

TRACE OF BLOOD: SAINTE-MARIE AMONG THE HURONS AFTER THE TRUTH
AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION OF CANADA

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment
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ABSTRACT

Trace of Blood: Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons After the
Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

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This thesis critically engages with the historic site Sainte-Marie among the Hurons. The most visited historic site in Ontario anchors a vivid and pervasive story of early Canada while archaeological excavations and reconstruction have a history of their own. It is intertwined with the Martyrs' Shrine and regional sites of significance and pilgrimage in the Catholic world where veneration as saints of Jesuits collectively known as the Canadian Martyrs takes place. Through a panoramic perspective and participant-observer experiences within the sites, in present-day Wendake, Québec, and at a Jesuit mission in Chiapas, Mexico, dimensions of landscape, temporality, materiality, and identity are explored. Development of this history and place in relationship to Indigenous peoples, the Catholic Church, and the Canadian public are examined with consideration for findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, advancement in archaeological knowledge, and ongoing tensions in the practice of archaeology in Ontario.

Keywords

Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, Martyrs' Shrine, Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Archaeology, Cultural Resource Management (CRM), Landscape, Panorama, W.G. Sebald, Jesuits, Jesuit missions, Jesuit Relations, Martyrdom, Canadian Martyrs, Pilgrimage, Wendake, Huron-Wendat.

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Please be advised this thesis contains information and details on Residential Schools that may be distressing. If you experience any emotional difficulties invoked from memories of residential schools after reading, please do not hesitate to get help or call

1-866-925-4419 for the 24-hour National Indian Residential School Crisis Line.

Dedication, Methods, and Positionalities

This is dedicated to my Oma, Frederika van Beek, whose stories of her experiences as a teenaged girl during the German occupation of the town of Veneendaal, Netherlands, spun my life into a fabric of her making. I inherited her eyes and I extend this to the vision she passed on through these stories. Until our last moments together she was gardening, and I remember her shuffling with her walker, digging, and making me laugh. It is also dedicated to my grandfather on the side of my mother, Francis Emile Martin. He flew RAF spitfire aircraft in the Second World War and his stories were absorbed by inconceivable traumas in bearing witness to the death of so many and the “vertical, panoramic vision of overflying aircraft” atop European landscapes of destruction on night missions likely supporting the fire-bombing of German cities.¹ After many years of struggle and in part through the Catholic Church he found the strength to overcome addiction and build a life and the cottage where I am sitting, overlooking seasonal transformations of life from the shore, listening to the loons calling, and writing. Though I have no memory of them together they are here now in these words.

A collection of methodologies knitting together distinct traditions in a spirit of interdisciplinary scholarship as applied to Canadian Studies and Indigenous Studies make up this work. It is fitting, as many ways of being, places, experiences within places, and interpretive frameworks are traversed. Like tensions encountered I hope to thread a loose but durable stitch that is true to the roots of this work and able to describe worlds in ways conveying what I have seen from my position, heard in conversations, and read along the

¹ Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception* (London: Verso, 1984), 91. The usage of radium luminescence on cockpit dials to avoid detection during these night missions is also assumed to have led to the rare form of brain cancer ending his life in my infancy.

way. In academic terms this has been described as a participant-observer study and takes on elements of this methodology as a work of critical heritage centered on engagement with the history and practice of archaeology while drawing from Indigenous Knowledge and from the humanities including history, critical theory, literature, travel writing and briefly touching on a world of Christian ethics.

Although I have no background in Christian ethics my perspective is an extension of the life of my mother, Marilyn Martin van Beek, who was raised in a Catholic household and who I have observed negotiate faith my whole life while initiating my own place within a Protestant, Christian upbringing at Knox Presbyterian Church in Ottawa. Her academic work and our many conversations also introduced me to the Canadian Jesuit scholar Bernard Lonergan and the concept of “self-appropriation” in his theology, which shapes an internal logic to how this broad topic was approached. Appropriating oneself primarily requires a desire to know and a practice of paying attention to paths of transforming dialogues and relations within oneself and in the surrounding world while addressing problems of any scale. This is a method for generating insight in development of consciousness.² Though it is meant to be pre-judicial this has been aspirational and in balance with other methods replete with emotion and judgement.

² Richard Grallo, “Creativity and Critical Thinking as Mindful Practice” (lecture, Lonergan Centre, Saint Paul University, March 8, 2023). Bernard Lonergan. *Understanding and Being: The Halifax Lectures on Insight*, Vol. 5, ed. Elizabeth A. Morelli and Mark D. Morelli, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990). 14-16, 98-102. *Self-Appropriation* as discussed by Lonergan is a concept seeking to shape a path towards insight, which is supported by a five-component cognitional process of being attentive, being intelligent, being reasonable, being responsible, and being in love. It is described in phenomenological terms in Lecture 1 of *Understand and Being*: “What you hear are words. If the words mean something, then there are concepts in the mind, acts of meaning. If you or I hold that the words mean something that is true, then there is judgment. It is in judgments, concepts, and words that you make your goal in knowledge explicit. The trick in self-appropriation is to move one step backwards, to move into the subject as intelligent – asking questions: as having insights – being able to form concepts; as weighing the evidence – being able to judge. We want to move in there where the ideal is functionally operative prior to its being made explicit in judgments, concepts, and words. Moving in there is self-appropriation; moving in there is reaching what is prepredicative, proconceptual, pre-judicial. In what may resemble Heidegger’s

This research and writing are attempts to appropriate who I am within contexts of encounter with places, materials, people, dialogues, ideas, histories, and experiences engaged with an aim for insight or at least some understanding of challenging and varied terrain. It also inadvertently followed the manifesto of *Buen Vivir* wherein “thinking without passion is to make coffins for ideas” especially while thinking of the problem of obstacles erected against those never allowed to write history, which is a task awash in tides of emotion.³ I hope describing what these encounters developed within me is in balance with scholarly discussion and of some meaning to someone else. As a result, the experience of reading is structured as if following a deer path edging along a forested valley of consciousness in pursuit of self-appropriation rather than as a programmatic contribution to an established canon of scholarship on a historic site.

Sylvia Maracle makes a distinction between Indigenous ways of knowing internal to Indigenous relationalities and a separate realm of Indigenous Knowledge as something given away.⁴ She explained through this gifting Indigenous Studies strives to teach non-Indigenous students ways of coming to know themselves. When I first heard the term ‘Original Instructions’ and the idea I should return to instructions of my ancestors I had very little understanding or confidence in this assertion. However, as the path of research

terminology, it is moving from ontology, which is the *logos*, the word about being, the judgment about being, to the ontic, which is what one is. [...] It is not a matter of looking back into yourself, because it is not what you look at but the looking that counts. But it is not just the looking; it is not being entirely absorbed in the object; rather, it is adverting to the fact that, when you are absorbed in the object, you are also present to yourself.” [...] “We make ourselves. It is not only that knowledge is an ideal and that its precise nature is something that has to be discovered in the pursuit of knowledge itself; but we ourselves are selves that develop. We develop in response to outside situations, outside influences, but we also develop from within. That development from within is the fundamental problem: becoming aware, explicitly conscious of what intelligence is; becoming explicitly conscious of what judgement is; and seeing the philosophic implications of what intelligence and judgment are.”

³ Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide*. (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2014). 8, 12, 16.

⁴ Sylvia Maracle, Keynote Speaker “The Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network and CINSA conference about urban futures” Trent University, Peterborough. February 19, 2020.

unfolded it kept leading back to physically embedded instructions shaping how experiences are felt and therefore seen and the ribbons of thought unspooling within. Much like how the story under study has figuratively and literally been written through bodies of French Jesuits and colonists and often onto bodies of Indigenous peoples this work was written using my own. This includes sensitivity or anxiety over spatial distribution as compounded in the word “landscape” within Dutch and Germanic experiences of limited place within histories of obsessive negotiation over boundary, possession, reclamation, development, usage, and military occupations with the North Sea as imminent, existential threat and as gateway to colonial expeditions and emigration. The Rhine River valley is also host to transformational negotiations of spirit from Pagan or ‘barbarian’ to Christian and in the Protestant Reformation cultivation of more fundamentalist conceptions including Calvinism and a known family history stretching back half a century in these traditions of faith.⁵

Returning to Veenendaal, Netherlands, in my adolescence included after dinner bible readings around the family table and feelings of familiar, tightening knots of anxiety activating while in the cellar near where my family hid from the German army and waited out bombing raids and after climbing such narrow, vertical stairs to sleep up in the small attic room where my Oma gave birth to my father, Jacobus van Beek. An overwhelming feeling of needing to escape on the next flight back to Canada hid in strata beneath the placelessness inherited through emigrant settler experiences of spatially renegotiating identity in vast and seemingly lonesome landscapes, which developed into a perspective of a ‘lonesome traveller’ through whose eyes the path unfolds. This

⁵ Richard Tarnis, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, 89, 474.

perspective was enhanced by an upbringing in the suburb of *Kanata*, Ontario, which is an immersive experience of placelessness both as a physical construct of roiling, ever-expanding mazes of streets and regimented commercial and residential properties cleared of natural contexts often feeling devoid of trace of people and in connection to an appropriate name as living Indigenous worlds were hidden or erased. I remember as a child being dressed up in costume by teachers to recite the Duke Redbird poem “I am the Redman” in an elementary school assembly for a gymnasium full of parents looking on as I impersonated an identity necessarily absent but essential to this suburban vision of a New World. Finally, this journey replicates a hitchhiker’s ethos I took on when hitchhiking throughout Canada and the United States as a young adult where engaging, respectful, and seemingly honest dialogue is created as a passenger overlooking and passing through physical and dialogic worlds of the driver for a duration of place experienced together until later reflected upon as reabsorption into landscape and the “*bristling* presence of a particular place at a particular moment” overtakes once again.⁶

Aspects of this work may be anathema to Indigenous ways of knowing and relationality as I understand, and I try to avoid direct application of Indigenous methods while instead represent Indigenous scholars and elders I encountered where appropriate. In a sense this is an attempt to return to another original instruction as expressed in the exchange of the Two Row Wampum, or *Gaswënta*, on the Hudson River between the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch in 1613, which was “a declaration of sovereignty as well as a recognition of rights of outsiders” and also “the basis for all treaties.”⁷ This

⁶ Robert Macfarlane, *The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot*. (London: Penguin, 2012), 255.

⁷ Rick Monture, *We Share Our Matters: Two Centuries of Writing and Resistance at Six Nations of the Grand River*. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 14. Penelope Myrtle Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum: Essays on Hodinöhsö:ni’ Visual Code and Epistemological Recovery*, (Syracuse: Syracuse

instruction gazes at me from a painting of the Dutch fleet harboured at Rotterdam in 1615, which hangs on the bathroom wall of my childhood home.

Negotiating rows of encounter occurs through a method described in the writing of Lonergan echoing usage of *Eros* in Plato that one comes to know what they love and from these experiences proceeds vision and insight in development of intelligence as a changing person.⁸ Working with Cree schoolchildren and community members, engaging in trapping and traditional lifeways including with Cree culture teacher Ricky Jolly, and many niska feasts, ceremonies, and encounters with landscape in Waskaganish, Eeoyou Istchee, Canada; eating khao niew with my hands in a circle on the floor while living in a village interconnected with surrounding natural, social, and spiritual worlds as Buddhist icons, pictures of loved ones and of the King, and enormous monitor lizards singing “tuk-tah” through the night hung from the wall near Wiang Sa, Nan Province, Thailand; patótan shaped services among Tselal at La Misión de Bachajón, Chiapas, Mexico, and living with the family of Marisol Campos Navarrete have all been transformational experiences. From these landscapes, places, ways of being, traditions, communities, families, people, and so many meals shared, something must be known.

University Press, 2014), XIX, 2. As Myrtle Kelsey explains “The Two Roe Wampum records the first treaty agreement between the Five Nations and non-Natives; it dates from a seventeenth-century meeting between the Hodinöhsö:ni’ in a canoe and the Dutch in a ship sailing down the river of life with each group retaining their own language, culture, spirituality, and ways of being and not forcing their beliefs on the other group.”

⁸ Richard Tarnis, *The Passion of the Western Mind: Understanding the Ideas That Have Shaped our World View*, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1991), 41.; Richard Gallo, “Creativity and Critical Thinking as Mindful Practice” March 8, 2023.; Brian Braman, “Bernard Lonergan: On Being Oneself” chapter in *Bernard Lonergan and Charles Taylor on the Drama of Human Existence*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 67. Lonergan on love includes the proposition that you come to know what you love, and this process itself is methodological in development as a human person through self-transcendence. Additionally, he asserts “when we fall in love ‘then life begins anew. A new principal takes over and, as long as it lasts, we are lifted above our selves and carried along as parts within an ever more intimate yet ever more liberating dynamic whole.’”

Terminologies

Names for Indigenous groups immediately encounter the hubris of colonial representations and power in generating identity into the present. There is no escaping issues with the popular word *Indigenous* a problematic exonym universalizing and objectifying colonial perspectives into a spatial and textual identity, while groups had names for themselves, or endonyms, and names from the perspective of other groups, or other exonyms, which were sometimes adopted based on relationships. Language used by archaeologists and ethnologists are not appropriate personal descriptors but can also be useful on a broader scale. Christopher Bracken discusses naming as itself the gift of being as the word and those who are named arrive together in the present.⁹ Unlike a gift, naming in relation to the Indian Act and inclusion within or exclusion from definitions of status, non-status, or other juridical dimensions are instead an economy circling back to reinforce a name much like giving a gift to receive one in return is instead an exchange rather than a gift. I use an imperfect method of relaying terminologies of who I am talking about gifted by who I was talking with in person or through writing.

For instance, the historic Wendat are described by Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg Elder Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams) as Aayadowaad and in the section where I center writing on conversations with him, I use this term. Anishinaabe is used as a general linguistic category encompassing a wide range of groups with a large territory in the Great Lakes region from northern contexts across the Canadian Shield to ecotones including the Kawarthas and into the limestone bedrock till plains of Southern Ontario

⁹ Christopher Bracken, *The Potlatch Papers: A Colonial Case History*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 95-108.

who in historic materials are broadly known as Algonquin.¹⁰ Iroquois is used including in describing the historic site but due to this being a derogatory term Haudenosaunee is more generally used as are more specific descriptors of the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk in the historic period. Iroquoian, however, is a separate linguistic and archaeological category, which includes Wendat and other groups who are not Haudenosaunee. Huron-Wendat scholar George Sioui similarly uses an Odawa exonym *Nadowek* to describe groupings of Wendat, Attiwandarons (described as ‘Neutral’ by Champlain, though reciprocally named Attiwandarok in exchanges with Wendat and other variations describing slight linguistic differences), Etionnontateronnon (often described as ‘Petun’ or the Tobacco nation though a Wendat word meaning “people where there is a hill or mountain” who lived roughly sixty kilometers southwest of historic Wendake, spoke the same language and are also ancestral to Wyandot of Oklahoma), along with Algonquians including the Nipissing, Ojibwa, Odawa, and others who developed reciprocal relationships in regions North and West of what is today Lake Ontario.¹¹ Huron-Wendat refers to the present-day nation in Wendake, Québec whereas usage of Tseltal in the last chapter refers to my own experience of in whose community I was a guest rather than engagement with an academic discipline.

¹⁰ James Conolly, “Hunter-gatherer Mobility, Territoriality, and Placemaking in the Kawartha Lakes Region, Ontario.” *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*. 42, (2018), 188.

¹¹ Charles Garrad, ed. by Jean-Luc Pilon and William Fox. *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century*, (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of History and University of Ottawa Press, 2014), 38, 103.

Preface

After visiting Sainte-Marie among the Hurons for the first time I remember returning to the rental car, sitting in the passenger seat to take reflective notes, and being overcome with emotion. Something, or everything altogether, was overwhelming. In a sense this work begins at this moment when answering the research question became a personal experience. What is this place, and what story does this place tell? In three interconnected ways this is a story of blood. First is bloodshed and death of the historic period of early New France as colonists spread weapons and diseases as rotten fruits of imperial competition with disregard for their effects as social divisions were also exacerbated across the northeast of the continent. Second is the blood of eight Jesuits retrospectively known as the Canadian Martyrs killed while missionizing with their blood and remains as seeds of Christianity. Third is the blood of Indigenous peoples whose legal identities in relation to the Canadian state with adjacent spatial and racial constructions were also seeded in imperial representations by primarily French, British, and Dutch explorers, traders, missionaries, and settlers. On approach to this story lifetimes of detail and perspective threaten one with swirling in the many eddies of historical memory of the present of this period and of subsequent Canadian context.

Sainte-Marie among the Hurons anchors this memory for visitors through an experience of living history developed to tell the story of the martyrs. Perceived from a panoramic lens over multiple seasons of operation through the medium of landscape and walking across in search of meaning or simply lost staring at monuments, reconstructed buildings, artifacts on display, relics used in Catholic ceremony, and historic panels while feeling the effects of images and conversations traversed again in memory and even in

dreams; the experience of a historical memory of the present also tells this broader story of blood. This is told first as a general summary of historical events, then through theoretical engagement with landscape, to immersion in the reconstruction experience from my first and subsequent visits including a separate chapter evaluating the museum, followed by experiences at the site with the Jesuit Superior of the Martyrs' Shrine, leading into discussion of the construction of identity operational in sourcing and in archaeology with tensions and possibilities, and finally through encounters with history as told by the Huron-Wendat in present-day Wendake. A final section for further study tells of an experience at La Misión de Bachajón in Chiapas, Mexico observing another contemporary Jesuit mission to end in as broad a landscape of reflection as I can offer.

Chapter 1 - A Brief Four Hundred Year History of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons

In summarizing this history it is important to note framing and periodization of Indigenous histories in relation to early contact, to the arrival and activities of missionaries, and to the construction and occupation of sites such as Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, as archaeologist Neal Ferris argues, is inherently problematic and exclusionary.¹² This is specific to creating a passive position in the history, from which colonization is portrayed as enacted upon groups including the Wendat, and in fostering a conceptual pre- and post-contact divide in knowledges about what has been, which itself maintains a dominance of the particular, and this particular place and relatively short period in the “longer rhythms of time.”¹³ These are illustrative of many deeply entrenched issues of historical scholarship pertaining to this place and they will be examined in later chapters.¹⁴ These dynamics are especially true of this story due to a central position it occupies in the history and in the historical memory of the present of these lands. In the worst case, it can operate as a foundational myth with ‘destruction’ of the Wendat Confederacy, or people, and other Indigenous groups in a violent, devastating, and distant period ultimately translated as the emptying of territory into *terra nullius* preordaining settlement and exploitation leading us to Canada as we know today.

Fostering imagination about what has been while also using available sources including Indigenous knowledge can communicate a history relevant to living descendants as well as to descendants of settled populations seeking insight into

¹² Neal Ferris, *The Archeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes*. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2009), 18-25.

¹³ Ferris, *Native-Lived Colonialism*, 21-22.

¹⁴ Ferris, *Native-Lived Colonialism*, 10.

themselves.¹⁵ Following the example of Huron-Wendat scholar George Sioui in his autohistory of his Huron-Wendat community in contemporary Wendake, knowledges such as archaeology and even history can “span the conceptual and cultural gap” between peoples when utilized with an awareness of “the other” in overlapping and shared geographic and material histories rather than simply producing impersonal stories and generalizations about behaviour and cultural change. Although this brief introductory periodization includes pitfalls and colonial sources of mythmaking the overarching goal of affixing story onto words is to provide foundation for subsequent discussions exploring relationships and giving dimensionality to the presence of this *other*.

Sainte-Marie among the Hurons located in present-day Midland, Ontario, occupies a critical space in both early colonial histories and contemporary histories of these lands. It was first constructed in the spring of 1639 by a group of French lay workers overseen by master carpenter Charles Boivin and Father Superior Jérôme Lalemant, who was among 13 fathers of the *Society of Jesus* known by the commonly used pejorative term “Jesuit” who were then active in the region they described as *le pays aux Hurons*, which to the Wendat was *Wendake* and was concentrated in present-day Simcoe County, Ontario.¹⁶ The structure was built in service of Catholic missionary work known in the historiography as the “Huron Mission,” which began in 1615 with Fr. Joseph Le Caron of another missionary order the *Récollets* as he and thirteen Frenchmen preceded and connected with the voyage to the region by French explorer Samuel de

¹⁵ Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press), 45-50.

¹⁶ Conrad Heidenreich, *Ste Marie Among the Hurons*, The Canadian Encyclopedia, Feb 7, 2006, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/ste-marie-among-the-hurons> ; Conrad Heidenreich, *Huronian: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians 1600-1650*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), 21.

Champlain.¹⁷ Jesuit Fr. Jean de Brébeuf travelled to the region in 1626 first staying in the village of Toaniché and after being recalled to Québec and then to France he later returned “aux Hurons” in 1633 and became the Father Superior of the mission. At this point, the now exclusively Jesuit missions expanded in number as Champlain tied trade with the French to conditions that the Wendat allow for their establishment in their territory.¹⁸ Brébeuf subsequently oversaw an increasingly devastating period of epidemics and warfare leading up to 1639. He and other Jesuits first led by Fr. Paul Le Jeune also undertook the writing and disseminating of volumes of letters later known as the *Jesuit Relations*, which as some of the only and most numerous textual sources would become significant in development of regional and national historiography.¹⁹

The mission became headquartered first at the Wendat village of Carhagouha until 1625, followed by Toaniché from 1626-1629, then Toaniché II, Ihonatira, and finally the village of Ossossané before Sainte-Marie was built in 1639 and remained in operation until 1649.²⁰ At the time of construction missionary work had already been underway or attempted among a diverse network of Wendat, Attiwandarons (Neutral) and Etionnontateronnon (Petun), along with Algonquians of the Nipissing, Ojibwa, and Odawa, and smaller groups throughout Georgian Bay.²¹ It is described in historic site materials as Ontario’s first “European Community” or a “French Village” but these

¹⁷ Garrard, *Petun to Wyandot*, 167-170.

¹⁸ Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 101.

¹⁹ Garrard, *Petun to Wyandot*, 185, 186.

²⁰ Garrard, *Petun to Wyandot*, 179.

²¹ Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 59, 84, 85.; Georges E. Sioui, *Eatenonha: Native Roots of Modern Democracy*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), 120.; Heidenreich, *Ste Marie Among the Hurons*, 2006.; Garrard, *Petun to Wyandot*, 103.

descriptions fail to account for specific missionary functions of the original structure.²² The structure was neither a military fort, a Jesuit mission in itself, nor was it a reduction built to isolate Indigenous peoples from their communities despite this being a design proposed by Jérôme Lalement. Rather, it was a “permanent central headquarters and residence” built to “make the lives of the Frenchmen who were living there easier and more secure” in service of the ongoing missions seeking to convert Indigenous populations to Christianity while also securing French claims to the interior of the continent through alliance, presence, and the development of material discourse.²³



Fig. 1. 1657 Bressani Map depicting St. Ignace, Gahuondoe, and a central “S. Mari”.

²² Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J., *Jean de Brébeuf: 1593-1649*. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1975), ix.;

Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, Home Page, (accessed Feb 2, 2020), <http://www.sainte-marie-among-the-hurons.on.ca/sm/en/Home/index.htm>

²³ Garrard, *Petun to Wyandot*, 180.; Takao Abé, *The Jesuit Mission to New France: A New Interpretation in the Light of the Earlier Jesuit Experiences in Japan*. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 149.; Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), 685.

By 1648, a population of 67 European persons including priests, lay brothers, *données*, laymen and soldiers were living at Sainte-Marie along with visiting populations of Christian Wendat treated with more favour by the French.²⁴ With the introduction of waves of diseases including significant outbreaks of measles in 1634, influenza or strep in 1636, a possible scarlet fever outbreak in summer of 1637, and devastating smallpox outbreaks beginning in 1639, Jesuit estimates from a 1640 census deemed to be accurate by archaeologist Gary Warrick place the Wendat population as having been reduced to ten to twelve thousand.²⁵ Networks of villages Jesuits missionized had also become weakened by social divisions enhanced by colonial activity, which created a refugee population of Wendat escaping Jesuit influence including by living within Iroquoia.²⁶ They also, as a result, became more susceptible to military attacks.

A complex arena of violence emerged involving disputes between Haudenosaunee including Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga who spearheaded hostilities and were later joined by Oneida and Mohawk, who had developed political agreements and traded with the English and the Dutch, while Wendat, Etionnontateronnon, and Algonquins, among other groups, became aligned with the French.²⁷ This included activities of missionaries who shaped these conflicts including by stoking divisions across groups and as a result became increasingly targeted by violence including by Wendat.²⁸ The 1648 visiting population to Sainte-Marie included thousands as diverse groupings and especially

²⁴ Rv. T.J. Lally. *The excavation of Old Fort St. Marie. CCHA Report 9, 1941-1942, 15-22.*

²⁵ Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 14-16.; Gary Warrick, "European Infectious Disease and Depopulation of the Wendat-Tionontate" in *World Archeology*, Vol. 35, No 2, October 2003, 260-261.

²⁶ Jean-François Lozier, *Flesh Reborn: The Saint Lawrence Valley Mission Settlements through the Seventeenth Century*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 104-105.

²⁷ Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, 102-103.

²⁸ José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy Towards New France and Its Native Allies to 1701*. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 72-91.

Wendat left villages in search of shelter from critical attacks within their territory by Haudenosaunee-led war parties of Mohawk, Seneca and Onondaga and also for food due to a corresponding breakdown in horticultural subsistence.²⁹

In the period beginning in 1647 rumours of an impending attack spread as war-parties came close to the Jesuit headquarters with Seneca attacking the Aondironnon Attiwandarons in an act of blood revenge while territories near Lake Simcoe were abandoned as the Arendarhonon feared the presence of Seneca and Mohawk, which left Sainte-Marie exposed to an approaching military frontier.³⁰ Teanaostaiaé was attacked in July of 1648, in which many Wendat were killed, captured, or displaced and Jesuit Fr. Anthony Daniel was also killed, and this was followed in 1649 by a spring wave of attacks including on the village of St. Louis where Fr. Brébeuf and Fr. Gabriel Lalemant were captured and Taenhatentaron (St. Ignace) where they were later brought to be ritually killed. In December of that year the Etionnontateronnon village of Etharita was also attacked and burned and Fr. Charles Garnier was also killed.³¹

By the end of March, 1649, most of the Wendat had left Wendake in retreat from increasingly devastating conflicts and as they retreated burned at least fifteen of their villages to prevent Haudenosaunee occupation.³² On June 14th on the order of Father Superior Paul Ragueneau and after two weeks of preparation the structure of Sainte-Marie was also burned for the same reason.³³ It burned in an hour and the sixty European residents followed a small group of Wendat to Gahoendoe (Christian Island), where

²⁹ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 754, 760-763.

³⁰ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 735, 736, 737.

³¹ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 762-766.

³² Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 55.

³³ Reuban Gold Thwaites, gen ed. Transcription by Tomasz Mentrak. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Vol. 35. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1899), 83.

contemporary archaeology at the Charity Site and subsequent historical scholarship have resulted in estimates of roughly eight-thousand Wendat representing all Wendat nations and at least 86 percent of the entire population in 1649 had gathered and brought with them a considerable and diverse array of material culture.³⁴ A second fortified mission site known as Ste. Marie II was built on Gahoendoe while a strategy of establishing subsistence was implemented. Difficulties in cultivating maize resulting from settling on a heavily forested island with a population weakened by war, isolation from mainland fishing and hunting grounds by ongoing raids, and an ill-timed drought created desperate circumstances necessitating reconfiguration to a diasporic Wendat strategy.³⁵

The period following these events consisted of a “calculated dispersal” as Wendat joined established Anishinaabeg communities along with Etionnontateronnon, Attiwandarons, and Erie populations who relocated in many directions and in many social configurations throughout the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River valley regions including estimates of between 1,600 and 2,800 who were adopted into the Haudenosaunee.³⁶ Missionary efforts in the region came to an end as the small European population retreated to Québec beginning on June 10, 1650, alongside three hundred Wendat who had negotiated three thousand livres of land from the French and eventually settled at Lorette. Another transitory period on the banks of Ladawanna (St. Lawrence River) followed at locations near Hôtel-Dieu later becoming “Fort des Hurons”, Notre Dame des Anges, another established by Paul Le Jeune at Kamiskouaouangachit (Sillery)

³⁴ Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 56, 57.

³⁵ Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 60-67.; Michael W. Spence and Lawrence Jackson. “The Bioarcheology of Cannibalism at the Charity Site.” *Ontario Archeology: The Journal of The Ontario Archeological Society*. No. 94, 2014.

³⁶ Jon Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods: Iroquoia, 1534-1701*. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 2014), 80.; Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, 116.

where Jesuits focused on a sedentary Christian Algonquin population, and by 1651 at L'Anse du Fort on L'Île-d'Orléans.³⁷ Jesuits focused on supporting this population and establishing a mission with the Onondaga at Sainte Marie de Gannentaha amidst an unstable Franco-Iroquois peace as Mohawk sought Attignawantan (Bear Nation) Wendat and the Onondaga sought the Arendarhonon (Rock Nation) Wendat who withstood attempts of being absorbed.³⁸ Only with the peace of 1667 did Wendat begin permanent reestablishment first at Notre Dame de Foy inland of Kamiskouaouangachit until 1673, L'Ancienne-Lorette along the Lorette River until 1697, and then Jeune-Lorette along the Saint-Charles River where Wendake is found today.³⁹

Contemporary Jesuit history at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons begins in 1844 when Fr. Pierre Chazelle travelled to the ruins and performed Catholic Mass. Interest in the site grew in part from his subsequent correspondence and from the initial amateur excavations, which were carried out in 1855 by Fr. Félix Martin.⁴⁰ After the property of the ruins were officially acquired by Jesuits nearly a century later in 1940, the first professional excavations led by Kenneth Kidd and under the direction of the Royal Ontario Museum began soon after in June of 1941.⁴¹ He was often in agreement with the work of Félix Martin and his methods and reporting are considered of a very high standard to this day and findings published in 1949 are a key text of historic site archaeology in North America.⁴² However, in 1947 post molds were discovered in the

³⁷ Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 64, 102-104.; Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, 109-116.

³⁸ Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, 132-138.

³⁹ Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, 153-154.

⁴⁰ Jeanie Tummon and W. Barry Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie: 1987-1990 Excavations at the Sainte-Marie among the Hurons Site Complex (circa 1200-1990)*. (Barrie: Copetown Press, 1995), 3-7.

⁴¹ Kenneth E. Kidd, *The Excavation of Ste Marie I*. Originally printed 1949. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 17, 31; Alan Gordon, *Time Travel: Tourism and the Rise of the Living History Museum in Mid-Twentieth Century Canada*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016), 241.

⁴² Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 673.

process of reconstructing the southwest bastion and relocating loose stones initially displaced by the Kidd excavations, which led to director of the Martyrs Shrine Fr. T. J. Lally to contact William Fox of Western University for further excavations, which were conducted from 1947-1951 by Wilfred Jury and Elsie McLeod Jury.⁴³ The Jury excavations and layout of the mission site differed in drastic ways from the work of Kidd and have been rejected by many prominent archaeologists for reasons including that an official report was never released while a book by the Jury's published in 1954 is criticized including for lacking detailed research on the excavations.⁴⁴

Despite archaeological inconsistencies interpretations and site plans of the Jury excavations guided reconstruction a decade later as he himself was put in charge.⁴⁵ It was first announced by Premier John Roberts on March 19, 1964, as an initiative of public education aimed to increase tourism and to foster national unity through honouring the heritage of New France and French Catholics in Ontario, which was in step with his support of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.⁴⁶ As part of the agreement Jesuits leased the land to the province for ninety-nine years and the Huronia Historical Development Council (HHDC) was formed to advise the government on the commercial potential of heritage tourism in the region.⁴⁷ Reconstruction began on June 15, 1964, and from then until the end of the summer of 1966 up to 150,000 people visited the partially completed historic site for a half-hour tour.⁴⁸ The official opening can be

⁴³ Tummon and Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie*, 13.

⁴⁴ Alan Gordon, *Time Travel*, 241-242, 285.

⁴⁵ Tummon and Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie*, 13-14.

⁴⁶ Alan Gordon, *Time Travel*, 235-237, 243.; Paul J. Delaney, and Andrew D. Nicholls. *After the Fire: Sainte-Marie among the Hurons since 1649*. (Elmvale: East Georgian Bay Historical Foundation, 1989). 57.

⁴⁷ Alan Gordon, *Time Travel*, 242.; Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 57.

⁴⁸ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 57, 63, 64.

placed on the May 2nd, 1967 centennial celebrations, which hosted venerated guests such as the Superior General of the Society of Jesus Reverend Pedro Arrupe and included Archbishops, Jesuits, and priests along with Premier John Roberts and many organizers involved in the reconstruction efforts including the Jurys.⁴⁹ Victoria Day weekend was the public opening though the reconstruction was delayed and not until the opening of the site museum in 1971 would visitors finally go through the experience envisioned by the HHDC. This included orientation first by a film followed by exploration of the reconstructed mission grounds concluding with a visit to the museum.⁵⁰ More recently, the site has attracted roughly 100,000 visitors annually while the experience has transformed in numerous ways including with the closure of the site in 2020 due to the outbreak of Covid-19, which brought about changes to inequities in depiction of the history and more involvement of representatives from Indigenous communities and displays of local Indigenous culture.⁵¹ The Martyrs' Shrine paralleled changes towards inclusivity including under former site director Fr. James Farrell who centered Indigenous historical figures including Kateri Tekakwitha and Joseph Chihoatenhwa.⁵²

Foundational to the contemporary history of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons is the history of Jesuit fathers killed in service of their missionary work. Interpretation of their deaths as martyrdoms by the Catholic Church and their eventual beatification in

⁴⁹ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 70.

⁵⁰ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 76, 86.

⁵¹ Debora Ryan and Emily Stokes-Rees, "A Tale of Two Missions" *The Public Historian*, Vol.39, No. 3 (August 2017, 16-19.); Réseau de développement économique et d'employabilité. *Patrimoine, Culture et Tourisme Francophone Canada, Sainte-Marie-au-Pays-des-Hurons, première mission française au coeur de l'Amérique* (accessed Feb 2, 2020).

<https://salutcanada.ca/listings/sainte-marie-au-pays-des-hurons-premiere-mission-francaise-au-coeur-de-lamerique/>

⁵² Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 269 – 275

1925 culminating with canonization in 1930 by Pope Pius XI as the first North American saints has significantly shaped archaeological and historical projects in the region especially at Sainte-Marie.⁵³ The remains, graves, and the sites of execution of Jesuits and of Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant in particular hold tremendous significance for Jesuits and for the global Catholic community due to their attachment to this story and their proximity to the site and have a contemporary “afterlife,” which developed in direct relationship with the ruins of Sainte-Marie.⁵⁴

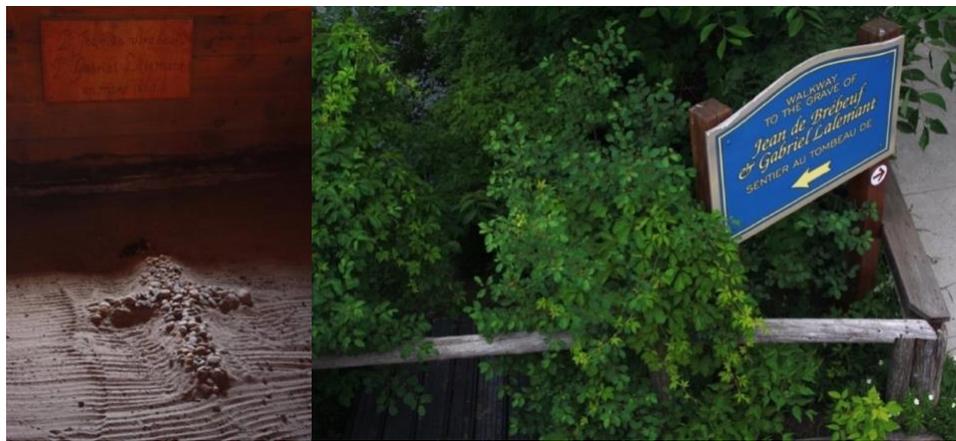


Fig. 2 & 3. Grave of Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant (left) and the sign welcoming visitors from the Martyrs’ Shrine on the walkway along the Wye River (right).

Most significantly, the grave of Brébeuf was found on August 16, 1954 by Father Denis Hegarty and confirmed through excavation of a plaque, which read his name and date of his death as 17th of March 1649 and the cause of death as “Brusle par les Iroquois” or ‘burnt by the Iroquois.’⁵⁵ This grave was later found to have also contained remains of Gabriel Lalemant and is today within the Church of St. Joseph, which is an

⁵³ Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 5.; Timothy G. Pearson, Review of *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs* by Emma Anderson. *The Catholic Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (2014): 635-636.

⁵⁴ Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 1-13.

⁵⁵ Denis A. Hegarty, *The Excavation of the Indian Church at Ste. Marie*. CCHA Report, 22, 1955, 59-73.

active, consecrated church within the reconstruction containing a back entrance to the grave site for pilgrims to access without having to pay an entrance fee.

The remains of Jesuits quickly became venerated as relics in the Catholic tradition of New France and prior to setting fire to Sainte-Marie in 1649 the bodies were exhumed and set to boil in lye, scraped of flesh and dried in clay ovens for days until wrapped in silk and packed into chests to be delivered to Québec.⁵⁶ They were kept at the Hôtel Dieu and at the Ursuline convent in Québec from 1650 onwards where they were used in curing the sick and the conversion of heretics up until beatification in 1925, when they were transferred to the Séminaire de Québec. They were later divided then sent to the Martyrs' Shrine with the skull of Brébeuf being surgically sawed down the middle of the face with the now absent right lobe reconstructed whole with wax.⁵⁷ Half of the ribs of Brébeuf and Lalemant totaling three rib fragments, and an anklebone of Garnier were sent from the Ursalines nuns while the Hospitalers sent one of two femur bones and one of two vertebra of Lalemant and the incomplete fibula of Garnier, while there is also mention of a fragment of shoulder blade.⁵⁸ The reconstructed cranium of Brébeuf is housed in a silver reliquary donated by his descendants in France and is visible to the

⁵⁶ Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Vol. 34, p. 35.

⁵⁷ Timothy G. Pearson, *Becoming Holy in Early Canada: Performance and the Making of Holy Persons in Society and Culture*. (PhD Thesis, McGill University, 2008), 123-126.; Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 125, 409.; Micheal Knox, S.J. "The Witness of Jean de Brébeuf and His Companions" in *Builders of a Nation: Jesuits in English Canada 1842-2013*, 73-102. (Toronto: Novalis, 2015), 89, 91. Additionally, canonization of the martyrs (in distinction to beatification, which had already been satisfied in the standards of the church through holiness and martyrdom) required two legitimately recorded miracles. The two submitted for this process were for the curing of tuberculosis peritonitis both in Marie Robichaud of the Religious Hospitalers of St. Joseph on 9 July 1926, on the last day of a novena to the martyrs, and in Alexdrine Ruel on 30 December 1927, who additionally had relics of the martyrs applied to her body on three separate occasions.

⁵⁸ Knox, *The Witness of Jean de Brébeuf and His Companions*, 89.

public in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel of the Martyrs' Shrine and surrounded by the crutches and canes of pilgrims who have experienced healing at the site.⁵⁹

On his visit to the region in 1844 Fr. Pierre Chazelle also sought out and claimed to have found St. Ignace, and local historian Andrew F. Hunter began the archaeological search and first published speculation of the location in 1890.⁶⁰ Along with other amateur archaeologists Penetanguishene farmer Alphonse Arpin continued the search into the 1930s with his work then continued by W. J. Wintemberg until he suffered a heart attack in 1941, at which point Wilfred Jury took over the project as excavation of Sainte-Marie had been given to Kenneth Kidd.⁶¹ In 1954, new plaques at both St. Louis and St. Ignace II were erected by the National Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.⁶² St. Louis had been designated a National Historic Site in 1920, and St. Ignace II by 1955.⁶³ A defining aspect leading to designation of St. Ignace II was a miracle: cards placed in the ground overnight by Arpin were found in the morning to be stained red as if by the blood of the martyrs.⁶⁴ There is no conclusive archaeological evidence, catalogue of materials, field notes, or published reports of excavations from either site while neither fit the criteria for identification of mission sites established prior to investigation while further excavations at St. Ignace II in 1975 produced doubt among participants.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1867), 391.

⁶⁰ Martha A. Latta, "The Search for St-Ignace II" *Journal of The Ontario Archeological Society*. Number 48, 1988, 4-5.; Martha A. Latta, "Identification of the 17th Century French Missions in Eastern Huronia," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 9, (2), 1985, 161, 162.

⁶¹ Latta, *St-Ignace II*, 9.

⁶² Latta, *St-Ignace II*, 13.

⁶³ Parks Canada, "Saint-Louis Mission National Historic site of Canada," Directory of Federal Heritage Designations, https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=562; Parks Canada, "Saint-Ignace II Mission National Historic site of Canada," Directory of Federal Heritage Designations, https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=11450

⁶⁴ Latta, *St-Ignace II*, 7.

⁶⁵ Latta, *St-Ignace II*, 14; Latta, *17th Century French Missions*, 164, 165.; Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651: An Overview." (Journal of The Ontario

This history is often portrayed as existing in two active phases of occupation with two centuries in-between despite threads of familiarity binding them together. These threads entangle into a history of interaction between Indigenous peoples, the Catholic Church, and what would eventually become the Canadian state. Meanings and usages of these lands, the tensions of authority between knowledge worlds in anchoring these meanings and usages, and the production of identities stemming from these negotiations of land, knowledge, and belonging have shaped our contemporary world as they have shaped our understanding of history, which circles back to reify what it all means. The lands, authority, and identities in question continue to be at stake when describing these histories today. In the next chapter these relationships surrounding Sainte-Marie among the Hurons will be examined through the lens of landscape.

Archeological Society. Number 94, 2014.) 39, 43. Carhagouha is another site owned by the Martyrs' Shrine and is significant to the Christian history of the region both because it was the first Jesuit mission settlement and more importantly because it is where the first Catholic Mass in Ontario was performed in 1615 by Joseph Le Caron. It is similarly commemorated with an engraving marking the spot and a large stone cross that was unveiled in 1921, though there is no corresponding archaeological evidence of a village to mark the location and other village sites are being considered as the real location of the site.

Chapter 2 - Landscape as History

*There are kinds of knowing that only feet can enable, as there are memories of a place that only feet can recall. Touch is a reciprocal action, a gesture of exchange with the world. To make an impression is also to receive one, and the soles of our feet, shaped by the surfaces they press upon, are landscapes themselves with their own worn channels and roving lines.*⁶⁶

*The spell of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons lies in the very land upon which it stands.*⁶⁷

2.1. Introduction

Sainte-Marie among the Hurons and the Martyrs' Shrine are complex places with diverse and competing histories overlapping within the sites, which tell immersive stories replete with overlapping signification of Indigenous, Christian, and what has become Canadian heritage rooted in primarily French and British imperial discourses. To account for this complexity, it will be discussed within concepts of varying breadth beginning with a broad lens of landscape with impressions beginning on my first visit and subsequently deepened with theoretical discussions rooted in European humanist traditions focusing on connections of landscape with memory, trauma, redemption, and temporality while guided by the work of W.G. Sebald. Following place as landscape is discussion of relationships to contemporary histories of Wendat, Anishinaabe, Haudenosaunee, and Indigenous peoples more generally, which contrasts with a historicity active on this landscape. Concluding is discussion of the deterritorialization of Indigenous peoples from the region, the overcoding of Christian significance, and the silencing of Indigenous presence with an aim to lay theoretical foundations for later

⁶⁶ Robert MacFarlane, *The Old Ways*, 161, 193.

⁶⁷ Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, *The History of Sainte-Marie*, <https://saintemarieamongthehurons.on.ca/about-us/historic-background/> (Accessed June 23rd, 2020).

discussion of the land through a lens of property formation leading to its administration today. Altogether these frameworks provide ways of understanding the same landscape of significance, which is alternative to the sum of stories and dialogues I encountered while also accounting for diverse knowledges and power relations tying together the historic site and the experience of the public within this place.

In the morning of June 15th, 2018, after passing gas stations and drive-through fast-food signs marking the city of Orillia and the highway 12 bridge built over the Mnjikaning Fish Weirs National Historic Site and driving West towards Coldwater I reached a vista of rolling, forested hills where the landscape opened to the eye and stretched out like a layered cake of green. The sky hung overhead in sectioned shades of blue and it was as if two paint swatches were placed one on top of the other in decision of colouring a room though I could not tell if waves of clouds created a trick of light on the forest or if I was seeing a ribboned history of cutting and regrowth. This was the first trip made after a period of reading and writing on Jesuit and Wendat history and archaeology with initial impressions marked by writings of Huron-Wendat scholars such as George Sioui and Louis Lesage, as well as Jesuit accounts by Jean Brébeuf and Jérôme Lalemant and extensive archaeological work and writings of Conrad Heidenreich, Bruce Trigger, Ron Williamson, Jennifer Birch, and others. Names such as Cahiaque Road and Stage Coach Road passed in succession as the line on the destination map shortened then rerouted after a wrong turn back onto highway 400 until finding my way again as landscape connected with a vivid regional literature babbling in my mind as if one of the transected rivers spilling into Georgian Bay.

Simon Schama in *Landscape and Memory* discusses landscape as “the work of the

mind” while Christopher Tilley in *A Phenomenology of Landscape* describes “the flow of movement is a flow of the mind” and in my own mind passing landscape flowed with stories and material remnants of Indigenous but especially Wendat occupation culminating in eventual diasporas of the seventeenth century.⁶⁸ In one cycle spun writings of Jesuit missionaries whose vivid descriptions of struggle and suffering on the landscape and ultimate violent deaths in stories of martyrdom are central in the history and in development of my own perspective. In another cycle spun teachings of contemporary Indigenous scholars centering relationships to the land, to storytelling, and to living communities. In yet another spun an extensive tradition of archaeology negotiating foundations for rich, layered, and complex histories of Indigenous and settler occupation. These three cycled as one historical memory of the present, through which landscape was experienced, communicated, contemplated, and understood in those transient moments.



Fig. 4. “Supposed site of St. Ignace” written on this 1952 photograph by Kenneth Kidd.

⁶⁸ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1995), 7.

Passing Coldwater and Waubaushene and now driving along Georgian Bay the roadside signs coalesced with this sense of history, and soon a left turn down Rosemount Road took me to the site of St. Ignace II, where Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant have long been suspected of being martyred in 1649, and which after extensive archaeological work was designated a National Historic Site in 1955.⁶⁹ Six kilometres further the blue and gold signs of the Saint-Louis Mission signal another remnant of Jesuit material history in the region while signs for Discovery Harbour tell of subsequent layers of historical dwelling. Six kilometres further lies *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons* and another blue sign with profiled images of what appear to be an Indigenous man wearing red beads with a feather in his hair and a bearded Jesuit with a black hat positioned side-by-side face the same direction gazing together into the distance. Much like an erroneous but prevalent interpretation of the Wendat meaning for the lands of *Wendake*, upon entering this place a sense overcame me of entering a “land apart” though within a radically distinct contemporary landscape experience and in the calibrated comforts of a rental car.⁷⁰

This place has been known most generally in the historiography as the ‘Huronian’ mission or more specifically as one of a multiplicity of mission sites in a complex history of missionary work throughout the early to mid-seventeenth century, which is exposed through meticulous and engrossing experiences with the reconstructed mission

⁶⁹ Martha A. Latta, “Identification of the 17th Century French Missions in Eastern Huronia” *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 9, (2) 147-171, 1985.

⁷⁰ Conrad Heidenreich, *Huronian: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians 1600-1650*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited), 1971. 220.; Herbert Cranston, *Etienne Brûlé: Immortal Scoundrel*. (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1949). 49. In Cranston’s study on Etienne Brûlé the description of the area as a ‘land apart’ coming from the translation of A.E. Jones, S. J., is thought to “lend itself beautifully to tourist literature,” though the meaning has many interpretations, and this is likely not the most accurate. Wendat scholar Georges Sioui is partial towards Heidenreich’s discussion of the land as described as an island due to the surrounding swamp lands and lakes, or the description of the hierarchical position of the Wendat among surrounding groups as being “placed at the head,” which was described in 1837 by Oriwahento, a Wendat chief from Amherstburg.

architecture, monuments, trails, objects, cultural programming and other markers of occupation as if the site was passed down directly from the original missionaries.⁷¹ Without prior knowledge one would hardly guess no Jesuits set foot on these lands for nearly two centuries after departing in 1649. Many of the most dramatic recounted and documented events surrounding the mission are visibly etched onto a landscape experience discernable while driving through the region and on arrival actors wearing Jesuit robes, French layman clothing, and non-specific uniforms depicting generally Indigenous characters populate an engrossing, wood-textured, and smoky reconstruction.



Fig 5. Maize drying in the granary at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, June 2018.

John Zurakowski, who is the manager of programmes and operations at the Martyrs' Shrine, told his story to me and a group of students gathered in the basement of the chapel a year after my first visit. We were on the fourth day of a weeklong theology and history course *A Journey Through History* taught by the Father Superior and director

⁷¹ Heidenreich, *Huronica*, 21. 'Huronica' does not appear on any maps from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, but the region is rather referred to as *Pays des Huron*, and other variations, while 'Huronica' dominates the historiography throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries.

of the Martyrs' Shrine, for whom I was acting as a teaching assistant. Students searched through a bag of smooth, weathered stones gathered from Georgian Bay, which fit perfectly in your palm, each with a word written in marker meant to shape experiences in accompaniment on an afternoon of contemplative walking. I received one urging "share" while also listening to John share his own sense of entering a 'land apart' as he travelled from Toronto on his own first visit. Upon entering the landscape and seeing the majesty of the Martyrs' Shrine he described becoming so overcome with calm, a sense of spiritual meaning, and belonging in distinction to daily routines of city life that he stayed for over twenty years. He also spoke of visiting a cemetery and seeing the hyphen on a gravestone between a date of birth and a date of death as being a small pilgrimage experience, along with more dramatic stories of pilgrims with blistering feet cathartically letting go of their rocks and uncomfortable shoes as they walked. In his presentation a dissimilarity between sequential time of quantifiable, everyday life of *chronos* and the eternal *kairós* reinterpreted from the Classical tradition into theology as "God's time" impressed upon John in this place as it still does to so many on journeys of pilgrimage.⁷² The pace of life slows down as time bends into depths of history extolled in the experience and "to be on pilgrimage here is to walk with the martyrs."⁷³

Within this experience of walking with the martyrs is a moment of recognition much like Simon Schama describes when "a place suddenly exposes its connections to an ancient and peculiar vision of the forest, the mountain, or the river" and time bends and stretches to enwrap place and time within a vision of eternity.⁷⁴ This peculiar European

⁷² John Zurakowski, "The Modern-day Pilgrim's Prayerful Experience with the Canadian Martyrs" (Lecture, Martyrs' Shrine, July 11, 2019).

⁷³ Zurakowski, "The Modern-day Pilgrim's Prayerful Experience with the Canadian Martyrs"

⁷⁴ Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 16, 17.

missionary vision is one described by the Jesuit Superior as a “mystical landscape” connecting a genesis of French, Christian, and most specifically Jesuit history of struggle, conversion, and martyrdom.⁷⁵ It is understood at once as ⁷⁶ Walking past gardens of flowers and shrubs down the picturesque hill and along the Wye River under a bisecting highway bridge and into the palisaded historic site is a peaceful walk taken by thousands of visitors guided by the layered signs on the landscape.



Fig. 6. Front view of Martyrs' Shrine, Midland, On, July 2019.

2.2. Roots of Landscape

Landscape is a broad concept traversing many boundaries including spaces between natural and manufactured worlds and with this breadth describes vast geographic expanses and dives within the contours of microscopic textures. The etymological route is

⁷⁵ Jesuit Superior, “The land of Crosses; A Union with the suffering Christ; The Divine Gift of Suffering; The Fruits of Suffering with Christ; and The Total Self-Offering of the Missionary to God” (lecture, *A Journey Through History: The Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Canada*, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, July 11, 2019).

⁷⁶ Jesuit Superior, “Concluding Roundtable Discussion” (*Life & Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom an International Symposium*, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, October 21, 2018).

often placed in the German *landschaft*, meaning any manufactured place of human occupation, though others place it within *landschap*, which is closer to a conception of property originally describing a unit of human occupation in the Netherlands.⁷⁷ Through anglicization it expanded and came to describe images of primarily Dutch landscape painting while in the eighteenth century began to be applied back to physically experienced land with more recent usages in the twentieth century providing geographic descriptions of socio-political and economic relations of peoples to a place.⁷⁸

With these roots the word also entered English attached to the meaning of human presence, yet by the eighteenth century was employed in conceptions of wilderness in nature and also in the “sublime,” which combined to create a place “where the supernatural lay just beneath the surface.”⁷⁹ One could go to escape society and feel the terrifying awe of a mountain, the acrophobia of a gorge, or the menacing frontier of an expanse to be overcome with the presence of God.⁸⁰ Included in this is an increasingly domesticated version arising in the late nineteenth century as more markers of society filled these spaces of ‘wilderness’ and writers such as John Muir articulated landscape as a medium for communion with the divine even if centered on more pleasant experiences of “God’s beauty” rather than on existential impacts of terrifying awe.⁸¹

In the twentieth century a rich academic tradition on landscape continued ranging from inceptions in art history to critical theory. Essential to this discussion is a popular

⁷⁷ J.B. Bullen, “The Imaginative Geography of Hardy’s *The Return of the Native*” chapter in Giovanni Cianci, Caroline Patet. *Transits: The Nomatic Geographies of Anglo-American Modernism*. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 25.; Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 10.; MacFarlane, *The Old Ways*, 255.

⁷⁸ Tim Ingold, “The Temporality of the Landscape”, *World Archaeology* 25, no. 2, (1993), 154.; Bullen, “The Imaginative Geography of *The Return of the Native*”, 25.; MacFarlane, 255.

⁷⁹ William Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature” *Environmental History* 1. No. 1 (1996), 10.

⁸⁰ Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness,” 10.

⁸¹ Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness,” 10-13.

investigation into the tradition of landscape oil painting written and filmed by John Berger in his 1972 television program and book *Ways of Seeing*, in which class analysis is used to describe how representations become “a way of turning the visible world into tangible property.”⁸² In European traditions gentility sought to be painted into hunting lands and meadows as this defined their social position as landholders who had political and juridical rights in distinction to peasants who were displaced as land dispossessions enclosed the countryside alongside the expansion of urban industrialization.⁸³ Analogous with an optical entrapping of land is the concept of “the male gaze” also developed by Laura Mulvey and discussed by Berger in this program as an insight into commodification of the female image and subsequently of physical female bodies through the same medium of incessant representations in oil painting.⁸⁴

Pervasiveness of the concept of landscape from semiotic perspectives is due to the role as “a medium in the fullest sense of the word” as it functions like a painting or a language in communicating meaning while creating value from this meaning. According to W.J.T. Mitchell landscape acts as a projection of ‘nature’ created in service of legitimizing modernity, which is encoded with and generative of social relations of imperial power.⁸⁵ The poet Edward Thomas, who in his writing is said to have created a “dream-map” of his wanderings into “interior landscapes, told by means of the traverse of particular places” identified modernity’s most distinctive tension as “between mobility and displacement on the one hand, and dwelling and belonging on the other – with the

⁸² Tom Overton, “Introduction: Down with Enclosures” chapter in *Landscapes: John Berger on Art*. (New York: Verso, 2016), ix, x.

⁸³ Lisa Appignanesi, “Berger’s Ways of Being” *New York Review of Books*, May 9, 2019.

⁸⁴ Overton, “Down with Enclosures,” x.; Appignanesi, “Berger’s Ways of Being”.; Lauren Michele Jackson, “The Invention of the Male Gaze,” *The New Yorker Magazine*. July 14, 2023.

⁸⁵ W. J. T. Mitchell, “*Imperial Landscape*” chapter in *Landscape and Power*, edited by W. J. T. Mitchell. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 10, 13, 14.

former becoming ubiquitous and the later becoming lost [...] and reconfigured as nostalgia.”⁸⁶ As a semiotic medium landscape acts as a multisensory “pseudohistorical myth” for a system of meaning painted back onto a geographic canvas. These are more specific views though the medium of landscape can generally be understood as a “spatio-temporal ‘frame’ for action and thought” or simply as “space with meaning attached.”⁸⁷

Archaeologist Tim Ingold reimagined landscape from a differentiated semiotic understanding to a relational and holistic “taskscape” congealed in the present, from which meanings are cultivated and “gathered” by those who dwell within and perform certain activities.⁸⁸ His ideas generated new traditions of understanding rooted in a “real-world encounter with the (material) past” with archaeology as the “most recent form of dwelling on an ancient site.”⁸⁹ Dan Hicks built on this to define landscape as a more interactive “living process [...] constituted as an enduring record of the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in doing so, have left something of themselves” with what remains becoming archaeological knowledge.⁹⁰ This knowledge is generative of “metamorphosis” in environments and emerges through “techniques of temporal protention” including archives, museums, and ongoing transformations of landscapes.⁹¹ Multiple meanings over varying timescales dwell at once within landscapes while their expressions may be overlapping, contested, or even erased.

⁸⁶ MacFarlane, *The Old Ways*, 311, 323.

⁸⁷ Christopher Tilley, “Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage.” *Journal of Material Culture* 11, no. 1-2 (2006), 19.; Bullen, “The Imaginative Geography of *The Return of the Native*,” 25.

⁸⁸ Tim Ingold, “Temporality of the Landscape,” 155.

⁸⁹ Tim Ingold, “Temporality of the Landscape,” 162.; Dan Hicks, “The Temporality of the Landscape Revisited,” *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 49, No.1 (2016): 5-22. 6.

⁹⁰ Hicks, “The Temporality of the Landscape Revisited,” 6 – 8.

⁹¹ Hicks, “The Temporality of the Landscape Revisited.” 7

2.3. *Landscape and the Ruins of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons*

Landscape takes on significant spatial and temporal dimensions as a medium of gathering and communication on a developed site of heritage such as Sainte-Marie as it embodies historicism in explicit form. This history includes the ritual of Catholic Mass held again after nearly two centuries in 1844 by Jesuit Father Pierre Chazelle on his first visit to the site.⁹² However, the ‘Old Fort’ or ‘French ruins’ as they were known in this nineteenth century phase of abandonment seemed to elicit a spiritual pull prior to their reconsecration as two burials from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century replete with trade goods from the era were found by chance during archaeological excavations to be eroding out of the banks of the Wye River.⁹³

In this phase of abandonment, neither ecclesiastic nor a national culture constructed the landscape experience as heritage in an institutional sense but “the ruin [created] the present form of past life, not according to the contents or remnants of that life, but according to its past as such.” Or rather, it was a decaying material indicator the world of the Jesuit mission has passed.⁹⁴ In the absence of Jesuits due to their expulsion from North America the interim two centuries prior to re-consecration is one of textual darkness but for a few mentions such as from a visit by John Graves Simcoe in 1793.⁹⁵ However, archaeologists Kenneth Kidd and John Triggs agree Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe, who continued to occupy the region after 1650, visited after the burning in

⁹² George Simmel, “The Ruin” (1911) found in *Ruins* edited by Brian Dillon, Documents of Contemporary Art (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 2011), 23.; Knox, *The Witness of Jean de Brébeuf and His Companions*, 82.

⁹³ John Triggs, “Stage 1 Archeological Assessment of Part of the East and West Halves Lot 16, Concession 3, Township of Tay, County of Simcoe. Sainte-Marie among The Huron,” Huronia Historical Parks, 2016, 16.

⁹⁴ George Simmel, *The Ruin*, 23.

⁹⁵ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 4.

1649 and subsequent Jesuit retreat from the region. Kidd made note of materials he excavated including numerous camp fires within the roughly eight inches of soil accumulated from the time of historic occupation as attributable to ‘Algonkian’ presence in this period while making speculations, but nonetheless seemed to disregard their significance.⁹⁶ In 1653, a peace was negotiated between the French and Anishinaabe with the Onondagas who themselves sought to attract priests and a French trading post to their territory, as well as a later peace with the Oneidas, which despite a “lack of consensus among the [Haudenosaunee] tribes about the best policy to pursue towards the French” acted as a formal, temporary cessation of hostilities enabling Anishinaabe to make use of these lands once again.⁹⁷ The ruins held meaning in the landscape experiences of Indigenous and settler populations alike and are mentioned as the “certain French ruins” used as a commonly understood landmark and a geographic demarcation of the 1798 Penetanguishene Treaty No. 5 between the Chippewa and the Crown.⁹⁸ However, no archaeological or historical evidence exists of European visitation to the ruins between 1649 and 1789.⁹⁹ It was not until centuries later more specific narratives of textual production took hold on regional relationships to landscape, memory, and historiography tied to this site. This includes such vivid moments as in 1921 at Toaniché when descendants of Wendat represented by Grand Chief Ovide Sioui from the Huron-Wendat and of Iroquois by Grand Chief André Staats along with other leaders and an actor

⁹⁶ Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 16.

⁹⁷ José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy Towards New France and Its Native Allies to 1701*. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 105-109.

⁹⁸ “Penetanguishene Treaty No. 5” *Treaty Texts – Upper Canada Land Surrenders*, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1370372152585/1370372222012#ucls8>

⁹⁹ Jeanie Tummon and W. Barry Gray. *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie: 1987-1990 Excavations at the Sainte-Marie among the Hurons Site Complex (circa 1200-1990)*. (Barrie: Copetown Press, 1995), 195.

symbolically costumed as Champlain came together for a pipe ceremony held on the shores of Penetanguishene Bay in a historical re-enactment witnessed by thousands in celebration of the 300th anniversary of the landing of Champlain.¹⁰⁰

2.4. *Landscape, Ruins, Memory and Trauma against the Universal*

Landscapes, especially those containing such visual traces as ruins, embody and communicate temporality of a place in explicit form, but so too do they connect with networks of interlocking memories. In literature and cultural criticism of the humanities, memory and landscape have been explored in-depth in relationship to devastations of war and genocide as well as through critical perspectives of their meaning in relation to histories and to institutions reimagining history through an inherited materiality.

According to Walter Benjamin traces are encountered within a landscape when “history has merged into the setting” and for the emigrated German author W.G. Sebald physical manifestations such as ruins and non-human geological formations are testaments or nodes activating networks of loosely or directly related memories to “a past that has vanished yet retains its power to haunt.”¹⁰¹ Taking from Vladimir Nabokov’s *Transparent Things* the “dream life of debris” sinks into textures through memory, association, and

¹⁰⁰ Paula Drew, *The Reconstruction of Sainte Marie: Social, Political and Religious Influences on an Archeological Interpretation*, MA Thesis, Trent University, 2006, 30.; David Dupuis, “A Neglected & Forgotten Historic Site! The Tradition and tragedy of Champlain’s Cross at the Huron village of Atouacha: ‘the two-landing place’” Penetanguishene Document Center, accessed July 12, 2022. <https://penetanguishene.civicweb.net/content/pdfstorage/65DF5AE771C04C6B955C787BA73DA419-Champlain%20Cross%20Site%20Backgrounder.pdf>

¹⁰¹ Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 147.; Laura García-Moreno, “Strange Edifices, Counter-Monuments: Rethinking Time and Space in W.G. Sebald’s *Austerlitz*,” *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction* 54, no. 4 (2013): 360, 361.

imagination of what has been.¹⁰² One scholar defines the metaphysics of space in landscape memory work of Sebald as “spectrality” where “a spectre is always a revenant” always returning “without ever arriving” while wandering through places fostering an “unhinging of past and present” in exploration.¹⁰³ Sociologist Avery Gordon wrote this haunting is tied to historical and social effects creating “rememories that you can bump into” whether prompted by a ruin on a landscape, an archaeological artifact or assemblage, or in a more controlled environment of a historical reconstruction.¹⁰⁴ It is necessary to point out characterizing these ruins as containing ‘spectral’ presence is not in service of casting historic Wendat or Indigenous peoples more generally as ‘ghosts’ haunting landscapes as colonial time and place-making devices in service of myth-making. Paul Manning argues it is instead to challenge a discursive wholeness and newness of the “New World” chronotope, which absent gothic ruins of Europe is an imagined textual world “that was *already disenchanted*, that *already lacked* fantastical beings like fairies and ghosts” of the “Old World,” from which it developed in semiotic

¹⁰² Teju Cole, “W.G. Sebald’s Poetry of the Disregarded,” *The New Yorker Magazine*. April 5, 2012.; Patience (After Sebald): A Walk Through the Rings of Saturn. Darke, Christopher (Producer). 2012. SODA Pictures.

¹⁰³ John Wylie, “*The Spectral Geographies of W.G. Sebald*,” *Cultural Geographies* 14, no. 2 (2007): 174.

¹⁰⁴ Nabokov, *A Forest of Time*, 147.; W.G. Sebald, *The Rings of Saturn*, translated by Micheal Hulse (New York: New Directions Books, 1998), 3, 122.; Garcia-Moreno “Strange Edifices, Counter-Monuments,” 362.; David Darby, “Landscape and Memory: Sebald’s Redeption of History” Chapter in *W.G. Sebald: History, Memory, Trauma* edited by Scott Denham and Mark McCulloh, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 267. These memories, however, are of a disjointed and hidden nature as history has furnished a landscape “scarred by the horrors of history” and the narrator within Sebald’s novels are routinely “confronted with the traces of destruction, reaching far back into the past.” Haunting by a discontinuous past exists in distinction to a sense of wholeness in a setting, such as in the theoretical idea of the chronotope as articulated by Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, which is a literal inseparability of space and time in generating connections within comprehensible language worlds. Instead, memory flashes up in an uncontrolled fashion as the narrator in the work of Sebald traverses the storied countryside of East Anglia in England or sits writing in landmarks such as the Palace of Justice in Brussels, one of many “sepulchral monument(s) erected over a hecatomb of black bodies” all while trying to piece together meaning from a personal and collective memory shattered by the effects of traumas mooring us in the present.

opposition.¹⁰⁵ In a material sense it is “nonhuman” elements such as sites and artifacts encountered or exhumed, from which peoples embodied in these material effects have been diminished or desacralized and this uncontrolled excess haunts a present world dominated by divisible narratives of history.

The significance of ruins is distinct from a more constructed medium of landscape. Sainte-Marie among the Hurons after 1649 became a ruin in the fullest sense as “the site of life from which life has departed” that for centuries appeared as collections of stones expressed primarily in symmetrical formations of the bastions receding into an accumulating cedar forested floor, which as George Simmel wrote of ruins in 1911 “like a holy charmed circle” was surrounded by “profound peace” in the mid nineteenth century, next to which families would share a Sunday picnic.¹⁰⁶ Rev. T.J. Lally, S.J., a former director of the Martyrs’ Shrine, described the ruins similarly as did Kenneth Kidd during his excavations as “a neglected piece of stone masonry [which] has lain in oblivion” for three centuries.¹⁰⁷ It was, however, a place one could witness “the triumph of nature over culture” and spark associative imagination about what has been.¹⁰⁸

Sebald thought without ruins his native Germany would lose living connections to its past “both as victim and perpetrator of suffering” as memories could no longer activate in wandering through these places, but instead become passed down second-hand through writing and visuals of a culture primarily focussed on leaving this past behind.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Paul Manning, “No Ruins. No Ghosts,” *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 6, no.1 (2017): 66, 67, 72.

¹⁰⁶ Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 19; George Simmel, *The Ruin*, 23.

¹⁰⁷ Rv. T.J. Lally, *The excavation of Old Fort St. Marie*. 15-22.; Kenneth Kidd, “The Excavation of Fort Ste. Marie.” *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 22, 4, December 1941, pp. 403-415.

¹⁰⁸ Manning, “No Ruins. No Ghosts,” 70.

¹⁰⁹ Robin Vandevordt, “Ruin, Allegory, Melancholy: On the Critical Aesthetics of W.G. Sebald’s The Emigrants and The Rings of Saturn” *Transformations: Journal of Media & Culture*, no. 28 (2016), 3. Eleanor Wachtel, Interview with W.G. Sebald, *The Best of Writers and Company*. (Windsor, Ontario:

He argued a form of history was shaped by German writers and institutions into an experience of “collective amnesia,” in which negative memories of ethical ruin, shameful failure, and uncontrolled excesses intrinsic to war and genocide were depleted in service of reconstruction.¹¹⁰ Sebald’s novel *Austerlitz* centres on a man in search of his childhood as a survivor of the Holocaust who explores receding edges of the “inexpressibility of the trauma of history” existing alongside or within a world shaping place and identity through historicization while at the same time alienating historical subjects from an authentic past.¹¹¹ Post-war Germany embodied a sense of “placelessness” later expressed in a national culture of travel as a generation grew up in rubble of ruined cities. This includes director Wim Wenders for whom the lonesome traveller such as a wandering Travis Henderson in his film *Paris, Texas* was allegorical to his sense of displacement, alienation, and silencing as a witness to progressive reimagination and redevelopment

Biblioasis, 2016). 201. In a 1963 history book Sebald had found from the region of his childhood on the northern outskirts of the Alps it read “the war took much from us, but our beautiful native landscape was left untouched, as flourishing as ever,” despite the almost complete surrounding destruction of Germany.

¹¹⁰ W.G. Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction*. Translated by Anthea Bell. (Toronto: Vintage Canada), 2004. 3-10. Sebald fostered an impassioned debate in Germany on the “self-censorship” of Germans in regard to the total devastation and defeat resulting from the fire-bombing of 131 towns and cities by the Royal Air Force and widespread destruction of many cultural centres such as Hamburg, Dresden and Cologne and killing of 600,000 people, and the role of post-war German literature of the ruins in describing but nonetheless “obscuring a world that could no longer be presented in comprehensible terms.” Instead, the post-war culture is shown to turn to either apathy or to new beginnings while the devastation “seems to have left scarcely a trace of pain behind in the collective consciousness, it has been largely obliterated from the retrospective understanding of those affected,” but most importantly in the construction of a new national history where “it never played any appreciable part in the discussion of the internal constitution of our country.” He also stated Germans never came to terms with the true nature of the total devastation of the war, but rather undertook “a reconstruction tantamount to a second liquidation in successive phases of the nation’s own past history [...] pointing the population exclusively towards the future and enjoining on it silence about the past,” which amounted to a “tacit agreement, equally binding on everyone, that the true state of material and moral ruin in which the country found itself was not to be described.”

¹¹¹ Simona Mitroiu, “Narrative Identity and Trauma: Sebald’s Memory Landscape.” *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms*, Routledge, (2014), 6.; W.G. Sebald, *Austerlitz*. Translated by Anthea Bell. Harlow, England: Penguin Books, 2011.

from a traumatic collective German experience.¹¹²

Whether it be knowledge gathered through voyages of discovery, new powers attained through conquest, or new abilities attained through technological breakthrough, Sebald links the “inevitable regress simultaneous with progression” in the European world as these often celebrated, rationalized, and integrated “achievements are precisely what gives rise to violence in its purest form” while simultaneously shattering cycles of memory and creating silence in the historical record.¹¹³ Boaventura de Sousa Santos expands on this incoherence of principle where “civilian lives are destroyed under the pretense of defending civilian lives” and adds “ideological investments used to conceal such a discrepancy are as massive as the brutality of such practices” with contemporary discourses of human rights, democracy, development, environmentalism, and freedom and security concealing expanding conditions of violation, authoritarianism, impoverishment, ecological catastrophe, and surveillance and restriction, respectively.¹¹⁴ In this sense, collective amnesia as both victim and perpetrator of suffering is neither restricted to a German context nor to the reconstruction period but is instead a widely shared condition within a progressive vision of history. Archaeology as means of recovering physical and unconscious traces of destruction is practiced by Alfredo González-Ruibal in Spain and Ethiopia where totalitarian ideologies and advanced technologies enacted violence within preindustrial landscapes from 1935-1941 in ways obscured by the shadow of Nazis as an ultimate symbol of fascism, and which are also

¹¹² Eleanor Wachtel, Interview with Wim Wenders, *Writers & Company*, CBC Radio One (rebroadcast July 26, 2020).

¹¹³ Vandevordt, “Ruin, Allegory, Melancholy: On the Critical Aesthetics of W.G. Sebald,” 2.

¹¹⁴ Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 22, 45.

being lost in ongoing conflicts over heritage.¹¹⁵ His presentation ended with a picture of an excavated grave of a woman killed by fascists whose skeleton was clutching the rattle of her newborn child. When asking him if fascism had been cemented into monuments or other mnemonic devices one could encounter, he responded the entire post-war reconstruction-built environment of Spain is an ongoing monument to this legacy.¹¹⁶

This strain of humanism linking landscape, ruins, memory, trauma, perspective, and historiography is neither an exercise of fixation on the “abysm of time,” nor a destructive fetishization on victims and perpetrators of suffering and violence, but rather, because “renewal occurs only in the present” it is a moral project employing historical perspective to reimagine an “authentic” past and to in the process reify our present and future world in distinction from receding horrors.¹¹⁷ Sebald was inspired by the novel *Panorama* by H. G. Adler who in 1948 wrote the first draft of this memoir using a memory of an experience with his grandmother as a child in Prague visiting the visual medium of a panorama displaying cityscape scenes and other images to reflect upon ten ‘scenes’ from his life including internment at Auschwitz.¹¹⁸

The two peepholes are there so that you see everything just the way it really looks, and everything is enlarged so that it seems completely alive [...] If he doesn't turn his gaze away from the peepholes and presses his face hard against the shield, he feels completely alone with the pictures. The daily world disappears and is gone. The viewer and the picture become one on the inside, no one can get in.¹¹⁹

Later in the novel the narrator, Josef Kramer, is attending a summer camp of a group

¹¹⁵ Dr. Alfredo González-Ruibal, “Paving the Road to Hell: Archaeology of Violence in Ethiopia and Spain (1935-1941),” *The 2018-2019 History Graduate Program Speaker Series*, Trent University, Oct 3, 2018.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction*, 74.; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing The Past: Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 151.

¹¹⁸ H. G. Adler, *Panorama*, Translated by Peter Filkins. (New York: Random House, 2011), 3-6.

¹¹⁹ Adler, *Panorama*, 4.

called the Wanderers at Landstein Castle, Adamsfreiheit, and a scene of sitting around a fire with other campers telling stories is collapsed into his panoramic perspective as

the past and the present flow together for Josef as if in a dream [...] the flames of the campfire also part of the breath of the eternal light, before which one sits as in a panorama and stares inside, mankind always bracing himself before this light which will not really allow him to find a way in, something always remaining closed off, unreachable, man an onlooker, though if he wishes to be more than that he takes many risks, for who knows who can prevail without being destroyed?¹²⁰

By the end of ten scenes an autobiographical Josef embodies the perspectival machine gazing upon the world and a passage concluding the novel describes his consciousness.

Though he still sees them all, it not mattering if he closes his eyes, for he sees, and he can leave them open and he still sees, he hears the little bell, the view changes, it all repeats again, the order in which they do having been lost, no one watching any longer to make sure that the show runs smoothly, the views all mixing together, no, they are not views, for Josef is at peace, he controls the order and selection of views neither through his will nor through his fantasy, for they breed their own confusion, a continual interchange, everything mixing with everything else and shaken together in kaleidoscopic fashion. Josef is happy to be lying down, for if he were standing he would not be able to keep his feet still, as everything is dissolving together, he no longer knows which way is which, the times also spliced together, though it all gives rise to a feeling of happiness, the experiences of the past years appear to be compressed, Josef now able to preserve what he once experienced. Now he can look on and realize the tables have turned, he is the embodiment of all that has happened to him. [...] Those without vision lend the Conqueror and the fools an ear and a following, and soon evil grows, again and again resulting in destruction. So Josef thought, though now these thoughts dissolve inside him.¹²¹

In this passage occurs a rupture in the experience of chronological time into a circle of memory, which in clinical terms can be a feature of post-traumatic stress disorder. It is also descriptive of a circular experience of time and memory emerging from his experiences and in a sense places Josef outside the temporality of Western history, which now dissolves in his perspective.

Walter Benjamin and his work *Theses on the Philosophy of History* was another

¹²⁰ Adler, *Panorama*, 176.

¹²¹ Adler, *Panorama*, 426- 428.

influence on Sebald, as was Argentinian author Jorge Luis Borges, and all three share commonalities in structuring a circular nature to time and to memory in their writing. Borges applied ideas from Bishop Berkeley to literary worlds, in which time flowed from “the future into the past and thus as a ceaseless production of the past,” while Benjamin was influenced by circularity found in Jewish mysticism.¹²² Developing from this mysticism is the idea of “redemption” in history as articulated in his famous image *Angelus Novus*, wherein Benjamin understands history as “the site at each moment of time of an ever-renewed struggle” between a conformity, continuity, or sameness – through which the past is not only obliterated to fit it into the world of the present, but is curated for this purpose – versus appearance of something new and giving new opportunity to everything erased in re-emergence of what has been.¹²³ Progress is the storm blowing away the angel of history who is facing back, gazing upon the piling wreckage of history as any prospect of awakening the dead becomes more remote until, as Santos reads, “what the angel knows best and could transform has become strange [...] Thus, the past is a report, never a resource – never a power capable of irrupting at a moment of danger in favour of the defeated.”¹²⁴ In other terms, history is written as continuity with redemption the potential of everything that does not fit and disappears “irretrievably.”¹²⁵ In this conception of history, memory and time are in circular relationships of return with the history of victims and perpetrators becoming objects of commemoration or representation also separating them from struggles in the present. This

¹²² Nicolas Bourriaud, “The Journey-Form (3): Temporal Bifurcations//2009” found in *Memory: Documents of Contemporary Art* edited by Ian Farr (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 2011), 100; Stéphane Mosès, *The Angel of History: Rosenzweig, Benjamin, Scholem*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 109.

¹²³ Mosès, *The Angel of History*, 107, 109.

¹²⁴ Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 75.

¹²⁵ Mosès, *The Angel of History*, 113.

circular vision contains tensions in understandings of the past as it is always returning along with amoral, regressive, historical repetition threatening individual and social descent into melancholia, denial, and submission to powerlessness.¹²⁶

Michel-Rolph Trouillot argues historicization of time instead embeds Western perspectives of the present with “the assumption that history requires a linear and cumulative sense of time that allows the observer to isolate the past as a distinct entity” from complexities of the present world and acts to “classify non-Westerners as fundamentally non-historical” in the process.¹²⁷ The symbolic field filters and ranks into an organization of meaning the “transformation through which Christendom became the West” structuring “a set of relations that necessitates both utopia and the Savage.”¹²⁸ In development of these relations epochs such as Classical Greece, the Renaissance, and the Age of Discovery, did not occur in linear progression to create a distinctive Europe, but rather were retrospectively claimed to give legitimacy to expressions of power and violence as they “tied order to the quest for universal truths, a quest that gave savagery and utopia their relevance” as the “simultaneous creation of Europe and Otherness” expanded “a universal empire stretching the limits of Christendom out into nowhere” through colonizing missions.¹²⁹ Michel Foucault similarly saw the Christian pastorate as the forefront of colonization and a “prelude to governmentality” characterized not by relationships to salvation, to law, or to truth but rather as postulating the problem of

¹²⁶ Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 72, 73.

¹²⁷ Trouillot, *Silencing The Past*, 7.

¹²⁸ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness” Chapter found in *Trouillot Remixed: The Michel-Rolph Trouillot Reader*. Edited by Yarimar Bonilla et al. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2021), 53-62. As Trouillot tracks, conceptual slots of ‘Utopia’ and ‘Savage’ arose simultaneously beginning in sixteenth century travel writings, into ethnologies, and later in conceptions of a state of nature in social contract theory as precursors to anthropological practice.

¹²⁹ Trouillot, “Anthropology and the Savage Slot,” 66-68.

salvation and offering techniques employing a “reversal of merits” as solution.¹³⁰ In his view state formation and subjectification are one process totalizing and individualizing relations to the state using political and pastoral power.¹³¹ Reversals bonded Western subjects to messianic aims whereas historical thought in the Enlightenment stabilized temporality moving “irresistibly forward” later inculcating modern subjects with an obsessive drive to ‘get ahead’ for fear of becoming obsolete or of being on ‘the wrong side of history’ as this universal process was charged with moral judgement.¹³² Despite linguistic modifications and increasing participation of Indigenous peoples in development of historical knowledge this slot of *other* persists within a process of self-recognition anchoring symbolic meaning of the *West* in legitimation of power for totalized and individuated Western subjects.¹³³

Conversely, circular and redemptive qualities to history have been applied in gathering and usage of oral histories while working with survivors bearing witness to genocides such as in Holocaust studies, although negotiation of these histories within larger relations and discourses are ongoing struggles with their validity contested using progressive visions of history identifying heavily with the authority of universality and

¹³⁰ Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the College De France*, (New York: Picador, 2007), 183 – 184.

¹³¹ Thomas Lemke, *Foucault’s Analysis of Modern Governmentality: A Critique of Political Reason*. Translated by Erik Butler, (New York: Verso, 2019), 153 – 154, 157, 158. In Lemke’s reading of Foucault pastoral power modifies Judaic and Greco-Roman ideas of government to include the guidance of individual lives through an economy of sin compelling subjects to do what is necessary to achieve salvation, the virtue of obedience for the sake of obedience rather than of adherence to law or to social persuasion, and the interiorizing of truth through the examination of conscience and hierarchies of secrets disclosed in confession creating an “enduring bond between the pastor, his flock, and each of its members.”

¹³² Priya Satia, *Time’s Monster: How History Makes History*, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2020), 28-29.

¹³³ Trouillot, “Anthropology and the Savage Slot,” 76.; Lemke, *Foucault’s Analysis of Modern Governmentality*, 159.

objectivity.¹³⁴ This is not to conflate European contexts and events with the context and events in question but rather to build a theoretical alternative to progressive visions of history foundational to discursive dispossessions by European colonization, which remain a bulwark of perspective shaping this site.

2.5. *Temporality and Historical Memory of the Present at Sainte-Marie*

Creation of a historical memory of the present is vivid in a living historic reconstruction as it operates in dimensions of temporality, place, and networked relationships with materials and objects to tell a history and create impressions on mnemonic faculties of those engaged in re-creation of what history means.¹³⁵ Expressions of temporality are enormously complicated both because it is a historic coming together of peoples with distinct ontologies but more significantly because this site is built upon archives, objects, ruins, and landscape of the historic mission while simultaneously intertwined with a contemporary operational mission of the Martyrs' Shrine. This creates continuity with an imagined world of a past while also containing sharply discontinuous aspects; the most obvious of which from opening day has been an absence of Wendat.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Lawrence L. Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 3. In my visits to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem in 2009 and to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. in 2011 and 2012 the power of these connections created immersive and overwhelming historical experiences enmeshed with moral implications in the present. Conversely, while researching the history of dispossession and imprisonment of the Jewish family of academic and former partner Alexis Lerner in the Transcarpathian city of Мукачево (Mukachevo), present day Ukraine, their former family home was being lived in while the city had no commemorations but the crumbling tombstones of Jewish families who had largely resettled elsewhere. The landscape left no traces but a ruined factory on an abandoned rail line, which like a scar of memory held a perspective this was the former work camp where her Zaydeh had once been imprisoned for a long duration of the Second World War in her persecution as a Jewish person.

¹³⁵ Paolo Virno, *Déjà vu and the End of History*. Translated by David Broder, (New York: Verso, 2015), 4.

¹³⁶ Laura Peers, *Playing Ourselves: Interpreting Native Histories at Historic Reconstructions*. (New York: Altamira Press, 2007), 25-29.

Due to this absence and in contrast to holism in landscapes as espoused by Tim Ingold, initial impressions in my thinking and notes evaluated the site as operating according to ‘dual temporalities’ existing alongside one another. On one hand ruins, archaeological material remains, and other markers of temporal authority are rooted in the seventeenth century mission in a category of ‘what has been’ and on the other hand a present experience of the reconstructed past are grounded in the authority of the contemporary mission, pilgrimages, related engagements with Jesuit and French imperial past-worlds, and in the mandate of the Ministry of Heritage, Sport, Tourism and Culture Industries to maintain a relevant public history. On reflection, this resonates with the dichotomization by John Zurkowski of sequential *chronos* of everyday life from the eternal *kairós* of entering this landscape. However, my secular historical reinterpretation of walking with the martyrs as presented within this context is it cultivates associations with the past world taking on *chronos* through chronologies of history detailed in the museum and in historical re-enactments of everyday life. Conversely, it is an experience of this past in the present shaped by a sense of the eternal, or of a *kairós*. It is as if Sainte-Marie has always been and will always be in continuity with this history. Indeed, the reconstruction has stood alongside the Martyrs’ Shrine forty-eight years longer than the original structure.

The experience of time was addressed on different occasions by the Jesuit Superior including as within a landscape where an opening of space has occurred as the act of “martyrdom changes space” into one of connection with the divine. Time has also undergone a change in form to becoming suspended as it is a “place of witness.”¹³⁷ In his

¹³⁷ Jesuit Superior, “The Human Origins of the Amerindians in the *Jesuit Relations*; and the Divine Nature of ‘*Sauvages*’ in the *Relations*; their Human Development in Jesus Christ; and the Rhetorical

thinking recognition of the significance of such a landscape, which has undergone spatial and temporal transformation, was also tied to the granting of national historic site recognition.¹³⁸ This interpretation of space is connected with a conception of a mystical landscape and is grounded in source materials of the *Jesuit Relations*, Christian theology, and Jesuit discernment generated through the *Spiritual Exercises*.¹³⁹ The Jesuit Relations, however, transcend boundaries of historical and ecclesiastic documentation and are difficult to navigate critically in attempts to understand such acts of witnessing, which has fostered a mantra by historians they can only be read historically *against the grain* and contain the risk of taking on their dimensions as documents of imperialism and conversion espousing Christian forms of sedentism, agriculturalism, and European place-making.¹⁴⁰ In a panel discussion I attended at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons on *Missionaries & Encounters*, the Jesuit Relations were described as designed to foster a sense of “calculated closeness” to events and specifically written to force the suffering of Jean de Brébeuf on readers to stir feelings of spiritual experiences and conversion, which was a primary objective of these texts along with being a significant source of fundraising for the mission.¹⁴¹ This feeling of temporal suspension inviting a sense of eternity,

designations of ‘barbares’ and ‘sauvage’ in the *Jesuit Relations*” (lecture, *A Journey Through History: The Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Canada*, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, July 8, 2019).; Jesuit Superior, “Panel IV: Crisis & Persecution,” *Life & Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom*. Symposium, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, October 20, 2018.

¹³⁸ Jesuit Superior, “The Human Origins of the Amerindians in the *Jesuit Relations*,” July 8, 2019.

¹³⁹ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture, the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola, and Louis Lallemant, in the *Relations*” (lecture, *A Journey Through History: The Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Canada*, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, July 9, 2019).

¹⁴⁰ Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xxviii, xxix, 96, 100.; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 512.; Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 26.

¹⁴¹ “Panel II: Missionaries & Encounters” *Life & Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom*. Symposium, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, October 19th, 2018.; José António Brandão, “The Jesuits at Fort St. Joseph in Southwest Michigan” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 8 (2021), 358.

however, is not confined to a spiritual realm as it is moored in how temporality and spatiality are structured through a transformational process of re-telling these stories as history with these texts grounding a hagiographic expression.

This has roots in how the Jesuit Relations are used on a phenomenological level. As Henri Bergson argued, formation of memory and of our perception occur simultaneously rather than in sequence, which is a process without such remembering, he contends, there would be no history.¹⁴² Paolo Virno expands on Bergson to explore the concept of ‘*déjà vu*’ in history and warns of a point where a historical memory of the present transforms into a “false recognition,” which he defines as a memory becoming fixed as “something that has already been real” rather than an experience of the possible reified in engagement with “the past-form, applied to the present.”¹⁴³ Taking this idea further, the realness of a past as such can create a “hypertrophy of memory” where the present is “wholly dependent on the past” and Western subjects wholly dependent on this past themselves no longer engage in historical process. This is like the dead-end quality to characters and setting within ‘once upon a time’ past-worlds or ‘just so’ stories that demand to be “reproduced in every detail” despite having little dimensionality.¹⁴⁴ Dualistic temporality present at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons evokes a sense of *déjà vu* in that a period of time otherwise anomalous in the history of the land and people, by secular historical accounts a disastrous series of events, and by Indigenous accounts I encountered at once marginal while also containing elements deeply traumatic to a sense of identity is made to appear familiar and central to the lands and peoples through whom the story is depicted.

¹⁴² Virno, *Déjà vu*, 11, 29.

¹⁴³ Virno, *Déjà vu*, 18.

¹⁴⁴ Virno, *Déjà vu*, 42, 43.

A poetic articulation by Susan Sontag in her ‘Letter to Borges’ uses a phrase ascribed to the poet Browning she remembered Borges repeating at their lively dinner gatherings where “the present is the instant in which the future crumbles into the past.”¹⁴⁵ In this present world of historical memory a future alternative to missionary prerogatives crumbles into an imagined, historic missionary world. Through an immersive experience providing living history for visitors constructed memories of a past Jesuit mission site are co-created along with a contemporary operational Jesuit mission and a form of Jesuit history from the seventeenth-century. While entangled with spatial and identity generating ‘techniques of temporal protention’ including archives and the *Jesuit Relations* rooted in French imperialism it is extolled as ‘real’ and occupies the position of narrative authority in generation of a past while also perceived in the present - all in one place and time. Dual temporality between a present-ness of history as *kairós* alongside a past-ness of what has been as *chronos* is described alternately by Giorgio Agamben as being intrinsic to the utopic drive for history within Western temporality.

The Western experience of time is split between eternity and continuous linear time. The dividing point through which the two relate is the instant as a discrete, elusive point. Against this conception, which dooms any attempt to master time, there must be opposed one whereby the true site of pleasure, as man’s primary dimension, is neither precise, continuous time nor eternity, but history. Contrary to what Hegel stated, it is only the source and the site of happiness that history can have a meaning for man. In this sense, Adam’s seven hours in Paradise are the primary core of all authentic historical experience. For history is not, as the dominant ideology would have it, man’s servitude to continuous linear time, but man’s liberation from it: the time of history and the *cairós* in which man, by his initiative, grasps favourable opportunity and chooses his own freedom in the moment. [...] But a revolution from which there springs not a new chronology, but a qualitative alteration of time (a *cairology*), would have the weightiest

¹⁴⁵ Susan Sontag, “Letter to Borges” in *Where the Stress Falls*, (New York: Picador, 2002), 111. Bracken, *The Potlatch Papers*, 103. Another articulation by Christopher Bracken in discussion of Heidegger is “The present is the ever-recurring instant in which the future revolves around into the past and past into future, and time is an infinite series of nows that ceaselessly ends where it begins – only to begin again.”

consequence and would alone be immune to absorption into the reflux of restoration.¹⁴⁶

In this reading the authentic condition of Western history is epitomized in Adam's seven hours in Paradise, or the Garden of Eden, which is given meaning as a site of pleasure and freedom outside of the closed loop of continuous linear time and the morally bounded Christian conception of eternity. This temporal shape to history is also spatially bounded by the *other* as limiting coordinate, outside of which exist conditions of the inauthentic and the non-historical.

On another occasion on July 12, 2019, while unpacking a Martyrs' Shrine travel mass kit and preparing for a special Mass at St. Ignace II at the end of an afternoon pilgrimage journey by students to the location of the martyrdom of Brébeuf and Lalemant, the Jesuit Superior and I spoke about the ordered nature to Catholic ritual. He generously imparted knowledge of the many objects of Mass focussing on the small circular container of the Pyx, in which the eucharist is transported, and also discussed temporality in Catholic ritual and the ubiquitous nature of the calendar organizing our lives as being of Catholic design around celebrations, or feasts, of Saints, much like the veneration of two martyred Saints unfolding in front of me.¹⁴⁷ This is common knowledge and also commonly practiced by Catholics engaged in these rituals but becoming aware of an overarching ordering of daily temporality by the Catholic Church while witness to such a moment of time and place making at a location venerated as witnessing the martyrdom of Saints felt profound.

¹⁴⁶ Giorgio Agamben, *Infancy and History: On the Destruction of Experience*, (New York: Verso, 2007), 114 – 115.

¹⁴⁷ Jesuit Superior, "Walking Pilgrimage to the Martyrdom Site of St. Jean de Brébeuf and St. Gabriel Lalemant" *A Journey Through History: The Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Canada*, St. Ignace II, July 12, 2019.



Fig. 7. Martyrs' Shrine travel Mass kit at St. Ignace II, July 2019.

As discussed on the panel *Crisis & Persecution* of Christians, the Catholic vision of the universe is “chronologically closed” as existence will end with Judgement but is “ontologically open” requiring God to account for its function.¹⁴⁸ The trajectory, however, is nuanced and the Jesuit Superior suggested Jesuit ontology meshed well with circular Indigenous conceptions of time in that a beginning and an end are viewed differently as a depth to the experience of life is explored and people are changed by these experiences.¹⁴⁹ Wendat and Christian spirituality are also thought to both suggest every moment of time is sacred.¹⁵⁰ The hourglass shape represents this process as life is compressed into a bottleneck of experience opening up from this passage into new understandings. The shape is a spiritual symbol found throughout Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee material culture including in pictographs, decorated antler combs and more recent painting by Norval Morrisseau suggesting the “universe in microcosm” and

¹⁴⁸ “Panel IV: Crisis & Persecution,” *Life & Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom*. Symposium, Sainte- Marie Among the Hurons, October 20, 2018.

¹⁴⁹ Jesuit Superior, “The Human Origins of the Amerindians in the *Jesuit Relations*,” July 8, 2019.

¹⁵⁰ Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019.

was also drawn on the board by the Jesuit Superior when describing to the class the intellectual structure to their reflective assignments handed in by the end of the week.¹⁵¹

Western experiences of time including from a secular perspective also structure temporal experiences of historical narrative. In the European context a similar universal sensibility in world-standard time as it was developed and “history as world history” generated from what would otherwise have been overlapping histories.¹⁵² Historical consciousness was developed in the modernist tradition by Hegel (as argued by Peter Osbourne while using the work of Jacques Ricoeur) and is a rationalized “historical totalization” as the state grew out of structures of the Church. Unravelling of the European world in the twentieth century into existential crisis of wars, genocides, technological and environmental catastrophes, and decolonizing reckonings with global populations challenged a totalizing historical experience and, he argues,

It now seems as though Hegel, seizing a favourable moment, a *kairos*, which has been revealed for what it was to our perspective and our experience, only totalized a few leading aspects of the spiritual history of Europe and of its geographical and historical environment, ones that, since that time, have come undone...¹⁵³

Hegel’s conception of history is beyond the scope of this discussion and beyond my understanding, but the critical point by Osbourne is that as standardizations expanded out through imperial power the totalizing imperatives of European history as culminating in the state and interconnected with those of the Church developed a sense of the eternal within the bounds of historical perspective and in relation to the universal construction of

¹⁵¹ Ronald F. Williamson and Robert von Bitter, “Iroquois du Nord Decorated Antler Combs: Reflections of Ideology,” Chapter in *The History and Archaeology of the Iroquois du Nord*, edited by Robert von Bitter and Ronald F. Williamson. (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of History and University of Ottawa Press, 2023), 220, 221, 225, 232, 233, 236.

¹⁵² Peter Osbourne, *The Politics of Time: Modernity and Avant-Garde*. (New York: Verso, 1995), 34-60.

¹⁵³ Osbourne, *The Politics of Time*. 40.

temporality. It is not that a universal structure of time is revealed with the imposition of standardization, but rather standardization demands universal dimensions to temporality structured as *chronos* and *kairós*. Characteristics of Christian religious doctrine were historically derived from a synthesis of monotheism and historical fulfillment rooted in Judaism and philosophical universality derived from the *Logos* and the imperial, territorial, and legal *Pax Romana* of the Greco-Roman world.¹⁵⁴ Pluralisms of the Hellenic world were absorbed by the merger of monotheism with Greek *Logos* and development of the state in the context of a Christian ascendancy in the Middle Ages, which as a result also reified Western history within a chronologically closed world. Alternate temporal relationships challenging universal and totalized dimensions of standardization are anathema to this synthesis of history.¹⁵⁵ History generated at Sainte-Marie fixed in place by standardized and totalized landscape experiences, chronologies, and universalized identities interacts with complexities of living Indigenous peoples in such a way there occurs a rupture in this form of national and ecclesiastic history, which in my own consciousness fostered a sense of interacting with a dual form of temporality.

Structures of the Western experience of history, or historical memory of the present, are significant to historical depictions at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons for two reasons. First, it has become a crucial task to reimagine and adapt historical knowledges animating historical sites in Canada as governments and stakeholders seek to implement recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The TRC is understood by Ry Moran, the first Director of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, to be “a sentinel” against revisionist history. He warned this is an ongoing

¹⁵⁴ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, 97-100.

¹⁵⁵ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, 100-102.

struggle as it was ruled by the Supreme Court of Canada transitory records created in the process will be destroyed by 2027 in order to protect victims.¹⁵⁶ Outside of these documents he characterizes negotiations with the Canadian state and Catholic Church over their records as “actively erasing critical parts of our history” while at the time of his presentation roughly four hundred cemeteries of children who died in residential schools were yet to be located. Many known sites had been tied up in local struggles necessitating such initiatives as the “Save the Evidence” campaign in Brantford seeking to gain site protections.¹⁵⁷ With these struggles as backdrop the commission fostered commitments to open up understandings and the telling of public histories in ways more inclusive of Indigenous perspectives and methodologies including orality and memory.¹⁵⁸ Sylvia Maracle characterizes the TRC as having an overall goal of fostering respectful relationships, which has somewhat become boxed into notions of land claims and legislative aspects deeply entangled with the operation of the Canadian state to an extent there is neither proper understanding of the meaning of reconciliation nor capacity to implement even the first recommendation of adopting the United Nations Declaration of Right of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).¹⁵⁹ Instead, she concluded “it’s a long journey, it’s not a sprint” requiring inter-generational change dependent on long-term maintenance

¹⁵⁶ Ry Moran, “Reconciliation: Taking Stock, Moving Forward,” *Part 2 of the Provost Lecture Series*. (First Peoples House of Learning, Trent University, February 4, 2019).

¹⁵⁷ Moran, “Reconciliation: Taking Stock, Moving Forward,” February 4, 2019.; Eric Andrew-Gee, “Excavating Canada’s past with a newly critical eye: As reconciliation with Indigenous peoples grinds ahead, Canadian archaeologists are motivated and well placed to show a way forward,” *The Globe and Mail*, Archeology, January 22, 2018.

¹⁵⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 2012, p. 9. Call to Action 79 ii. applies directly to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons and surrounding sites as it asks for “Revising the policies, criteria, and practices of the National Program of Historical Commemoration to integrate Indigenous history, heritage values, and memory practices in Canada’s national heritage and history.”

¹⁵⁹ Sylvia Maracle, “Reconciliation: Taking Stock, Moving Forward,” *Part 4 of the Provost Lecture Series*. (First Peoples House of Learning, Trent University, February 25, 2019).

of records and historical perspective in service of cultivating lasting relationships.¹⁶⁰

A difficulty with reforms at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons is despite being a significant historic site where hundreds of thousands of Christians on pilgrimage, school children, locals, and non-Christian tourists first encounter Indigenous groups such as the historic Wendat, the historically villainized ‘Iroquois,’ and present-day workers from a diversity of local Indigenous backgrounds including Ojibway and Chippewa, the site is specifically telling the story of Jesuit missionaries, French colonists and to an extent Christian Wendat. The Jesuit Superior made the argument due to this focus Indigenous knowledges only play a more complimentary role, and this is in-tune with more recent inclusion and expansion of programming such as clay oki and corn husk doll making, lacrosse tutorials, Anishinaabemowin language learning, considerable celebration of Indigenous Peoples Day, and stocking of Indigenous made and more respectful wares at the gift shop.¹⁶¹ However, these are a roster of what I understand to be representational additions of Indigenous presence within a historical framework, which still tells a story of Jesuit missionaries and French colonists according to colonial archives and within a Jesuit ontology. It feels like what Bruno Latour describes as the “movement of re-association and reassembling” in a reshuffle of representations as previous ideas and historical actors including the story of the Canadian Martyrs have lost relevance in a wider, secular story and social vision for Canada.¹⁶²

Secondly, it challenges a common idea present within the literature and in my own conversations that many conflicts over history set up within a Settler/Indigenous

¹⁶⁰ Maracle, “Reconciliation: Taking Stock, Moving Forward,” February 25, 2019.

¹⁶¹ Visits to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 21, 2019, and June 21, 2022.

¹⁶² Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 6-7.

dichotomy can be explained through a ‘clash of cultures’ encounter and are, as a result, inherently intractable. This clash involves on the one hand a multiplicity of circular, relational, and oral Indigenous societies and ontologies being displaced by linear, literate, European ontologies who disrupt these cycles and through a lens of science and technology significantly shape the subsequent society we live in today, which absent a necessary trove of evidence deemed to be objective in nature and with an emphasis on written records do not adequately recognize or represent stories of Indigenous worlds. Aspects of this argument have been put forward by Huron-Wendat scholar George Sioui in his work on the Huron-Wendat as a circular society, as well as in Catholic sources including Bernard Lonergan who was critical of dichotomizations of science separating spirit from subject matter.¹⁶³ However, Wendat conceptions of circularity and a past in circular relationship with the present also have resonance in subaltern European perspectives, and most surprisingly, even coalesce to a certain degree with Jesuit ontology.¹⁶⁴ This is specific to ceremonial significance of oral culture and to reverence of material objects and human remains as bones in particular are experienced as vessels of sacred and ancestral connection, which have led to many examples of syncretism.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*, xi, 43-44, 178-179. Lonergan, *Understanding and Being*, 99-102. In discussion of research on Trobriand Islanders Lonergan illustrates positivist and antimetaphysical scientific thinking interprets subsistence patterns as intelligent and reasonable whereas regarding interpretations of ‘myths and magic’ of islanders “they seemed to belong to an entirely different race” and in this scientific mind their spiritual beliefs are in a sense blanked out despite shaping their world.

¹⁶⁴ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 206.

¹⁶⁵ Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 266-269.; Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, 93. While participating in Mass in the basement of the Jesuit residence at Sainte-Marie at a tomb containing remains of the Martyrs I was struck with the orality of Catholic traditions, which despite having an authority grounded in textual documents of the Gospel, had developed through relational repetitions of visions, rituals, and word of mouth. Even relics were primarily discussed while seldom experienced. In an act of symbolic interconnection wood of the alter table of this room, which anchored the symbolic order of the ritual, had also been sourced from the surrounding landscape. Conference participants were blessed by the Jesuit Superior in this sacred space and the act of being together, seeing, and listening to Mass created a distinct feeling of connection. As Ricard Tarnis explains,

Additionally, regardless of troves of evidence speaking to past worlds of Jewish mysticism and many Indigenous and Pagan traditions within Europe and colonized peoples the world over these histories are shaped by similar processes of silencing and erasure through traumas of genocide, the production or compilation of hegemonic written sourcing, and the creation of landscapes of exclusion.¹⁶⁶ When engaging in broad and more inclusive perspectives, in which complex interactions more global in scale are incorporated, the historicity of seventeenth century Ontario is resistant to being reduced to a ‘clash of cultures’ specific to particularities of the historic colonial interaction in question, but rather is placed within tensions of ongoing processes of imperialism and historicization one can encounter today. Indigenous orality and memory traditions are not impediments to creating more inclusive histories, but rather, as argued by historian and Lower Brule Sioux citizen Nick Estes, it is the shape of the history itself, which operates as “deeply disempowering” to living Indigenous peoples.¹⁶⁷ Connections between impacts of imperialism and four distinct historic and contemporary processes of land dispossession, which continue to anchor power relations in our present world, have led to settler communities to tell of a past using “a linear conception of time to distance themselves from the horrific crimes committed against indigenous peoples and the land,” rather than linearity being an adherence to a meaningful form of objectivity in creation of

the Christian “world view was grounded in the canonical revelation, and gradually modified, developed, and extended by various subsequent factors largely under the authoritative guidance of church tradition. That it was the Church that established the divine authority of the scriptural canon, and the scriptural canon that established the divine authority of the Church, may appear circuitous, but that symbiotic mutual endorsement, affirmed in faith by the continuing Church community, effectively ruled the formation of the Christian outlook.”

¹⁶⁶ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, 96, 97, 474.

¹⁶⁷ Nick Estes, *Our History is the Future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance*. (New York: Verso, 2019), 16.

history or this history being of fixed ontological coordinates.¹⁶⁸ There are many examples at Sainte-Marie where the idea of creating an “objective” history is abandoned and this is celebrated as a necessary part of a practice of mythmaking in heritage. Regardless of any perceived value to colonial origin stories including the ‘discovery of the Americas’ by explorers, Thanksgiving, and the stories of the Canadian Martyrs they are widely understood to be constitutive myths and are more frequently challenged on grounds of anchoring colonial discursive relationships in the present, or as summarized by Pedro Lebrón Ortiz operate as “a way to vulcanize identity and stabilize power.”¹⁶⁹ These myths are also detrimental to Indigenous peoples interacting with public history and prospects of expanded inclusion, as Estes summarizes, because “Indigenous notions of time consider the present to be structured entirely by our past and our ancestors. There is no separation between past and present, meaning that an alternative future is also determined by our understanding of our past. Our history is the future.”¹⁷⁰ Sylvia Maracle similarly describes to Haudenosaunee “what happened a millennia ago is relevant today” while having “vision” and having “time” are interrelated along with reciprocity and relationship building, which at their core are all issues of time.¹⁷¹ This is in distinction to a ‘hypertrophy’ of the past as living communities create this past in relationships of social and temporal circularity rather than in relationship to objective authority. This is one dimension of what another scholar describes as a “kincentric model” of spatial and temporal relationship to natural and social worlds where impositions of epistemic and

¹⁶⁸ Estes, *Our History is The Future*, 14, 32; Daniel Denvir, “Our History is The Future with Nick Estes”, *The Dig Podcast*, 29 June 2019.

¹⁶⁹ Pedro Lebrón Ortiz, “Against the Mythological Machine, Towards Decolonial Revolt” *Theory & Event* Vol. 24, Number 3, July 2021, 787-815.

¹⁷⁰ Estes, *Our History is The Future*, 32.

¹⁷¹ Sylvia Maracle, “Conceptual Shifts in Urban Indigenous Research” CINSA conference, Trent University, February 19, 2020.

physical fences, or abyssal lines as Santos describes, are transgressive and promulgate “neo-assimilation.” Indigenous peoples are categorized as non-objective in thinking about historical realities despite practicing complex and generative forms in a process similarly impacting land cultivation, medicines, knowledge of the movement of animals, and cultural practices often requiring open spaces and open temporalities, which are inherently threatened when cordoned off.¹⁷²

This landscape also expresses tensions of historiographical abyssal lines. This includes when turning off Granny White Sideroad and reaching the Saint-Louis Mission National Historic Site through a long, high chain-linked fenced portal into a square of manicured grass cut out and closed off from the surrounding, lush maple and beech forest and the nearby Hogg River, which on the early June morning I first visited were bathed in sounds of trickling water never to be touched and bird songs.¹⁷³ Signage tells of the significance of the mission with details of regional Indigenous populations while it is as if trapped in a literal pen of history.¹⁷⁴ No trespassing signs cordon off the region for the many estates such as “Chateau Cadeau” lining Rosemount Rd. and Gervais Rd. while snowmobile routes and high-tension wire corridors cut across the Simcoe County Forest boundaries and the Sturgeon River where after descending from an old rail bridge graffitied with “Harbour Hicks” I stopped to cool down. In collaboration with regional

¹⁷² Dennis Martinez, “Restoring Indigenous History and Culture to Nature” in *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future*, (Rochester: Bear & Company, 2008), 89 - 91.; Leanne Betasamosake Simpson with Edna Manitowabi, “Theorizing Resurgence from within Nishnaabeg Thought” in *Centering Anishinaabe Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, ed. Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 280.; Allen Greer, *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empires and Land in Early Modern North America*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 51-52.

¹⁷³ Parks Canada, “Saint-Louis Mission National Historic site of Canada,” Directory of Federal Heritage Designations, https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=562

¹⁷⁴ Visit to Saint-Louis Mission National Historic Site, June 21, 2022.

authorities the Martyrs' Shrine has recently constructed an eighty-nine-kilometre walking trail through forests and along shorelines using these networks named “The Pilgrim Route” through Orillia to Barrie with aspirations for a “Canadian Camino” to Toronto for “quiet reflection, meditation, prayer, and the enjoyment of our beautiful countryside.”¹⁷⁵



Fig. 8. The Pilgrim Route map at St. Ignace II (left). Fig. 9. St. Louis National Historic Site entrance with chain-linked fence extending to a cleared section of forest (right).

Examination of a dualistic temporality experienced through the landscape at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons grounds tensions over historicity in power relations in the present dwelling and in the shape of stories we continue to be told and to tell ourselves. This leads to questions about what Indigenous worlds have been silenced or displaced in historiography and in surrounding regional landscape experiences. Contemporary elders, historians, archaeologists, and others engaged with living Indigenous worlds who have developed research and histories shaped by Indigenous knowledges tell a different story about landscape than that I first encountered in June of 2018.

¹⁷⁵ “The Pilgrim Route: A Walking Pilgrimage Trail from Barrie to Martyrs’ Shrine, Midland” *Martyrs’ Shrine*, June 21, 2022. <https://martyrs-shrine.com/pilgrim-route/>

2.6. *Indigenous Landscapes of Renewal*

Historicization is characterized by co-creation of historical sources such as the *Jesuit Relations* and historical silences such as pervasive erasure of Indigenous knowledge, which enmeshed into a canon of seventeenth century Ontario history as it is presented to the public. A reader or a visitor to a museum is often looking back on the summarized version and a positivist aspect of this historical model in the chronology. However, despite a perceived fixity to timelines their meaning is in constant negotiation. Using carbon-14 dating methods archaeologists such as Jennifer Birch wrestle over timelines of the seventeenth century in the Great Lakes region. Carbon-14 dates from the Christian calendar period of 1400-1600, which are constitutive to the history in question, are within a range of high variability and dates contain a fifty-year margin of error.¹⁷⁶ Calibration curves, which are rooted in more stable data including tree-rings, are used for conversion of carbon-14 data into calendar dates and interpreted using a probability model of whether a reading is likely before or after a given date.¹⁷⁷ Research by Birch and the Dating Iroquoia project show narrative impacts of this variability on results, which have been used to date proliferations of defensive fortifications including expanded palisades along with relocation to defensible locations concurrent with formation of tribal alliances and confederacies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This interaction developed into an over-simplified and questionable feature of these timelines including a widespread view internal conflict among Haudenosaunee and between Indigenous groups account for military violence described in sources by Jesuits at Sainte-Marie, and which feature prominently in historiography and in visitor

¹⁷⁶ James Conolly, Radiocarbon Dating Workshop, Trent University, March 3, 2020.

¹⁷⁷ James Conolly, Radiocarbon Dating Workshop, Trent University, March 3, 2020.

experiences despite this focus having been significantly modified from previous eras.¹⁷⁸

Haudenosaunee military aggression towards New France and Indigenous allies has already undergone considerable reimagining from an entrenched economic interpretations of the evidence-poor ‘Beaver Wars’ conceived in works of Francis Parkman and Harold Innis, among others, towards quantitatively informed arguments by historian José António Brandão.¹⁷⁹ Aggression had complex sources including: insecurity over hunting lands resulting from demographic expansion as members of other groups such as the St. Lawrence Iroquois were absorbed from population displacements in the late sixteenth century, demographic contractions in the early seventeenth century due to disease leading to raids or “mourning wars” launched to recoup population losses, revenge raids resulting from French and allied military victories and especially those of 1609-1610 against the Mohawk, and the general encroachment of European interests, which “complicated and threatened” Haudenosaunee society.¹⁸⁰ These culminated into violent contexts throughout this period. Instead of resulting from traditional conflicts stretching far into a past defenses likely emerged fifty-years later in archaeological timelines and are concurrent with external conflicts emanating outwards from Haudenosaunee territory in present day New York State and more connected to external colonial incursions and conflicts between Dutch, British, and French actors in the early seventeenth century. According to Charles

¹⁷⁸ Jennifer Birch, “Dating Iroquoia: Radiocarbon Chronology Building and Relational Histories of Coalescence and Conflict Among Huron-Wendat Ancestors in Southern Ontario” Lecture, *Ottawa Chapter of the Ontario Archaeological Society*, November 19, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IO3hEohjoUY>; Sturt W. Manning, Jennifer Birch, Megan Anne Conger, Michael W. Dee, Carol Griggs and Carla S. Hadden, “Contact-Era Chronology Building in Iroquoia: Age Estimates for Arendarhonon Sites and Implications for Identifying Champlain’s Cahiagué” *American Antiquity*, 84, no.4 (2019): 684-707.; “Dating Iroquoia: Radiocarbon Chronology in Northeastern North America” Project Website, <https://datingiroquoia.wordpress.com/>

¹⁷⁹ Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*. 6-14

¹⁸⁰ Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*. 6-14, 131; José António Brandão and William A. Starna, “From the Mohawk-Mahican War to the Beaver Wars: Questioning the Pattern” *Ethnohistory* 51:4 (fall 2004), 726, 727, 740.

Garnier Wendat worked with the French to modify palisade design into square formations including usage of larger posts and in design of towers allowing gunmen to defend the perimeter of towns such as Ossossané, which was later copied at other locations.¹⁸¹ This suggests alliance with the French and promise of military defence by Champlain had significant influence on the archaeological record even prior to these modification as Wendat were amenable to integrating expectations of heightened geo-political conflict into village design and tied expectations to relationships with Europeans.¹⁸²

The region is also one of the richest known archaeological landscapes in the world containing complex networks of villages, ossuaries, hunting camps, fish weirs, and many other sites.¹⁸³ However, Peter Ramsden and Marta Latta argue this depth of occupation has been suppressed by the role of ethnography and specifically the *Jesuit Relations* in shaping the practice of archaeology, which as a result of chasing stories within these texts has both born no innovative contributions to mainstream archaeology and in some cases not even site reports, and has also significantly distorted archaeological knowledge about Indigenous peoples.¹⁸⁴ Birch argues prior to this period “people may have moved far more freely between different territories across more informal sets of relations, based in cultures of reciprocity and circularity” rather than in the fixity of timelines, subsequent histories, and identities of Indigenous violence reified in public histories.¹⁸⁵ This form of reciprocal interrelation is supported by genetic research as homogeneity across linguistic groups exists in Indigenous populations in present-day Ontario despite archaeological

¹⁸¹ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 513 – 515.

¹⁸² Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 513 – 515.

¹⁸³ Peter Ramsden, “The Current State of Huron Archaeology,” *Northeast Anthropology*, Vol. 51: 1996, 103.

¹⁸⁴ Ramsden, “The Current State of Huron Archaeology,” 105.; Latta, “Identification of the 17th Century French Missions in Eastern Huronia,” 149.

¹⁸⁵ Birch, “Dating Iroquoia” Lecture, November 19, 2020.

research showing significant diversity and change in subsistence and settlement patterns such as variable adoptions of maize and shifting territorial usages.¹⁸⁶

Additionally, Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg Elder Gidigaa Migizi or Doug Williams as I have known him had considerable influence on me in separating thinking about Indigenous landscapes from Wendat or as he describes Aayadowaad-centric narratives that dominate discussions of this story of seventeenth century Ontario history. The historic Aayadowaad and the contemporary Wyandot, Huron-Wendat, and other descendant peoples are central, but many aspects to the telling of their story are distorted by interpretations of history as well as by the history of archaeology. Rich nuance of this discussion will not be fully explored, but as discussed the land is known archaeologically to have at different times been dwelled upon by Aayadowaad, Anishinaabe, and Haudenosaunee, while a range of groups including Odawa, Nipissing, and neighbouring Etionnontateronnon are likely to have transected the site as the region was host to wide cross-sections of mixed groups trading, hunting and fishing, warring, and journeying through.¹⁸⁷ Anishinaabeg peoples have a twelve thousand year history in the region and Gidigaa Migizi points to archaeological evidence of Wendat moving into these lands as lacking subsequent discussion of political agreements, which would have been necessary between groups in order to facilitate migration.¹⁸⁸ He wrote “we were the shoreline

¹⁸⁶ Ronald F. Williamson and Robert I. MacDonald, “Echoes of the Iroquois Wars: Contested Heritage and Identity in the Ancestral Homeland of the Huron-Wendat.” Chap in *Identity and Heritage: Contemporary Challenges in a Globalized World*. Ed. Peter F. Biehl et al. (New York: Springer, 2015), 99.

¹⁸⁷ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 180-182.; William A. Fox and Charles Garrad, “Hurons in an Algonquian Land” in *Ontario Archeology: Journal of the Ontario Archeological Society*. Ed. By Mima Kapches and Patricia Reed, No. 77/78, 2004, 124-129.

¹⁸⁸ Fox and Garrad, “Hurons in an Algonquian Land,” 125.; Gitigaa Migizi (Doug Williams) and Julie Kapryrka. “Before, During, and After: Mississauga Presence in the Kawarthas.” In *Peterborough Archaeology*, Dirk Verhulst, ed. Peterborough: Peterborough Chapter of the Ontario Archaeological Society, 2015, 133-135.

people and they were the agricultural, field, gardening people” and told me it is due to archaeologists seeking and encountering more easily traceable, more allegorical as European, and archaeologically exciting material remnants of longhouses and village sites relating to this agriculture that the record is so rich in Aayadowaad presence.¹⁸⁹ Uninterrupted usage of land is rendered less visible in comparison as settlement patterns such as usage of temporary wigwam shelters generally do not leave post-hole traces in soil and subsistence patterns such as Anishinaabe maple sugaring are mostly invisible.¹⁹⁰ He also pointed to discoveries of small dwellings outside of Aayadowaad longhouses as being Anishinaabeg.¹⁹¹ Standard test pit surveys at a 5 m interval likely miss Anishinaabe camp sites entirely while settlements often overlap with earlier pre-colonial sites complicating post-contact identification in the absence of European artifacts.¹⁹² Additionally, archaeologists discuss Iroquoian ceramic vessels as likely used by Anishinaabe in the region, which makes distinctions in the record even more complex.¹⁹³ A key identifying feature of Anishinaabe sites from the period after diaspora is large amounts of “comminuted burned and calcined bone” possibly from the processing of bone grease, and which is also found on Subarctic sites.¹⁹⁴ Despite Aayadowaad being

¹⁸⁹ Gidigaa Migizi, (Doug Williams), *Michi Saagiig Nishnaaneg: This is Our Territory*. (Winnipeg: Manitoba: ARP Books), 2018, 30.

¹⁹⁰ Gary Warrick, “Indigenous-Land Relationships in the Grand River Valley 1784-1851,” Lecture, London Chapter of the Ontario Archaeological Society, February 10, 2022.

¹⁹¹ Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams), “Understanding Local Treaties.”

¹⁹² Gary Warrick and Ronald F. Williamson, “After the Haudenosaunee: The Mississauga Occupation of the North Shore of Lake Ontario” Chapter in *The History and Archaeology of the Iroquois du Nord*, edited by Robert von Bitter and Ronald F. Williamson, (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of History and University of Ottawa Press, 2023), 277-278.

¹⁹³ Personal correspondence with Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams); Neal Ferris, “Place, Space, and Dwelling in the Late Woodland,” chapter in *Before Ontario: The Archaeology of a Province*. Edited by Marit K. Munson and Susan M. Jamieson. (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2013), 109 – 110.; Fox and Garrad, “Hurons in an Algonquian Land,” 124.

¹⁹⁴ Warrick and Williamson, “After the Haudenosaunee: The Mississauga Occupation of the North Shore of Lake Ontario,” 279.

understood historically in contexts of maize cultivation fields and village sites research of Anishinaabe from this period also found them to be consuming just as much maize.¹⁹⁵

The idea of ‘Wendake’ as fixed territory is another projection of colonial relationships to land. Aayadowaad had only moved into denser village groupings within the region from areas closer to present-day Lake Ontario by some accounts in what is archaeologically referred to as the Middle Iroquoian Period (1290-1420 AD) and according to Gidigaa Migizi after an exchange of Wampum with Anishinaabe occurring in an earlier period, which entered them into relationships endowing rights and responsibilities in usage of traditional Anishinaabe and Odawa lands and in growing maize.¹⁹⁶ Archaeologist William Fox thought it was the Odawa bear clan who had initially allowed the Wendat bear clan to enter this territory as the pioneering group due to a shared clan affiliation, which speaks to the nuance governing these relationships.¹⁹⁷ These claims also persisted after the diasporic period beginning in 1650. In 2017 at a talk exploring relationships to local treaties including Treaty 20 covering present-day Peterborough (Nogojiwanong), Ontario, Gidigaa Migizi described when settlers, cottagers, and non-Indigenous peoples more generally come from Toronto to the region without understanding or respect for lands outside of conceptions of private property expressed in a proliferation of no trespassing signs and otherwise policed boundaries “that’s very violent to me” as it contravenes historic agreements of interrelation and

¹⁹⁵ Ferris, “Place, Space, and Dwelling,” 109 – 110.

¹⁹⁶ Gary Warrick, *A Population History of the Huron-Petun A.D. 500-1650*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 93-95; Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 13.; Personal correspondence with Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams); Migizi and Kapyrka, “Before, During, and After: Mississauga Presence in the Kawarthas,” 135.; Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams), “Understanding Local Treaties.”

¹⁹⁷ William Fox, personal correspondence, March 27th, 2019.

reciprocity between peoples and lands.¹⁹⁸ Gidigaa Migizi also advised me to speak with Odawa on this topic though conversations have yet to take place.

Oral history of the Mississauga Anishinaabe speaks of wampum exchange and though the physical artifacts of wampum do not persist in the material record politically binding relationship or governance structure is archaeologically supported by close relationships between groups, which is well-known and is basis for other political relationships that would have been renewed annually through rituals of pipe ceremonies, storytelling, and songs as memory devices reminding each group of the original agreement.¹⁹⁹ In contrast to European cartography and landscape descriptions in the *Jesuit Relations*, Penelope Myrtle Kelsey uses the poem *(dis)Orient* by James Thomas Stevens to discuss exchanges of wampum as mnemonic devices while tracing origins of assumptions about Indigenous peoples and nationhood within European worlds.²⁰⁰ Early traders adopted wampum as a standard of legal tender due to a demonstrated value throughout North Eastern North America.²⁰¹ However, the “stasis” evident in writings “produced by strivings for meaning” enacting a “blindness of the missionaries” to wider relationships anchored in wampum exchange as well as of pre-existing landscape features including well-used networks of paths as Jesuits saw instead wilderness and Christian geographic forms projected onto lakes and lands with maps of cartographers “often patently wrong.”²⁰² Geographers contrast Indigenous “processual cartographies,” which

¹⁹⁸ Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams), “Understanding Local Treaties,” *Pine Tree Talk*, Thursday November 2017, Trent University.

¹⁹⁹ Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams) and Julie Kapyrka, “Before, During, and After: Mississauga Presence in the Kawarthas,” 135.

²⁰⁰ Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum*, 11.

²⁰¹ Reuban Gold Thwaites, gen ed. Transcription by Tomasz Mentrak. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Vol. 8: Quebec, Hurons, Cape Breton, 1634-1636. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1899, 314.

²⁰² Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum*, 12.

are diverse and can be performative, gestural, chanted, inscribed on materials, or emerging in many other forms as they are “process oriented as opposed to product dependent” emphasizing “experienced space, or place, in opposition to Western conventions of depicting space as universal, homogenized and devoid of human experience” similar to temporality.²⁰³ Alan Corbier describes the Anishinaabe as a “mnemonic society” and wampum containing “the spirit of our words” in such a way a witness who is “in tune” may hear it speak to them, which necessitates access by community members.²⁰⁴ In distinction to an artifact of a particular nation they are living treaties embodying complex relations as usage transcends and generates identity then re-inscribed back upon the wampum as is the case with the Métis belt used by Ojibwe.²⁰⁵

In addition to enduring processes of spatial relationship, historian Michael Witgen argues Anishinaabe claims not only persisted but their power as a nation expanded significantly in the period following Wendat diaspora. Social formations with mixtures of Odawa, Wendat, and Anishinaabe were written about by Jesuits when trading parties returned to Montreal in spring of 1653 and that these groups “form a greater population than before occupied all those countries” with languages unidentified even to traders who relied on linguistic knowledge, which suggests even more diverse “symbiotic” formations.²⁰⁶ Historian Katherine Magee Labelle similarly argues Wendat re-emerged as

²⁰³ Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum*, 13.

²⁰⁴ Alan Ojiiig Corbier, “Ndoshe zgaknigegamgonhg, ‘Trying to listen in storage facilities’: Challenges and successes curating an Anishinaabe exhibit for urban Indigenous people.” Lecture, Trent University, Frost Centre for Canadian Studies and Indigenous Studies, November 26, 2019.; “Wampum: perles de diplomatie / Témoignages de membres de plusieurs nations au Québec” Musée McCord Stewart Museum. Web Video. Directed by Brad Gros-Louis. October 18, 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=76fvw3wQySI>.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 48.; Migizi, *Michi Saagiig Nishnaaneg: This is Our Territory*, 30.; Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*, 62, 63.

important figures in histories of the eighteenth century as they retained influence and relied on “multifunctional networks rather than [...] static organizational frameworks rooted in ethnic, tribal, or regional similarities.”²⁰⁷ With exceptions scholars now more widely believe and Anishinaabe oral history speaks of Haudenosaunee being pushed out of Southern Ontario by the end of the seventeenth century by these formations including estimates of four to six regional communities of 150-300 people each.²⁰⁸ Indigenous populations were neither conquered nor dispossessed and maintained a demographic majority in the wider Great Lakes region as well as throughout North America in the colonial era while claims were never extinguished. They were instead written over in treaty making periods beginning in the late eighteenth century.²⁰⁹

Additionally, ceremonies including Feast of the Dead or Feast of Souls relationally anchored Indigenous reciprocity to lands and to each other. Interactions with Europeans were also integrated as larger quantities of material offerings of European and Indigenous manufacture are found as trade expanded and iron wares became available including in deposits of goods of European and Indigenous origin at Ossossané.²¹⁰ Historian Erik R. Seeman points out these “material objects possessed spiritual power” to Wendat and a flourishing of expression with their usage in art became incorporated into ceremonial place-making practices.²¹¹ Although the 1636 account of the ceremony at Ossossané by Brébeuf and his associations of heresy is the most well-known there was another the

²⁰⁷ Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 4-6.

²⁰⁸ Warrick and Williamson, “After the Haudenosaunee: The Mississauga Occupation of the North Shore of Lake Ontario,” 268 – 275.

²⁰⁹ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 27, 28

²¹⁰ Kenneth Kidd, “The Excavation and Historical Identification of a Huron Ossuary,” *American Antiquity*. Vol. 18, no. 4 (April 1953), 364, 367.

²¹¹ Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America*. (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2011), 3, 60, 61.

same year celebrated by five northern Attignawantan villages.²¹² Jérôme Lalemant also witnessed the ceremony hosted by Nipissing Anishinaabeg for Wendat and many Algonquin speaking groups on the Eastern shore of Georgian Bay and wrote of the experience in the *Relation* of 1642.²¹³ Witgen reinterprets this account as one of place-making through recognition of mutual-rights and responsibilities as “a story about the meaning of family, the obligations of kinship, and preservation of ties to a landscape shared by many different Native peoples,” which were also rich in shared resources.²¹⁴ Witgen enlivens powerful social connections of the Feast of the Dead by asking us to “[i]magine giving the remains of a loved one to your enemy, accepting the remains of theirs in return, and then burying them in a common grave. This act of mutual sacrifice and shared mourning created a social bond by ritually creating a common ancestry and a shared past.”²¹⁵ Wendat also participated in the ceremony in 1660 in present-day Minnesota, which solidified exchange networks and alliances for Anishinaabeg, Muskegowuck-athinuwick, and Dakotas, who together became the largest social formation in the center of the continent. Basil Johnson describes this “way to friendship” after generations of war between Anishnaabeg fleeing westward colonial incursion armed with European derived rifles and Dakota in the origin story of *Midewewegun* or the drum ceremony, in which exchange of the sacred object was offered in cessation of hostilities as it became “time to hunt together, to celebrate festivals as one, to draw our meals from

²¹² Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 520.

²¹³ Reuban Gold Thwaites, gen ed. Transcription by Tomasz Mentrak. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, “Of the Mission of the Holy Ghost Among the Algonquins, The Nearest to the Hurons,” Vol. 23. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1899, 205-233.; Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 42.; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 609.; Joan McLeod Shabogesic, “Nipissing Feast of the Dead” Nipissing First Nation, <https://nfn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Nipissing-Feast-of-the-Dead-October-2021.pdf>

²¹⁴ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 42.

²¹⁵ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 63.

the same bowl, and to derive our warmth from the same fire.”²¹⁶ This created “the possibility of uniting a landscape divided by violence and warfare” in a rebirth of power and identity “at a time and place usually associated with the expansion of European power.”²¹⁷ Occurring ten years after the story of Wendat power and confederacy ends with destruction or dispersal from the perspective of Europeans this formation was rendered invisible as it was also a direct threat to alliance relying on Wendat subservience to French interests. This persists in the historiography despite new social formations taking shape with Wendat as keepers of the council fire amongst kin, which incorporated lands occupied by related groups and many Wendat living among Haudenosaunee.²¹⁸

Katheryn Magee Labelle points out and when walking up to the reconstruction I encountered the official plaque at Sainte-Marie ends with the inscription after Jesuits and “some Wendat followers” fled to Gahoendoe the following year “the Jesuits and Hurons withdrew to Quebec.”²¹⁹ Despite Wendat making these and other strategic decisions a discourse of destruction and dispersal shaping the landscape centres on their fate also being tied-up with Jesuits and lands being dispossessed from Indigenous peoples.²²⁰

Re-imagination through Indigenous perspectives and ontologies is foundational to generating a public history both witness to events and reconciliatory between descendant communities. Temporal duality within a landscape of historical regeneration, which has been passed down in a society focussed on leaving a traumatic past behind, cannot reach holistic ends but can be subject to critical examination of the relations of historical

²¹⁶ Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Ceremonies*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982), 36-40.

²¹⁷ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 32, 166, 167.

²¹⁸ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 29-33, 167; Corbier, “Ndoshe zgaknigegamgonhg, ‘Trying to listen in storage facilities,’ Trent University, November 26, 2019.

²¹⁹ Visit to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, June 15, 2018.; Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 196-203.

²²⁰ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 39.; Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 54, 55, 203.

consciousness leveraging power in the present experience and instead be traumatic to religious hagiography and to national myths.

2.7. *Deterritorialization, Over-coding, Silence, and Property Formation as Erasure*

Four critical concepts used in isolation or in cooperation describe a history of transformation reorganizing Indigenous relationships with land through colonial discursive power and make way for an alternative history as applied to the context of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons. The first concept is *deterritorialization* of Indigenous peoples from the region with concurrent *over-coding* of colonial and Christian signification, followed by *silencing* of non-Christian significance from textual and physical landscapes, and finally *property formation* cementing new sets of bureaucratic settler-colonial relationships. Property formation and Jesuit ownership will be examined in chapter five. This language gives breadth to personal experiences of belonging while Sarah Hunt condenses this into the processes fashioning a “Colonialscape” blanketing over “deeper spatial orders.”²²¹ They provide grounding in critical theory to describe a world enmeshed in Indigenous lifeways and relationships transformed and landscape re-organized into an ecology of Christian relationships, meanings, temporality, and place.

Deterritorialization is a varied process, which through a historical lens can describe displacement of Indigenous societies from lands in present-day Simcoe County through disentanglement of places and peoples. Deterritorialization was developed by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari as the flow or “nomatic wave” of coding and decoding threading multi-scaler strata as exemplified in such varied phenomena as genetic drift

²²¹ Sarah Hunt, *Witnessing the Colonialscape: Lighting the Intimate Fires of Indigenous Legal Pluralism*, PhD Dissertation, Simon Fraser University, 2014, 72.

stemming from mutations on a microbiological level to transformations of populations through similar flows of coding and decoding, which is “always relative, and has reterritorialization as its flipside or complement.”²²² On a socio-psychological scale it can be seen in a “freeing” or dislocation from pre-established objects or substances of psychological investment such as that of ‘home’ to a resident and is activated within a wide array of other processes whereby detachment is achieved. In this case, it is between places and peoples in relation to development of a particular arrangement of social and property relations.²²³ In landscapes with “scenery built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock” it is also detachment from sources of memory.²²⁴ It is a complex and transient notion, which Glen Coulthard understood as corresponding to a conceptual version of land semiotically rewritten within a more economic focussed process described by Marx as primitive accumulation, whereby lands are coercively removed, or decoded, from existing relations and redistributed, or recoded, as capitalist property regimes.²²⁵

In *Red Skin White Masks* Glen Coulthard applies primitive accumulation to describe settler colonialism assimilating “noncapitalist, non-Western, Indigenous modes of life” and deterritorialization works alongside this process operating as symbolic removals of a people from a territory and of territory from a people.²²⁶ In the European context an example for both primitive accumulation of lands and deterritorialization is of

²²² Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari and Brian Massumi, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 1987, 53, 54.

²²³ Eugene W. Holland, “Deterritorializing ‘Deterritorialization’: From the ‘Anti-Oedipus’ to ‘A Thousand Plateaus’” *SubStance* 20, No. 3, Issue 66: special Issue: Deleuze & Guattari 1991. 57

²²⁴ Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 7.

²²⁵ Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press), 2014, 7, 8.; Christopher Tilley, “Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage.” *Journal of Material Culture* 11, no. 1-2 (2006), 9, 13, 14.

²²⁶ Holland, “Deterritorializing ‘Deterritorialization’”, 57.; Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 7-11.

peasants of the English countryside who are reterritorialized in social relations of an industrial capitalist economy through violence of aristocratic landholders and state legislation such as the Enclosure Acts.²²⁷ Territories of ghettoized neighbourhoods and places such as factory floors attached peasants to textile looms as new re-rooted working populations.²²⁸ However, in distinction to the object of labour being a corollary target in clearing of lands of the English countryside for an aristocratic class, the object of land is the overarching target within Canadian colonialism, in which a reluctant creation of colonial subjects also occurred while Indigenous peoples were dispossessed of lands.²²⁹

Patrick Wolfe's assertion "territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element" informs the work of Coulthard in critical engagement with colonialism. Land is also inextricable from Indigenous worlds whereby it operates in an alternate fashion as a "system of reciprocal relations and obligations" sustaining circularly reinforced ways of being.²³⁰ Ongoing usages of lands and necessary inclusion of Indigenous peoples imagined as belonging within them is understood by a range of scholars, elders, and knowledge keepers as inextricably generative of Indigenous lifeways. It resists reductive assimilation into categorizations such as sustaining food systems or 'subsistence patterns' while including such varied associations as medicines, pedagogy, spirituality, and diverse conceptions of *Buen Vivir*, which resists specific definition but is enacted in communities throughout global Indigenous contexts as interrelations and good living in opposition to colonial forms.²³¹ For Coulthard, relationships with land fosters "grounded normativity,"

²²⁷ Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View*, (New York: Verso, 2017), 149-156.

²²⁸ Holland, "Deterritorializing 'Deterritorialization'," 57.

²²⁹ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 7, 13.

²³⁰ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 7, 13.

²³¹ Marisol Campos Navarrete & Asaf Zohar, "Rethinking sustainable development by following Indigenous approaches to community wellbeing." *Tapuya: Latin American Science, Technology and*

from which place-based Indigenous lifeways organize in relationship to the natural world. It is a process unspecific to any particular land, but which fosters rootedness within particular landscapes through cultivation of reciprocal relationships.²³² Scholar Sebastian Purcell argues *Neltiliztli* from Nahua philosophy similarly holds “rootedness” as the foundation of a flourishing life on *tlalticpac*, or “the slippery earth,” as a “rooted virtue ethics” similar to Aristotelian conceptions of *eudaimonia* although pleasure, or *hēdonē*, is not as central to conceptions of the good life.²³³ Conceptions of truth are similarly matters of being rooted like a tree upon the earth while rootedness in one’s body and in *teotl*, or the way things are through their changes, circle back into an emphasis on finding ones social role in community in pursuit of a virtuous life.²³⁴ In contrast, abyssal thinking, which is the system of “visible and invisible distinctions” shaping incessant categorization in Western thinking, fosters universal distinctions of truth and falsehood as is most obvious in scientific and legal discourses. Abyssal thinking interacts with deterritorialized subjects who are relegated to “the other side of the line” into a category of false, or rather into positions of not belonging even within lands of rootedness.²³⁵

Within this framework placeness of Indigenous peoples is in contention including in relationship to the development of ‘belonging’ on reserves within wider patterns of landscape and property regimes. However, a majority of Indigenous peoples in Canada

Society, 4:1, 2021, 4 - 6.; Marisol Campos Navarrete, “Experiencing Buhts’an Qu’inal From Shachel Jwohc’ A’tel Through Sna’el Ya’beyel Stuc Te Bin Ay Ma’yuc: Fostering Local Economic Development in Tseltal Terms,” (PhD Thesis, Trent University, July 2021), 20 – 24.

²³² Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 13.

²³³ Sebastien L. Purcell, “Eudaimonia and Neltiliztli: Aristotle and the Aztecs on the Good Life” *Hispanic/Latino Issues in Philosophy*. The American Philosophical Association. Vol. 16, 2. (Spring 2017): 10-19.

²³⁴ *Ibid*, 13, 17, 18.

²³⁵ Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 118-126.

live off-reserve and in urban settings.²³⁶ In Ontario, eighty-five percent of First Nations no longer live in traditional territories and in the context of Indigenous populations of present-day Southern Ontario and Simcoe County deterritorialization has severed many relationships within food systems, seasonal settlement, sacred spaces, kinships between groups, and other ways normatively grounding peoples within landscapes, while extractive industries, commercial centres, agricultural towns, and cottage country have been territorialized into positions of belonging.²³⁷ Historical depictions anchor subsequent displacements and render invisible grounded rootedness of living Indigenous peoples within these landscapes.²³⁸ Indigenous population centers of the region such as Beausoleil and Rama First Nations along with descendant communities of historic Wendat have undergone centuries of deterritorialization beginning with discursive dispossessions in writings of Samuel de Champlain and the *Jesuit Relations* as foundations for the textual development of present-day Ontario. It is synonymous with the history with a defining feature of popular knowledge about Wendat the act of diaspora in 1650 and assumptions of “destruction” within colonial arenas of conflict.²³⁹ This anchoring myth has been taught to Canadian schoolchildren including myself with associations so strong that in discussion with a historical interpreter at the reconstruction on National Indigenous People Day on June 21st, 2018, it was explained after dispersing

²³⁶ David Newhouse, Keynote Address, “The Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network and CINSA conference about urban futures” Trent University, Peterborough. February 20, 2020.

²³⁷ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 7, 13.; Maracle, “Reconciliation: Taking Stock, Moving Forward,” February 25, 2019.

²³⁸ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 39.

²³⁹ “Sketches of Our Town: Midland and Sainte-Marie among the Hurons” Produced and directed by Conrad Beaubien. Beaver Creek Production, Distributed by Lantern Communications, 1990. In this 1990 television production a local historian informs viewers that the ‘Hurons’ should not be forgotten in the story of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, which seems like a mark of awareness except there is no further mention that Wendat peoples are still very much alive and were not destroyed along with Jesuits killed in the historic period.

Wendat disappeared as a people and the region was left empty.²⁴⁰ Labelle has attempted to dispel variations of this myth but it is ever-present in secondary literature including publications from the Martyrs' Shrine on the topic of the Canadian Martyrs.

Deterritorialization through this history not only re-inscribes lands as an empty vessel of *terra nullius* after the 1650 diaspora but also removed living Indigenous communities from view as ways of being independent from European discourses were concealed. Connections to landscape were also reshaped as contemporary Wyandot or Huron-Wendat presence transformed as groups became rooted in contemporary places in present-day Oklahoma and Kansas, and in Québec, respectively, and connections to the region diminished with such exceptions as burials, other sacred and archaeological sites, and historic sites retrieving their image. In contemporary literature the council of the Huron-Wendat Nation in Wendake, Québec, refers to Simcoe County and surrounding regions of Ontario as “Wendake South” and as Huron-Wendat scholar Louis Lesage told me connections to this region have been reshaped as the center of territorial and discursive imagination by centuries of dwelling and reterritorialization within “Wendake North” in Québec and the Saint-Laurence River valley in conjunction with adoption of the French language.²⁴¹

Over-coding non-Indigenous symbols and relationships onto landscapes is a second concept alongside deterritorialization. Key is the role of language and translation, such as in the realm of science it is “the translation of all the flows, particles, codes, and territorialities of the other strata into a sufficiently deterritorialized system of signs, in

²⁴⁰ Visit to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, June 21, 2018.

²⁴¹ Louis Lesage, *Se Réappropriier Son Histoire*, Public Lecture, Musée Huron-Wendat. November 6th, 2019.; *Le Bureau du Nionwentsio* “Wendake Sud,” Webpage (Accessed July 10, 2019), <https://wendake.ca/cnhw/bureau-du-nionwentsio/wendake-sud-ontario/>

other words, into an overcoding specific to language,” through which meaning is reorganized and maintained.²⁴² Over-coding is a broad process as a substance of a “strata” in this case the psycho-spatial strata of landscape surrounding Sainte-Marie among the Hurons is written over or translated, whereby “translation is possible because the same form can pass from one substance to another.” Transposable forms of sacred places, medicines, sacred relations within the natural world, and storytelling, among others, are translated into those of Christian substance.²⁴³

The common form of a sacred landscape for Indigenous populations of this region are expressed in a multiplicity of sacred sites such as burials and ossuaries resulting from Feast of the Dead ceremonies, landmarks anchoring cosmologies and oral histories, fisheries such as at Mnjikaning Fish Weirs National Historic Site, pathways and movement across landscapes, and more generally in everyday ceremony of being within circular relationships amongst social and natural worlds.²⁴⁴ Translation of the form of the sacred landscape into one of Christian substance is evidenced especially in the early voyages of Paul Le Jeune. His writing explicitly over-codes landscapes with Christian ideas of suffering, grace, and spiritual redemption as influenced by the theology of Louie Lallemand and a “landscape of the soul” while later culminating into a geographic language of martyrdom especially in writings of Paul Ragueneau.²⁴⁵ This is the “mystical

²⁴² Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 62.

²⁴³ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 62.

²⁴⁴ Caleb Musgrave, personal correspondence, Friday, November 22, 2019. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*, 153 – 165.; Gary Warrick, “Archaeological Sites, Ancient Gathering Places, and Indigenous Cultural Landscapes in the Grand River Valley, Ontario,” *Archaeological and Indigenous Perspectives on Ancient Gathering Places*, session in Maawnjiddwin: 50 years of Gathering, Where Yesterday Meets Tomorrow. The Ontario Archaeological Society. November 4, 2023.; Heidenreich, *Huron*, Map 23.

²⁴⁵ Monique Taylor, “This our dwelling: The landscape experience of the Jesuit missionaries to the Huron, 1626-1650.” *Journal of Canadian Studies*; Summer 1998, 87-94. Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture, the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola, and Louis Lallemand, in the

landscape” described by the Jesuit Superior though despite ontological distinctions the essential point is landscape as being mystical in relationship with Indigenous peoples long before the arrival of missionaries or the formation of Christianity. It is a process seminal to Christian absorption of Paganism as exemplified in the conversion and doctrines of early Christian figures such as Paul of Tarsus and Augustine of Hippo where place-making rituals including early morning ceremonies, processions, pilgrimages, vigils, and such acts as fasting and name giving ceremonies were incorporated from Pagan mystery religions to give doctrinal shape to “absolute, historical, and literal truths” espoused in a comparatively monolithic, Christian structure.²⁴⁶

Simon Schama’s work on landscape and memory extols universal associations of sacredness and nature that can be found in any human context, while psychologist Leslie Gray asserts of the ‘Americas’ that “this is the Holy Land.”²⁴⁷ Additionally, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson relates sacred landscapes to pedagogical practices in the regeneration of Indigenous lifeways.²⁴⁸ Pedagogical practices tied up with the form of the sacred landscape have also been over-coded and reimagined in the regeneration of Christian life-ways and place-making as culminating in the experience of walking with the martyrs within a Christian landscape. Archaeological evidence shows the act of pilgrimage itself, which today at this site and many others around the world is a transformational spiritual journey, is also rooted in Indigenous landscape experiences of

Relations” (lecture, *A Journey Through History: The Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Canada*, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, July 9, 2019).

²⁴⁶ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, 106-111.

²⁴⁷ Monique Taylor, “This is our dwelling,” 86.; Nelson, M. K. (2008). *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future*. Rochester, Vt: Bear & Company, 86.

²⁴⁸ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, “Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation” *Decolonization: Indigeneity Education Society* Vol. 3, No. 3, 2014.

spiritual journeys to sacred sites.²⁴⁹ For Christian Wendat in the historic period the spiritual journey is thought by scholar Bruce Trigger to have taken on the form of medicine as a healing ritual in similar fashion to relationships with Christian baptism as a traditional healing practice over-coded with Christian significance. This is shown in the story of Michel Exouaendaen (Ekouaendaé) who suffered from an ailment and was told by Jesuits of the miraculous cures from pilgrimage to Catholic shrines in Europe, which led him to make a fifteen-hour pilgrimage to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons where in the *Relations* it is written he was instantly healed upon arrival and as a result later became devoted to the Jesuits and Ursuline nuns in Québec.²⁵⁰ Development of the site as one of pilgrimage is also in-step with the 1644 granting of plenary indulgences by Pope Urban VIII to Wendat who visited the chapel of St. Joseph at Sainte-Marie, which was itself only discovered in 1892 through archival work by Edward J. Devine and today hangs in the Martyrs' Shrine and at other times in the museum.²⁵¹ Another example is the Christian story of Christmas written onto Wendat in the popular hymnal "The Huron Carol" where in the mid 1640s Brébeuf used his intellectual gifts to reach "deep into [Wendat] language and culture" to create a song elegantly over-coded with Christian imagery.²⁵² Subsequent incremental rewriting of 'The Huron Carol' into more Christian, more tokenized, and far less specifically Wendat versions trace expanding trajectories of Christian over-coding onto the sacred of Indigenous lives and landscape during pervasive phases of dispossession in nineteenth and twentieth century settler colonialism.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ Joel W. Palka, *Maya Pilgrimage to Ritual Landscapes: Insights from Archaeology, History and Ethnography*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 71, 72.

²⁵⁰ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 800.

²⁵¹ Michael Knox, "The Witness of Jean de Brébeuf and His Companions," 84 – 85.

²⁵² John Steckley, "Huron Carol: A Canadian Cultural Chamelion," *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2014, 59.

²⁵³ Steckley *The Huron Carol: A Canadian Cultural Chamelion*. 55, 56.



Fig. 10. Plenary indulgence granted by Pope Urban VIII hanging in Martyrs' Shrine.

In a broad sense, the very observations and recording of Wendat and Indigenous stories and cosmologies separated communities from these sacred worlds as they became foundations for Jesuit and French claim to lands over-coded with the substances of both bureaucratic historical record and hagiographic evidence within an emergent Christian state. Depths of detail furnished by archaeology have given further control over stories and therefore also over attached lands. I even heard Jesuits speaking of the Feast of the Dead in over-coded terms employing Jesuit material and textual history to characterize a shared spiritual heritage, which is somewhat suggested by the Christian wedding rings repatriated to Ossosané, although historic missionaries and especially Brébeuf rigorously condemned as heretical and opposed continued practice of the ceremony as part of conversion efforts.²⁵⁴ The most recent 2022 visit by Pope Francis II also unfolded within a discourse described as a penitential pilgrimage as he spoke of the Church ignoring

²⁵⁴ Jesuit Superior, "Concluding Roundtable Discussion" *Life & Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom an International Symposium*, (Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, October 21, 2018); Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 238, 239.

sacred relationalities of Indigenous worlds and of eroding foundations of authentic Indigenous identity. This brings up questions of whether apologies will lead to further opening of archives and returning of places for the re-rooting of Indigenous lifeways, sacred relationalities, and authentic identities, or be pretext for further over-coding by Christian spiritual forms of penitence and forgiveness within a history of deterritorialization and over-coding including in the residential school system.

In addition to over-coding of Christian significances, Michel-Rolph Trouillot's concept of *silencing* in examination of the Haitian revolution in Western historiography provides a framework for understanding historicity within the larger production of history. His model attempts to collapse dualities inherent in historical scholarship, which from inception contains on the one hand the "Geschichte" of what happened, or the *historical process*, and on the other "Geschichtschreibung" of what is said to have happened, or the *narrative process*.²⁵⁵ This distinction leads to two separate forms of history identified as problematic; on the one hand is the widespread positivist approach, in which the role of history is simply to "reveal the past," or what happened and in which power is "irrelevant to the construction of the narrative as such," and on the other is the constructivist view of history where it is simply a form of narrative with but a "pretense for truth" and like any fiction is a matter of subjective interpretation.²⁵⁶ This is part and parcel of the problematic duality generated in this specific history, which also extends to wider Canadian contexts caught between historical positivism and constructivism.

A historical middle ground is sought where "both the distinction and the overlap between process and narrative" are part of the creation of knowledge about what has

²⁵⁵ Trouillot, *Silencing The Past*, 5.

²⁵⁶ Trouillot, *Silencing The Past*, 5, 6.

been, which instead of building inauthentic historical characters out of living peoples in the service of revealing truth or telling a story “makes human beings doubly historical or, more properly, fully historical. It engages them simultaneously in the sociohistorical process and in narrative constructions about that process.”²⁵⁷ Peter Osbourne echoes this and adds the *process* of history “lies as much in the future as it does in the past” and in a constitutive sense is as “futural as it is retrospective.”²⁵⁸ This shape to history is complementary to circular Indigenous temporal forms in the narrative process of “our history is the future” as stated by Nick Estes. Public history as retrospection and historical process as futural reformulates his phrase as a processual history, in which ‘our narrative process is our historical process.’ History encountered at Sainte-Marie has considerable issues negotiating boundaries of narrative and process for reasons including those outlined in temporal structure of the place as historical process atrophies or crumbles into a vivid, narrated, Jesuit past-world. From both a positivist position and a constructivist position the truth revealed and the narrative constructed are replete with the substances of imperial New France and of a Christian worldview rather than presenting a form of public history authentic in engagement with Indigenous peoples as fully historical.

Authenticity is also a word with a long history of philosophical debate and with specific applications to this site.²⁵⁹ It is often reduced to an adherence to historical

²⁵⁷ Trouillot, *Silencing The Past*, 23-25.

²⁵⁸ Peter Osbourne, *The Politics of Time*, 33 – 34.

²⁵⁹ Brian J. Braman, “Bernard Lonergan: On Being Oneself” In *Meaning and Authenticity: Bernard Lonergan and Charles Taylor on the Drama of Human Existence*, 47-72. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 73. Authenticity in the context of history has specific connotations often connected to accuracy or to the *feeling* of a reconstruction, for instance, but in philosophical terms it has far more broad associations. For the sake of showing the breadth of this word I will replicate a summary passage discussing Bernard Lonergan in the context of other major philosophers broaching the topic: “for Heidegger human authenticity is bound up to the appropriation of one’s death and one’s own historicity. But, in the end, Heidegger’s position closes off the possibility of transcendence and leaves death as the only horizon. [Charles] Taylor spoke of authenticity as a transcendent moral ideal whereby one acts as one ought

accuracy in depictions and related to objectivity and dependent on relationships to sources, which in this case have themselves largely been produced, maintained, or commissioned by Jesuits, colonial New France, or by the government of Ontario in efforts to revive this history and reveal Jesuit and imperial French conceptions of a past.²⁶⁰ Authenticity can also be a gauge measuring adherence to myths “endowing groups with a sense of purpose” and concerned with perceived influences of intellectual trends or of commercialization in watering down these myths.²⁶¹ These operate in service of adhering to an “innately presentist” program of heritage and can be treated by critics of reconstruction projects as sacred in themselves rather than prioritizing questions of whose myths or sense of purpose is maintained and is sacred.²⁶² François Hertog conversely saw a paradigm of ‘presentism’ operating through language such as ‘bearing witness’ as an “enlarged present that is weighed down by the past and saturated with it” and part of a power struggle eroding institutional authority rather than an aspect to this authority.²⁶³ To Trouillot authenticity “implies a relation with what is known that duplicates the two sides of historicity: it engages us as both actors and narrators” with us as “witnesses, actors and commentators” in relationship with Indigenous lives, traditions, and struggles both historically and in the present and disentangled from an oversized role of the *Relations*.²⁶⁴

In seeking this aim of an authentic history his work outlines silences entering

and not merely as one wants. Bernard Lonergan specifically spoke of authenticity as self-transcendence. And authentic self-transcendence entails a threefold conversion that is intellectual, moral, and religious.”

²⁶⁰ Alan Gordon, “Heritage and Authenticity: The Case of Ontario's Saint-Marie-among-the-Hurons” *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 85, no. 3, (Sep 2004), 507-531.

²⁶¹ Gordon, “Heritage and Authenticity,” 509, 526.

²⁶² Gordon, “Heritage and Authenticity,” 509, 526.

²⁶³ Aleida Assmann, “Conclusion: A Creed that has lost its Believers” Reconfiguring the Concepts of Time and History,” Chapter in *Rethinking Historical Time: New Approaches to Presentism*. Edited by Marek Tamm & Laurent Olivier. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 208, 209.

²⁶⁴ Trouillot, *Silencing The Past*, 150, 151.

processes of historical production at four critical moments.²⁶⁵ The reconstruction closely followed these four steps as *fact creation* occurred within sources such as the *Relations* as well as in contexts of archaeological significance and objects as relics, *assembly* within Jesuit archives such as those founded by Fr. Félix Martin at Collège Ste-Marie in Montreal and at Sainte-Marie, *retrieval* of sources informing archaeological investigations, writing, and Eurocentric interpretations, and *retrospective significance* operating as the ‘living history’ of the reconstruction experience where history is made in the ‘final instance’ or rather in the historical memory of the present.²⁶⁶

According to philosopher of archaeology Alison Wylie these four moments apply to archaeology as it is practiced in Ontario. Creation of artifacts and contexts of significance to a material past equally exists as “knowledge and ignorance are co-produced” at each stage.²⁶⁷ Development of public amnesia have a traceable history at Sainte-Marie in archaeological and reconstruction work of Wilfred Jury, which is widely known and accepted by everyone I encountered as inaccurate, fantastical, and even caused laughter on occasion, but nonetheless is fundamental to the reconstruction with his most lofty ideas still celebrated in living history re-enactments.²⁶⁸ This is active even in more competent, innovative, and highly respected work of Kenneth Kidd and in subsequent investigation leading up to the present. The “agnotology” or co-creation of knowledge and ignorance, however, is magnified by a cultural trope producing the story of the

²⁶⁵ Trouillot, *Silencing The Past*, 26. These are “fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance).”

²⁶⁶ Alwyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott, eds. *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 213.

²⁶⁷ Alison Wylie, “Mapping Ignorance in Archaeology: The Advantages of Historical Hindsight,” Chapter in *Agnotology: The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance*. Edited by Robert N. Proctor and Londa Schiebinger. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008, 188, 193

²⁶⁸ Visit to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, June 24, 2019.

Canadian Martyrs in popular writing as well as in work of historical societies, monumental architecture, and landscape modifications, which employ archaeological knowledge to reduce, re-interpret, altogether exclude, or more recently incorporate reimaginings of Indigenous power and dimensions of Indigenous experiences embedded in the landscape.²⁶⁹ Exclusions enmesh into a progressive image as a place of religious significance to Catholics anchored in the suffering of martyrs at the hands of Indigenous peoples succumbing to a transient form of violence and also into national signification of a myth unifying French and English Canada in the past, present, and future possession of Indigenous lands, histories, and identities.

2.8. Conclusion

Although administration of the two sites is operationally separated between a secular Huronia Historical Parks administered through the Ontario government and the Catholic Martyrs' Shrine, the landscape is active in presenting a history of place and is tailored to pilgrimage and tourist experiences. As a result, the ontology shaping the landscape of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons as a Canadian National Historic Site is in distinction to one a visitor can expect at other historic locations such as the pioneer villages, Indigenous villages, and other re-creations of early settler and Indigenous history maintained while attempting to recreate a time period in service of public history. The landscape is specifically Catholic Christian and planned and maintained with the Martyrs' Shrine in an ill-defined role as purveyor of public history as the site is inexorably tied up in the historiographic bounds of archives produced by Jesuits and New

²⁶⁹ Wylie, "Mapping Ignorance in Archaeology," 188, 193.

France as well as in ongoing pilgrimage experiences venerating the lives and martyrdoms of Jesuits.

Explored in this chapter is a sense of discontinuity characterizing this landscape experience as ruins and reconstruction divide temporality, relationships to memory have been shattered by traumas of events, the history exists as encyclopedic collections of information and objects of historical process through vivid and fantastical depictions of reconstructed historical narrative, and questions of belonging and identity affixed to and absent from the site are complex beyond any depiction, among other issues. For W.G. Sebald, landscapes are at once constructed imagined worlds and vessels of spectral transience inherited as wreckage of a history piling ever skyward. At Sainte-Marie among the Hurons landscape is such a tangle of accumulated artifact. In the next chapter, I will try to disentangle the sum of this inheritance through discussion of the public experience as it was presented to me at the Sainte-Marie among the Hurons reconstruction, audio tour, museum, and in on-site discussions with managerial, Jesuit, and animating staff.

Chapter 3 – The Public Experience at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons

*It seems to me then as if all the moments of our life occupy the same space, as if future events already existed and were only waiting for us to find our way to them at last, just as when we have accepted an invitation we duly arrive in a certain house at a given time. [...] we also have appointments to keep in the past, in what has gone before and is for the most part extinguished, and must go there in search of places and people who have connection with us on the far side of time*²⁷⁰

3.1. Introduction

After driving across the contemporary landscape of Simcoe County I arrived in the Sainte-Marie among the Hurons parking lot just after one o'clock in the afternoon and got out of the rental car with my digital camera slung around my shoulder and notebook in hand. The first pictures were of what any visitor would first encounter when walking up to the entrance, which are the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada plaque mentioned in the previous chapter and a corresponding 2015 plaque from the Province of Quebec commemorating “a common francophone history” and specifically the four-hundred-year anniversary of Champlain’s travels in Ontario.²⁷¹ Immediately my experience as a visitor was framed in the legacy of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the corresponding idea Canada has two founding peoples, which was embraced by Ontario premier John Roberts in the 1960s as reconstruction was underway.²⁷² After immersion in contextual cues of ornamental gardens, the wooden exterior beams of the structure, and again seeing the large, medallion-shaped depiction of a bearded Jesuit and feather-haired Indigenous man facing

²⁷⁰ W.G. Sebald, *Austerlitz*, Translated by Anthea Bell, (Harlow, England: Penguin Books, 2011), 179.

²⁷¹ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 15, 2018.

²⁷² Alan Gordon, *Time Travel*, 236-237.

the same direction, I then entered the visitor centre for the first time. I walked up to the desk, bought my ticket and a corresponding audio wand to guide me through, grabbed a visitor guidebook and a site map, and with my bundle of history moved towards the theatre doors as I was informed the next showing of the movie would shortly begin.

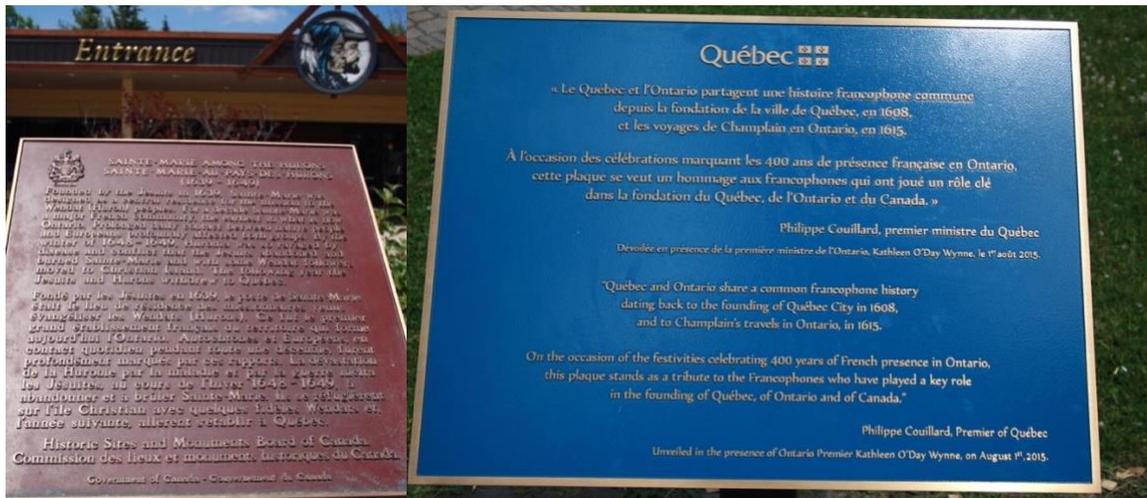


Fig. 11 & 12. Federal (left) and Québec provincial (right) plaques at the entrance.

3.2. The Introductory Movie

Introducing the site on this visit was an in-depth cinematic experience on a large projected movie screen where a specific historical narrative of the meaning of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons flashed before my eyes. In this setting of ‘living history’ developed in the 1950s and 1960s with the increase of tourism and car travel including from the United States and corresponding appetites for action in the spirit of Hollywood this stage in the journey through history is most accurately dramatically *impressed upon* me in a less than delicate mix with entertainment.²⁷³

Opening narration by an omnipresent voice frames reconstruction in a

²⁷³ Alan Gordon, *Time Travel*, 101-102.

historiographical research question: how is it we can know the past through the distortions of time? This is answered through a thesis: “to understand history, we must understand the people who lived it.” Understanding of the Wendat begins with descriptions of their spirit world and the story of sky mother or Aataentsic, which can also be found in the beginning of the work by George Sioui. Despite vivid animation it stood out to me Wendat beliefs were discussed using the past tense, especially as the Jesuit belief system was discussed in the context of their missionary work. After introductions the encounter is described as one of mutual curiosity and that to Wendat Sainte-Marie among the Hurons “was a place of mystery within their homeland” and the idea is established Jesuits were generally accepted by Wendat in a mutual relationship, which would eventually have a “profound effect on the Wendat way of life.” From this point the narrative builds tracing a familiar trajectory towards “death, disease, and destruction” befalling Wendat, in which Jesuits and the French are generally slotted in position as observers to a cascade of tragic events. These include descriptions of famine, which is significant as this has complex relations including to French disruption of traditional horticultural practices. Disappearance of beaver is also framed as motivation for attacks by Haudenosaunee, which as discussed is a narrative of the ‘Beaver Wars’ disguising wider causal relationships internal to Haudenosaunee ways of being and those of colonial Europeans and in this case actions specific to Jesuits and Champlain.

After negotiating these calamitous historical details a narrative is established, in which the work of the Jesuits in baptizing “a minority, for sure” of Wendat is discussed within a context of conflict. Wendat hostile to Jesuits are also represented and the narrator admits Christian Wendat were treated favourably by Jesuits. However, this balance is

subsumed under the weight of history moving towards their destruction as Wendat declare “we mustn’t be afraid of change [...] without a doubt our future is with the French” while French voices emerge declaring they must not let “the fruit of all our work slip” and Jean de Brébeuf dramatically retorts to dissent from Wendat by saying the French had “done so much” for them. After being “ravaged by famine and disease” there is a coming together of “two totally different cultures that now depended on one another for survival” as this story arcs into a narrative of interdependence and mutual acceptance fulfilling “a dream that was benevolent and well meaning” by the Jesuits, who despite encountering such hardships along the way ultimately complete the aims of their mission to bring Christianity to the Wendat. It is remarkable for telling a story assumedly originally perceived as balanced and giving place to sympathetic feelings for goals of Jesuits and the French. It is even more striking in its trivialization of Wendat suffering outside of their position as a backdrop, upon which the drama of the story and displacement of traditional lifeways unfolds.

There are also non-textual elements that pressed upon me especially while viewing the movie with Marisol Campos Navarrete, who at the time was completing her PhD in the Indigenous Studies program at Trent University. She was struck by usage of ‘war drum’ sounds as images of the Haudenosaunee and Wendat aggressive towards Jesuits are depicted, which within the narrative arc of this movie do make sense, but it also builds dramatic association as if these are the “bad guys” for viewers in this public version of history.²⁷⁴ Conversely, gentle flute music is used when depicting Christianisation of Wendat. Such associations become especially confusing when the movie concludes with

²⁷⁴ Marisol Campos Navarrete, personal correspondence, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 21, 2018.

the narrator asking the audience “who are we to judge who is right and who is wrong? History is never that simple” as dramatic associations clearly demark who are the good characters and who are the bad ones in this story. Most dramatically of all, after declaring history is never so simple as to make judgements the movie concludes with an invitation to “come see for yourself!” and I was startled as the screen rolled up into the ceiling for me to walk outdoors into the reconstruction through a now open wall, which thoroughly blurred any space between story and experience while placing judgement in my hands.²⁷⁵

The previous movie had already been re-shot in the 1980s as it had “portrayed Iroquois as marauding savages and the Huron as primitive” while screams of victims of Haudenosaunee torture rung out among cinders of burning fire, which led to complaints to the Canadian Human Rights Commission.²⁷⁶ As Laura Peers details in her work “Playing Ourselves” about Indigenous histories and historic reconstructions in Canada, many Catholic visitors at the time were offended by this newer version in what was interpreted as a “pro-Native perspective,” “political correctness,” or the story being “watered down” despite Jesuits themselves approving of the change. Neglect of the place of Jesuit martyrs in the story, who Catholics on pilgrimage had come to the site to honour, was the primary complaint in a survey conducted in 1994.²⁷⁷

On my return to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons on June 21st, 2022, I was informed by a group of interpreters in full dress as Donnés trying to cool down in an extreme morning heat while watching opening ceremonies taking place in the North Court on a lively National Indigenous Peoples Day that the movie had been pulled in 2021.²⁷⁸ The

²⁷⁵ Visits to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, June 15th and 21st, 2018.

²⁷⁶ Peers, *Playing Ourselves*, 28, 126.

²⁷⁷ Peers, *Playing Ourselves*, 28, 126.

²⁷⁸ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 21st, 2022.

site reopened to the public after shutting down in 2020 due to public health considerations with the spread of Covid-19 and the opportunity was taken to make modifications. One interpreter exclaimed the movie I had seen on my visits had been running for forty years and had aged as a result and also said the process of filming a new introductory movie was underway where language will be changed while more perspectives will be added to the story along with another short film specific to Indigenous People's Day having been created.²⁷⁹ In my view, despite additions of the Wendat creation story the movie I saw on my first few visits continued in a tradition of problematic reliance the *Relations* and as a result had tremendous issues casting Indigenous peoples in dichotomized fashion between traditional and Christian with the former as enemies of a new emergent Canadian culture and positioned for erasure. It is a fascinating document depicting a wider story as envisioned by the people who commissioned the movie within a historical context and in relationship to a perceived audience with its replacement a costly and necessary decision within a tight budgetary environment. The new movie is also being developed in collaboration with the Huron-Wendat. However, considering the structure of the history on display I can imagine modifying language and adding more perspectives could also lead this new movie to age poorly as examinations of the role of conversion, dispossession, and historical narrativizing within a wider context of cultural genocide weighs heavily upon public consciousness and is difficult to negotiate with audiences. The audio tour, which shaped my experiences in 2018 and 2019 had also been "changed up a little" by 2022 and modifications to language and story had generally become more accommodating towards

²⁷⁹ Personal correspondence, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, June 21st, 2022.

Indigenous lifeways. Instead of invalidating my own earlier experiences these changes only made them more interesting to me as markers of transformation within historical representation over time and will be recreated below as artifact.



Fig. 13. Outside the main gates of the reconstruction in June 2018 (left).

Fig. 14. HIS Christogram engraving on gable of main gates (right).

3.3. Experiencing the Reconstruction

Exiting the movie through the open portal led to displays of furs tanning and a canoe being resealed as part of an open-air Indigenous workshop aesthetic filling the space outside the walls with a feeling of entering a frontier.²⁸⁰ On National Indigenous Peoples Day these were replaced by stalls of Indigenous arts & crafts being created, displayed, and sold to the public.²⁸¹ Through the main gates one passes under an HIS Christogram engraving, which is an abbreviation for Jesus in Greek found on Christian sites around the world. Past the structures within either side of the interior walls are the

²⁸⁰ The following section is an amalgam of multiple visits between June 2018 and June 2022 through source materials of my notebooks and pictures, the audio tour, the official visitor guidebook and site map, speaking with animators and multiple guided tours including by a retired Manager of Programmes and Operations and the Jesuit Superior, which are layered on top of impressions from my original walk through the reconstruction site.

²⁸¹ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 21st, 2022.

soldiers' barracks on one side and the fleshing area on the other, which immerses visitors in a picturesque and smoky chronotope as afternoon light beamed in slanted rays through a room filled with smouldering cedar smoke and drying maize in an early impression of authentic dwelling space where I lingered to enjoy the feeling of this moment.

Entering through the portal into the Christian village a visitor first encounters the original fireplace stonework excavated by Kenneth Kidd in 1941, which was never incorporated into the reconstruction by Wilfred Jury. I was instructed exclusion was largely due to their position regarding the planned main entrance to the Christian side of the reconstruction where a building at this spot would have obstructed the open view of guests into the main square upon entering.²⁸² This is one of many “Jury-isms” which also include the reconstruction of a non-existent stone bastion adjacent to the blacksmith, which also had no archaeological grounding. The original stonework had been disassembled and reassembled and there was a marker on each stone locating their position within the whole while I was instructed mortar used in reassembly was a preservation blunder as it is a modern mix that has both corrupted a sense of authenticity with the original and due to its comparative strength accelerated deterioration.²⁸³ It is described as the “first European masonry in Ontario” said to continue to yield valuable historical information and occupies a position of temporal authority regarding the rest of the grounds.²⁸⁴ By June, 2022, funds had been allocated for conservation work on these three original masonry fireplaces and a large, temporary wooden structure cut this section

²⁸² Retired Manager of Programmes and Operations, personal correspondence, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, July 10, 2019.

²⁸³ Retired Manager of Programmes and Operations, personal correspondence, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, July 10, 2019.

²⁸⁴ “Original Stonework” found in “Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, Midland, Ontario, Canada,” *Visitor Guidebook*, Huronia Historical Parks, Government of Ontario, 2018.

off from the rest of the reconstruction with a Huronia Historical Parks Conservation Project sign reading “Ontario Builds” advertising “Your Tax Dollars At Work” in this rare provincial intervention of historical representation.²⁸⁵ Minister of Heritage, Sport, Tourism and Culture Industries Lisa MacLeod announced on August 6, 2021 the Ontario government was allocating \$500,000 to Sainte-Marie to conserve “the oldest masonry in the province - including the Great Fireplace” as part of a 1.5 million investment in Huronia Historical Parks.²⁸⁶ When conservation work by Keith Blades is completed in 2024 it will become a National Historic Monument housed for presentation to the public in new structures with proper drainage, which had been an ongoing issue threatening their longevity in the North Court.²⁸⁷ Such significant decisions are made by a conservation team of ten to twelve engineers, hydrologists, construction workers, landscape specialists, conservationists and archaeologists.²⁸⁸ The near destruction of the fireplaces by Jury is retrieved while the broad destruction of Indigenous presence gives shape to the place and as is detailed in the 2016 assessment archaeological potential remains at the site.²⁸⁹



²⁸⁵ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 21st, 2022.

²⁸⁶ “Ontario Investing in Huronia Historical Parks: Funding to help boost tourism in Simcoe County,” News Release, *Heritage, Sport, Tourism and Culture Industries*, August 06, 2021. <https://news.ontario.ca/en/release/1000679/ontario-investing-in-huronia-historical-parks>

²⁸⁷ John Triggs, personal correspondence, December 8, 2023.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Triggs, “SMATH Potential Model Zone 1,” *Stage 1 Archaeological Assessment*, 112.

Fig 15. Fireplace conservation work (left). Fig. 16. Fireplace in June 2018 (right).

The North Court is centered within architecture of the European area and when entering there are many buildings and histories to choose from in a spatial division of labour. This includes the active blacksmith recreating custom forging where blades and awls had been made from iron imported from France, and which Jesuits distributed as gifts when travelling to villages, or the carpentry shop where squaring of de-barked logs were fashioned to European sensibilities, or the building I first ducked into, which tells the story of Donné architect and builder Charles Boivin.²⁹⁰ Seventeenth century tools and a host of manipulable pump drills populate the room and it occurs to me re-constructing the workshop of the original architect and builder has an additional layer of temporal and spatial solipsism as the hands of empire are raised up again by the hands of modernity. The sheer materiality of this place affords Boivin hero status just below the Jesuits. I sit on his supposed work bench and write in my notebook “the materiality of this place is so central, not only in 1639, but as the video instructs ‘come see for yourself!’ It is here, it must be reckoned with as history due to its physical presence, the buildings and the little nooks and details have an effect on the viewer, sooth my own criticisms.”²⁹¹ Along with the built environment of the workshop, walking around this side of the reconstruction immerses me in a sensual world of European foodways as living Canadienne cows occupy the stable, Houdin chickens cluck along the chicken run, and the farmers dwelling, the granary, and the cookhouse speak to my nose and stomach while my eyes are invited by active cultivation in the cookhouse gardens just behind the stables.²⁹²

²⁹⁰ *Visitor Guidebook*, “Boivin Building”, “Carpenter Shop”, “Blacksmith Shop”.

²⁹¹ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 15th, 2018.

²⁹² Visit to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, June 15th, 2018.; Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, Facebook Post, January 29, 2020.



Fig. 17. Cookhouse Garden in the North Court of the reconstruction.

My criticisms return when the audio wand and visitor guidebook tell a story at the Granary, in which it is described “following the establishment of farming operations, the Jesuits were more than able to return the favour [of Wendat generosity], at one time boasting a three-year surplus for times of need” as this not only begins to sow seeds of Jesuit cultivation, civilizing, and technological supremacy but does so using distortions.²⁹³ Starvation overtook in 1649 along with a necessitated and precarious move to Gahoendoe island, for which archaeological excavation has shown evidence for starvation cannibalism such as thorough processing of human bone.²⁹⁴ There are multiple causes of this starvation including ongoing regional conflict, an unfortunately-timed drought in the summer of 1649, and some have argued an orientation of the Wendat economy towards trade including with the French, while a limited amount of food reserves among Jesuits was also a contributing factor. These stores discussed in the reconstruction were only plentiful in times of plenty for everyone.²⁹⁵ In speaking of the

²⁹³ *Visitor Guidebook*, “Granary”.

²⁹⁴ Spence and Jackson, “The Bioarcheology of Cannibalism at the Charity Site,” 76.

²⁹⁵ Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 59, 60.

establishment and retreat from Gahoendoe island Fr. Michael Knox frames it as part of an ongoing “partnership” between Jesuits and Wendat, and that it would be illogical for the Christian Wendat to have not played a significant role in making these decisions since it was their land.²⁹⁶ However, food stores of Jesuits in this crisis were used to favour Christian Wendat and stamped copper coins created and distributed while Wendat were instructed to line-up to receive their share. Jesuit records showing three thousand baptisms in this period indicate high death rates and illustrate ongoing objectives to expand the group of Christian Wendat was of primary concern rather than returning favours of generosity.²⁹⁷ Archaeology of the granary is also likely related to a nineteenth century hunting club rather than to agriculture of the mission.²⁹⁸

Moving along to the farmer’s dwelling & stables I pass two cows acquired in honour of those transported to the original structure by donné Eustache Lambert as the narrator instructs me “the French used wood and iron farming implements, while Wendat tools were of bone and stone. The Wendat did not re-fertilize their farmland soil necessitating periodic relocation of their villages.”²⁹⁹ It is another frustrating moment as sources make clear Wendat cultivation practices were based on movement and environmental and social circularity, which were foundational to living systems and not a result of a lack of European agricultural practice or technology. This interpretation descends from the symbolic role of agriculture and animal husbandry in a Jesuit or

²⁹⁶ Michael Knox S.J., “The Decision to Leave Christian Island: Jesuit Perspective.” *Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Martyrs’ Shrine*, Web Video Accessed July 25, 2021.

²⁹⁷ Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 61-63.

²⁹⁸ Retired Manager of Programmes and Operations, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, “Interpreting History on a Reconstructed Historic Site,” *A Journey Through History: The Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Canada*, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, July 10, 2019.

²⁹⁹ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 15th, 2018; *Visitor Guidebook*, “Farmer’s Dwelling & Stables”

Christian world of the original mission as they followed archetypes within biblical stories. Paul Le Jeune wrote of the role of agriculture that it would be instrumental in this new ‘Garden of Eden,’ which “will someday be a terrestrial Paradise [...] But meanwhile, its first inhabitants must do to it what Adam was commanded to do in that one which he lost by his own fault. God had placed him there to fertilize it by his own work and to preserve it by his vigilance, and not to stay there and do nothing.”³⁰⁰ Brébeuf wrote of similar connections between biblical interpretations of cultivation and their mission of Christianization defining forests as places of “obscurity and entanglement” and of being uncultivated, neglected, or a hostile world into which God had expelled humankind from Eden.³⁰¹ This is within a pre-capitalist settler colony with no immediate economic function while from the perspective of British colonial forms land cultivation is tied up with *improvement* of land, which has as etymological route in the French *en profit*, or to bring into profit from its primitive accumulation as capital.³⁰² These are distinct from Indigenous landscapes as reciprocities of medicines, berries, building materials, and habitat for porcupine, deer, bear, and worlds of other beings of cosmological connection and sustenance. From the agricultural world I made my way inside the alluring Jesuit residence to retreat from the bustling of the outside crowd. The audio tour emphasised the upstairs room as a place of respite and the location where many letters would have been written and would later be compiled into *Jesuit Relations* from this period. I follow with purpose and walk up and sit at the writing table with two windows facing the serenity of the Wye Marsh letting birds calls from the distance and a cool breeze into a room heating

³⁰⁰ Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: the Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650*. (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 43.

³⁰¹ Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls*, 44, 52.

³⁰² Meiksins Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism*, 106, 151.

up from a hanging sun and circulating bodies of a busy afternoon. From up here the toil of the blacksmith and the rustle of livestock underneath mix with other sounds of cautious footsteps as visitors creep around as if in the private rooms of a living priest and I write “this is the corpus of the State” and this the sacred head, the windows two eyes gazing out, observing, making into a world of their own the vista of landscape to share with the family of the Church and friends of the French Empire.

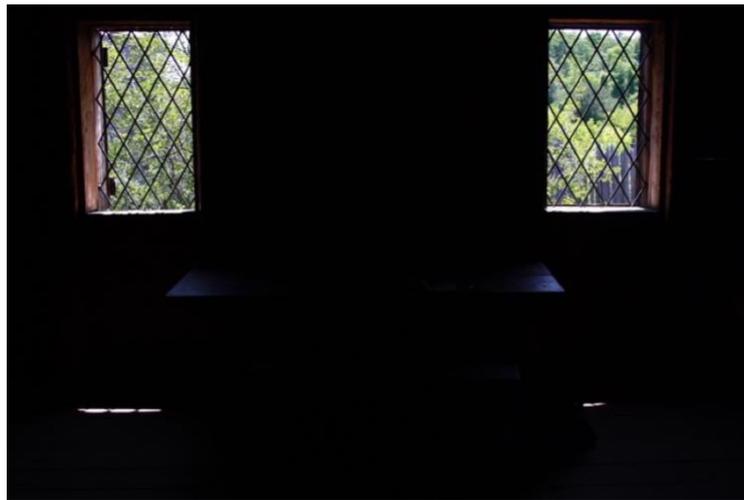


Fig. 18. Second floor windows in the Jesuit residence overlooking the Wye Marsh.

It feels like a satisfying image though after descending the back stairs towards the locked waterway and later speaking with a site interpreter I am informed the original location of the Jesuit residence is unclear, but despite the reconstruction it was unlikely to be right next to what would have been an overpowering smell of the pigsty.³⁰³ Nonetheless, the division of space according to a corpus resonated when the retired Manager of Programmes and Operations told our tour group Jesuits needed isolation in order “to be Jesuits” as Wendat did not have similar conventions of personal space and “pestered them constantly and played tricks on them.” They sought sequester to create

³⁰³ Personal correspondence, visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 15th, 2018.

head space enough to maintain spiritual practice and to represent their experiences and the Wendat back to France.³⁰⁴ This is an idea I hear repeated, which is in the early years of the mission Jesuits were integrated into communities and more at their behest and this site was envisioned specifically as means to isolate themselves from communities they had travelled here to serve. Bricks excavated by Kidd from the hearth of what is thought to be the original location of the Jesuit residence came from France, which according to interpretation suggests it was built for permanence. The Jesuit Superior ties this to teachings of Louis Lallemant, who shaped priorities of Jesuits to focus more on retreat, study, and rest in a “place of rest & renewal.”³⁰⁵ This can be observed today in the operation of the *Magis Guesthouse for Rest and Renewal* adjacent to the contemporary mission where I stayed in the Sr. Charles Garnier room for the week of the course I attended as a teaching assistant, and which nearly four centuries later has accomplished these original goals of sequester and permanence.



Fig. 19. South view of The Chapel from beside the Locked Waterway.

³⁰⁴ Retired Manager of Programmes and Operations, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, “Interpreting History on a Reconstructed Historic Site,” July 10, 2019.

³⁰⁵ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture, the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola, and Louis Lallemant, in the *Relations*” (lecture, *A Journey Through History: The Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Canada*, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, July 9, 2019).

While strolling across the glassy green waters of the locked waterway the audio wand warns me this is one of the more controversial features of the reconstruction. Similar to their work on the Hamilton site, Wilfred and Elsie Jury never published a detailed account of excavations and many inconsistencies have since been found across their work.³⁰⁶ Despite this a publication of a highly lyrical book meant for popular consumption builds the idea that a canal with a system of three locks, which was “the first artificial waterway with locks to be built in the New World” serviced Sainte-Marie.³⁰⁷ Traveling from Québec by canoe in 1639 consisted of a substantial amount of portaging and the idea a belaboured canal and lock system were built for the final few hundred metres of the journey is completely fantastical. It is nonetheless an instructive look into the mindset of the Jurys and of the reconstruction more generally, which focussed on drawing out European-ness, markers of ‘civilization,’ and geographically-bound ‘firsts’ at

³⁰⁶ Triggs, “Figure 20,” *Stage 1 Archaeological Assessment*, 102.

³⁰⁷ Paul Delaney, “An Old Fort and a New University,” *Trent University Alumni Association magazine*, Spring 2006.; Wilfred Jury and Elsie McLeod Jury, *Sainte-Marie Among the Huron*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 1954. 1, 71.; The copy of the book by the Jury’s I was using for reference had their hand-written inscription in pen that read: “To the Honourable Leslie Frost with deep appreciation for your interest in the project. Elsie McLeod Jury, Wilfred Jury, January 1954.” This publication in part inspired the landscape focus of my research as the Jury’s lyrically tied in the landscape within the scope of their work. It begins with a fairy-tale drawing of the Martyrs’ Shrine in the style of the Brothers’ Grimm and the landscape description “There is a high hill on the southern shores of Georgian Bay, in Central Canada, near the town of Midland, which thousands of people climb yearly. At its foot, a wide expanse of evergreens stretches toward a mirror-like stream called the River Wye. Beyond are rolling hills and farmlands, and deep wooded patches of many hues. [...] Through the heart of this quiet valley the white thread of a modern highway winds, serving commerce and industry, and bringing to this spot pilgrims and sightseers from every corner of Canada and the United States, and indeed from almost every country in the world, because it was at the base of this hill, in the year 1639, that the Society of Jesus built a central Residence for their mission to the Huron Indians.” Additionally, as a student enrolled in the Frost Centre for Canadian Studies and Indigenous Studies connections between Trent University and Sainte-Marie among the Hurons did not escape me. Not only was Leslie Frost supportive of the project and visited the Jurys during excavations and lent his support at the time as Premier of Ontario, but my time at Trent began at the Kenneth Kidd Archaeological Research Laboratory, while being the recipient of the Alan Wilson scholarship upon entry to my graduate program. Alan Wilson headed the committee in charge of advising the reconstruction of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons and further connections are explored in an article on the thesis presentation of Paula Drew, written by Paul Delaney, whose work is also used in my research.

the site.³⁰⁸ Jesuit-led archeological re-interpretations and many commentators have successfully countered this claim, but the audio tour narrator throws up their hands saying “we may never know” while nonetheless marking this as an example of “European ingenuity” and a voice actor re-enacts Jury’s personal excitement upon excavation of the canal.³⁰⁹ The Sainte-Marie among the Hurons Facebook page wrote of it that “while we know that it did exist, its purpose was never written about” and on National Indigenous Peoples Day in 2019 groups of a daily total of roughly two-thousand eight-hundred schoolchildren watched ‘waterway presentations.’ These were a spectacle as guests including those running with excitement into positions to get a better view yelled “canoe on the river!” in unison to welcome the craft through the elaborate lock system with a male Jesuit and female Indigenous animator arriving together on the landing to an excited, clapping crowd.³¹⁰ A highly knowledgeable presenter knew the historiographical issues and was sure to address the unknown history of this canal as it may have been used for sewage, powering a mill to grind maize, or many other possibilities with demonstrations mostly for entertainment. Despite uncertainty it is nonetheless envisioned as an example of technological breakthrough and the first of its kind in Ontario and possibly North America while impressed upon excited crowds of schoolchildren.³¹¹

³⁰⁸ Triggs, *Stage 1 Archaeological Assessment*, 36; Catherine Desbarats and Allan Greer, “North America from the Top Down: Visions from New France,” *Journal of Early American History* 5 (2015) 109-136.

³⁰⁹ *Visitor Guidebook*, “Locked Waterway”.

³¹⁰ Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, *Facebook Post*, June 18, 2019.

³¹¹ Visit to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, June 21, 2019.



Fig. 20. Waterway presentation on National Indigenous Peoples Day, 2019.

After a morning tour of the reconstruction the Jesuit Superior also used the example of the lock system as a first on the continent while integrating archaeological history into a lecture on the textual influences of sacred scripture in development of the site. This was among other firsts such as the invention of insulation in the form of double walls, which “occurs here” within the evangelizing world of the Jesuits and is described as innovated in response to six Frenchmen freezing to death in the early settlement.³¹² In a separate a discussion is the innovation of double-sided bellows emerging on marks of civilization despite this also known to be historically inaccurate. These were components of a wider discussion by the Jesuit Superior of the Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm and its transmission through the *Jesuit Relations*, which he describes as containing early forms of anthropology, astronomy, and other academic disciplines, which are described as possessing continuities with their contemporary elaborations.³¹³

A similar description is given by the audio wand when I moved on to the next feature *En Pilier*, which is believed to be the first structure built at the site and has evidence of three separate forms of roofing speaking to transformations in usage.

³¹² Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influence of Sacred Scripture,” July 9, 2019.

³¹³ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influence of Sacred Scripture,” July 9, 2019.

Nonetheless, “educated speculation” places it as possibly the first hospital in Ontario although an interpreter told me this is unclear.³¹⁴ The first section of the audio tour speaks of how no single reconstruction of the entire space would be sufficient as structures were quickly transforming works in progress and animators assured me along the way of faults in the work of Jury. Despite this the experience of the European side of the reconstruction standardizes and affixes temporal and spatial moorings of Jesuit civilizing to territorial dreams of French imperial history and to a work in progress of an imagined Canada.



Fig. 21. Church of St. Joseph located between the South Court and Indigenous Area.

3.4. The Indigenous Area and Indigenous People

The Church of Saint Joseph is a midway point of the reconstruction located as a crossover between densely packed European buildings and a more open ‘Native’ Area, which was renamed Indigenous by 2022. It is also where the grave of Brébeuf was found in excavations by Fr. Dennis Hegarty in 1954 and as a result has a separate back entrance

³¹⁴ Personal correspondence, Visit to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, June 15, 2018.; *Visitor Guidebook*, “En Pilier”.

accessed by pilgrims walking a path along the Wye River from the Martyrs' Shrine as I did while staying at the Magis.³¹⁵ It is also presented as a beautiful example of syncretism between Catholic and Indigenous cultures with birch-wood crosses behind the alter overlooking a floral themed alter cloth, rustic pews, and a raked earthen floor extending across the space to envelop the grave of Brébeuf.³¹⁶ Here the audio wand tells the story of Brébeuf as well as of the conversion of Joseph Chihwatenhwa.³¹⁷ It is an interesting telling of the story of the latter as a visitor hears "his suspicious death in 1641 was officially attributed to the Iroquois, but may have come at the hands of traditionalist Wendat" and as I walk through the West entrance to the cemetery I also hear of the headstone of *donné* Jacques Douart who was "ambushed and murdered in April of 1648 by traditionalist Wendat hoping to scare away the French."³¹⁸ The twenty Christian Wendat graves within this same cemetery as *donné* Jacques Douart speaks to the venerated place of Christian Wendat within the site, which mirror monuments of the Martyrs' Shrine landscape where memorials of Joseph Chihwatenhwa, Kateri Tekakwitha, and a stone cross is dedicated to the memory of "Native people who accepted the faith, lived it and died for it" tell their story.³¹⁹

³¹⁵ Denis A. Hegarty, *The Excavation of the Indian Church at Ste. Marie*, CCHA Report, 22, 1955, 59-73.

³¹⁶ Visit to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, June 15th, 2018.

³¹⁷ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 15th, 2018; *Visitor Guidebook*, "Church of Saint Joseph".

³¹⁸ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 15th, 2018; *Visitor Guidebook*, "Church of Saint Joseph"; *Visitor Guidebook*, "Cemetery".

³¹⁹ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, October 20th, 2018.

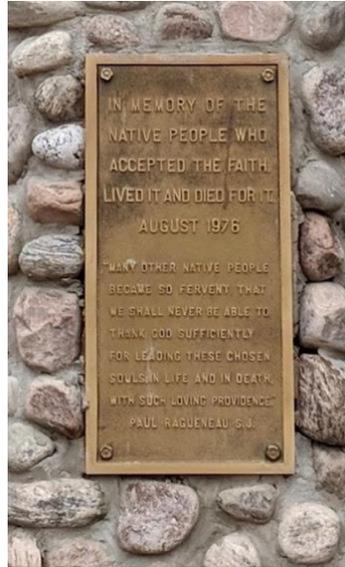


Fig. 22. Monument at the Martyrs' Shrine commemorating Indigenous Christians.

According to the introductory movie there is no judging benevolent intentions of Jesuits, but I am pressed upon by another sense already reinforced by the war drums about who are the bad guys in this story. It is not only the imagined marauding, pelt-hungry 'Iroquois,' but also "traditionalist Wendat." Language dichotomizing 'traditionalist' from a Wendat population also speaks loudly of missionary prerogatives to create this distinction as part of their work to over-code beliefs and practices of reorganizing their society into Christian Wendat communities, and this threat to Wendat lifeways is never properly given purchase throughout the reconstruction despite or because conversion is a marker of cultural genocide.³²⁰ Christian Wendat were also buried with the community at ossuaries including at Ossossané, yet in this place there is a separation between spiritual groups.³²¹ With a supposed objectivity and suspension of judgement the positive framing of Jesuit intentions is never properly scrutinized and with

³²⁰ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. Ottawa: The Commission (2015), p. 9.

³²¹ Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 190-195.

this frame in mind I make my way through to the Indigenous area of the reconstruction.

The most pronounced examples of Indigenous culture I witnessed represented at Sainte-Marie occurred when visiting on National Indigenous Peoples Day in 2018, 2019, and in 2022, while there were additional events advertised including a powwow presented by the Georgian Bay Friendship Centre planned for September 2019.³²² Many drum and dancing groups, storytelling performances, and drumming workshops including by John Somosi and Chris Walser, lacrosse tutorials, language teaching offered by the Mamaway Organization and craft making and craft selling of all kinds dotted the site maps along with inclusion of groups such as the Youth Métis Nation of Ontario inviting schoolchildren and adults to connect with culture.³²³ Del Taylor is a program coordinator at Sainte-Marie who since 1988 has been perfecting mid-17th Century carpentry and building traditional birch-bark canoes on site and is training the next generation of staff in his techniques.³²⁴ He spoke at the opening ceremonies to Indigenous Peoples Day in 2023 highlighting Indigenous service in military conflicts and contributions of the canoe, snowshoes, and the toboggan to Canadian material culture while stressing the role of education and respect in honouring the past and in transforming relationships.³²⁵

Research took place over a number of years and I was witness to momentum towards more inclusion of Indigenous programming such as “Wendat Adventures”

³²² “Site Map: Performances, Demonstrations & Activities” Leaflet, *Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons*, June 21st, 2019.

³²³ Visits to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 21st, 2018, & June 21st, 2019.; “Site Map: Performances, Demonstrations & Activities”, June 21st, 2019.

³²⁴ Cynthia McQueen, “Building canoes becomes part of history at Midland’s Sainte-Marie,” *Barrie Today*, Local News, Dec 3, 2022. <https://www.barrietoday.com/local-news/building-canoes-becomes-part-of-history-at-midlands-sainte-marie-6141286>

³²⁵ Andrew Mendler, “It is all about education’: National Indigenous Peoples Day celebrated at Midland’s Sainte-Marie among the Hurons,” *Midland Mirror*, June 22, 2023. Found on Simcoe.com https://www.simcoe.com/news/it-is-all-about-education-national-indigenous-peoples-day-celebrated-at-midlands-sainte-marie-among/article_265cdcef-f75e-5c19-8e61-3ba8e52b17ba.html

summer and day camp offering the opportunity for an “authentic learning experience” in fulfillment of badge requirements in reference to Indigenous peoples or survival skills for Cubs, Guides, and Scouts along with more frequent workshops of traditional practices such as birch bark harvesting and tipi building.³²⁶ In 2022, Ojibwe dancers performed opening ceremonies and prayers while newer interactive stations were also offered such as by Dr. Gino Ferri brewing sweet cedar tea over an open fire. One of the more striking additions to my eyes was a Parks Canada stall showing local archaeological finds from Georgian Bay including a replica biface found off the shore of Beausoleil Island, whose story I had previously heard while attending the Giiwenh First Nations Literary Festival at the Chippewas of Rama First Nation in 2017.³²⁷ Shawn Corbiere from M’Chigeeng First Nation and Parks Canada employees from other communities handed this biface to visitors to touch and were showing replicated pottery while discussing cultural materiality and connections to the surrounding natural world including the sacred mikinaak.³²⁸ A large temporary Parks Canada sign had been installed showing the diversity of turtles throughout the Georgian Bay Islands and telling visitors “We Are Helping Them Live” as this connected the site to wider, living contexts. More historically nuanced pamphlets were also offered as site maps were redesigned to include a two-page history articulating more complexity within the Wendat world and a modified recounting of the history of the move to Gahoendoe island despite remaining within a general form of bias on offer in the

³²⁶ Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, Facebook Posts, February 6, 2020 & June 21, 2021; With the onset of Covid-19 and the closing of the historic site whether this camp proceeded in some form is unlikely but was nonetheless planned for the summer following my 2019 visit to the site, whereas birch bark harvesting occurred on Indigenous Peoples Day in 2021 and a video was posted as the site was opening up again to the public.

³²⁷ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 21, 2022.

³²⁸ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, June 21, 2022; Shawn Corbiere, personal correspondence, June 21, 2022.

history of the site.³²⁹ Jake Charles of the Chippewas of Georgina Island First Nation and owner of First Nations Cultural Tours was interviewed in 2023 saying “When I started 11 years ago, the questions people first started asking here [were] pretty horrific. You could tell the knowledge wasn’t there [...] Today, the kids and adults know so much more about the culture and First Nations people. It’s mind blowing.”³³⁰



Fig. 23. Site Map giving to visitors on National Indigenous Peoples Day, June 21, 2022.

However, it was on another occasion while sitting around the fire in the Christian longhouse with an Indigenous interpreter whose identity I will withhold, in which I received a picture of the everyday place of the Indigenous area and of Indigenous interpreters in the reconstruction experience. In this private setting it was revealed that one interpreter perceived their role as an afterthought. Despite this they said what they

³²⁹ “Site Map,” *Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons*, Spring 2019.

³³⁰ Mendler, “It is all about education,” *National Indigenous Peoples Day celebrated*, June 22, 2023.

were doing there was important though not for the site as such, but rather for the visitors as they hoped their activities and connections with Indigenous interpreters will somehow “click” in their heads afterwards. This struck me as a nuanced awareness of the bounds of their role within such a historic site, especially as they also expressed their community wants nothing to do with the place. When asked if they enjoyed the work the response was that in the end it was a job and “this is a great job! It’s better than no job!”³³¹ On another occasion while sitting next to the locked waterway I witnessed their interaction with a visitor who asked “can you please talk in your Native language for me?” and despite this being an inappropriate demand it was turned into a moment of connection and the interpreter began joking around with Indigenous stereotypes while posing for a picture with the visitor, who seemed to light up and to get a lot out of the interaction. I was also told on occasion they have had to tell people to back off and to stop touching them as these kinds of interactions do need to be carefully managed, though this was something they felt comfortable doing.³³² In my own thinking it was as if they were themselves engaged in a methodology of conversion. In distinction to generating an openness to the cultivation of an internal soul, to Christianity, and to the Church as were Jesuits it was instead within broad issues of history they were cultivating an openness among visitors to Indigenous peoples as actual, living people not unlike themselves.

Laura Peers has written extensively about the difficult position of Indigenous interpreters at this and other sites throughout the Great Lakes. They employ techniques of narrative authority including playfulness and seriousness in negotiating the “worth and dignity” of specific or a generalized form of culture that may or may not be their own

³³¹ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, date undefined.

³³² Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, date undefined.

with people who may or may not have previous understandings of and in some cases respect for Indigenous peoples.³³³ Importantly, Peers also outlines object-oriented discussions, which I overwhelmingly observed cued up by content of this reconstruction, can funnel into assumptions about Indigenous peoples as “‘primitive’ and technologically inferior to Europeans” and create an overarching sense of “celebrating progress.”³³⁴ A specific issue my audio wand and interpreters repeatedly alerted me to is at Sainte-Marie there is a very strong technological and progressive narrative deployed through usage of *Jesuit Relation* sourcing and exhuming these narratives as fantastical archaeological and reconstructed physical realities. More contemporary deference to non-textual forms of authority and archaeological research as well as growing respect for Indigenous cultures flow as crosscurrents to assumptions and direction within these discourses.

The former Manager of Programmes and Operations articulated tensions in a detailed discussion of interpretations at the reconstruction and in their official capacity was central in development of the historical experience I had especially on my first visit. They conveyed interactions between the *process* and *narrative* of history, which included a curious observation that guests from outside North America often assumed Indigenous peoples still lived here and never left as being an example of a more general state of history where “for some reason some people who visit here have the Indigenous staff trapped in a time warp.”³³⁵ This was followed by discussion of the need to “maintain illusions” and a particular story they told me stood out. It was about an Indigenous man hired to depict the historic Wendat caricature who after his shift would leave work on a

³³³ Peers, *Playing Ourselves*, 71-75.

³³⁴ Peers, *Playing Ourselves*, 73.

³³⁵ Retired Manager of Programmes and Operations, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, “Interpreting History on a Reconstructed Historic Site,” July 10, 2019.

purple bicycle while wearing a fedora and flip-flops and with a cigar hanging from his mouth. The manager anxiously hoped no one would see (and I imagine he was instructed to be discreet) so illusions would not be broken. In my thinking the illusion threatened was that underneath a generalized, historically bound Indigenous person there is a specific, living person who is Indigenous from a particular nation and is within historical *process* of the present and existing outside the historic Wendat caricature generated through dominant *narratives* constructed at the site. For Michel Rolph-Trouillot it is this illusion that needs to be dispelled for Indigenous peoples to be engaged in generation of history as *actors* and *narrators* and in becoming fully historical beings, and one which the interpreter I spoke with was properly threatening by creating authentic forms of connection in the present while negotiating the baggage of racial stereotypes.

This discussion led to an assertion that “it’s a good day when people have the opportunity to form their own thoughts” and the site exists “not to change people’s minds but to have people change their own minds.”³³⁶ In the experience of listening to the audio wand, reading the visitor guidebook, and in viewing of the introductory movie my own mind had been geared towards a perspective constructed by Jesuits in the seventeenth century, and reconstructed by contemporary Jesuits in cooperation with governments, archaeologists, historians, and administrators to the exclusion of living Indigenous peoples and especially of those who choose to not be Christians. I was reminded of the introductory movie when framing their thoughts was a rhetorical question “who are we to judge? No one meant any harm. They came in peace. The intentions were good.”³³⁷ This

³³⁶ Retired Manager of Programmes and Operations, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, “Interpreting History on a Reconstructed Historic Site,” July 10, 2019.

³³⁷ Retired Manager of Programmes and Operations, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, “Interpreting History on a Reconstructed Historic Site,” July 10, 2019.

time-warp constructed for Indigenous peoples through maintenance of narrative illusion also did not seem to apply to Jesuits, and after the presentation I asked about the place of Jesuits and was told they are a resource as living embodiments of the historical past due to continuities of The Society of Jesus, *The Spiritual Exercises*, and the discipline in Jesuit lives, past and present. It was striking that continuity, embodiment, and subsequent historical authority of connection to a past world was not extended to Indigenous peoples.

3.5. Conclusion

Broad issues of landscape, history, and temporality outlined in the previous chapter can be re-examined to include this place of living history as creating a ‘state of history’ in the reconstruction where Jesuits are historical. Contemporary Jesuits with similar teachings and mission walk down from the hill of the Martyrs’ Shrine to visit venerated Catholic sites such as the burial location of Jean de Brébeuf in an experience of *déjà vu* in present, fully historical manifestations uniting *process* and *narrative*. While there are also Jesuit actors in the reconstruction, Indigenous peoples are tied up in roles of historical narrative building and in power relations as employees in negotiation of where they are supposed to be and how they are supposed to act and the hours they work and how much they are paid while wearing non-descript costumes and sustaining imagined historic worlds of visitors; worlds significantly shaped by Jesuit source materials about Indigenous peoples, which are inaccurate and biased but are foundational to history. Within this framework of history within a place of Christian historical fulfillment it is difficult to conceptualize of Indigenous peoples as fully historical. However, inclusions of representational forms of belonging have begun to proliferate and experiences of human

connection with staff and local communities act to bridge this gap and to in a sense open visitor up to a vision of historical plurality more inclusive of living Indigenous peoples.

In the introductory video and in subsequent marketing a blending of cultures had been taken on as a major historical lens, through which a visitor can interpret Sainte-Marie in a post-colonial sense of shared history, yet the reconstruction, audio-tour, and historical interpretations clearly signify the site as the location of the first masonry work in Ontario, the first hospital, a site of architectural and agricultural innovations, and most controversially, the first canal lock system in North America as markers of European progress. As a visitor I was left with an overall impression the experience of history was a celebration of Jesuits, French colonists, and Christian Indigenous allies in spreading markers of European 'civilization' with syncretism and even Christianization of the mission subsumed under this story. The site is historically significant as the first permanent European settlement in Ontario, which anchors a Canadian society imagined as predominantly Christian, agriculturally based, and officially bi-cultural between English and French as has been recognized by successive governments. Through this history post-war Canadian society could also recognize itself as historical to the diminishment of Indigenous lifeways and peoples who are always returning and increasingly represented but never quite arriving.

In the next chapter, I will enter the site museum to explore exhibits as an opportunity to draw out and discuss some of the primary sources informing the site while also looking at sections from a cultural trove of secondary sources, followed by discussion of the generation of ethno-historical identities using theoretical frameworks established in the previous chapter.

Chapter 4 - The Museum Experience, Sourcing, and Ethno-Historical Identity

*There moves in Benjamin that same Jewish messianic intuition which had led Kafka to write that 'the Day of Judgment is the normal condition of history' and to replace the idea of history developing along infinite linear time with the paradoxical image of a 'state of history', whose key event is always unfolding and whose goal is not in the distant future, but already present.*³³⁸

4.1. The Museum Experience

Like the historiography and heritage of Eastern Canada and the Great Lakes region the landscape and ruins of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons have been significantly shaped by a cultural trove of historical accounts. It can feel as if these sources are sacred texts due to their significant position in time, their pervasiveness in the story of these lands, and their lyricism influenced by the Christian vision of authors. These accounts, however, as products of their contexts and documents of empire in the case of explorers such as Champlain, documents of commerce in the case of Radisson, or ecclesiastic documents in the case of Jesuits - and all three forces mixed into each - are problematic in the telling of history. Their meaning has also been reified in subsequent periods of nation building in definition of populations and territories. This meaning is found throughout the Sainte-Marie among the Hurons museum experience and envisions a European-derived progressive form of history to the diminishment of Wendat and wider Indigenous worlds.

After touring the reconstruction, I walked out through the palisades of the Indigenous area and made my way to the courtyard of tables where guests were eating lunch and followed the map and signs to return inside the main building. To my disappointment three sisters' soup had been sold out of the cafeteria on Indigenous Peoples Day in 2019 so I again passed the exposed wooden beams and many hanging

³³⁸ Agamben, *Infancy and History*, 112.

French flags adorning a stately restaurant and on through to the museum. Space is limited so the story is economically told with a few sections doing the work of adding substance and context to an experience hanging in the mind of a visitor returning from the so-called ‘time-travel’ of living history. On display, however, are stories of European discovery and technological and pedagogical power also affixing spatial and temporal frames of French imperialism while Indigenous elements and vignettes included give a sense of balance in a similar way to representations included in the reconstruction. The museum has many component parts often found in this story and for the sake of the economy of this study will be discussed in brief according to themes of French and European imperialism, Wendat and Indigenous representations, and finally the history of the site reconstruction.



Fig. 24. Museum entrance with a cobblestone and illustrated French street.

The most visually remarkable aspect welcoming visitors into the museum is a beautifully illustrated French urban setting from this period with a cobblestone street creating spatial linkage between this location and the heart of empire as if one had just returned to the port of Rheims after a deeply meaningful experience on the edges of this perspective as an explorer, Jesuit, or layperson ‘*aux Hurons.*’ On the wall is a large map of France as the story of the “People of France in the early 17th Century” is told as a

“vibrant society” with an “emerging middle class” dominated by powers of monarchy and church. Another large map adorns the wall as “La Nouvelle France d’après Cartier” tells a visual story linking France, the St. Lawrence River valley as represented by Cartier and the physically demanding voyages from Québec by canoe to the location of Sainte-Marie during the historic period. A preceding section on “The New World and New France” is also linked with “The Age of Discovery” where a more interactive map showing voyages of explorers are traced with moving lights. At the push of a button nautical paths snaking across the world illuminate and quotes such as Cartier’s pronouncement that “I really do believe that this is the land which God gave to Cain” and a quote of the squalor in the voyages of Magellan are featured alongside pictures of mythical looking creatures and cartoon-like explorer maps. This section focusses on global trade and “luxuries from the Orient” displaying a rug and perfumes and how tariffs of sultans exacted such a high cost.³³⁹ As the lights blinkered on their paths, I realized how unnerved I was with stories of Magellan and caravans introducing a small museum with such a complex history to tell. This feeling of dissonance related to embodying the experience of a colonial subject through doctrines of discovery and global colonization.

Technologies of empire add onto spatial history as display cases include reproductions of inventions attributed to Galileo including a pendulum clock, a thermostat, and his famous telescope on display while the astronomy of Copernicus is also featured among celebrations of figures of European invention. European armour and weaponry in the form of a musket with powder horns and a bandolier make for alluring material artifacts within another. Champlain’s first battle with the Mohawk in 1609 is also

³³⁹ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons museum, June 18th, 2018.

depicted along with the quote from a moment frozen in time, in which he narrates he “shot straight at one of the three chiefs, and with this shot two fell dead and another was wounded who died thereof a little later.” Other material culture includes archaeologically retrieved rings of Jesuits and original copies of *Ratio Studiorum*, which is the programme of study within Jesuit education, featured alongside a panel describing “much of the strength and success of the Jesuits came from their rigorous and intensive education.”³⁴⁰



Fig. 25. French weaponry and the story of Champlain in battle against the Mohawk.



Fig. 26. Museum case featuring Jesuit texts and Christian religious objects.

³⁴⁰ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons museum, June 18th, 2018.

Framing and scope of European aspects within the museum create a feeling as if this site is a culmination of European achievement up to this moment in history. This creates a distortion between the breadth of the story and the specificity to details as if this site provides a progressive extension of the entire history of Europe with texts and artifacts on display similarly placed as progressive contributions to this history. To keep my historical perspective from washing down this stream it becomes necessary to hold onto knowledge of the brevity of physical existence of the structure and that but for texts of *Jesuit Relations*, relics connected to bodies of martyrs, ongoing similarly religious signification of the site, the many firsts purported to have occurred here, and the retrospective significance attributed to archaeological materials and knowledge, there are no lasting contributions of this site to this history used as a frame. For instance, a panel is dedicated to “The Soldiers of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons” but in reading it becomes clear this is a history of a total of 34 French soldiers simply overwintering on two separate occasions. This detail within such a grand narrative is paired with reductions of Wendat agency echoing the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada plaque at the entrance as the panel describes “after an arduous winter, the remaining Frenchmen and their Wendat followers fled to the safety of Quebec.”³⁴¹ Also, there is less connection of this site to displays to French society, to voyages of ‘discovery,’ or to inventions of Galileo than to other interconnected histories such as subsequent Jesuit mission sites including among the Haudenosaunee, global Jesuit missions, dramatic demographic and military transformations of seventeenth century Indigenous settlements and populations, and the overlapping imperialism by colonial powers in the region, among other

³⁴¹ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons museum, June 18th, 2018.

discourses. On display are instead expressions of visual and textual Eurocentrism.

Even more remarkable is the place of Cardinal Richelieu in the exhibit. He is a significant figure in the history of the site with Paul Le Jeune writing to Fr. Dinet in the *Relation* of 1639 of the considerable donations of Richelieu to the ‘Huron Missions’ while Jérôme Lalemant later writing directly to Richelieu giving thanks that he is able to extent his “zeal and charity to this end of the world.”³⁴² Widespread conversion among Wendat had not occurred so in 1646 more funds were provided to found a college at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons where Wendat children would receive a Christian education without having to leave for Québec.³⁴³ In 1635 Le Jeune had opened a school in Québec headed by Fr. Daniel and Fr. Davost, which began with twelve young boys and had specific designs of isolating children so Wendat families could not object to their scolding and physical punishment regarded by Jesuits as essential to this education.³⁴⁴ On one occasion Satouta, who was a grandson of the council chief Tsondechaouanouan and in line to inherit his position, was the only child willing to accompany the French whereas Jesuits had to make promises of giving more soldiers to defend villages and appeal to strengthening alliance in exchange for two remaining boys. Nine others were saved from the experience by the unrelenting objections of women in their households as they were departing.³⁴⁵ This strategy resulted in two additional boys of unclear origins being allowed under the charge of Jesuits and of the five in total both Satouta and another boy named Tsiko died most likely of disease while in fear of retribution by their families

³⁴² Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 669.; Joyce Taylor Dawson, *An Analysis of Liturgical Textiles at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons*, *Material Culture Review*, Vol. 24, Fall 1986.; Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls*, 27-30.

³⁴³ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 681.

³⁴⁴ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 522, 523.

³⁴⁵ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 522, 523.

Jesuits attributed their deaths to overeating. The remaining boys were dressed in French clothes and ate French food, were scolded and punished for practicing Wendat customs, and followed strict schedules of Christian prayer while they eventually spoke of founding a Wendat colony in Québec in accordance with Wendat interests of expanding alliance.³⁴⁶ Jesuits wrote control of children contributed to the prospect of Jesuit safety in Wendat territory and Bruce Trigger characterizes children as becoming hostages due to the acceptance of their indoctrination as being a condition of alliance.³⁴⁷ He also criticizes Brébeuf for exploiting this alliance and infringing upon Wendat beliefs in the hope of bringing about “mass conversions” and as a result creating widespread resentment, which also contributed to arenas of violence eventually returning to haunt Jesuits.³⁴⁸

In these associations is made visible what Michel Foucault terms *Ursprung*, or origin, in the genealogy of residential schools in Canada and a discomfort festers of this place being “the site of a fleeting articulation that discourse had obscured and finally lost.”³⁴⁹ Richelieu is ubiquitous in the establishment of repressive and violent unitary state power in Europe, or as argued by John Ralston Saul is a central figure in the ‘dictatorship of reason in the West’ and an architect of European genocide and religious persecution as carried out against Huguenots in France including in the form of the Spanish Inquisition.³⁵⁰ This includes escalating war with the British as the siege of Huguenots in La Rochelle in 1629 led to the seizing of Québec and increasing hostilities

³⁴⁶ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 525, 526.

³⁴⁷ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 525, 526.

³⁴⁸ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 526.

³⁴⁹ Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” In *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. D.F Bouchard. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 38. *Ursprung* is synonymous with “origin” though when used by Nietzsche in *The Genealogy of Morals* it denotes “the origin of duty or guilty conscience.”

³⁵⁰ John Ralston Saul, *Voltaire's Bastards: The Dictatorship of Reason in the West*. (New York: Free Press: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1992), 49-51.

in the St. Lawrence River valley causing Jesuits to abandon the mission *aux Huron* until 1633.³⁵¹ Refugees were banned from New France and Huguenots sought refuge in Brazil and Florida and after 1663 in British colonies.³⁵² A panel dedicated to “Religion and Conflict” shows the siege of Poitiers and cruelties of the Inquisition and a quote of Charles IX saying “Yes, kill them” over a picture of the Saint-Bartholomew’s Day massacre of 1572.³⁵³ Linkages to Sainte-Marie and Jesuits as extensions of these powers and this history along with Jesuits separating children from families, however, is folded into a theme of suspending judgement of Europeans. One panel provides a quote by Sir Francis Bacon on the role of history as to simply “represent the events themselves” and to “leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man’s judgement” and another on Richelieu quotes “He inclined towards that which is good whether by preference or by good sense, whenever his interests did not lead him towards evil, which he recognized perfectly well even when he did it.”³⁵⁴

Moving through the museum the story of the Wendat is featured in addition to the European section and unfolds in a series of explanatory panels describing contact, population, and cultural features with a separate section devoted to describing archaeological knowledge of Wendat settlements. On reflection, a few details stood out including a continued reliance on the idea of the “New World” such as in a panel describing “the cultivation of corn in the New World began over 6,000 years ago,” which displays an internal perspectival incoherence in this framing.³⁵⁵ A population figure of

³⁵¹ Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls*, 29.

³⁵² Jean-François Lozier, “Promised Lands? Indigenous Refuge in Early Canada and Beyond,” Shannon Lectures in History 2023. Carleton University, November 7, 2023.

³⁵³ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons museum, June 21st, 2022.

³⁵⁴ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons museum, June 18th, 2018.; Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons museum, June 21st, 2022.

³⁵⁵ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons museum, June 21st, 2022.

30,000 estimated by Champlain is given though it is then contested and the panel reads “academic research has suggested that the number was probably lower and there is good data to suggest that it was about 21,000 who were living in about 20 villages throughout the area.”³⁵⁶ There are estimates providing numbers this low but the authoritative text by archaeologist Gary Warrick focussing on the quantity and distribution of hearths places the number at 30,000 and is often repeated by archaeologists such as Ron Williamson as well as historians due to the exhaustive research. It is a curious decision the lowest estimate is presented while it is also ascribed academic authority of being good data.³⁵⁷

Jamie Hunter addresses this in a video for the Ontario Museum of Archaeology and instead of data a reduced population number is based on a perspective of “actual native groups occupying specific geographical locations” and demarcations of the “Wendat Confederacy” from so-called confederacies of Tionontaté and Attawandaron, who Champlain is thought to have lumped together.³⁵⁸ This demonstrates negotiation of this number and perceptions of Indigenous presence on the landscape depend on whether groups are viewed from Eurocentric perspectives, which include interpretive reliance on confederacies and on ethnic divisions and “sedentarist metaphysics” over fluid Indigenous worlds of interrelation and movement.³⁵⁹ Perceptive reduction of Indigenous worlds in assessment of populations and relationships is also rooted in the *Relations*. Paul Le Jeune similarly demarcated boundaries of belonging in 1656 when writing the

³⁵⁶ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons museum, June 18th, 2018.

³⁵⁷ Warrick, *A Population History of the Huron-Petun A.D. 500-1650*, 204.; Ronald F. Williamson, “The Archeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651: An Overview.” *Journal of The Ontario Archeological Society*. Number 94, 2014. 4.; David Hackett Fischer, *Champlain's Dream*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 326, 327.

³⁵⁸ Jamie Hunter, “Clarifying Populations of Wendake (Hurononia)/ Determiner les populations de l’Hurononia,” *The History of Ste. Marie II*. Museum of Ontario Archaeology.

https://www.communitystories.ca/v2/story-of_histoire-de-ste-marie-ii/story/huron-wendat-wendake/

³⁵⁹ Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xxix.

Onondaga and Seneca had been “depopulated” and left in ruin because “more foreigners than natives of the country” including members of seven different nations occupied their villages while four years later Jérôme Lalemant estimated just twenty percent of Haudenosaunee were “pure-blooded.”³⁶⁰ This perception is in conflict with archaeology as villages became larger than those from the early seventeenth century with the requickening of population with adoptees in processes of enculturation and expansion.³⁶¹

Additionally, a panel generally discussing pottery is deeply problematic as it fails to describe pottery specific to the history of Wendat traditions and ties Wendat into a generalized history of “early peoples.” This description denoting simplicity and a beginning point on a fixed chronology tells a story of the development of “farming” in Ontario alongside pottery, after which “early peoples no longer travelled to find foods and resources.”³⁶² This ignores research of regionally diverse and interconnected food and trade systems including more symbiotic relationships between Wendat and Algonquin peoples as well as ongoing cultures of movement. It also casts Wendat as fixed along a trajectory prescriptively beginning with ‘primitive’ or ‘pre-historic’ into becoming more advanced and historic in racist taxonomic stages of development to be slotted into from unfolding acts of ‘discovery’ by imperial European perspectives to recognition as ‘intermediate’ in anthropology to then be re-witnessed and re-slotted by visitors. I have no record of encountering this panel in 2022 and assume it was removed.

The act of ‘discovery’ is given two panels with one describing “Champlain’s Visit to Huronia” in 1615 and another entitled “Culture Contact” elaborating some of the

³⁶⁰ Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 101 – 103.

³⁶¹ Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 101 – 103.

³⁶² Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons museum, June 18th, 2018.

dimensions of this visit. The elaboration is also striking arguing in engaging Wendat as allies the French “would be involving themselves in a war with the Wendat against the Iroquois confederacy” next to a quotation by Champlain adding “this would be to them a kind of pathway and preparation for embracing Christianity. For which reason I resolved to go and examine their country and help them in their wars.” Framing of conflict between Wendat and Haudenosaunee is problematic in a variety of ways. This includes that a visitor to the museum coming from the reconstruction would be led to assume this is the same consistent conflict depicted at the site, which reinforces tropes of Indigenous groups locked in a European style of warfare back through time immemorial, while also distorting or masking the role of French imperial and wider colonial forces in shaping regional conflicts. This is six years after the depiction in the musket case celebrating Champlain engaging Mohawk and shooting dead three chiefs with one shot and five years after subsequent battles with his arquebusiers at Ticonderoga, which had significant influence on the development of Mohawk guerilla strategy and preparedness for war.³⁶³ Furthermore, this quotation references what would become a fraught and contested campaign led by Champlain against Onondaga in September of 1615.³⁶⁴

Additionally, absent from descriptions are the role of what historian Allen Greer terms the “empire effect” of an uneven distribution of diseases, weapons, diplomacy, conversion, and other results of interaction with Europeans unleashing “waves of death and disruption far and wide across the indigenous northeast.”³⁶⁵ Haudenosaunee imperatives are also rendered invisible and details such as ritual adoptions fueling

³⁶³ Fisher, *Champlain's Dream*, 266.

³⁶⁴ Fisher, *Champlain's Dream*, 328-333.

³⁶⁵ Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 146, 147.

mourning wars, which made Christian converts “optimal candidates” for attack and assimilation due to their fixed localities and willingness to shift allegiances, as well as nuances such as Mohawk and Onondaga attempts for peace are lost.³⁶⁶ Assimilating Wendat was a primary motive for many attacks including Onondaga erecting a fort on the opposite shore of Gahoendoe island waiting to capture the three hundred Wendat remaining after another three hundred had set off for Québec City.³⁶⁷ These behaviours occurred outside the control of the French and were against their interests, however, and when Mohawk and Wendat met for peace talks at Trois-Rivière in 1652 the French persuaded a group of Wendat to capture and burn Mohawk leader Aontarisati, which moved peace talks to retributive killings aimed at undermining French interests despite being carried out against their Wendat allies.³⁶⁸ A pattern of asymmetrical diplomacy continued as later initiatives by the French and Jesuits to settle in Onondaga country led to hostile attempts from Mohawk to force Wendat to settle with them instead and on May 18, 1656, they raided L’Anse du Fort on Île-d’Orléans killing or taking prisoner seventy Wendat while French and Jesuits protected by a peace treaty passively observed.³⁶⁹ Historical discourse on whether Champlain stoked war with Haudenosaunee are rich but his words are simply repeated as historical fact and the wider context is ignored.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁶ Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 51, 67.

³⁶⁷ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 785, 786.

³⁶⁸ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 806.

³⁶⁹ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 808 - 810.

³⁷⁰ Fisher, *Champlain’s Dream*, 270 – 280. Historian David Hacker Fisher summarizes some of this historiographical record writing that “Many historians have criticized Champlain for going to war with the Iroquois...In the late twentieth century, ethnohistorian studied this question in a new spirit and came to a different conclusion. Most agreed that Champlain did not start these wars. [...] It put a stop to major fighting between the Mohawk and the French for a generation. [...] Bruce Trigger writes of the two battles: ‘This was the last time that the Mohawks were a serious threat along the St. Lawrence River until the 1630s. Having suffered serious losses in two successive encounters, they avoided armed Frenchmen.’ [...] A very fragile quasi-peace was won by force of arms, and it continued for a generation, until 1634.” However, this view requires many blind spots and Fisher in his assessments of Champlain also notes that because of these early battles Mohawk warfare was dramatically altered from more pitched battles in tight

In the section featuring Wendat archaeology a timeline gives precision to descriptions of settlement patterns and changes in pottery, which are discussed within periodizing frames of the discipline. In addition to demographics and Wendat pottery on display are cultural descriptions with video stations telling stories of Wendat life, which in 2022 were popular with students. An exhibit entitled “Lacrosse: The Ancient Game” included an interpreter who welcomed visitors to hold lacrosse sticks and engage with the history of the game. Other aspects of Indigenous presence are included with “Art of the Birch Bark Canoe” being one of the most in-depth sections speaking to the social, historical, and practical dimensions of a canoe built in 2017 by Del Taylor. Examples of inclusivity of Indigenous lifeways at the site have clear value in enhancing the experience and can contrast with a sense of history on display. Within the context of the reconstruction and in an absence of deeper engagement with Indigenous life they remain within a larger story of comparative European technological and cultural advancement.

Indigeneity is more generally represented in thematic inflections of the space such as Indigenous pictures of turtles on the carpet or on my visits in 2018 and 2019 the interior atrium and garden where guests could sit and wait for visitors still immersed in the exhibits had been arranged to look like a wild, empty landscape. It was a fitting image – Indigenous space as a waiting area or neutral, deterritorialized zone outside of which one experiences a world immersed in imperial discourse. In this sense it was commensurate with the cartoon-like Indigenous peoples drawn alongside animals filling

formations using shields into the development of forms of guerilla warfare, which would later prove devastating. From these defeats they also learned the value of firearms, which they acquired from the Dutch and mastered while the French refused to arm Wendat despite being instrumental in the development of this form of warfare in the region. Finally, despite resulting in Mohawk foregoing attacks on the French this was not the case with Indigenous allies including the Wendat.

empty spaces in the map of Cartier’s Nouvelle-France and echoing what historian Jon Parmenter summarizes as “persistent conceptions of early American space as surface upon which Europeans acted and Native peoples reacted” concealing “contemporaneous temporalities and heterogeneities of space for non-European actors.”³⁷¹ However, on returning in 2022 this atrium had been modified with the wild looking area enclosed and now including hollow-face mannequins dressed as Wendat in a frozen moment tending to fishing nets and cooking next to a bark wigwam with the male figure adorned with distinctive bristling hair, of which the French derived the derogatory term *Huron*.



Fig. 27. Atrium transformed to depict customs of a Wendat man and woman (left).
 Fig. 28. “Lives Remembered” map of sites significant to the Society of Jesus (right).

The history of the reconstruction also features prominently. Drawings of Pierre Chazelle and Félix Martin are shown along work by Kidd and Jury underneath a prominent quote by Chazelle asking visitors “Why not make excavations?” as he had asked in a letter to Superior General Jan Roothaan in Rome upon making pilgrimage to the ruins in 1844 with Bishop Power of Toronto urging re-establishment of “their old native missions of northern Ontario.”³⁷² Discursive reconstruction is also presented as

³⁷¹ Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 276.

³⁷² Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 121.; Jeanie Tummon and W. Barry Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie: 1987-1990 Excavations at the Sainte-Marie among the Hurons Site Complex (circa 1200-1990)*. (Barrie: Copetown Press, 1995), 3, 4.; Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 25.

newspaper collages of excavations and opening are featured. Another prominent map unveiled in 2011 by the Superior General of the Society of Jesus Adolfo Nicolas entitled “Lives Remembered” also shows locations where the eight Catholic martyrs were killed in a visual and discursive tying together of history told at the Martyrs’ Shrine with the story of imperial France being told at the museum. The text on this map is revealing for what it says and for what it leaves out as along with the 20 Christian Wendat buried outside St. Joseph’s Church Joseph Chihwatenha is exemplified as a model Wendat Christian who “delicately held the best of his aboriginal culture together with his newfound Christian faith.”³⁷³ In examining the reconstruction and exhibits at the museum there is little engagement with this specific culture beyond material products including archaeology and arts & crafts let alone grounds to make judgements on what about it may be considered best. Bruce Trigger notes the *Relations* strongly suggest Chihwatenha was murdered by Wendat but this complicated the narrativizing of his conversion to readers in France and in later volumes mention of him is absent despite more contemporary rehabilitation of his status.³⁷⁴ Additionally, the death of Jacques Douart in 1648 is mentioned but the reason he was not included in canonization is left out as Jesuits had accepted compensation from Wendat as redress for his murder in a diplomatic strategy with both sides attempting to weather contexts of increasing hostility.³⁷⁵

Also featured are such ecclesiastic artifacts as a church bell, which tells a somewhat odd story of reconstruction as it was cast in Rouen in 1648 and the panel describes how it survived the French Revolution and German occupation to later be retrieved by Wilfred

³⁷³ Visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons museum, June 18th, 2018.

³⁷⁴ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 600, 601.

³⁷⁵ Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 35, 36.

and Elsie Jury for twenty-five dollars at a garage sale in France in 1965 as they were on a trip to build a collection of artifacts for the reconstruction.³⁷⁶ It would have been similar to the original bell of the site yet the historic value of this particular object is primarily associative up until usage in St. Joseph's Church from 1968 until 1997 when it was transformed into a historic object of the reconstruction phase. In this sense, it is a self-reflective departure from some of the other aspects of the museum as it is a story of the story, in which the gathering of Catholic material culture and the specific role of the Jury's are implicated as historical actors and narrators in the wider story of the site as a place reconstructing discursive historical illusions for colonial subjects.

When leaving the museum questions lingered in my mind such as what impact these large overlapping maps of New France and of voyages of discovery have on the visitor. Or why is there a reconstructed French street? Changes observed here had also made this history more palatable within a more balanced and respectful context though a dominant sense of history remained intact. Exiting the museum leads visitors to the gift shop where many Indigenous themed and made crafts were on sale. I stuck to buying generalized Canadiana in the form of two moose pens to give to the children of Marisol, Dante and Leon, as despite any promise of proceeds going to Indigenous artists the thought of buying an Inuit doll in a parka, or an apparent Iroquoian figure holding a spear, or even a dreamcatcher after such an experience felt deeply unsettling. By 2022 the giftshop Flint & Timber had been redesigned and though moccasins and corn husk dolls were available the Indigenous figurines had departed and been replaced with wrought-head square-cut nails and other wares speaking more to French material history.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶ Visit to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons museum, June 15th, 2018.

³⁷⁷ Visit to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons museum, June 21st, 2022.

4.2. Textual Landscape of the Sainte-Marie among the Hurons museum

Following is a discussion of the well-documented European and Jesuit historic accounts and some of the problems these accounts create in history as it is told. Weaving retrieved journals, letters, vivid stories, and what can often amount to promotional materials in the case of the books of Samuel de Champlain and the *Jesuit Relations* into compelling history converts observations, personal experiences, and ideas of a very few men with certain aims into factual, or at least widely accepted forms of historical information obscuring a deeper history. Exhibits using them to describe landscapes and histories surrounding Sainte-Marie among the Hurons can inherit traces of these aims while secondary literature on the topic have also traced them onto more pronounced racial biases generated in subsequent periods of settler colonialism.

A few examples of texts published throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the Martyrs' Shrine, from local historians often based in Midland, and even popular and widely cited histories such as Francis Parkman's *The Jesuits in North America*, for instance, have resounding issues.³⁷⁸ This is especially evident in how Indigenous sources are discounted or reduced and Indigenous peoples are represented as events are given a heroic, Eurocentric treatment and are saturated with insensitivities to traumas impacting hundreds of thousands or even millions of lives depending on the scope of study. Parkman wrote in 1877 that Indigenous traditions of historical events were "usually almost worthless" while for over a century his writing was likely the most

³⁷⁸ E. J. Devine, *The martyrs of Huronia*. Penetanguishene: The Martyrs' Shrine, 1921.; Julien Paquin, *The tragedy of old Huronia (Wendake Ehen) by A Pilgrim: A Popular Story of Martyrs' Shrine, Fort Ste. Marie, and the Other Jesuit Huron Missions of Canada, 1615-1650, According to the 'Jesuit Relations.'* (Midland: The Martyrs' Shrine, Fort Ste. Marie, 1932).

significant representation of events of seventeenth century Jesuits.³⁷⁹ Contemporary historians such as Michael A. McDonnell's in his recent *Masters of Empire* recycle aspects of these distortions into the present with Champlain's military exploits in 1609-1610 depicted as a form of accidental adventure and central aspects of the 'Beaver Wars' hypothesis framing Haudenosaunee as primarily economic-minded actors who raided for pelts.³⁸⁰ New historiography does often expand focus on Indigenous peoples but can nonetheless easily fall into positions contained within the story as imperial perspectives are retrieved such as the common reduction of motivations internal to the Haudenosaunee.³⁸¹ As discussed, without reading these sources closely "against the grain" they enact their original purposes.³⁸²

Historians and amateur archaeologists Andrew Hunter and Arthur E. Jones had tremendous local influence over retrieval of a Jesuit-centric version of this history. This included initial excavations of Ste. Marie II and writing archaeologically-informed, regionally bound histories while using reports of amateur archaeologists, farmers, and local physicians searching out the skeletal remains re-emerging from worked fields and transforming landscapes in description of over four-hundred Wendat sites.³⁸³ As a Jesuit Jones assumed control of the archives of the Collège Sainte-Marie in 1882 and subsequently supplied parliamentarians with information during debates over the Jesuit Estates Act and assisted in publishing of *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* by

³⁷⁹ Nabokov, *A Forest of Time*, 5.

³⁸⁰ Michael A. McDonnell, *Masters of Empire: Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015), 28, 29.

³⁸¹ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 224 – 239.

³⁸² Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 96, 100.

³⁸³ Digital Museums Canada Community Stories Collection, "Early Archaeological Investigation of Huronia and First Archaeological Investigations of Sainte Marie II", *The History of Ste. Marie II*, Museum of Ontario Archaeology, https://www.communitystories.ca/v2/story-of_histoire-de-ste-marie-ii/story/early-archaeological-investigation-huronia-first-archaeological-investigations-sainte-marie-ii/

Reuben Gold Thwaites.³⁸⁴ His own 1909 publication '*8ENDAKE EHEN*' or *Old Huronia* was used along with Hunter's *A History of Simcoe County* as authoritative guides throughout excavations of the mid-twentieth century.³⁸⁵ While touring Sainte-Marie during the academic symposium the Jesuit Superior described Jones as the first to arrange the "floating" possessions of Jesuits including these archives, historical legacies, and many property holdings and aspirations.³⁸⁶ Edward. J. Devine assisted Jones from 1885-1889 and retrieved "facts and documents" from these archives when a bill came before parliament calling for a federal disallowance of the Jesuit Estates Act, and years later in 1922 he reified Jesuit history by providing lengthy and impactful testimony in Québec City to the apostolic commission on the holiness of the Jesuit martyrs prior to canonization.³⁸⁷ In contrast to the settlement of \$160,000 of the 1888 act he also used the archives to estimate Jesuit properties confiscated by Britain in 1763 as worth \$7 million, which adjusted for inflation is today valued closer to \$250 million.³⁸⁸

Along with these retrievals, primary and secondary sources are foundations to the rebuilding of the ruins of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons and their descriptions tell a

³⁸⁴ John D. Meehan, S.J. "Historiography of Jesuits in Canada since 1842", in *Jesuit Historiography Online*. Consulted online 06 April 2023, https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/jesuit-historiography-online/historiography-of-jesuits-in-canada-since-1842-COM_196201

³⁸⁵ Digital Museums Canada Community Stories Collection, "Early Archaeological Investigation of Huronia and First Archaeological Investigations of Sainte Marie II," *The History of Ste. Marie II*, Museum of Ontario Archaeology, Consulted online 06 April 2023, https://www.communitystories.ca/v2/story-of_histoire-de-ste-marie-ii/story/early-archaeological-investigation-huronia-first-archaeological-investigations-sainte-marie-ii/

³⁸⁶ Jesuit Superior, "Life & Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom" October 20, 2018.

³⁸⁷ Terence J. Fay, "Devine, Edward James" in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, (vol. 15, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), accessed April 6, 2023, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/devine_edward_james_15F.html.

³⁸⁸ Terence J. Fay, "Devine, Edward James"; Philippe Sylvain, "Jesuits' Estate Act", *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, published February 7, 2006, edited May 20, 2014, accessed April 6, 2023. <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/jesuits-estates-act-1/>

story of their own. Cultivation practices of the Wendat are a common focus, which is echoed in an agricultural heavy present-day visitor experience, and Gabriel Sagard provides more detail than Champlain while building off his accounts and even plagiarizing some of his first-hand experiences.³⁸⁹ For instance, in descriptions provided by Sagard on Wendat soil usage is a palpable frustration with practices exhausting land with maize cultivation. Among other complaints he writes they did not use fertilizer nor crop rotation.³⁹⁰ Georges Sioui in *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* mixing archaeological research with oral histories shows this is an incidental part of a culture of movement developed in response to complex external and internal political and economic pressures where village sites would be moved on a regular basis, rather than as a result of a lack of agricultural practices from Europe.³⁹¹ Into the Late Woodland period former village sites were subsequently used as hunting camps and with an added prevalence of sunshine, human waste, cleared fields, and radiating pathways, became prime growing environments for vegetation including berry bushes. Archaeologist Neil Ferris describes former villages as additionally becoming “memory markers on the landscape that speak to a community’s sense of space, place, heritage, and belonging” as smaller hamlets, food sources, trade networks and burial sites developed in interconnection.³⁹²

Samuel de Champlain’s account of first landing at Atouacha, present-day Toanche, in 1615 and encountering the landscape is a vivid description and as a result is often reproduced in secondary literature. In *Champlain’s Dream* this account is recreated by author David Hackett Fisher who highlights Champlain’s observations of fertility,

³⁸⁹ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 173.

³⁹⁰ Heidenreich, *Huronnia*, 174, 175.

³⁹¹ Sioui, *Heritage of the Circle*, 67-69.

³⁹² Ferris, “Place, Space, and Dwelling,” 106-107.

abundance, and interconnection as he found “‘a well cleared country’ and ‘well peopled with a countless number of souls,’” which, as discussed, he estimated to be 30,000. Champlain walked through “bumper crops in the fields” while Sagard would “lose [his] way in these cornfields” as vast amounts of maize sustained dense networks of villages and a surplus export economy, while diet was also described as supplemented with internal production of squash, sunflowers, plums, apples, raspberries, strawberries and nuts.³⁹³ This bounty is supported by archaeological research visualized in the documentary “Curse of the Axe” animating vast corn fields sustaining the Jean-Baptiste Lainé site in present-day Stouffville as stretching all the way into the City of Toronto.³⁹⁴

4.3. *Ethno-Historical Construction of Indigenous Identities in Primary Sources*

Bountiful cultivation of land matched what Champlain heard from Algonquins and many of his assessments of landscape seem accurate though in *Huronía* by Conrad Heidenreich one of his failures is judged to be his naming in ethno-historical assessments of Wendat. When in the Saint Lawrence River valley, he placed Wendat as the *Ochateguins* and in descriptions of sending Etienne Brûlé with Wendat to learn their language as the *Charioquois*. Most pragmatically in his writing, however, Wendat became referred to as “good Iroquois” influenced by his vision of military and diplomatic means to empire building.³⁹⁵ Such a negative construction of French imperial interests persists

³⁹³ Heidenreich, *Huronía*, 174.; Fischer, *Champlain’s Dream*, 326, 327. Champlain also noted that the Wendat were “covered in the pelts of deer and beaver, which they acquired from the Algonquins and Nipissing for Indian corn and meal” as the bounty of their lands extended broadly across landscapes through relationships of reciprocity.

³⁹⁴ “Curse of the Axe” Produced by Yap Films, History Channel Canada, Archaeological Services Inc. 2012. <https://asiheritage.ca/asi-media/curse-of-the-axe/>

³⁹⁵ Herbert Cranston, *Etienne Brûlé: Immortal Scoundrel*. The Ryerson Press, Toronto. 2-5.; William Fox, personal correspondence.; Heidenreich, *Huronía*, 23. 24.; Even Etienne Brûlé, who was one of the early explorers and the first European to visit the land of present-day Toronto in 1615 and to travel

including in perpetuation of an inverse ‘bad Iroquois’ in the story told of Sainte-Marie. Georges Sioui remarks Champlain was never aware peoples he encountered referred to themselves as Wendat even after compelling a war party down the Otonabee River to cross Lake Ontario and fight an ill-fated campaign against the Onondaga in 1615.³⁹⁶

‘Wendat’ is also rare in the *Relations* despite being the most documented group and the ‘Huron Mission’ lasting thirty-five years.³⁹⁷ Despite significant importance to New France tasks of naming and representation are an issue throughout the texts. This is in conjunction with these accounts as “spatial history” within what Michael Witgen asserts was an imagined or “illusion” of French Empire alternative to Indigenous relations to place. After defeat in the Seven Years War by the British and the Royal Proclamation of 1763 this empire primarily “occurred in Europe, on maps and in correspondence between royal courts” as a process of making “Indigenous landscape legible” through relationships with Indigenous peoples rather than through military domination of lands, which was impossible due to the expanse and large populations.³⁹⁸ Only through the eyes of empire were they possessed as a generalized *pays d’en haut* or *aux Hurons* on French maps.³⁹⁹

up the present-day Ottawa River through the French River and into Georgian Bay, which became a significant route in the colonial history of the region, himself underwent forms of silencing in his lifetime. Only more recently has he become more remembered but as the “forgotten man” in historiography. It is by design as he stepped outside bounds of empire, commerce and Christianity and was also the first European said to learn Indigenous languages and to adopt Indigenous habits and customs - though to what fidelity and to what ends is a matter of debate. Due to being reported by Récollet missionary Gabriel Sagard as being “addicted to women” and seen in contravention of the Christian morals’ missionaries sought to cultivate, he was largely ignored in Jesuit accounts, while he left no written accounts of his own. One historian asserts that if he had made reports, he probably gave them to Champlain who would have incorporated them into volumes of his own writing and would hardly have been pressed to credit his “servant” with whom he had a deteriorating relationship and who later betrayed him to the British. Additionally, this erasure of Brûlé included his planned reburial at the 1636 Feast of the Dead ceremony at Ossossané, to which Jean de Brébeuf objected.

³⁹⁶ Sioui, *Heritage of the Circle*, 3.; Fisher, *Champlain’s Dream*, 328.

³⁹⁷ Sioui, *Heritage of the Circle*, 3.; Allan Greer, *The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America*. (Boston: Bedford/ St. Martin’s, 2000), 37.

³⁹⁸ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 73, 74.

³⁹⁹ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 73, 74.

Techniques and consequences to French and Jesuit place-making are explicit in *The Relation* of 1670-71, in which Claude Dablon uses landscape descriptions and mapping to tie “all these lands [which] were taken possession of in his majesty’s name” to an anchor of the mission of Sainte-Marie du Sault.⁴⁰⁰ This mission was established due to proximity to a bountiful fishery with expectations for interaction with seasonal occupation in the thousands at Michilimackinac, yet it was cast as a regional anchor of French territorial imagination.⁴⁰¹ Much like *aux Hurons* this was an “invention of the ‘Outaouac country’” and coalescent creation of regional Indigenous identities, which in this highly diverse context were resistant to coherent description. Witgen asserts “Anishinaabewaki was not a national identity with exclusive claim to occupy a particular physical space. It was instead a constellation of lived relationships” often invisible to colonists.⁴⁰² Here the limits of Jesuit ability to comprehend Indigenous worlds and subsequent inability of colonial officials such as historian of New France La Potherie to clarify or categorize who he was speaking of is on display.⁴⁰³ Sources confuse the identity of the Cree as an amalgamation of many imagined identities with the word *Cree* now understood to have been an Anishinaabe term denoting a dialect of Anishinaabemowin, which became an identity reified through subsequent historical contexts including the fur trade.⁴⁰⁴ *Saulteur* similarly denoted Indigenous peoples from present-day Sault Ste. Marie and this name cast them as ‘displaced’ when encountered in different contexts including to the West.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁰ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 81.

⁴⁰¹ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 23. As White contends “To argue that either this mission or the later fort and mission at Michilimackinac led the Indians to settle the area is like arguing that people go to airports to be solicited by religious zealots and only incidentally catch airplanes.”

⁴⁰² Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 81- 89.

⁴⁰³ White, *The Middle Ground*, 24.

⁴⁰⁴ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 87.; McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 5.

⁴⁰⁵ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 162.

Spatial mobility was made invisible in these ethnographic discourses of earlier periods and later constrained under settler colonialism beginning in the early nineteenth century, which as Jon Parmenter argues, accomplished to “render Iroquoian culture in extra – or even antihistorical terms.”⁴⁰⁶ Witgen summarizes these sources as representing

no less than the discursive dispossession of Native North America. Native peoples existed as part of the French Empire, either as refugees fleeing a savage enemy, or as antagonists threatening the colony. Either way their history becomes subsumed by the story of European powers fashioning a new homeland in a wilderness devoid of civilization.⁴⁰⁷

Fixity to Indigenous identity so central to the *Relations* and to French imperial discourse was tied to the understanding that without ongoing incorporation of Indigenous allies the French “would lose everything” including their economic basis through access to pelts, military capabilities, and territorial claims to the western interior and would be left only with the St. Lawrence River valley corridor to the Atlantic Ocean.⁴⁰⁸ Drawing out ethno-historical meaning from these texts as “privileged historic documentary sources over informant-based ethnographic data” has resulted in significant tension in production of legal identities in relation to the Canadian state as well as in commercial participation and in retrospective negotiation through archaeological research.⁴⁰⁹

With the Royal Proclamation of 1763 the British “did not gain sovereign possession of the Great Lakes, they simply inherited the illusion of empire” as Anishinaabewaki and other social formations described on French maps operated independently including after the British and Americans inherited this illusion. It was not until demographic shifts accelerated through encroaching violence of settler colonialism that this illusion began to

⁴⁰⁶ Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xxix.

⁴⁰⁷ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 38.

⁴⁰⁸ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 126.

⁴⁰⁹ Ferris, *Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism*, 12.

transform into lived realities. In British treaty-making later culminating in the Canadian constitution, French illusions meshed with British ethno-historical conceptions of Indigenous peoples, which broadly attached diverse groups engaging in commercial relationships with fixed terminologies such as ‘Cree’ or ‘Ojibway’ in distinction to fluid relationships of circularity and reciprocity.⁴¹⁰ Identities regenerated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through reference to source materials and especially the *Relations*, which due to the comparative spatial and ethnographic detail of French imperial documentation became authoritative primary sources in historical and legal research nonetheless distinct from Indigenous social practice and historical consciousness.⁴¹¹ Fr. Paul Ragueneau’s identification of Michisaguek and Paouitagoung later became Ottawa, Mississauga and Saulteur (later replaced with Chippewa) in descriptions of Algonquin-speaking peoples, which was followed by the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs separating Beausoleil Island, Cape Croker, Christian Island, Georgina and Snake Islands, Rama, Sarnia, Saugeen, the Thames, and Walpole into Chippewa while Alderville, New Credit, Curve Lake, Rice Lake and Scugog became recorded as Mississauga.⁴¹²

In this regard, a weakness of the term “colonialism” as it is used in the Canadian context is variation between distinct French and British colonial systems as histories and their overlap are collapsed into one process, which encompasses distinct methods of dispossession and property formation. French colonialism provides more personal, intimate, and complex religious and imperial-minded conceptions, which nonetheless

⁴¹⁰ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 217. William Fox, personal correspondence.

⁴¹¹ Pamela D. Palmater, *Beyond Blood: Rethinking Indigenous Identity*. Saskatoon: (Purich Publishing Limited, 2011), 37, 218.

⁴¹² Warrick and Williamson, “After the Haudenosaunee: The Mississauga Occupation of the North Shore of Lake Ontario” 263-264.

contain factual errors and conceptual biases, while the British more impersonal, simplistic, and generalizing commercial and imperial-minded conceptions.⁴¹³ This becomes apparent when vivid details of French or Jesuit sources are introduced to elaborate historical complexity. Despite taxonomic and fixing they are often evoked as witness-informed, objective historical facts contrasted by the vague, generalized forms within British colonial discourse of Indigenous peoples from these time periods.

Misconceptions emanating from imperial discourses play off one another in shaping or altogether erasing identities, which resist conforming to one or to either. Contemporary Jesuit understanding of landscape and Indigenous identities, however, are complemented by this source material, which mirror purposes of spiritual conversion and echo prerogatives of the former French Empire in creating affixed temporal, spatial, and ethnographic frames for territorial possession. This process is expressed most centrally in the present context of our British-derived Canadian constitutional regime in the Indian Act of 1867 along with a history of subsequent amendments such as the introduction of the registry in 1951 where “Canada’s jurisdiction over the individual and communal identities of Indigenous peoples” was generalized and enshrined.⁴¹⁴

Disciplines including archaeology are employed to give objective purchase to jurisdictional boundaries and to myths of rigid historic “Indigenous” identities through chronologies of landscape dwelling and the colouring-in with detail from perspectives available in European sources. Within this framework, archaeological materials suggest “social and intellectual life had remained static” as ethno-historical boundary negotiations make alien what is familiar while offering similar ends as the museum experience in

⁴¹³ Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 149-162, 178.

⁴¹⁴ Palmater, *Beyond Blood*, 32.

providing source materials for contemporary subjects to imagine colonial actors, their descendants, and ways of being within positions of belonging.⁴¹⁵

This discussion of the social effects of historiography and archaeology in Ontario will continue in chapter six. In the next chapter, the history of Jesuits from the perspective of property formation will be developed into a wider discussion of Jesuit and Catholic Christian ontology and place-making in relationship to the history and experiences I encountered at Saint-Marie among the Hurons.

⁴¹⁵ Palmater, *Beyond Blood*, 32.; Sioui, *Heritage of the Circle*, 46.

Chapter 5 - Jesuits and Seeds of Christianity at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons

It's a place where people can come together and sit in a mystery and not be so worried about all the facts. The facts are very important, but they're background to the mystery. [...] We don't have to categorize everything, analyze everything, know as much as we can, break down all the inconsistencies. Those methods are helpful in the development of human society but they're tools, they're not realities unto themselves. There's a deeper mystery that we have to be comfortable sitting in.⁴¹⁶

5.1. Property Formation and Christian Place

The weeklong course *A Journey Through History* included an early morning walking pilgrimage to St. Ignace II. I had arrived that morning from the Trent Windy Pine retreat just in time to ferry students to a drop off point and give them a head start on their journeys. While they made their way across the landscape in mid-July heat the Jesuit Superior and I drove ahead and spoke while he set up for a late morning Mass honouring the martyrdom of St. Jean de Brébeuf and St. Gabriel Lalemant. A few hours later the student pilgrims arrived through a private adjacent property, for which they received permission to cross, sharing expressively of an arduous journey along a few kilometres of pathway through the forested, rolling hills. I was unexpectedly called on to drive Martyrs' Shrine site manager John Zurakowski to an appointment and the Jesuit Superior later correctly discerned we must have used the opportunity to discuss property relations. From the passenger seat John painted with his hands the boundaries extending under the Wye River and spoke of the Jesuit lease to the provincial government on a ninety-nine-year term, along with other complex and fixed aspects specific to the property.

Property formation discussed by Allen Greer, however, is distinct to legal realities as a means of “fully historicizing” property relations in “a process of becoming that is

⁴¹⁶ Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019.

never complete.”⁴¹⁷ It is also commensurate with fluid spatial concepts of landscape or of territory. In addition, it accounts for complex dimensions in maintenance of ownership, which are erased in assertions of private property like a ‘just so’ story acts to flatten a sense of historical consciousness in maintenance of a particular history. These include dimensions of social inclusion as property formation occurs as an “accumulation of economic entitlement” in a sense Hannah Arendt saw demarcating boundaries of political participation in ancient Greek society rather than limited to expressions and expansions of wealth.⁴¹⁸ Relatedly, in Catholic social thought participation is “the heart” of ascertaining the state of justice within a society.⁴¹⁹ In this participatory sense property is also instrumental in “creating colonial subjects” discriminating according to who is deemed qualified to own, to be owned, or to be excluded. Property documentation tracing property formation of this site begins with Penetanguishene Treaty No. 5 of 1798 in the late colonial era, which was a land acquisition designed to remove Indigenous populations from the area rather than a treaty with cooperative agreements, and is superseded by an era of settler colonialism where Christian significance shaped rights to

⁴¹⁷ Allen Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 19.

⁴¹⁸ Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 20, 21. Greer’s general framework of property formation deserves reproduction here: “Colonial property formation had devastating consequences for indigenous America, but that is not to say that it was the work of greedy and rapacious colonizers. Wealth and profit could accrue to some proprietors, though that was not actually a major factor impelling colonization in New France or New England through most of our period. More typically, property provided the material and spatial basis for a way of life. [...] It underlay and secured the existence of settler households. This may sound benign, but it is not. We need to recall that these household were hardly egalitarian, in their internal structures or in their external relations. More to the present point, colonial property formation – even when ‘wealth’ in the Arendt sense is a minor consideration – was certainly expansive and it necessarily entailed dispossession. Establishing a material basis for new settler households and polities undermined the foundations of indigenous households and polities. Its effects were frequently more severe than that: it could destroy life itself by depriving people a means of subsistence. [...] Property formation as presented here revolves around the ways in which property relations work to create and sustain courts and governments. Making states, making subjects and making space - property formation is intimately involved in all these connected processes.”

⁴¹⁹ Michael J. Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada” in *Builders of a Nation: Jesuits in English Canada 1842-2013*, 73-102. Toronto: Novalis, 2015, 29 – 30.

ownership and to social participation.⁴²⁰ Today, the Chippewa Tri-Council of the Beausoleil, Rama, and Georgina Island First Nations have an unresolved claim to a 20,200-hectare tract of land taken without consent in 1811 as part of this treaty and have submitted official claims in 1986 and in 1990 and assert it remains outside the purview of the Williams Treaties Settlement Agreement of 2018.⁴²¹

Beginning with the late-colonial military vision transforming a natural harbour at Penetanguishene into a British naval base during conflicts of the early nineteenth-century, by the mid nineteenth-century lush forests, arable soil, and fresh waters of Georgian Bay were undergoing transformations under an expanding gaze of industrial capitalism. The land as property documents these transformations and in 1815 the deed was officially transferred to Upper Canada from the Ojibwe as the ruins were deemed just outside of the Penetanguishene Treaty No. 5. Records show in 1833 Pierre Thibeault built the first house and occupied fifty acres of the property after arriving with other settlers displaced by the Drummond Island forfeiture as the British handed over to the United States the last occupied territory from the war of 1812.⁴²²

With the passing of the Railway Guarantees Act of 1849 transportation networks expanded throughout Ontario and in 1871 industrialist Baron Adolphe Von Hugel of the Port Hope, Lindsay & Beaverton Railway (PHL&B) visited Mundy's Bay. Impressed by the bountiful landscape he renamed his holdings the Midland Railway Company and founded the Midland Land Company in order to sell and lease properties in the region of

⁴²⁰ James Conolly, personal correspondence, January 28, 2020.

⁴²¹ John Boileau, *Penetanguishene Treaty (No.5)*, The Canadian Encyclopedia, May 17, 2022. Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/penetanguishene-treaty-no-5>

⁴²² Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 17.

destination for profit.⁴²³ A landscape of natural resources and property was imagined within this emerging economy and interconnection with an expanding network was celebrated with the arrival of the first train in Midland on July 1st, 1879.⁴²⁴ Over the next decades a series of land transfers trace economic inspirations and insolvencies of industrialists and speculators, and subsequent crests and troughs of local merchants, farmers, and labourers who bought and occupied increasingly individuated parcels of surrounding property until in 1900 when William A. Kemp consolidated a large tract for a “fish and game preserve,” which is today included in the Wye Marsh Wildlife Centre.⁴²⁵

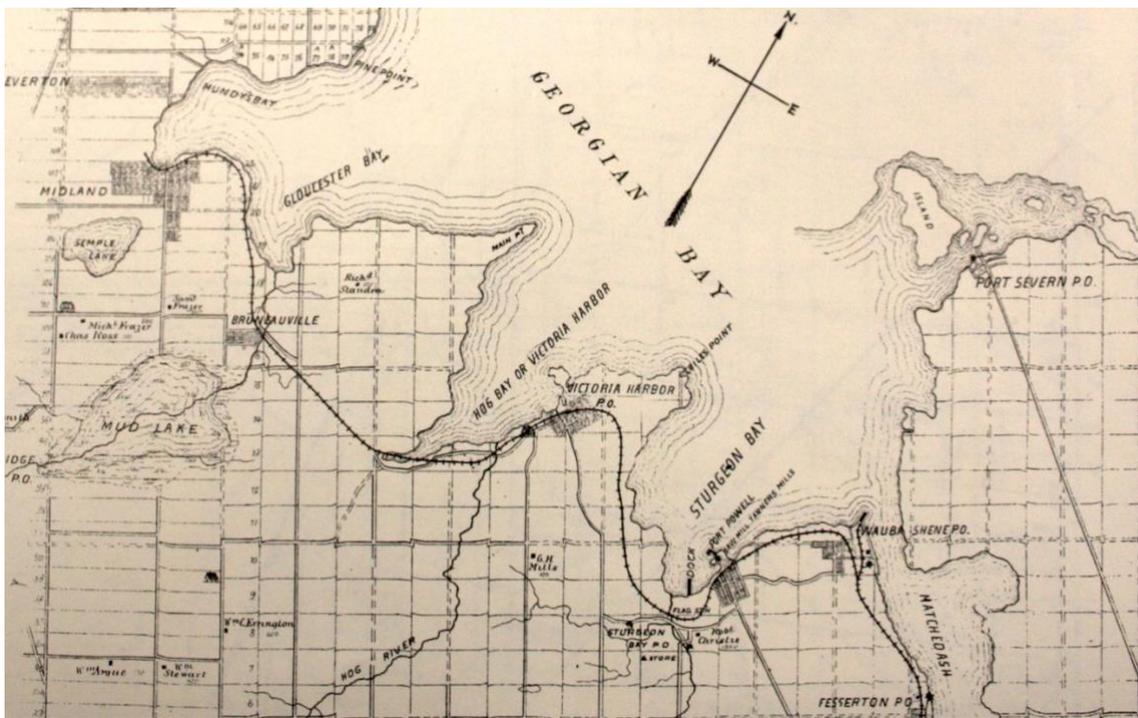


Fig. 29. 1881 atlas of Simcoe County & rail line to Mundy's Bay without Sainte-Marie.

⁴²³ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 14, 15.; Charles Cooper, “The Port Hope, Lindsay & Beaverton Railway” & “23a The Midland Railway of Canada” sections in *A Capsule Railway History of Haldimand and Norfolk Counties*. Found in Charles Cooper’s Railway Pages <https://railwaypages.com/victoria-junction-lindsay-ont>; Patrick D. Gruber, *Midland*, The Canadian Encyclopedia, October 24, 2012, edited March 4, 2015. Accessed December 10, 2019, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/midland>

⁴²⁴ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 14.

⁴²⁵ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 15, 16.

One overall finding of the 1987-1990 work by archaeologists Jeanie Tummon and W. Barry Gray was greater evidence than had previously been documented of farming activities and industrial usage from throughout this nineteenth-century period as the land was absorbed into new phases of a nascent regional economy.⁴²⁶ It is even understood this phase of occupation “has serious archaeological implications” especially in how it influenced the work of Elsie and Wilfred Jury who while searching for remains of the 1639-1649 occupation phase may have instead found “houses, barns, and other structures” from this period, which are nonetheless expressed in the present-day reconstruction.⁴²⁷ The more recent 2016 assessment by John Triggs recommends evidence of this phase of occupation comprising of rural nineteenth century farmsteads must be considered “a significant archaeological resource worthy of protection” as Ontario archaeology increasingly values material remains from this period.⁴²⁸

This history of property formation folds into the story of Jesuit reestablishment in the region and by 1842 Jesuits began returning to the Canadian territories after a 42 year absence.⁴²⁹ The ritual of Catholic Mass was held by the Superior of the Jesuits in Canada Fr. Pierre Chazelle on his first visit after nearly two centuries in the summer of 1844.⁴³⁰ He also made the first interpretations of the site without conducting excavations.⁴³¹ In October, he wrote about his experience to Rome in an often reproduced passage declaring “shall I ever be privileged to announce to Very Reverend Father General that Saint-Marie

⁴²⁶ Tummon and Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie*, 2.

⁴²⁷ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 15.

⁴²⁸ Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 20.

⁴²⁹ Peter Meehan and Michel Thériault, *Jesuits*, The Canadian Encyclopedia, May 18, 2011, edited April 26, 2019. Accessed April 6, 2023. <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/jesuits/>

⁴³⁰ Georges-Émile Giguère, “CHAZELLE, JEAN-PIERRE,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed February 2019. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chazelle_jean_pierre_7E.html

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*

among the Huron exists, that I have said Mass there” and quickly moved to the idea of reconstruction, asking “why not make excavations?” This question is on the wall of the museum as the significance of these initial moments reanimating the mission shapes the second phase of Jesuit occupation. In another letter Chazelle continued “a few acres would suffice and could easily be bought. We would then have in Upper Canada two pieces of property very close to our hearts” to ensure that they would be “profaned no more.”⁴³² The second piece of property Chazelle wrote about was St. Ignace, which “of all the sites in Huronia it has been the most anxiously sought for” especially prior to the grave of Brébeuf being discovered in 1954 in excavations of Fr. Dennis Hegarty.⁴³³ Despite Chazelle’s excitement he was mistaken about the ease of purchase as Jesuits acquiring property was complicated by the suppression of the Society of Jesus in Canada and only with passage of the Jesuits Estates Act were some legal deficiencies resolved.⁴³⁴

Fr. Félix Martin visited the site in 1855 spending two weeks commissioned by the government to begin the first official excavations, which was the most detailed work of the era. He exposed four bastions described by both Chazelle and subsequent work by Reverend George Hallen, an Anglican rector from Penetanguishene, and dug to a depth of two feet around the site unearthing various remains such as charred boards and features including the palisaded contours.⁴³⁵ He also identified the area to the South of the stone ruins as being occupied by Wendat and ‘Algonkians.’ This is an assertion archaeologist

⁴³² Tummon and Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie*, 3, 4.; Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 25.

⁴³³ Arthur Jones. ‘8ENDAKE EHEN’ or *Old Huronia. Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*. (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1909), 104.; Denis A. Hegarty. *The Excavation of the Indian Church at Ste. Marie*. CCHA Report, 22, 1955, 59-73. 59

⁴³⁴ Philippe Sylvain, “Jesuits' Estate Act”, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, published February 7, 2006, edited May 20, 2014. <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/jesuits-estates-act-1/>

⁴³⁵ Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 27.

Kenneth Kidd echoed in the 1940s who termed it the “Indian compound,” despite his test pitting in the location resulting in no archeological evidence.⁴³⁶ Regardless, Martin had begun excavations in what was understood as the “European compound” within the walls.⁴³⁷ In this excavation, bastions were described as being as high a 1.8 metres while in subsequent surveying performed in 1884 “the only traces of [the bastions] were to be found in a few heaps of earth and broken stone” as scavenging of the valued stone was eased by accessibility of roads to the ruins and likely can be found today on properties throughout the area along with many smaller artifacts carried away by curious children and advocational archaeologists.⁴³⁸ Martin did not include any signs of nineteenth-century occupation neither in his archaeological assessments nor in his drawings.⁴³⁹



Fig. 30. One of twenty-five illustrations by Félix Martin depicting early investigations.

⁴³⁶ Kenneth E. Kidd, *The Excavation of Ste Marie I*. Originally printed 1949. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1974, 20.; Kenneth Kidd, “The Excavation of Fort Ste. Marie.” *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 22, no.4, (December 1941), pp. 403-415. 408. This lack of evidence was likely related to the many disturbances on the site and in 1941 Kidd wrote “That part of the site which comprised the compound for the Indians has suffered severely in the last half-century, in that it was levelled and a house and outbuildings erected on it. No such fate overtook the portion which was originally enclosed by the stone walls and the palisades. Perhaps the very presence of so much stone has been its salvation.”

⁴³⁷ Tummon and Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie*, 4.; Jones, *SENDAKE EHEN*, 11.

⁴³⁸ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 16.; Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 18.; Kidd, “The Excavation of Fort Ste. Marie,” 408.

⁴³⁹ Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 26.

He cleared away “the rubbish which obliterated the lines of the foundations” and produced careful maps and an especially striking collection of twenty-five pastoral landscape sketches depicting an idyllic natural setting, within which the process of clearing the site now “thickly covered with trees” took place.⁴⁴⁰ In one of these often reproduced sketches, three workers enwrapped in the canopy of the forest with pick axes and shovels in hand appear to be driving early backbreaking digs into the earth locating the masonry walls while watched over by two figures. One appears to be Martin wearing the black cassock and hat of Jesuit dress and the other Hallen, who himself drew plans and accompanied and advised Martin throughout investigations.⁴⁴¹ Like the gentility in English landscape oil paintings described by John Berger, by drawing himself into the landscape of Sainte-Marie in this fashion Martin was transforming the visible world into tangible property and defining himself, the Jesuits, and the local Christian community in social positions as landholders. While relying on local Indigenous knowledge acquired through his guides Champlain similarly illustrated more so than mapped the landscape and developed this gifted knowledge into a process of spatial over-coding for the French Crown and the Church.⁴⁴² Despite Martin never returning this act of seeing represented within these illustrations inspired subsequent generations of Jesuits and affirmed his hope others would take up the work of him and Chazelle in claiming the land.⁴⁴³

Christian significance of the site is palpable in property records with an aspect of this history surprising both to myself and to Kenneth Kidd is Jesuits erroneously believed but did not have ownership over the ruins throughout the second half of the nineteenth-

⁴⁴⁰ Jones, *8ENDAKE EHEN*, 10.

⁴⁴¹ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 8-12.

⁴⁴² Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 287.

⁴⁴³ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 13, 91.

century up until the Second World War.⁴⁴⁴ This misconception was likely perpetuated through poorly surveyed and defined property limits and deeds. In the 1871 leasing agreement of a large section of the property Julien Bruneau was instructed “the lessee will not touch or impair the site where formerly stood a church and French fort” as a perceived significance of the site outweighed any specific questions of legal ownership.⁴⁴⁵ After gaining ownership a further tangle of property misunderstandings even resulted in the accidental 1900 sale by Jesuit Fr. Laboureau of the entire property including the ruins, which came to be under the ownership of William A. Kemp. Records provided by the Collège de Sainte-Marie in Montréal dated to 1898 describe Laboureau as meaning to be able to repurchase the acreage of the ruins from any buyers due to their spiritual and historical significance, but he failed to write this into any contract of sale.⁴⁴⁶ Only in 1939 did the ruins come under the ownership of Jesuits after the original Martyrs’ Hill was relocated from francophone Waubachene to Midland where it now stands.⁴⁴⁷

This is a move Emma Anderson describes as taken by Fr. J. M. Filion to broaden the cult of martyrdom outside of Francophone communities and appeal to a wider mix of Protestant and Anglo-Canadian national identities.⁴⁴⁸ In religious and historic conceptions the martyrdom of Brébeuf and Lalemant had been developed especially within Québécois society and alongside a Québécois identity increasingly defining itself throughout the nineteenth-century in reaction to threats of erasure by British colonial forms of representation.⁴⁴⁹ The iconic paintings of Joseph Légaré including his quintessential

⁴⁴⁴ Kidd, “The Excavation of Fort Ste. Marie,” 408, 409.

⁴⁴⁵ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 15.

⁴⁴⁶ Delaney and Nicholls, *After the Fire*, 19.

⁴⁴⁷ Father T. J. Lally, S. J., “The Excavations of Old Fort St. Marie,” 15-22.

⁴⁴⁸ Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 183, 184.

⁴⁴⁹ Pearson, *Becoming Holy in Early Canada*, 4.

depiction of the Canadian Martyrs charts a history of transformation of identity within Quebec, while relics and archives held by the Ursalines nuns in Québec City emanated spiritual substance as objects of signification within these representations.⁴⁵⁰ With the return of Jesuits, who sought to expand the faith, and with the reconstruction of Sainte-Marie within a framework of official bi-culturalism, stories of martyrdom developed into expanded ‘Canadian’ dimensions. The move also aimed to resolve tensions over the veracity of St. Ignace where the initial Martyrs’ Hill stood, which in this period put the spatial authority of the site into question especially due to an absence of physical relics.⁴⁵¹ Despite inconsistencies in excavations and identification of the site based on dubious methods including Alphonse Arpin’s claim of a miraculous red-stained letter signalling the blood of martyrs, questions over spatial authority do not plague the present St. Ignace II location.⁴⁵² Regardless, the path of property formation was lit by Christian imaginations steeped in writings, archives, and illustrations of Jesuits with support of local Protestant communities honouring Christian spatial significance to overcome legal and economic impediments and expand and deepen the physical bounds of this history.



Fig. 31. Plaque dedicated to Alphonse Arpin found at the St. Ignace II site.

⁴⁵⁰ Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 184.

⁴⁵¹ Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 183-185, 226-228.

⁴⁵² Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 185.; Latta, *St-Ignace II*, 7.; “Mission of St. Ignace II National Historic Site of Canada” entry found in Canada’s Historic Places, Parks Canada, retrieved December 1st, 2021. https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/DFHD/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=11450

Property formation shows sites as *places* in ways used to describe and often to diminish Indigenous relationships to place including as shaped by discrete forms of local knowledge, tied together by holistic relationality and spirituality, and experienced physically. This is in distinction to *spaces* of a static and individuated historical or legal signification constituted in bureaucratic and economic relationships of property. In this sense, property formation is a spatial basis for participation in a way of life rather than a convention of property ownership and wealth as viewed through constricted economic historical lenses. As Edward S. Casey and Allen Greer argue “places not only *are*, they *happen*” and these places happen through traditions of Christian ritual including Catholic Mass, pilgrimages, spiritual conversions, miraculous healing, and academic conferences developing and maintaining them as Christian.⁴⁵³

When staying at the *Magis* retreat residence and walking through the South ground-floor entrance to frequent the adjacent Jesuit residence where I and students of the course ate dinner with the Jesuit fathers, a crew of friendly workers with an excavator were busy in the afternoon July heat digging a garden. Speaking to the Jesuit Superior I mentioned the scents of flowers and herbs, which would soon be wafting on a breeze through open windows into the retreat space, and he responded the placement was no accident. Students also spoke in hushed tones of seeing *vitex agnus-castus* or chasteberry growing on the property. Champlain famously cultivated roses in Québec City and dug gardens throughout New France including upon the founding of Montreal.⁴⁵⁴ He also contributed to archaeological knowledge on his initial voyages investigating the remains of the house of Chauvin built in 1600 at Tadoussac, traces of three French sailors who

⁴⁵³ Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 291.

⁴⁵⁴ Fisher, *Champlain's Dream*, 299.

had wintered at the location, along with the chimneys of Cartier's residence, rotten wood crosses, and other European goods.⁴⁵⁵ Place is in a constant state of retrieval and perceptive renewal including as colonists contended with the spectre of being lost.

The "striding over" of landscapes by figures including explorers and Jesuits illustrating, mapping, surveying, documenting, cultivating, and excavating space along the way coalesced into an envisioned world, upon which "space would be genuinely transformed [as] colonists occupied it and made it into places for themselves."⁴⁵⁶ From a psychoanalytical perspective this act of mapping, which in this case centres the spatial object of desire of New France, are functions of losing and being lost, which "become a necessity but they are frail, minimal things compared with the uncontrolled excesses they depict." Rather, when "faced with the object of desire and the feelings stirred we will dawdle, we will make labyrinths and wander around them happily, we will consult maps, which are hand-me-downs, or make our own maps and these are, whatever else they are, reminders that we are losing and getting lost."⁴⁵⁷ In this sense Champlain imagined New France through European representational acts of being lost, which became hand-me-down maps for an imperial landscape. This secular psychoanalytical language is itself handed down from Christian discourses of being lost and then found, which shaped the humanist Christianity of Champlain along with enlightenment rationality.⁴⁵⁸ This is also engagement with a logistics of perception theorized by Merleau-Ponty where "everything I see is in principle within my reach, at least within reach of my sight, marked on the map

⁴⁵⁵ Fisher, *Champlain's Dream*, 136-138.

⁴⁵⁶ Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 292-293.

⁴⁵⁷ Adam Phillips "On Losing and Being Lost Again" Lecture, AA School of Architecture, December 02, 2008. Accessed August 06, 2023.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.; Fisher, *Champlain's Dream*, 147.

of the ‘I can.’” However, Paul Virilio modifies it is instead an undoing as “the logistics of perception in fact destroy what earlier modes of representation preserved of the original, ideally human happiness, the ‘I can’ of sight” as perceptions of landscape compiled into the historical records of New France decoded of Indigenous movement, interrelation, and sacredness to recode them with simplified, fixed, European substance for Christian mystical vision and bureaucratic possession as property.⁴⁵⁹

Perceptive representation recoding landscape for a male, Christian gaze presupposes the undermining of matriarchal structures. This occurred through impositions of patriarchal social and marriage customs by Jesuits, monarchs positioning themselves as a father, and adoptions of Christian conceptions of God within longhouses and communities as symbolic figures of a great person in whose house one lives.⁴⁶⁰ This is integral to property formation in the French colonial form, which operated through techniques of allegiance and through symbolic means of spatial control of Indigenous lands.⁴⁶¹ Patriarchal over-coding is given historicity by the late Sto:lo poet Lee Maracle in the chapter *Black Robes* with her assertion “Europeans today see Natives without being able to imagine our grandmothers. They never see the old women who shaped our lives [...] the kerchiefs and laughing eyes are lost to Europeans” as they have been pushed out from view.⁴⁶² Spatiality anchored in patriarchy passed down from New France through Jesuit fathers re-establishing and holding authority through perceptions, hierarchies and customs of the Catholic Church, among other legacies of French colonial possession. The

⁴⁵⁹ Paul Virilio, *The Vision Machine*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 7.

⁴⁶⁰ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 73-75.; John Steckley, personal correspondence, October 18, 2018.

⁴⁶¹ Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 149.

⁴⁶² Lee Maracle, *I am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism*. (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishing, 1996), 67.

Jesuit Superior described this process in alternate terms where space was made holy through acts of self-sacrifice towards Indigenous peoples whom Jesuits had come to serve, in which a profound encounter with God occurred and “this powerful act transforms, literally in some fashion, the space while also in some way witnessing and transforming the lives of the people who saw it happen, and subsequently those who read about it later. So that was the lens of wanting to purchase this land” and constructing the Shrine and the historic site to retell the story of the martyrs.⁴⁶³ In distinction to creating historical representations retrieval becomes an additional act of bearing witness.

Mapping historical genealogy onto these places gives purchase to a Christian way of life maintained in a crucible of meaningful history poured into the mold of contemporary relations. However, the history of property formation wherein Indigenous dispossession was formalized and made bureaucratic in periods of settler colonialism is also stridden over. Instead, short moments in the lives of Europeans, and with more recent inclusions and alterations giving more focus to Christian Indigenous peoples and Indigenous sports, languages, and arts & crafts, are isolated and repeated to a point of becoming ‘factual,’ or at least vivid moralistic historical discourse illustrating new maps of imagination, perception, and place.⁴⁶⁴ Rather than wandering in this labyrinth of

⁴⁶³ Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019.

⁴⁶⁴ Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019. The Jesuit Superior spoke directly to this characterization of the history. He describes that “One could go to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, like many historic sites. Go there, and equally say ‘Well the Jesuits came, they were here for ten years, they failed utterly they went back to Québec City and it’s over’ and you don’t hear anything about what happened to the Jesuits after Sainte-Marie among the Hurons. You don’t know anything, there’s some mention of Christian Island but then even that failed, Sainte-Marie II, and then it’s over. So actually, on both sides here, you could have that impression. [...] In both cases we know that’s not true [...] there needs to be, always, an in-depth awareness of the event, what I would suggest to be the moment of time that’s being brought to life in this enormous project of a reconstruction, maintaining it, educating people who are articulating it, but a balance between that moment in time and where it fits within the larger story.” I reject this as it does not account for property formation and other power relationships relating to the larger story wherein Jesuits came to own and operate the place and the telling of the story within this site of history,

history and place significant for purposes of reconciliation are perspectives alternative to property formation giving purchase to Indigenous ways of life asserted through rituals of place-making and their fruits of ownership and political participation.



Fig. 32. Note by Kidd reads “Fr. ?? taken at the supposed site of St. Ignace while Wilfred Jury was exploring”.

5.2. Martyrdom, Relics, and Pedagogical Objects in the Experience of the Site

Upon returning to St. Ignace II from dropping off John the Jesuit Superior was concluding Catholic Mass in honour of the martyrdom of Jean Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant. He had been disappointed I had to miss the ceremony, but I was just in time for the group to leave the covered structure adorned with a cobblestone cross and a plaque commemorating the work of Alphonse Arpin erected by Jesuits. We walked across the open meadow of the former farmland to the edge of the second-growth forest where stands a wooden cross believed to be the location where Brébeuf was ritually tortured and died three-hundred seventy years and one-hundred seventeen days prior to this July

whereas the Huron-Wendat, Wyandot and other descendants of the historic Wendat along with descendants of the Algonquins and Haudenosaunee do not occupy these positions of accumulated entitlement.

afternoon. Pilgrims lined up and approached the cross one at a time as the Jesuit Superior held in his hand a small reliquary with remains of bone fragment of rib or shoulder of Brébeuf, as if it had travelled to us directly from those vivid moments. Bowing heads in acceptance he blessed us in a moment of transcendent spiritual meaning and despite not being Catholic when it was my turn I also accepted. This moment skated across bounds of time, space, materiality, and the individuated confines of personal experience with endless symbolic meanings activating the life of this history in images, texts, songs, sermons, and dialogues into an overwhelming and unifying *feeling* of communion with the suffering and grace of Brébeuf through the material of his bones.⁴⁶⁵ It was as if the authority of us together in this place, with these objects, and of the words through which this experience was brought into being displaced any need for doubt, for questioning, and for further wandering across the landscape of my soul.



Fig. 33. Wooden cross standing at St. Ignace II marking the location of martyrdom.

⁴⁶⁵ Allan Greer, “Colonial Saints: Gender, Race, and Hagiography in New France” *The William and Mary Quarterly*. Vol. 57, no. 2 (April 2000) 333. The relics of Brébeuf have a long history of being used in the conversion of Protestants in order to rescue them from heresy, such as hospital nuns grinding bits of his bone into drinks served to Huguenot soldiers. During a roundtable discussion on the final day of the course I brought up that I am considered a heretic in the Catholic tradition, and this was affirmed to be true.

I first came to the wooden cross with the Jesuit Superior less than a year prior to this moment when he spoke to a group of academics as part of a conference discussing narratives of faith and martyrdom in missions in New France and East Asia. In contrast to the Catholic ritual of Mass and the blessing with the relic of Brébeuf this previous gathering was more academic in tone and the Jesuit Superior was animating events of the martyrdoms in measured, deliberate, and piercing sentences. These moments took on powerful hagiographic dimensions of the best-selling *Jesuit Relations* of 1648-1649 and later accounts written by Ragueneau as vivid images of the martyrdom were recounted while our group stood in a semi-circle facing the wooden cross.⁴⁶⁶ Events were described by the Jesuit Superior as “mystical retribution occurring between tortured and torturer” and deeply spiritual for everyone involved as “even the torturer could find Christ in this moment of grace.”⁴⁶⁷ Within this moment the Jesuits were described as atoning for both being captured and for taking warriors from the Haudenosaunee, while Brébeuf and

⁴⁶⁶ Allan Greer, “Colonial Saints: Gender, Race, and Hagiography in New France” 325. Knox, “The Witness of Jean de Brébeuf and His Companions” 77-79. In this chapter the section in Ragueneau’s description was read from at the wooden cross, which reads, in part “I examined first the Body of Father Brébeuf, which was pitiful to see, as well as that of Father Lalemant. Father Brébeuf had his legs, thighs, and arms stripped of flesh to the very bone; I saw and touched a large number of great blisters, which he had on several places on his body, from the boiling water which these barbarians had poured over him in mockery of Holy Baptism. I saw and touched the wound from a belt of bark, full of pitch and resin, which roasted his whole body. I saw and touched the marks of burns from the Collar of hatchets placed on his shoulders and stomach. I saw and touched his two lips, which they had cut off because he constantly spoke of God while they made him suffer. I saw and touched all parts of his body, which had received more than two hundred blows from a stick. I saw and touched the top of his scalped head; I saw and touched the opening, which these barbarians had made to tear out his heart. In fine, I saw and touched all the wounds of his body, as the [savages] had told and declared to us; we buried these precious Relics on Sunday, the 21st day of March, 1649, with much Consolation.” As Allen Greer describes while using the work of Michel de Certeau, Richard Kieckhefer, and Hippolyte Delehaye, among others “hagiography should be understood as a literature of archetypes. The saint’s life is recounted through ‘assimilation to type.’” Within these typologies exists the model of Brébeuf in his last moments, which has often been assimilated into “that ultimate Christian model, the life of Jesus.”

⁴⁶⁷ Jesuit Superior, “Visit of St. Ignace Village Martyrdom Site” (*Life & Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom an International Symposium*, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, October 19, 2018).

Lalemant were writing themselves into universal Christian narratives.⁴⁶⁸ Moments of peace permeate this text such as torturers asking tortured as the ritual was underway if they needed anything, as well as moments of likeness to the figure of Christ in the crucifixion (or a “Christi” form of martyrdom) such as when at the height of his torture Lalemant lifts his eyes to heaven while Brébeuf remains statue-like if not blessing God and the Christian Wendat in his presence as his nose and lips are cut off and he is mockingly baptized with a kettle of boiling water.⁴⁶⁹

The elaborate physical horror of these descriptions recounted at the site generated feelings within me distinct to those of being blessed with the relic, but nonetheless fixed meaning onto this space as a place reverberating with spiritual, or mystical significance. This was done through the medium of the body of especially Brébeuf, who is described as having his heart eaten and warm blood drunk by his torturers with this very blood speaking “much more loudly than his lips had done” and being the “seed that will bear fruit” of Christianity, as described by Ragueneau in his writing.⁴⁷⁰ It was also done through the relational acts of touch between Ragueneau and his physical remains as the Jesuit Superior rhythmically emphasized the refrain of *seeing* and *touching* the cavities of his wounds, his chest, his eyes, and his lips, both as sacred objects already described as “relics” and also as evidence in “eyewitness” testimony confirming the act as described in the text.⁴⁷¹ Indeed, later that evening at a roundtable discussion Fr. M. Antoni J. Ucerler of the Ricci Institute described martyrdom as being “not about dying” but about “bearing

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Rev. Paul Ragueneau, S. J. *Shadows Over Huronia*. Midland: The Martyrs’ Shrine, 1965, 35 – 39.; Anthony E. Clark, *Life and Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia*, October 20th, 2018.

⁴⁷⁰ Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, St. Ignace II, *Life and Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia*, October 20th, 2018.

⁴⁷¹ Knox, “The Witness of Jean de Brébeuf and His Companions,” 78.

witness [...] for what you believe” while the Jesuit Superior shifted this focus into that of a relationship and into “a loving embrace of Christ that involves suffering and death.”⁴⁷²

When earlier in the day we passed by the skull of Brébeuf on display in the Martyrs’ Shrine he narrated this as being one of many “pedagogical spaces” at once opened up by and bearing witness to this act of martyrdom, the holiness of which is according to the Jesuit Superior evidenced by the crutches lining the walls discarded by pilgrims miraculously healed on their journeys.⁴⁷³ It is in this sense that New France is interpreted as a mystical, rather than colonial project with “these pieces of people” building it up into what it became, which was an idea articulated by the Jesuit Superior when participant scholar Dominique Deslandres described how relics were treated by missionaries as if revered pieces of furniture inherited from a loved one.⁴⁷⁴



Fig. 34. Blessed Sacrament Chapel including reliquary and discarded crutches.

⁴⁷² Jesuit Superior, M. Antoni J. Ucerler, *Life & Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom an International Symposium*, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, October 21, 2018.

⁴⁷³ Jesuit Superior, *Life & Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom an International Symposium*, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, October 21, 2018.

⁴⁷⁴ Dominique Deslandres, Jesuit Superior, “Crisis & Persecution” panel in *Life and Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom an International Symposium*, October 20th, 2018.

The veneration as relics of the remains of holy people within the Christian tradition is placed by Medieval scholar Caroline Walker Bynum as having origins in the third century, if not earlier.⁴⁷⁵ Significant for the purposes of this study, archaeology shares similar origins in the search for the Tomb of Jesus and of the True Cross initiated by Helena of Constantinople in 325-326 AD. The temple of Venus, which had been constructed on top of the site of the Holy Sepulchre, was destroyed and excavations undertaken to rediscover the tomb of Jesus, the True Cross, and the nails used in crucifixion as her husband emperor Constantine embraced Christianity over Paganism as the official religion of the Roman Empire.⁴⁷⁶ Today, this is the holiest of places and these objects among the holiest of materials, which have been deeply significant in the establishment and spread of Christianity. My own fascination with archaeology began in Jerusalem a few hundred metres from this location through an overwhelming feeling of descending into time while walking down an empty side street staircase cut into layers of stratigraphy. Imagination unspooled beneath the physical sediments as they projected a rich, layered past of the Jewish quarter of the Old City while sediments of my memory reached back into sitting in Sunday school as a young child hearing biblical stories.⁴⁷⁷

Distinguishing between relics of bodies of holy people and relics of materials connected to their lives is also within this tradition and is most specific to Jesus as his body is believed to be resurrected and ascended to Heaven, leaving no remains.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁵ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*, (United States: Zone Books, 2015), 131.

⁴⁷⁶ "Archaeology: A Secret History" Episode 1, Produced and Directed by Nicola Seare, hosted by Richard Miles, BBC Productions, 2013.

⁴⁷⁷ MacFarlane, *The Old Ways*, 220. As described by writer Robert MacFarlane, I had been visiting the holy land while moving through the "landscape of [my] imagination" in complex overlaid imagined experiences.

⁴⁷⁸ Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 154-156. Thomas Aquinas explored these dimensions writing that "All the blood which flowed from Christ's body, belonging as it does to the integrity of human nature,

However, regarding the bodies of saints “a relic *is* a saint” as, according to Thomas Aquinas, their remains are matter destined to be “reunited with its form” with Bynum adding that they are to be “reassembled, resurrected, animated, and glorified at the end of time.”⁴⁷⁹ Historically speaking there is a less consistent understanding of relics as incorporation of changing scientific understandings of matter shaped Catholic thought as did the spread of the parish system throughout local communities and the heterodox interactions of this spread with local beliefs and pilgrimage practices, which charts varied epistemic terrain through world history.⁴⁸⁰ In conversation with the Jesuit Superior he emphasized despite the creator deigning that we dwell in physical space there is a “harmony” between the material and spiritual world within Catholic faith, while a few meters from the entrance to the Sainte-Marie among the Hurons museum relics were discussed by the symposium panel as creating “a psychological terrain” upon which to convert the most resistant of Indigenous peoples.⁴⁸¹ It is in search of harmony and for the creation of this terrain that martyrdom was reasoned in passages of the *Relations* to be a means of conversion alternative to other frustrated methods especially as the missionary project of New France was in collapse.⁴⁸²

Additionally, variation in the lives of relics can be accounted for by what Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison argue in their landmark work *Objectivity* to be “epistemic

rose again with His body [...] But the blood preserved as relics in some churches did not flow from Christ’s side, but is said to have flowed from some maltreated image of Christ.” However, he later conceded a caveat that *sanguis nutrimentalis*, or blood derived from the food of the Last Supper, could have remained.

⁴⁷⁹ Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 155.

⁴⁸⁰ Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 254 - 271.

⁴⁸¹ Dominique Deslandres, “Crisis & Persecution” panel in *Life and Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom an International Symposium*, October 20th, 2018.; Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019.

⁴⁸² François Roustang S.J., Editor. *Jesuit Missionaries to North America: Spiritual Writings, Biographical Sketches*. Translated by Sister M. Renelle, S.S.N.D. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006), 149, 150.

virtues that exist side by side implicitly modify[ing] one another by the very possibility of choice among them.”⁴⁸³ This is part and parcel of relics as objects with epistemic roots across a European mixed forest of Pagan, or classical, Christian, or medieval, and more modern and global time periods and traditions including the Canadian context. Substance was theorized by Aristotle as an *eidos*, form, or intelligible structure within matter both immanent to and which does not exist outside of material embodiment with matter possessing an openness to dynamic formation towards possibility and actuality of form.⁴⁸⁴ This is in distinction to real, absolute forms casting a shadow onto material particulars experienced through sense perception in Plato, while inheritance of classical discourses into Christian thought including reintroduction of Aristotle to Christianity through the Islamic world and Aquinas redefined perceptions of matter as existing within states of becoming.⁴⁸⁵ Popularization of the word ‘matter’ as deriving from mother and therefore as always in a state of becoming originated with Isidore of Seville in the seventh century and became entrenched in the intellectual world of Europe by the twelfth century while shaping relationships to relics throughout these periods.⁴⁸⁶ Traditions of scientific objectivity beginning in the Enlightenment were then dominated by the Jesuit-educated Descartes who bifurcated Western thought into a duality between a subjective human localized in the mind and an objective, surrounding physical world.⁴⁸⁷

Contemporary thought wherein an agency to things in themselves, which “shapes

⁴⁸³ Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison. *Objectivity*. (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 367.

⁴⁸⁴ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, 57, 58.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Sara Ritchey, *Holy Matter: Changing Perceptions of the Material World in Late Medieval Christianity*, (Germany: Cornell University Press, 2014), 21-22.; Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture” lecture, *A Journey Through History: The Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Canada*, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, July 9, 2019.

⁴⁸⁷ John Ralston Saul, *Voltaire's Bastards*, 48 – 51.

its users as much as it is shaped by them,” have more recently retrieved objects from epistemic bifurcation, which increasingly tended to both “freeze objects into stuff” and fostered a co-related “suppression of subjectivity” in their understanding.⁴⁸⁸ Challenging the dichotomy is the action-oriented understanding of “things that talk” and speak back to us.⁴⁸⁹ Within this conversation, knowledge tending towards static experience of representation give way to more reciprocal experiences, and not simply do we hear objects ‘speak,’ but as is theorized by Daston and Galison we engage in new forms of “seeing” objects. Their work suggests rather than returning to historic forms of seeing a new, distinct form has emerged as a manipulable perceptive lens more akin to “haptic sight” mixing vision and touch.⁴⁹⁰ In contrast to a reductive vision of relics from a secular, scientific perspective as fetishized religious objects within a whole world of other stuff, a perspective more attuned to historical perspectives of science and Christian materiality can see them as non-scientific and potentially altogether inaccurate forms of evidence supporting development of “perceptions, judgements, and, above all, values calibrated and cemented by the incessant repetition of minute acts of seeing and paying

⁴⁸⁸ Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 374, 375.

⁴⁸⁹ Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 280.

⁴⁹⁰ Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 280 – 283.; Daston & Galison, *Objectivity*, 368-375, 400. The history of objectivity as traced by Daston and Galison is central to contemporary discussions of the history of science and in discussion with Catholic ways of seeing relics as described above (as both holy objects and as evidence of their holiness). A section of their concluding chapter deserves replication here, with emphasis my own. “Ways of scientific seeing are where body and mind, pedagogy and research, knower and known intersect. To weaken these oppositions is also to weaken the conventional philosophical understanding of epistemology. Yet historicized, collective ways of seeing undeniably produce knowledge and therefore qualify as the stuff of epistemology. The four-eyed sight that reveals the universal in the particular, the blind sight that blocks projection, the physiognomic sight that puts a face to the data - these were all corporeal skills to be learned as well as cognitive stances to be mastered. Once internalized by a scientific collective, *these various ways of seeing were lodged deeper than evidence; they defined what evidence was*. They were therefore seldom a matter of explicit argument, for they drew the boundaries within which arguments could take place. [...] The subjects and objects of inquiry, knower and known, were thereby transformed: different ways of seeing picked out different working objects and shaped different scientific selves.”

heed.”⁴⁹¹ Elaine Scarry describes the perceived beauty to objects as aligning with conceptions of truth and inspiring representation and begetting a “perpetual duplicating of a moment that never stops” of seeing and paying heed and similarly promoting their reproduction and spatial distribution.⁴⁹²

De Sousa Santos in his discussion of ‘roots and options’ similarly asserts “we live in a time of repetition” lacking of sufficient *pathos* of social transformation to obliterate lines between past and future and instead languish in a transition period eternalized as present.⁴⁹³ Like a symbolic interaction with a holy relic from 1649 in a revered place within an over-coded geography of martyrdom, the temporal process is subject to “a feeling of vertigo and a feeling of stagnation at the same time” whereby through a trove of historic representations and other forms of “media treatment, repetition ends up subjecting even those groups that assert themselves by the pathos of roots” to becoming stuck in a *kairós* of Christian places and objects.⁴⁹⁴ This includes the “transformation of the body into the ultimate root” as DNA and archival research proliferate a Kafkaian “chaotic web of indefiniteness and contingency” in search of a revelatory past nonetheless positioned within abyssal lines of Western historical, spatial, and racial perspective, outside of which bodies are threatened with becoming inauthentic, non-historical and

⁴⁹¹ Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 367.

⁴⁹² Elaine Scarry, “On Beauty and Being Just,” *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*. Delivered at Yale University, March 25 and 26, 1998, 4, 5, 38.

⁴⁹³ Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 76 - 87. ‘Roots and options’ as defined by Santos are the structure to the social construction of identity and change in Western modernity giving a dual character where “the thought of roots concerns all that is profound, permanent, singular, and unique, all that provides reassurance and consistency; the thought of options concerns all that is variable, ephemeral, replaceable, and indeterminate from the viewpoint of roots. The major difference between roots and options is scale. Roots are large-scale entities. As in cartography, they cover vast symbolic territories and long historical durations but fail to map the characteristics of the field in detail and without ambiguity. [...] The thought of roots presents itself as a thought of the past as opposed to the thought of the future, which the thought of options alone is supposed to be [...] in fact, both the thought of roots and the thought of options are thoughts of the future.”

⁴⁹⁴ Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 86 - 87.

non-legal.⁴⁹⁵ In this sense, Santos argues roots and options are continuations of one another on different scales and intensities, and as applied to relics it is this scalar issue obscuring their transhistorical evocation as simultaneously rooted historical objects and as options provoking a Christian future.⁴⁹⁶

Objects as evidence in a non-scientific sense is similar to the above discussion of how places occur as seeds growing with the nutrient of repetition into the fruits of ownership, of social participation, and ultimately of a way of life. Much like places such objects are also not limited to a Christian world but rather this secular, non-scientific framework of thinking about the life of substance is necessarily also applicable outside binaries of subjective/objective and roots/options. As explored by Samoan poet Albert Wendt, another problematic binary within Western intellectual history is traditional/non-traditional in discussion of beliefs and practices of Indigenous peoples, which subjects bodies to the repetitions of factual positioning and classification within yet another web of indefiniteness and contingency.⁴⁹⁷

5.3. *Jesuit Ontology in Relationship to Sainte-Marie among the Hurons*

In our very first, brief conversation I was unexpectedly welcomed by the Jesuit Superior despite entering the main offices of the Martyrs' Shrine without appointment while on my second day touring the reconstruction. I would later learn availability is a fundamental aspect of Jesuit life and related to the fourth vow of obedience.⁴⁹⁸ In

⁴⁹⁵ Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 84, 87.

⁴⁹⁶ Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 86.

⁴⁹⁷ Albert Wendt, *Towards a New Oceania*. *Mana Review: A South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature* (January) 1 (1): 49-60. More in-depth discussions of more specifically Wendt, Haudenosaunee, Anishinaabe or Odawa forms of place and material culture, however, is beyond the scope of this chapter and of this study.

⁴⁹⁸ Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, July 8, 2019.

response to a question comparing the work of Jesuits where I was soon to visit in Chiapas, Mexico, with the mission at the Martyrs' Shrine, he informed me of sharp philosophical distinctions between Jesuits of the French tradition and the tradition of Latin American Jesuits tied to liberation theology. This led to my own questions about how such differences existed within the same religious order, which was also just one of many Catholic religious orders throughout history and into the present.

Jesuit ontology in interaction with peoples, places, and objects is globe spanning and diverse much like the locales where missions have operated at different times throughout present-day Canada and the United States, Latin America, Europe, and East Asia from the founding of the order in 1540.⁴⁹⁹ These differences exist on account of both the diversity of these geographic, cultural, and historical contexts and also the centrality of the transformative process of *The Spiritual Exercises* in development of Jesuit ways of being in cycles of interaction with distinct contexts.⁵⁰⁰ Across contexts “attempting to understand, penetrating the inner logic of the Other, recognizing any points of convergence [...] and conserving certain lifestyles, ceremonies and traditions, integrating them into the evangelizing project” characterizes the Jesuit strategy of spiritual service.⁵⁰¹ Development of *discernment*, or perception with an absence of judgement in service of

⁴⁹⁹ Alfonso Alfaro “The Wholeness of the World” translated by Michelle Suderman, found in *Misiones Jesuitas*, Artes De Mexico, Revista Libro, no. 65., 2003. 82-91.

⁵⁰⁰ Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius: St. Ignatius Profound Precepts of Mystical Theology*, Trans. Anthony Mottola, Introduction by Robert W, Gleason, S.J (New York: Image Books, 1964). For the purposes of this study, I will convey a brief and necessarily limited overview of a diverse Jesuit ontology while relying on what was conveyed by the Jesuit Superior to a class beginning on July 8th, 2019, which took place within the administrative building of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, while supporting this with the texts *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius* and *Jesuit Missionaries to North America: Spiritual Writings, Biographical Sketches*. Edited by François Roustang, S.J..

⁵⁰¹ Alfaro, “The Wholeness of the World” 88.

spiritual guidance and understanding, is a primary goal of the exercises.⁵⁰² As the Jesuit Superior later charted on the board for the classroom of students, discernment in the Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm (I.P.P) is generated in the student within a triangular relationship of experience, reflection, and action providing a framework for “going deeper into the experience of life.”⁵⁰³ Context informs an *experience*, leading to *reflection* and a period of contemplation, from which reason and affect are explored to create an evaluation, or a new depth to the initial experience, which informs and reifies subsequent *action* becoming a new experience within a changing context, and the cycle continues.⁵⁰⁴ This is familiar as it is the basis of educational systems in the European context and found in pedagogical models around the world and also gives a circular dimension to Catholic ontology, as discussed in chapter two.

The I.P.P was also used to shape the educational experience of the reconstruction and museum.⁵⁰⁵ The Jesuit Superior detailed it is crafted for the student, or visitor, meant to foster reflection and contemplation through faculties of reason and affect creating a depth to experience relating the story of the place to the lives of visitors, which subsequently leads to action and to further engagement with context. The context this was

⁵⁰² Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture,” July 9, 2019.; *The Spiritual Exercises*, 12, 47-63, 82-87, 129-136. *The Spiritual Exercises* were written by Ignatius Loyola out of his own study of the texts *The Holy Lives of Saints* and the *Imitio Christi* (or *The Life of Christ*) while he was recovering within the castle of his Basque provincial nobility from a leg wound received as a soldier in a border skirmish against the French. This period of his life led to a considerable transformation and to the development of his meditations and practices, which were calibrated for students of this system to emulate the ways and life of Jesus Christ. Meditations occur over a spiritually focussed four-week retreat, in which participants engage in a prescriptively regimented system of contemplations, such as examining one’s own conscience in routine intervals and especially throughout a highly contemplative first week. These are followed by exercises and additional directions focussing the mind on the subjects at hand of sin, sorrow and pain, God, and a schedule of prayers, while also providing specific frameworks for modes of penance, when and how wise and good choices can be made, and rules for the discernment of spirits, along with many other directions.

⁵⁰³ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture” July 9, 2019.

⁵⁰⁴ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture” July 9, 2019.

⁵⁰⁵ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture” July 9, 2019.

first created within was the world of post-war Canada and following the model as described shaped and gave depth to experiences in subsequent discernments cultivated within this space, which returned to act upon the original, stratified context layered with decades of renewal. Usage of archaeological knowledge and the *Jesuit Relations* are described by the Jesuit Superior as contributing equally to create “a balance” in this experience with emphasis “at its core when the vision for Sainte-Marie was developed” of “allowing the archaeology itself to speak to the historical facts that would then be presented” in the historical dimensions of the reconstructed site.⁵⁰⁶ When asked about historiography and a changing story at the site the reply of the Jesuit Superior was consistent with this model. He explained in his thinking of the lives of the French, Jesuit, and Christian Wendat persons that “it keeps deepening, and that’s the change, it shouldn’t be changing, it should be deepening” into the experiencing, understanding, and application of these materials understood to be factual.⁵⁰⁷

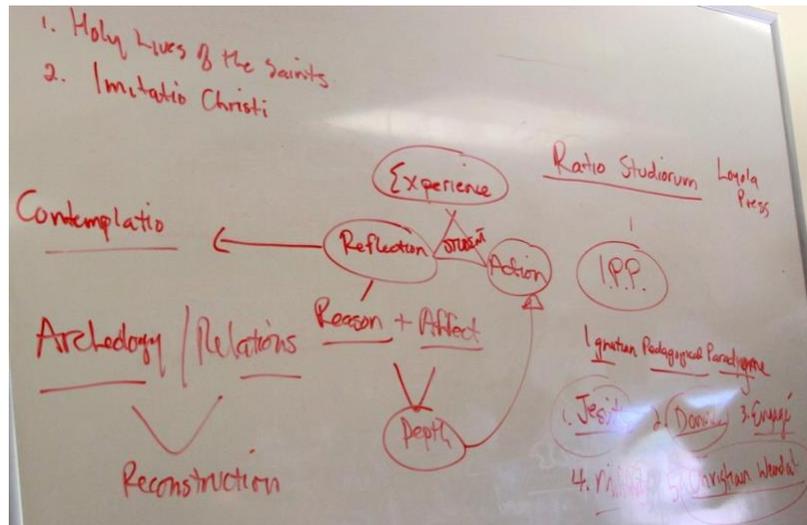


Fig. 35. The Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm (I.P.P) as applied to Sainte-Marie was sketched on the whiteboard by the Jesuit Superior. The bottom right corner includes five historic actors including 1. Jesuits 2. Donné 3. Engagé 4. Military 5. Christian Wendat.

⁵⁰⁶ Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019.

⁵⁰⁷ Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019.

This experience is a recreated “moment in time that one can enter into. That you are actually entering a living moment in history and sharing that moment together.”⁵⁰⁸ Within this model interpreters are seen as giving “data” to reflect upon while as a visitor you “leave changed somehow because you have participated in that history.” Sites of living history “take on a life of their own” and through acts of seeing and touching within this experience even the structure of the reconstructed plastic longhouse is thought to become sacred in a sense as it is enwrapped into the cultivation of larger worlds of meaning much like a statue in a parish inherits a reverential quality resisting being moved or replaced.⁵⁰⁹

While touring the reconstruction with the Jesuit Superior what stood out to me was an incessant repetition of material details of the site as we walked, as if the meaning of this history is in the description and putting every object in its right place even despite a well-known reality the reconstruction has little relationship to the layout, many of the materials, and operation of the original structure as shown in archaeological work of Kenneth Kidd and in subsequent research.⁵¹⁰ Reflecting on these moments I was reminded again of the work of Virilio, a devout Catholic, describing an aspect within the logistics of perception, which reads “it is indeed the intensive details, the very intensity of the message, that counts now, rather than exploration of the scope or space of the public image.”⁵¹¹ The Jesuit Superior also described a weakness of a historic site as being that it can become “a reality onto itself” requiring guidance back to the larger story.⁵¹² Incorrect details such as representations of fur trade materials as out of place in this mission site

⁵⁰⁸ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture,” July 9, 2019.

⁵⁰⁹ Jesuit Superior “An Introduction to the *Jesuit Relations*: The French Colonial Mission to New France, and the Jesuits (II)” lecture, *A Journey Through History: The Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Canada*, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, July 10, 2019.

⁵¹⁰ Jesuit Superior, “An Introduction to the *Jesuit Relations*,” July 10, 2019.

⁵¹¹ Virilio, *The Vision Machine*, 65.

⁵¹² Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019.

and a lack of military and *donné* characters were pointed out by the Jesuit Superior, but this took on a distinct *feeling* of walking through a holy site where everything has a story pointing to a larger meaning. This larger meaning is what is in tension and in these small moments a wider negotiation threatens to crumble under the weight of data and detail.



Fig. 36. The steeple of the Martyrs' Shrine seen from inside the grounds of Sainte-Marie.

Canadian Jesuits also more broadly discuss history in ways creating intimacy with Jesuit ontology and the cause of Jesuits as missionaries or as state builders. The observation by Laura Peers that Sainte-Marie among the Hurons is a ‘sad place’ is no accident, nor simply an extension of the history, but rather it is intrinsic to a pedagogical design of the experience creating intimacy with struggles of Jesuit and Christian figures. The ontology centers on fulfillment of the human person with stories and details described as designed to make the experience more intimate with whom the inhabitants “actually were” while leaving the site with this creating a “call to action” within the visitor.⁵¹³ As the Jesuit Superior described to me, “for the faithful to then come with that experience to the Shrine and to in a sense be praying with those people knowing more

⁵¹³ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture,” July 9, 2019.

about them.”⁵¹⁴ From this perspective the historic experience on offer transcends public history into a specific vision of history as Christian spiritual fulfillment.

The Jesuit History Series edited by Jacques Monet S.J. is a recent textual example of this historicity and includes a chapter by Michael J. Stogre S.J., in which the return of Jesuits in 1842 is described using a methodology of Bernard Lonergan assessing “what was going forward” to bring depth to historical self-conceptions.⁵¹⁵ Framing of their own history, from which Stogre asserts they have “evolved” using their own methods, is significant as it gives insight into a vision delineated to represent the Society of Jesus in relevant contemporary terms, to maintain continuity with historic imperatives, and also to distance themselves from behaviours inviting judgement.⁵¹⁶ For instance, the post-1650 period is described as a regrouping of Indigenous peoples around Lake Superior with this social formation “realigned with their new allies” the French followed by discussion of these interactions as a root to Canada as a métis nation.⁵¹⁷ This ignores Jesuit strategy to place themselves at the Michliamackinac fishery, which was also done at Kamiskouaouangachit (Sillery), and wider reliance by the French on new social formations in making illusory claims on the Western interior, as discussed by Witgen.⁵¹⁸ A frame of alliance is generous to the French and develops paternalistic argumentation as Stogre traces exclusion of Indigenous peoples from social participation as having led to “low self-esteem and lack of respect for self and others” and related social issues.⁵¹⁹ The active role of Jesuits and the Catholic Church in alienating Indigenous peoples from

⁵¹⁴ Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019.

⁵¹⁵ Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842,” 30.

⁵¹⁶ Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842,” 30.

⁵¹⁷ Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842,” 28.

⁵¹⁸ Witgen, *Infinity of Nations*, 83, 126.; Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, 56 - 57.

⁵¹⁹ Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842,” 28-30.

cultures and communities while working towards their own mission and subsequent impacts on self-esteem, however, are absent from this discussion.

Cultural genocide related to conversion practices are instead wrapped into a moral project stressing participation including the historic mission at Kamiskouaouangachit discussed as designed to “protect the flock from pagan influences” in its usage of the reduction model without qualifying impacts this so-called protection has had on the Huron-Wendat and other nations. This also includes the initiatives of Chazelle on Walpole Island, which he visited after his first 1844 pilgrimage to Sainte-Marie among the Huron to rekindle the heroic age of Jesuit martyrdom in a region controlled by the Ojibwe.⁵²⁰ However, the elder Oshawana and chief Petrokeshig engaged in dialogue with him to take up grievances against recent desecration of a burial site and the initiation of logging led by the Jesuit du Ranquet in order to build their church, school, and residence and warned them to cease missionary activity in their territory.⁵²¹ Emma Anderson notes that in this exchange Ojibwe arguments for spiritual self-determination were put forward in similar fashion as they were to Champlain, Sagard, and seventeenth century Jesuits as Oshawana implored “[You] can well see. Then, that we each must have our own way of thinking of the Great Spirit and of speaking to him” while imploring them to leave.⁵²² However, this fed into Jesuit ontology and a developed rhetoric of martyrdom to create a ‘call to action’ for further dismissal of Ojibwe beliefs and ongoing expansion of missionary activity, which by 1849 led to the completed missionary complex being

⁵²⁰ Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 122.; Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842,” 33.

⁵²¹ Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 123.; Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842,” 33.

⁵²² Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 123.

burned down with no loss of life and the government ordering Jesuits off the island.⁵²³ Significant for understanding Jesuit ontology, Stogre admits this was a failure but that “du Ranquet learned valuable cultural lessons in a native ministry that would span nearly sixty years. Indeed, he put such lessons to good use, participating, for instance, in a pipe ceremony” and learning about the “rhetorical tradition” of the Anishinaabe.⁵²⁴ Stogre also discusses the mission at Wikwemikong as where the “discipline of a settled and farming way of life was often resisted or taken up half-heartedly as people hankered for the free life of a hunter-gatherer” as Jesuits “hoped to make the Jesuit community self-sufficient and to inspire native farmers [...] to become self-reliant themselves.”⁵²⁵ Finally, colonial incursion and the negative impacts of traders are treated as separate from Jesuit influence as the latter is put into a paternal position of trying to “combat evil with temperance societies and sometimes even excommunication” and also used to shield Jesuits from wider implications of cultural genocide as Stogre surmises “[one] has to wonder if years of alcohol abuse by traders and others had not already destroyed the native nations long before residential schools took their toll.”⁵²⁶

When residential schools at Wikwemikong, Fort William, and later Spanish are discussed framing rests on Jesuits providing education and financial security for the institutions through farm work while the “government could not succeed in an era of scarce resources and an assimilationist vision.”⁵²⁷ Passive language diminishing the

⁵²³ Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 123.

⁵²⁴ Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842 Since 1842,” 34 – 35.

⁵²⁵ Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842 Since 1842,” 34, 41.

⁵²⁶ Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842 Since 1842,” 42.

⁵²⁷ Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842 Since 1842,” 58, 63.

meaning of this history is employed as Stogre writes “some have gone so far as to call it ‘cultural genocide’ or ‘genocide’ pure and simple” and despite the TRC describing well-documented and systemic abuses and deaths of children at these specific institutions these statements are framed as outside of a mainstream position.⁵²⁸ He also argues “much of the sexual abuse was perpetrated by older students on younger ones” though the author acknowledges the right of individual victims to pursue justice.⁵²⁹ Stogre develops intimacy with the individuated ‘human person’ to create a boundary, outside of which claims to social worlds including those experienced in relational, Indigenous ways of being or through critiques of systemic, racial targeting by Canadian governments, traders, and clerics are invalidated. This story instead becomes about individuals rather than one shaped by imperial power, imperatives of territorial and economic expansion, or racial constructs developed in pursuit of lands and participation in cultivation of Christian ways of being. Indeed, he concludes on a note that with these crimes and histories of human persons behind us “every place is mission territory. In our time, the Gospel message must be preached to every tribe, tongue, people, and nation” as details are reabsorbed into an ontology of the order including their temporality, which is realigned into the present as the site for conversion of Indigenous peoples towards their supposed “development.”⁵³⁰

The phrase ‘call to action’ from the second day of the course evoked a strong emotional reaction within me due to language significantly shaping the TRC emerging in

⁵²⁸ Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842 Since 1842,” 63.; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. 2015. *Honouring the Truth Reconciling for the Future : Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. Winnipeg Manitoba: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 72, 74, 99, 103, 260. http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/201/301/weekly_acquisition_lists/2015/w15-24-FE.html/collections/collection_2015/trc/IR4-7-2015-eng.pdf.

⁵²⁹ Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842 Since 1842,” 63.

⁵³⁰ Stogre, “The Jesuits’ Ministries to the Native People in Canada Since 1842 Since 1842,” 32, 63, 72.

service of entrenched forms of history and an objective of creating further intimacy with Christian and settler figures rather than with Indigenous peoples and cultures represented within the history of the site. This was addressed on the third day as the Jesuit Superior argued “there is a strong temptation to shift and only look at the First Nations perspective” and that this shift would distort the realities of the Jesuit and Christian Wendat experiences of this place and history, while other perspectives including that of Champlain are also seen as being minimized from this experience for this purpose.⁵³¹ At an earlier date he had expressed a change to the history he would be interested in having explored is an elaborated focus on the role of Champlain.⁵³² When speaking directly to me about the TRC as the Jesuit who is responsible for the story but without authority to make physical changes as is exercised by Huronia Historical Parks management and funded by the province, the Jesuit Superior elaborated on the role of traditional Wendat and Indigenous presence. He described it as having expanded within the reconstruction and museum into one part of a “healthy tension” balanced with Jesuits and Christian Wendat, but argued this new emphasis required correction and that more intimacy with Christian Wendat experiences should be developed.⁵³³ Within the model of Ignatian pedagogy drawn on the board the historic site represents figures of Jesuits, French *donné*, and Christian Wendat, while *engagé* and military personnel are excluded.⁵³⁴ Traditional Wendat and Indigenous peoples more generally are also excluded from this model, and instead Christian Wendat figures are centered such as in the monuments on the landscape of the Martyrs’ Shrine grounds. Taken altogether, this structures an ongoing pedagogy of

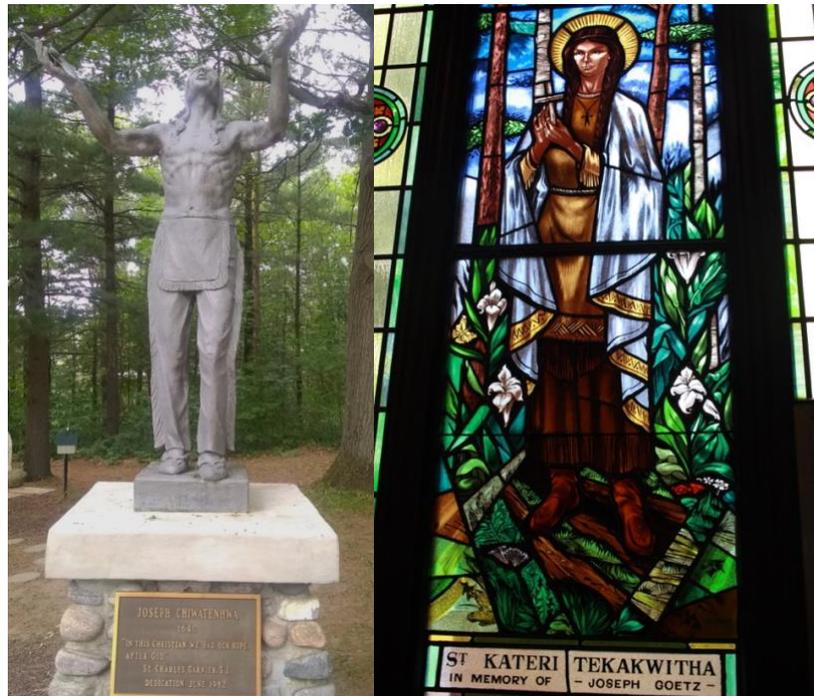
⁵³¹ Jesuit Superior, “An Introduction to the *Jesuit Relations*,” July 10, 2019.

⁵³² Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019.

⁵³³ Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019.

⁵³⁴ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture,” July 9, 2019.

conversion of Indigenous peoples and lands as central to the design not only of the Martyrs' Shrine but also within the design of the reconstruction and museum.



*Fig. 37. Joseph Chihwatenhwa statue on the grounds of the Martyrs' Shrine (left).
Fig. 38. Kateri Tekakwitha stained glass within the nave of the church (right).*

In our conversations he expressed in his own words what is happening at Sainte-Marie over the last fifteen to twenty years has been a shift of emphasis towards First Nations culture in its presentations including what is sold in the gift shop and other aspects of public engagement because that has become more attractive to Canadian society as the conversation develops to include an expanded fascination with Indigenous cultures and the TRC. First Nations people have as a result come “more to the fore” and become emphasized. He also argued Wendat history and Wendat life is more highlighted at Sainte-Marie now than ever before but that “a balance will have to occur,” which is seen as “inevitable in this healthy tension to narrow that emphasis a little bit or focus it a little more to look at what Wendat Christian life was like between 1639 and 1649”

because it is an important part of the history that has not been studied to the same depth. Sainte-Marie is seen as in a prime location to do that because “it has the *Relations*, the archaeology, and that clear focus” and can contribute in this way to reconciliation. He acknowledged it sounds counter-intuitive because of concerns put forward by the TRC and recommendations and that such a focus could be exactly what is not wanted as this background is well known. However, he continued what that is suggesting is those human persons we are striving to honour and raise up as equal and valuable and from a complex society were all dupped “and what does that say about them?” Instead, they “legitimately chose and suffered for it, largely at the hand of their own people.” He explained Sainte-Marie is in a unique position to build intimacy with the Christian Wendat experience because the purpose of the original structure was to welcome them and to be a place for Christians, as well as to welcome non-Christian Wendat to “come to *see* European society, to *see* Christian life.” Primarily when Wendat came it was to participate in a form of Christian initiation or that they were Christians, and they were going there for support. He asked, “what about that story? And I think, as I say it sounds counter-intuitive, but I think that messy, beautiful, hard, sad, middle, is something that Sainte-Marie can lift up in the midst of this conversation.”⁵³⁵

The historic period of the site was on another occasion described by the Jesuit Superior as a place where Christians could visit “the best of Christian life, to be seen by the Wendat with the idea of inspiring” as a “rational embrace of Christianity and witnessing of Christian life was the method of the Jesuits.”⁵³⁶ Explored in the previous chapter is that this included developing a school for Christian Indigenous peoples who

⁵³⁵ Jesuit Superior, personal correspondence, April 18, 2019.

⁵³⁶ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture,” July 9, 2019

would come to study what is understood today as anthropology, astronomy, and other disciplines thought to be included in the *Jesuit Relations*, while also engaging in agricultural practices considered to be at a more advanced “stage” as he described while speaking of the martyrdom at St. Ignace II to the group of academics.⁵³⁷

When I asked how archaeology and written sources of the *Jesuit Relations* can be reconciled with oral histories, memory ways, and critical perspectives of Indigenous peoples the Jesuit Superior responded by telling the class this would be problematic for a variety of reasons. Written sources were provided by “colonists and invaders” and a lack of these sources among Indigenous groups speaking to this history was explained to comparatively impoverish their historical perspectives, especially as texts *De Imitation Christi*, *The Lives of Saints*, *The Spiritual Exercises*, and even songbooks they carried with them, which shaped the inner lives and actions of historic Jesuits and French colonists, are consistent with this time period and can be experienced the same today.⁵³⁸ On the fifth day of the course he elaborated on this point to explain Jesuits have a “manifestation of conscious” vow, which means they must articulate their prayers and life so their Father Superiors can know intimately what they are thinking in order to support the mission. This coalesced with the movement in Europe in the seventeenth century of a “republic of letters” and made it possible to transmit these articulations in the form of

⁵³⁷ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture,” July 9, 2019; Jesuit Superior, “Visit of St. Ignace Village Martyrdom Site” October 19, 2018.; Roustang, *Jesuit Missionaries to North America*, 29. These sentiments trace back to early Récollet attempts to disrupt traditional Indigenous lifeways of movement in order to convert and to educate, such as early Jesuit visitor to Wendat territory and friend of Champlain, Fr. Paul Le Jeune, in 1632 lamented from Sillery that “[We] will work for a long time and advance very little if we do not stabilize these wandering barbarians. We wish them to cultivate the lands themselves, without being helped, but I doubt very much that we can accomplish this soon, because they are completely ignorant of the ways of farming.”

⁵³⁸ Jesuit Superior, “An Introduction to the *Jesuit Relations*,” July 10, 2019.; Jesuit Superior, “The land of Crosses; A Union with the suffering Christ,” July 11, 2019. The Jesuit Superior also found eighteen literary influences within the *Jesuit Relations* surrounding the mission at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons.

letters, which were compiled into the texts of *Jesuit Relations* read throughout France.⁵³⁹ Additionally, as Michael Knox S.J. wrote in a chapter on Jesuit history in Canada, the development of archives and the *Relations* into vast, accessible sources such as the publication by Reuban Gold Thwaites and the accompanying history by Arthur Edward Jones also “played a huge role in the growing devotion among Catholics in both Canada and the United States” as these manifestations again became widely read while also interacting with the development of history in giving story to landscapes.⁵⁴⁰ Archaeology is treated by the Jesuit Superior as revealing this story including Fr. Lally encouraging Alphonse Arpin to follow the texts in confirming the St. Ignace II site and the work of Jury in describing a larger Jesuit residence from within these stories along with the many structures assumed to be innovative despite these interpretations widely known to be archaeologically unsound.⁵⁴¹ Conversely, through this lens Indigenous historical consciousness was characterized as lacking written sourcing and more generally occurring within “a process of self-fashioning” where one has to be sensitive to “inconsistencies and emotions.”⁵⁴² This included contemporary cultures across groups

⁵³⁹ Jesuit Superior, “The Land of Crosses; A Union with the Suffering Christ; The Divine Gift of Suffering; The Fruits of Suffering with Christ; and; The Total Self-Offering of the Missionary to God” (lecture, *A Journey Through History: The Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Canada*, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, July 12, 2019.)

⁵⁴⁰ Knox, “The Witness of Jean de Brébeuf and His Companions,” 85. Fr. Michael Knox summarizes the development of these relationships in these terms: “Their stories dwell at the heart of Canada’s founding myth, inspiring in the midst of adversity countless thousands throughout Canada’s history to resolve – through architectural ingenuity and artistic endeavour, through historical debate and scholarly research, through faith and pilgrimage and prayer, through healing of body and soul – to resolve divisions between people and divisions between people and Jesus Christ. [...] Learned men among the Jesuits such as Chazelle, Martin, Devine, Jones, and Talbot made it their goal to mine the deep wells of literature describing those Jesuit martyrs’ lives and works. Later, too, Canadian icons of literature, such as Pratt and McDowell, put the martyrs’ lives to paper, while archaeologists such as Jones, Arpin, Cannon, Wintemberg, Kidd, and Jury painstakingly searched the missionaries’ Canadian landscape, one layer of earth at a time.” 101, 102.

⁵⁴¹ Knox, “The Witness of Jean de Brébeuf and His Companions,” 93 – 95.

⁵⁴² Jesuit Superior, “An Introduction to the *Jesuit Relations*,” July 10, 2019.

with a focus on the medicine wheel, which he described as not having been part of the “original cultures” of the site but rather having roots in cultures of the Western plains.⁵⁴³

Our class was taught a key figure giving shape to this story is Jesuit Paul Le Jeune who re-coded landscape in New France through both an agricultural and a mystical lens as he reinterpreted the physical suffering of his body, which within this world of constant movement and interrelation was comparatively weak to that of his hosts, as being the perfecting of his soul. This was following the teachings of Louis Lallemant in France, who within the “Nouveau Theology” movement and using the spiritual exercises developed ideas of radical interiority, while also famously implanting in each missionary the refrain “I must always remain within myself, I must never altogether go abroad” prior to them setting sail for New France.⁵⁴⁴ Our study group looked into duality within his written passages of *Jesuit Relations* as Le Jeune lyrically divides and over-codes landscape using a logistics of perception shaped by this radical interiority, writing:

He who sees New France only through his natural bodily eyes sees only forests and difficulties; but he who looks upon these with eyes of grace and of his noble vocation sees only God, virtues and graces. He finds therein so many and such strong consolations that if I were able to buy New France by giving in exchange for it earthly paradise, I should certainly buy it.⁵⁴⁵

The Jesuit Superior taught the class this relationship of Le Jeune to lands he had often described as “our land” was one of affection with suffering sought after as a kind of currency generating a wealth of Christian meaning within the soul. John Zurakowski similarly repeated a refrain of “our First Nations people” in tones of affection when describing usages of wood in the materials of the Martyrs’ Shrine to incorporate

⁵⁴³ Jesuit Superior, “An Introduction to the *Jesuit Relations*,” July 10, 2019.

⁵⁴⁴ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture,” July 9, 2019

⁵⁴⁵ Roustang, *Jesuit Missionaries to North America*, 103.

Indigenous beliefs in wood having spirit.⁵⁴⁶ The Jesuit Superior also explained this mystical recoding by Le Jeune as “seeing what’s here for what it really is” and that the mission is the same today as it was then with an unchanged focus of being in service of helping persons enter into the mystical body of Christ through the Church.⁵⁴⁷

Based on these experiences and dialogues I agree the mission operates within this ontology while also being able to make use of a public historic site operating on the same location. Today, it is deeply entrenched within Christian place and a pedagogy calibrated to create an intimacy conducive of experiences of spiritual connection, which as was explored in discussion of landscape also creates a *kairós* of history, in which a visitor or pilgrim enters a world apart. Religious objects generated in the historic periods of discursive Indigenous dispossession are also present and through them one is guided on a path of spiritual transcendence.⁵⁴⁸ Even the TRC, which organizes definitions of cultural

⁵⁴⁶ Zurakowski, “The Modern-day Pilgrim’s Prayerful Experience with the Canadian Martyrs,” July 11, 2019.

⁵⁴⁷ Jesuit Superior, “The Textual Influences of Sacred Scripture,” July 9, 2019.; Jesuit Superior, “An Introduction to the *Jesuit Relations*,” July 10, 2019.

⁵⁴⁸ Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 141. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 4 vols. (Rome: Marietti, 1952), la IIae q. 90-96. Charles E. Curran, “Ecclesial Methodology,” in *Catholic Social Teaching 1891 – present: A Historical Theological and Ethical Analysis* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2002), 23, 24, 115-121. Discussion of Jesuit ontology includes theological elements outside of the purview of this study while also having influenced my thinking. This includes Catholic social ethics through the lens of scholarship by my mother, Marilyn Martin van Beek. Her work focusses in part on contributions by moral theologian Charles Curran in incorporating more historically conscious methodology inclusive of inductive reasoning and lived experience as a return to the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. He locates morality as intrinsic to the human person who is social and political by nature and also of something as being right and good if it is good in itself. Aquinas also focussed on dialogue as mediation, with mediation between the divine and human world illustrated in human reason, which is a required aspect of a free will developing responsibility in the attainment of divine likeness, and which contrasts with an apathy of predestination. Thomistic anthropology, in which the person is the principle of their own action through intellect and free will despite any relationship to God, is employed by Curran in distinction to combinations of pseudo-Augustinianism viewing the person as moved extrinsically by God and of goodness as obeying God’s laws. In my reading, Jesuit ontology seems in ways to be consistent with the latter distinction including that obedience to the hierarchy of the Church and elements of predestination as an extrinsic will of God as is within the *Spiritual Exercises*, though it is warned to not be made into a habitual subject of conversation for fear of generating apathy. The relationship of this ontology to history and archaeology is far more complex but these broad strokes speak to an overall theological frame of historical fulfilment influencing acts of seeing and the treatment of sites and archaeological materials.

genocide specific to religious conversion in advocating for the maintenance of Indigenous lifeways, emerges from this ontology with aims for more opportunities for Christian experiences and more intimacy with Christian suffering. In a contemporary recasting Indigenous memory-ways and historical consciousness purview the edges of this path through landscapes of history as spectres haunting this vision of historical eternity. Additional dimensions will be explored in the next chapter as the scope is broadened to include discussion of politics shaping a dualistic form of history followed by discussion of archaeology in Ontario in relation to racialized legal identities cultivated through historical discourses.

Chapter 6 –Divided Histories, Paths of Archaeology, and Traces of Destruction

*Spent shale, thigh haptic fisher, roe, river
delta of sleep-inducing peptides abet our tent
in a deep time course, in Venus retrograde*

*we coalesced into the Cartesian floral pattern
of heritage where I hunt along a creek as
you pack bits of bone away within a system*

*of conservation the site was discovered
during construction of a new venous
highway for stars birthing themselves*

*out of pyroclastic dust and telepathy
in the time zone of some desperate hour
when all our exits are terraformed*

*Sons and daughters of the liberal arts
all my life has spurned a desire for more than
a power line of injured transistors*

*fetal alcohol syndrome, oil drums sunk
to the bottom of every lake, the aurora borealis
an overdose along the magnetized pole*

*what we are offered in lieu of a soul
another paper cut of lambent plasma
thickening the wound bed of release:*

*O creek, bleeding hills, census inveterate
let me sleep five more minutes just five
minutes more before we default on*

*eternity*⁵⁴⁹

6.1. Politics of Historical Duality

The museum at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons displays confusion in the ethnohistorical construction of Indigenous identity as is discussed in chapter four, which

⁵⁴⁹ Liz Howard, “Terra Nova, Terraformed,” *Infinite Citizen of the Shaking Tent*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2015), 1-2.

traces back to early acts of naming within primary sources. This process is separate from ‘ethnogenesis’ or development of a distinct cultural assemblage and is instead identity generation through historic materials, which in this case feature writings of early explorers and Jesuits, but also include imperial documentation, their curation and preservation within archives, and materials and archives of archaeological research.⁵⁵⁰ Ethnohistorical Indigenous identities solidify through their usage of archaeology in a problematic interaction as colonial sources are renewed and rooted in so-called factual, scientific forms of knowledge. In the case of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons divisions existed between imperial, ecclesiastic, or settler subjects under study and Indigenous peoples who became entangled in this process of knowledge generation. The celebrated history of excavations by Kenneth Kidd and Wilfred Jury expresses these distortions as the historic world was divided in two. This discussion is also contextualized in broader rhythms such as the history of restorative or counter-revolutionary politics within the ecclesiastic context, the role of archaeology as an ongoing means to clearing Indigenous landscapes of evidence of occupation, and the development of a racial ‘taxonomy’ retrieved in cycles of historical and legal fixation to Indigenous identities.

There is no word in Indigenous languages for wild or wilderness as it implies a lack of relationship with the natural world, and as described by Dennis Martinez, this is a world in which “every day is creation.”⁵⁵¹ Descriptions from the *Jesuit Relations* separate Wendat from these spiritual relationships and speak with a ‘forked-tongue’ manifesting

⁵⁵⁰ Stephen Chrisomalis and Bruce G. Trigger. “Reconstructing Prehistoric Ethnicity: Problems and Possibilities” Found in *Passion for the Past: Papers in Honour of James F. Pendergast*, edited by J.V. Wright and J.-L. Pilon, University of Ottawa Press, 2004, 426-428.

⁵⁵¹ Martinez, “Restoring Indigenous History and Culture to Nature,” 108. Martinez also says the root of wilderness is “self-willed” though is not utilized in this sense when applied to Indigenous peoples and lands.

division within the historical reconstruction and in contemporary experiences of this history. This includes Wendat peoples represented at once as ‘sauvages,’ (in French it is closer to a description of ‘wild’ as in ‘fleur sauvage’ and originally meant ‘forest dweller’ to Jesuits, rather than connotations of ‘brute’ attached to the more negative English word ‘savage’), and Jesuits also having tremendous reverence for Wendat peoples as exceedingly intelligent, creative, and strong as individuals and as communities.⁵⁵² Scholars including Michael Knox S.J. focus on linguistic discrepancies of sauvages/savage, in comparison to usage of ‘barbares’ to argue Jesuits engaged in complex relationships of respect, admiration, and spiritual service within usage of this language.⁵⁵³ This is exemplified by Brébeuf who is central to the preservation of Wendat language and was affectionately named *Echon*, which is a term given to a person of import and has similarly been bestowed on contemporary linguist John Steckley.⁵⁵⁴ Discussions of merit are beside the point, however, as Steckley shows in *De Religione: Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois* that Jesuits engaged in tremendous learning and interconnection with Indigenous languages. Significantly, this

⁵⁵² Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls*, 49. Jesuit Superior, “The Human Origins of the Amerindians in the Jesuit Relations; and the Divine Nature of the ‘Sauvages’ in the *Relations*,” July 8, 2019. C. E.S. Franks “In Search of the Savage *Sauvage*: An Exploration into North America's Political Cultures” *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 32:4, (2002): 547-580. This distinction is made by a many scholars including Fr. Michael Knox, wherein the Jesuit Relations read from an anglophone perspective today are felt to be immediately derogatory in the language, rather than criticized in more essential ways. The example given by Frank is “if canoeists go to a store to buy bug repellent, they will find that the “Deep Woods Off” appropriate for the Canadian North becomes, on the French side of the canister “Off Regions Sauvages.” North of Ottawa on the way to their river they will encounter the *Chemin de Fleurs Sauvages*. In English this would be translated as “Route of the Wild Flowers,” not “Route of the Savage Flowers,” any more than “regions sauvages” are “savage regions.” Ideas of the noble savage are more complicated as negative anglophone connotations are mixed with a positive connotation of being noble. Savage in the Jesuit French of the seventeenth century is therefore closer to ideas of ‘wild’ or ‘uncivilized.’

⁵⁵³ Jesuit Superior, “The Human Origins of the Amerindians in the Jesuit Relations; and the Divine Nature of the ‘Sauvages’ in the *Relations*,” July 8, 2019.

⁵⁵⁴ John Steckley, personal correspondence, October 18, 2018.

work is a translation of a text written likely by Fr. Philippe Pierson in the mid-seventeenth century in the Wendat language, which would have been used in missionizing among Haudenosaunee and is part of an archive of internal documentation including synchronic texts never sent to France or published as *Relations*.⁵⁵⁵

Devotion and synchronicity of these documents mirror descriptions in the *Jesuit Relations*, which include Wendat being physically healthy, beautiful, extremely socially integrated, kind and generous with one another, and with an oral culture of deep, discursive intelligence.⁵⁵⁶ Wendat were musical and intoned their voices in oration while comparisons were made to classical Greek orators while engaging in such vigorous debate with Jesuits that only technological novelties were able to capture interest.⁵⁵⁷ This included writing, the ability of Jesuits to predict an eclipse, provisions of iron and other European trade goods, and novel objects such as European-style doors, a lodestone, eight-sided reflecting glass, a phial able to enlarge small objects, and a clock thought by Wendat to be alive due to the noise it made.⁵⁵⁸ Spiritual interest was captured as processions of Mass were viewed as successful rituals of rain dance when coinciding with the breaking of droughts, along with other useful contributions to firmly Wendat social and spiritual worlds. Significant negotiation occurred over baptisms as this ritual was

⁵⁵⁵ John L. Steckley, *De Religione: Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), p. 3-6.

⁵⁵⁶ Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*. 137-139.

⁵⁵⁷ Stogre, "The Jesuits' Ministry to the Native People in Canada 1842," 51. Joseph-Richard Richard, s.j., who spent sixty-seven years in northern Ontario in a missionary capacity also made comparisons of the Anishinaabemowin language of the Ojibway to classical Greek, which he was familiar, saying it was superior.

⁵⁵⁸ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 495, 513.; José António Brandão, "The Men in Black: Jesuits and their Work at Fort St-Joseph" Niles District Library Virtual Programming. Paper Presented at the Annual Fort St. Joseph Lecture Series, July 14, 2021, Niles Michigan.; Prior to population collapse and warfare aspects of Christian doctrine were unconvincing unless almost fully integrated into the established Wendat world.

often viewed as a form of medicine fending off disease as part of a curing society, for which Jesuits strategized to baptize sick children believed to have a good chance of returning to health.⁵⁵⁹ Jesuits complained of very low conversion numbers until the proliferation of deathbed conversions, baptisms, and overall desperate circumstances due to devastations of European diseases bolstered their insecure position within Wendat political negotiations including at the 1636 council of Ossossané.⁵⁶⁰ These factors increased statistics sent to France and a small number of Christian Wendat also emerged and expansion of this group was encouraged.⁵⁶¹ It also resulted in communities such as the Ataronchronon, Attignawantan, and Attigneenongnongnahac becoming “vociferously hostile” to Jesuits, who were perceived as practicing witchcraft and spreading disease.⁵⁶²

Discernment by Jesuits of the physicality and orality of Wendat peoples rooted in Indigenous ways of being and landscapes, however, also suggests they were in no need of their service. Indigenous ways of being were rooted in local environments and offered advantages over those of Jesuits and Europeans, and as a result were relied upon for the functioning of imperial projects. Brébeuf wrote about routinely being mocked, and advised prospective Jesuits of how learning to speak the “Huron language will be your Sainte Thomas and your Aristotle” and could take up to ten years, while Le Jeune referred to himself as a child stammering in his learning “but then in a few years I would grow up and that then, when I knew their language, I would make them see that they themselves were children.”⁵⁶³ Challenges to physical and mental being were reinterpreted

⁵⁵⁹ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 510, 516, 530, 531.

⁵⁶⁰ Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*. 63.; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 530.

⁵⁶¹ Stogre, S.J., “The Jesuits’ Ministry to the Native People in Canada Since 1842” 51. Franks, “In Search of the Savage Sauvage,” 551-553.

⁵⁶² Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 504 – 507, 548, 591.

⁵⁶³ Roustang, *Jesuit Missionaries to North America*, 93, 94, 141-143.

as a food of suffering strengthening their souls as their mouths learned to speak back and bodies to adapt. This was undertaken to become spiritually dominant and to rid the landscape of a host of what they perceived to be devils.⁵⁶⁴ As a result of this tension descriptions contain duality as inferiorities are laid upon souls, minds, ways of being, and uses of technology by Indigenous peoples who are also simultaneously revered as strong.

This textual relationship is a result of an inherent subversion to conceptions of Christian and European superiority both in the historic period and retrospectively, which necessitates a reversal of merits in representing subjectivities of Wendat to maintain this superiority.⁵⁶⁵ Despite Indigenous cultures given progressively more respect and more representation at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons this lesson gets lost in the primary, moralistic story of Jesuit heroism and martyrdom alongside stories of Indigenous death and dispersal, all ending in flames. In the *Relations* it is balanced with constructed ideas of a lack of European technological and agricultural innovation and un-Christian behaviour such as brutality towards other nations and towards Jesuits themselves along with narratives of witchcraft and sexual promiscuity.⁵⁶⁶ Ideas of technological inferiority and a perceived lack of Christian or European cultural sensibilities were reaffirmed in the reconstruction with more synchronistic elements later added on in order to paint a generous picture of the formation of a common culture while expanding forms of representation have more recently emerged as the salve for these historical wounds.

Without markers of imagined European technological and spiritual supremacy,

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 503, 504.

⁵⁶⁵ Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 183.

⁵⁶⁶ Franks, "In Search of the Savage Sauvage," 551. The century old trans-Atlantic slave trade of this time, a recent bloody history of crusades and ongoing persecution of the Spanish Inquisition place brutality as far more central within European life.

however, duality is collapsed and the intelligence of Indigenous ways of being is more expressed. In consideration of indigenous landscapes and contemporary relationships between the rapid development of pathogens and land-use, among many other issues, what is revealed in reinterpreting these sources is that Wendat horticultural practices and lifeways had little of practical value to learn from Jesuits and more broadly from French colonists.⁵⁶⁷ Jesuits were primarily interested in keeping the attention of Wendat for missionary prerogatives of the salvation of souls according to a conception of Christianity and also of maintaining alliance.⁵⁶⁸ What the French did offer were opportunities for trade with New France and an alliance in dynamic and increasingly insecure geopolitical and economic landscapes, which was sought after by other nations for the same reasons.⁵⁶⁹ Narratives of sexual promiscuity are contested in sources themselves such as Sagard's descriptions having been copied directly from Lescarbot; he had also written he never saw the Wendat kiss or perform any "immodest gesture" while Jesuits also later wrote of the Wendat as sexually modest and monogamous, which puts more vivid descriptions into question.⁵⁷⁰ Colonial projects routinely sexualize local populations for imperial purposes of attracting male colonists, for ecclesiastic purposes of creating an exploitable resource of 'sin,' and in this case also of creating more profitable fundraising materials.⁵⁷¹

Indigenous ways of being represented in text were subversive to European worlds within rigid structures of power, which is also broadly expressed in the trans-Atlantic

⁵⁶⁷ Luis Fernando Chaves Et al. "Scientists say land use drives new pandemics. But what if "land" isn't what they think it is?" *Pandemic Research for the People*. Dispatch 7, March 2021. As discussed in the article, reinterpretation of historic Indigenous land use practices is enormously complicated and must be done while avoiding forms of reductionism such as casting "the human [as] both outside land and inherently unnatural."

⁵⁶⁸ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 188.

⁵⁶⁹ Parnenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 96 – 100.; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 807 – 809.

⁵⁷⁰ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 512.; Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, 36 – 37.

⁵⁷¹ Frank, "In Search of the Savage Sauvage," 552.

intellectual exchange as the *Jesuit Relations* and the writings of Sagard became influential in France. Pierre Clastres is insightful about Europeans experiencing descriptions of these worlds as “unthinkable” prior to these texts furnishing images within confines of clerical and monarchical power over French society.⁵⁷² Debate about entering into the social contract, the aim and rationality of government, or the ‘problem of salvation’ meant sovereignty “no longer counted as something self-evident” but rather descriptions of Wendat provided an answer that excluded the sovereign.⁵⁷³ George Sioui argues the Wendat term *Eatenonha* meaning “a traditional attitude of love, faith, and respect towards the Earth” is within wider democratic traditions and echoes contemporary principles of *Buen Vivir*, which through these texts became an imagined other, upon which democratic political formations were cultivated in France.⁵⁷⁴ Dimensions are not subtle as anticlerical ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau in conceptions of a state of nature were influenced by Wendat freedoms, strengths, equality, sense of community, relationships to authority, and relationships to the natural world as described within the *Relations*. They became narrative within social contract political philosophy described by Santos as a “commonly shared option for abandoning the state of nature” and questioning the natural authority of monarchy in a flourishing intellectual context leading up to the French Revolution.⁵⁷⁵ Twenty-six years after the loss of illusion of empire in Anishinaabewaki and a century and a half after failure of the mission a casting off of

⁵⁷² Pierre Clastres, *Archaeology of Violence*, (Los Angeles: Semiotexte, 2010), 238.

⁵⁷³ Lemke, *Foucault's Analysis of Modern Governmentality*, 160.

⁵⁷⁴ David Bedford, “Eatenonha: Native Roots of Modern Democracy by George Sioui” (review). *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 101, Issue 2, June 2020, pp. 298-299. Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 2-16.

⁵⁷⁵ Peter Gay “Introduction” Chapter in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *On the Social Contract*, translated by Donald A. Cress, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1987), 9-10.; Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 83.

church and empire turned inwards on centres of power in Paris and Versailles.⁵⁷⁶

During the French Revolution claims of extraordinary religious experiences foundational to the authority of the Catholic Church and to social hierarchies were linked and directly challenged. This culminated in such acts as the plundering of aristocratic tombs within churches and the scattering of their bones in the refuse of picnics revolutionaries held among these remains, which improperly echoed stories of egalitarian Feasts of the Dead.⁵⁷⁷ This also included desecrations of sacred spaces and icons, appropriation of themes of martyrdom by revolutionary artists as famously exemplified in the painting *The Death of Marat*, and the Canadian Martyrs specifically targeted in dramatic fashion by a mob in Paris seizing the holy relic of the femur bone of Gabriel Lalemant.⁵⁷⁸ A striking moment in my own experience occurred when the Jesuit Superior was speaking of the Society of Jesus and the French Revolution was framed in negative terms, which felt similar to another moment in a roundtable discussion at the symposium when the nineteen-sixties were also framed in negative terms.⁵⁷⁹ Both periods have many interpretations, but when restoration of clerical power comes to the fore and gives

⁵⁷⁶ Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 78, 83, 122. Western philosophy including Rousseau, however, excludes colonized peoples including the Haudenosaunee, Wendat, and Algonquin peoples, from conceptions of civil society and instead uses their image to impose a state of nature in development of foundational material conditions. As Santos describes “What they say is that modern individuals, that is, metropolitan men, enter the social contract in order to abandon the state of nature to form civil society. What they do not say is that the massive world region given over to the state of nature is thereby being created, a state of nature to which millions of human beings are condemned and left without any possibility of escaping via the creation of civil society.” In contemporary times exclusion continues as a ‘social contract’ with little substance and or provision for basic services or protections of Indigenous peoples and the global South from existential threats of climate change, predatory extraction industries, or inequalities in a volatile world system. In this sense, the social contract has been almost completely abandoned in national and international forums, which Santos argues leaves the option of returning to a so-called state of nature, or rather of reimagining and reexploring more resilient Indigenous lifeways.

⁵⁷⁷ Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 57, 88, 89.

⁵⁷⁸ Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 57, 88, 89.

⁵⁷⁹ Jesuit Superior, “Concluding Roundtable Discussion,” Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, October 21, 2018.; Jesuit Superior, “The Land of Crosses; A Union with the Suffering Christ,” July 12, 2019.

dimension to the ideas of Jesuits and more importantly to their position within these periods, the utility of textual duality and reversals of merit in the historic descriptions of Indigenous peoples also comes into more clear focus.

6.2. *Divided Histories at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons and Ossossané*

More recently the Huron-Wendat nation has asserted authority over spiritual and historical ways of being by claiming human remains and by developing archaeological knowledge, which has been fruitful in distinguishing themselves from Christian histories and the *Relations*. This is in response to dispossessions through archaeological practice as shown in the treatment of a sacred Indigenous and a sacred Christian site in excavations of the Ossossané ossuary and of Sainte-Marie, respectively, which were carried out by Kenneth Kidd in the same period beginning in 1941. These sites as historic and sacred places and the subsequent ‘lives of objects’ generated within each excavation, however, follow distinct trajectories with a significant event being the 1999 repatriation of human remains to Ossossané from the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM).⁵⁸⁰ On my first visits to Sainte-Marie I stayed at a cottage property along the shoreline of Georgian Bay, which was vigilantly surveilled by a community of devout believers in private property, and happened to be staying a few hundred meters from the Ossossané village and half a kilometer from the ossuary. There had previously been signage describing the ossuary but it was now missing with translucent, adorning stones instead placed as one would on a gravestone of a loved one.⁵⁸¹ The property was transferred to the Huron-Wendat as part

⁵⁸⁰ Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 190-195.

⁵⁸¹ The signage itself seemed to be contested space as the historical sites register online showed an intact sign held up by large wooden pillars, however, when I visited the ossuary in 2019 the pillars had been sawed through and the sign missing with small stones placed on the foundation, while a separate sign

of repatriation and that this signage had been cut down at the wooden base was not surprising in the context of tensions over place, property, and historical narrative.⁵⁸²

There is a sign across the highway describing the site, but as part of the regional bike trail ‘Route Champlain.’ I was surprised, however, the family with whom I stayed had no awareness of these significant connections to place, history and peoples in their backyard as they worked as schoolteachers and were sensitive to these histories.



Fig. 39. Base of Ossossané ossuary sign (left). Fig. 40. Nearby Route Champlain (right).

Relationships to these places were shaped through the gaze of colonial power as both sites have deep religious significances, contain human remains within sacred burials, and relate to well-documented and historically significant early periods of encounter.⁵⁸³ However, unlike the intimate enlivening of an imagined past connecting to a wider Christian world ongoing at the reconstruction, the Ossossané excavation was treated as a purely scientific process where human remains, which in Wendat spirituality have souls in themselves, of ‘traditional’ and Christian Wendat alike and wider Indigenous identities

on a bike path across the highway spoke of the ossuary but within the context of the biking trails of the region.

⁵⁸² John Steckley, “Panel I: Contexts & Faith,” *Life & Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom*. Symposium, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, October 18, 2018.; RPM Admin “Thunder Beach Resident welcomes Indigenous Encampment on Property” Real People’s Media, August 10, 2021. <https://realpeoples.media/thunder-beach-resident-welcomes-indigenous-encampment-on-property/>

⁵⁸³ Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 212.

became objects of study stored in boxes in the archives of the ROM.⁵⁸⁴ Repatriation was the result of decades of work and remains were reinterred in a contemporary Feast of the Dead ceremony at the center of wider and ongoing repatriation efforts laying to rest a total of roughly two thousand ancestors.⁵⁸⁵ When speaking with scholar Louis Lesage in my visit to Wendake he estimated repatriating all Wendat housed at the ROM could be a fifty-year project as hundreds of skeletal remains must be identified, catalogued, and properly shown to be Wendat.⁵⁸⁶ The ROM contacts the Huron-Wendat when they have unidentified remains but legal aspects are tedious due to the nation living outside Ontario and other barriers including a policy of the ROM to simply keep remains or artifacts and avoid complex dimensions in the case of multiple groups making claims. This contrasts with policy in the United States where the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act directs museums to repatriate remains to the nearest band.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁴ Kidd, “The Excavation and Historical Identification of a Huron Ossuary,” 363, 378. Although the excavation by Kidd was a product of the period the language used describing Wendat as objects of science is striking in moments such as when talking about craniums recovered that about twenty-five “were preserved in a sufficiently good condition to be immediately useful to the physical anthropologist” while lamenting “hope of recovering entire skeletons was almost *niil*.” He also summarizes that it will “throw new light upon one of the most highly elaborated culture traits of this branch of the Iroquois peoples” and that skeletal remains “will ultimately be of great value in assessing the physical, dental and pathological conditions of this tribe, and their mortality rate.”

⁵⁸⁵ Gary Warrick, “Collaboration avec les Huron-Wendat pour la protection du patrimoine archaéologique en Ontraio” *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec*, XLVIII, no. 3. 2018. For further reading on the repatriation of the Ossossané ossuary please see Emma Anderson’s chapter “Bones of Contention” within *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 214-254. This event occurring on the 350th anniversary of the collapse of the Wendat confederacy is described as replete with complex historical and religious dimensions of this history as both traditional and Christian Indigenous voices from across the Wendat diaspora and larger Indigenous world, which also significantly included a delegation of Haudenosaunee, who negotiated over the shape of ceremonies, relationships to objects, the role of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons as a potential gathering place, and even the appropriateness of including of a Jesuit father as a revenant figure of Brébeuf within the ceremony. Additionally, Katherine Labelle provides description in the epilogue of her history *Dispersed but Not Destroyed* cited in this work.

⁵⁸⁶ Louis Lesage, personal correspondence, November 6th, 2019.

⁵⁸⁷ “Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act: After Almost 20 Years, Key Federal Agencies Still Have Not Fully Complied with the Act”(PDF). U.S. GAO: Office of Public Affairs. U.S. Government Accountability Office. July 10, 2010. <https://web.archive.org/web/20120108115451/http://www.gao.gov/assets/310/307856.pdf>

Reflecting on my conversation with Lesage I was struck by the role of spirituality in the perspective of an intellectual with a scientific background working within a field often objectified as science. He spoke fondly of another repatriation witnessed at Thonakona in 2013 where during re-burial of the remains of ancestors he saw them smiling.⁵⁸⁸ The Huron-Wendat agreed to place one tooth from each individual and samples of bone into a repository at the University of Toronto with applications for their study going through the band as a result of the belief ancestors would see these as gifts contributing to knowledge about their people.⁵⁸⁹ He also spoke to me about the declining role of the Catholic Church in Quebec in step with the Quiet Revolution and specifically pointed to the famed Notre-Dame de Lorette church as no longer of significance within the living community of Wendake after the passing of a popular priest over twenty years ago.⁵⁹⁰ However, deep spiritual meaning surrounded the work of recovering Wendat remains and he pointed to ten Huron-Wendat monitors working in Ontario at the time of this conversation who as part of a passion for their work had taken it upon themselves to be protectors of a site where human remains had recently been found.⁵⁹¹ In 2022 and in 2023, I worked with these monitors reporting to *Le Bureau du Nionwentsio* while conducting stage two test-pitting in the Rouge National Urban Park eight kilometers from the Jean-Baptiste Lainé site and also while excavating in downtown Toronto.

⁵⁸⁸ Louis Lesage, personal correspondence, November 6th, 2019.; Susan Pfeiffer and Louis Lesage, “The Repatriation of Wendat Ancestors, 2013.” *Canadian Journal of Archaeology / Journal Canadien d’Archéologie* 38, no. 1 (2014): 5–12.

⁵⁸⁹ Alicia L. Hawkins and Louis Lesage, “Huron-Wendat Archaeological Heritage: Building Relationships Towards Collaboration,” *História: Questões & Debates, Curitiba*, vol. 66, n. 2, p. 111-138, (July - December 2018), 129-130.

⁵⁹⁰ Louis Lesage, personal correspondence, November 6th, 2019.

⁵⁹¹ Louis Lesage, personal correspondence, November 6th, 2019.

Circling back to 1941, by December Kenneth Kidd had written in detail in *The Canadian Historical Review* of the dimensions of prospective archaeological and historical significance of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons after initial official excavations had begun that June. He saw the arrangement between the Jesuit Order and the ROM as advantageous to both parties as the former would receive “data necessary to reconstruction” along with “specimens recovered” while the museum would receive “accurate information” on French, Wendat and Algonquin artifacts and “possible osteological material as well” while he emphasized the “greater moment to the people of Canada as a whole” with preservation of a significant national monument.⁵⁹² Despite a dated framework for thinking about Canada and Indigenous peoples his excavation work was innovative and included imported American methods, painstaking surveying and excavations, and highly detailed and widely available documentation.⁵⁹³ He also envisioned the site in complex terms. Impacts of “previous diggers” and subsequent occupation phases of the site factored into descriptions attributing the presence of numerous camp fires within the roughly eight inches of soil accumulated from the time of historic occupation to Algonquin fishing parties who came after the burning of the structure and fish bones found in the frame of a door of a bastion as being “perhaps where some Indian, wandering over the spot after its burning, sat down to eat his dinner.”⁵⁹⁴

In this early writing is revealed an engagement by Kidd with a unique dimension available within archaeology, which is more recently articulated in the work of social thinkers Fernand Braudel and Anthony Giddens and applied within the realm of material

⁵⁹² Kidd, *The Excavation of Fort Ste. Marie*, 409.

⁵⁹³ Kidd, *The Excavation of Fort Ste. Marie*, 410 – 415; Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 32.

⁵⁹⁴ Kidd, *The Excavation of Fort Ste. Marie*, 412.

culture as social process. This framework demands “multiscalar investigations of daily lived experience getting at and beyond historical otherness and into the historical context of the people who are being examined” and imagining Indigenous worlds relating to Indigenous peoples and usages of this site outside of a Jesuit and colonial gaze.⁵⁹⁵ Kidd concludes this article with questions for further study about the diet of Algonquins and a hope that the excavation will “add something to our scientific knowledge of Indian culture in Canada” along with the history of early settlement.⁵⁹⁶

In 1949 Kidd published his full report, which is a key text of historic site archaeology in North America, and questions about scientific knowledge of Indigenous culture were examined within a meticulously documented archaeological framework but were muted in comparison to worlds he was imagining in 1941.⁵⁹⁷ In this final report he frames data for the reconstruction as being the primary objective of excavations with descriptions of Jesuit utensils and artisan tools, along with the size and placement of interior buildings and other “matters which were but recently the subject of speculation are now reduced to concrete fact.”⁵⁹⁸ He even ties the hospital structure into an origin story of Canadian social services along with other retrospective ‘firsts.’⁵⁹⁹ The European collection of artifacts is described as “outstanding” while Indigenous artifacts were a small sample described to be contributing to knowledge of “arts & crafts.”⁶⁰⁰ Indigenous contexts in the period between 1649 and 1789 are speculated in terms reminiscent of recent historical scholarship of Witgen as he describes “extensive movements and new

⁵⁹⁵ Ferris, *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism*, 18 - 21.

⁵⁹⁶ Kidd, *The Excavation of Fort Ste. Marie*, 415.

⁵⁹⁷ Kenneth E. Kidd, *The Excavation of Ste Marie I*. Originally printed 1949. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1974, 145-167. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 673.

⁵⁹⁸ Kidd, *The Excavation of Ste. Marie I*, 165, 166.

⁵⁹⁹ Kidd, *The Excavation of Ste. Marie I*, 12.

⁶⁰⁰ Kidd, *The Excavation of Ste. Marie I*, 166.

alignments seem to have taken place among the Algonkian nations of the Great Lakes area” along with another brief mention of fishing and Indigenous scavenging of European materials at the site.⁶⁰¹ However, outside of descriptions and illustrations of a limited collection of scrapers and pottery little new knowledge of these worlds comes to the fore.

It is significant that in distinction to somewhat more balanced imaginings of 1941 framing of this final report begins with reference to the story of Jesuits “brilliantly told” in Francis Parkman’s *The Jesuits of North America* and takes on themes of Indigenous conflict and Jesuit heroism as this story shapes research objectives with an added ethnographic focus supplemented by the writing of Champlain, Gabriel Sagard, and the *Jesuit Relations*.⁶⁰² The role of archaeology is clearly stated as “the recovered facts [to] round out the picture” painted within these sources and to give more exact shape and substance to the reconstruction of this national monument.⁶⁰³ It is no accident as Kidd was instructed by his superior T.F. McIlwraith in a public statement to Martyr’s Shrine Director Fr. Lally to focus on work “necessary for the reconstruction of the settlement” and to recover Indigenous artifacts simply to “establish reference points for dating of items” while recovering “French artifacts and trade goods to be used in interpretation of daily life of the early French missionaries.”⁶⁰⁴ The context of this directive was one where The Society of Jesus had a very practical interest in enhancing “the Martyrs’ Shrine as a place of pilgrimage, a religious centre and a tourist attraction” so as to bolster their

⁶⁰¹ Kidd, *The Excavation of Ste. Marie I*, 14, 166, 167. Interesting details in the summary of the report include that any Algonquin artifacts are assumed to be post-1649 and the small sample of Indigenous artifacts and wood samples are expected to factor into wider lithic and tree-ring chronologies of the region, while analysis of bone materials were incomplete, and which he hoped to include in a supplementary report.

⁶⁰² Kidd, *The Excavation of Ste. Marie I*, 3, 16.

⁶⁰³ Kidd, *The Excavation of Ste. Marie I*, 3, 17.

⁶⁰⁴ Tummon and Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie*, 8.; Drew, *The Reconstruction of Sainte Marie*, 42.

position in the region and in Canada more generally, as is described by Jeanie Tummon and Barry Gray who conducted excavations from 1987-1990.⁶⁰⁵



Fig. 41. Christmas party dinner at the Royal Ontario Museum showing Kenneth Kidd (left), Dorothy Todd (middle), and T.F. McIlwraith (right), 1943.

When in 1953 Wilfred Jury and Elsie McLeod Jury published their own book on Sainte-Marie among the Hurons based on a subsequent set of excavations beginning June 1st, 1948, colouring-in of the picture had taken over completely from imagination or scientific discussion. The Jury's wrote in reminiscence of their work that at the ruins of the mission "the tragedy of their story could not be escaped" and archaeological production was organized around this imposed truth.⁶⁰⁶ Their perceptions and pedigree

⁶⁰⁵ Tummon and Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie*, 12.

⁶⁰⁶ Wilfred Jury and Elsie McLeod Jury, *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons*, 114.; Latta. "The Search for St-Ignace II" 9-11. Wilfrid Jury had previously spent the 1946-1947 seasons excavating the Hamilton site, which was at the time suspected of being St. Ignace II, so he was a natural choice after Kidd had declined the invitation to continue excavations. Two reasons Kidd declined an invitation to continue excavations were in order to not be pigeon-holed as an archeologist of 'Huronian' and that he was already excavating the Ossossané ossuary at the time, but there are also suggestions he didn't think the post moulds discovered under the piled stone of bastions and fireplaces created by his excavations, which excited Fr. Lally as a prospective site of the burial of Brébeuf, were integral to the reconstruction. Jury had been taught by W. J. Wintemberg while working under him during a field season and was recommended to T. F. McIlwraith on the basis that he "knows [Wintemberg's] methods." Wintemberg's and subsequently Jury's work on the Hamilton site, however, reveals not only a significant bias towards the collection of European artifacts, which despite being common at this time was pronounced in their work, but also a usage of unreliable excavation methods such as shovel shining and a history of flawed interpretation while neither Wintemberg nor Jury produced proper site reports. This is problematic as archaeology is inherently the destruction and transfer of the material record into a paper (now digital), photographic and archival record, without which it is destruction, warehousing, and personal interpretation. Wintemberg also failed to identify longhouses on sites where evidence was later found in abundance while on another site described

shaped the nature of the 1947-1951 excavations at Sainte-Marie and left organizing assumptions intact to create a sharp contrast with not only the meticulous and innovative archaeological methods of Kidd, but also with an entirely new site layout, which became the basis of the reconstruction and of my experiences.⁶⁰⁷

From reconstruction and the official opening to the public on Canada's centennial in 1967 archaeology subsequently became utilized to re-trace lost opportunities for complexity based in material evidence. The Jurys were interested in simplifying the site as a more purely European imperial dwelling to complete a picture provided by European primary sources, romanticized histories, and Jesuit interests, but the material record

house patterns, which subsequent archaeological work would prove erroneous. It is also written Jury was never seen using a trowel at the Hamilton site, which meant he relied on the more cumbersome shovel shining technique, which is just scraping the exposed ground with a shovel, throughout his excavations. Additionally, the Ontario Archeological Society describes Jury's method of excavating "by feel" the soft soil spots of post moulds invisible to the eye "all in a straight line."

⁶⁰⁷ Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 671-674.; Jury, *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons*, 1-2.; Tummon and Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie*, 20-23, 203.; Nancy Bonvillain, "The Iroquois and the Jesuits: Strategies of Influence and Resistance" *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*. Vol. 10, 1, 1986. 32-36. Assumptions underlying architectural interpretations are reinforced by the words of Elsie and Wilfrid Jury, who in their account parroted the ideological construction passed down from Jesuit Jérôme Lalemant, when writing "for ten years, men of culture and education lived among savages, in the heart of an unknown continent, an ocean removed from their native France and five of them, near here, met violent deaths, caught in the holocaust of native warfare." Additionally, an incomplete list of deficiencies in the Jury reimagining of the layout of buildings include the North Court area imagined using grey-black soil stains, which were assumed to indicate formally standing walls. However, the layout of these stains was highly confusing, and many soil-stained areas recorded by Kidd were ignored. The unwieldiness of the markings also indicates the mission likely went through phases of building and rebuilding throughout occupation, but this was not considered by Jury despite suggestions by Kidd. In another case Jury took a delineated four-sided structure identified by Kidd and simply added on a section to the presumed building despite a trench running between these sections. Later excavations by Tummon and Gray found no evidence for European buildings in their project area and brought up significant questions about those identified by Jury, which speaks to the ineffectiveness of methods. Significantly, the separation of Christian and non-Christian areas became more pronounced as the outer court meant for non-Christians and the inner court, to which non-Christians were denied entry, created enhanced architectural hierarchies the epicenter of which was the "all-male, European section, completely separated from the world around it." The power structure imposed by Jérôme Lalemant's disciplinarian role over the mission and the Wendat correspond to comments by Brébeuf in the *Jesuit Relations* of an increasingly strict regime of religious authority imposed as he took control. Regardless of a trove of methodological deficiencies the site held an overflow of interesting finds including in the so-called "Indian compound" where a cemetery was found of twenty Wendat graves containing grave offerings such as copper vessels and pewter pipes, which Bruce Trigger suggests show that despite proselytization the Jesuits had not succeeded in suppressing Wendat burial customs, whereas others argue this shows forms of syncretism in these relationships.

continually re-emerged to resist these inscriptions. For example, excavations by Tummon and Gray, which were funded in order to expand the Indigenous interpretation program, not only found deficiencies in the interpretation including no evidence of dwelling at the site of the reconstructed longhouse, which acts more as a prop against which European presence and interrelation was constructed, but also found expanded evidence for Indigenous occupation spanning from 1200 AD.⁶⁰⁸ This includes a large area across the Wye river designated as the Heron site, and which has reimagined Sainte-Marie as “part of a larger site complex.”⁶⁰⁹ John Triggs also noted traces of post-1650 occupation have been uncovered in almost every archeological excavation and recommends the site as a whole “retains significant potential and integrity” despite many waves of disturbance.⁶¹⁰

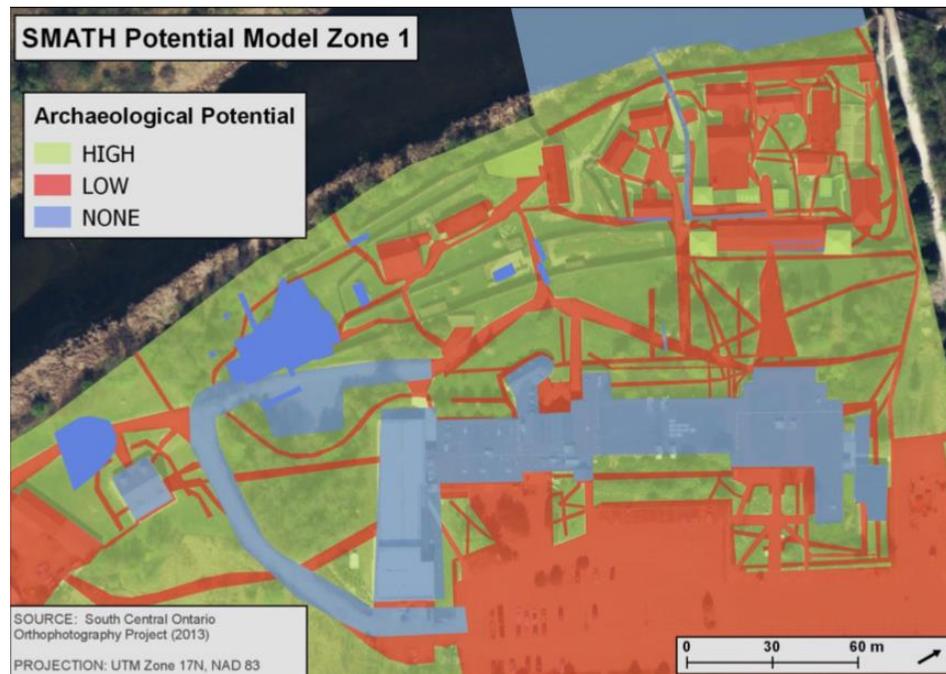


Fig. 42. Archeological potential map from 2016 stage one assessment conducted by John Triggs. Reproduced with permission of the author and Huronia Historical Parks.

⁶⁰⁸ Tummon and Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie*, 2, 201.

⁶⁰⁹ Tummon and Gray, *Before & Beyond Sainte-Marie*, 1.

⁶¹⁰ Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 20, 56.

The 2016 stage one archaeological assessment submitted to Huronia Historical Parks has acted as a heritage management tool with recommendations for archaeology and community engagement.⁶¹¹ This has included maintaining a good relationship with *Le Bureau du Nionwentsio* such as in stage two work in the North Court beginning in 2018 with a drainage problem and stage three excavations in 2022 to mitigate digging a drain pipe along with three other archaeological projects since 2016 monitored by the Huron-Wendat. Williams Treaty groups were also contacted though have not participated.⁶¹² Significant questions surround unmarked burials and human remains as they have been found in previous excavations including at the Heron site and in the non-Christian longhouse.⁶¹³ Unclear limits of the cemetery adjacent to Saint Joseph's Church are also recommended for testing and a 10m wide buffer mechanically stripped to check for grave shafts while no work is required amongst known graves.⁶¹⁴ This has yet to be undertaken as drainage issues and stonework have taken priority.

These conclusions suggest silencing and erasure of Indigenous presence, which characterized the most meticulous and the earliest work, can be counteracted if approached with fresh, imaginative, inclusionary, and importantly, Indigenous eyes. A mental exercise unhinging Sainte-Marie among the Hurons from contemporary tensions and into prospective archaeology is to imagine the site another three hundred years into the future and how digging into the contemporary reconstruction phase as an additional layer of the palimpsest may be interpreted by excavators within a discipline transforming along with wider social developments.

⁶¹¹ John Triggs, personal correspondence, December 8, 2023.

⁶¹² John Triggs, personal correspondence, December 8, 2023.

⁶¹³ Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 60.

⁶¹⁴ Triggs, *Stage 1 Archeological Assessment*, 60-61

6.3. *Tensions of Archaeology in Ontario*

Archaeological standards have changed considerably from the 1940s including more recent sensitivities to Indigenous claims over places and materials as sacred and are somewhat expressed in the 2011 document *Standards and Guidelines for Consultant Archaeologists*. This document guides engagement with communities, but the dual histories of the two excavations conducted by Kidd along with the additional dual histories of the two major excavations of Sainte-Marie speak to larger “strongly Christian assumptions” within the history of the practice in determining “whose space is sacred and whose remains inviolate.”⁶¹⁵ This is especially evident in service of the pursuit of a public history about Christian missionaries. When a Jesuit father at the Martyrs’ Shrine speaks of facts of history grounded in data of archaeological work and site interpreters being furnished with this data in their interactions with the public it is a grounding similarly provided by the discarded crutches, canes, and walkers seen as rows of data speaking to facts of miracles occurring next to the reconstructed skull of Brébeuf.⁶¹⁶ These are instead collections of artifacts seen and interpreted through different lenses splashing upon them varied substances of meaning within distinct ways of being. Only through subtraction from faculties of sight and imagination do they become facts.

For instance, through a lens of dispossession of Indigenous landscapes Michi Saggig Nishnaabeg philosopher Leanne Betasamosake Simpson describes the practice of archaeology in critical terms as instrumental to the removal of bodies and therefore of Indigenous presence and interrelationship from within the land as “the meta-relationship

⁶¹⁵ Megan Devries, “Cultural Resource Management and Aboriginal Engagement: Policy and Practice in Ontario. Master’s Thesis, The University of Western Ontario, 2014. Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 212.

⁶¹⁶ Knox, “The Witness of Jean de Brébeuf and His Companions,” 102.

my Ancestors and I have with Canada.”⁶¹⁷ Instead of drawing into publicly-funded places and pilgrimages for Indigenous peoples to go deeper into experiences of life, material histories and sacred spaces are “naturalized as objects for exploitation” through lenses of bureaucracy and science as Indigenous presence is subtracted for purposes of clearing lands ahead of development, commerce and state building.⁶¹⁸ A component of this can be more contemporary repatriations and memorialization such as in the case of the commemorated Jean-Baptiste Lainé site, or other recognized sites of archaeological significance.⁶¹⁹ Despite positive developments these exist as bureaucratic recognition within contexts of widespread and ongoing removal, or altogether avoidance, of known sites. This is the elimination of distinct forms of Indigenous territoriality, which are dug up, translated into the paper, digital, and photographic record, and stored in figurative boxes related to the consultation process and requiring a bureaucratic negotiation of Indigenous identities. It is also the literal warehousing of tens of thousands of boxes of evidence of materials occupation, which through processes of objectification and deterritorialization threaten to be transformed into the stuff of colonial ideology as “politically primitive forms in the distant past; that if Canada has any colonial baggage, it is also firmly in the past” on a shelf with all this degrading stuff.⁶²⁰ Simpson describes

⁶¹⁷ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 41.

⁶¹⁸ Leanne Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 41-42.

⁶¹⁹ Jennifer Birch and Ronald F. Williamson, *The Mantle Site: an Archaeological History of an Ancestral Wendat Community*. Lanham: Altamira Press a division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2015. *Jean-Baptiste Lainé Site* – Ontario Heritage Trust. King’s Printer for Ontario, 2023, www.heritagetrust.on.ca/plaques/jean-baptiste-laine-site.

⁶²⁰ Leanne Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 41-42.; Welch, John R. and Neal Ferris. “We Have Met The Enemy And It Is Us.” Chapter in *Transformative Archaeology: Activist Practices and Prospects*. Edited by Sonya Atalay, Lee Rains Clauss, Randal H. McGuire, John R. Welch, (New York: Routledge, 2016), 101. Along with warehousing evidence of Indigenous material occupation of landscapes a summarized list of “threats internal to archaeology include 1) lingering tendencies towards antiquarianism, especially preferences for ever more accumulation through excavation; 2) apparent incapacities to acknowledge, let alone grapple with, the global-scale curation crisis and degradation of

this “dispossession for kwe is not just about the removal of my body from the land” but within regimes of historicization and property formation as is evident at Sainte-Marie “it is the Christianization of my spirit.”⁶²¹ Deleuze and Guattari frame this physically as Christian recoding of facial signifiers as “the face of the despot (Christ, the White Man) over-codes the [Indigenous] body” in a process of subjectification.⁶²² Engagement with emergent contexts of historical process are retrospective and discussed within sedentary, subjectivized points of view of historicizing disciplines, which also shape archaeological investigation and interpretation while giving further discursive depth to these contexts.

Although there is a progressive self-image within archaeological circles the “continual hermeneutic spiral” spinning interpretation out from the accumulated material record can in one moment counter the static worlds of ‘just so’ stories and give life to imagining alternatives to sameness, while in another be co-generative of historical stasis.⁶²³ Depth dredged into boundary lines of Christian and other hegemonic place-making generate landscapes more completely deterritorialized from Indigenous peoples who despite treaty rights are reterritorialized into constricted spaces of reserves or within property regimes of comparatively much larger urban Indigenous populations. It is in this sense boundaries are cleaved between what kinds of experiences are out of and in place

amassed archaeological collections; 3) persistent divisions between [CRM] and academic practice, especially the lack of understanding that the bases for such divisions are largely irrelevant outside of the discipline 4) workforce instability due to low and inconsistent wages in [CRM] and non-tenure-track academic jobs, both of which compromise quality of life and disciplinary commitments; 5) inconsistent, unprofessional, and commodity-oriented management of cultural resources and the consequences for practitioners’ morale and job satisfaction; and 6) unrealized or lost collaborative opportunities with indigenous, descendant, local, and conservation communities in keeping with the conservation model.”

⁶²¹ Leanne Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 41-42.

⁶²² Holland, “Deterritorialization,” 59-62.; Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 23.

⁶²³ Neal Ferris, *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism*, 18.; Neal Ferris, Rodney Harrison and Michael V. Wilcox, *Introduction: Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*. Edited by Neal Ferris, Rodney Harrison and Michael V. Wilcox. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1.

and by whom. An Indigenous person fishing and eating dinner near the bank of the Wye River or riding on a purple bicycle while wearing a fedora and flip-flops with a cigar hanging from their mouth after a day of work at a historic reconstruction become dichotomous to historically significant, factual experiences of a Jesuit eating dinner with a utensil or Christians on pilgrimage walking down a manicured path to venerate the suffering and death of early colonial figures in the region. These are not universal human experiences but are instead historically constituted, retrospectively delineated interactions of peoples, places, and objects. Spiritual beliefs and agency of individuals and communities exist in these boundaries, but archaeology as colonial collaborator physically and spiritually removing Indigenous interconnection is a critical view of the historical demarcations and inequities cultivated by the discipline. It is equally the positive, generative quality to archaeology as historical process derived from even the most meticulous and well-intentioned practitioners that flow into this renewing bay of colonial context reaffirming a national and early colonial heritage.

The discipline is alive with negotiation as to origins and relationships to colonial power. This is visible in discourse between archaeologist Peter Storck who wrote in a publication of the Ontario Archaeological Society (OAS) in response to an assertion by Paul Racher that archaeology is “colonial to its roots.”⁶²⁴ Storck responded this is a misrepresentation as it is instead at its core a science as it “employs the method of testing alternative hypotheses using objective data” giving it a self-correcting methodology both subject to errors and biases but also to recalibrations of scientific practice regardless of

⁶²⁴ Peter Storck, “In Defense of Archaeology,” Ontario Archaeological Society, Arch Notes 23(2), March/April 2018, 19.

the ethnicity of practitioners.⁶²⁵ Characterizing Cultural Resource Management (CRM) as instrumental to clearing lands utilized by developers in Ontario is considered “dismissive and insulting” due to meticulous production of knowledge in cooperation with First Nations and contributions to “the story of the human journey on Earth and our shared heritage as human beings,” which is fundamentally “not an issue about control over cultural heritage as some claim; it is about the nature of science.”⁶²⁶

How one encounters politics depends on in whose interest archaeology is conducted, but also within which *habitus* or through which lens one is seeing and physically experiencing the historical process while conducting excavations and making interpretations. It is political in the sense described by Randall McGuire of his own work in Mexico as being an act of “double colonialism” where digging in a literal and a textual sense excavates material remains of colonial relationships as these dimensions are unearthed within contemporary colonial relationships and understandings, or *habitus*.⁶²⁷ These are not simply academic disagreements but what James A. Delle describes as “tension of Empire” or negotiations of power in daily colonial life, which are archaeologically discerned in “creation of human taxonomies based on the social constructs of race and ethnicity” retrieved in contemporary contexts.⁶²⁸ New France is no

⁶²⁵ Storck, “In Defense of Archaeology,” 19.

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

⁶²⁷ Randall McGuire, *Archaeology as Political Action*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 3. Neal Ferris and OAS Advisory Committee. “Report on OAS Member Consultation on the Ministry of Culture Draft 2009 Standards and Guidelines.” *Arch Notes*, Ontario Archaeological Society. Vol. 15, Issue 2, March/April 2010. 141. In this view tensions exist within a pervasive dimension of Indigenous agency as historic relationships become more obscured in present encounters.

⁶²⁸ James A. Delle. “Archeology and the ‘Tensions of Empire,’” Chapter in *Rethinking Colonial Pasts Through Archeology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 335.; Jenneth E. Curtis, “A Revised Temporal Framework for Middle Woodland Ceramics in South-Central Ontario,” Ontario Archaeological Society, Vol. 73, 2002, 17-18.

more but retrievals of imperial material remains and archives give a renewed phase of life as if these objects contain transcendent qualities much like Catholic experiences of relics.

Viewing archaeology within a tension of science is not incorrect but it is almost entirely reductive and is also dismissive of broader perspectives of what science can be in interactions with power and in generating knowledge shaping contexts and experiences.⁶²⁹ It is also dismissive of the role of living communities while placing archaeological work in a position of authority in negotiating historical realities within a category of heritage or as bureaucratic “cultural resources” when it is communities, governments, developers and other landholders, and religious orders who overwhelmingly shape the flow of archaeological material, knowledge generation, and frame their dissemination outside of copywritten site reports and academia.⁶³⁰

The most significant archaeological work in Canada in recent times is the locating, imaging, and prospective excavations of unmarked graves of children by Indigenous communities within landscapes of former residential schools. Objectivity and universality in spatial and temporal dimensions similarly distort the nature of personal experiences including of victimized children. Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) is a visualization tool building an evidence base supporting knowledge already available to

⁶²⁹ Claude Chapdelaine, “Methodological Issues: Typology of Paleoindian Projectile points & Reconstructing Iroquoian Social Organization” Lecture, Peterborough Chapter Ontario Archaeological Society, Trent University, November 22, 2018. While attending this lecture by Claude Chapdelaine in Bagnani Hall of Trent University in a conversation with James Conolly I described archaeology as essentially a complicated form of finding, counting, and show-and-tell where archaeologists relate to the data in ambiguous ways, whereas previous lectures I attended that same day had me thinking of philosophy as essentially coming up with and rigorously defending complex arguments, while historians gather traces of information to tell stories about what has been. Indigenous knowledge, which was exemplified by an earlier event with Doug Williams, was more difficult to essentialize as it was a mix of rich storytelling, comedy, political insight, and community building. The point is knowledge can be reduced in variable ways according to how engagement and experience unfolds, though of all the encounters that day Indigenous knowledge was the most varied, personal, and lasting in memory.

⁶³⁰ Welch and Ferris, “We Have Met the Enemy and it is Us,” 104.

communities through elders and archives.⁶³¹ Even this evidence, which has given image and more specificity to findings in the TRC by introducing a perceptive authority of technology shamefully weighed more heavily by many than witness testimony of survivors, is transformed into spectacle in national newspapers through similar invocations of scientific, or journalistic, objectivity and of a universal history. Speculation over where children died and language used in describing these locations, the prospective presence of graves of non-Indigenous children, and impacts of infectious diseases are used to reduce findings within tensions of science and also to expand boundary lines outside of definitions of genocide to more universal and circumstantial forms of victimhood, respectively.⁶³² Also demonstrated is how cleaving of places according to this form of consciousness and subsequent construction of identities can be invoked to minimize truth in the pursuit of justice.⁶³³ Despite communities grappling with complex tasks of identification and interpretation of these features, discussion centering around a tool of perceptive investigation is utilized by some historians to develop counter-narratives relying on language games.⁶³⁴ Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair and Murray Sinclair and many other Indigenous voices have more prescient perspectives on this than I can share as an assertion by Louis Lesage that “Indigenous people know best who they are and where they came from” also applies to locations and the significance of

⁶³¹ Kisha Supernant “Indigenous Archaeology as Restorative Justice,” The Department of Anthropology Spence Lecture, University of Western Ontario. March 17, 2023.

⁶³² Terry Glavin, “The year of the graves: how the world’s media got it wrong on residential school graves.” National Post, NP Comment, May 26, 2022.; Terry Glavin “When Narrative Replaces Facts” National Post, Np Comment, June 1, 2022.

⁶³³ Supernant “Indigenous Archaeology as Restorative Justice,” March 17, 2023.

⁶³⁴ Christopher Dummit, “Terry Glavin’s critics are shredding their own credibility” National Post, NP Comment June 15, 2022.; Andrew Martindale “Listening to Ancestors: The Application of Ground-penetrating Radar in Residential School Landscapes” Archaeological Society of British Columbia. Online lecture April 2022.

graves of their children who were taken by Catholic and Protestant Churches and the Canadian state.⁶³⁵ Indigenous worlds and agency are fundamental and ongoing in shaping political, historical, and moral contexts as they are to the ongoing relevance of archaeology as a pursuit of inter-disciplinary scientific knowledge for the public good.

Simpson is similarly critical of the work of settler researchers who interact with Indigenous landscapes despite sound intentions and methods. Archaeology can nonetheless be fruitful in reimagining contexts of present-day Ontario despite operating within a colonial gaze.⁶³⁶ As a more broadly understood science it contributes to imagining places and daily lived experiences of Indigenous worlds while accounting for negotiations of change and continuity within stratified archives of material occupation, or landscapes. This, however, is a complex undertaking requiring integration of multiscalar perspectives and a wide net of sourcing including oral histories, historical documentation, a myriad of archaeological site reports and the many available technologies of temporal perception and protention.⁶³⁷ For this to occur archaeological materials as static objects of science must give way to envisioning both as “traces of negotiated social planes arising from the internalized processes of maintenance and revision to habitus” as described by Dan Hicks and also as nodes within wide networks of sacred relationalities.⁶³⁸ Additionally, similar to how historians must read historic sources ‘against the grain’ rather than as substance of story, written records must only be examined for the usage of

⁶³⁵ Gary Warrick and Louis Lesage, “The Huron-Wendat and the St. Lawrence Iroquoians: New Findings and a close relationship” in *Multidisciplinary Investigations into Huron-Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian Connections*, Journal of The Ontario Archeological Society, Number 96, 2016, 139.

⁶³⁶ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done – Author Leanne Simpson*. Lecture and Discussion, Trent University, January 15, 2018.

⁶³⁷ Hicks, “The Temporality of the Landscape Revisited,” 7.

⁶³⁸ Ferris, *Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism*, 28.

settlement-subsistence data, or as “a written calendar” allowing for seasonal or other forms of decision-making to be discerned more stringently than identifying for bias.⁶³⁹

For instance, archaeologist James Conolly, who is the supervisor of this work, employs an analysis of historic, ethnographic, and the general poor quality of archaeological data in the Kawartha region to conduct multiscalar spatial interaction analysis modeling of waterways, of ritual placemaking, and of settlement patterns.⁶⁴⁰ This integrated approach reveals “hyper-centrality” of mortuary locations such as the many Middle Woodland burial mounds in the region, one of the earliest known collective burial sites in the region at Jacob Island, and other locations within wider sets of regional inter-community exchange.⁶⁴¹ Conclusions of this analysis also suggests close intertwining of ritual and economic activity, negotiation over access to foraging locations, ritually-charged group collective intentions, seasonal dimensions of community based interaction and movement, and these sacred locations acting as “a form of memory device to reinforce community identity and tenure.”⁶⁴² It is the use of archaeology to bring greater dimension to sacred places of mortuary sites and also to constituent aspects expressing lives of occupants and wider interrelated worlds in ways that erode categories of otherness without determining the substance of those lives and worlds or providing constrictive frames. Interdisciplinary geographic works such as Conrad Heidenreich’s influential *Huronian*, for instance, brings greater dimension to the Indigenous world of the

⁶³⁹ Ferris, *Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism*, 30.

⁶⁴⁰ Conolly, “Hunter-gatherer Mobility, Territoriality, and Placemaking,” 185 – 188.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid, 200. James Conolly, Jeffrey Dillane, Kate Dougherty et al. “Early Collective Burial Practices in a Complex Wetland Setting: An Interim Report on Mortuary Patterning, Paleodietary Analysis, Zooarchaeology, Material Culture and Radiocarbon Dates from Jacob Island (BcGo-17), Kawartha Lakes, Ontario.” *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*. 38, (2014): 106-133.

⁶⁴² Conolly et al., “Hunter-gatherer Mobility, Territoriality, and Placemaking,” 201, 202.

Wendat but does so within constraints of the historic accounts and is framed by common assumptions therein of trade rivalries, age-old inter-tribal warfare, and confederacy.⁶⁴³

Giving dimension to Indigenous landscapes is one contribution of research but so too is revisiting foundational questions in the regional discipline using new methodologies. This is also a complex undertaking and as explored and summarized by Jenneth E. Curtis in her study of migration and cultural change in Iroquoian social groups more than one hundred factors are understood by archaeologists as contributing to archaeologically observed, highly variable, contextually and socially interacted and constituted patterning in material cultures.⁶⁴⁴ Using multiscaler analysis combining Indigenous agency and history to comb through literature and datasets, Curtis revisits an early research question of archaeology in this province of migration versus the *in situ* developmental origins of Iroquoian peoples.⁶⁴⁵ With consideration of many migration hypotheses and integration of ceramic, settlement, and burial practice patterning strong support is found for *in situ* development and cultural change, which is commensurate with long-lasting assertions of continuity and development to Indigenous place.⁶⁴⁶

In conversation with James Conolly and as is suggested by the work of William Fox and Charles Garrad, he imagines continuity in ceramics as found in this study can potentially include the inference of exogenic movements of Iroquoian men coming into areas where Algonquin women are within matrilineal relationships and creating pottery in

⁶⁴³ Conrad Heidenreich, *Huronian*, 15.

⁶⁴⁴ Jenneth E. Curtis, "Migration and Cultural Change - The Northern Iroquoian Case in South-Central Ontario" *Journal of World Prehistory*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (August 2014), 153.

⁶⁴⁵ Curtis, "Migration and Cultural Change," 151.

⁶⁴⁶ Curtis, "Migration and Cultural Change," 164-167, 181.; Gitigaa Migizi (Doug Williams), *This is Our Territory.*; Gitigaa Migizi (Doug Williams) and Julie Kapyrka, "Before, During, and After: Mississauga Presence in the Kawarthas," 133 – 135.

consistent patterns through time.⁶⁴⁷ This is a vision of complex interrelation of cultures developing *in situ* in the region and in wider regional networks, which would have been encountered in the Saint-Lawrence River valley by Jacques Cartier as a mix of diverse and overlapping linguistic and cultural traditions rather than as ethnicities in distinction as ethnohistorical upstreaming contains and reinforces.⁶⁴⁸ Sudden adoption of traditions and presence of very large feasting vessels in areas such as Simcoe County similarly suggest amalgamation and cultural intermingling.⁶⁴⁹ Dimensions of fluid relation are not necessarily archaeologically visible but can also be inferred through variabilities in the record along with their presence in other contexts including in Neolithic Europe where mitochondrial DNA suggests men are characterized by geographic difference, whereas women have continuity.⁶⁵⁰ It is also a vision of women generating material records in the context of present-day Ontario and an archival power of retrospection as agents of material, social, and historical reproduction. Properly retrieving this power, however, is a central tension as it is dug up from lasting archives of Indigenous landscape to often be forgotten in reports, degraded on shelves, folded into histories of encounter, or diminished in universalizing and objectifying discourses as canvas for over-coding.

The context of ethnohistorical documents such as the *Jesuit Relations* forced archaeology to track trends back in time leading to a very narrow range of research addressing cultural-historical and other kinds of questions.⁶⁵¹ Imagination surrounding cultural interrelation and change is distinct from how identities are often cleaved through

⁶⁴⁷ James Conolly, personal correspondence, September 24th, 2019.; Fox and Garrad, "Hurons in an Algonquian Land," 124.

⁶⁴⁸ Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time*, 155.

⁶⁴⁹ William Fox, personal correspondence, March 27th, 2019.

⁶⁵⁰ James Conolly, personal correspondence, September 24th, 2019.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*

ethnohistorical retrospection including in the work of influential archaeologists Ron Williamson and Bruce Trigger who have painted vivid, well-researched, and often convincing ethnohistorical pictures of Wendat and other worlds. Like Jesuit history ethno-historical worlds are vivid, but they may lack broader scientific rigor as cultural-historical questions are ignored. This is also controversial within a broader context of historical and archaeological production as negotiation of Indigenous identities through the Canadian state and society remain in constant tension of empire.⁶⁵²

6.4. Indigenous Archaeology for the Future

The political context of archaeology in Ontario expresses this tension. For instance, despite upwards of a thousand new archaeological sites identified each year, over three thousand projects registered with the province, and estimates of eighty-percent of materials recovered at sites in Ontario being Indigenous in origin, the focus of legislation has been shaped to avoid territorial disputes such as at Ipperwash, Caledonia, and Oka.⁶⁵³ This is done by mitigating concerns of Indigenous groups rather than by prioritizing Indigenous interests in archaeology as an extension of heritage and territoriality. Sixty-seven weekly project updates were provided to Indigenous communities in 2022 alerting them to archaeology occurring in treaty and traditional

⁶⁵² Ibid.

⁶⁵³ Julie Kapyrka. "Lest We Forget...The Colonial Nature of Archaeology." In *Arch Notes* Vol. 19, Issue 3, Edited by Chris Ellis, Toronto: Ontario Archaeological Society, May/June 2014. 12.; Jean-Luc Pilon, "Ontario Archaeological Society Task Force on the Draft Technical Bulletin 'Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archaeology' Final Report. *Arch Notes*, Ontario Archaeological Society. Vol. 15, Issue 2, March/April 2010, 11.; Paul Racher, "Reaping the Whirlwind: Reflections on Reconciliation, Collaboration, and What Happens Next." Public Lecture, Peterborough Chapter Meeting of the Ontario Archaeology Society, September 30, 2021.

territory.⁶⁵⁴ However, as former president of the OAS Neal Ferris argues Indigenous interests are treated as “something to be addressed in the process of completing development” without allowing them to become “a constraint to development.”⁶⁵⁵ Paul Racher points to the 2020 Provincial Policy Statement informing the Planning Act, which along with the Heritage Act governs archaeological work in the province, as “tightening-up” legislation but relying on an idea of ‘conservation’ where artifacts nonetheless end up packed away in boxes and in paper record with landscapes cleared of Indigenous material record.⁶⁵⁶ Legislation also largely depends on municipalities taking a role of authority in approving archaeological work in the process of development, without which there is no enforcement of standards or even a record of sites being “de-conserved.”⁶⁵⁷ In his thirty-five year career with involvement in thousands of sites Racher observed only three become protected, which results from a legislative process he compared to a conveyer belt between finding a site and that site being destroyed.⁶⁵⁸ With omnibus Bill 23, the More Homes Built Faster Act introduced in 2022 changes to the Heritage Act and removing planning policy and approval responsibilities from certain municipalities may limit their application including in Simcoe County and contravene treaty rights and the TRC.⁶⁵⁹ Threats internal to archaeology could in part be remedied with more state

⁶⁵⁴ Ministry of Citizenship and Multiculturalism. *Archaeology Program 2023 Year in Review*, 2023.

⁶⁵⁵ Neal Ferris. “Always Fluid: Government Policy Making and Standards of Practice in Ontario Archaeological Resource Management.” Chapter in *Quality Management in Archeology*, edited by Willem J.H. Willems Monique H. Can den Dries. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007, 82.

⁶⁵⁶ Racher, “Reaping the Whirlwind,” September 30, 2021.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁹ Josh Dent, “Ontario Archaeological Society Statement on Bill 23 – The Proposed More Homes Built Faster Act,” Ontario Archaeological Society, November 23, 2022. <https://ontarioarchaeology.org/2022/11/23/oas-bill-23/>; Jill Taylor-Hollings, “President’s Message,” *Arch Notes*, Ontario Archeological Society. Vol. 28, Issue 1-2, January-June 2023.; Bobby Hristova, “Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation says Ontario should repeal housing plan, leave Greenbelt alone,” CBC News, Dec 13, 2022.

participation rather than regulation, including responsibilities for housing materials in repositories where Indigenous artifacts could be accessed by community members. This would create a limit of what can be stored at any given time and cause a system designed to allow for development to get artifacts out of their way to incur additional fees for their storage. It would also reverse the unloading of storage onto archaeologists and cause developers to have to consider not developing lands sitting on burial grounds due to higher costs while promoting the increasing care of Indigenous sites.⁶⁶⁰

Additionally, despite debates among scholars and research archeologists of alternative archaeology, community archaeology, feminist archaeology, post-processualist archaeology, Marxist archaeology, and Indigenous archaeology, among others, consultation in drafting the contemporary *Standards and Guidelines* legislation shaping archaeological work occurred largely within institutions, language, and interests of CRM and of developers. It lacks clear enforcement standards and consequences while consultations with Indigenous communities are important yet seemingly a secondary aspect to the process.⁶⁶¹ What resulted is a document shaped through “compliance-focused discourse” rather than “practical interest” of aligning communities of archaeologists and communities of non-archeologists in working together in using archaeology to investigate and address contemporary concerns.⁶⁶² The companion document *Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archaeology* acts as a “technical bulletin” rather than a binding set of rules for consultant archeologists and advocates for a

⁶⁶⁰ James Conolly, personal correspondence, May 24, 2018.

⁶⁶¹ Neal Ferris and OAS Advisory Committee, “Report on OAS Member Consultation on the Ministry of Culture Draft 2009 Standards and Guidelines,” Arch Notes, Ontario Archeological Society. Vol. 15, Issue 2, March/April 2010. 9

⁶⁶² Sonya Atalay, Lee Rains Clause, Randall H. McGuire, and John R. Welch. *Transforming Archaeology: Activist Practices and Prospects*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2014. 9-13

vague concept of engagement rather than consultation.⁶⁶³ The document was created with support of the Algonquin community of Pikwàkanagàn who worked with the OAS as one hundred thirty-eight archaeology packages including information, questionnaires, and space for detailed input were sent out to communities with only twenty returned. This along with direct meetings with communities such as Stoney Point and Curve Lake made up the bulk of consultation enabled by a small budget.⁶⁶⁴ Many respondents providing feedback informing the bulletin also wrote more involvement in archaeological consultation stresses limited community resources, which impedes wishes of the government to involve communities.⁶⁶⁵ The Association of Professional Archeologists (APA) also received concerned feedback from non-Indigenous archeologists over impacts to the profitability of business and to the practice of archaeology especially if they had few connections to Indigenous communities.⁶⁶⁶ Indigenous archeologists who are OAS members also expressed frustrations over the lack of consultation with their own communities and the whole process brought “anxiety and a great deal of confusion about the intent of standards” and the legal fate of artifacts and sites.⁶⁶⁷ The published version is a directive of how to use engagement to “improve understanding of an archaeological project and enrich the archaeological record” along with relationship building in Indigenous communities to allow for “everyone to benefit from their knowledge.”⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶³ Jean-Luc Pilon, “Ontario Archeological Society Task Force on the Draft Technical Bulletin ‘Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archeology’ Final Report,” *Arch Notes*, Ontario Archeological Society. Vol. 15, Issue 2, March/April 2010, 11.; Megan Devries, “Cultural Resource Management and Aboriginal Engagement: Policy and Practice in Ontario.” Master’s Thesis. The University of Western Ontario, 2014, 23-25.

⁶⁶⁴ Pilon, “Ontario Archeological Society Task Force,” 13.

⁶⁶⁵ Pilon, “Ontario Archeological Society Task Force,” 15.

⁶⁶⁶ Ferris and OAS Advisory Committee, “Report on OAS Member Consultation,” 9.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁸ Migizi and Kapyrka, “Truth and Reconciliation,” 4. Ministry of Tourism and Culture. *Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archaeology: A Draft Bulletin for Consultant Archaeologists in Ontario*, 2010,

Despite providing useful guidelines and an appearance of an effort to make archaeology more beneficial to Indigenous interests it reads like a manual of appeasing communities and gaining important knowledge with expedient and efficient archaeology as the goal.

In addition to these bureaucratic dimensions are questions of epistemic collaboration between generalized categories of Indigenous and Western knowledge, perspectives, consciousness, or ways of being tied to the authority of science, which is a wide-ranging discussion investigated across many disciplines. Concepts such as 'two-eyed seeing' and the 'two-world approach' or of the 'forked-tongue' speak to dichotomous gaps between worlds.⁶⁶⁹ In discussion of possibilities for transforming archaeology through Indigenous knowledges, Sonya Atalay takes a considered position and warns that “using critique to dismiss scientific knowledge may be counterproductive” and points to activist archaeology seeking to reclaim the role of “objectivity and rigor in scholarly research” but with a “positioned objectivity” aware of epistemic relations of power and

1. The extent of the problems in conduct of archaeology regarding Indigenous peoples in Ontario are so vast that it is expedient to detail an article written by Julie Kapyrka and Gitigaa Migizi (Doug Williams) of Curve Lake to archaeologists in an OAS newsletter from 2016, in which they list ways that colonialism has operated to control the entire process. Six instances of policies they mention include that archeologists control the entire process including the material culture of archaeology in how it is handled, where it is housed, who can access it, and where and how excavations are conducted; the Registrar of Cemeteries in Ontario controls the process of what happens to human remains found at burial sites; Indigenous voices are seldom sought after in the interpretation and creation of knowledge about the past despite the vast majority of material having Indigenous origins; archaeology licensing requires a masters degree and hundreds of hours of field work but no knowledge about Indigenous thought and life; First Nations communities do not have control over material culture and very little control over archaeological knowledge created about their people; and facts about the past are decided by academics who hold “power over the story of the past.”

⁶⁶⁹ Cheryl Bartlett, Murdena Marshall and Albert Marshall. “Two-Eyed Seeing and other lessons learned with a co-learning journey of bringing together indigenous and mainstreams knowledges and ways of knowing” *Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences*. Vol. 2, No. 4, (November 2012), pp. 331-340.; Julie Kapyrka and Mark Dockstater. “Indigenous Knowledges and Western Knowledges in Environmental Education: Acknowledging the Tensions for the Benefits of a “Two-Worlds” Approach” *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*. Vol. 17, (2012), pp. 97-112.; Bruno Latour and Christian S. G. Katti. “Mediating Political ‘Things,’ and the Forked Tongue of Modern Culture: A Conversation with Bruno Latour.” *Art Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (Spring, 2006), pp. 94-115.

able to engage in “strategic duality” or a more poetic term of “braiding knowledge.”⁶⁷⁰ Atalay argues duality is required because archaeological work needs legitimation and framing within authoritative language of science in order to convince skeptics and maintain projects, while communities take space to engage with heritage in their own way. In this sense duality is subversive to forces of territorial and cultural assimilation.⁶⁷¹

As suggested by Atalay, in archaeology there exist unique opportunities for epistemic collaboration. The discipline emerged in the North American context primarily as the study of Indigenous heritage and evidently should be significantly shaped by Indigenous peoples engaged in heritage, which gives centrality to Indigenous ways of being. Additionally, the development and application of science is a process with a long history of adaptations. As discussed in chapter five transforming relationships specific to relics within Christian traditions also apply to the crooked and mutable development of new forms of objectivity where “epistemic virtues that exist side by side implicitly modify one another by the very possibility of choice among them, however dimly the facts of diversity and choice are recognized.”⁶⁷² Objectivity is a lynchpin of the hermeneutic cycle of archaeology and Actor Network Theory developed by Bruno Latour and others attempts to pull this pin by seeking to modify how Western epistemology understands its own practices and relationships, including with artifacts.

The idea is moving artifacts from the category of *objects* as embedded in science and technology, to the world of *things*, wherein there is more flexibility for interrelation with art, figuration, stories and ultimately, people - and on the other

⁶⁷⁰ Sonya Atalay, “Engaging Archaeology: Positivism, Objectivity, and Rigor in Activist Archaeology” Chapter in *transforming Archeology: Activist Practices and Prospects*. Sonya Atalay, Lee Rains Clause, Randall H. McGuire, and John R. Welch. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2014, 13, 47, 53, 55.

⁶⁷¹ Atalay, “Engaging Archaeology,” 53.

⁶⁷² Daston & Galison, *Objectivity*, 367.

hand disempowering the “domination, the *Gestell*, the “enframing” or framing” that Heidegger was so critical of in science and technology.⁶⁷³

Objectivity and the treatment of material things are a central point of contention in relationships between Indigenous worlds and what is understood as Western, though the discipline is within processes of transformation in modification of adjacent virtues. Recent investigations into epistemic collaboration include the volume “Archaeologies of the Heart” attempting to fashion holistic approaches to the discipline centering care, emotion, relation, and rigor of archaeologists in the pursuit of their practices in contrast to a performance of dispassionate inquiry.⁶⁷⁴ In her own work exploring settlements of the Métis Nation of Canada, Kisha Supernant employs the concept of “weaving Métis kinscapes” and employs Métis practice to describe inter-woven lived-experiences of relations, mobility, geographies, daily life, and economies.⁶⁷⁵ Additionally, she spoke of a well-preserved and beautifully beaded pouch excavated at one of the sites, which straddles ontic material worlds. From its place on a shelf in her office it had taken on a role of ancestral relation teaching artists who visited about complex beading techniques while also having a larger presence as a personal connection to her own Métis identity. Jenna McGuire of the historic Saugeen Métis Centre similarly examines how beadwork and material culture is vehicle for cultural reclamation in a diaspora Métis community as diving into the meaning of patterns reveals connections to cosmologies and to oral

⁶⁷³ Bruno Latour and Christian S. G. Katti. “Mediating Political ‘Things,’ and the Forked Tongue of Modern Culture: A Conversation with Bruno Latour.” *Art Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (Spring, 2006), 106.

⁶⁷⁴ Kisha Supernant and Natasha Lyons. “Introduction to an Archaeology of the Heart.” Chapter found in *Archaeologies of the Heart*. Edited by Kisha Supernant Jane Eva Baxter, Natasha Lyons, and Sonya Atalay. Switzerland: Springer, 2020, 2-13.

⁶⁷⁵ Kisha Supernant, “Indigenous Archaeology as Restorative Justice,” The Department of Anthropology Spence Lecture University of Western Ontario. March 17, 2023.

histories.⁶⁷⁶ Like Alan Corbier’s discussion of wampum they are talking things telling stories as the intricate beading pattern holds a spirit of her ancestors.⁶⁷⁷ However, Supernant acknowledged this relationship is technically illegal and the artifact will have to be sent to a museum and cut off from these emergent relations. This example shows a programmatic approach to Indigenous archaeology resists specific description and to avoid universalizing and totalizing Martin Wobst warns “one should avoid the term 'best practices'” as they are instead developed relationally for specific usages out of problems and needs of local Indigenous communities with their own approaches to heritage.⁶⁷⁸

Another contemporary example is Anishinàbe Odjibikan, which is a federally funded archaeological field school developed through partnerships with lead archaeologist Ian Badgley from the National Capital Commission (NCC) and sixteen students from Kitigan Zibi Anishnabeg First Nation and the Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn.⁶⁷⁹ 300,000 artifacts housed at the NCC are being sorted and catalogued in a process of repatriating many to their communities while students are learning and developing new methods for interpreting artifacts using linguistic knowledge and oral history.⁶⁸⁰ In a presentation given to the Ottawa Chapter of the OAS they spoke decisively of relating artifacts to community knowledge held by elders including how

⁶⁷⁶ Jenna McGuire, “Letting the Beads Speak: Investigations into woven Métis beadwork specimens from Southampton, ON,” *Archaeological and Indigenous Perspectives on Ancient Gathering Places. Session in Maawnjìdwin: 50 years of Gathering, Where Yesterday Meets Tomorrow*, The Ontario Archaeological Society, November 4, 2023.

⁶⁷⁷ Supernant, “Indigenous Archaeology as Restorative Justice,” March 17, 2023.

⁶⁷⁸ H. Martin Wobst, “Indigenous Archaeologies: A Worldwide Perspective on Human Materialities and Human Rights” Chapter in *Indigenous archeologies: A Reader in Decolonization*. Edited by Margaret M. Bruchac, Siobhan M. Hart & H. Martin Wobst, Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2010, 30.

⁶⁷⁹ Catriona Koenig, “Indigenous artifacts found near Ottawa give clues to settlement dating back 10,000 years,” *The Globe and Mail*, June 6, 2023. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/politics/article-indigenous-artifacts-ottawa/>

⁶⁸⁰ Beaudoin, Bryton, Jenna Lanigan., Kile Sarazin, Jennifer Tenasco, and Drew Tenasco, “Anishinàbe Odjibikan: A Collaborative Effort to Implement Indigenous Archaeology in the National Capital Region,” Ontario Archaeological Society Monthly Chapter Meeting, February 16, 2023.

knowledge of specific hunting practices have enriched their interpretations, without which misidentifications and over-simplifications enter the material record as is often the case. Jenna Lanigan also spoke of internalized assumptions of cultural inferiority interacting with this record being reversed as ancestors are shown to be very intelligent and community members given “confidence and pride in the culture.”⁶⁸¹ I visited the field school site excavations on the shores of Parc du Lac-Leamy and NCC archaeologist Robert Clark gave a tour of the rich complex of multi component sites at the intersection of the Kichi Zìbì (Ottawa), Pasāpikahigani Zìbì (Rideau) and Tenakatin Zìbì (Gatineau) rivers as my perceptive faculties were overwhelmed with the depth and scope of material history and community interrelation.⁶⁸² Excavations are also opened and closed with ceremonies as the sacred is directly involved in a scientific minded process. While participating in an excavation of a site in Pikwàkanagàn where the first community water-treatment plant was to be constructed I listened to Derrick Amikons tell stories about ancestors, landscapes, and make me laugh all while flakes of Mistassini quartz estimated as 8,000-10,000 BP were emerging from my unit of operation.⁶⁸³ A distinct feeling of this excavation as more holistic and historic hangs in my memory unlike other experiences.

A central problem discussed by the students is there are no direct translations of archaeological concepts into Indigenous languages including Anishinaabemowin, Waⁿdat or Haudenosaunee languages. This silence speaks loudly of relationships as lacking

⁶⁸¹ “Archaeological digs in Pikwàkanagàn uncovering history at future water treatment plant: Cabins found dating back to the 1830s, quartz dating back millenniums.” CBC News, June 05, 2023. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/pikwakanagan-archaeological-dig-indigenous-history-algonquin-1.6865194>

⁶⁸² Rick Henderson, “‘Gatineau’: Paddling through the History of a River’s Name.” Gatineau Valley Historical Society. *Up the Gatineau!* Vol. 46, 2020. <https://www.gvhs.ca/publications/utga-gatineau.html>

⁶⁸³ “Archaeological digs in Pikwàkanagàn uncovering history at future water treatment plant” CBC News.

Indigenous presence as epistemic modifications have been slow to non-existent. Centering Indigenous concepts in the archeological process is one method of addressing this conceptual gap. For example, Atalay argues Anishnaabe archaeology can employ the concept of *gikinawaabi*, which is the passing of knowledge from direct experience of elders to younger generations and can be a guiding value of collaborative associations between Indigenous knowledge and archaeology.⁶⁸⁴ Additionally, *gikinawaabi* requires communal access and is routed in oral traditions, which by design weaves knowledges together into stories for representation in relational layers of engaged audiences who participate in passing on important details long after they emerge.⁶⁸⁵ Furthermore, in contrast to totalizing tendencies of objectivity Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair discusses the Anishinaabe concept of *w'daeb-awae* as “a denial that there is such a thing as absolute truth” as speakers and listeners passing on knowledge can expect only a highest degree of accuracy from storytellers.⁶⁸⁶ Archaeological information including carbon-14 dating is interpretive and at broader levels there are no absolutes. Finally, *w'kikaendaun* is knowing “as it is experienced by the speaker of that knowledge,” which is an active, experience-based epistemology routed in personal observations speaking to archaeology conducted by community members with knowledge from investigations passed down first-hand, rather than handed over as a report or as part of a 'community engagement' project, which can quickly fade from memory.⁶⁸⁷ Building archaeological epistemic

⁶⁸⁴ Sonya Atalay, “Indigenous Archeology as Decolonizing Practice.” Chapter in *Indigenous archeologies: A Reader in Decolonization*. Edited by Margaret M. Bruchac, Siobhan M. Hart & H. Martin Wobst. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2010. 84.

⁶⁸⁵ Atalay, “Indigenous Archeology as Decolonizing Practice,” 84.

⁶⁸⁶ Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, “Storying Ourselves into Life.” Chapter in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World Through Stories*. Ed. By Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 88.

⁶⁸⁷ Sinclair, “Storying Ourselves into Life,” 88.

structures relevant to communities is essential for the emancipation of the discipline from cycles of erasure and these concepts speak to this possibility.

Louis Lesage describes the task ahead for the Huron-Wendat as the telling of their own story. Lesage points to archaeology of the post-diaspora period as having potential to contribute to understanding how large movements were carried out in a diverse cultural landscape unrecognized archaeologically due to “low-visibility, multi-ethnic sites that are disconnected in space” across regions.⁶⁸⁸ Initiatives of *Le Bureau du Nionwentsio* have also led to counter-discourses refocusing the role of archaeology and history. This included a SSHRC funded project and October 2015 symposium, which was a shift of editorial and academic power to a nation often under study without their input and within the location of their historic territory in Ontario.⁶⁸⁹ It was aimed at dispelling the ‘disappearance’ of the St. Lawrence Iroquois in the interim period between voyages of Cartier beginning in 1534 and the arrival of Champlain in 1603 created by colonial sources and ethnographies of the contact period within complex historical contexts.

Tracing interrelationship using oral histories and linguistic and archaeological research led to conclusions St. Lawrence Iroquois is a category supported by ethnography and a distinct material culture as seen through the lens of archaeology, but this category is itself a distorted product of how these sources are used in viewing Indigenous worlds. For instance, material evidence show an estimate of a thousand St. Lawrence Iroquois people folded into Wendat social groups including making up 30% of the Arendarhonon Wendat in development of a social formation in the Balsam Lake area, and also being present in

⁶⁸⁸ Hawkins, “Huron-Wendat Archaeological Heritage,” 127.

⁶⁸⁹ “Circles of Interaction: The Wendat and their Neighbours in the Time of Champlain.” Annual Symposium. Huronia chapter of the Ontario Archaeological Society. Midland, Ontario, October 16-18, 2015. <https://www.oashuroniachapter.com/2015/07/circles-of-interaction-wendat-and-their.html>

Onontcharonon Algonquian villages.⁶⁹⁰ While using Social Network Analysis many others were found to be folded into the Haudenosaunee of present-day Jefferson County, New York State, causing demographic consolidation.⁶⁹¹ Linguistic data and oral histories speak to interrelation and ancestral usage of the Saint-Lawrence River valley by Wendat with details such as the Wendat name for Algonquin appearing in sources as *hoticha8ata*, or other variations, likely having been borrowed from *agojuda* of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian dialect as speakers of this Iroquoian dialect moved peacefully through wider Indigenous worlds.⁶⁹² Jean-François Richard also complicated framing of migration narratives through an investigation of oral histories from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as descriptions of Huron-Wendat and Wyandot collective self-perception of origins show both negotiation and continuity in wide territorial relationships with centuries of oral transmission also speaking to the importance of these discussions.⁶⁹³ Observations by Europeans fixing identity and place onto groups in ongoing, complex, Indigenous cycles of movement and interrelation across geographic and social worlds in present-day Ontario, New York State, and the wider Great Lakes and Saint-Lawrence

⁶⁹⁰ Gary Warrick and Louis Lesage, “The Huron-Wendat and the St. Lawrence Iroquoians: New Findings of a Close Relationship,” in *Multidisciplinary Investigations into Huron-Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian Connections*, Journal of The Ontario Archeological Society, No. 96, 2016, 137.

⁶⁹¹ Susan Dermakar, Jennifer Birch, Termeh Shafie, John P. Hart, and Ronald F. Williamson, “St. Lawrence Iroquoians and Pan-Iroquoian Social Network Analysis,” in *Multidisciplinary Investigations into Huron-Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian Connections*, Journal of The Ontario Archeological Society, No. 96, 2016, 87, 101.

⁶⁹² John Steckley, “St. Lawrence Iroquoians among the Wendat: Linguistic Evidence” in *Multidisciplinary Investigations into Huron-Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian Connections*, Journal of The Ontario Archeological Society, No. 96, 2016, 22.; Warrick and Lesage, “The Huron-Wendat and the St. Lawrence Iroquoians,” 138.

⁶⁹³ Jean-François Richard, Territorial Precedence in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Huron-Wendat Oral Tradition. in *Multidisciplinary Investigations into Huron-Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian Connections*, Journal of The Ontario Archeological Society, No. 96, 2016, 32.

River valley regions obscured these perceptions.⁶⁹⁴ This is a wider and more interrelated world then is born out of available data and one where Wendat moved further East.

Conclusions of this project point to limits within archaeology in describing Indigenous worlds as represented in material cultures. Lesage thinks without access to the belief system and shared ancestry archaeologists are “hard pressed to define or delineate ethnic groups” through material culture.⁶⁹⁵ Even the discrimination of “foreign-looking artifacts” such as are found in Iroquoian sites as markers of interrelation, and which complicate fixity, are categorized into a discipline imperceptive to identity and ethnicity or the meaning of interrelation within Indigenous worlds.⁶⁹⁶ Depictions of descendants of Wendat as diverse groupings of diasporic peoples has legal dimensions when grounded in archaeology and colonial sourcing creating ‘Wendake’ as homeland.⁶⁹⁷ One archaeologist I spoke with who attended this symposium described it as political in nature and a result of increased interest by the Huron-Wendat in bolstering territorial claims and mineral rights within the Saint-Lawrence River valley. To my mind this criticism speaks to an intrinsic political nature to archaeology as means of technically describing and negotiating the meaning of dispossessed landscapes while digging into tensions of power.

6.5. Trace of Blood, Seed of Race

Ethnohistorical identity generating qualities to archaeology and its utilization in the Sainte-Marie among the Hurons reconstruction and museum requires a colouring-in to make sense of this history. Circling back to Trouillot, not only is history the fruit of

⁶⁹⁴ Warrick and Lesage, “The Huron-Wendat and the St. Lawrence Iroquoians,” 138-140.

⁶⁹⁵ Hawkins, “Huron-Wendat Archaeological Heritage,” 126.

⁶⁹⁶ Warrick and Lesage, “The Huron-Wendat and the St. Lawrence Iroquoians,” 138.

⁶⁹⁷ Hawkins, “Huron-Wendat Archaeological Heritage,” 127.

power but race is the seed of this fruit.⁶⁹⁸ Paula Sherman explained in the seminar “Indigenous Knowledge,” in which part of this intellectual journey began, an idea I have since heard repeated by Georges Sioui, Pamala Palmater, and described above by Leanne Simpson, along with many other Indigenous scholars. Their bodies and very being are at root political in relation to the Canadian state and to Canadian society as represented in historical discourse and within First Nations. This is consistent with research of Laura Peers and what I heard while speaking with Indigenous actors at Sainte-Marie and observed in dichotomous relationship to the historical authority bestowed on Jesuits.⁶⁹⁹

The tension existing within the reconstruction over historical representation as articulated by the Jesuit Superior, and which is also discernable in the retrieval of archaeology, also has race as an inextricable core. Patrick Wolfe summarizes race as “traces of history” whose consolidation within Europe from a mix of imperial, religious, and cultural discourses and terminologies left over from encounters of the Classical era and Middle Ages interacted with more fluid global demographics including in such periods of violence as the Crusades and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, voyages of exploration and commerce, and Indigenous American contexts of the trans-Atlantic exchange including in the Saint-Lawrence River valley and Great Lakes regions. However problematically imagined as a “Middle Ground” from 1650 to 1815, these discourses consolidated within these more fluid early colonial contexts and subsequent discursive products of encounter into an “organizing grammar” of the nineteenth-century settler colonial system and adjacent processes of property formation. It is the pervasive,

⁶⁹⁸ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, xix.

⁶⁹⁹ Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, Lecture, January 15, 2018.; Pamela D. Palmater, “Genocide in Canada: Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls,” Pine Tree Talk, Trent University, October 30, 2019.; Peers, *Playing Ourselves*, 117-120.

subtle, and key tool utilized from the late eighteenth-century in development of increasingly intrusive, regimented, and fixed territorialization of Christian place and British military power in the subsequent industrial economy, which was wielded at the overwhelming expense to Indigenous relationships with lands, peoples, and ways of life.⁷⁰⁰ This structure was not ‘revealed’ but as suggested by archaeological knowledge was instead “shaped by historical contingencies and the particular people” using lands and whose habitus is expressed in the archaeological record.⁷⁰¹ Tensions of empire speak to negotiation of place through mixtures of change and continuity exemplified by such activities as the continued usage of lands of Sainte-Marie by Indigenous fishing parties regardless of arrivals and departures of colonists. Wolfe elaborates because European powers were dispossessing Indigenous peoples of lands in present-day Canada the racial trace took on a “taxonomy” expressing fixity in enmity to continuity, fluidity, and expansion.⁷⁰² This is found in application of policies of reduction, assimilation, and disappearance of populations, which is also expressed in high thresholds of blood

⁷⁰⁰ Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race*. (New York: Verso, 2016), 5, 8.; Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, xxv-xxxii.

⁷⁰¹ Ferris, *Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism*, 26.

⁷⁰² Wolfe, *Traces of History*, 9. 105, 113.; David R. Roediger, *Class, Race, and Marxism*. Chapter: “Removing Indians, Managing Slaves, and Justifying Slavery: The Case for Intersectionality” (New York: Verso, 2017), 101 – 114. Conversely, in the case of African slaves in the American context where dispossession focussed on bodies and of their labour the distinct racial trace accentuated mutability and improvement in the expansive re-generation of regimes of slave labour by using blood quantum quotas of very low threshold, which were violently policed as a rigid colour line. Distinct racial traces also exist in colonial contexts including in Brazil, Australia, and Palestine. David Roediger also points out “Indeed from 1810 forward women’s reproductive labor probably produced more value than was realized through production [...] the ‘sexual economy of American slavery’ seems to be the greatest success story in plantation management until emancipation happily undermined the story and the wealth of planters.” He also argues these racial traces are overly simplistic unless considered together as various techniques of power and racial contexts overlap including in the Antebellum South where dispossession of Indigenous lands occurred concurrently with increased taxonomies of slave labour as overlapping discussions of slavery as livestock husbandry and of land clearing and cultivation show up in agricultural journals. “The same ideological imperative to defend Southern slavery applied also to justifying Indian removal. Justifications of dispossession connected expansion to the ability of white settlers to manage nature’s gifts, including slaves. [...] Belief in white settler colonialism’s role in maximizing profits drawn from ‘husbanded’ land was shared North and South, giving defense of slavery plausibility and purpose.”

quantum and birth descent of status-Indian requirements within the Indian Act.⁷⁰³

Traces of history regenerate including in blood quantum and despite a diversity of treaties and histories Indigenous peoples are generalized as one legal group in relation to the Canadian state. Mi'kmaq legal scholar Pamela Palmater argues contemporary legal and subsequent cultural identities are shaped into a general and fixed conception:

The whole concept of Indianness was based on the idea that there was one Indian people who existed at a point frozen in time, and that they should either be civilized or assimilated to free up lands for settlement. Some of the tools used by Canada to this end were forced relocations, residential schools, and legislative disenfranchisement.⁷⁰⁴

Cogenerated is the dichotomy within the term 'Indigenous,' which is currently the most academically accepted replacement of the term 'Native' or 'Indian' now out of fashion but nonetheless speaking to a category of 'other' in relation to Settler, Canadian, 'Habitant' or iterations in the vocabulary of a far less palatable 'Colonized/Colonizer' binary active in racializing historical and colonial process.⁷⁰⁵ Indigenous peoples and groups never signing onto treaties are not 'colonized' but this is the binary relationship administered in Canadian legal and cultural contexts as explored by Palmater. Colonial contexts often produce heritage as "shared histories," yet Lee Maracle warns "the colonial convenience in seeing us as a single entity – a mob really – and not as separate individual nations" with distinct and shared ways of being and complex and overlapping

⁷⁰³ Palmater, *Beyond Blood*, 29, 30.

⁷⁰⁴ Palmater, *Beyond Blood*, 32.

⁷⁰⁵ Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Translated by Richard Philcox, (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 1-9.; Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 173.; Wolfe, *Traces of History*, 18. Wolfe summarizes "Race, it cannot be stressed strongly enough, is a process, not an ontology, its varying modalities so many dialectical symptoms of the ever-shifting hegemonic balance between those with a will to colonise and those with a will to be free, severely racialized in relation to each other. Race registers the state of colonial hostilities. The common factor is Whiteness. Amidst all the differences distinguishing the various regimes of race [...] the overriding goal is White supremacy."

relationships and claims of place is imbedded in the Canadian trace.⁷⁰⁶

This trace cycles within history as primary sources, archives, and archaeologies speak to identities, which are retrieved and regenerated in legal processes demarcating contemporary categories of membership and exclusion. Included is the exclusionary category ‘non-status Indians’ who have legal connections to communities severed and whose expansion as a legal category threatens long-term demographics. Palmater is an example of identity on the margins of this cycle and as a formally non-status Indigenous woman her children are legally ‘non-status Indian’ despite an identity as Mi’kmaq through lived relationships to her family, to “the history, values, and beliefs [shared] in common with other Mi’kmaq people,” and to her “connection to our traditional territories.”⁷⁰⁷ Palmater argues historical constructions of Indigenous identities through blood quantum, birth descent, and racial terminologies need reimagining:

[W]hen our ancestors spoke of the blood that runs through our veins, they were not talking about actual blood, but were referring to our deep connections with our past through our ancestors, with our present through our families and communities, and to our future through our generations yet to come. This circle of life, within which all of us as Mi’kmaq are connected, forms the very basis of our identities.⁷⁰⁸

A circle of life described by Palmater and cycles of historical production spin in opposition with blood, that most quintessential substance of race, as seed regenerative of colonial power limiting relationships to place, to ancestors, and to future generations rather than seeding connection and expansion.⁷⁰⁹

The cycle of history furnishing assumptions of universality and objectivity spins at

⁷⁰⁶ Lee Maracle, *My Conversations with Canadians*, (Toronto: Book Thug, 2017), 69.; Rodney Harrison, “Shared Histories: Rethinking ‘Colonized’ and ‘Colonizer’ in the Archaeology of Colonialism.” Chapter in *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*. Edited by Neal Ferris, Rodney Harrison and Michael V. Wilcox. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 37-56.

⁷⁰⁷ Palmater, *Beyond Blood*, 218.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹ Wolfe, *Traces of History*, 19.

Sainte-Marie with the blood of martyrs also the seed of this fruit as Christian significations of martyrdom also historically regenerated along racial lines. The creation of a race of ‘others’ has specific roots in discourses created here in the martyrdom of Brébeuf and Lalemant in particular, which expanded into especially vivid depictions beginning in the late nineteenth century.⁷¹⁰ In a pervasive sense this history in the context of Canada reflects the formulation by Franz Fanon that “the colonized world is a world divided in two” as economic or social difference and inequalities “never manage to mask the human reality” of “what divides this world.”⁷¹¹ The line is legally drawn and *habitus* lived according to “what race one belongs to” with the ruling classes “first and foremost the outsider from elsewhere, different from the indigenous population, ‘the others.’”⁷¹² It is as if Fanon instructed Louis Lallemand in coordinating the interior lives of Jesuits to envision a colonial context of New France without ‘really going abroad’ into Indigenous worlds except to retrieve pieces in development of Christian and imperial discourses. A consciousness of interiority developed prior to departure from France cultivating dualistic relationships to landscapes and to peoples encountered. In maintenance of a Christian sense of moral and civilizational superiority in achievement of spiritual ends of

⁷¹⁰ Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 114–120. Emma Anderson traces secular nationalist figures such as François-Xavier Garneau and Benjamine Sulte representing and rewriting these stories from the monopoly of the Church into Québécois narratives as Sulte protested “we can place forty Canadian martyrs – men, women, and children bludgeoned, flayed, burned, and tortured in ways just as horrible as were Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant; but history hardly bothers with them” as he universalized the racial victimhood in the binary provided by the Church and applied it to a settler population within Québec. Additionally, artist Joseph Légaré began his career mixing images of a noble and doomed ‘Huron’ with French Canadian national identity, but after the return of the Jesuits in 1842 and in a time of a nascent scientific racism he increasingly divided scenes between victimized martyrs visibly white and “in sharp contrast to the earthly chestnut hue of their torturers,” who also became consistently more violent as painting and other artistic expressions of the martyrdom took on highly racialized dimensions. Today, such images are archived and literally hidden away in the basement of the Jesuit Residence at the Martyr’s Shrine, but reverberations can be felt in the experience of history.

⁷¹¹ Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 3, 5-28.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*

conversion amidst personal suffering, and which shaped overall meaning of the *Relations*, interiority also created outside categories of ‘other’ populating sources foundational in production of histories and ethnohistorical Indigenous identities. Penelope Myrtle Kelsey argues in passages decades apart exist an “anxiety to situate perceived racial inferiors in a hierarchy where Europeans are assured rule” as details beyond distinction from Europeans are levelled such as *manoomin* renamed *rice* and Indigenous identities conflated as Asian and into universalized categories of trading partner, subject, and convert.⁷¹³ Contemporary Jesuits argue their close proximity show Jesuits were distinct to wider imperial perspectives as they considered Wendat human and of possessing souls, but a perceived interiority bestowed within ‘the others’ can also be seen as coordinates for appropriation, assimilation, and self-recognition within Christianity. Proximity also failed to create relationships developing into loving, reciprocal, and lasting community.

This hermeneutic spiral of history interacts with emergent taxonomies in archaeology and retrieved archives to generate a historical memory of the present with everything not fitting into categories as anomalous, strange, out of place, and out of time into an irretrievable past. The temporal stratigraphy of these places has accentuated one layer at the expense of a larger picture in a scaler issue haunting a national and universalising public imagination. In other words, contemporary Canadian historical perspective is panoramic of a condition of progressive Western history in which “modern humanity is not conceivable without modern subhumanity” with negation of Indigenous worlds sacrificial in “affirmation of that other part of humanity that considers itself as universal” and inside abyssal lines of spiritual, scientific, legal, and historical truth.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹³ Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum*, 14, 15.

⁷¹⁴ Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 123, 124.

Vine Deloria Jr. points to a “fundamental struggle over the question of authority” as institutions and academia filter anomalous observations deemed outside of these lines as professionals are responsible to a small group of similarly situated actors rather than to communities or to the wider public in dissemination of knowledge. In contrast, a “tribal equivalent of science is the oral tradition, the teachings that have been passed down from one generation to the next over uncounted centuries.”⁷¹⁵ Glen Coulthard argues psychological coordinates of this relationship described by Fanon and Vine Deloria Jr. are firmly rooted in the Canadian context including an “immobility” of colonized subjects, the entrapments of legal status, the stasis of historical narrative, but also in dimensions of more recent recognition and reconciliation politics where “assumptions of racial and cultural inferiority and superiority [are] held by the colonized and colonizer, respectively.”⁷¹⁶ Lee Maracle describes everyday Canadian psychology inside these lines as sitting on the “Knower’s Chair,” from which it is a rare occurrence for colonial white society to “give it up so they can learn from Indigenous people or people of colour.”⁷¹⁷

History becoming more inclusive or representational without desubjectifying the “psycho-existential complexes” Indigenous peoples accumulate is according to Coulthard an additional measure of enticement towards identification with “*asymmetrical* and *nonreciprocal* forms of recognition.”⁷¹⁸ Despite appearances to the contrary it will continue to “subtly structure and limit the possibility of their freedom” while also failing to seriously challenge legal, political, territorial, and economic structures of colonial

⁷¹⁵ Vine Deloria Jr. *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact*. (Ann Arbor: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997), 28, 29, 35, 36, 44, 45.

⁷¹⁶ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 113.

⁷¹⁷ Maracle, *My Conversations With Canadians*, 72.

⁷¹⁸ Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 25, 26, 39 – 41.

relationships as is shown by ongoing mega-project state initiatives, adjacent behaviours of extraction industry actors, and as is touched on briefly in the next chapter also includes ongoing negotiation of land title, treaties, and hunting rights.⁷¹⁹ What desubjectification may look like is described in contrast to counter-discourse or a ‘speaking back’ and is instead *self-recognition* intermixed with a politics of refusal turning away from the gaze and values of the state.⁷²⁰ Counter-discourse is vulnerable and intrinsic to assimilationist state power, of which a historic reliance of imperial ventures, ongoing state building, and reconciliation evoked throughout territorial infringements show Indigenous peoples as necessary components to this power.⁷²¹ My experiences and dialogues suggest Sainte-Marie and the Martyrs’ Shrine play roles in transforming, or deepening discourses of racial subjectification within the colonial relationship. Despite diverse personal views of visitors these places provide a lens, through which a perspective can develop as a historical, *exalted* subject within a European and Christian world inside lines of a story of universal, rational fulfillment, or of sitting on the ‘Knower’s Chair’ with the others, the ‘traditional’ Wendat and violent Haudenosaunee, as *abject* subjects haunting limiting coordinates outside these lines or off the seat of this chair in ever expanding detail.⁷²²

In the next chapter encounters of Huron-Wendat with this history will be discussed followed by a summary of my experience at the Musée Huron-Wendat in Wendake, Québec. Concluding remarks and opportunities for further research will also be explored through another experience at La Misión de Bachajón in Chiapas, Mexico, where Jesuits engage in alternative forms of service in a Tseltal community.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid.

⁷²⁰ Ibid.

⁷²¹ Ibid, 43 – 46.

⁷²² Ortiz, “Against the Mythological Machine,” 790.

Chapter 7 – Encounters and Belonging

J'ai un territoire, je l'investis. Je l'occupe non seulement physiquement, mais aussi sur le plan de l'imaginaire. Je l'anime de ma culture. Pour m'épanouir, j'ai besoin de ce territoire particulier à raconteur. Un territoire dans lequel plonger mes racines. Mes pensées rencontrent celles de mes ancêtres. Je veux simplement que vous voyagiez avec moi. Que l'on sache chacun qui nous sommes pour mieux donner vie et visibilité à nos valeurs, nos cultures. Nous sommes Hommes et Femmes de couleurs, mariés sous l'Arbres de la Grande Paix. Demain, peut-être, nous écrirons dans un même livre.⁷²³

*Je suis, même si les traces sont effacées
Par une histoire bien dosée
Je suis, malgré les traces sur les traces
Par une histoire de race!
Je suis Inuk, moi! Même sans loi
Les traces dans la neige par mes ancêtres à moi
Les traces dans mes veines me donnent la foi
En me demandant pourquoi?
En me demandant d'où vien-tu, toi?
Tant de traces de pas perdus dans les gravats
Vestiges remplis de tracas, laissant place au branle-bas
Je suis Inuk, moi!⁷²⁴*

7.1. Huron-Wendat Encounters with Sainte-Marie among the Hurons

By the end of the weeklong course *A Journey through History* a perspective had begun to form of this shrine centered around pilgrimage, the historical reconstruction, and this story of history and ways these worked together to generate an experience for tourists and for Christians. What was unclear was how this experience related to living Indigenous peoples and to descendants of the peoples depicted who may be more critical of how this story is told and what it is told to mean. Despite being made to feel very welcome by staff and by Jesuits while engaging in open discussions about questionable

⁷²³ Jean Sioui, *A'yarahskwa': J'avance mon chemin*, (Montréal: Mémoire d'encier, 2019), 1.

⁷²⁴ Joan Inuk Grégoire, *Voix de femmes... Transformations*. Poésie. Sous la direction littéraire de Mousseline de Mers, (Montreal: L'arc-en-ciel littéraire, 2017), 76.

aspects of the history and archaeology, I found my own place in the course questioned by a student who worked as a vice principal in the Ontario Catholic School Board and who seemed to become increasingly suspicious of my purposes. At our evening meals in the Jesuit residence, I was the one who failed to return my serviette to the numbered cubby-hole location on the wall next to the dining table and the one who was lining up for food out of order as well as lost or unwittingly transgressive of formal rituals and conventions of polite Catholic table manners and conversation. The company and the food prepared by a local chef in careful consideration of our needs were of a very high standard and at the table the Jesuit Superior included me by asking questions about my life, but as this student could see I simply did not belong, or at least I did not feel as if I did.

In my capacity as an assistant, however, I marked daily reflections from students and was able to gain insight into how the course was shaping their own perceptions. Providing a fair mark could prove challenging as reflections on the history often had sharp contrasts with my own critical perceptions while being true to materials and a spirit of the course. A developing historical memory of the present did not rest on ideas of the mission or the Jesuits and the ecclesiastic dimensions to this history, but rather I read perceptions of the historical Wendat along with the place of Indigenous peoples in relation to this history being shaped in concerning ways including in discussions of conversion. Within frames of this course, the history on display, and a landscape of pilgrimage an interpretation of students coded in religious language was of a story depicting an emancipatory process of the souls of Indigenous Christians who were freed from spiritual and social ignorance of the gospel intrinsic to traditional ways, which was initiated by well-intentioned Jesuits and a small group of Christian Wendat who were

subsequently punished for a blossoming faith and who are today prayed to for their faith, personal sacrifices, and martyrdom.

It is a pervasive narrative and as discussed in previous chapters this framing requires other realities to be diminished or excluded such as the role of disease, death-bed conversions, and an awareness by Jesuits they were vectors for this disease. Research by Nancy Bonvillain, for instance, argues convincingly Jesuits were well aware their movements into villages and households were in-step with this spread but in their letters reasoned this was a secondary concern to their mission of conversion and the saving of souls amid devastation.⁷²⁵ Charles Garrad describes Etionnontateronnon (Petun) children as understanding this connection and laments of the “arrogance and lack of basic common courtesy to the Petun people on whose hospitality they depended.”⁷²⁶ However, within a benevolent perspective focussed on intimate intentions of Jesuits as human persons these parts to the story become smaller, more impersonal details subsumed within a larger, more personal, and a far more vivid set on display. It all speaks to a Christian reality within experiences of Jesuits and Christian Wendat and is subtext for a universal Christian nature to history accessible within this story. It also includes real Indigenous peoples retrospectively dichotomized from their relations, who could have chosen to be part of a universal history or could choose to instead be excluded, ignored, even removed from historical production and from landscape, or as is occurring becoming recognized and represented in more inclusive and detailed ways alongside this Christian history.

⁷²⁵ Nancy Bonvillain. “The Iroquois and the Jesuits: Strategies of Influence and Resistance” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*. Vol. 10, 1, 1986. 41.

⁷²⁶ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 215, 216.

In speaking with scholar Louis Lesage of the Huron-Wendat in my visit to Wendake in 2019 he told me a local knowledge holder had recently visited Sainte-Marie and spoke of enjoying the experience along with being treated very well. He also began his presentation *Se Réappropriier Son Histoire* held among the exhibits of the Musée Huron-Wendat with an acknowledgment of gratitude towards Jesuits who were instrumental in his people settling in Québec City.⁷²⁷ The Koasek (Cowasuck) Traditional Band of the Sovereign Abenaki Nation similarly ties their history to Jesuit missionary sites and to the *Relations* in pursuit of Abenaki tribal recognition in the State of Vermont, as is discussed by scholar Andrew R. Beaupré.⁷²⁸ Lesage also told me after his lecture Jesuits have been very helpful throughout initiatives of the Huron-Wendat Nation including by giving researchers access to archives and generally providing assistance in any way they can although he also said he suspects part of this generosity may be due to a worry of how the past looks upon their order.⁷²⁹

Encounters with this history can also be colonizing experiences for contemporary Indigenous peoples including for Huron-Wendat scholar George Sioui. He participated in a 1989 Iroquois-Wendat delegation to the reconstruction and Martyrs' Shrine in an effort to foster dialogue and to correct historical distortions relating to what he in no uncertain terms has described as the Wendat Genocide in contrast to watered-down language of dispersal or diaspora.⁷³⁰ This experience recounted by Emma Anderson took on dimensions of a religious confrontation as Jesuit fathers chastised Sioui for maintaining

⁷²⁷ Louis Lesage, "Se Réappropriier Son Histoire," November 6th, 2019.

⁷²⁸ Beaupré, Andrew R. "'The Jesuit mission proves we were here': The Case of Eighteen-Century Jesuit Missions Aiding Twenty-First Century Tribal Recognition. *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. Vol. 8, (2021) pp. 454-473.

⁷²⁹ Louis Lesage, "Se Réappropriier Son Histoire," November 6th, 2019.

⁷³⁰ Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 244, 245.

traditional ways exemplified in his dress and for choosing to not teach the Christian religion to his children despite baptized within the Church as a child. His interpretation of the role of history as presented at the sites is it is an extension of Jesuit historiography casting Wendat as the “seed-bed of the native church” and their supposed destruction is fixed within a tragic story of the martyrs, which also promulgates distortions of the Huron-Wendat spreading the gospel with them to their new homeland.⁷³¹ Sioui argues in this history the image of Christian Wendat is also means to defending against criticism by Haudenosaunee who have been told negotiation over this history “was a *Huron* issue” and that Wyandot and Huron-Wendat “are up here all the time on pilgrimage.”⁷³² He also spoke to the dichotomization of Indigenous peoples, recounting

We are not in agreement with the way you have pulled us apart from our Iroquois kin. We have *all* suffered from being made into the ‘good Indians’ and the ‘bad Indians’. We [the Wendat] are tired of being seen as the good sheep who let themselves be shorn...The Iroquois find it very lamentable and damaging to their reputation and their integrity as a people to continue to be described as an inadequate and irrational people.

Sioui expressed views bolstered by more recent research by Parmenter, Witgen, and Brandão that warfare of Haudenosaunee cemented in the *Relations* and onto this site were aspects of larger efforts to re-establish territorial and population integrity in the face of threats of European incursions and of widespread disease until 1701 when overcoming devastations of this earlier period had become successful.⁷³³ Actions of Haudenosaunee are precursors to pan-aboriginal movements negotiating violence and the aggressive expansion of settler colonialism into Indigenous life as exemplified by Tecumseh, Pontiac, and Handsome Lake rather than as caricatures of violence to economic ends and

⁷³¹ Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 245.

⁷³² Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*, 244.

⁷³³ Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 80-81, 103, 231-232.

understood dichotomously to the Wendat.⁷³⁴ Sioui also extends perspectival distortions to other histories of the early colonial period including heroism by Jacques Cartier, whose diseased men were fed, given medicines likely including white cedar tea and nursed back to health by Stadaconans only to later kidnap Donnacona, Domagaya, Taignoagny and four others.⁷³⁵ This legacy is to Sioui at root of why “Canadians are still collectively afflicted by an immense incapacity to empathize, communicate, and construct” a secure and happy nation for Indigenous and non-Indigenous descendants alike.

Sentiments are shared by former Grand Chief of the Huron-Wendat Nation Max Gros-Louis. In the 1970s he advocated and wrote about this history dividing ‘good’ from ‘bad’ and connections to historic and ongoing dispossessions of hunting grounds, which in my visit were ongoing local issues.⁷³⁶ He provides an alternative reading of history and links dispossession with the role of the *Relations* in generating dualistic historical understandings including the isolation of Wendat from a wider, Indigenous worlds.

[We] abandoned our separate dialects only because divisions imposed on us by the English, the Dutch and the French. Thus those of us who had been baptised ‘Hurons’ and placed under the tutelage of the Jesuits adopted the French language, as did several Catholic Iroquois families. [...] And even though our ‘occupiers’ were able eventually to penetrate our language and customs they never won our hearts; this explains why we refuse to consult what they have written about us. I admit that some are partially accurate, but most are entirely false or biased. The letter-writers of the time were too involved, too deformed by the intolerance of their faith and their patriotism, or simply too devoted to their own interests for us to stop to consider their erring ways. Official historians have denied us the right to speak knowingly of our ancestors while they themselves had

⁷³⁴ Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xxx, xxxi.; Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 16.

⁷³⁵ Sioui, Georges E. *Canada - Its Cradle, Its Name, Its Spirit: The Stadaconan Contribution to Canadian Culture and Identity*. Found in “Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture, Volume 2. ed. Cora J. Voyageur, David R. Newhouse, and Daniel Beavon. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2005), 233-235.

⁷³⁶ Max Gros-Louis, in collaboration with Marcel Bellier, *First Among the Hurons*, (Montreal: Harvest House, 1974), 12-14.; Joan Grégoire, personal correspondence, November 6, 2019. Stephen Wyatt, Martin Hébert, et al. “Strategic approaches to Indigenous engagement in natural resource management: use of collaboration and conflict to expand negotiating space by three Indigenous nations in Quebec, Canada.” *Can. J. For. Res.* 49: 375-386 (2019). Published at www.nrcresearchpress.com/cjfr, 379-380.

only a few documents that they arranged, too often, to suit their own fancies. [...] Our archives were burned by some of the Jesuit missionaries under the pretext that they were destroying pagan works, but happily like the Mayas and other Indians, we still have our oral traditions.⁷³⁷

Conversely, in the question period after the presentation by Lesage, which overviewed historiography and archaeology of contemporary Huron-Wendat historical and territorial imagination, I asked about the role Sainte-Marie plays in this ongoing story. I emphasized what I experienced and observed at the site as being in sharp contrast to the story he was telling. However, he minimized the role of the site responding it depicts “a little, dramatic period of time” that is a small part of their history that needs to be kept in its “own period.”⁷³⁸ For him the task is to not focus on attacking or even correcting this history but rather “our job now is to tell this history and to bring it out of this small moment.”⁷³⁹

Michel Gros-Louis was also in attendance and spoke of being criticized in his own telling of their story. He has spoken publicly about issues such as Wendat presence in Ontario after 1649 and the authority of oral histories in asserting political acts of diplomacy between Mi’kmaq and Wendat in the St. Lawrence River valley upon the arrival of Cartier in contrast to ignorance of these agreements in European textual sources, which are treated with more authority.⁷⁴⁰ From the historiographical frame outlined in the presentation, however, Lesage responded he felt “up to this point” it was not about laying blame for distortions or being caught up in disagreements but instead about developing understanding and building their own capacities for perspective.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁷ Gros-Louis, *First Among the Hurons*, 16-17.

⁷³⁸ Louis Lesage, personal correspondence, November 6th, 2019.

⁷³⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁰ Michel Gros-Louis (Tharehtade) and Benoit Jacques “Conférence historique (extraits) de Michel Gros-Louis Tharehtade à Mashteuiatsh” ; The Wendat Presence in Southern Ontario after the 1649 Dispersal. 12 April 2017. Lecture Video, Accessed July 13, 2019.

⁷⁴¹ Louis Lesage, personal correspondence, November 6th, 2019.

7.2. Encounters with History in Wendake

In November of 2019 I boarded a Via Rail train at Oshawa station to travel to Québec City staying in a lively hostel in the fortified old city before renting a car the next morning to travel on to Wendake. It was still early and my curiosity drove me around the shifting maze of small, porch-laden streets and unique buildings where the age and interrelatedness of place could be felt through the action of the steering wheel and my ever-swiveling neck. I stopped at the Chute Kabir Kouba on the Akiawenhrahk (Saint-Charles) river to finish a morning coffee. The signs on the landscape informed me of archaeological work initiated by the Council of the Huron-Wendat Nation was completed in 2011 to describe the *Moulin Reid*, a large mill operation constructed in 1731 by Jesuits thirty-four years after Wendat established themselves at this location. This is after a 1651 concession of the seigneurie of Sillary and settlement at L'Anse du Fort on L'Île-d'Orléans in 1653, which marked a highly transitory period, had come to an end.⁷⁴² The school and spiritual centre of the Ursalines nuns of Québec, who played a significant role in stories of conversion and archive, was just out of sight across cascading, misting waters while a short walk upstream is Place Onywahtehretsih commemorated as part of the Canada 150 heritage initiative. Layers of place and history overlap in this small locale as the plaque for Onywahtehretsih ties the Wendat creation story to “ancient roots of Canadian history” providing an immersive public installation in the Waⁿdat language while skating over complex territorial connections within this oral history.⁷⁴³ The historic

⁷⁴² “Le site archéologique des moulins,” panel, Wendake, Québec, November 06, 2019.

⁷⁴³ “Place Onywahtehretsih,” plaque, Wendake, Québec, November 06, 2019. Fallon Burner, “Healing Through Language: Revitalization and Renewal in the Wendat Confederacy,” Honours Thesis, History Department, UC Berkeley. Spring 2020.

site Onhoüa Chetek^{8e}, which museum employee Yolande Okia Picard later described to me as a reimagining of tradition lacking marks of authenticity, was my next visit only to find a note at the palisaded entrance and vivid illustration of traditional Wendat village life that it will remain closed for the indefinite future due to ongoing electrical issues.

I had travelled to Wendake to see the Musée Huron-Wendat and the presentation by Louis Lesage and entered as the first guest of the day prior to arrival of a couple on vacation from New Jersey who waited with me in a small portal entrance painted with scenes from oral histories until we were greeted by our tour guide Joan Grégoire. She gave a presentation on Wendat creation concluding with a traditional belief warning of digging deep for fear of hitting the turtle shell upon which we live, prior to leading us on a quick tour through exhibits of archaeological objects. Joan is exceptionally personable, and our small group learns the last historic longhouses in the region had been built in 1697 and that Jesuits who read the works of Brébeuf were inspired to heed a similar call of service with the Huron-Wendat. Residential schools were avoided as a result of Michel St. Louis securing a diploma and setting up a Huron-Wendat school in Lorette, which enabled the Huron-Wendat to retain connections to traditional culture despite a tumultuous seventeenth-century history and significant changes in settlement and subsistence patterns.⁷⁴⁴ I learn from Joan she is Inuk and in response to a question about comparisons to Inuk history she explains it is in her employment contract to stick to describing the culture and history of the Huron-Wendat.⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴⁴ Joan Grégoire, personal correspondence, Nov. 6, 2019.; Dona Leigh Schofield “Racialization, Agency, and the Law: Wendake First Nation Confronts the Canadian Criminal Justice System 1918-1939”, Thesis, Dept. of History, Concordia University, 20 – 48.

⁷⁴⁵ Joan Grégoire, personal correspondence, Nov. 6, 2019.



Fig. 43. Wendat wampum belt gifted to the French “in about 1630” according to notes of Kenneth Kidd, reproduced for purposes of showing the indigenization of religious culture.

In the focus of this study a few astonishing objects stand out from the collection including an infant Christ globe dated to 1632, a letter from Jesuits and the people of Dinant, Belgium, acknowledging the gift of wampum from Notre-Dame-de-Foy as well as the Notre-Dame-de-Foy wood carving depicting Mary and the Christ child dated to before 1669, along with the reliquary of Notre-Dame-de Chartres dated to 1679.⁷⁴⁶ These objects are contemporaneous to the alter cloth of Notre-Dame-de-Foy, whose artistic patterning scholar Dominic Hardy identifies as one of the earliest material examples of the indigenization of religious culture.⁷⁴⁷ Similarly, arrival of the wood carving from Belgium caused such enthusiasm that the mission church in Sillery was renamed from ‘l’Annonciation de Notre Dame’ and the relationship between Mary and child became a central focus of Wendat devotion among women though it was indigenized and transformed to emphasize themes of kinship and the maternal bond between mother and child rather than a total surrender by the faithful to the Virgin Mary.⁷⁴⁸ This reflects the strength of Wendat culture in absorbing Christianity and is reminiscent of how the concept of God was adapted to the figure of the great person of the longhouse, family, or

⁷⁴⁶ Visit to Musée Huron-Wendat, Wendake, Québec, November 6, 2019.

⁷⁴⁷ Dominic Hardy, “Borrowing Identities: the Mungwaudaus Troupe Performances of 1845,” Lecture, Trent University, February 13, 2020.

⁷⁴⁸ Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, 176.

village, or rather was ‘in whose house’ one lived.⁷⁴⁹ A similar theme runs through a story told to me by John Steckley about a Wendat woman who threw the Eucharist into a pond only to become ill shortly afterwards until a healer tells her to recover it and the pond is drained only for them to find the Eucharist had been swallowed by a frog.⁷⁵⁰ Wendat were not being converted to Christianity, but rather Christianity was being converted to Wendat. The undercurrent of conversion is the securing of family cohesion in contexts and the aftermaths of upheavals of the seventeenth century.⁷⁵¹ In visiting the church of Notre-Dame-de-Lorette visual transformations are also present in usage of snowshoes, pelts, pipes, dreamcatchers, and a bark-laden cut log hanging with hide, beads, and dried corn used as a pulpit while carvings and a doll of Katerina Tekakwitha adorn the sacristy. These objects speak to the agency of Huron-Wendat asserting Wendat culture through Christian materiality in synchronic acts of devotion rather than to spreading the gospel.



Fig. 44. Notre-Dame-de-Foy wood carving depicting Mary and the Christ child (left).

Fig. 45. Joan Grégoire pointing out material culture at Notre-Dame de-Lorette (right).

⁷⁴⁹ John Steckley, *Panel: Contexts & Faith* at symposium “Life & Death in the Missions of New France and East Asia: Narratives of Faith & Martyrdom,” Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, Oct. 18, 2018.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵¹ Lozier, “Promised Lands? Indigenous Refuge in Early Canada and Beyond,” Nov. 7, 2023.

At the front of the Musée Huron-Wendat an imposing, semi-panoramic wall overlooks the exhibits with detailed chronological intersections of oral history, data from historical settlements and archaeology, patterns of migration and change, significant legal dates of treaties including the granting of seigneurie of Sillery, court cases including the Sioui case decision of 1990, along with the most contemporary local agreements. After criticisms of the role of chronology at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons this stands out as a form of counter-discourse framed as chronology, or a reply to the “uncongenial master narrative” with the sum total seeming to be an act of self-determination in a sense accomplished in this collection of detail, and which can similarly be experienced at the Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C.⁷⁵² Integration of complex historical layers up into the present speak back to impositions of historical narratives of destruction and dispersal, over-emphasis of European views of military confederacy, over-simplifications for purposes of inclusion into colonial histories, and relegation of Indigeneity and territoriality into the realm of past-worlds. This may or may not be an act of self-recognition, but it does provide non-Indigenous audiences entering the museum with an authoritative and alternate lesson in history as well as of the historiography most often available for their consumption, which is usually shaped by widespread reductions of complex Indigenous worlds within the many frames of imperial stories.

A similar impression is made by various maps throughout exhibits including a large map of the Nionwentsio Treaty of 1760 encompassing lands just South of Lac St. Jean extending southwards across the border of Maine and New Brunswick with the St. Lawrence River valley from Trois Rivières to the Saguenay River in a state of visual

⁷⁵² Nabokov, *A Forest of Time*, 167. Authors visit to *The Museum of the American Indian*, Washington D.C., 2011 & 2012.

occupation. An accompanying inscription citing the Sioui Supreme Court case of 1990 asserts “Sous toutes réserves des droites et intérêts de la Nation huronne-wendat.”⁷⁵³ This is complimented by the Tsawenhohi map emphasising territories of *Roreke* with the “Vincent plan” originally drawn on birch bark by Grand Chief Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi accompanied by negotiations of hunting grounds. Transcription of the map onto paper in 1827 is included as the two original birch bark maps are now lost.⁷⁵⁴ A final map of significance in the adjacent Tsawenhohi House is the treaty of Sillery extending North of present-day Wendake through to Ste-Foy and the St. Lawrence River with emphasis on patrimonial lands of Sillery now belonging to Jesuits. Another panel shows spatial comparisons between a densely packed settlement of contemporary Wendake I drove through that morning with a spacious settlement of Sainte-Famille, which brings territorial negotiation into present-lived experiences of place in the province of Quebec.

Joan also guides me on a tour of Tsawenhohi House, which was the residence of Grand Chief Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi who was the first Indigenous chief to address both the Assembly of Lower Canada and King George IV. He spoke to the King of the importance of alliance between their peoples and lobbied for respecting territorial rights of the 1760 treaty.⁷⁵⁵ A map of the Seigneurie de Sillery stands out as the panel reads:

The Seigneurie de Sillery was ceded to the Huron-Wendat in 1651 and they were subsequently dispossessed by the Jesuits. Since that time, the Huron-Wendat have fought to recover the Seigneurie which was unjustly taken from them. This combat of the Huron-Wendat will continue until justice is rendered. The Seigneurie de Sillery is part of Nionwentsio.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵³ Musée Huron-Wendat, Wendake, Québec, November 6th, 2019.

⁷⁵⁴ Musée Huron-Wendat, Wendake, Québec, November 6th, 2019.

⁷⁵⁵ “Maison Tsawenhohi, 5 Septembre 2012,” plaque, Tsawenhohi House, Musée Huron-Wendat, Wendake, Québec.

⁷⁵⁶ “The Seigneurie de Sillery,” panel, Tsawenhohi House, Musée Huron-Wendat, Wendake, Québec.

Maps & timelines used in this manner are counter-discursive, which also seem to resist assimilation into asymmetrical relationships as they present an inherently subversive framing to property formation and territorial distribution of the province of Quebec, the ability of extractive industries and other entities to operate without consultation, and to ongoing disenfranchisements of Huron-Wendat from exercising traditional practices.



Fig. 46. Map of La seigneurie de Sillery (left). Fig. 47. Depiction of the Canadian Martyrs found at the Notre-Dame de-Lorette church in Wendake, Quebec (right).

Meanwhile, a temporary exhibit entitled “Ahchiouta’a recounts the history of the Huronne-Wendat of the St. Lawrence” espouses the work in the 2015 symposium and related journal publication in making the case archaeological categorization fails to recognize interconnection between nonetheless related peoples of the Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquois.⁷⁵⁷ Archaeological data is incorporated into counter-discourse as comparisons are made through material culture, language, trade routes, and settlement and subsistence patterns. For instance, Middleport ceramic productions in the Great Lakes and the Saguenay phase from 1200-1400 AD are suggested to show inter-regional movement or close contact and “cultural kinship” between geographic regions and a map

⁷⁵⁷ Musée Huron-Wendat, Wendake, Québec, November 6th, 2019.

shows distribution of St. Lawrence Iroquois pottery in Wendat villages.⁷⁵⁸ Similarities in settlement and subsistence patterns are explored through village architecture and movement and kinship systems using comparative aerial photographs of a reconstructed St. Lawrence Iroquois village in Quebec with the Wendat village reconstruction in Midland and a plan of the Jean-Baptists Lainé site providing juxtaposition. Another map with snaking, arrowed lines across the Great Lakes region depicting trade routes of tobacco, chert, furs, native copper, reed mats, bison skins, moose skins and antlers, wampum and marine shells, and European goods with nations of the Algonquins, Nipissings, Outaouais, Innus, and Andastes, and other groups, reminds me of the maps of Wendat dispersals from Wendake I became familiar with in the story of Sainte-Marie but in reverse as interconnection is matrixed across regional networks.⁷⁵⁹ A striking artifact in the collection is the Basque-forged axe fragment found on the Jean-Baptist Lainé site dated to the early sixteenth-century as it ties St. Lawrence Iroquoian and Wendat interaction from present-day Southern Ontario to present-day Newfoundland, and which is the focus of the documentary *Curse of the Axe*.⁷⁶⁰ This artifact and exhibit explicitly ties archaeology, history, and territory together in a visual and immersive experience as the accompanying video “Kanata: l’heritage des enfants d’Aataentsic” shows images of Sainte-Marie among the Huron with Ahchiouta narrating “I dream of our ancestors” and “I dream of our magnificent land” while describing different dialects as a wealth of nations “united in this diversity” prior to an era of great upheavals. The video concludes

⁷⁵⁸ “Ahchiouta’a recounts the history of the Huron-Wendat of the St. Lawrence” exhibit, Musée Huron-Wendat, Wendake, Québec, November 6th, 2019.

⁷⁵⁹ “Ahchiouta’a recounts the history of the Huron-Wendat of the St. Lawrence” exhibit, Musée Huron-Wendat, Wendake, Québec, November 6th, 2019.

⁷⁶⁰ “Curse of the Axe.” Documentary produced by Yap Films, History Channel Canada, Archaeological Services Inc. 2012. <https://asiheritage.ca/asi-media/curse-of-the-axe/>

asserting “our world is endless, limitless, borderless. Now, I live in Wendake.”⁷⁶¹

The confluence of history and territory is complex and alive in the present. While walking with Joan through Wendake to the church of Notre-Dame de-Lorette she informs me Huron-Wendat hunters were recently arrested for hunting at the same time as the rest of the population of Quebec, which related to a recent council decision to change the customary two-week waiting period from the end of the general provincial hunt in order to participate more equally.⁷⁶² Tensions are an extension of the history of the mid-nineteenth century with the dispossession of hunting lands beginning with rapid industrialization, the expansion of railways to Lac Saint-Jean, the proliferation of settler hunting clubs deeper into the landscape, and the creation of the Laurentian National Park, which by 1910 resulted in Wendat hunters being fined and imprisoned for hunting violations.⁷⁶³ Constriction of hunting lands and imposed scarcity of subsistence was in step with assimilationist policies by colonial officials in developing paternal relationships between state and nations, which included a focus on religious practice and education.⁷⁶⁴

In the contemporary period these disputes come as the Huron-Wendat Nation is working to establish themselves as land managers with initiatives of *Le Bureau of Nionwentsïo* and projects such as a failed attempt to create wider protected areas within traditional territories, which in-turn compelled council to vote to change the hunting season.⁷⁶⁵ More recently, in conjunction with Algonquin and Cree communities the Huron-Wendat initiated a moose hunting moratorium and separately adopted a

⁷⁶¹ “Ahchiouta’a recounts the history of the Huron-Wendat of the St. Lawrence” exhibit, Musée Huron-Wendat, Wendake, Québec, November 6th, 2019.

⁷⁶² Joan Grégoire, personal correspondence, November 6th, 2019.

⁷⁶³ Leigh Schofield, “Racialization, Agency, and the Law,” 7-8.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁶⁵ Wyatt et al. “Strategic Approaches to Indigenous Engagement in Natural Resources” 379, 380.

declaration of territorial self-determination in response to disputes with the Innu Nation over usage of the Laurentides Wildlife Reserve.⁷⁶⁶ Wide overlapping claims to St. Lawrence River valley territories within *Nionwentsio* and the Innu claim to *Nitassinan* (Innu for ‘our land’) give shape to disputes while provincial and federal governments have failed to promote resolution after decades of vague engagement with communities. This includes the 2004 Comprehensive Agreement of Principles, which has exacerbating territorial tensions.⁷⁶⁷ Flipping between scenes in the panorama of history these engagements and disputes between nations mix together in kaleidoscopic fashion with the dispossession of land at Sillery and with the history of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons as imbalanced relations between Indigenous and colonial actors over place and ultimately over ways of being chime like a little bell, the view changes, and it all repeats again.

The following morning, I awoke crumpled in the backseat of the rental car on the southwestern tip of L’Île-d’Orléans after a hypnagogic night broken by intervals of reaching to start the engine and heat my body covered in every piece of clothing I had packed as the sky opened to revelation of the first snow. I remembered in the night finally submitting to go to the bathroom and being unsettled looking across to the lights of Québec City to see instead the tenebrous shape of an immense cargo ship making way in ghostly silence through clouds of mist a few hundred metres from shore as if a passing dream. I walked along the Quai de Sainte-Pétronille, through an exterior vestibule of

⁷⁶⁶ Ashley Cornell, “Laurentides Wildlife Reserve: Wendake calls for calm and dialogue,” Spam Chronicles, Latest News, June 11, 2022. Accessed July 09, 2022. <https://www.spamchronicles.com/laurentides-wildlife-reserve-wendake-calls-for-calm-and-dialogue/>; Shushan Bacon, “Moose hunting moratorium on portion of Huron-Wendat land could be coming soon,” APTN News, March 2nd, 2022.; Shushan Bacon, “Moose sport hunting moratorium in Quebec brings uneasy peace,” APTN News, November 21st, 2021.

⁷⁶⁷ Cornell, “Laurentides Wildlife Reserve: Wendake calls for calm and dialogue,”; Konrad Sioui, “Progress Report – December 2017 End of 2017 – Beginning of 2018,” Nation Huronne-Wendat, Grand Chief Huron Wendat Nation. Dec 2017.1-2.

l'Auberge La Goéliche and jumped the concrete wall onto the cobbled beach of L'Anse du Fort where a large group of Wendat settled in 1651. According to multiple accounts they called this new settlement the island of Saint Mary while Jesuits remarked how from this place one could see Québec across the narrowing stretch of river known as Ladawanna.⁷⁶⁸ This is the location of another mission site with the first chapel constructed in 1653 and an occupation phase covering an eventful eight-year period until the last Wendat fully relocated to Upper Town of Québec by 1660.⁷⁶⁹ I cross the beach and find a detailed 'Private Property - No Trespassing' sign lording over the place and meander around the inland of the shore encountering no other trace of history. Unsatisfied, I scramble up an outcropping of Precambrian rock through a scented tangle of cedar brush to a point jutting out into the river like an outstretched thumb hailing the water and imagine what it has seen as the river ripples and heaves waves across the shore.



Fig. 48. Front view from street of La Misión de Bachajón, Chiapas, Mexico.

⁷⁶⁸ Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, 6, 119, 326.

⁷⁶⁹ Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, 134.

7.3. *Encounter with La Misión de Bachajón*

Wayfaring through self-appropriation in unfolding circles of experience with landscapes, historic sites, historical archives, Jesuit missions, archaeology, and with the many people negotiating and reifying assemblages and identities in my context of Canada also led to a distinct context in the southern province of Chiapas in Mexico. This is a section for further study as my experience with Marisol Campos Navarrete at La Misión de Bachajón to speak with Jesuits working within a predominantly Tseltal community and observing interactions was vibrant and striking in comparison to observations at the Martyrs' Shrine and Sainte-Marie as well as in present-day Wendake. The work of Jesuits in relationship to Indigenous communities in these contexts could be a critical exploration of the assertion made by the Jesuit Superior that French and Latin American arms of the order are historically, ecclesiastically, and otherwise distinct and resist comparisons. Although the following is a rough sketch there is opportunity to detail how distinctions shaped emergent contexts in relationship with mediums of landscape, history, and archaeology interacting with Indigenous peoples who shape these as actors and increasingly as narrators in development of insight for a reconciliatory path in Canada.

Relationships of the context in Bachajón were described to me on a warm July evening while sitting in the open-air courtyard of the mission. Surrounded by the Lacandon Jungle we overlooked a garden within the walls maintained by Tseltal and emanating rich, cooling air as creeping fractal carpets of green, outstretched palms offered yellow cornets of pumpkin flower pointed upwards towards a lush understory of a *chay* plant and into a drooping canopy of *xicotzapotl* leaves. The contemporary phase began in 1958 as the Society of Jesus returned to the region headed by Samuel Ruiz

Garcia who was acting as Bishop of the then Dioceses of Chiapas.⁷⁷⁰ Due to the power of German and Dutch land owners slavery and widespread sexual exploitation existed up until the 1980s especially in nearby communities of Sitalá and Chilón while alcohol was used in the region as a method of social control.⁷⁷¹ Within this context missionaries worked to learn the Tseltal language as well as to decentralize catechist training courses in application of the local communication method *Tijwanej*.⁷⁷² By 1974, Tseltal and other Indigenous groups of Chiapas emigrated in large numbers to the Lacandon Jungle as landowners aggressively dispossessed traditional lands. The mission responded by translating agricultural law, by participating in an Indigenous Congress hosted in San Cristóbal de las Casas, by beginning translation of the Bible into Tseltal (completed in 2005), and finally by welcoming a permanent body of Indigenous deacons into the Diocese.⁷⁷³ In March, 1981 the first Indigenous deacon was ordained and by the early 1990s specific human rights, community development, and social pastoral care initiatives were implemented and women were welcomed into the structure.⁷⁷⁴

Following the 1994 regional uprising of the Zapatista National Liberation Army Bachajón was attacked, and murders were carried out by Chinchulines who brought the mission under paramilitary control. Jesuits took on roles of conflict resolution and reconciliation using Tseltal methods and engaged in peace talks as well as in the

⁷⁷⁰ Alboan.org. Corporate author, “The Bachajón Jesuit Mission in the Dioceses of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Mexico,” 2006. <https://www.alboan.org>, Retrieved April 2021. https://www.alboan.org/javier2006/pdf_cs/transcripcion_mexico_mision_de_bachajon.pdf, 1.

⁷⁷¹ José Francisco Meneses Carrillo, personal correspondence, Translated by Marisol Campos Navarrete, July 17, 2018.

⁷⁷² “The Bachajón Jesuit Mission in the Dioceses of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Mexico,” 2.; José Francisco Meneses Carrillo, personal correspondence, Translated by Marisol Campos Navarrete, July 17, 2018.

⁷⁷³ “The Bachajón Jesuit Mission in the Dioceses of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Mexico,” 2, 5.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 3.; Arturo Estrada, S.J., personal correspondence, July 29, 2018.

subsequent purchase and redistribution of lands to impoverished groups.⁷⁷⁵ The mission directly involved itself in issues of land as it both fundraised land reclamations from Spanish holdings while also acting as negotiator of land transfers from Zapatistas and the buying back of lands from finqueros (estate owners) into a legal trust whose legal title is then handed over to the community.⁷⁷⁶ José Avilés S. J. spoke about his experiences in the uprising and how the church was lumped in with Zapatistas as a guerilla force to be killed by the national army and how he was personally very afraid for their lives. From this experience he came to an insight of embodying the role of escort to the persecuted and of “walking with the poor, simple, oppressed people; but above all, accompanying [them] in [their] struggles is a reason for persecution, defamation and also for taking our lives” as the “poor and crucified” were to walk “with the poor and crucified.”⁷⁷⁷

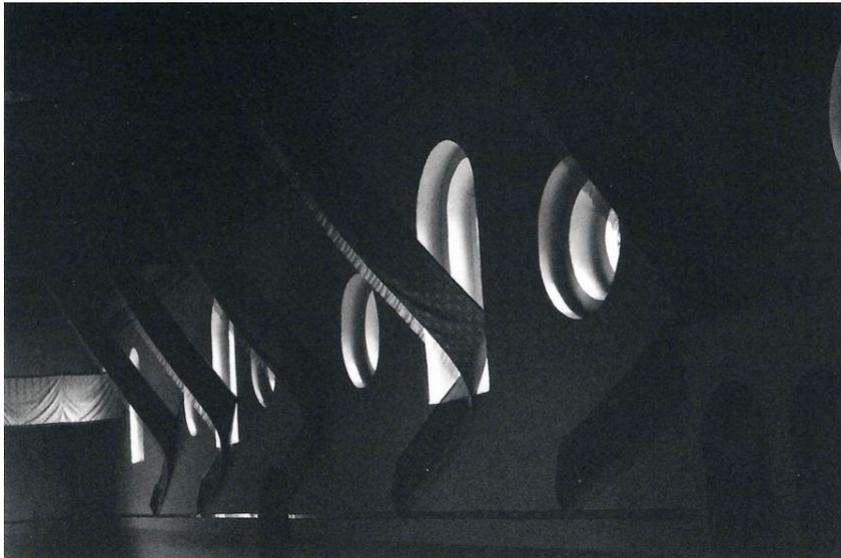


Fig. 49. Interior view of La Misión de Bachajón, Chiapas, Mexico.

⁷⁷⁵ “The Bachajón Jesuit Mission in the Dioceses of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Mexico,” 4.

⁷⁷⁶ José Francisco Meneses Carrillo, personal correspondence, Translated by Marisol Campos Navarrete, July 17, 2018.

⁷⁷⁷ P. José Avilés S.J. *Jesuitas México*, #Cañonazo del jesuita José Avilés, S.J. Video, Accessed July 22, 2023, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=450962079963678>.

José Avilés spoke gently and precisely from the heart of his commitment to Tseltal and of never imposing oneself in acts of giving. In the course of four days at La Misión de Bachajón, which overflowed with acts of service, I observed how the community gathered with him in development of practices of social and religious well-being and mutual protection.⁷⁷⁸ This experience also shaped me as this work strives to know and to pay attention to what it is to be in harmony with Tseltal ways of being and to be in love with the Tseltal people, which I found to authentically put into practice Christian teachings as had been taught to me in my catechist education.

Seventeen mission projects were operating in Bachajón including the Tseltal language radio station Ach' Lequile'op 98.7 FM broadcasting local news and agricultural knowledge while in Chilón the vibrant Capeltic coffee business, which was managed in cooperative fashion by local Tseltal coffee farmers, provided equitably distributed income.⁷⁷⁹ I visited the Capeltic roasting and packaging operation while afternoon celebrations were underway for the feast of St. Ignatius and ate fresh, steaming tamales while dancing in Tseltal ways to deep bass rhythms of a guitarrón mexicano. We faced a shrine to St. Ignatius and the Virgin of Guadalupe adorned in grasses, flowers, and candles as a Tseltal deacon blessed the living place with a tuft of palms shaking in his left hand while watering the shrine with his right.

⁷⁷⁸ P. José Avilés S.J., personal correspondence, Translated by Marisol Campos Navarrete, July 28, 2018.

⁷⁷⁹ Arturo Estrada, S.J., personal correspondence, July 29, 2018.; José Francisco Meneses Carrillo, personal correspondence, July 17, 2018.



Fig. 50. Tseltal deacon performing a special Mass on the feast of St. Ignace at the Capeltic coffee roasting and packaging plant in Chilón, Chiapas, Mexico.



Fig. 51. Sunday worship at La Misión de Bachajón, Chiapas, Mexico.

This history is shaped by a model of indigenization and by 2018 was reflected in an embedded methodology of addressing local needs through local means. For instance, Jesuits respect Tseltal temporal relationships and have not imposed a Christian calendar or sense of time, which is expressed in the telling of traditional oral histories as being of the ancestors rather than fixed upon a past or chronological date.⁷⁸⁰ Preservation of oral

⁷⁸⁰ José Francisco Meneses Carrillo, personal correspondence, Translated by Marisol Campos Navarrete, July 17, 2018.

histories and their usage as an expression of historiographical agency is also facilitated through the concept of *patótan*, which was translated to me as a “salute to the heart” and is expressed as a ritualistic retelling of stories of the ancestors introducing Mass and includes ancient words not understood by everyone who speaks Tseltal.⁷⁸¹ I listened to the *patótan* without understanding what was occurring but was able to see and smell the burning of the copal by two Tseltal women who flanked José Avilés in the sanctuary like two sentinels of faith. Mass is also experienced as anything but silent reflection as prayer is aloud and Tseltal will listen-in on their neighbours and incorporate their prayers into their own until the congregation is sharing in a collective form of prayer while dancing is also considered prayer and is inspired by traditional music played in the service.⁷⁸²

A living syncretism between Christianity and community is in part a result of commitments taken by Jesuits in 1974 in service and in response to criticisms by Tseltal of the church including “monopolizing the Holy Spirit” and in performance of the diocese.⁷⁸³ Criticism included community members positing if all of the missionary workers were suddenly killed in a plane crash or otherwise removed everything would be lost and it would cease to exist as they had been operating the mission in the wrong way and not according to the example set by Christ in the founding of the Church.⁷⁸⁴ Significant roles within the organizational structure of the community including principals, captains, and judges (described as a ‘reconciliator’ in charge of fixing

⁷⁸¹ José Francisco Meneses Carrillo, personal correspondence, Translated by Marisol Campos Navarrete, July 17, 2018.

⁷⁸² José Francisco Meneses Carrillo, personal correspondence, translated by Marisol Campos Navarrete, July 17, 2018.

⁷⁸³ José Francisco Meneses Carrillo, personal correspondence, translated by Marisol Campos Navarrete, July 17, 2018.

⁷⁸⁴ José Francisco Meneses Carrillo, personal correspondence, translated by Marisol Campos Navarrete, July 17, 2018.

disputes), among others, and separate religious roles within the mission are held by Tseltal couples and assigned in ceremony while remaining under constant oversight for adherence to community values and interests.⁷⁸⁵ Indigenization and appointing of Tseltal deacons has deeply shaped the social world of the mission church as they can perform all the duties of ordained priests with the exception of confession and the conversion of bread and wine into the sacrament. Jesuits in the context of contemporary Chiapas have taken active roles in these developments and in turn have themselves embraced their enculturation into Tseltal ways of being.

Like the Wendat in historic Wendake and the Huron-Wendat in historic Lorette, instead of Jesuits converting or welcoming Tseltal into Christianity the Tseltal have indigenized Christianity into Tseltal worlds in ways distinct from representational forms or the syncretisms such as I found at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons in displays of Indigenous arts & crafts, language, sports, or in architectural features and images of Indigenous saints adorning the Martyrs' Shrine. While visiting Notre-Dame-de-Lorette in Wendake I had been struck by usage of *önenha'* in decoration of the pulpit as it reminded me of the pulpit of *ixim* I had seen at La Misión de Bachajón.⁷⁸⁶ Both are known to me as maize, or corn, but Huron-Wendat and Tseltal have been in relationship with the life-giving plant long before development of European, Germanic, Dutch and especially Canadian cultural formations, from which I observed these artifacts of synchronicity. However, as Louis Lesage and Joan Grégoire had described the role of the church in Wendake is more of a museum honouring what has been whereas the Sunday service I

⁷⁸⁵ José Francisco Meneses Carrillo, personal correspondence, translated by Marisol Campos Navarrete, July 17, 2018.

⁷⁸⁶ Campos Navarrete, *Experiencing Buhts'an Qu'inal From Shachel Jwohc,* '7.; "önenha'" Entry, online Wendat Dictionary, Accessed March 7, 2023. <https://languewendat.com/en/detail/?tag=2-n-0049>

attended in Bachajón was a vibrant centre of community activity as Jesuits and Tseltal preached and prayed together in devotion to the divine in a world of ongoing relationship.



*Fig. 52. Pulpit at Notre-Dame-de-Lorette in Wendake incorporating önenha' (left).
Fig. 53. Pulpit in the shape of ixim at La Misión de Bachajón (right).*

The role of archaeology is also contrasting at La Misión de Bachajón. I observed a Mayan column with hieroglyphs described to me as the “Estela Maya,” which had been brought to the mission courtyard due to a spiritual aspect perceived as inherent to the object after it had been found in the surrounding jungle. The meaning of the Estela Maya is unclear and nor is archaeological definition a focus of this work but as an outsider I observed how it was placed on a pedestal within a concrete shelter as part of the spatial construction of an outdoor shrine of spiritual contemplation and community activity. From what I understood, despite Tseltal seeing themselves as distinct from a Mayan heritage it functions as a mnemonic object speaking to continuity alive in the present and playing a role inherent to ruins of creating place for re-memories one can bump into. This relationship between archaeology and aliveness contrasted with the role of archaeology at Sainte-Marie apart from the collection of stones where one encounters the original

fireplace excavated by Kidd or the charred floorboards seen through the museum floor. This was especially present in relationship to Indigenous worlds, which I observed as placing Indigenous peoples and their belongings within the objectification of science, or increasingly in a complementary role to the vividly pursued vectors of imperial European and Christian historical imagination. Mayan sites dot the landscape of Chiapas and are routinely found though archaeology was described as of little importance to Tseltal, which was assumed to be the result of both circular conceptions of time and of traumatic impacts violent colonial shaming of Indigenous histories has had on this relationship.⁷⁸⁷

In contrast, in the afternoon following Sunday Mass my travel companion Marisol and I borrowed the mission vehicle and took a beautiful, exciting, and at times tense drive when nodding to heavily armed soldiers while crossing military checkpoints through the valley to a sprawling Toniná site. It was excavated in the 1970s due to a pull these ruins exerted on the national Mexican imagination and on travellers such as myself; leaving a living community for an intricately arranged landscape of a former to engage in observation and representation. I was later told Tseltal women preparing our delicious meals had been observing me as is customary of outsiders. Within me they saw fear, which according to Tseltal values is infectious like a disease of the soul and I remember despite being so welcomed and surrounded by such immeasurable beauty an anxiety persisted rooted in a need to understand, and to describe and to represent, and in how I thought I appeared and presented myself. I was preoccupied with worry of what pieces, texts, images to capture and take back with me and relate to other pieces assembled in completion of this project instead of feeling as if finally at home in this garden.

⁷⁸⁷ José Francisco Meneses Carrillo, personal correspondence, Translated by Marisol Campos Navarrete, July 17, 2018.



Fig. 54. View of the garden from the kitchen and dining area at La Misión de Bachajón.

Conclusion

Interest in Sainte-Marie among the Hurons developed out of a feeling as if a significant epoch had shaped my conception of Canadian history while I held such limited knowledge of the Jesuit missions, Wendat history, and archaeological practice culminating in this significance. It was as the Jesuit Superior had said it should be - a mystery. Wanting to understand this place was also wanting to understand this mystery and I engaged in learning through a methodology of self-appropriation where my consciousness and the changing thoughts and feelings emerging in interaction with landscapes, the site of living history, engagement with archaeology in reports and in the field, and in conversations with Jesuits, site administrators, Indigenous knowledge holders, and archaeologists in different contexts were transformational as this mystery became instead a record of my experiences. To account for this breadth the central

questions were so general as what is this place, and what is this story? The answer is even more complicated than often portrayed as an active Jesuit mission is adjacent to the most visited historic site in Ontario, which as described by the Jesuit Superior is designed to create intimacy with the experiences of those retrospectively known as the Canadian Martyrs and for the faithful to then come to the Martyrs' Shrine to pray knowing more about their story. It is also a site where the early history of Canada is materially embedded in written sources and archives, in objects of the reconstruction and museum, in the bones of Jesuits used as religious relics along with the bones of Wendat buried at the site, and after over a century and a half of archaeological investigation is still in the ground. It is also in the blood of martyrs invoked miraculously in identification of a significant National Historic Site, contexts of bloodshed retrospectively obscuring the actions and impacts of colonists, and in blood quantum and the ongoing negotiation of identities plaguing Indigenous peoples of all backgrounds in the present.

Development of this story for religious and nationalist ends has created an experience where Indigenous peoples generally represented at the site and descendants of those impacted by events have been slotted into roles in overall contravention to the aims and the spirit of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada as Indigenous memory ways and heritage practices are secondary to the overall goal of presenting this story as history. Ideas of embodied 'living history' and 'time travel' presuppose a colonized world emptied of connection to ancestors or a circularity to temporality braided into the living history of Indigenous worlds. There are increasing attempts at an approach but the history as practiced is often at odds with this spirit. Christian assumptions of temporality are embedded within Western structures making stories into words and into

chronology including a linear progression separating us in the present from events depicted in such a way as to suspend judgement and to in a sense absolve visitors of the need to reconcile with effects seventeenth and eighteenth century imperial projects, land dispossessions intensifying in the nineteenth century, cultural genocide as an organizing principle, and the impacts these have had in shaping ongoing relationships. Suspending judgment is an idea repeated throughout the living history while in moments it felt as if I was being led to embody the character of a colonist. The psychological effects of this experience of history tied up with the myth of the Canadian Martyrs are problematic in that the very illusions constitutive of uneven power relations between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state and public are also re-enacted. These illusions include: the diasporic period of the Wendat leading to the emptying of lands by Indigenous peoples, the imperial projects of New France creating dominion over these lands later to be inherited by the British in development of Canada as we know, the transient violence impacting Indigenous peoples in the early colonial era as retrospective justification for colonial projects and dominion, and most pervasively that Jesuits engaged in selfless acts of service rather than following their own prerogatives of moving Indigenous peoples away from their cultures and communities for purposes of conversion and ultimately resulting in possessing their territory. Jesuits continue to own this property along with their holdings at Kamiskouaouangachit (Sillery) and although they are accommodating towards reconciliation projects and welcoming of requests by Indigenous communities, they also have continuity with the aims of colonial era Jesuits of bringing Indigenous peoples into the Church and as a result also threaten to re-enact uneven power relations.

Being drawn into this history and archaeology is another way these power relations

are re-enacted and on reflection initial feelings of this being a significant epoch of Canadian history was part of this process as this sense is tied up with the role of this story in stabilizing power relations in the present rather than engagement with accurate, balanced, and transformational descriptions and experiences of our context. Maintaining archives and records in service of relationships is how transformational change occurs and as Sylvia Maracle describes this is the core method on a long path of inter-generational reconciliation. I saw Sainte-Marie engaging in relationship building as Indigenous People's Day expanded in size and more involvement of local communities in sharing knowledge and interacting with visitors despite occurring in a particular historical framework. I also saw how the Huron-Wendat engage in a counter-discursive history tied to claims of territory in the present, though in both examples increasing representations and discourses are threatened by assimilationist tendencies as history becomes rearranged in its focuses, intensities, and language rather than indigenized as a tool foundational to the experiences of Indigenous peoples living in contexts of equitable relations.

Encounters of contemporary Huron-Wendat with Sainte-Marie among the Hurons and the Martyrs' Shrine, between myself and the experience of history in Midland and in Wendake, and with an operational Jesuit mission living outside of these histories in a distinct context speak to relationships between landscapes, material histories, ecclesiastic organizations, and to the people shaping and being shaped through these mediums of connection in negotiation of what it is to belong. These experiences also shaped me, and I found endless welcoming, generosity, and a sense of belonging in all these places, however fleeting feelings and memories have become upon returning and being reabsorbed into a dominant identity of the lonesome traveller circling back in isolation

through receding landscapes of the mind lit by the glimmer of pictures and of notes ever more comminuted as a paper-thin lens atop strata of time to collect these words.



Fig. 55. Author in front of a mural painted in the courtyard of La Misión de Bachajón.

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