this way of knowing and learning. “In this time of climate change and in this time of tremendous loss of teachers around us, being able to learn from the land again is a huge element of traditional Knowledge reclaiming.” From Robin’s perspective, Knowledges and practices have not been lost, rather “we’ve forgotten it. It

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<sup>31</sup> Spelling and capitalization of Semah (semaa) is in accordance with Majel’s request, as is the capitalization of Sacred Waters.

<sup>32</sup> Kim identifies herself in Zhitchge, the ‘doing it’ stage of life.

is held by the land, and all the other intelligences around us. All the other beings hold the Knowledge for us.” She believes the key is “knowing how to listen to the land. Traditional Knowledge is a body of fact or interpretation, but it is also this way of learning [by listening to the land], and for us, a way that is both simultaneously material and spiritual.”

Sylvia Plain’s experiences during the Four Direction Water Walk and her work with *jiimaanke*<sup>33</sup> speak not only to listening to the land and water, but to acknowledging and following natural law: “That was drawn out of the Water Walk, seeing the natural law. Every time we went into someone’s territory, there were always landmarks that governed us or gave us our identity, or our teachings, [and] also showed us the boundaries of our territories. So now, being in the canoe and also trying to work with natural law, we are also trying to think about the water beings as well, thinking about their role and acknowledging them. We have acknowledged things on the land, but we haven’t acknowledged things in the water.”

Alex Wilson, Anisininew<sup>34</sup> from Opashwayak Cree Nation in Manitoba, shared that teachings about love and relationality are central in natural law: “Everything else is really pinned around that. Everything is relational. We have a saying in our language, like many others do, that there is a degree to which everything is related. Relationality is a foundational principle that links to natural law. With relationality comes relational accountability. So, when people talk about their responsibility to land, here anyway, it is your responsibility to the land, water and sky. Other Indigenous Peoples say similar.” It is that relationship of responsibility that is

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<sup>33</sup> *Making a canoe.*

<sup>34</sup> Omashkiigoo Anishinaabe or Cree. Alex identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life..

inherent both in natural law and Bodwewaadmii identity that assists in the *uncovering* of our practices and Knowledges.

### *Ceremony*

Relationships between Bodwewaadmiig, and with Gete Anishinaabe and Manidoog established and nurtured through Ceremony can open the door to accessing Ancestral Knowledges and practices. Damien Lee, a scholar from Fort William First Nation, writes: "Seeking out and participating in Ceremonies is one of the strongest places from which to decolonize our minds and to build our resistance to colonialism as Anishinaabeg peoples."<sup>35</sup> Kim Wensaut agrees.

When asked about specific places and people she has learned from, Kim shared: "It has mostly been from going to Ceremonies and being around other Native women, going to gatherings and feasts . . . You just kind of observe things and learn. I knew some of the same women that Majel knew from Detroit that were from the east coast—Deanna Francis—they would come into Detroit and do Ceremony, Full Moon Ceremonies." Sylvia Plain and her family have uncovered Knowledges and practices and "kept those things intact by going to Ceremony and participating wherever they can, and being active. But it is also hard because we face that resistance" from community members. Brenda and Phil Shopodock<sup>36</sup> have been *uncovering* Knowledges and holding Ceremony in their community for decades. It has not been easy; they too have faced resistance from community members. Phil shared that many Bodwewaadmiig, because of the

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<sup>35</sup> Lee, *Dibaajimowinan*, 1.

<sup>36</sup> Brenda and Phil identify themselves in both Nbwaakaawin and Getsit, the wisdom and Elder stages of life.

covering of our Ceremonial practices by acculturation, christianization and assimilation, had put “that down for a while” and were skeptical of resuming ceremonial practices. He and his wife, Brenda, persisted: “We struggled through it and kept going, and now a lot of people show respect for us because we don’t change.” Some of this resistance comes from individuals and families that practice other forms of spirituality. Brenda shared: “They’ve kind of accepted who we are, and that we are not going to stop. We are going to keep going no matter what. And that’s okay, how they feel—we teach to respect each other’s ways.” Phil attributes this acceptance not only to perseverance but to Gete Anishinaabe: “That [acceptance and respect] comes from my relatives from the past that I never met,” and whom the community speaks highly of through the stories they’ve shared. Phil shared, “A lot of the old people who aren’t here anymore, told me stories when I was younger; good stories and funny stories and they passed that sort of respect to me.”

Punkin Shananaquet reweaves Knowledge and practices into her own life and the lives of her family and others through her participation in the Midewiwin<sup>37</sup> Lodge. Punkin is Mide’waanokwe and has a role in the women’s water line in the lodge along with her mother, Sydney Martin—Wolf Clan, her daughter, Carly Shananaquet—Sturgeon Clan, and her granddaughter, Lillian—Wolf Clan. The women’s water line is a river of generational Knowledge. Each successive generation brings in a different clan with different teachings and a

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<sup>37</sup> *The Grand Medicine Society of the Anishinaabeg.*



unique song. The generations are like tributaries, said Punkin, bringing “medicine and song and prayer into that collective, larger picture for the benefit of all people.”

*Uncovering and reweaving of Knowledge and practices through Ceremony is Biskaabiiyang. Research participants shared experiences of nurturing relationship with Manidoog, Nibi herself, and genetic or cellular memory through fasting, Sweat Lodge Ceremony, fire-keeping and the Ceremony of water walking. Aabita Biboon Anungosh,<sup>38</sup> Jiimaan naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe, connected deeply with Nibi as she walked for the waters of Zhooniyaang Zaaga’igan:<sup>39</sup>*

There were just a handful of us to do the walking. You could really get into the mode of appreciating the water, and being in tune with the water, and really valuing the work that we were doing for her. There was little socializing. When we had that pail and we walked, we sang. Some of the people I remember talking; but my whole focus was on the water and bringing that water to where it needed to be. I was focused every single day and so committed, and by this time I had sung that water song many, many, many times, and you realize the value of doing this work. I think that once you do it, it is a journey like no other—it is something personal, you have a personal connection with that water that you never had before. And then it seems like nothing is more important than the water.

### *Fasting*

The importance of water, and the practices of honoring and protecting Nibi, were emphasized for Punkin Shananaquet and Kim Wensaut through fasting. Punkin shared this story of her first fast:

I chose to fast when I had my first moon. This was not being done or even heard of, back in the 70s, but that spark happened. Pipes were being lit and teachings were being shared, and young men and women were given a chance to go and fast when they reached that time of puberty, by those various leaders of the American Indian Movement, and those

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<sup>38</sup> Aabita Biboon Anungosh identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

<sup>39</sup> Lake Simcoe, Ontario.

spiritual leaders who guided them. So, when my moon time came in January I still chose to go out and make that first connection with our Mother Earth, to sit with her in that sacred way for four days, going without food or water. That is the first significant time in my life when I realized how important water is, for the human spirit.

Kim Wensaut laughed as she shared that going without Nibi during fasting brings an immediate understanding: "Through fasting you really realize how much you need that water, when you go without for four days, you realize." Robin Wall Kimmerer sees fasting as a method to connect with the Manidoog and feel their presence as teachers. She told me that Knowledge gifted during Ceremony comes in "moments of transcendence" and from "a mysterious place."

*Gii'igoshimowin.<sup>40</sup> I am alone, surrounded by Manidoog and Nokmisag.<sup>41</sup> Ishkode<sup>42</sup> burned bright, at naawakwe,<sup>43</sup> despite the soggy ground and Nibi dripping from the tree leaves. Smoke rises with my offerings and gratitude. I have been shown many things as night has spiraled into day three times. It is nearly time for my third fire of the day. A quickening wind begins to turn the leaves underside up, yet the sky remains bright blue. The sound of an approaching vehicle interrupts my solitude, and I leave my circle to meet my supporter. Smiling, he hands me dry blankets. There is concern on his face as he speaks softly of what I've experienced sitting here in this space just upslope of moktthewen.<sup>44</sup> With affirming words, he reminds me I can end my fast before nightfall, the others have finished. Shaking my head, I decline; I have one more sleep here. He gently touches my arm, "You should know we are under a tornado watch." I shake my head again, knowing I will be safe and protected.*

*Returning to my circle, I open the cedar pathway and step inside. As I light ishkode, the sky fills with dark clouds. Sema, song and prayers follow, and I settle into my tent with the rumble of thunder. Animikii Binesiyag<sup>45</sup> arrive.*

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<sup>40</sup> Fasting.

<sup>41</sup> Grandmothers.

<sup>42</sup> Fire.

<sup>43</sup> Noon, the middle of the day.

<sup>44</sup> Bubbling spring.

<sup>45</sup> Thunderbirds.

*Blinding lightning accompanies their ground shaking voices. Nibi streams from the sky, turning the air white as if it is raining milk. Sema, songs and prayers continue as with the intensity of the storm. I hold my breath and sema tightly. It is eerily quiet as the storm suddenly ceases. The air is fresh, cleansed and electric. All of Creation sighs, and we return to normal breathing as the slanted rays of a setting sun shine between wet trees. The birds begin to sing, and it's a song different from their usual evening concert. There is an intensity and joy that is uplifting; it sounds as if every bird in existence has surrounded moktthewen and my circle to sing. With nightfall, the bird song quiets and what seems like a chorus of thousands of tree frogs join in this celebration of Nibi, this celebration of life.<sup>46</sup>*

### *Fire and Fire Keeping*

Ishkode balances Nibi and is central in Ceremony, gatherings, and community building. David Whittall,<sup>47</sup> Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii inini,<sup>48</sup> related an experience of being drawn to a fire lit at one of our language conferences. It was this fire, nearly three decades ago, that catalyzed his *uncovering* of cultural practices and reconnected David with his community and his identity. “I went to my first language conference. I think it was in the early to mid 90s; it goes back quite a ways. [I was] sitting fire with Robert Van Zile.” Robert encouraged David to seek out his Bodwewaadmii name by going back to Oklahoma and asking an Elder there. David had heard mention of Esther Lowden and gifted her sema. After receiving his name, he fasted. “Leon Bruno did my fast, he put me out on The Hill.” David continues *uncovering* practices and *reweaving* them into his life through relationships begun at the Annual Potawatomi Gatherings, and through language, Sunrise Ceremonies and through keeping fire. “You know, my

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<sup>46</sup> Personal reflection, Na Nawe Gwan, Wisconsin, June 2017.

<sup>47</sup> David identifies himself in both Nbwaakaawin and Getsit, the wisdom and Elder stages of life.

<sup>48</sup> *Man*.

philosophy is you meet people by going to the fire. I am always trying to say a prayer or learn a prayer, so I offer my tobacco down at the fire. Most of my contacts came from around the traditional fire.”

Theo Paradis,<sup>49</sup> Aagokwenini<sup>50</sup> Haudenosaunee with Anishinaabe Métis children, has learned of the balance of Nibi and ishkode and the connection of both to their Two Spirit identity through fire-keeping. They were keeping fire for a Sweat Lodge Ceremony in a rainstorm. “Being able to work with the balance of that fire and that water and to keep those rocks ready for that Ceremony helped me understand the gifts that I carry and why I carry both, that Fire Ceremony and that Water Ceremony. It was a torrential downpour, and that fire was still strong and provided the heat needed for those Grandmothers and Grandfathers to do that work, and for the people that came to do that healing.”

Understanding the balance between Nibi and ishkode also comes through Sweat Lodge Ceremony and fire teachings. “The [sweat] lodge is very much a representation of that duality; the fire is on the outside and the water is on the inside. But there is also fire on the inside and the water has to come into the inside from the outside. So it is, for me, it is this fascinating balancing act.”<sup>51</sup> The sweat lodge provides connection with our Ancestors and their teachings as well. Phil Shopodock, who is also a firekeeper, shared a teaching from a Cree Elder: “Don Cardinal came here and told us that we were going to meet our own Ancestors in that sweat

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<sup>49</sup> Theo identifies himself in Zhitchge, the ‘doing it’ stage of life.

<sup>50</sup> *Two Spirit*.

<sup>51</sup> Sharp Dopler, Tsalagi/Meshkwakie/Ashwakie/Irish Two Spirit shkaabewis (helper). Sharp identifies themselves in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

lodge and not somebody's else's. They would be Potawatomi Ancestors, they would be our Grandfathers, our great-Grandfathers and Grandmothers and our great-great-Grandmothers and our relatives that would come into that lodge and move us in the direction that we needed to go.”

Kinew Nini, Caleb Musgrave, Michi Saagii<sup>52</sup> Anishinaabe inini and firekeeper from Hiawatha First Nation, generously shares his depth of Knowledges with university and college students, and more recently via social media platforms. For nearly a decade, he has shared fire teachings with students at Trent University.<sup>53</sup> Caleb's teachings reflect the duality Sharp Dopler<sup>54</sup> acknowledges existing within the sweat lodge, while emphasizing both the balance and the interaction between Nibi and ishkode. Understanding ishkode provides students with a deep and connected conceptualization of Nibi. Learning from visiting Knowledge Carriers, Dual-Tradition Scholars<sup>55</sup> and Indigenous Scholars within the academy is a method of revitalizing or *uncovering* Knowledges and practices.

Kim Wensaut and Sylvia Plain both recognize Ceremony and the Academy's role in *uncovering* Knowledges and practices. While Kim Wensaut has gained Knowledges predominantly through Ceremony and from Elders in her community, she also credits the first wave of Indigenous scholars in the revitalization of her ways of knowing. “[I've learned] mostly

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<sup>52</sup> *Mississauga*.

<sup>53</sup> Musgrave, Anishinaabe Fire Teachings.

<sup>54</sup> Sharp Dopler, Tsalagi/Meshkwakie/Ashwakie/Irish Two Spirit shkaabewis (helper). Sharp identifies himself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life).

<sup>55</sup> A Dual-Tradition Scholar, as defined by Trent University, carries academic credentials as well as being a Knowledge Holder.

from Ceremony, and of course from reading the literature as a student. The early 90s, there was a real sense of . . . Everybody was talking about identity, everybody was talking about reclaiming our traditions and cultures. It was always what you heard—Water is life and women are responsible for the water as the givers of life.” Sylvia’s experience is that there is no comparison: “There is a lot of things in University, there is political theory, and there is a lot of really big thinkers they fall back on. Compare that with going to Ceremony and hearing our Creation stories . . . Really, there is a huge difference. Their thinking is so small. There were a lot of times, being in university, where I was challenging it, and being a teacher and trying to educate my professors.” Sylvia began her water-related *jiimaanke* work while she was studying at the University of Toronto: “I joined Deb McGregor’s research team; she was looking at how can we better implement the Water Declarations that were created by the Union of Ontario Indians or the Chiefs of Ontario.”

#### *Academia*

Barbara Ann Warren,<sup>56</sup> Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmikwe Getsit and Registered Nurse, and Robin Wall Kimmerer, Professor of Botany at the State University of New York’s College of Environmental Science and Forestry, understand *Nibi* through both *Bodwewaadmii Gikendaaswin*<sup>57</sup> and Western Science. These Knowledge systems are complementary in making

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<sup>56</sup> Barbara Ann identifies herself in Getsit, the Elder stage of life.

<sup>57</sup> *The embodiment of Knowledges.*

meaning and in the *uncovering* and *reweaving* of water Knowledges and practices into the lives of these kwewag.<sup>58</sup>

The practice of using Nibi as medicine and within our medicines became clear for Barbara Ann during her nursing education. She carries medicine Knowledge from her grandparents and her academic training. Barbara Ann associates water with women's medicinal practices: "I have a hard time separating just water from women's medicines; it is all one big circle for me, and it incorporates not only what I have learned from my community as an Indian woman, but also what I learned at the university in biology class. It is powerful stuff." Barbara Ann shared that her process of combining community-based collective Knowledges and scientific Knowledge resulted in deeper understanding of giizhkandak<sup>59</sup> and Nibi as women's medicine. "Somehow our people knew this, instinctively knew that it was women's medicine—cedar. And we put it in our water. You can make a tea with it; you can put it in your water and put it in a [spray bottle] and bless your home with it." Seeing cervical mucus under a microscope in a women's biology class was a pivotal moment for Barbara Ann: "It looks just like arbor vitae; it looks just like cedar when it is dried, the pattern. And for this to be a woman's medicine—cedar is considered a women's medicine. That kinda just brought everything home to me. And this was about 1991 to '92 when I took this class, and it just melded all my

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<sup>58</sup> *Women.*

<sup>59</sup> *Cedar that has been cleaned and separated into small pieces to be used as medicine.*

traditional beliefs and traditional Knowledge that I had with the scientific Knowledge that I was gaining.”

Robin Wall Kimmerer had a similar experience: “[Scientific water Knowledge] amplif[ies] my understanding of the sacredness of water. What I know about the physical and chemical nature of water does not detract; it only amplifies the beauty of water.” Robin is an educator, writer and holder of Knowledges. She assists in the *uncovering* and *reweaving* of Knowledges through her work as a university professor. Robin describes Knowledge as a “way of being, a way of interacting and of making relationships with the world.” She considers the land as a library and “teacher full of all these wise beings.” Robin acts as a translator for her students while they “learn to listen and hear what is being said.” She understands and operationalizes the Anishinaabe notion of responsibility to our Knowledges: “I am not a generator of traditional Knowledge; I am not a holder of traditional Knowledge; I am a holder of what I have been taught—an array of Knowledges to share. So, I feel that my role in that work [revitalization of Indigenous Knowledges] is to teach it to others, to celebrate it and to teach it.”

Robin also spoke to continued learning: “Saying that you are a Knowledge Holder doesn’t mean that you are not a perpetual student. To be a Knowledge Holder is also to be a Knowledge seeker.” We learn, continuing the process of *uncovering* Knowledges and practices, from our Elders, our communities, clans, and families.



## Getsijig, Gete Anishinaabeg, and Our Families

Grandmother Josephine Mandamin-ban,<sup>60</sup> Anishinaabekwe Getsit and Mide'waanokwe, has profoundly influenced kwewag relationship with Nibi, as well as Anishinaabe women's roles and responsibilities related to water.<sup>61</sup> Sylvia Plain, Aabita Biboon Anungosh and Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmiikwe Knowledge Holder Andy Jackson<sup>62</sup> each attributed Josephine-ban with influencing their processes of *uncovering* and *reweaving* water practice and Knowledge. Sylvia shared, "Josephine[-ban] has a lot to do with that. She has walked around the Great Lakes, and she has seen some things. She has seen a lot. Many times, she is alone, and she sees things and she doesn't tell you the location. She wouldn't even tell you about it unless you asked. Or even if you asked, she still won't tell you. She has seen different petroglyphs or things that were left in very, very careful places by our Ancestors. And she will just tell you that you have to go and do the work yourself."

Like many of us, Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe Kelli Mosteller has learned from multiple Getsijig.<sup>63</sup> As Director of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation's Cultural Center, Kelli has traveled to every Bodwewaadmiig community and has been able to experience Full Moon Ceremonies, Water Ceremonies and Berry Fast Ceremonies. Because of the nearly complete covering of water Knowledges and practices within her community, it wasn't until her early 30s

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<sup>60</sup> *The suffix 'ban' is added to the name of an Anishinaabe who is deceased.*

<sup>61</sup> Mandamin, Sacred Water Circle Gathering; Deborah McGregor, "Anishinaabe-kwe"; McGregor, "Traditional knowledge."

<sup>62</sup> Andy identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

<sup>63</sup> *Elders.*

that she found a way to “follow the natural path” of learning. Kelli described what she believes the “natural path” to be: “observ[ing] the Elders throughout my childhood and [learning] things in an intuitive kind of way, and pass[ing] through one stage of life to another learning.” She was honored and afraid, concerned that she might be perceived as taking that role of sharing from the ladies in her community who are her Elders. Kelli gifted semaa to more than one Getsit and “learned at the knee of many.” She brings what she has learned to the women in her community.

Kim Wensaut shared an important philosophy regarding learning from and visiting with our Getsijig: “It’s a different way of learning, you approach it differently. My grandma always said: ‘Listen. If you want to learn you have to listen.’” Kim reminded us that many of our Elders grew up immersed in our cultural practices and Knowledge systems. They didn’t have television or radio, so in the evenings they sat, they visited, and they told stories. Theo Paradis adds to this necessity to listen—when we are seeking the old ways and the old teachers, we need to stop struggling to find them. Rather, we “need to listen inside ourselves, to where our Indigenous roots are.”

Learning from Manidoog and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii Getsijig has been Majel DeMarsh’s method of *uncovering*. Majel shares what she has learned from Lillian Rice-ban and Jim Thunder with the women and youth in her community.<sup>64</sup> Brenda and Phil Shopodock have also learned from Jim Thunder and his sister Mary Jane, and Cree Elder Don

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<sup>64</sup> Majel has also learned from Getsijig Mary Jane Thunder, Stewart King-ban and younger women including Punkin Shananaquet, Vicki Dowd and Kim Wensaut.

Cardinal-ban, as well as their own families. They spoke about learning about the land from their parents, grandparents, and aunts and uncles. Knowledges of hunting, fishing, medicines, and “knowing where the springs are.” This Knowledge, Brenda and Phil said, “still helps us today. There was a time when we tried to use all these [ways]. And we still have our Ceremonies and our annual Feast. We know how far back that goes because we know what they ate, and what they liked. Today we take it back that far to feast [our Ancestors] because we know that is how they survived back in the day.”

Majel DeMarsh and Kim Wensaut both spoke about learning from Gete Anishinaabeg, our Ancestors, and remembering their experiences during removal. Kim believes the relocation of our communities “definitely had an impact on the Knowledge that was shared because the people were so scattered at that time; their focus was on surviving. How do we really know what our Ancestors did, or how they felt, or what were their practices at that time?” She also believes that a lot of these things could be recovered through dreams or through fasting; or that the Spirits of the Ancestors would just gift that to some people, and that’s how it will be recovered.”

Family dbaajimowinag<sup>65</sup> and responsibilities associated with hereditary lineage have catalyzed the *uncovering* and *reweaving* of Knowledges and practices and strengthened identity. Hereditary lineage has influenced Sylvia Plain: “I do that work, picking up that work because we had that hereditary lineage.” Sylvia has also explored her family history: “Two

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<sup>65</sup> *Personal stories.*

years ago, my uncle and I went to Wisconsin, to Milwaukee. We retraced all of the places where our grandparents went into hiding, trying to visualize what it would've looked like then. We also walked along the shorelines, trying to imagine, what would've made sense in that kind of environment. Milwaukee would've been a major gathering place; Ceremonies would've been held in that region." Her Ancestors traveled, making "a big loop up through Lake Michigan." Plain family descendants can be found in the Forest County Potawatomi Community and on Manitoulin Island. "There are people in Cape Croker and all the way down to Moravian town that share a common story. We also have relatives in Cape Croker, Saugeen and Kettle Point, Walpole . . . all in that region."<sup>66</sup>

Pashko Banks,<sup>67</sup> Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiikwe, finds resilience and strength through family connection. Her journey of *uncovering* and *reweaving* Knowledges and practices has included family tree research and visiting with her Grandmother. What began with a few questions has resulted in Pashko resisting further assimilation and beginning her own process of Biskaabiiyang. She came to know that her family was from Skunk Hill, Wisconsin and her Ancestor, Noewy, was "considered their medicine man and the drum keeper of Skunk Hill, and he was working to preserve our culture." Her journey in revitalization of Bodwewaadmii culture and practices became a way to acknowledge and honor her family. "When I realized the type of people that I came from, [I realized] that is probably why it is inside of me, you know wanting to, keeping my culture instead of fully . . . Well, I am assimilated because I grew up here. But, I

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<sup>66</sup> See Map 4.7 in *Miisah geget gaa be Zhiwebak: Chapter 4* for these locations.

<sup>67</sup> Pashko identifies herself in Zhitchge, the 'doing it' stage of life.

mean, taking on other's beliefs, that would be easy to do. It would be so easy to do because there are so many people that are willing to give you theirs! But you know, I would rather not."

Robin Wall Kimmerer told me: "[My] journey began with connecting to family stories. We knew the names of people that were important. We knew in our family history little snippets of stories about them. Finding out about Louis Vieux and thinking: 'Wait, there's a tree named after him?'" Robin reconnected with this story, and Ancestral lands, by visiting the tree— The Louis Vieux Elm—in Kansas. "Going to Kansas made it real was for me, [it was] kind of the first step on that journey." Robin and I are sisters. We have traveled both separately and collectively, with our parents and cousins, to our Ancestral lands in Oklahoma, Kansas, the Milwaukee area, and northern Wisconsin. "Knowing that our family history is in fact a powerful microcosm of the history of our people," said Robin, "it blows my mind. We have family stories that correspond to virtually every era of federal Indian policy. That is pretty amazing."

### North—going North

*Giiwedinoong Manidoog miigwech kina gego emiigwien. Nokmisinaan miinwaa Mishomisaan Giiwedinoong gmiigwech wendimigoo Getsijig zaagidwin naa naag doowendimowin, kendaaswin wewene naadmoosh naang jeh minayaayang.<sup>68</sup>*

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<sup>68</sup> *Spirits of the North, thank you for all that you give and all that you are. Grandmother and Grandfather of the north, we give thanks for the love, compassion and wisdom of our Elders, and that we remain healthy; Personal Reflection, Keene, ON, 2012.*

Giiwedinoong is the northern direction; it is also going home and the healing direction. Gete Anishinaabeg reside in Giiwedinoong. Wiingashk,<sup>69</sup> the mashkiki<sup>70</sup> of Giiwedinoong, reminds us of our connection with Shkaakmiikwe<sup>71</sup> and with each other. This medicine reminds us to be kind to ourselves. Traveling north is a common method for Boom bye goo, Abinsaaniawag, and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiig to *uncover* Knowledges and practices, as is coming home to G'chi Zaagiganag. Phil Shopodock said, "We need to go North to heal before we can begin to understand."

Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmiig truly return home when we go North, and many feel a strong need to do so. Kelli Mosteller's dbaajimowinag illuminates this need: "It is almost like going back to your lifeline. I can start to feel it when I've been away [from the North] for too long, [I feel] antsy and a little bit depleted." Ruby Withrow-ban, Kristy Phillips, David Whittall, Esther Lowden, Lakota Pochedley, and Herb Whitlow all spoke about going North, or learning from Bodwewaadmiig from the North. These teachers are Abinsaaniawag and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiig.

Herb Whitlow. Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii inini,<sup>72</sup> is a sweat lodge keeper; his lodge is an eastern door lodge. Herb worked with and learned from Johnny Flynn-ban (Ruby Withrow-ban's nephew) and from teachings from up North:

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<sup>69</sup> *Sweetgrass.*

<sup>70</sup> *Medicine.*

<sup>71</sup> *Describing the hard surface that we walk on, Mother Earth.*

<sup>72</sup> Herb identifies himself in both Nbwaakaawin and Getsit, the wisdom and Elder stages of life.

When I got connected with Johnny Flynn[-ban] and Leon Bruno, it was when the culture started returning to Oklahoma through Norman Kiker. He was the first one to go up North and talk to the Elders up there, to start bringing back some of the language and he brought back some of the Ceremony. And Wally [Meshigaud] came down and we learned how to do the Seasonal Ceremonies, and we learned how to do the Sweat Lodge. We began to put people out on fasts and things like that. The Oklahoma Potawatomis, they lost everything; basically, they had no culture, other than being Potawatomi, but as far as traditional culture, they had very little at all.

Herb believes that Norman Kiker travelled North to the Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii Hannahville Indian Community in Wilson Michigan as did Leno Bruno.<sup>73</sup>

Lakota Pochedley shared her understanding that “going up North is where the culture is.” Stories from her Grandfather pushed her to go North, and “to keep going North.” Lakota said, “Going north is a sense of home in terms of the environment but also the people. It is where I feel most at ease, the most comfortable. There are a lot of reasons why I go up north. But a lot of it is to return home.” According to Kelli Mosteller, “there is a true understanding from the people down here [in Oklahoma] who are seeking this Knowledge that you almost have to go back up North. You have to go back to the source or you just don’t get it. I think if you are trying to learn this water Knowledge and you have never touched Lake Michigan, or you have never put your toes in the cold waters of a Michigan or a Wisconsin or an Indiana river, you just don’t get it. It is just different.” Kristy Phillips moved from Oklahoma to live, learn and teach in the Hannahville Indian Community.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Leon Bruno, Elder in the Shawnee, Oklahoma area, holds Seasonal Feasts on his property in Tecumseh.

<sup>74</sup> See “Going home/Great Lakes Basin” section of this chapter for more of Kristy’s dbaajimowinag.

Esther Lowden, Bodwewaadmii and Osage Getsit, holds Seasonal Feasts at “The Hill.”

Esther attributes the return of these Ceremonies to Norman Kiker: “He went up North, three or four times, on his own time, on his own money.” The business committee of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation then chose to bring Knowledge Holders down to Oklahoma to teach. Esther told me:

They came down and talked to us. Norman got some people together. He said, ‘I need you people together if we want to do this, to do this Ceremony and learn, and learn together and help one another.’ So, when they came down, we all got together. The women came into my office, and the men went downstairs and talked. And then we all got together down at the powwow grounds, the dance grounds, and visited. And you know, they told us, ‘if you start this, you need to keep it going every season, you know, and there’s more to it, but just take a little bit at a time, and don’t get overwhelmed.’ And that is what we did. In the meantime, Leon Bruno went up North and visited with them.

Kelli Mosteller participates in Seasonal Ceremonies on “The Hill.” She, too, has travelled North to uncover Knowledges and practices. Kelli shared her experience attending the Annual Potawatomi Gathering<sup>75</sup> hosted by the Hannahville Indian Community:

I was able to meet some of the ladies up there, well, not just from Hannahville. As you know, one of the great things about the gatherings is you get exposed to the other bands. Lillian Rice[-ban] was there. They had a lodge set up for women’s teachings, so I was able to be exposed to different ladies. Shannon Martin, Cindy LeClere, and of course Punkin was there, and the Hannahville ladies—Aiesha Meshigaud, Vicky Dowd—a whole bunch of ladies. They spent a few hours every day just talking with us. It was eye-opening, a more accurate wording would be heart-opening. I was able to just sit and realize how much I didn’t know and how much I want to know.

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<sup>75</sup> The Annual Potawatomi Gatherings began in 1995 as a way to re-connect our relocated communities and to share Knowledges and practices. See the “Annual Potawatomi Gatherings” section of this chapter for additional dbaajimowinag.



Andy Jackson formed close relationships with Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii Getsijig from up North. She has learned from Lillian Rice-ban, Jim Thunder, Mary Jane Thunder and Stewart King-ban, as well as Abinsaaniawag Getsit Clarence White. Andy's community, the Pokégnek Bodéwadmik,<sup>76</sup> invited Stewart King-ban to share Knowledge and teachings in mnookmik<sup>77</sup> of 2016. The Pokégnek Bodéwadmik Language and Culture Department's language apprentices Carla Collins and Kyle Malott moved North to live in the Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii Forest County Potawatomi Community, and work with fluent language speaker Jim Thunder for two years. Both have now returned to their community and work as language specialists, *reweaving* language, Knowledge and practices into the lives of Elders and youth.

There is a strong connection between both individuals and 'southern' Bodwewaadmiig communities and Giiwedinoong. Kelli Mosteller feels a strong connection to both Oklahoma and the North: "It is not that this [Oklahoma] isn't home. We very much live in our reality that we're removed. We have a great history here; we have an amazing history here. But there is something really important there [in the North]." Kelli connects spiritually with "The Hill," and the Manidoog that visit:

When I am out there, I can always feel those Spirits, but I believe that those Spirits can also feel it when we have gone back up North, and we come down. When I have recently been North, and I go out to "The Hill," I will get a full tingle, from my toes up through my body. It is almost like those Spirits say thank you. I am connecting them back. I take a little bit of them when I go, and I take a little bit of home back to them when I come back. It is that nice connection. That we are a people removed but it still doesn't mean that we don't have a homeland.

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<sup>76</sup> Pokagon Potawatomi Community, Dowagiac, Michigan.

<sup>77</sup> Spring.

Brenda and Phil Shopodock live in northern Wisconsin in the Forest County Potawatomi Community. They, too, travel North to uncover Knowledges and practices while sharing collective Knowledge with Anishinaabeg in Manitoba. Phil laughed as he shared his observation that “the farther away you go, the bigger expert you become.” Brenda added, “We’ve come across that in all the other communities we’ve traveled too. [The Knowledge Holders], they’ve done the same thing. They have traveled all over.”

### **Annual Potawatomi Gatherings**

Boom bye goo, Abinsaaniawag, and Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmiig travel each summer to the Annual Potawatomi Gathering. Each Gathering is hosted by a different Bodwewaadmii community; the first Gathering was hosted by the Wasauksing<sup>78</sup> First Nation in 1995. Attending gatherings is important in reconnecting our People, and in the *uncovering* and *reweaving* of Knowledges and practices. Reclaiming and revitalizing of our ways of knowing and being takes all of us sharing. Herb Whitlow and David Whittall both emphasized the significance of the Gatherings in their personal journeys of *uncovering* and *reweaving*. David shared: “When they started the Gathering and bringing us all together, it was the greatest thing, because a lot of people in Oklahoma were just learning. They were the ones who were going North to learn.” Herb believes, “it will be a coming together of the People, bringing the culture back. We have to depend on each other; we will have to become a community again.”

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<sup>78</sup> *Shining in the distance.*

### Aaniin Dash<sup>79</sup>

The motivation for *uncovering* and *reweaving* is healing and continuance, and survival, as we as Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg spiral forward into the Eight Fire.<sup>80</sup> Elements of both healing and continuance are embedded and embodied within Anishinaabeodziiwin<sup>81</sup> and Anishinaabeg Intellectual Tradition. Going North is traveling toward healing, healing as a collective and as an individual. Healing results in strengthening of identity (collective and individual), restoration of relationships with each other and with the water, and the ability to fulfill our responsibilities as caretakers. Healing allows Biskaabiiyang, the continuance and survival of Creation, Anishinaabeodziiwin and future generations of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg.

### *Noojimo'iwewin*

Healing ourselves by returning to ourselves and by *uncovering* and *reweaving* water Knowledges and practices is essential to the continuation of Anishinaabeodziiwin and mno bemaadiziiwin<sup>82</sup> and for Nibi herself. Noojimo'iwewin<sup>83</sup> is particularly essential for the removed and relocated Boom Bye Goo Bodwewaadmii. Our relocation and removal from the Great Lakes Basin resulted in dispossession and disconnection from our lands and waters, and, for some

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<sup>79</sup> *Why.*

<sup>80</sup> See *Anishinaabeodziiwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin: Chapter 3* and *G'yak chigewin: Chapter 5* for further discussion of the Seventh Fire Prophecy.

<sup>81</sup> *Being Anishinaabe, embodiment of all aspects of the Anishinaabe way of life, philosophy, psychology, culture, teachings, spirituality, customs, and history.*

<sup>82</sup> *The good life.*

<sup>83</sup> *Healing.*

individuals and families, a high degree of assimilation and disconnection from our culture, our Knowledges and our practices.<sup>84</sup> This disconnection is deep and profoundly traumatic as articulated by Kelli Mosteller in the following vignette:

You've taken a people whose clan systems are largely connected to the water, whose origin stories and oral traditions of the underwater panther and all these other things that are related back to this place, the Great lakes, and put them in the plains of Central Kansas, and then into Indian Territory [Oklahoma]. There is just no frame of reference anymore. Creator told us we would come to where we were supposed to be when we came to the place where food grows on the water. This is a central part of who we are, of our Cosmology and how we made sense of ourselves as a people for so long. [As a result,] you become a people who are unmoored—unmoored from your teachings and your Cosmology and everything that was used to shape and frame your life. The medicines that were used to heal the sick don't grow here [Oklahoma] anymore.

All of these things are taken away, and then you also have the added element of being forcibly removed. With [the chaos of] removal and then relocation [as well as] the Civil War raging all around, you are being crammed into locations with other tribes that you have either never experienced before or tribes that you have warred with for centuries. I don't know if the water Knowledge just went away or it was suppressed or maybe it was just too painful. I would imagine if I had grown up in the Great Lakes, even in only my younger years, and would've tried to pass this Knowledge on as an older woman in a place that is so drastically different—I imagine it would be painful. So, in a lot of ways—were they passing it on or were they pushing it away because it wasn't helping the day-to-day reality of feeding your family, of staying alive, or was it just too painful to talk about?

*Uncovering and reweaving* these Knowledges and practices can be healing. Pashko

Banks spoke about the healing that Ceremony brings: "It brings you back to your foundations, always brings you back. It centers you I guess, and you leave—drum doings, or Native American Church meetings or any [Ceremony]— feeling good." Jennifer Porter,<sup>85</sup> Boom bye goo

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<sup>84</sup> See *Miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak: Chapter 4* for a detailed discussion of the relocation and removal of the Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe from the Great Lakes Basin.

<sup>85</sup> Jennifer identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

Bodwewaadmiikwe, also shared her experience with healing through Ceremony and the sense of belonging that it created: “When I was more in the center of spiritual involvement, when we were doing all those things—you were here,<sup>86</sup> we were doing Water Ceremonies, going to powwows—I was connected to more of our people. That first dance at the regional meeting<sup>87</sup> was like an epiphany or something. It was just the beginning of a journey, and it will stay with me forever, that feeling. [That connection] like at the Gathering,<sup>88</sup> or at the Warrior Dance or at the Women’s Spring Ceremonies<sup>89</sup> felt like home to me.”

Theo Paradis’ lived experience associated with *uncovering* and *reweaving* Knowledges and practices has provided Theo with both strength and healing: “The people that I serve and have served me in my life is where my strength is coming from. This is not where I was ten years ago. I was a very shy person. Coming into this community, a lot of the people only knew me as the one with the pretty blue eyes who didn’t speak. So for me to be able to sound strong and confident [sharing dbaajimowinag in this research] is because I have been able to access those Ceremonies and those Elders.”<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Jennifer and I consider each other as Bodwewaadmii sisters. For many years we supported each other through Full Moon Ceremony and traveling to Ceremony in Wisconsin.

<sup>87</sup> The Citizen Potawatomi Nation’s off-reservation population is large and widespread. The current Tribal Administration holds yearly meetings in nine legislative districts throughout the United States, and in Shawnee, Oklahoma.

<sup>88</sup> Annual Potawatomi Gathering.

<sup>89</sup> The Warrior Dance and Women’s Spring Ceremonies Jennifer is referencing were held by Brenda and Phil Shopodock, Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii.

<sup>90</sup> Theo also spoke about learning from Getsijig that don’t have an understanding of their non-conforming gender identity. Theo said “[I can learn] if I am able to sit down with an open heart and listen to them. The teachings that I need to hear are there. I can struggle through my own uncomfortability about wearing a skirt or not wearing a skirt and access those Ceremonies because those words are more important for me to hear than some skirt for me.” It

While *reweaving* of Knowledges and practices is healing, applying or *reweaving* the reclaimed practices into our lives can be challenging when living outside of the Great Lakes Basin. A question that Lakota Pochedley struggles with “on a day-to-day basis is— how do you live it in Oklahoma?” Lakota shared: “Growing up, up North, I get how you can live it there, to an extent. It’s not like it is the easiest thing but you are still in that environment that these animals live in, our stories make sense there. Here in Oklahoma, it doesn’t always translate. Constantly a question I have is: how do we revitalize these practices in a place where they don’t always make sense?”<sup>91</sup> Kristy Phillips applies Knowledges gained from Nibi herself in an identity healing way: “The teachings that the water can give us, the water can literally bring us back to who we are as Anishinaabeg people.” The *uncovering* and *reweaving* of Nibi waboo<sup>92</sup> Knowledges and practices positively impacts Bodwewaadmiikwewag identity.

### *Identity*

Kim Wensaut believes that the confirming and strengthening of identity is one reason to do this revitalizing work: “I think it is important to recover them [Nibi waboo Knowledges and practices]; it is part of who we are, part of who we are as women.” Beyond strengthening identity, Kim Wensaut shared that *uncovering* and *reweaving* will assist in the restoration of our

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is important to share this aspect of Theo’s experience and acknowledge that our Elders have varying levels of understanding of non-conforming gender identities. Theo’s experience also highlights the issues of skirt protocols. Discussion of these issues is beyond the scope of this dissertation. See *Niibnoong: Chapter 6* for a broader discussion of gender roles.

<sup>91</sup> Lakota’s struggles are connected to Kelli’s dbaajimowin included in the North—going North section of this chapter.

<sup>92</sup> *Sacred water, water in liquid form.*

ancestral values. Specifically, Kim said, “All these ways—the practices and Ceremonies—come down to teaching us how to be a good human being again and to treat all of our relatives respectfully. [These ways influence] how we perceive ourselves in this world, how we treat other people, and how we live a good life.”

Healing identity fosters a sense of belonging. Jennifer Porter’s dbaajimowin<sup>93</sup> of her Biskaabiiyang journey to Bodwewaadmii spirituality connects her identity to a sense of belonging and a feeling of home. She spoke of a moment in her journey when Getsit Stewart King-ban and I were departing from California: “He came over to me and gave me a hug. He put his arm around me, and he said, ‘Remember you always have a place to come, you always have a home.’”

#### *Seventh Fire Prophecy*

Punkin Shananaquet visualizes a broader connection to identity; her thoughts move within the Anishinaabeg spiral of time:<sup>94</sup> “It is so important to go back and realize your seven generations from the past. You need to name them in your language, Anishinaabemowin; you need to find out who your great-great-great grandparents were and bring their name to the present.” Bringing our Ancestors, the Gete Anishinaabeg, forward operationalizes Biskaabiiyang while strengthening intergenerational familial identity. Punkin also connects this process to the

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<sup>93</sup> *Personal story.*

<sup>94</sup> See *Anishinaabeodziiwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin: Chapter 3* for further discussion of Anishinaabe conceptualization of time.

Seventh Fire Prophecy:<sup>95</sup> “They say that once we can do that, go back seven generations, we will see a turning point. It is going to be like a flip, and we will see a new people, the Oshki<sup>96</sup> Anishinaabeg. They [the Oshki Anishinaabeg] are going to have their complete Spirit self within them.”

Robin Wall Kimmerer also spoke to this prophecy as she shared about her life’s work involving revitalizing Knowledges.<sup>97</sup> Her work has strengthened her identity, catalyzed the development of relationships with “Seventh Fire People,” and enhanced connection between communities. Robin shared this dbaajimowin:

An invitation from people in our communities, from teachers to participate in the revitalization of Knowledge has been of huge importance to me. As an inherently shy person who tends to hang back, who grew up without traditional culture and without a strong sense of identity with a community, the invitation to participate in the work of Seventh Fire People has been a huge propellant for me in my work. To know that we are all needed to work together to pick up any little fragment that has our name on it is powerful. It makes you feel like you belong. It makes you feel like you have a responsibility to people, even if you know nothing. If you find one little piece, you can put it in your bundle. The invitation of the Seventh Fire is something that helps me on my journey. It acknowledges how much has been lost; it acknowledges why it has been lost; it acknowledges why I grew up in a household without these things. And it doesn’t make it shameful or make you feel as an outsider for having lost those things. It acknowledges that this is our shared experience, and once you feel that it is a shared experience of having lost it, it makes you want to help to restore it.

Barbara Ann Warren’s experiences working to *uncover* and *reweave* our Knowledges and practices implies connection to the Prophecy of the Seventh Fire and picking up the pieces

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<sup>95</sup> See *Anishinaabeodziiwin miinwaa Gikendaaswin: Chapter 3* for further discussion of the Seventh Fire Prophecy.

<sup>96</sup> *New*.

<sup>97</sup> Robin’s revitalization work involves Anishinaabeg and Haudenosaunee ecological and plant Knowledges, and their intersection and interaction with western scientific ecological Knowledges.



that have been left along our paths. Raised catholic, Barbara Ann struggled “up until about the age of thirty-five” to reclaim her Bodwewaadmii identity.<sup>98</sup> Barbara Ann had heard stories of the Nottaway Ziibi,<sup>99</sup> or the St. Joseph River as it was renamed by the Jesuits, from her mother. “It was our life blood. All of your Ancestors, all of my Ancestors are buried on either side of that river. We are salt and peppered along that river. A great-Grandfather of mine put a curse on it, with the water panther to take the lives of those people that hurt us before the removal. That river takes lives every year. I have never physically stepped foot in that river, my mom had me so afraid!” Barbara Ann also spoke about Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii using Nottaway Zibi to “wash the white blood out of their mixed children.” Her great-uncle wanted to take her “to the St. Joe River to wash the white blood out of me, and my mom was afraid to let me go into that river to have that Ceremony done.” As a mother with her youngest baby, Barbara Ann was on a “quest of grabbing what crumbs were left on the floor” and combined the catholic Ceremony of baptism with the Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii Ceremony of washing a mixed-blood child in the river: “I talked a catholic priest into coming down the Nottaway Zibi in a canoe and meeting us at a curve so that he could baptize my youngest in the river. So, there you go, I am on the floor grabbing crumbs.”

Sylvia Plain’s life work also involves revitalization of Knowledges and practices. She spoke of the Seventh Fire within the spiral of Anishinaabe time, and shared hope for our collective future: “It is in our prophecies; we talk about the Seventh Fire. It is unknown of how

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<sup>98</sup> Barbara Ann’s father is Irish/Scottish and her mother was Pokagon Potawatomi.

<sup>99</sup> This river is also known as the Senajwen Zibé (see Map 2.1)

things will get better, but we know that they will. [Our Ancestors] trusted that and placed those stories in front of us to have faith and know that things will get better. We are the keepers of that, of those original Knowledges.”<sup>100</sup> Booshke win,<sup>101</sup> it is up to us, to pick up those stories, teachings and practices that Gete Anishinaabeg have left along our paths. Booshke win to operationalize Biskaabiiyang for our communities, for ourselves and for future generations.

*Abijitaawin miinwaa Zhaabwiiwin*<sup>102</sup>

It flows from the heart; it flows with love. Love for Nibi, for our communities and for those yet to come is aaniin dash, why, my research participants choose to operationalize Biskaabiiyang and to uncover and reweave Knowledges and practices into their lives. Responsibility to our Knowledges also plays a role in this choice.<sup>103</sup>

*Community roles and responsibilities*

“It is a great responsibility, but it is a true honour to be brought along by these women who have this Knowledge and brought into that circle and brought into that trust of older women. It is a great way to not just impart water Knowledge but what it is to be a woman. It is that natural way of passing along teachings. It is that natural conduit to also pass on self-respect and an understanding of your role in a community, and place, and how to be a caretaker and how to

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<sup>100</sup> Sylvia also believes that other Peoples need to return to their own Creation Stories. She shared that this will be the “flip” that Punkin referred to. “[When] other nations, other people, return to their [own] Creation Stories, that is when I think things will get better, when they go back.” Biskaabiiyang is an important process for all Peoples.

<sup>101</sup> *It is up to us, it is our decision.*

<sup>102</sup> *Continuing and surviving.*

<sup>103</sup> See *G’yak chigewin: Chapter 5* for further discussion of our responsibility to Knowledges. See also Figure 5.2.

be taken care of,” shared Kelli Mosteller. She understands binary gender-based community roles not as exclusionary or “keeping women away from this, and keeping men away from that,” but as a way of bringing balance to Ceremony and bringing the community together. It’s a “beautiful thing, in the way that things have been passed down, you can’t conduct a full Ceremony without having both a man and a woman involved. By making them so necessary, even if their roles are separate, you have to bring the two together. It is like the pipe when you put the two together<sup>104</sup> it becomes this sacred vessel. It becomes this way of bringing the community together and sending our prayers to the Creator, that the two must be brought together and each have their very important and distinct roles.” Learning to uphold gender responsibilities for Nibi, according to Kelli, provides insights to and an understanding of caretaking to younger women. Equally important is the modeling of positive and loving care for each other.<sup>105</sup> “I think the water teachings are very important for our women.”

Intergenerational learning and teaching strengthen our families and our communities while both *uncovering* and *reweaving* practices into our daily lives. Lakota Pochedley worked with Bodwewaadmii youth in southern Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma through the Rekindling 7 Generations program sponsored by the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. One of the youth expressed the importance of intergenerational learning and learning with families. She told Lakota: “It is because they need to know what we [as youth] are doing. We need to share

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<sup>104</sup> The pipe bowl is considered to be female while the stem is considered as male.

<sup>105</sup> This understanding of how one should be taken care of, in a positive, loving way can lead our young women towards recognizing abusive relationships and lateral violence.

and then they can share, and then our siblings learn, and our cousins learn, and our aunts and uncles learn.” This centering of family around our youth is essential. According to Lakota, many youth express this need. This also reflects the dual nature of motivations for the *uncovering* and *reweaving* of Knowledges and practices. Kelli shared this insight: “You are learning these things for yourself, but also your community. There is that line that you have to keep in balance. If someone is stepping forward and taking on a leadership role, you have to understand that they are not just doing it for the group. It might be something that they feel personally compelled to do, something that they have prayed about it, and they have fasted about, and they feel that Creator has put this in their path.”

Majel DeMarsh works to revitalize Knowledges for our youth, and all our People. She shares with youth within her community. “What I want our youth to know, [and] our people, is that the gifts that Creator has given us need to be honored. We have so much to be thankful for. Each and every community where they, where we live—where we live in the Great Lakes there is so much beauty, the largest freshwater body in the whole world. It is a life-giving force.” Our youth, Oshki-aya’-aayag,<sup>106</sup> are our future leaders and those who will be birthing the next generation of our People. Operationalizing Biskaabiiyang is imperative for their continuation of *mno bemaadiziiwin* and *Anishinaabeodziiwin*.

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<sup>106</sup> *Someone young*

*Oshki-aya'-aayag and Oshkimaadiziig*

Herb Whitlow also thinks about Oshki-aya'-aayag and the future generations in his Ceremonial and revitalization work, and the changes that are coming. A retired high school teacher, Herb believes in teaching culture in the intergenerational ways used by our communities:

They get together with the young people. They take them out [and teach] the songs, the dances, the Ceremonies, the crafts—what it takes to survive as an Anishinaabe person. That is something that is going to be more and more important as we get more and more into this change that we are going through. People don't realize the severity of what we are facing, especially the young people—they are the ones that will have to endure. To me, it is going to be more and more important to be able to connect with Mother Earth and the Creator and the Spirits and know how to survive without all that we have now.

This change is a reference to the Prophecy of the Seventh Fire, and the imperative of operationalizing Biskaabiiyang. Herb said: “We all share the same story of trying to bring things back that we lost. The way everything connects—you bring one thing, and that connects with this other thing over here, and then the other thing comes back. It just makes that circle that much bigger and makes us understand more of what we gave up and why it is so important to bring it back.”

Brenda Shopodock and her husband Phil have dedicated their adult lives to *uncovering* and *reweaving* our Knowledges and practices. They are motivated by their own lived experiences, their respect and love of their Ancestors and Anishinaabeodziwin, and creating a better life for our Oshki-aya'-aayag and Oshkimaadiziig.<sup>107</sup> Brenda speaks plainly and passionately: “I guess for me, it is teaching our young ones so that they don't have the struggles

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<sup>107</sup> *The new esteemed People.*

we had. That’s why we try to teach our children and grandchildren everything we know, all the time, so they know who they are. We do our best to share because we don’t want that to happen to them—what happened to us.” Aabita Biboon Anungosh, a proud Kokum, works to transmit her water Knowledges and practices to her three-year-old granddaughter: “She has her Spirit name, she sings four water songs along with other songs. She drums and knows many everyday Anishinaabemowin words. She loves Nibi and is very connected to and honors her native culture. She has attended Water Ceremonies with me. And for this I am proud of being a Kokum and passing on our beautiful traditions.”

Wearing our teachings<sup>108</sup> is an essential pedagogy for Aunties, Uncles, and parents who are *reweaving* our Knowledges and practices into our contemporary lives as Bodwewaadmii. It is inherent in Brenda and Phil Shopodock’s revitalization work, and the work of other research participants. Punkin Shananaquet reminded me as an Auntie to give our youth and young ones “back that life teaching, their life bundle teaching” to ensure they are grounded in who they are. She graciously continued and shared:

We are born with the gift of the Seven Grandfather Teachings. As we are lowered—as our Spirit is lowered, the Creator places those teachings in our heart. For this short time on our Mother Earth, we are given the gift of being able to taste and talk, to smell, to touch, to feel, to walk, to sing, to pray, to vision, to have vision, and to write—all those physical things that go with our physical bundle that we are given. And then we are gifted our intellect and our intuition. We should always listen to that gift of our intuition because they say that our Spirit sits right next to our heart and guides our heart, tells us what is right from wrong and that this is the only place that we are allowed to do those things.

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<sup>108</sup> The concept of wearing our teachings was shared by Anishinaabekwe Getsit, Edna Manitowabi (personal communication, 2011; INDG6600 Indigenous Knowledge Seminar, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, November 12, 2012).

This is the only place where I can look and see the pussy willows, or check on the maple trees, or this is the only place where I can taste the syrup and wild rice. This is the only place where my hands can construct life bundles, or make beadwork, or sew, or write, or paint. This is the only place where I can hear language, and prayer and songs and hear the birds singing, hear the trees and the winds making their songs, the only place where I can hear the spring frogs come out. When our young people get that realization of what they have and how valuable that is, we change their realm of thinking. We could get rid of the suicide rate, the substance abuse, the poverty of the mind and Spirit.

Andy Jackson believes our youth, and her grandchildren specifically, benefit from seeing their Aunties and Grandmothers wearing our teachings: “I think they need to hear us; they need to hear us talk. They need to hear the women sing. They need to hear the women gather because we, as women, are bringing the traditions back. Our boys have to know how to respect women. As long as we sit in circles and all those children are there, I think it is the women who need to teach our boys to be gentle. That’s our job. And if their mom can’t do it, then it is our job as Aunties to do that.”

Shannon Martin,<sup>109</sup> Abinsaaniawag Two Spirit Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe, encourages our youth to wear their teachings, to affirm and embrace their Anishinaabe identity and honor their Ancestors. Operationalizing Biskaabiiyang and *uncovering* and *reweaving* our Knowledges and practices is “really honoring your ancestry, honoring your language, your culture in any way, shape or form that you can. You are always going to be Anishinaabe; you can’t deny that you can’t suppress that.” Shannon’s guidance is particularly important in

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<sup>109</sup> Shannon identifies herself in Nbwaakaawin, the wisdom stage of life.

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe families and communities where conversion to christianity is prevalent:

Being Anishinaabe doesn't have to be in conflict with any other faith or belief that you may have. Still be proud and honor what you can and what you know. Use your language, no matter what words you have, don't be afraid to use your words that you know. Don't feel there is conflict with honoring the water; don't feel in conflict with offering tobacco or greeting the sun. Have somebody find your Anishinaabe name and your clan if you don't know it. All of those things are giving you that direct connection to all your relatives that came before you, and what they knew and what they intended for you to know in this time and place. Because it is beautiful, we are beautiful people. We have beautiful spirituality, culture and connection to this earth and an understanding of it that is unique, not like any other people in this world.

Brenda Shopodock's wearing of our teachings includes her work as a mother, Auntie and Grandmother. She models and teaches her family and community about the sacred and essential nature of Nibi:

We were always told about the water, that someday we would be paying for it. That was hard—it was hard to believe that back then. But here we are today, buying water and seeing our springs dry up. Knowing that this *is* happening, we really teach our kids to pray, not only for the water and the earth, but the thunderstorms that come, the water from the sky. We have a garden, and we collect that rain. We really appreciate it. We teach the kids that too—how precious the water really is; how important it is to put your tobacco down before you use [water], and also to think of your body. They know and understand now that without the water, we are no longer. [They] know that their body is mostly water. They know how precious this water is. So, [*reweaving* water practices] is not only about going to the water and using the water but appreciating yourself because you are water.

Respecting, protecting and continuing our water practices is needed for the survivance of Anishinaabeodziwin and mno bemaadiziwin, and for all of life, all of Creation. Revitalization of our Nibi waboo Knowledges and practices is also imperative for water herself.



## For Nibi

Water Walker Aabita Biboon Anungosh told me: “The water has to continue, we have to have it for the next seven generations. We have to think about our children, our grandchildren and our great-grandchildren. They all need access to this precious gift from the Creator. They aren’t going to, if we don’t stop and get everyone involved in protecting that Water.” Kelli Mosteller’s thinking reflects this need. She said that *uncovering* and *reweaving* our water Knowledges and practices “is important for the water itself. The water deserves to have a voice. It is woman’s role to speak for water, to protect water, to keep water in the sacred place that it holds in our teachings, in our world, and in the world that comes in contact with us. Because without it, we are nothing. It is the first gift that was given. We cannot survive without it.”

Like my research participants, I continue to work to uncover and reweave our Knowledges and practices into my daily life. *It Flows from the Heart*. Gaabin nsatamaan,<sup>110</sup> I have come to understand the significance and sacred nature of life-giving water in not only living mno bemaadiziiwin, but for all of Creation. Nibi is my teacher. Nibi is the basis of life on Shkaakmiikwe, on G’chi Mshiikeh<sup>111</sup> and within G’chi Zaagiganag. My relationship with Nibi validates my identity as Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwe and is a reminder to my responsibility to share Knowledges and practices in fulfilling my responsibilities to self, family, clan, community and Nation and to all of Creation. Gaabin nsatamaan, Nibi provides connection, strength, cleansing, balance, and healing. Nibi is essential in Biskaabiiyang, as we return to

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<sup>110</sup> “How I have come to understand it;” empirical knowledge.

<sup>111</sup> *The Big Turtle; North America.*

ourselves, pick up our bundles and move forward. As Creation unfolds, we must embody reciprocity and respect, and give back to our communities, clans, families and ourselves as we honor both Nibi and Gete Anishinaabeg.

### **Noojimo’iwewin miinwaa Apane Anishinaabeodziwin**

The purpose of this research is to bring to the forefront Bodwewaadmii women’s water Knowledges and practices, and their *uncovering*, and to continue the *reweaving* of these practices into the lives of our Elders, women, youth and future generations, while supporting the revitalization and resurgence of suppressed Indigenous women’s Knowledges and practices. As I worked to answer my research question—*How are Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Women’s Water Knowledges and Practices being uncovered and rewoven into the lives of Elders, women, youth and future generations within our relocated communities?*—it was necessary to share dbaajimowinag of miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak.<sup>112</sup> In doing so, a collective memory of our lived experience and the covering of our Knowledges and practices was shared. This is essential in operationalizing Biskaabiiyang. Particularly important is the recognition of the intertwining of power, of memory and the importance of reconnecting the past to the present and into the future.

Biskaabiiyang is both a research methodology and a way of being. As we return to ourselves, there is a need to think critically and to consider how to move forward in the

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<sup>112</sup> “*This is what really happened.*”

*reweaving* of our practices in ways that promote inclusion and healing. Guided discussions with my research participants in combination with Gaabi waamdamaan<sup>113</sup> have prompted the following recommendations for Apane Anishinaabeodziwin.

*Debwewin and Flowing from the Heart*

Conscious thought and intention, rather than dogmatic performance, is needed as we reweave practices into our lives. Alex Wilson emphasized this in a dbaajimowin regarding a new cohort of students in an on-the-land course:

We brought them to the lake—the third clearest lake in the world. It is spring-fed and glacial sand; you can drink right from it. They ran to put tobacco in the water to show their thankfulness and reciprocity. We asked them to stop, pause for a moment and think. What exactly are you doing? I can tell you from my own experience of putting tobacco in this lake when I was young and seeing a whole little slick around that tobacco, and then realizing that there are hundreds of chemicals in tobacco, even homemade tobacco, even if you grew it yourself. And then thinking the birds are going to eat that and knowing that the fish and the birds are going to eat that and do you want them chewing on cigarettes [laughs], the nicotine even in raw tobacco and all of that. So, we discussed that, and they all decided that they would just put tobacco on the shore and that the land would kind of soak all that up and then if any of it went into the water the land would have filtered it already. That was an example of students having learned something that had become a dogmatic teaching. It is like learning your multiplication tables, 2x2, 2x3, pick up your tobacco, drop it down [laughs]. They were just kind of doing the same thing, learning and doing by rote and without thinking about the land and the water before they did it. It became kind of an act for themselves rather than thankfulness.

Milosipiyskwew,<sup>114</sup> Dana Wesley, also spoke about ritual performance yet with a different focus. They emphasized the need to prioritize relationships over ritual, and to think critically: “I just feel that as a community when the rituals become more important than the

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<sup>113</sup> *Knowledges of our Elders as they stand at the western door, looking eastward over their life’s journey.*

<sup>114</sup> Milosipiyskwew identifies themselves in Zhitchge, the ‘doing it’ stage of life.

people then we need to take time to think about what is important. I think it opens up room for discussions, and I think it builds up relationships rather than breaks them down.”

Spiritual leaders have asked similar questions while facilitating Ceremony. Elder Dave Courchene-ban, Nii Gaani Aki Inini, reminded those of us of participating in the Ogitchidaa Niimi’idiwin<sup>115</sup> to be aware of performing ritual without intention. He encouraged us to reflect on and think about our actions with our hearts, minds and spirits. Intention connects all parts of our being, strengthens our identity and operationalizes Biskaabiiyang.

### *Inclusivity*

Returning to ourselves means returning to the gentle and egalitarian practices of our Ancestors. This can be controversial on many levels. Multiple research participants spoke about their experiences with exclusionary practices ranging from gender exclusion, exclusion because of clothing and the common use of clean and sober protocols related to participation in Ceremony. Sharp Dopler believes that Ceremony is about holding space for people to be able to sit with themselves, make themselves well and “to let Creator and Mother Earth make them well.” This healing space should not be restricted to only those women who wear skirts, are cisgender and have been clean and sober for four days prior. Theo Paradis works as an outreach and support worker for our people who live on the streets. They echoed these thoughts and shared their own struggle: “Often I struggle with standing in the physical world because of how judgmental it can be, and how peaceful it is on the spiritual side going into Ceremony with

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<sup>115</sup> *Warrior Dance Ceremony*. Held in Forest County Potawatomi Community, hosted by the Shopodock family from 2000–2004. Personal experience.

those Spirits because they don't carry those judgments that we in this physical world carry of each other. That has been taught to us through intergenerational trauma over and over again." Theo expressed concern for adults in our communities that are searching for belonging and healing yet can't participate in Ceremony because the trauma they carry hinders their ability to remain four days clean and sober and thus excludes them from touching the medicines and coming to Ceremony to talk with someone for help. "They come in with an open heart, so why should I deny them a conversation that may change their lives? Why should I shut my door on someone who is NOT four days clean and sober, when it has taken every ounce of courage for them to show up at my door and ask for help? We wouldn't shun somebody out of our community because they are asking for help, we would welcome them into our communities and offer them the help and the support that they need or that they can handle at that time. That denial is pure judgment, and that denial is purely saying you are not included in our circle, and you are excluded because of who you are."

Shannon Martin, former Director of the Ziiibwing Center of Anishinaabe Culture and Lifeways, addressed clean and sober restrictions: "At Ziiibwing we don't have a restricted twenty-four hours, or four days. If people are willing to come in, then they are welcome. They can't be high or drunk. If you just sobered up this morning and it is an evening event, then that is okay. You can't turn people away; you can't be restrictive. We just ask that participants not be on any substance if they are going to enter the Ceremony or visit with these sacred objects. Please respect them and please respect the space."

*Reweaving Ceremony, NOT oppression*

*Reweaving* Ceremonial practices into our daily lives is a theme of Biskaabiiyang for most of my research participants and myself. It is significant in the reclamation of identity and belonging.

Alex Wilson reminds us of the need to think and feel critically, be conscious of inclusivity, and to be wary of perpetuating oppressive practices associated with colonization:

We are seeing the creation or re-creation of Ceremony popping up everywhere. But in the re-creating, there is also a re-perpetuation of the regulations that have been oppressing us. Can you do that while you are menstruating? Some people will say no, some will say yes. Do you have to wear a skirt? Some will say yes, some will say no. So you get all these rules and regulations that fit hetero-patriarchy and colonialism and are actually quite biblical. Sometimes almost word for word from the bible. I bet if you looked at the way that water is talked about in the bible, you would see some similar kind of tropes within Indigenous revivalism or resurgence efforts around water. It is really just reifying christianity, i.e. hetero-patriarchy, in many ways. And it is difficult to be resistant to it, because then you sound like you are not being traditional, or that you are criticizing traditionality which is not true because I think we have always been encouraged to be critical thinkers—that is part of who we are.

The *reweaving* of ceremonial practices should be void of hierarchy, according to Sharp Dopler. A hierarchical structure perpetuates colonial conceptualization of power associated with Knowledges: “We’ve fallen into another trap of the colonizers where our Elders are up here [gestures], and we beg, and we scrape, and we bow.” Inclusion must also reflect the Seven Ancestral teachings, in particular, humility. We all have something to teach one another. In Ceremony, everyone is a teacher and everyone’s participation is an opportunity to learn. “There isn’t a hierarchy. Everyone has a place in the circle, whether you are a water keeper or a fire keeper, whether you are a water keeper AND a fire keeper, or maybe you are neither.” Sharp embodies this practice, connecting Anishinaabe concepts of inclusion and egalitarianism:

As somebody who carries Ceremony, I am no better than anyone else. I have done other work than some people. My simple job is hold space for people to be able to pray and

work through whatever they need to work through so that they can be whole human beings. I just hold the space and it isn't even just me who holds the space . . . when I pour a sweat, we have a group of people that come, and we pour the sweat together. The fire keepers, the people who sit in the four directions, it is NOT about me. It's not. We need to get over ourselves [laughter]. We need to understand that, that we all have something to teach one another.

Ceremony can be both an individual and collective experience of healing, gaining Kinaa Ekinamowad<sup>116</sup> and Biskaabiiyang. Narratives of several research participants highlight Ceremony as a method of both *uncovering* and *reweaving* our Knowledges, and echo my personal journey of Biskaabiiyang.

### **Apane Anishinaabeodziwin**

*Uncovering* and *reweaving* our Knowledges through ceremonial and other practices can result in Apane Anishinaabeodziwin—forever living our lives as Anishinaabe and fulfilling our responsibilities to ourselves, our families, clans, communities, and Nations. Returning to ourselves or Biskaabiiyang embodies the prophetic nature of Apane Anishinaabeodziwin and is essential in the healing of our collective and individual historic trauma.

Non-Indigenous historian David Edmunds was accurate in writing, in his 1972 dissertation: “Potawatomi lands would be divided and taken from them. It was only a matter of time.”<sup>117</sup> This disconnection from the land and waters of the Great Lakes led to the covering of our Knowledges and practices. Yet, we are still here, and many communities, families and

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<sup>116</sup> *Knowledges gained in, transmitted through Ceremony.*

<sup>117</sup> Edmunds, “A History,” 313.

individuals are thriving. Our continued existence and the reclamation and resurgence of our culture, language and practices is contrary to Edmunds' belief that "the Potawatomis were a doomed people."<sup>118</sup>

This research demonstrates our survivance. It is a narrative of strength, resilience, reclamation, and prophecy. This narrative has been written for Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg and our communities, future Indigenous scholars as well as other academics; it is both a collective and a personal healing journey that counteracts historical trauma and the associated *covering* of Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabe Knowledges and practices.

The use of a culturally grounded methodology has allowed dbaajimowinag to *flow from the Hearts* of research participants and has provided opportunity for the privileging of our intellectual traditions, languages, philosophy, and teachings. Our narratives have been used to write our history in our own words: miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak, this is what really happened. In addition, mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan, or writing about what has happened to me, has been utilized to make meaning of my experiences and embody the process of Biskaabiiyang. Together we have journeyed northward, and picked up what our Ancestors have left beside our path. Together we have left tracks for the next generations as we continually spiral forward.

*As I sit on the rocks at the edge of the Magnetawan Ziibi,<sup>119</sup> Zhagwabiinhs stretching its limbs above, I gaze over the still and deep-water pooling in front of me, to the moving water flowing beyond. I am remembering, praying, breathing, and I contemplate my place on Mshiikenh Mnis as an Anishinaabekwe. I have*

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<sup>118</sup> Edmunds, "A History," 313.

<sup>119</sup> *River.*



*returned to Shkaakmiikwe, our Doodem,<sup>120</sup> and to our homeland. Within me resides an ever-deepening understanding of mno bemaadziwin—our culture, language and ways of knowing—an understanding gained through Spirit and dreams and fasting, through Anishinaabemowin,<sup>121</sup> and relationships and teachings. My life’s work, my place, and my identity are confirmed. My commitment and prayer travel outward in concentric circles with the ripples on the water, flowing to Georgian Bay. G’chi miigwech mno bemaadziwin.<sup>122</sup> I have indeed circled forward, growing closer to all of Creation, unfolding just as it should toward those yet to come.<sup>123</sup>*

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<sup>120</sup> Clan.

<sup>121</sup> *Linguistic stock of the Anishinaabe People.*

<sup>122</sup> Great big thank you for this good way of life.

<sup>123</sup> Personal reflection, Keene, Ontario, May 13, 2013.

## ANISHINAABEMOWIN GLOSSARY

abinsaaniawag:	Those who stayed in place. <sup>1</sup>
akawe:	First. <sup>2</sup>
Aki:	Refers to the Earth, or land, ground.
akinoomaage:	Learning from the earth.
akiing:	Country or territory; also wakiing.
amansoowin:	Intuition.
anakaanashk:	Bulrush.
Andji Bines:	The ‘renewer’ of power; one of the Thunders.
Animikii biniesiyag:	Thunderbirds.
Animikii biniesiyagwaanig:	Place of the Thunderbirds.
Animikii wazison:	Thunderbird nest, seasonal constellation.
Anishinaabe Aki:	Land and water, all of Creation in Anishinaabe territory.
Anishinaabeaadziwin:	Refers to the Anishinaabe way of life.
Anishinaabeg:	(The) Anishinaabe people. Also <i>Nish(i)naabe(g)</i> .
Anishinaabe-gikendaasowin:	Anishinaabe Knowledge, information and synthesis of our personal teachings. <sup>3</sup>
Anishinaabe-inaadziwin:	Anishinaabe psychology and way of being. <sup>4</sup>
Anishinaabeinini(wag):	Anishinaabe man (men).

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<sup>1</sup> Gidigaa Migizi, personal communication.

<sup>2</sup> Livesay and Nichols, *Ojibwe People's Dictionary*.

<sup>3</sup> Geniusz, *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive*.

<sup>4</sup> Geniusz.

Anishinaabe-inzhitwaawin:	Anishinaabe culture, teachings, customs and history (from Geniusz).
Anishinaabekwe(wag):	Anishinaabe woman (women).
Anishinaabemowin:	Linguistic stock of the Anishinaabe People.
Anishinaabeodziwin:	Being Anishinaabe, embodiment of all aspects of the Anishinaabe way of life, philosophy, psychology, culture, teachings, spirituality, customs, and history.
Anishinaabeodziwin Apane:	Always, continually being Anishinaabe.
Anishinaabewi G'chi gamii:	Lake of the Anishinaabeg; Lake Superior.
aniish:	How; where (dependent on context). Also <i>aaniish</i> .
aniish maa Nokmisag?	Where are my Grandmothers?
Apane Niibnoong:	Forever summer, always summer.
Asabikeshiinh:	Spider
asemaa:	Sacred tobacco. Also <i>semaa</i> .
asin(ag):	Rock(s).
Asinininew:	Cree People.
awesiinh(yag):	Animal(s).
aa-atsokediwen(ag):	The sharing back and forth of sacred story(ies). <sup>5</sup>
Aabijitaawin:	Continuing.
aadizookaanan:	Sacred stories, Creation stories, Nanaboozhoo stories, Michi Shibzhii/Bizhou stories (from Geniusz).
aagokwenini:	Two Spirit person, also <i>aanagoninikwe</i> .

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<sup>5</sup> Wasauksing dialect.

aahnkoobdehns(ag):	Grandchild(ren). Translation of aahnkoobdehnsag is much deeper than the English word 'grandchildren.' Breakdown of the Anishinaabemowin word refers to a little heart, bound by a metaphorical rope of biological connection and ancestral Knowledges. <sup>6</sup>
aakdewin:	The act of bravery.
aambeh maajaadaa!:	C'mon, let's get going!
aanagoninikwe:	Two Spirit person, also <i>aagokwenini</i> .
aandeg:	Crow.
Aaniin:	A greeting meaning, "I am."
aaniin dash:	Why.
aaniish:	How.
aaniish na?	How? (a question).
aasokewin:	Sacred stories told only during the winter months. <sup>7</sup>
bagajige:	Offerings or gifts.
bagajigiwen:	The practice of making offerings, gifts.
-ban:	Suffix added to the name of a person who has died; also -baa.
Bawating:	At the place of the rapids; Sault Sainte Marie, Ontario/Michigan.
bawaajige:	To dream.
bawaajigewin Manidoog:	The Spirits that bring dreams.

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<sup>6</sup> Stewart King-ban, Bodwewaadmii, Wasauksing First Nation, was my life partner, cultural, spiritual and language mentor. Throughout our time together he shared many stories and teachings over cups of coffee, while travelling together and in ceremony. It isn't possible to include a specific date on which these teachings were shared. From this point forward in this chapter, he will be cited in footnotes as sharing teachings with his name and home community.

<sup>7</sup> Geniusz, *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive*.

Baadweh dang:	the “approaching” thunder.
baapaaseg:	Woodpeckers.
Bebomoweh dang:	The thunder that advances, retires, and advances again.
bebooshnangwoshinhn:	The place where little balls of clay roll down the steeply banked shoreline and splash into the water.
Bekinek kwaam:	The thunder that gives a sharp crack and sets fire to trees and houses.
bemaadiziiwin:	Life.
bezhig, niizh, nswi:	One, two, three.
Bezhweho dang:	The “echoer aloft”; i.e., the thunder that seems to come from the highest clouds and to mark the end of a storm.
b’gidnan:	Let it go.
biboon(g):	Winter; time of, or the coming of, near-death.
biboowin:	Time of the coming winter.
bineshiinhyag:	Birds. Also spelled <i>bneshiinhyag</i> .
binoojiinag:	Children.
Biskaabiiyang:	Returning to ourselves, making a round trip.
biskitenaaganan:	Folded bark dishes for sap collection.
biidaaban:	Dawn is coming, it is nearly daybreak.
Biindgak Kwaam:	The noiseless thunder who operates in a cloudless sky without lightning: i.e., the thunderbolt.
Bkejwanong:	Where the waters divide; Walpole Island, Ontario.
bneshiinhyag:	Birds. Also spelled <i>bineshiinhyag</i> .
bodwen:	Command to build a fire.
Bodwewaadmii:	A Potawatomi person.

Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabeg:	(The) Potawatomi People.
Bodwewaadmiig:	The keepers of the fire of the Three Fires Confederacy; The Potawatomi People.
Bodwewaadmiikwe(wag):	Bodwewaadmii woman (women). Also Bodwewaadmii kwe, Bodwewaadmii Anishinaabekwewag.
Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin:	The Potawatomi language; Potawatomi dialects of <i>Anishinaabemowin</i> .
booch zhaaganoshiiioziis:	Colonization; being forced to live like a <i>Zhaaganosh</i> . <sup>8</sup>
Boojwiikwed:	Horn bay; Green Bay, Wisconsin. <sup>9</sup>
Boom bye goo:	They use horses. <sup>10</sup>
Booshke win:	It is up to us, it is our decision.
Bootaagan Mnis:	Drummond Island, Michigan.
Bygone' Giizhig:	Hole in the sky constellation; The Pleiades.
Chimnissing:	Big island; Christian Island, Ontario.
Chimookman:	Big knives; American people (non-Indigenous, settler colonists); refers to the skinning knives used in battle.
daabaan:	Car.
dbaadendizwin:	To know yourself as a Sacred part of Creation; humility.
dbaajimowin(ag):	Personal story(ies).
debnaak:	An admonishment used when something is done hastily.
debwewin:	Truth; to speak the truth.

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<sup>8</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

<sup>9</sup> Lippert and Engel, "Nayaano-nibiimaang."

<sup>10</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

Ditibininjiibizon Gitigani Aki: The ring around the garden; Saturn.<sup>11</sup>

doodem: Clan.

Dootoogan-Aki Ziibi: Kankakee River, Indiana.

dwaagek: When the colours blend; autumn.

eh piichok: Time.

eknoomaaget: Teacher.

Eko niizhing Niibnoong: Second summer.

endaakendaasat: Student.

enh henh: Yes; affirmative.

Egishmok: Western direction.

Eskenabik: Escanaba, Michigan;<sup>12</sup> also Zhooshkwaanaabikaag.<sup>13</sup>

E zhi nsatamaan: As I understand it.

Gahnoo: Golden eagle.

Gahnoowaaniing: The place where the golden eagle flies; the second layer of the Anishinaabe cosmos above the earth.

Gakiiwe-onigagamiing: At the foot portage;<sup>14</sup> Keweenaw Peninsula;<sup>15</sup> Houghton/Hancock, Michigan.

Gaabi b'gid na maagooyaan: Sacred Knowledges that are gifted by the Spirits or Creator; revealed Knowledge.

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<sup>11</sup> Northern dialect of Anishinaabemowin; Sutherland, Anishinaabe Anang Gikendaasowinan miinawaa Nekaanag.”.

<sup>12</sup> Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin; Kyle Malott, Pokagon Band Potawatomi Language Apprentice, personal communication.

<sup>13</sup> Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission, *Gidakiimina*.

<sup>14</sup> *Decolonial Atlas*.

<sup>15</sup> Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission, *Gidakiimina*.

Gaa-bibooniked:	Winter-maker, seasonal constellation. Also known as Biboonikeonini. <sup>16</sup>
Gaabin nsatamaan:	“How I have come to understand it;” empirical Knowledge.
Gaabi waamdamaan:	Knowledges of our Elders as they stand at the western door, looking eastward over their life’s journey.
Gaazgenhs:	House cat
Gete Anishinaabe(g):	The old ones, Anishinaabe Ancestor(s).
Getsijig:	Elders.
Getsit:	Elder.
geyaamaadziwin:	Honesty, living straight and honest.
G’chi Aazhoogamii:	Great Cross waters sea; Lake Huron; <sup>17</sup> also <i>Naadowewi G’chigamii</i> , Haudenosaunee Sea.
G’chi gamii Ziibi	Sea River; St. Lawrence River, Ontario/New York/Quebec; <sup>18</sup> also St. Claire River, Michigan/Ontario.
G’chi gaamiing:	The Great Lakes.
G’chi Mashkiki Nibi:	Big medicine water, refers to the Big Spring at Palms Book State Park, Michigan
G’chi Mikinaakong Mnis:	Island of the big snapping turtle; Mackinac Island, Michigan; also Michilimackinac.
g’chi miigwech:	Great big thank you.
g’chi miigwech mno bemaadziwin:	Great big thank you for this good way of life.
G’chim Sabe:	Bigfoot.
G’chi Mshiikenh:	The Big Turtle; North America. Also <i>Mshiikenh Mnis</i> .

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<sup>16</sup> Morton and Gawboy, *Talking Rocks*.

<sup>17</sup> Lippert and Engel, “Nayaano-nibiimaang.”

<sup>18</sup> Adapted from *Decolonial Atlas*.



G'chi Ogimaa Waasamod Aki:	Jupiter.
g'chi twaa:	Sacred.
G'chi Zaagiganag:	The Great Lakes.
G'chi Ziibi:	Ottawa River, Ontario/Quebec.
G'chi Zhemnidoo:	Great, kind and forgiving spirit; Creator. Also Gzhiminido, <i>Gzh(w)e M(a)nidoo</i> . <sup>19</sup>
G'yak chigewin:	A structured way of doing things; Methodology.
Gijigijigaane shiinhyag:	Chickadees.
Gikendaasowin:	Anishinaabe knowledges. <sup>20</sup>
Gikendaaswad bewaajigewin Manidoo(g):	Knowledge gained from dream(s) and/or vision(s). <sup>21</sup>
Gikendaaswad kina Ekinamowad:	Learning from Ceremony. <sup>22</sup>
Gikendaaswin:	The embodiment of Knowledges.
gimaa:	Leader, chief. Also <i>ogimaa</i> .
Gimishoomisinaan:	Our Grandfather Sun. <sup>23</sup>
Gimiwan:	Rain.
ginebek:	Snake. Also ginebig.
Giwani:	Prairie Chicken; Kewaunee, Wisconsin. <sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Michi Saagiig dialect.

<sup>20</sup> Geniusz *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive*.

<sup>21</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

<sup>22</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

<sup>23</sup> Sutherland, Anishinaabe Anang Gikendaasowinan miinawaa Nekaanag."

<sup>24</sup> Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin; Kyle Malott.

Giiankobaajjianwag:	Removal; they became untied. <sup>25</sup>
Giigoohn:	Fish; giigoonhyag (plural).
Gii'igoshimowin:	Fasting.
Giishkaazhibikaa:	Rock cliff; giishkaazhibikaag (plural).
Giiwedanang:	The going home star; Polaris or the north star.
Giiwedanoong:	The northern direction.
Giiwitaawehweh Dang:	The "scout" thunder that goes all around the sky.
giizis:	Sun.
giizhkaandak:	Cedar that has been cleaned and separated into small pieces to be used as medicine.
giizhnaadsewag:	Chaos; a pitiful state of chaos. <sup>26</sup>
Gookmisinaan	Our Grandmothers.
Gookmisinaan D'bik Giizis:	Our Grandmother Moon.
Goon:	Snow.
Gzhwe Manidoo:	Kind and forgiving spirit; Creator. Also Gzhe Mnidoo, <i>G'chi Zhemnidoo</i> , Gzhiminido.
inaadiziwin:	Anishinaabe culture, teachings, customs, history, traditional legends, ceremonies. <sup>27</sup> Also <i>Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin</i> .
inini:	Man.
ininiaatig(oog):	Man tree(s); hard or sugar maple tree(s).
ininiwag:	Men.

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<sup>25</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

<sup>26</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

<sup>27</sup> Geniusz, *Our Knowledge is Not Primitive*.

Ininwewi Ziibi:	Illinois River.
Inzhitwaawin:	Anishinaabe psychology, way of being, culture. <sup>28</sup>
ishkode:	Fire.
ishkodensii:	Sacred fire, a fire that manifests the Manidoo itself. <sup>29</sup>
ishkotaagan:	A fungus used as a fire starter.
jidmoonh:	Squirrel.
jidmoonyig:	Squirrels.
Jiibay Miikaan:	The path of the spirits; Milky Way. <sup>30</sup> Also Mashkiki Miikaan.
jiimaan:	Canoe;
Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo:	They use a canoe; Canoe Bodwewaadmii. <sup>31</sup>
jiimaanke:	Making a canoe.
Kendaaswin:	Second-hand Knowledge.
Kinaa Ekinamowad:	Knowledges gained in, transmitted through Ceremony. <sup>32</sup>
Kinoowaabimin:	Knowledges gained through observation.
Kinnikinnik:	A smoking mixture of tobacco, red willow and other herbs.
Kitigan-Zibi:	Garden River; an Anishinaabeg/ Omàmìwinini community in Maniwaki, Quebec.

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<sup>28</sup> Geniusz.

<sup>29</sup> Kristy Phillips, Guided Discussion for this research.

<sup>30</sup> Stewart King-ban, Wasauksing First Nation; Johnston, *Manitous.*; Sutherland and Moose, "Anang Gikendaasowinan."

<sup>31</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

<sup>32</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

Kiinoomaagewag Aki Manidoo miinwaa Nibi Manidoo: Learning from the land and water Spirits.<sup>33</sup>

kiiowad(ag):	Time period(s). <sup>34</sup>
kookbinaagan(an):	Basket(s).
kookookoo:	Owl.
kwe:	Woman.
Kwejikwet:	Green Bay, Wisconsin. <sup>35</sup>
kwewag:	Women.
Madoodiswan:	Sweat lodge, seasonal constellation.
magkii:	Frog. Also omagkii.
Makak:	container.
Mana'wa:	Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Also Minwakiing and Mino-akiing.
Manidoo(g/k):	Spirit(s).
Manidoowaaning:	Spirit World, place of the spirits, where Gete Anishinaabe reside.
Manitouwa(a)ning:	Place of the spirit(s); contemporary name of town on Manitoulin Island, Ontario
mankiki:	Sugar bush. Also maankiki.
Manoboozhoo:	Refers to the present time and place with our Great Teacher.
manoomin:	The good berry, or the berry gifted to the Anishinaabeg by G'chi Zhemnidoo; wild rice.

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<sup>33</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

<sup>34</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

<sup>35</sup> Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin; Kyle Malott.

Mashkiigong Ziibi:	Swampy River.
mashkiki:	Medicine.
Mashkiki Miikaan:	The medicine path; Milky Way (from Sutherland and Moose.) Also Jiibay Miikaan.
mashkikiwan:	Medicines.
Maage:	Or.
maajmah:	Speaks or talks to.
maakak:	Container, pot.
maakinzindan:	Moccasin.
maang:	Loon; circumpolar constellation.
maankiki:	Sugar bush. Also mankiki.
Megwehn:	Those who speak with a strange voice; Spanish People and Italian People.
Mekwomii Niib:	“Ice-bird”; the last thunderstorm in the autumn, which causes a thaw immediately followed by freezing. Sometimes comes in winter also.
Mekwongo:	Beaver den; Mukwango, Wisconsin. <sup>36</sup>
Memgwesiwag:	Little People. Also spelled Maemaegawaehnssiwuk, <sup>37</sup> and Maymaygwayshuk. <sup>38</sup>
m’hiingan:	Wolf.
Michi bizhou:	Underwater lynx. Also mishipizhu, mishibizhiw.
Michi mikinaak:	The big turtle.

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<sup>36</sup> Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin; Kyle Malott.

<sup>37</sup> Johnston, *Manitous*.

<sup>38</sup> Pomedli, *Living with Animals*.

Michimilimackinac:	The area surrounding the Straits of Mackinac (juncture of <i>Mishii'igan</i> and <i>G'chi Aazhoogamii</i> ).
Michi Saagii:	Mississauga Anishinaabe.
Michi Saagii Anishinaabe Aki:	Land of the Mississauga Anishinaabeg.
Michi Saagiig:	The Mississauga Anishinaabeg.
Michi shibzhii:	Underwater panther; also Mishibizhiw, <sup>39</sup> Nampi'shiu, Nampesh'ik; <sup>40</sup> Nampesho, Zagma, and Zhagma. <sup>41</sup>
Mide':	Abbreviated form of Midewiwin.
Mide'waanokwe:	A woman who is member of the Midewiwin Lodge.
Midewiwin:	The Grand Medicine Society of the Anishinaabeg.
mikwam:	Ice.
mikwendmaan gaabi zhiwebziyan:	To write about what I think has happened to me.
minaadendmoowin:	Respect, to think well and be respectful of others.
mino bemaadiziiwin:	The good life; also <i>mno bemaadziwin</i> .
Mino Kwagnigaaza:	The stage of life known as the good life, ages four to twelve years.
Mino Nowendj Ge Kaa:	The happy hunting grounds.
Minwakiing:	At the good land; Milwaukee, Wisconsin. <sup>42</sup> Also Mino-akiing and Mana'wa.
Misi Ziibi:	Mississippi River.
miskwaabik:	Red rock; copper.

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<sup>39</sup> Sutherland and Moose, "Anang Gikendaasowinan."

<sup>40</sup> Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin, spoken by Prairie Band Potawatomi.

<sup>41</sup> Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin, spoken by Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

<sup>42</sup> *Decolonial Atlas*.

Mishii'igan:	Grand Lake; Lake Michigan. <sup>43</sup>
mishomisag(k):	Grandfathers, ancestral men.
Mizauwabeekummoowuk:	Little people associated with copper. <sup>44</sup>
miigwech:	Thank you for all that you give.
Miigwech kina gego emiigwien:	Thank you for all that you are and all that you give.
mijim:	Food.
miinan:	Berries, blueberries.
Miinoong:	Blueberrying place; Isle Royale, Michigan.
miisah geget gaa be zhiwebak:	“This is what really happened.”
Miishikenh:	Turtle; also Mshiikenh.
mkomisag:	Hailstones.
Mkwa:	Bear.
Mnedowék:	Spirits; Manitowac, Wisconsin. <sup>45</sup>
mno bemaadziwin:	The good life. Also <i>mino bemaadziwin</i> .
mnookmik:	The time when the road gets easier, gentler; spring.
moktthewen:	Bubbling spring. <sup>46</sup>
Mookjiwanibiig(an):	Spring(s) (water).
Mooniyaang:	Montreal, Quebec. <sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *Decolonial Atlas*.

<sup>44</sup> Johnston, *Manitous*.

<sup>45</sup> Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin; Kyle Malott.

<sup>46</sup> Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin.

<sup>47</sup> Lippert and Engel, “Nayaano-nibiimaang.”

Mooniingwanekaaning Mnis: Northern yellow-shafted flicker Island; Madeline Island, Wisconsin.

mskwi biimizhiins: Red willow.

Mshiikenh Mnis: Turtle Island; North America.

Mtig(oog): Tree(s).

mtigwaakik: Water drum.

Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag: The Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands.

Mtigwaakiing eh G'chi Zaagiganag miinwaa Aangwaamsajik Mshiikenh Mnis:

Caretakers of the Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands of Turtle Island.

Mtigwaaning: Place of shelter beneath the branches of the trees; the first realm of Creation.

nagamon(an): Song(s).

nana: An exclamation to draw attention and cause someone to listen with all their senses.

Nanaboozhoo/ Nanabush: The Great Teacher of the Anishinaabeg. We are told that Nanaboozhoo refers to the coming of our teacher in the near future. Also known as Elder Brother, Weneboozhoo, and Manoboozhoo.

Na Nawe Gwan: The centre of it all, the centre of the meeting place; near Campbellsport, Wisconsin.

Nangoskwaaning: The Star World.

Naadowe: The Haudenosaunee People.

Naadowekwe Neyaashiing: At the Haudenosaunee woman's point; St. Ignace, Michigan.<sup>48</sup>

Naadowewi G'chigamii: Lake Huron; Haudenosaunee Sea.

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<sup>48</sup> Great Lakes Indian Fisheries & Wildlife Commission, *Gidakiimina*.



Naagan ge Bezbig Emkwaan:	One dish, one spoon.
Naawakwe:	Noon, the middle of the day.
nbazgim:	My lover, boyfriend.
nbwaakaawin:	The teaching of wisdom, the gift that you carry with you at all times; the wisdom stage of life.
Nebaunaubeaequaen:	Mermaid/merman. <sup>49</sup>
Nekaanag:	Constellations. <sup>50</sup>
nese:	The act of breathing.
N'dawaabijiige:	The wandering and wondering stage of life.
Nibi:	Water existing on the surface of the earth, lake or river water.
Nibi waboo:	Sacred Water, water in liquid form.
Nibisehn Manidoog:	Little Water Spirits.
nibiishag:	Leaves.
nibwaakaawin:	Wisdom; the wisdom stage of life.
Ninamidbe Bines:	The chief Thunder who sits quiet and gives orders. S/he/they may be the same as or equal in rank with the Great Spirit, G'chi Manidoo. <sup>51</sup>
Nish(i)naabe(g):	Anishinaabe (Anishinaabe people).
Nishnaabemowin:	Linguistic stock of the Anishinaabe People.
Niibin:	A time of plenty; summer. Also <i>Niibnoong</i> .

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<sup>49</sup> Johnston, *Manitous*.

<sup>50</sup> According to Miishikenh Abe Sutherland, there is no Anishinaabemowin word that translates to the English word constellation(s). He uses Nekaanag, or relations, to refer to constellations. Anishinaabeg came from the stars and the relationship between individual stars that form images in the sky reflect our clan relationships.

<sup>51</sup> Jenness, *Ojibwa Indians of Parry Sound*; spelling adapted to Wasauksing Dialect by Stewart King-ban.

Niibnoong:	A time of plenty; summer. Also <i>Niibin</i> .
Niigani G'chi gamii:	Leading sea; Lake Ontario. <sup>52</sup>
Niigaan Kwaam:	The “leader” in the clouds, the first thunder to come in the spring of the year.
Niizhwaaswi e bi ziaakshkaak bemaadiziiwin:	The Seven Stages of Life.
Niizhwaaswi Mishomisag Kinoomaagewin:	The Seven Grandfather Teachings.
Noodin:	Wind.
Nokmis(ag):	Grandmother(s); Grandmother Moon. Also Nokmisak.
Nokmis D'bik Giizis:	Grandmother Moon; the nighttime Sun.
Nokimis pwaagan:	Grandmother pipe.
Nongosag:	Stars.
Nongoskwaanng:	The place of the stars, and the sun and moon.
noojimo'iwewin:	Healing.
Nsemaa:	The medicine that you breathe in and breathe out; tobacco.
Odaawaa:	The Odaawaa Anishinaabeg, known as the merchants of the Three Fires Confederacy; also refers to the city of Ottawa, Ontario. Also Odawa.
Odaawaa Mnis:	Manitoulin Island, Ontario. <sup>53</sup> Also Mnidoo Mnis.
ode:	Heart.
odebwewin:	Truth, to speak the truth.
odeminan:	Strawberries.

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<sup>52</sup> Lippert and Engel, “Nayaano-nibiimaang.”

<sup>53</sup> Adapted from Lippert and Engel, “Nayaano-nibiimaang.”

odenag:	Hearts.
odenoong:	A place of the heart; village.
Odoodemaking:	Our solar system. <sup>54</sup>
ogimaa(g):	Esteemed leader(s) or chief(s); also ogimauh <sup>55</sup>
ogichidaakwewag:	Women that lead a high and honourable life.
Ogitchidaa Niimi'idiwin:	Warrior Dance Ceremony.
Ogindaussoowin:	to count or calculate. <sup>56</sup>
O'shki Bemaadizit:	Purity stage of life, ages zero to three years.
Ojibwe:	The Ojibwe Anishinaabeg. Derived from the term ojiboom or human shadow. Also Ojibway, Chippewa.
omagkiiyag:	Frogs. Also magkiiyag.
Omàmìwinini:	Algonquin People.
Omashkiigoo:	Cree People.
Opaskwaya Ansininew:	Cree People; also Omashkiigoo.
Oshki Anishinaabeg:	New people.
Oshki-aya'-aayag:	Someone young. <sup>57</sup>
Oshkimaadiziig:	The esteemed new people.
Pau-eehnssiwuk:	Little People that live near the water's edge. <sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Sutherland, "Anishinaabe Anang Gikendaasowinan miinawaa Nekaanag."

<sup>55</sup> Johnston, *Manitous*.

<sup>56</sup> Johnston, *Manitous*.

<sup>57</sup> Livesay and Nichols, *Ojibwe People's Dictionary*.

<sup>58</sup> Spelling from Johnston, *Manitous*.

Pokégnek Bodéwadmik:	Pokagon Potawatomi Community, Dowagiac, Michigan.
pwaagan(ag):	Ceremonial pipe(s) used in prayers.
semaa:	Tobacco. Also <i>asemaa</i> .
Senjawen Zibé:	Rocky flow river; St. Joseph River, Michigan (and other states). <sup>59</sup>
Shiishiibeniiyek:	Citizen Potawatomi.
shkaabewis(ag):	Helper(s).
Shkaakmiikwe:	Describing the hard surface that we walk on, Mother Earth.
shkinwenh:	Young man speaking with a new voice.
shkitaagan:	Fungus harvested from a yellow birch tree.
Wasauksing:	Shining in the distance.
Wayaanag Gakaabikaawang:	At the curved waterfalls; Niagara Falls, New York/Ontario. <sup>60</sup>
Waabanoong:	Direction of the rising sun; the eastern direction.
Waabishkiigoo G'chi gamii:	Lake Erie. <sup>61</sup>
waaboozoo:	Rabbit.
waasamowin:	Lightning.
Waaseyaagamii wiikwed:	Shining waters bay; Georgian Bay. <sup>62</sup>
Waaseyaasiged Azhebaashkaabizod Aki:	The bright planet that spins backwards; Venus. <sup>63</sup>
waaskwonensan:	Spirit light.

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<sup>59</sup> Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin; Kyle Malott.

<sup>60</sup> Adapted from Lippert and Engel, "Nayaano-nibiimaang."

<sup>61</sup> Adapted from Lippert and Engel.

<sup>62</sup> Adapted from Lippert and Engel.

<sup>63</sup> Sutherland and Moose, "Anang Gikendaasowinan."

Waasnode:	The fire that burns from afar; Northern lights, aurora borealis. <sup>64</sup> Also Waawaate. <sup>65</sup>
waawashkesh:	Deer.
waawaaskwonensan:	Small white spring flowers.
Waawiyaataan:	Curved shores; Lake St. Claire, Michigan/ Ontario. <sup>66</sup>
Waawiyaataanong:	At the curved shores; Detroit, Michigan. <sup>67</sup>
waawiindmowin:	Guidance or direction laid out in a progressive manner for one to accept or reject.
Wemtigoozhii:	The newcomers who arrived carrying a wooden cross; French, French people.
Wemtigoozhiikwe:	French woman.
Weneboozhoo:	A time when our Great Teacher is leaving.
Weshniig jig/N'giibaadiziwin:	The fast stage of life.
weweni:	In good time, in a good way; doing something carefully with deep consideration.
wgii nesemaan:	S/he breathed it in and out.
wiigwoss:	Bark of the white birch tree. Also wiigwaas.
Wiigwossatig:	Birch tree.
wiigwossi:	Made of birch bark.
Wiisgaak:	Black Ash tree.
Wiiskosing:	The place of the reeds in the water; Wisconsin.

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<sup>64</sup> Wasauksing First Nation interpretation; Stewart King-ban.

<sup>65</sup> Northern dialects of Anishinaabemowin.

<sup>66</sup> Lippert and Engel, "Nayaano-nibiimaang."

<sup>67</sup> Adapted from Lippert and Engel.

Wiiyagasenh:	Dirt.
wokimaa:	Chief or king.
wokimaajmah:	S/he who speaks to all of the Earth with great honour and Knowledge.
Zaagawaamikong Wiikwed:	A long shallow place in the lake where a sand bar forms a peninsula in the bay; Chequamegon Bay, Lake Superior, Wisconsin.
zaagidwin:	Love, profound affection for self, offspring, spouse and others.
zaagiganag:	Lakes.
Zenba Odan:	Ribbon Town; South Bend, Indiana. <sup>68</sup>
ziibi:	River.
ziibiins:	Creek or stream.
Ziigwan:	The young woman (Manidoo) who is a helper to Mother Earth; early spring when the ice and snow is beginning to melt.
ziinsbaakdaaboo:	Sweet water, clear maple sap.
Ziinsbaakodike Giizis:	Maple Sugar Moon.
ziinsbaakwad:	Maple sugar.
Zhabwagen:	Sound comes through as in from a cave; Sheboygan, Wisconsin and Cheboygan, Michigan. <sup>69</sup>
Zhagwabiinhs:	Cedar tree.
Zhawanoo Bines:	The “southern” thunder, or the thunder that operates in the south.

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<sup>68</sup> Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin; Kyle Malott.

<sup>69</sup> Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin; Kyle Malott. There is a cave there along the shore of Lake Michigan, and stories associated with Bodwewaadmiig hearing the spirits drumming in that cave (Jim Thunder, Potawatomi History and Language Conference, Carter, Wisconsin, August 12, 2015.)

Zhawaanong:	Southern direction.
Zhaabwiiwin:	Surviving.
Zhaaganosh:	Newcomers who arrived with transparent skin and a distinct sour odour; English; English-speaking or British people.
Zhaaganoshiioziis:	Settler colonialism; forced to live like a <i>zhaaganosh</i> . <sup>70</sup>
zhaamaganek giiba nanawag:	Those the soldiers came to get; removal. <sup>71</sup>
Zhaaobiig kwong:	“Rainbow floats on water after a thunderstorm.”
Zhigaagong:	On the skunk; Chicago, Illinois. <sup>72</sup>
Zhitchge:	The doing it stage of life. Also O’gitchidaa.
Zhooniyaang Zaaga’igan:	Lake Simcoe, Ontario.
zhoonyaa:	Money.

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<sup>70</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

<sup>71</sup> Gidigaa Migizi.

<sup>72</sup> Adapted from *Decolonial Atlas*.

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## APPENDIX A: Tables and Maps of Historical Periods

**Wemtigoozhii Kiiowad (1615–1763)**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Code*</b>
1608	Samuel De Champlain arrives in G'chi Mshiikenh (The Big Turtle; North America), specifically, in what is now known as Quebec City.	NA-W
1615	Champlain in Michi Saagiig Aki (Mississauga Territory, Peterborough, Ontario).  Champlain reports Bodwewaadmii in Naadowewi G'chigamii (Lake Huron) Area.	NA-W  B
1618	Jean Nicolet arrives in G'chi Mshiikenh.	NA-W
1627	Company of New France (Company of One Hundred Associates) formed by Cardinal Richelieu to exploit fur trades and resources, to erect self-sufficient agricultural communities, and to spread the Catholic faith (Peterson, 18).	NA-W, CA-  c
1630s	Bodwewaadmii move west of Mishii'igan (Lake Michigan).	B
1634	Nicolet in Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet (Green Bay, Wisconsin).  Bodwewaadmii encounter Nicolet, followed by Catholic missionaries, Jesuits and Fur Traders.	NA-W  B
1640s	Bodwewaadmii living on western shores of Mishii'igan; forced from Michigan's lower peninsula by Haudenosaunee.	B
1641	Beaver Wars.	MA-B, H
1648 -51	Haudenosaunee attack and destroy Huronia; Hurons flee west toward Anishinaabewi G'chigamii (Lake Superior) and northern shores of Mishii'igan and Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet.	MA-H  B

1650s	Bodwewaadmii living on Door Peninsula, Green Bay Islands, and in southern Wiiskosing (Wisconsin); Bodwewaadmii communities are categorized by the Newcomers using geographic descriptors: Potawatomi of the Prairie, Potawatomi of the Woods, St. Joseph and/or Wabash Rivers.  Fur trade stalled because of Haudenosaunee aggression.	B  H
1653	Wemtigoozhii (French people) come close to abandoning the colony because of continuing aggression by Haudenosaunee and impacts on the fur trade.	
1658	Bodwewaadmii living at Jesuit Mission: St. Michel (Minnesota).	B
1660s	Haudenosaunee push west, Anishinaabeg pushed toward Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet, southern shore of Anishinaabewi G'chigamii and Misi-Ziibi (Mississippi River); disastrous impacts on the fur trade.	H-B
1663	Charter of the Company of New France cancelled; New France granted status of Royal Colony.	NA-W
1665	Father Allouez Mission of the Holy Spirit, Zaagawaamikong Wiikwed (Chequamegon Bay, Wisconsin), Anishinaabewi G'chigamii, Wiiskosing.	B, CA-j
1665	Nicolas Perrot arrives in G'chi Mshiikenh.	NA-W
1666	Jacques Marquette (Jesuit) arrives in G'chi Mshiikenh.	NA-W
1666-67	Fragile peace established with Haudenosaunee, ending hostilities between Anishinaabe/Wemtigoozhii and Haudenosaunee.	MA/PA-B, H
1667	Wemtigoozhii drive into continent included the military, missionaries, and traders all following the same water route: St. Lawrence River—Ottawa River—Mattawa River—Lake Nipissing—French River—Georgian Bay to either Michilimackinac to Lake Michigan, or to Sault Ste. Marie and Lake Superior.	NA-W
1668	Bodwewaadmii Ogitchidaag (Warriors) to Mooniyaang (Montreal), returning with guns and trade goods.	B



1670	Voyageurs and Coureurs de Bois emerge as independent traders.	NA-W
1670	Hudson's Bay Company formed.	NA-Z
1671	Francis Daumont declares French sovereignty over lands stretching from Lachine Rapids on G'chi gamii Ziibi (St. Lawrence River) to Anishinaabewi G'chigamii.  Marquette founds mission at Naadowekwe Neyaashiing (St. Ignace, Michigan).	NA-W CA-j
1673-74	Marquette winters with Bodwewaadmii at Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet.	B, NA-W
1680s	Bodwewaadmii move south from Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet. Wars with Haudenosaunee renewed.  Wemtigoozhii forts at Naadowekwe Neyaashiing, Senjawen Zibé (St. Joseph River) are enlarged and strengthened.  Coureurs de Bois trading illegally in the upper Great Lakes; trading with both Wemtigoozhii and Zhaaganosh (English/British).	B MA-W
1683	Antoine Laumet dit de Lamothe Cadillac arrives in G'chi Mshiikenh.  Trading posts at Straits of Michilimackinac and Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet fortified.	NA-W, MA-W
1686	Perrot builds Fort St. Antoine (aka Fort Nicholas) on upper Mississippi River near Prairie du Chien.	MA-W
1689	Louis XIV of France revokes all licenses for fur trading. Fort Buade built.  King William's War.	PA-W
1690s	Decline of Wemtigoozhii influence in west; fur trade market becomes glutted with an oversupply of furs.  Brisk trading at Senjawen Zibé by voyageurs and Coureur de Bois.	PA-W
1689	Perrot holds Ceremony laying claim to Great Lakes (region from Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwek to the Misi-Ziibi) for France.	PA-W

1691	<p>Royal Ordinance fur trade licensing system instituted: 1691 Royal Ordinance–25 permits a year given to the “poor, the widowed, or a church order which in turn ‘sold’ its privilege to one or a syndicate of merchant-voyageurs.</p> <p>By ordinance, the license limited the merchant’s enterprise to one canoe load manned by three voyageurs.”</p> <p>Licenses worth “three thousand francs or one thousand pounds in trade.”</p>	NA-W
1695	Bodwewaadmii Odenoong (village): Senjawen Zibé, Mnedowék (Manitowoc) and Minwakiing (Milwaukee).	B
1696/97	Louis XIV orders evacuation of western fur trade posts and revokes all trading licenses in Great Lakes region; ignored by many traders; Coureurs de Bois flourish.	NA-W
1698	Bodwewaadmii Odenoong: Door Peninsula, Giwani (Kewaunee).	B
End of 1600s	Bodwewaadmii and Wemtigoozhii work as equals in Fur Trade Evidence of this close relationship is seen in the large number of French surnames existing within Bodwewaadmii communities as a result of intermarriage between Bodwewaadmiikwewag (Bodwewaadmii women) and Wemtigoozhii ininiwag (French men).	B
1700s	<p>Until the late 1760s, the predecessors of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi (HPI), live near Waawiyaataanong (Detroit, Michigan).</p> <p>After the Waawiyaataanong area is transferred from the Wemtigoozhii to the Zhaaganosh administration, the group moves its village some 40 miles from Waawiyaataanong on the upper reaches of the Huron River in the neighborhood of present-day Kaagashkanik (Ypsilanti/Ann Arbor), Michigan and remains here until the War of 1812 era.</p>	B
1701	Great Peace of Montreal.	PA
1701	Cadillac establishes Fur Trade Post at Waawiyaataanong.	PA-W

1702	6000 Indigenous people living around trading post/fort at Waawiyaataanong in four or five villages, including Bodwewaadmii from St. Joseph River valley.	B
1706	Bodwewaadmii refuse to travel to Waawiyaataanong because of inter-tribal conflict in area.	B
1710	Bodwewaadmii Odenoong centered around Jesuit mission at/near Zenba Odan (present-day South Bend, Indiana).	B, CA-j
1712-13	Fox Wars (Fox vs. Wemtigooshii) disrupt Fur Trade, and travel to the West.	MA-W, A
1712	<i>Vieau/Vieux family living at Naadowekwe Neyaashiing as Coureur de Bois.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1714	Bodwewaadmii Odenoong on north bank of Waawiyaataanong Ziibi (Detroit River), near Fort (Pontchartrain).  Western fur trade reopened, G'chi Mikinaakong Mnis (Mackinac Island, Michigan) as centre of trade.	B NA-W
1715	Wemtigoozhii assemble Bodwewaadmii, Huron, Odaawaa, Miami and Illinois Confederacy at G'chi Mikinaakong Mnis to spring campaign against Fox; Campaign fails due to measles outbreak.	
1716	<i>Jacques Viau, born May 26, Mooniyaang.</i>  Peace established with Fox.	<i>Wall</i> B
1717	Reopening of fur trade; licenses and extension of amnesty to all coureur de Bois; trading posts located on Maumee River, Fort St. Joseph, Fort St. Francois at Boojwiikwe/Kwejikwet, LaPointe on Zaagawaamikong Wiikwed, Baawating (Sault Ste. Marie), Lafayette and Vincennes (Indiana).	NA-W
1720s	Chickasaw uprising against Wemtigoozhii in lower Misi-Ziibi Valley.	MA-W, A
1729?	<i>Ahkenepoweh born (father of Mahteenose Oskinanonotame); perhaps lived north of Eskenabik (Esanaba, Michigan).</i>	<i>Wall</i>

1730s	Chickasaw attack Wemtigoozhii in the lower Wabash River Valley and Ohio Valley.	MA-W, A
1730s	Bodwewaadmii Odenoong: Senjawen Zibé Valley and Waawiyaataanong.	B
1730	Fox defeated by Wemtigoozhii (troops and voyageurs), Illinois, Bodwewaadmii, Kickapoo, Mascouten, Miami, Huron; Sauk attempt to spare Fox from massacre.	MA-W, B, A
1732	Sac and Fox unite permanently.	PA-A
1736	Bodwewaadmii attempt to keep peace between Wemtigoozhii and Fox.	B
1737	Fox pardoned and restored to Wemtigoozhii alliance.	PA-W
1739	Bodwewaadmii from Senjawen Zibé and Waawiyaataanong areas participate in Wemtigoozhii expedition to raid Chickasaw at Fort Assumption (Memphis, Tennessee).	MA-W/B
1740s	Bodwewaadmii in Senjawen Zibé and Waawiyaataanong areas are politically autonomous.	B
1740s	Zhaaganosh traders penetrate Ohio Valley.	NA-Z
1740	Bodwewaadmii Odenoong on southern shore of Waabishkiigoo G'chi gamii (Lake Erie); summer villages at Waawiyaataanong, and winter hunting grounds north of Maumee River.	B
1742	King Louis XV orders fur trade at post in "upper country" be leased to highest bidders; includes post at Bojwiikwed.	PA/EA-W
1744-48	King George's War; Naval blockades impact Wemtigoozhii trade; creates severe shortages.	MA-W/Z
1747	Bodwewaadmii from St. Joseph and Waawiyaataanong aid Wemtigoozhii against the Zhaaganosh in New England.	MA-W/Z/B
1748	Miami/Zhaaganosh treaty opens up Ohio Valley and Wabash Valley.	T-Z, A
1749	Wemtigoozhii expedition into the Ohio Valley to claim area.	NA-Z

1750	<p>“United Band of Pottawatomie, Chippewa and Ottawa” near Zhigaagong (Chicago, Illinois), and living in southern Michigan, northern Illinois and southern Wiiskosing.</p> <p>Thriving trade between Wemtigoozhii and Bodwewaadmii at Fort St. Joseph.</p>	B W/B
1751-52	Smallpox epidemic at Waawiyaataanong.	B
1754-63	<p>French and Indian War with the Zhaaganosh in North America; coincides with Seven Years War (1756–1763), a global conflict between Great Britain and France.</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii, Odaawaa, Ojibwe, Menominee, Winnebago, Sauk and Fox participate in Braddock’s defeat at Fort Duquesne, battle for Fort Oswego; raids against colonial settlements in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, Fort William Henry, and at the Plains of Abraham in Quebec.</p>	MA-Z/W/B
1755	Bodwewaadmii gain access to more than 200 horses in the July 9 defeat of General Edward Braddock (Zhaaganosh Army commander) in the Battle of the Monongahela.	B
1757	<i>Jacques Vieau, born May 5, Mooniyaang.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1758	Rebellion at Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet trading post by Menominee; Bodwewaadmii kill Frenchman along the Senjawen Zibé.	
1759	Wemtigoozhii position deteriorating because of the loss of Fort Niagara, Zhaaganosh soon to be in control of the Great Lakes Region.	NA-W
1759/60	Zhaaganosh replace Wemtigoozhii in fur trade, and begin trading at Toronto, and taking over French posts in the upper country.	NA-Z
1760?	<p><i>Mahteenose Oskinanonotame (Menominee), mother of Angelique Roi, born at Duck Creek, Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet.</i></p> <p><i>Mother: Wa Pa No Kiew (Menominee?), Father: Ahkenepoweh (Menominee).</i></p>	<i>Wall</i>

	<i>Duck Creek is site of Angelique Roi's father, Joseph Marie Roy's (mixed blood French/Indian, family from Lachine) trading post.</i>	
1761	Zhaaganosh and Chimookman (American) traders begin wintering over in Kwejjikwet.	
1763-66	Pontiac rebellion.	MA-A
1763	Bodwewaadmii in the Ininwewi Ziibi (Illinois River) Valley (close contact with French Creole).	B
1763	Waawiyaataanong Bodwewaadmii winter hunting camps in Southeastern Michigan, growing distraction between Detroit and St. Joseph Pottawatomie, peaceful versus continuing allegiance to the Wemtigoozhii.	B
1763	Bodwewaadmii Odenoong: St. Joseph villages in Zhigaagong region and at mouth of the Minwakiing River.  Metis community established at Boojwiikwed.	B
1763	Bodwewaadmii Odenoong consolidate in the Mishii'gan Crescent.	B
1763	Royal Proclamation of 1763.  Zhaaganosh delineate land west of the watershed divide of Appalachian Mountains as an Indian Reserve. Boundary is considered temporary to allow extension further west in a lawful manner.  Private purchase of Indian land outlawed.  Proclamation in combination with Treaty of Niagara 1764 affirms Indigenous powers of self-determination and sovereignty.  Proclamation a catalyst of the American Revolution as Chimookman want access to land west of Appalachian Mountains.	PA-Z
After 1763	French-Canadian men continue to dominate fur trade and live among the Indigenous Peoples of the Great Lakes despite British control of Canada and the upper country.	W

## \* Index to Codes

<b>Category of Action</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Military Action	MA	Battle; skirmish; attack; imposed action by military forces.
Treaty	T	Treaties between Indigenous Nations; between Newcomers (European Nation) and Indigenous Nations(s); Treaties between North American Nation (Canada, United States) and Indigenous Nation(s).
Christian Action	CA	Establishment of mission; establishment of Church; conversion activities.
Newcomer Action	NA	Arrival on Indigenous lands; “discovery” of natural feature; interaction with Indigenous Nation/Peoples; establishment of a trading post, fort or settlement.
Political Action	PA	Formation of Province, State, Country; legislation.
Event	E	

<b>Actor</b>	<b>Code</b>
Bodwewaadmii	B
Indigenous Allies	A
Haudenosaunee	H
Wemtigoozhii (French)	W
Zhaaganosh (British)	Z
Megwehn (Spanish)	M

Chimookman (Americans)	C
Jesuits	j
Catholics	c
Methodists	m
Baptists	b
Canada	CANADA
United Nations	UN
Wall Family History	<i>Wall</i>

### Giizhnaadsewag: Zhaaganosh miinwaa Chimookman Kiiowad (1763–1830)

Year	Event	Code
1763	<p>Royal Proclamation of 1763.</p> <p>Zhaaganosh (English/ British) delineate land west of the watershed divide of Appalachian Mountains as an Indian Reserve.</p> <p>Boundary considered temporary to allow extension further west in a lawful manner.</p> <p>Private purchase of Indian land outlawed.</p> <p>Proclamation in combination with Treaty of Niagara 1764 affirms Indigenous powers of self-determination and sovereignty.</p> <p>Proclamation is a catalyst of the American Revolution as Chimookman want access to land west of Appalachian Mountains.</p>	PA-Z
1763	Pontiac's Rebellion.	



1764	Treaty of Niagara: 24 Indigenous Nations including Haudenosaunee, Wyandot, Menominee, Abenaki, Nipissing, Michi Saagii, Algonquin, Ojibwe, Odaawaa, Bodwewaadmii, Lenape, Miami, Shawnee and Great Britain (Zhaaganosh); ratification of Royal Proclamation of 1763 by assembled Indigenous Nations, transferred narrow strip of land on western shore of Niagara River, and established relationship with newcomers.	T-B, A, Z
1768	Treaty of Fort Stanwix: Haudenosaunee and Zhaaganosh, Restricted settlement north of the Ohio River.	T-H, Z
1774	Bodwewaadmii Odenoong (villages) on Huron River, South Fork of the River Raisin, the Grand River, and the Kalamazoo River.	B
1774	British Acts (Coersive Acts or Intolerable Acts).	PA-Z
1775 (to 1783)	Chimookman War for Independence (American Revolution) begins.	MA-C/Z
1776	Michigan Bodwewaadmii in alliance with Zhaaganosh.	MA-B/Z/C
1776	July 6: Grosse Ile (Kitche-mineshen) land ceded by Bodwewaadmii to Macomb (Alexander and William, merchants from Detroit).	PA-B
1776-78	Loyalists and Tories flee Chimookman War for Independence into Ontario; Fur Trade moves north to the Upper Lakes.	NA-Z
1777/78	Bodwewaadmii Ogimaa (Chief) Siggenauk and other Minwakiing leaders meet with Spanish; Bodwewaadmii living around the southern tip of Mishii'igan have no allegiance to Zhaaganosh and view Spanish as the "legitimate successors of the French"; form strong ties to traders at St. Louis in Spanish Louisiana (Jung, 116–120).	
1778	North West Company created.	
1779	Low point of Zhaaganosh influence following George Rogers Clark successful retaking of Vincennes.	PA-Z, MA-C
1779	Spain declares war on the British.	MA-M/Z

1780	Alliance of Chimookman, Megwehn (Spanish), Metis and pro-Spanish Indigenous people with George Rogers Clark (Jung, 124).	
1781	Bodwewaadmii Ogimaag Siggenauk and Naakewoin ally with Spanish to seize Fort St. Joseph (Jung, 125).	
1783	Political border established between United States/Canada.	PA-C
1783	Chimookman War for Independence (American Revolution) ends.	MA-C
1783	<p>Treaty of Paris.</p> <p>Zhaaganosh and Chimookman officially end American Revolution and set boundaries between British Empire and United States of America. Zhaaganosh consider Indigenous Nations to be sovereign powers and support their rights to their lands.</p> <p>Zhaaganosh maintain posts within Great Lakes including Michilimackinac. Zhaaganosh policy focuses on securing Canada against expansion by Chimookman.</p> <p>Indigenous Peoples are “able to remain in control of their territory and the Americans were either to treaty with them for their land, or purchase it. They were assured that they could not be forced off their land nor punished for their role in the war” (Bellfy, 45, and Jung, 129–130).</p>	T-Z/C
1785	<p>Treaty of Fort McIntosh:</p> <p>Odaawaa, Ojibwe, Wyandotte and Delaware, and Chimookman. Created reservation in the Ohio Country, ceded areas surrounding Fort Detroit and Fort Michilimackinac.</p>	T-C/A
1787	<p>Northwest Ordinance:</p> <p>Established Northwest Territory, methods for admitting new states to the Union.</p>	PA-C
1789	Treaty of Fort Harmar:	T-C/B/A

	Haudenosaunee of Six Nations, Bodwewaadmii, Odaawaa, Ojibwe, Sauk, Wyandot and Delaware and Governor of the Northwest Territory, reiterated terms of Treaty of Fort Stanwix and Treaty of Fort McIntosh.	
1789	United States Constitution ratified (created September 17, 1787); Indian affairs placed with Federal government rather than the states.	PA-C
1789 – 95	United States focuses on gaining control of the Ohio River valley from Indian confederacy (Shawnee, Miami, Delaware and “Three Fires Alliance of Ojibwe, Odaawaa and Bodwewaadmii of Michigan).	PA/MA-C,B
1790	<i>Vieau/Vieux/Vieux and Juneau families at Minwakiing controlling trade.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1790s	United States passes legislative acts regulating trade with Indians.	PA-c
1791	Constitutional Act of 1791 divides Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada.	PA-Z
1794	Zhaaganosh establish Fort Miami on Maumee River.	
1794	Chimookmaan Army led by General Wayne, Commander of the United States Army of the Northwest, present in Ohio to defend American settlers from “Indian” attack.  Battle of Fallen Timbers, Chimookmaan defeat of Northwester Indian Confederacy.  Confederacy comprised of tribal nations in the Great Lakes region and Ohio Country (Bodwewaadmii, Odaawaa, Ojibwe, Lenape, Shawnee, Wyandot with support from Haudenosaunee, Menominee, Kickapoo, Sauk and Meskwaki).	MA-C/B/A
1795	Treaty of Greenville: Wyandot, Shawnee, Odaawaa, Ojibwe, Bodwewaadmii, Kickapoo and Chimookman. Ends Northwest Indian War in Ohio; defines and limits “Indian Country”; initiates practice of annual payments by United States government to tribes following land cessions.	T-C/B, A

1795	<i>Chesaugan (author's fourth Great Grandfather) is signatory on Treaty of Greenville.</i>	Wall
1795	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux: American Fur Company, Minwaking (Milwaukee, Wisconsin); establishes Jack Knife trading posts along western shore of Mishii'gan at Giwani (Kewaunee, Wisconsin); Vieau/Vieux family controlled trade at Minwakiing.</i>	Wall
1795	Indian Factories, or government trading houses, established by United States to draw trade away from British fur traders.	PA-C
1796	Jay's Treaty:  Chimookman and Zhaaganosh trade agreement, payment of debts and compensation for damages.  Grants Indigenous Peoples freedom to cross border between Canada and US for trade and commerce.	T-Z/C
1798	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux: American Fur Company; established trading post at Portage, Wiiskosing.</i>	Wall
1799	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux: American Fur Company; at Fort Winnebago.</i>	Wall
1800s	Missionary activity in Great Lakes: Missionaries embedded in trading villages, missions strong in Zhigaagong (Chicago, Illinois) and Waawiyaataanong areas; other missions located throughout the Great Lakes region.	CA-c/j
1801-09	Thomas Jefferson presidency:  The initial ideas of Indian removal are born.  Jefferson believes Indigenous Peoples equal to whites, but culturally inferior because of inefficient land use.  Jefferson also believes that humans' environments are shaped by the culture (enlightenment environmentalism).  Jefferson believes that removal and movement West would delay the inevitable assimilation of Indigenous Peoples and avoid extermination.	PA-C

	(Jefferson's ideas of removal had economic intentions – by relocating the Indigenous Peoples west, the vacated lands could be opened to white settlement.)	
1802	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux: American Fur Company; moves from Portage to Minwakiing.</i>	Wall
1802	Trade and intercourse law requiring licensing of all traders going into Indian Country, and only American citizens can be licensed. Foreigners can attain licenses based on public interest (Jung, 200-201).	PA-C
1803	Louisiana Purchase: Acquisition of 828,00 square miles by the United States of America from France.	PA-C
1803	Treaty of Fort Wayne, Indiana Territory:  Lenape, Shawnee, Bodwewaadmii, Miami and Kickapoo and Chimookman. Defines boundaries of Vincennes Tract confirmed in Treaty of Greenville, cedes various parcels of lands including a salt spring and land along the road between Vincennes and Kaskaskia, and Vincennes and Clarksville.	T-C/B, A
1803	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux works for Northwest Fur Company at Zaagawaamikong Wiikwed (Chequamegon Bay), Anishinaabewi G'chigamii (Lake Superior); trading post located at either La Pointe or Ashland (Wisconsin).</i>	Wall
1803	Fort Dearborn established at Zhigaagong .	PA/MA-C
1804	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux marries Angelique Roi (Menominee), July 16, Saint Anne's Church, G'chi mikinaakong Mnis.</i>	Wall
1804	<i>Jaques Vieau/Vieux and Angelique Roi visit Bodwewaadmii odenoong at Wakwshe' (Waukesha) and Mekwongo (Mukwango), Wiiskosing.</i>	Wall
1805	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux working for the American Fur Company establishes trading posts at Giwani, Mnedowe'k, and Zhabwagen (Sheboygan, Wisconsin); builds log home at Minwaking.</i>	Wall

1805	US Army Lieutenant Zebulon Pike's expedition to find source of Misi-Ziibi (Mississippi River), holds councils with Indigenous leaders and fur traders, most working for Canadian concerns, North West Company, and backed by Zhaaganosh money (Jung, 93).	C
1805	Fort Belle Fontaine established on Missouri River near St. Louis.	MA/PA-C
1805-11	"Pan-Indian" resistance movement led by Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh.	
1806	War Department of the United States of America creates the new position of Superintendent of Indian Trade to manage national non-military Indian issues, primarily commerce and diplomacy.	PA-C
1807	<i>Mahteenose Oskinanaonotame (Menominee), mother of Angelique Roi, marries Joseph Marie Roy (Mixed blood Indian/French) in Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet, Brown County, Wisconsin.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1807	Detroit Treaty:  Bodwewaadmii, Ojibwe, Odaawaa and Wyandot cede 8 million acres to the US government for about 1.2 cents per acre; several small reservations created.	T-C/B, A
1807	British arm Indigenous peoples against the United States; fur traders operating west of Mishii'igan continue to work for Canadian fur companies.  British Indian Agents at Fort Malden provide Great Lakes tribes with gifts including clothing, weapons and gun powder.	Z
1807	Michilimackinac Company formed.	
1808	Fort Madison established near the Des Moines River.	MA/PA-C
1809-17	James Madison presidency:  Madison's attitude towards Indigenous Peoples was paternal and discriminatory. He believed Indigenous Peoples' rights to land had become null and void, and it was the government's duty to assimilate, convert and facilitate Indigenous Peoples becoming farmers.	PA-C MA-C

	<p>During Madison's administration the U.S. Army (under Andrew Jackson) protected land from intrusion by others.</p> <p>Madison's administration was responsible for the continuation of the American Indian wars including Tecumseh's war, the Creek war, and the first Seminole war</p>	
1809	<i>Louis Vieau/Vieux born November 30, at Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet to Jacques Vieau/Vieux and Angelique Roi)</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1809	<p>Treaty of Fort Wayne:</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii, Miami, Kickapoo, Lenape and Chimookman. Ceded 3,000,000 acres along Wabash River north of Vincennes for subsidies and direct payments.</p>	T-C/B/A
1809	<i>Chesaugan signatory on Treaty of Fort Wayne.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1809	Bodwewaadmii living around the southern tip of Mishii'igan are 'adherents' of Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh.	B
1811	Battle of Tippecanoe: Indigenous Peoples pushed off lands in the Northwest territory of the United States.	MA-C
1811	<p>Construction of the National Road (aka Cumberland Road) begins.</p> <p>Road is completed in 1837, stretching from the Potomac River to the Ohio River and to Misi-Ziibi at Jefferson City, Missouri.</p> <p>Extensions of the main roadway completed by 1849. The Michigan Road, constructed between 1830 and 1840, intersects the National Road in Indianapolis, Indiana.</p>	PA-C
1812	Majority of Indigenous peoples and fur traders west of Mishii'igan in alliance with British.	
1812	<p>War for Upper Canada (aka War of 1812):</p> <p>President Madison sees the War of 1812 as an affront to American sovereignty.</p>	MA-C/Z, B, A

	<p>Britain arms the Indigenous Peoples in the Northwest Territory against American settlers (territory had been ceded to the US in the 1743 and 1744 treaties).</p> <p>Some historians interpret the War of 1812 as a Fur Trade war that was fought mainly for commercial reasons.</p> <p>(Zhaaganosh use the Indigenous Peoples' fear of Chimookman's desire for more land (Indigenous territories and British land) to convince Indigenous Peoples' participation in the war, fighting for the British.)</p>	
1812	Ininwewi Ziibi Bodwewaadmii refuse to support the British; provide intelligence to American Indian agent at Peoria regarding the British, yet refuse to actively support the United States (Jung, 160).	
1812	Several volunteer military units consisting of Métis form and ally with British.	
1812	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux serves in British military.</i>	MA-Z Wall
1812	<i>Kaush-Kau-Mo-Ngine (Menominee, and father of Ahkenepoweh) serves in War of 1812 under Tomah.</i>	Wall
1814	<p>Greenville Treaty (aka The Second Treaty of Greenville):</p> <p>Treaty of peace and friendship between Chimookman and alliance of Indigenous Nations including Wyandots, Lenape, Shawnee, Miami (who fought against Zhaaganosh during the War of 1812), and within the alliance.</p>	T-C/A PA-C/Z
1814	Chimookman attempt to recapture G'chi Mikinaakong Mnis from Zhaaganosh and their Métis and Indian allies; attempt fails.	
1814	<p>Treaty of Ghent:</p> <p>Peace treaty ending War of 1812 between Chimookman and Zhaaganosh; restricts the Northwest fur trade to Americans only; Indigenous Peoples lose "their most powerful and effective ally against American encroachment" (Jung, 170); requires <i>status quo antebellum</i> meaning the United States has to "end hostilities with</p>	T-C/Z



	the tribes and restore them to their rights and possessions” (Jung, 177).	
1815	Zhaaganosh abandon G’chi Mikinaakong Mnis, leaving it under Chimookman control. Zhaaganosh choose Bootaagan Mnis (Drummond Island) as new post.  Zhaaganosh continue to provide gifts to the Indigenous Peoples regardless of which side of border they reside on; virtually all Indigenous Peoples from the newly ceded Northwest Territory are eligible for gifts.	PA-Z
1815	Portage de Sioux Treaty, Missouri:  Marks end of conflict between Chimookmanag and Indigenous Peoples, and end of the War for Upper Canada.	T-C/B, A
1815	Bodwewaadmii Odenoong: in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin.	B
1815	Chimookman prepare to establish military posts in both the upper Great Lakes, and the upper Misi-Ziibi valley; troops reoccupy G’chi Mikinaakong Mnis, Zhiigaagong and establish new post at Boojwiikwe/Kwejikwet as well as posts in Misi-Ziibi valley (Jung, 184).	
1816	St. Louis Treaty:  Bodwewaadmii, Odaawaa, Ojibwe and Chimookman. Land cession—Zhiigaagong, Mishii’gan, Ininwewi Ziibi, and lands already ceded by the Sac and Fox.	T-C/B
1816	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux at G’chi Mikinaakong Mnis (Mackinac Island, Michigan); July 15, licensed by U.S. Government to trade; speaks fluent Bodwewaadmii Zheshmowin.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1816	Trade factories established by US War Department at Zhiigaagong (re-established), Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet, Prairie du Chien and Rock Island (Jung, 198).	CA
1816-24	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux working for American Fur Company, Milwaukee outfit at Minwakiing.</i>	<i>Wall</i>

1817-25	<p>James Monroe Presidency: Principles of the Monroe Administration's Indian policy include:</p> <p>The US should preserve and civilize the Indigenous Peoples.</p> <p>The US should not allow Indigenous Peoples to control more land than they are able to cultivate.</p> <p>The administration makes changes to Indian policy and stops considering tribes as nations, seeks to save the Indigenous Peoples from extinction, and inculcates the concept of ownership of land, setting the stage for Indian policy and the administration of such policies for the next two centuries.</p> <p>In 1824, the Monroe Administration develops a plan for civilizing Indigenous Peoples by voluntary removal west of the Mississippi. This administration includes the beginnings of compulsory education for Indians with the 1819 "civilizing fund" for the teaching of agriculture and the 3Rs to the Indians.</p> <p>By 1824, there are forty-one mission schools run by eleven different missionary societies.</p>	PA-C CA
1817	<p>Rapids of the Maumee Treaty (aka Treaty of Fort Meigs):</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii, Odaawaa, Ojibwe, Shawnee, Lenape, Wyandot and Chimookman. Land cession of 4.6 million acres in northwest Ohio (all remaining Indian lands in northwestern Ohio), land in northeastern Indiana and southern Michigan, and reserved small parcels of land for Wyandot, Shawnee, Odaawaa, Lenape, Ojibwe and Bodwewaadmii.</p>	T-C/B, A
1818	Illinois Statehood	PA-C
1819	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux resigns as agent of American Fur Company (Trading post turned over to son in law Solomon Juneau).</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1819-24	<i>Louis Vieux employed as "Engage" for father, Jacques Vieau/Vieux, at Skunk Grove, Wisconsin.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1820-35	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux primarily living in Boojwiikwed/Kwejikwet.</i>	<i>Wall</i>

1820-36	Period of turbulence for Anishinaabeg in Great Lake Region.	B
1820	<i>Sha Note (Bodwewaadmii) born, Senjawen Zibé area; daughter of Chesaugan (Bodwewaadmii) and Abita-niminokoy (Bodwewaadmi). Baptismal name: Charlotte.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1820	Isaac McCoy, Baptist missionary, opens Carey Mission near the Senjawen Zibé, Michigan.	CA-B
1820	Hudson Bay Company's Bourassa Post on Isle au Sable serves Wasoksing band and is under administration of La Cloche trading post near Little Current. Furs being depleted (Koennecke).	
1821	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux: employed by U.S. Government trading post in Minwakiing.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1821	Treaty of Chicago:  Bodwewaadmii, Odaawaa, Ojibwe and Chimookman. Land cession of all lands in Michigan Territory south of the Grand River; and an easement around the southern coast of Mishii'gan between Zhigaagong and Waawiyaataanong. Several small reservations were created. In addition, individual Anishinaabeg granted property rights to defined parcels of land.	T-C/B, A
1821	<i>Chesaugan signatory on Treaty of Chicago.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1822	Bootaagan Mnis (Drummond Island) becomes US Territory.	PA-C
1823	<i>Jacob Johnson born, March 2, Washington, DC.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1823	American Fur Company at G'chi Mikinaakong Mnis.	
1824	Office of Indian Affairs (Indian Department) created by War Secretary John C. Calhoun; Department does not have a congressional mandate and cannot make policy (Jung, 199).	PA-C
1824	Michigan Territory laws define Métis consensual country marriages with Indigenous women ( <i>la facon du pays</i> ) illegal (Jung, 233); Grand Jury indictments in Green Bay (Jung 234).	

1825-29	<p>John Quincy Adams presidency:</p> <p>Thirty treaties signed during Adams Administration. Adams believes that State and Federal governments have the duty to abide by treaties, and to purchase, not simply annex land; also argues that removal of Indigenous Peoples to west of the Mississippi River should be voluntary.</p>	PA-C
1825	Erie Canal opens, bringing settlers into the Great Lakes Region.	PA/MA-C
1825	<p>Monroe Doctrine (signed June 2, 1823):</p> <p>US Federal Government policy opposing European colonization in the Americas; any exertion of control over independent states in North or South America by a European nation deemed as an unfriendly action toward the United States.</p> <p>Monroe Doctrine acknowledged in 1902 by Laurier, then Prime Minister of Canada, as essential to the protection of Canada.</p>	PA-C
1825	<p>Prairie des Chien Treaty:</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii, Odaawaa, Ojibwe, Menominee, Ho-Chunk, Sauk and Meskwaki, Sioux and Chimookman. Establish peace with the Sioux and boundaries of hunting territories.</p>	T-C/B, A
1826	<p>Mississnewa Treaty:</p> <p>Land cession related to the Michigan Road construction through Indiana.</p>	T-C/A
1827	<p>Treaty of St. Joseph: Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman.</p> <p>Cession of lands on/near River Rouge and River Raisin in southeast Michigan; Kalamazoo River in southwest Michigan; created a consolidated reservation between Kalamazoo and St. Joseph Counties.</p>	T-C/B
1828	Small group of Bodwewaadmii take exploratory trip to look at lands now known as Kansas in conjunction with pressure to voluntarily remove there; not impressed with the land, they resist further efforts of removal.	B

1828	<i>Chesaugan signatory on Treaty of St. Joseph Michigan.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1829-37	Andrew Jackson presidency: Removal policy fully realized into law; removal seen as needed for the preservation of Indigenous Peoples.	PA-C
1829	Michigan Road opens, connecting the Ohio River to Lake Michigan through Indianapolis, Indiana; pathway to the north for slaves, trail southward for Indigenous Peoples during removal, roadway opening the state of Indiana for settlement.	PA-C
1829	<i>Jacques Vieau/Vieux requests \$500 from American Fur Company; claim made under 1829 Treaty.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1829	Prairie Du Chien Treaty:  Bodwewaadmii, Odaawaa, Ojibwe and Chimookman Land cession of northwest Illinois, southwest Wisconsin (including Zhiigaagong); reservations established in western Illinois for Prairie Band Potawatomi, preserved hunting rights.	T-C/B
1830	Coldwater Settlement Experiment (Methodist Community), Ontario, Canada.	CA-M
1830	Methodist seminary opens in Spring Arbor, Michigan.	CA-M
1830	Federal Indian Removal Act:  Authorizes president of United States to negotiate with tribes for their removal to territories west of the Mississippi River in exchange for settler colonialization of ancestral lands.	PA-C, MA-C
1830 - 1841	Preemption Laws enacted by U.S. Federal Government:  Allow squatters to preempt lands.	PA-C

<b>Category of Action</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Military Action	MA	Battle; skirmish; attack; imposed action by military forces

Treaty	T	Treaties between Indigenous Nations; between Newcomers (European Nation) and Indigenous Nations(s); Treaties between North American Nation (Canada, United States) and Indigenous Nation(s)
Christian Action	CA	Establishment of mission; establishment of Church; conversion activities
Newcomer Action	NA	Arrival on Indigenous lands; “discovery” of natural feature; interaction with Indigenous Nation/Peoples; establishment of a trading post, fort or settlement
Political Action	PA	Formation of Province, State, Country; legislation
Event	E	

<b>Actors</b>	<b>Code</b>
Bodwewaadmii	B
Indigenous Allies	A
Wemtigoozhii (French)	W
Zhaaganosh (British)	Z
Megwehn (Spanish)	M
Chimookman (Americans)	C
Jesuits	j
Catholics	c
Methodists	m
Baptists	b
Canada	CANADA

United Nations	UN
Wall Family History	<i>Wall</i>

### Giiaankobaajianwag miinwaa: Zhaamaganek Giibaa Nanawag Kiiowad (1830–1900)

Year	Event	Code*
1830s	Decline in the "need" for Bodwewaadmii in both the fur trade and in war.	B
1830-40	Decline of the Fur Trade.	
1830	<p>Jesuits:</p> <p>St. Joseph mission active and thriving as early as 1712.</p> <p>Suppression of Jesuit order until 1830s.</p> <p>New chapel dedicated at the old St. Joseph River site in 1830; new headquarters established in Indiana in 1834, later becoming the site of Notre Dame University.</p> <p>Jesuit named Badin's assistant, Benjamin Petit, accompanies Potawatomi on Trail of Death in the fall of 1838.</p>	CA-J
1830	<p>Federal Indian Removal Act:</p> <p>Authorizes president of United States to negotiate with tribes for their removal to territories west of the Mississippi River in exchange for settler colonialization of ancestral lands.</p>	PA-C, MA-C
1831	<i>Chesaugan signatory on Treaty of Tippecanoe River</i>	<i>Wall</i>

1831	<i>Grizzly Bear, Menominee, (Father of Kaush-Kau-Mo-Ngine, Great grandfather of Angelique Roi) signatory on Treaties of 1831 and 1832; lived on Fox River, grew pumpkins.</i>	Wall
1831	<i>Kaush-Kau-Mo-Ngine (husband of Susan Carron, and father of Ahkenepoweh) Signatory on Stambaugh Treaty; Susan Carron is daughter or granddaughter of Chewanon.</i>	Wall
1832	US Congress and President Jackson pass legislation appropriating 20 thousand dollars for negotiation of treaties to terminate Bodwewaadmii land title in Indiana, Illinois and the Territory of Michigan.	PA-C
1832	Treaties of Tippecanoe (three in total): Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman.  Land cession in Indiana, limited reservation set aside, annuities arranged. Some Bodwewaadmii flee to Canada.	T-C/B
1832	<i>Louis Vieux established trading post at Caledonia, Wisconsin (Racine County).</i>	Wall
1832	Black Hawk War.	
1833	<i>Smallpox epidemic at Menominee; Jacques Vieau buries bodies of those who have succumbed.</i>  <i>Epidemic leaves Vieau heavily in debt because he has given extensive credit to Menominees.</i>	Wall
1833	<i>Chesaugan receives annuity of \$130.50 paid at Pottawatomie Mills (Indiana).</i>	Wall
1833	Treaties of Chicago, September 26 and September 27: Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman.  Land cession of 5 million acres including all land west of Lake Michigan to Lake Winnebago, and lands in Illinois; hunting and fishing rights preserved; in return granted no less than five million acres of land west of Mississippi River, on east side of Missouri River (and distribution payments); removal to granted land at expense of United States.	T-C/B



	Supplementary articles cede land in Territory of Michigan south of Grand River (Notawasepe Reservation), and land on St. Joseph River opposite the town of Niles to the State of Indiana (To-pe-ne-bee and Pokagon villages).	
1833	<i>Jacques Vieau, Louis Vieux, Shanote (?) present at Treaty of Chicago negotiations.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1834	<p>Treaty of Lake Max-ee-nie-kue-kee:</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. Cede two sections of land reserved for Chief Com-o-za and his band in 1832 Treaty of Tippecanoe for payment of goods and one-time annuity.</p> <p>Treaty of Indiana:</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. Cede six sections of land reserved for Chief Muck Rose and his band in 1832 Treaty of Tippecanoe for payment of goods and one-time annuity.</p> <p>Treaty of Tippecanoe:</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. Cede lands granted in two of the 1832 Treaties of Tippecanoe.</p> <p>Treaty of Potawottimie Mills:</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. Cede title and interest to reservation granted in 1832 Treaty of Tippecanoe, a total of two sections of land and mills on the Tippecanoe River, agreement to provide needed goods, and farming utensils.</p> <p>Treaty of Logansport:</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. Cede four sections of land granted to Chief Mota and his band in 1832 Treaty of Tippecanoe.</p>	T-C/B
1835 ?	<i>Louis Vieux and Sha Note married in Skunk Grove, WI.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1836	Platte Purchase: Land purchase led to annexation to State of Missouri in 1837.	PA-C

1836	<i>Jacques Vieau retires to farm on west side of Fox River at Boojwiikwed. August—last Corn Dance held at Vieau’s Minwaking property.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1835-37	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: First wave of Bodwewaadmii emigration to Ontario, Canada.	B
1835	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Bodwewaadmii (215 in total) from Minwakiing emigrate to Bebooshnangwoshinhn (Penetanguishene, Ontario).	B
1835	Birchbark canoe Pottawatomie living in Wisconsin, north of Minwakiing, and in Michigan, north of the Senjawen Zibé (St. Joseph River).	B
1836	Treaty of Tippecanoe:  Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. Ceded lands granted in two of the 1832 Treaties of Tippecanoe.  Treaty of Yellow River:  Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. Ceded lands granted in the other 1832 Treaty of Tippecanoe.	B
1836	<i>Chesaugan signatory on Treaty of Tippecanoe.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1836-37	<i>Louis Vieux and brother Jacques sell Skunk Grove Trading Post, and move to Council Bluffs, Iowa.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1837	Michigan Statehood.	PA-C
1837-43	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Largest number of Bodwewaadmii emigrate to Bkejwanong (Walpole Island, Ontario), sometimes returning to US side of the border for hunting.	B
1837	Treaty of Washington, DC:  Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. Sets aside land for Bodwewaadmii (United Band, and others from Michigan), and establishes Osage River Reservation.	T-C/B

1837	Jesuit mission established at Council Bluffs Iowa and at Sugar Creek on the Osage River Reservation.	CA-J
1837	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: 300 Bodwewaadmii stop at G'chi Mikinaakong Mnis (Mackinac Island, Michigan) on their way from Illinois and Wisconsin to Bebooshnangwoshinhn and Odaawaa Mnis (Manitoulin Island).	B
1837	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: 300 Bodwewaadmii cross G'chigamii Ziibi into Sarnia and the Upper St. Clair Reserve.	B
1837	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Bodwewaadmii living in Wisconsin and Michigan move northward, emigrating to Ontario, Canada at Bkejwanong and Sarnia.	B
1837	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: 432 Bodwewaadmii emigrate from Minwakiing to Manitowaning (on Manitoulin Island); 218 emigrate to Saugeen. By late summer over 1000 Bodwewaadmii have fled to Canada.	B
1837	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Approximately 2000 Bodwewaadmii from lands stretching from Minwakiing to the Door Peninsula emigrate to Canada in the late summer.	B
1837	<i>Louis Vieux and brother Jacques, who are living and farming at Skunk Grove, Wisconsin on land claimed under the preemption law, sell their claim and emigrate with other Bodwewaadmii to Council Bluffs, Iowa.</i>  Bodwewaadmii evicted from Platte Purchase Territory as it was annexed to the State of Missouri; eviction by Presidential Proclamation.	Wall
1838	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii of Indiana (Twin Lakes, Marshall County) and Catholic missionary Benjamin Marie Petit forced to emigrate to the new reservation in Kansas.	B CA-c
1838	<i>Chesaugan and family living outside Chief Menominee's village at Twin Lakes; do not join the removal peaceably—rounded up by volunteer militia; listed on September 14 Muster Roll of Remnant Pottawatomie Indians of Indiana.</i>	Wall

	<i>Chesaugan arrives in Kansas, at Potawatomi Creek.</i>	
1839	<i>Louis Vieux living at Council Bluffs Iowa; Name appears on annuity rolls with brothers Jacques and Charles.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1839	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Methodist missionaries at Osage River Reservation.	CA-M
1839	Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii: Predecessors to Gun Lake Pottawatomi settle at Episcopalian Griswold Colony Mission, administered by the Reverend James Selkirk; and avoid removal west.	B CA-E
1840s	Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii: During the mid-1840s Nottaweseppi Band converts from Catholicism to Methodism; new Methodist church is founded.	CA-M
1840	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Two major emigrations of Bodwewaadmii south to Osage River Reservation.	B
1840	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Approximately 2000 Bodwewaadmii come into the Sarnia area; approximately 800 prepared to emigrate are pursued by US military from Fort Gratiot (at southern tip of G'chi Aazhoogamii or Lake Huron) and Kalamazoo.	B MA-C
1840	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: 267 Indiana Bodwewaadmii emigrate to Ontario between January and April; some go to Odaawaa Mnis (Manitoulin Island), others to the G'chi gamii Ziibi (St. Claire River) and the Thames River Valley.	B
1840	<i>So-pe (Sophia) Vieux born May 2 in Council Bluffs, Iowa. Daughter of Louis Vieux and Sha-Note.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1841	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Bodwewaadmii farming at Sarnia; Bodwewaadmii hunting and roaming at Bkejwanong; Both groups invited by the Indian Agents at Sarnia.	B
1841	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Bodwewaadmii emigrating to Ontario include individuals, nuclear families, and aggregate groups.	B

1841	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Problems with alcohol use at Council Bluffs.	B
1841	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Osage River Sub-Agency is established.	B
1842	<i>Louis Vieux living at Council Bluffs; Name appears on annuity roll with brothers Jacques, Charles and Nickolas.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1842	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Agricultural progress is being made at Sugar Creek.	B
1842	<i>Jacob Johnson employed in District of Columbia navy yards.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1845	<i>Louis Vieux at Council Bluffs, on annuity roll with six children.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1846	<p>Treaty of Council Bluffs:</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. United Band of Pottowautomi Indians, Pottowautomies of the Prairie, Pottowautomies of the Wabash, and Pottowautomies of Indiana to be united in one common location and abolish all minor distinctions of bands.</p> <p>Cede all land to which they have claim including land north of the Missouri River, within the Territory of Iowa, and on or near the Osage River in the State of Missouri. Grant thirty square miles of land on Kansas River. Improvement fund established.</p> <p>Treaty of Osage River:</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii, Ojibwe, Odaawaa and Chimookman. Cede sections of land in present day Iowa and Kansas.</p>	T-C/B/A
1846	<p>Oregon Treaty:</p> <p>Chimookman and Zhaaganosh (English/ British). US acquires territory in the Pacific Northwest from Britain.</p> <p>Oregon Trail brings settlers through the Bodwewaadmii reservation on the Kaw River.</p>	T-C/Z B

1846	<i>Louis Vieux (possibly with brother Jacques) lead Council Bluffs Bodwewaadmii to Kansas.</i>	Wall
1846	Iowa Statehood: US Federal government seeks to consolidate a single Potawatomi reservation on the Kansas (Kaw) River.	PA-C
1847	<i>Louis Vieux at Council Bluffs, on annuity roll with seven children. Louis and Sha Note move to Indianola, Kansas (on the road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley); later move to Oregon Trail crossing of Soldier Creek north of Topeka; their children attend school at St. Mary's Mission.</i>	Wall Wall
1847	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: St. Mary's Mission established in Kansas.	CA-J
1847	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: November, Bodwewaadmii of Sugar Creek begin emigration to Kansas.	B
1847-48	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Removal of Bodwewaadmii and reunion at Kansas (Kaw) River Reservation.	B
1848	<i>Jacob Johnson travels with government caravan to gold fields of California; prospects for one year; returns to California and established a general store, freighting supplies from Omaha, Nebraska.</i>	Wall
1848	Wisconsin Statehood.	PA-C
1848	<i>Chesaugan (father of Sha Note) on Fort Leavenworth annuity roll; lives in bark wigwam 6 miles from son-in-law Louis Vieux's family home outside of Indianola, Kansas.</i>	Wall
1848	<i>Louis Vieux on Fort Leavenworth annuity roll with seven children.</i>	Wall
1848	Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo:  Chimookman and Mexico. Mexico annexes region that became California, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado.	T- C/Mexico

1848	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: St. Mary's Mission chosen as permanent settlement for the Mission Creek/Mission Band, and as the Catholic Potawatomi Mission.	B, CA
1848	<i>Louis Vieux, Sha Note and family settle in Louisville, Pottawatomie County, 15 miles north and west of St. Mary's Mission.</i>	Wall
1848	<i>Chesaugan (father of Sha Note) dies in Kansas.</i>	Wall
1849	<i>Cholera epidemic at Vermillion River crossing, Kansas; Louis Vieux buries 50 dead in cholera cemetery.</i>	Wall
1850	Robinson Huron Treaty:  Bodwewaadmii, allies and Zhaaganosh. Cession of lands on northern shore of Lake Superior from Batchawana Bay to Sault Ste. Marie, and the northern shores of Lake Huron to Penetanguishene; establishes 16 square mile reserves for 35 First Nations.	T-Z/B, A
1850-53	<i>Jacob Johnson travels west to Washington and Oregon, fishing and trapping.</i>	Wall
1850-73	Parry Island Reserve established in Ontario.	PA B
1850s/60s	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Bodwewaadmii are pressured by US Federal Government to accept allotments and US Citizenship.	PA-C B
1851	Removal of Bodwewaadmii from Wisconsin.	B PA/MA-C
1852	<i>Jacques Vieau dies, July 7, in Boojwiikwed; burial July 8 in Allouez Catholic Cemetery, Shantytown on east shore of Fox River.</i>	Wall
1853	<i>So-pe Vieux discontinues her formal education at St. Mary's Mission because of her poor eye sight.</i>	Wall
1853	<i>Jacob Johnson participates in engineering party that surveyed the present boundary line from the Rio Grande to the Gulf of Mexico.</i>	Wall

1853	<i>Jacob Johnson moves to Indianola, Kansas and runs a very successful restaurant with his younger brother, Andrew.</i>	Wall
1854	<i>John Jacob Wall born, Saline County, Missouri.</i>	Wall
1855	Treaty of Detroit:  Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. Allotment of lands to individuals or family units, unallotted land to revert to public domain after five years.  Basis for a number of land claims in the State of Michigan beginning in 1948; plays role in termination of Bodwewaadmii and subsequent re-affirmation of Pokagon Band, Nottawaseppi Huron Band and Gun Lake Band.	T-C/B
1856	<i>So-pe Vieux marries Jacob Johnson in Indianola, Kansas.</i>	Wall
1857	<i>Louis Vieux, Sha Note and family move from Indianola to allotment on Vermillion River crossing, build toll bridge, sell beef, pork, grain, hay and vegetables to Fort Riley and Oregon Trail wagon trains.</i>	Wall
1857	<i>Sha Note dies, April 13, during cholera epidemic in Uniontown Kansas; buried in Vieux Cemetery outside of Louisville, Kansas.</i>	Wall
1860-70	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii in Oklahoma focus on survival.	B
<i>Before 1861</i>	<i>Jacob Johnson and So-pe Vieux move to Vermillion, Kansas; Jacob works as toll-bridge collector for father-in-law, Louis Vieux.</i>	Wall
1861	<i>Louis Vieux signatory on Treaty made at Pottawatomie Agency at Rossville, Kansas.</i>	Wall
1861	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Kansas River Agency Treaty. Division of Kansas-based Bodwewaadmii into Citizen Band (allottees) and Prairie Band (title to the open, diminished reserve in Kansas).	T-C/B
1861	Kansas Statehood.	PA-C
1861	<i>Jacob Johnson and So-pe Vieux move to Rossville, Kansas; raising corn, wheat, cattle and hogs.</i>	Wall



1861	<p>Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Bodwewaadmii census conducted in Kansas on May 17. Total population of 2,259: 648 men, 588 women, 1,023 children.</p> <p>About 1400 choose allotments. All retain claim to proceeds from the sale of surplus lands to the railroad.</p>	B
1861	US Civil War begins; Bodwewaadmii remain neutral.	MA-C B
1862	<i>Angelique Roi/Roy dies, January 7, in the town of Lawrence, Brown County at age of about 105 years.</i>	Wall
1862	Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii living on traditional territory, not faced with relocation and/or adaptation.	B
1862	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: <i>Louis Vieux appointed to represent Catholic Band of Pottawatomi Nation in the transaction of business between Bodwewaadmii, Indian Agent and Indian Department.</i>	PA-B Wall
1863	<i>Louis Vieux is first person listed on the 1863 Roll of Citizen Band Potawatomi.</i>	Wall
1863	<i>Rachel Johnson born, February 5.</i>	Wall
1865	<p>US Civil War ends.</p> <p>Aftermath of the war drastically changes the allocation of land in Indian Territory.</p>	MA-C
1866	<p>Treaty of Washington DC:</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. Revision of definition of heads of families to include all adult persons of tribe, including women.</p>	
1867	<i>Louis Vieux on 'Business Committee' of Citizen Band Potawatomi; records patent for 315 acres of land on diminished Kansas Reservation including his homeplace on the Vermillion River.</i>	Wall
1867	Treaty of Washington D.C.:	B

	<p>Stipulates Citizen Potawatomi move from Kansas to Indian Territory.</p> <p>Bodwewaadmii and Chimookman. Purchase of land (not exceeding thirty miles square) in Indian Territory with funds from sale of lands in Kansas to Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railroad Company.</p> <p>Creates Citizen Band Potawatomi by granting citizenship in the United States to those who choose to move from Kansas to Indian Territory; establishes Business Committee (Colonial governance structure); grants land for St. Mary's Mission and American Baptist Mission.</p>	
1868	First distribution of monies due Bodwewaadmii from past treaty agreements.	T, PA-C
1868	<p>14<sup>th</sup> Amendment to US Constitution:</p> <p>Federal government assumes responsibility for guaranteeing equal rights under law to all Americans; American citizenship defined as all persons born or naturalized in the US—excludes “Indians not taxed.”</p>	PA-C
1870	<i>Louis Vieux on Louisville, Kansas census list.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1870	<i>Jacob Johnson and wife So-pe on Silver Lake Township, Shawnee County, Kansas census; Jacob, 40, listed as farmer; Sophia, 25, listed as Indian and housekeeper from Iowa.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1870	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Hannahville Indian Community land designation.	B
1871	US Federal Government decision to discontinue treaty making with Indigenous Nations.	PA-C
1871	<i>Jacob Johnson, So-pe and family are part of the 1400 Pottawatomi who separated from the Prairie Band in Kansas and relocated to Oklahoma.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1872	<i>Louis Vieux dies, May 3, on his farm outside of Louisville, Kansas; Buried May 6 in the Vieux cemetery adjacent to Sha Note;</i>	<i>Wall</i>

	<i>800 people walk the trail from Louisville to the cemetery for his burial.</i>	
1872	<i>Jacob Johnson, So-pe and family move to Sacred Heart, Oklahoma.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1873	<i>Jacob Johnson, So-pe and family move to Pleasant Prairie and run general store nearby; large herd of cattle owned by the family is stolen.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1878	<i>Jacob Johnson, So-pe and family return to Sacred Heart, living at Salt Creek in a log house raising corn, potatoes, hogs and cattle; waiting to see where the Pottawatomi would take their allotments.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1879	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Citizen Band Potawatomi headquarters established in Shawnee, Indian Territory (Oklahoma).	PA-B
1879	Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Sacred Heart Mission (Catholic) established in Indian Territory (Oklahoma).	CA-c
1879	Carlisle Indian Industrial School opens (Carlisle, Pennsylvania).	
1879	<i>Jacob Johnson, So-pe and family rent Pettifers' Place at Greenhead; most of their domestic hogs stolen; live on deer, hogs, turkey, quail and prairie chickens.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1880±	A group of Jiimaan gii naabzheto Bodwewaadmii settle in the area near Blackwell and Wabeno in Forest County Wisconsin; origin of Forest County Potawatomi Community.	
1880	Canadian Residential Schools established.	C
1881	<i>Rachel Johnson (daughter of Jacob and So-pe) marries John Jacob Wall, November 19, in Arkansas City, Kansas.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1883	Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii: Gun Lake Pottawatomi living in settlement in Wayland Township, near Bradley and on the lands of the former Griswold Mission; Community is enumerated on the 1880 Federal census of Allegan County, Michigan, as an "Indian Colony.	B

1883	<i>Jacob Johnson, So-pe and family move to Kickapoo until a two-room log home was built on Sophia's Dawes Act Allotment; So-pe later lives in a five-room cottage built on allotment 2.5 miles west of Shawnee.</i>	Wall
1884	Indian Homestead Act: allows application of Homestead Acts to any Indigenous people located on public land; requires accepting Indigenous person to adopt the ways of civilized life; patent for homestead issued after 25 years.	PA-C
1884	Chilocco Indian Agricultural School opens (Chilocco, Oklahoma).	
1887	General Allotment Act (Dawes Act):  <i>See Miisah geget gaa be Zhiwebak: Chapter 4.</i>	PA-C
1887	<i>Asa Elwood Wall born, March 11, Boston Corners, Cherokee County, Kansas.</i>	Wall
1891	Oklahoma/Indian Territory Land Rush: September 22.  Rush for 7,000 160-acre plots of surplus land from allotted Citizen Potawatomi, Iowa, and Sac and Fox reservations.	PA-C
1892-95	<i>Asa Elwood Wall attends Chilocco Indian Agricultural School (dates are estimate, attended for four years).</i>	Wall
1893	Mount Pleasant Indian School opens (Mount Pleasant, Michigan).	PA-C CA-?
1898-1903	<i>Asa Elwood Wall attends Carlisle Indian Industrial School; graduates June 1903.</i>	Wall

Category of Action	Code	Examples
Military Action	MA	Battle; skirmish; attack; imposed action by military forces
Treaty	T	Treaties between Indigenous Nations; between Newcomers (European Nation) and Indigenous Nations(s); Treaties

		between North American Nation (Canada, United States) and Indigenous Nation(s)
Christian Action	CA	Establishment of mission; establishment of Church; conversion activities
Newcomer Action	NA	Arrival on Indigenous lands; “discovery” of natural feature; interaction with Indigenous Nation/Peoples; establishment of a trading post, fort or settlement
Political Action	PA	Formation of Province, State, Country; legislation
Event	E	

	<b>Code</b>
Bodwewaadmii	B
Indigenous Allies	A
Wemitogozhii (French)	W
Zhaaganosh (British)	Z
Megwehn (Spanish)	M
Chimookman (Americans)	C
Jesuits	j
Catholics	c
Methodists	m
Baptists	b
Canada	CANADA
United Nations	UN
Wall Family History	Wall

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### Biskaabiiyang Kiiowad (1900–Present)

Year	Event	Code
1902	<p>Boom bye goo Bodwewaadmii: Citizen Band Potawatomi were scattered in multiple locations, beyond Indian Territory and the State of Kansas to nearly every state.</p> <p>Annual report of the local Indian Agent stated that only approximately one half of the population were residing on Dawes Act Allotments in Indian Territory.</p>	B
1903	Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii: Methodist Camp meetings held in Athens, Michigan include Bodwewaadmiig from Bkejwanong, Dowagiac, Hamilton and Hartford, Michigan.	CA-m B
1903	<i>Asa Elwood Wall graduates from Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.</i>	Wall
1903	<i>Asa Elwood Wall attends Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia; participates in "Outing Program," working on farms in Connecticut and Massachusetts during the summers of 1904 and 1905.</i>	Wall
1906	<i>Asa Elwood Wall graduates from Hampton Institute; to further his education, he attends high school in Milton, Massachusetts and works on farm for room and board.</i>	Wall
1907	Oklahoma Statehood.	PA-C
1907	<i>Asa Elwood Wall works in automobile garage at the Mountain House, Franconia Notch, New Hampshire (summer).</i>	Wall
1907	<i>Asa Elwood Wall returns to Oklahoma (fall); works as clerk for Indian agency and as US Deputy Marshall.</i>	Wall

1908	<i>Asa Elwood Wall returns to work at the Mountain House, Fraconia Notch, New Hampshire.</i>	Wall
1910— 14	<i>Asa Elwood Wall works as chauffeur with residential address in New York City; drives employer on grand tour of Europe in 1912; during this period, he is back and forth to Oklahoma where he is farming.</i>	Wall
1911	<i>Jacob Johnson dies, May 11, on So-pe Johnson's Dawes Act Allotment, 21.2 miles west of Shawnee, Oklahoma.</i>	Wall
1913	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Hannahville Indian Community reservation established; 14,439 acres of land purchased by act of the U.S. Congress.  Forest County Potawatomi Community officially recognized; purchases 11,786 acres of land to establish a reservation.	PA-C B
1914	Indian Act Amendment: Off-reserve dancing made illegal.	PA-Canada
1914- 16	<i>Asa Elwood Wall has Briarcliff Manor, New York address; managing automotive repair shop and working as chauffeur.</i>	Wall
1917- 19	<i>Asa Elwood Wall, US Army, WWI, participates in seven major offensive and defensive campaigns in France; discharged June 5, 1919; returns to Briarcliff Manor, New York and manages automotive repair shop.</i>	Wall
1920	<i>Asa Elwood Wall marries Inez Coddington, October 20, in Briar Cliff Manor, New York.</i>	Wall
1922	<i>Asa Elwood Wall and wife move to Binghamton, New York; Asa manages automobile dealership.</i>	Wall
1924	Indigenous peoples in US granted citizenship.	PA-C
1925	Indian Act Amendment: All dancing made illegal.	PA-Canada
1927	Indian Act Amendment: Illegal for First Nations Peoples and communities to hire lawyers or bring about land claims with government consent.	PA-Canada

1930	<i>So-pe Vieux listed as Sophia Vieux on Potawatomi tribal roll of 1930; 90 years of age, one quarter Indian.</i>	Wall
1930	<i>Robert Leland Wall born October 11 Binghamton, New York; Patricia Dawn Mayhood born June 28, Elmira, New York (future wife of Robert Leland Wall).</i>	Wall
1931	<i>So-pe Vieux dies March 23 in Shawnee, Oklahoma; buried in Tecumseh Cemetery, Tecumseh, Oklahoma.</i>	Wall
1934	Mount Pleasant Residential School closes (Michigan).	PA-C
1934	Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act-IRA) of US Federal Government: reverses previous goal of assimilation, works instead to conserve Indian lands and resources; right to form businesses and other organizations; includes self-governance provisions; establishes a credit system; works to provide vocational education.  IRA also restores management of land and mineral rights to tribes. Act does not apply to Hawaii, Oklahoma or Alaska.	PA-C
1937	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Forest County Potawatomi Community reorganizes under the Wheeler-Howard Act and adopts new constitution and bylaws.	PA-C B
1939-45	World War II.  <i>Asa Elwood Wall works at Remington Rand factory in Johnson City, New York balancing Hamilton Standard Aircraft propellers.</i>	MA Wall
1945	<i>Rachel Johnson Hale dies August 19, Shawnee, Oklahoma; buried in Tecumseh Mission Cemetery, Tecumseh, Oklahoma.</i>  <i>Asa Elwood Wall makes last trip to Oklahoma to attend his motehr's funeral.</i>	Wall
1946	Indian Claims Act: Establishes Indian Claims Commission and process for tribes to address their grievances, including monetary compensation broken federal treaties.	PA-C
1946	Canadian Citizenship Act: Establishes a status separate from British nationality for persons born in Canada, excluding Indigenous Peoples.	PA-C



1950s	Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii: Christian Missions at Pine Creek, Bradley, Salem, Allegan Indian Church; Catholic church in Hartford and Grand Rapids Indian Mission.	CA-m, c
1951	Indian Act: Revision.	PA-Canada
1953	<p>Indian Termination Act/Federal Indian Termination Policy:</p> <p>Grants all privileges and rights of citizenship to Indigenous Peoples; terminates tribal sovereignty and freedom, trusteeship of reservations and exclusion of Indigenous Peoples from state laws; terminates federal recognition of the Flathead, Klamath, Menominee, Potawatomi, and Turtle Mountain Chippewa, as well as tribes in New York, Florida, California and Texas.</p> <p>Termination results in the immediate withdrawal of federal aid, services and protection as well as the end of reservations.</p>	PA-C
1954	Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii: degradation of environment and water in southwest Michigan.	B
1956	<p>Indian Relocation Act:</p> <p>Provided funding for transportation of individuals, household goods and subsistence per diem to Indigenous Peoples willing to relocate from reservations to specific Federal Government-designated cities for employment and vocational training.</p> <p>Additional benefits of grants for the purchase of clothing, equipment/tools, household goods and tuition for vocational night school training.</p> <p>Approximately 750,000 Indigenous Peoples relocated to urban centres in the thirty years between the mid 1950s and 1980s.</p>	PA-C
1956	Canadian citizenship granted to Indigenous Peoples.	PA-Canada
1959	<i>Barbara Lee Wall born September 22, Schenectady, New York.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1961	Indian Act: Removal of Section 112—compulsory enfranchisement.	PA-Canada

1963	<i>Inez Coddington dies, January 5, Binghamton, New York.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1965	<i>Asa Elwood Wall dies November 27 in Veteran's home in Green, New York.</i>	<i>Wall</i>
1969	<p>"White Paper" authored by Pierre Trudeau's Government:</p> <p>Intention to eliminate Indian status and the Department of Indian Affairs; eliminate reserve lands, fishing and hunting right, education rights, medical services, use of land and economic development on reserve land. Paper withdrawn following the creation and presentation of the "Red Paper" by Harold Cardinal (Indian Association of Alberta).</p>	PA-Canada
1972	<p>Federal Indian Education Act:</p> <p>Establishes Office of Indian Education and National Advisory Council on Indian Education.</p>	PA-C
1973	<p>Wisconsin Native American Language Program established, supported by Federal Indian Education Act grant awarded to the Great Lakes Inter-tribal Council, subcontracted with the Native American Language Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.</p>	B
1973	<p>Supreme Court of Canada: Decision to uphold provision tying an Indigenous woman's status to her husband's status.</p>	PA-Canada
1977	<p>Canadian Human Rights Act: Passed, yet Section 67 exempts Act from being applied to provisions in the Indian Act.</p>	PA-C
1978	<p>American Indian Religious Freedom Act:</p> <p>Returns basic civil liberties, previously prohibited by law; protects and preserves inherent rights and freedoms to exercise traditional religious rights and cultural practices, access sacred sites and possess sacred objects.</p>	PA-C
1978	<p>Indian Child Welfare Act:</p> <p>Gives exclusive jurisdiction to tribes over children residing on reservations and wards of the tribe.</p>	PA-C

	<p>Indian parents gain the legal right to deny placement of their children in off-reservation schools.</p> <p>In 2018, portions of the law will be struck down by Federal District Court as unconstitutional.</p>	
1981	United Nations Human Right Commission rules Canada in violation of Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.	PA-UN/ Canada
1982	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Forest County Potawatomi Community adopts new constitution and bylaws superseding the 1937 constitution.	
1985	<p>Canadian Government passes Bill C-31, reinstating Indian Status and band membership to Indigenous women who lost status through marriage.</p> <p>Children of women whose status was reinstated are denied status. Also removes remaining enfranchisement clauses.</p>	PA-Canada
1988	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Forest County Potawatomi Community lands granted reservation status.	B
1988	National Indian Gaming Regulatory Act allows operation of gaming by Indian Tribes on tribal lands.	PA-C
1990	<p>Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii:</p> <p>Forest County Potawatomi Community purchases 15.6 acres of land in Milwaukee for casino.</p> <p>Casino opens in 1991.</p>	B
1990	<p>Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act:</p> <p>Federal law requiring federal funded agencies and institutions to return cultural items (human remains, sacred and funerary objects) to lineal descendants, culturally affiliated Indigenous communities and organizations.</p>	PA-C

1994	Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii: Pokagon Potawatomi gain federal recognition.	B
1994	Potawatomi Language Advisory Committee established.	B
1994	American Indian Religious Freedom Act amended.	PA-C
1994	First Annual Potawatomi Gathering held Wasauksing First Nation, Parry Sound, Ontario.	B
1995	Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii: Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi Indians gain federal recognition.	B
1996	Last Canadian Residential School closes.	PA-C
1997	Potawatomi Language Scholars College established, funded by Administration for Native Americans (ANA) grant and supported by Ontario Ministry of Education (ANA is a department of the United States Department of Health and Human Services).	B
1998	Abinsaaniawag Bodwewaadmii: Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan gain federal recognition.	B
1999	First Nations Land Management Act: Allows First Nations governments to move toward self-governance.	PA-Canada
2003	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo Bodwewaadmii: Forest County Potawatomi Community (and Sokaogan Chippewa Community) purchases the Crandon Mine and closes it.	B
2008	Section 67 of Canadian Humans Rights Act repealed.	PA-Canada
2017	Amendment to Indian Act: restores status to First Nations women and their children born before 1985.	PA-Canada

Category of Action	Code	Examples
Military Action	MA	Battle; skirmish; attack; imposed action by military forces

Treaty	T	Treaties between Indigenous Nations; between Newcomers (European Nation) and Indigenous Nations(s); Treaties between North American Nation (Canada, United States) and Indigenous Nation(s)
Christian Action	CA	Establishment of mission; establishment of Church; conversion activities
Newcomer Action	NA	Arrival on Indigenous lands; “discovery” of natural feature; interaction with Indigenous Nation/Peoples; establishment of a trading post, fort or settlement
Political Action	PA	Formation of Province, State, Country; legislation
Event	E	

Actors	Code
Bodwewaadmii	B
Indigenous Allies	A
Wemtigoozhii (French)	W
Zhaaganosh (British)	Z
Megwehn (Spanish)	M
Chimookman (Americans)	C
Jesuits	j
Catholics	c
Methodists	m
Baptists	b
Canada	CANADA
United Nations	UN

Wall Family	Wall

## APPENDIX B : Research Ethics

***Resolution 08-07-2014 General Tribal Council—During the 2014 Gathering of the Potawatomi Nation***

RESOLUTION # 08 07 2014  
 OF THE  
 GENERAL TRIBAL COUNCIL  
 DURING THE 2014 GATHERING OF THE POTAWATOMI NATION

**GENERAL TRIBAL COUNCIL APPROVAL TO SUBMIT FOR ENDORSEMENT**

WHEREAS, Barbara Wall Potter, Citizen Band Potawatomi, is a mature student working toward her PhD in Indigenous Studies at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario; and,

WHEREAS, women in our communities are returning to our languages and culture for knowledge and strength, and to guide us into the future, and while many of our elders hold this knowledge, our children are not widely taught; and,

WHEREAS, women's knowledge are missing from school curriculum, and documentation of Potawatomi women's knowledge and practices is absent from historic, cultural and academic literature, and where Barbara has recognized this gap and will focus her dissertation research on working with our Elders to bring together women's knowledge for the benefit of the Potawatomi Nations; and,

WHEREAS, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation supports Barbara's work through continuing tribal scholarships, Barbara is seeking a resolution of support for her research from the General Council of the Potawatomi Nation; and,

WHEREAS, there will be a direct benefit of Barbara's research to the Hannahville Indian Community school's culture and language classes – an outcome of which will be Barbara's research of Potawatomi specific culture and language curriculum related to women's water knowledge and practice; and,

**WHEREAS, these specific outcome benefits will extend to the entire Potawatomi Nation, as this curriculum will be made available to each community to adapt to their specific needs; and,**

WHEREAS, specific cultural work associated with Barbara's research and coursework includes the development and continued updating of the bibliography of academic resources for Hannahville's culture and language curriculum and teachers; and,

WHEREAS, the photographic and language documentation and transmission of quillwork birch boxes knowledge and practice through close work with an Elder of Wasauksing First Nation, with outcomes of this cultural craftwork are anticipated

to include a digital story, additional language and culture curriculum, and workshops **that will be shared across the Potawatomi Nation**; and,

WHEREAS, Barbara is preparing to defend her dissertation research proposal with focus on the renewal and revitalization of Potawatomi Women's water knowledge and practices, and how both have been impacted by our relocation and removal.

**NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the 2014 Gathering of the Potawatomi Nation Tribal Council recognizes and accepts the importance of Barbara Wall Potter's dissertation research to our Potawatomi Nation tribal identity, culture and history, and endorses the intent of her research.**

**CERTIFICATION**

We, the undersigned duly elected officials of the General Council of the Potawatomi Nation, do hereby certify that on August 07, 2014, the foregoing Resolution was adopted at the 2014 Gathering of the Potawatomi Nation tribal council meeting with a quorum present by a vote of 11 for; 0 against; 0 abstaining; and 0 absent.

[Signature] AUNIKHE TRIBE August 7, 2014  
Tribal Council Representative Dated

[Signature] Nettowaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi August 7, 2014  
Tribal Council Representative Dated

[Signature] Polygon Band 8-7-2014  
Tribal Council Representative Dated

[Signature] Prairie Band 8-7-2014  
Tribal Council Representative Dated

[Signature] Kickapoo Shawnee Aug 7/2014  
Tribal Council Representative Dated

[Signature] FC Potawatomi 8-7-14  
Tribal Council Representative Dated

[Signature] Hammaville Indian Community 08.07.2014  
Tribal Council Representative Dated

[Signature] [Blank] 08-07-2014  
Tribal Council Representative Dated



## Consent Key Research Participant on letterhead



DEPARTMENT OF  
INDIGENOUS STUDIES

1600 West Bank Drive  
Peterborough, ON Canada K9J 7B8

Telephone (705) 748-1011 ext. 7466  
Facsimile (705) 748-1416  
Email: [indigenoustudies@trentu.ca](mailto:indigenoustudies@trentu.ca)  
Web: [www.trentu.ca/indigenoustudies](http://www.trentu.ca/indigenoustudies)

\_\_\_\_\_, 2016

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

Miigwech, thank you, for agreeing to participate in my Ph.D. research "*It Flows from the Heart: Bodwewadmiikwewag Nibi Waawiindmowin.*" Your participation is very valuable to Potawatomi women and youth, and will provide insights for this research. The purposes of my research and a description of the options to provide your consent to participate in this research are discussed below.

### Research Purposes:

The central purposes of my research are to gather and share Potawatomi women's water knowledges and practices with our Elders, women and youth; restore intergenerational teaching and sharing; incorporate these knowledges and practices into our daily lives; and strengthen our identities through fulfilling our responsibilities as Potawatomi Anishinaabekwe.

### Options for Consent to Participate:

Your full and informed consent is needed prior to your participation. You have options in providing your consent. These options include written consent, oral consent, or a custom consent process. Written consent involves your review, with my guidance and explanation, and signing of the written consent form that follows. You may instead provide your consent through an audio- or video-recorded oral consent process, in which I will verbally review the research purpose and process, the elements and extent of your participation, use and storage of your shared information, and your options for review of information, direct quotes, and my interpretation of this information. You would then give your oral consent to participate via audio- or video-recording. The custom consent process option is a collaborative process created by you and me, or both of us together with your community.

Written Informed Consent to Participate:

This letter affirms my consent to participate in the Ph.D. research, "*It Flows from the Heart: Bodwewadmiikwewag Nibi Waawiindmowin*" conducted by Barbara Wall, Ph.D. Candidate, with the committee supervision of Dr. Paula Sherman (Trent University), John Borrows, Canada Research Chair in Indigenous Law (University of Victoria Law School), Dr. Kyle Powys Whyte (Michigan State University), and Dr. Jill Doerfler (University of Minnesota, Duluth) through Trent University in Nogojiwanong (Peterborough, Ontario) Michi Saagig Anishinaabe territory.

Should I have any questions regarding this research, or concerns regarding how Barbara Wall is conducting this research I may contact Karen Mauro, Certifications and Regulatory Compliance Officer at Trent University. Karen can be reached by telephone at 705-748-1011 ext. 7896 or by email at [kmauro@trentu.ca](mailto:kmauro@trentu.ca)

I am aware that this research uncovers, reclaims and restores (or reweaves) Potawatomi women's water knowledges and practices, while reinterpreting and renewing the practices for contemporary use.

I understand:

1. I have been asked to participate because I have particular Potawatomi knowledge about water, language, historical knowledge, and/or have an interest in bringing forward and restoring Potawatomi women's water knowledge and practices;
2. My participation will be recorded electronically and, if I request, a transcribed copy of my words will be provided for my review and editing;
3. I will receive a copy of this transcript and recording for my own use;
4. Electronic files and any transcripts will be kept secure in a locked filing cabinet in Barbara's home and password protected and encrypted on her personal computer and one data saving device (i.e. USB key). All identifying information will be encrypted for my protection;
5. That I will have final approval on how any of the stories, knowledges, and practices that I share, as well as my words, photographs, voice recordings, and/or songs are quoted and interpreted within Barbara's research;
6. That I will receive a copy, either a printed copy or an electronic copy of the "Conclusion" of Barbara's research and/or a digital story, or written rendering of this research for my own personal use (not for publication or dissemination);
7. That I may withdraw from this research at any time. Upon my withdrawal, all materials and information or knowledges shared, in audio, video or transcribed form, will be returned to me and none of what I have shared will be used in Barbara's dissertation;
8. That I may contact her research committee, Trent University's Research Ethics Board, or the Aboriginal Research Ethics Committee if I have any questions or concerns;

9. That this research may be used in future conference presentations, publications, or creative endeavors. If secondary writing, publication or presentation of this research will occur, I will be contacted for secondary approval in advance. In addition, I will be listed as a co-author of any secondary publications, and any proceeds from royalties will be given to my community's language or culture/history department or an equivalent organization within my community that I specify;
10. That after this research is complete and Barbara's dissertation has been published, and with my permission a copy of transcripts, recordings and photographs will remain with Barbara for her use and will be professionally referred to within the context and confines of this research at lectures, and public talks and presentation of digital stories;
11. That the possibility of archiving my transcript(s), photographs and recordings at the archives of the Potawatomi communities in Wisconsin, Michigan, Kansas, Oklahoma and Ontario 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, photographs (e.g. paper and digital) and a copy of the electronic recording of our conversation and/or my song(s) will be submitted to the selected Potawatomi community archives to be stored and accessed via procedures agreed upon by each community below and myself.
    - Citizen Potawatomi Nation, Shawnee, Oklahoma
    - Prairie Band Potawatomi, Mayetta, Kansas
    - Pokagenek Potawatomi, Dowagiac, Michigan
    - Gun Lake Potawatomi, Hopkins, Michigan
    - Notaweseppi Huron Potawatomi, Fulton, Michigan
    - Forest County Potawatomi Community, Crandon, Wisconsin
    - Hannahville Indian Community, Wilson, Michigan
    - Wasauksing First Nation, Parry Island, Ontario
    - Moose Deer Point First Nation, Ontario
    - Walpole Island First Nation, Ontario
  - b. I am aware that my archived Knowledges and practices might be used in the future by persons accessing this knowledge in ways that cannot be known at this time;

For personal or political reasons, I may wish to remain anonymous or use a synonym for my name.

I wish to remain anonymous in this research      yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_  
 I am aware that it is not possible to guarantee my anonymity or confidentiality to be in the Sharing Circle \_\_\_\_\_

I wish to be named in this research as \_\_\_\_\_

I wish for Barbara to submit a hard copy and/or electronic copy of my transcript and/or digital recording of my conversation to the selected Bodwewadmii communities for archiving

- \_\_\_\_\_ Citizen Potawatomi Nation, Shawnee, Oklahoma
- \_\_\_\_\_ Prairie Band Potawatomi, Mayetta, Kansas
- \_\_\_\_\_ Pokagenek Potawatomi, Dowagiac, Michigan
- \_\_\_\_\_ Gun Lake Potawatomi, Hopkins, Michigan
- \_\_\_\_\_ Notaweseppi Huron Potawatomi, Fulton, Michigan
- \_\_\_\_\_ Forest County Potawatomi Community, Crandon, Wisconsin
- \_\_\_\_\_ Hannahville Indian Community, Wilson, Michigan
- \_\_\_\_\_ Wasauksing First Nation, Parry Island, Ontario
- \_\_\_\_\_ Moose Deer Point First Nation, Ontario
- \_\_\_\_\_ Walpole Island First Nation, Ontario

I have reviewed and received a copy of this form \_\_\_\_\_

Name (Print)	Name (Signature)	Date

Contacts:

Research Committee:

Paula Sherman (supervisor for this research)  
 Director of PhD Studies, Indigenous Studies Department, Trent University  
[paulasherman@trentu.ca](mailto:paulasherman@trentu.ca)  
 705-748-1011 extension 7904

Trent University Research Ethics Board:

Karen Mauro, Certifications and Regulatory Compliance Officer, Trent University  
[kmauro@trentu.ca](mailto:kmauro@trentu.ca)  
 705-748-1011 ext. 7896

Trent University Indigenous Studies Ph.D. Ethics Committee:

Lynne Davis  
 Indigenous Studies Department, Trent University  
[ldavis@trentu.ca](mailto:ldavis@trentu.ca)  
 705-748-1011 ext. 7466

## Secondary consent for digital story

\_\_\_\_\_, 2015  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

Miigwech, thank you, for your previous participation in my Ph.D. research *“It Flows from the Heart: Bodwewadmiikwewag Nibi Waawiindmowin.”* Your participation was very valuable to Potawatomi women and youth, and provided insights for this research.

As you know, the central purposes of my research are to gather and share Potawatomi women’s water knowledges and practices with our Elders, women and youth; restore intergenerational teaching and sharing; incorporate these knowledges and practices into our daily lives; and strengthen our identities through fulfilling our responsibilities as Potawatomi Anishinaabekwe.

### Digital Storytelling:

I am creating a digital story using photographs, songs and video clips from guided discussions with you and other Knowledge Holders, and photographs of the land and waters in our Potawatomi communities as a way to share the results of my research with our youth and tribal members. I would like to include \_\_\_\_\_ from our conversation on \_\_\_\_\_.

### Options for Consent to Use/Include:

Your full and informed consent is needed prior to my inclusion of \_\_\_\_\_ in the digital story. You have options in providing your consent. These options include written consent, oral consent, or a custom consent process. Written consent involves your review, with my guidance and explanation, and signing of the written consent form that follows. You may instead provide your consent through an audio- or video-recorded oral consent process, in which I will verbally review the research purpose and process, the elements and extent of your participation, use and storage of your shared information, and your options for review of information, direct quotes, and my interpretation of this information. You would then give your oral consent to

participate via audio- or video-recording. The custom consent process option is a collaborative process created by you and me, or both of us together with your community.

Written Informed Consent for use of photographs, songs, video clips:

This letter affirms my consent for inclusion of \_\_\_\_\_, in the digital story created in association with, "*It Flows from the Heart: Bodwewadmiikwewag Nibi Waawiindmowin*," conducted by Barbara Wall, Ph.D. Candidate, with the committee supervision of Dr. Paula Sherman (Trent University), John Borrows, Canada Research Chair in Indigenous Law (University of Victoria Law School), Dr. Kyle Powys Whyte (Michigan State University), and Dr. Jill Doerfler (University of Minnesota, Duluth) through Trent University in Nogojiwanong (Peterborough, Ontario) Michi Saagig Anishinaabe territory.

Should I have any questions regarding this research, or concerns regarding how Barbara Wall is conducting this research I may contact Karen Mauro, Certifications and Regulatory Compliance Officer at Trent University. Karen can be reached by telephone at 705-748-1011 ext. 7896 or by email at [kmauro@trentu.ca](mailto:kmauro@trentu.ca)

I am aware that this research uncovers, reclaims and restores (or reweaves) Potawatomi women's water knowledges and practices, while reinterpreting and renewing the practices for contemporary use.

I understand that:

1. \_\_\_\_\_ [stories, songs shared during] and/or photographs, video clips from my discussion with Barbara Wall on \_\_\_\_\_ may be included in the digital story;
2. I will have final approval on the inclusion of my \_\_\_\_\_ in the digital story;
3. I will be given an opportunity to review version(s) of digital story prior to Barbara finalizing both the digital story and the use of \_\_\_\_\_;
4. I will receive a copy of the digital story for my own use;
5. At my request, I will be receive prior notice of any and all planned public showings of the digital story;
6. That I may contact her research committee, Trent University's Research Ethics Board, or the Aboriginal Research Ethics Committee if I have any questions or concerns;

I wish for Barbara to submit a copy of the digital story to the selected Bodwewadmii communities for archiving

\_\_\_\_\_ Citizen Potawatomi Nation, Shawnee, Oklahoma  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Prairie Band Potawatomi, Mayetta, Kansas  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Pokagenek Potawatomi, Dowagiac, Michigan  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Gun Lake Potawatomi, Hopkins, Michigan  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Notaweseppi Huron Potawatomi, Niles, Michigan  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Forest County Potawatomi Community, Crandon, Wisconsin  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Hannahville Indian Community, Wilson, Michigan  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Wasauksing First Nation, Parry Island, Ontario  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Moose Deer Point First Nation, Ontario  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Walpole Island First Nation, Ontario

I have reviewed and received a copy of this form \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Name (Print)

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Name (Signature)

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Date

Contacts:

Research Committee:

Paula Sherman (supervisor for this research)  
 Director of PhD Studies, Indigenous Studies Department, Trent University  
[paulasherman@trentu.ca](mailto:paulasherman@trentu.ca)  
 705-748-1011 extension 7904

Trent University Research Ethics Board:

Karen Mauro, Certifications and Regulatory Compliance Officer, Trent University  
[kmauro@trentu.ca](mailto:kmauro@trentu.ca)  
 705-748-1011 ext. 7896

Trent University Indigenous Studies Ph.D. Ethics Committee:

Lynne Davis  
 Indigenous Studies Department, Trent University  
[ldavis@trentu.ca](mailto:ldavis@trentu.ca)  
 705-748-1011 ext. 7466

## APPENDIX C: Guided Discussions and Research Participants



## Research Participants

Name	Stage of Life	Bodwewaadmii	Gender Identification	Location Mode of Discussion
Aabita Biboon Anungosh	Nbwaakaawin	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo	Woman	Little Britain, Ontario Visiting
Alex Wilson	Nbwaakaawin	Other Indigenous Nation <sup>1</sup>	2SQ Female	Opaskwayak Cree Nation, Telephone
Andy Jackson	Nbwaakaawin	Abinsaaniawag	Woman	Carter, Wisconsin Visiting

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<sup>1</sup> Opaskwaya Asininew.

Barbara Ann Warren	Nbwaakaawin/ Getsit	Abinsaaniawag	Woman	Carter, Wisconsin Visiting
Brenda Shopodock	Nbwaakaawin/ Getsit	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo	Woman	Wabeno, Wisconsin Telephone
Esther Lowden	Getsit	Boom bye goo	Woman	Shawnee, Oklahoma Visiting, telephone
Herb Whitlow	Nbwaakaawin/ Getsit	Boom bye goo	Man	Elgin, Illinois Visiting, telephone
Jennifer Porter	Nbwaakaawin	Boom bye goo	Woman	Castro Valley, California Skype

Jim Thunder	Getsit	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo	Man	Carter, Wisconsin  Potawatomi History and Language Conference, 2017  (Guided discussion not conducted. Oral contributions to research are based on public presentation)
Kelli Mosteller	Zhitchge	Boom bye goo	Woman	Shawnee, Oklahoma  Visiting, telephone
Kim Wensaut	Zhitchge	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo	Woman	Lac De Flambeau, Wisconsin  Skype, telephone
Kristy Phillips	Zhitchge	Boom bye goo	Woman	Hannahville Indian Community, Michigan  Telephone

Lakota Pochedley	N'dawaabijige/ Zhitchge	Boom bye goo	Woman	Shawnee, Oklahoma  Telephone
Lillian Rice-ban	Getsit	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo	Woman	Carter, Wisconsin  Potawatomi History and Language Conference, 2017  (Guided discussion not conducted. Oral contributions to research are based on public presentation)
Majel DeMarsh	Getsit	Abinsaaniawag	Woman	Dowagiac, Michigan  Visiting, telephone
Marie Tredway	Getsit	Boom bye goo	Woman	Maud, Oklahoma  Visiting

Milosipiyskwew Dana Wesley	Zhitchge	Other Indigenous Nation <sup>2</sup>	2S cis woman	Peterborough, Ontario Visiting
Misko'o Kevin Finney	Zhitchge/ Nbwaakaawin	Abinsaaniawag (adopted into Bodwewaadmii)	Man	Rabbit River, Michigan Visiting, telephone, Facebook messaging
Misquatinyea David Whittall	Nbwaakaawin	Boom bye goo	Man	Grafton, Vermont Skype
Pashko Enedina Banks	Zhitchge	Boom bye goo	Woman	Shawnee, Oklahoma Visiting and telephone

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<sup>2</sup> Moose Cree First Nation.

Phil Shopodock	Nbwaakaawin/ Getsit	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo	Man	Wabeno, Wisconsin Telephone and visiting
Punkin Shananquet	Nbwaakaawin	Abinsaaniawag	Woman	Rabbit River, Michigan Telephone
Robin Wall Kimmerer	Nbwaakaawin/ Getsit	Boom bye goo	Woman	Fabius, New York Telephone and visiting
Ruby Withrow	Getsit	Boom bye goo	Woman	Shawnee, Oklahoma Visiting and telephone
Shannon Martin	Zhitchge/ Nbwaakaawin	Abinsaaniawag	2S	Mount Pleasant, Michigan Telephone

Sharp Dopler	Nbwaakaawin	Other Indigenous Nation <sup>3</sup>	2S Nonbinary Aagokwenini	Ottawa, Ontario Skype
Sylvia Plain	Zhitchge	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo	Woman	Peterborough, Ontario Visiting
Theo Paradis	Zhitchge	Other Indigenous Nation <sup>4</sup>	2SQ Aagokwenini	Ottawa, Ontario Telephone
Zhngos Stewart King-ban	Getsit	Jiimaan gii naabzhetoo	Man	Wasauksing First Nation and Keene, Ontario Sharing life as a partner of the author

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<sup>3</sup> Tsalagi/Meshkwakie/Ashwakie/Irish.

<sup>4</sup> Haudenosaunee with Anishinaabe Métis children.

## Participation Request Letter—Key Research Participant

\_\_\_\_\_, 2017

**Boozhoo,**

I am writing to formally ask for your participation as a Key Research Participant in my doctoral research entitled: “**It Flows from the Heart: Bodwewaadmiikwewag Nibi Waawiindmowin.**” You have been identified as a potential Key Research Participant [given our relationship] [by \_\_\_\_\_] because of the Knowledges, water practices, stories, songs, and language you carry, and because of your life experiences. Your Knowledges, water practices, stories, and language and your experiences are very important to Potawatomi women and youth, and would provide many insights for this research.

The central purposes of this research are to understand the ways our women and Elders are working to reclaim water knowledges; to gather and share Potawatomi women’s water knowledges and practices with our Elders, women and youth; restore intergenerational teaching and sharing; incorporate these knowledges and practices into our daily lives; and strengthen our identities through fulfilling our responsibilities as Potawatomi Anishinaabekwe.

The findings of this research will be shared with Potawatomi Elders, adults and youth from other Potawatomi communities. The findings of this research will also be used in my dissertation. If you are agreeable, your Knowledges and experiences may also be used in subsequent conference presentations. Any secondary writing or publications based upon my dissertation or your original contributions to my dissertation will need your secondary approval.

If you are interested in participating in this study, you will be asked to provide your consent prior to meeting for a discussion. You are welcome to participate in this study to the degree that you wish and are able. We will determine the level of your involvement together prior to any discussion. Participation in this study is voluntary and you will have the option of remaining anonymous, using your English name, your Potawatomi name or even an alias if you prefer.

Any information that you share with me that you do not wish to have published or made public will be kept private and confidential. You may withdraw from this research at any point in the research process. What you have shared with me during our discussion(s) will be stored for five years on an external hard drive; hard copies of transcripts will be kept in



a filing cabinet. All identifying information will be encrypted for your protection. Both the hard drive and transcripts will be kept in a secure and locked location to avoid the information being accessed by anyone other than the researcher.

If you choose to do so copies of audio or video recordings of our discussions, as well as any photographs, will be provided to your community's archives and/or archives of other Potawatomi communities, or an archive of your choice.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research or your involvement please contact:

Barbara Wall  
PhD. Candidate in Indigenous Studies  
[barbarapotter@trentu.ca](mailto:barbarapotter@trentu.ca)  
705-957-0996

Or

Paula Sherman (supervisor for this research)  
Director of PhD Studies, Indigenous Studies Department, Trent University  
[paulasherman@trentu.ca](mailto:paulasherman@trentu.ca)  
705-748-1011 extension 7904

## Guided Discussion Questions and Prompts

### BACKGROUND:

Tell me about your FAMILY.

- Where were you born? Were you born at home or in hospital?
- Who did you live with when you were growing up?
- How many generations of your family have lived here in this community?
- Did your parents speak the Potawatomi language? Did your grandparents?
- If you, like me, don't speak our language how do you feel about it?
- Do you speak our language? How did you learn?
  - How often do you use our language? In what situations?
- Where/how did you get the water your family needed for nourishment, medicines, sanitation? Who was responsible for getting the water? Why? How was the water stored?
- What can you tell me about your family's experience in the Potawatomi relocation of the 1800's?

Tell me about your EDUCATION AND LEARNING.

- formal education;
- Learning from family, grandparents, aunties, uncles and others
- Who were your teachers?

How would you describe your spirituality/religion?

How would you describe the spirituality/religion of your parents? Your grandparents?

### WATER:

I am interested in hearing your stories about knowledges and practices, specifically related to water use:

- in and as medicines;
- sources of water used for medicine and ceremony;
- water practices associated with birthing, puberty, and death;
- fishing;
- water drums;
- traveling by canoe or boat;
- gathering of water;
- relationships with:
  - the underwater beings
  - little people
  - the thunders and thunderbirds

- mermaids/mermen
- special or sacred water places

Describe the relationship your family has/had with water.

What **water practices** are done by you, by your family, and by your community? Who is involved in these practices? Are any practices season specific?

What water practices are important to you and why?

What practices associated with the **thunders and/or thunderbirds** are done by you, by your family, and by your community? Who is involved in these practices?

What thunder or thunderbird practices are important to you and why?

What stories have you heard, and what do you know about our people's relationship with **copper and silver**?

Do you know of a time when **water knowledge/practices/teachings/songs/stories** were not shared? Why weren't they?

How/why has this sharing changed? When? What brought about the change? Who brought about the change?

### **STORIES:**

What stories did you hear as a child?

Did you hear stories about the old days while you were growing up?

**Relocation** stories?

Water stories?

Did you hear **Nanaboozhoo** stories?

How about stories of **underwater beings** (cats? Merman/mermaids? The little people?)

How about stories of the **thunders or thunderbirds**?

What stories do you tell? Who do you tell them too?

### **SONGS:**

What songs were shared with you as a child?

Do you know of any water songs?

### **REWEAVING/INTERGENERATIONAL KNOWLEDGES AND PRACTICES:**

What has/have your grandmother/grandparents shared with you that helps you in your life today?

What has/have your great grandmother/grandparents shared with you that helps you in your life today?

What has/have your mother/parents/aunties/uncles shared with you that helps you in your life today?

What do you feel you need to share with your grand daughter/grandchildren?

### **Gendered Knowledge**

I am interested in exploring your ideas and thoughts about gendered Knowledge (include a definition and/or description):

What has been your experience/understanding of women's/men's roles, Knowledges and practices?

How did you come to this understanding?

Are there changes with contemporary times and influences?

Can men hold women's knowledges and vice versa?

## Gathering Workshop Form

# 2021 POTAWATOMI GATHERING

Name of presenter(s): Barbara Mokthnewenkwe Wall

Are you a member of a federally recognized tribe?  yes  no

If yes, please list tribe(s): Citizen Potawatomi Nation, Shawnee, OK

Topic of workshop: Bodweuadmii Water Knowledges and Practices

Maximum number of participants that can attend your workshop: 50-75; youth and adult

Length of time needed to complete workshop: 60-90 minutes

How many times would you be willing to lead the workshop: once

Does the workshop require supplies?  yes  no

If yes, please list all supplies needed including costs:

I would like to sponsor a feast for participants of this workshop at no cost to participants. A local caterer will need to be hired; I will need the assistance of the Gathering organizers to facilitate this.

no cost to participants

Total cost for supplies: \_\_\_\_\_

Any additional information you would like the Gathering Committee to know:

This workshop will include presentation of a digital story, and sharing of water related knowledges and practices including songs. The workshop will close with a talking circle and feast. Note: this workshop is the culmination of PhD research conducted by the presenter within Potawatomi Nation communities.

Please email your responses to: [gathering@hannahville.org](mailto:gathering@hannahville.org) by Tuesday, March 31, 2021. Call 906-723-2270 with any questions.

## APPENDIX D: Nagamonan (Songs)

### **Moktthewen**

Wenesh, Wenesh Moktthewen

Zhaashkom biish, Waasey-o-biish

Anishinaabe

O min o

Gwanaajowin

Miigwech wendam

Zhaashkom biish

*Song shared by Majel DeMarsh, lyrics interpreted by Stewart King-ban.*

### **Nibi Song**

Ne-be gee Zah-gay-e-goo

Gee Me-gwetch-wayn ne-me-goo

Gee Zah Wayn ne-me-goo

*Phonetic spelling from Jackson, Mother Earth Water Walk, "Water Song."*

## **Nibi Waboo**

Nibi Waboo

Endayaan

Aki Mskwi, Nibi Waboo

Hey ya, hey ya, hey ya, ho

Hey ya, hey ya, hey ya, ho-oh

*From Goulais, "Women Accepting Traditional Role."*

## **Wishi Ta D(T)u Ya**

Wishi Ta D(T)u Ya, du ya, du ya

Wishi Ta D(T)u Ya, du ya hey

Wishi Ta D(T)u Ya, du ya, du ya,

Wishi Ta D(T)u Ya, du ya hey

Wishi Ta nay ya, hey ya, hey ya

Wishi Ta nay ya, hey ya-ah, hey

Wishi Ta nay ya, hey ya, hey ya

Wishi Ta nay ya, hey ya-ah, hey

*Phonetic spelling by author.*