

Language Ecology and Shift at Baawating, 1600-1971

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN LINGUISTICS AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS,
YORK UNIVERSITY,
TORONTO, ONTARIO

August 2021

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Abstract

Research focused on the macro-trends in Canadian language policy (LP) has largely focused on two broad trajectories: (a) the processes of accommodation of Anglophone and Francophone communities (including the limitations of Canada's policy of bilingualism for French-speaking or official-language minority communities) (Martel & Pâquet, 2010; Morris, 2010; Cardinal, 2015); and (b) the ongoing exclusion of The Other (i.e. "immigrant" and Indigenous communities) within Canada's existing LP framework (Haque, 2012; Haque & Patrick, 2015; Patrick, 2018). This research turns its focus to the place of language in the state formation processes of Canada that preceded its "Bilingualism within a multicultural framework," and its place in settler/Indigenous relations and processes of colonization. Building on the paradigm of the Anishinaabe Seven Fires prophecies and a framework that emphasizes the interplay of language practices, beliefs and management in a social ecology, this work offers a case study of the specific experiences of Indigenous peoples in the communities surrounding Baawating (at the junction of Lake Superior and Lake Huron) to exemplify: (a) how Indigenous individuals adjusted their language choices in response to institutional language policy? (b) How Canadian Indian Policy more generally affected those language choices? (c) How these choices impacted relations between Indigenous and settler peoples? And (d) how local language practice, belief, and management processes have been impacted by the surrounding socio-economic, physical, political, and cultural environments? The study uses a mixed-methods approach that combines content analysis of language policy documents, historical records, demographic data and interviews of local Indigenous residents on their experiences of language choice and use to triangulate the interplay between macro-level LP, ideologies of language, and language shift. The research demonstrates the interconnection of LP with social, economic, political and technological domains and their corresponding influence on the linguistic choices available to Indigenous peoples, which precipitated large-scale language shift. Furthermore, it illuminates how language has been used to 'stand-in' for race in the construction of idealized national subjects within a liberal order since at least the early twentieth century in Canada.

Dedication

To Baawating and all of its inspiring people.

Acknowledgments

This work would not have been possible without the generous guidance, patience, time and efforts of many people. First and foremost among these are the participants who took time out of their lives to speak with me and share their lives with me. From earliest to most recent: Mitch Case, Judy Syrette, Cathy Syrette, Sam Boyer, Charlie Pine, Liz Joes, Brenda Powley, Fred & Louise Pine, Steve Gjos, and Chief Dean Sayers. Your words have stuck with me through the years it has taken me to write this work, and I hope that they stick with me forever.

Ian Martin, my advisor and more so my *orientador*, thank you for your patience, persistence, thoughtfulness, and for the inspiration you provide by your example. Your curiosity and thirst for engaging with ideas has been the greatest example of true scholarship. Likewise, to my committee members, Eve Haque and Brian Morgan, your support and guidance during my time at York has been foundational to my evolution as a thinker and a teacher. I would also like to acknowledge Ruth King, Susan Ehrlich, and Philip Angermeyer. Working with each of you raised my standards, enriched my experience, and set an example for academic dedication.

Nbazgim, Ray Fox (Netmigaabwed), you have sacrificed more than anyone else to support me through this process and to keep me going.

My parents, Sue & Bill Meades, thank you for endless encouragement and support, and for helping me get through my years in Toronto, and for my mom's assistance in preparing maps. Likewise, to my mother-in-law, Donna Debassige (Bebektikwedang), for your support, encouragement, and for putting up with my asking "how do you say this in Ojibwe?"

Deb Pine deserves special thanks. I would have given up on myself long ago had you not been there to encourage me, to introduce me to people, to help me with my Ojibwe and transcription, and to push me. Without you this work would never have seen the light of day.

To all the people with whom I worked at Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig, your inspiration opened me up to an entirely new chapter of my life. In particular I want to acknowledge the memory of Bawdwaywidun Banaisebun (the late Eddie Benton-Banai). Thank you for letting me be a part of the Shingwauk community, and for opening my eyes to new ways to see. Also to Amy Sayers, who always kept it real.

To Howard Webkamigad, Alex McKay-ban, and Barbara Nolan for generously sharing the language with me in their classes.

To my York colleagues, and especially Rick Grimm and Jessica King, your example and friendship was pivotal to my completing this work (and to even taking on a PhD in the first place).

To Katina Schell, for sharing her design talents in producing several maps for this text.

I would also like to thank my colleagues and co-workers at NORDIK Institute and Algoma University, in particular Jude Ortiz, Gayle Broad, Joanne Azevedo, Sheila Gruner, Laura Wyper, and Melissa Jones. Your support, encouragement and understanding (and your commiseration) has pushed me to keep going. Special thanks also to Zachary Low for helping me to organize my thoughts.

Lastly, to Blanche and Lula, who kept me company, sacrificed many walks, and gained many pounds with me throughout the writing process.

Without the support and encouragement from each of the people I have mentioned here and more, this work would not have been possible.

Kina nmiigwechwend-minim pane.

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How to read this dissertation (for non-reviewers)

Anyone is of course welcome to read this whole document, however I am under no illusions that no more than a select few would like to sift through all 400+ pages. For everyone else, this guide will point you to the sections of most interest to you:

If you are interested in the history of Baawating or the upper Great Lakes, jump to chapters 4 (covering the years 1600-1791), 5 (1791-1840), 6 (1840-1867), 7 (1867-1914), and 8 (1914-1971).

If you are interested in the contemporary challenges of Indigenous language revitalization in Northern Ontario, jump to Chapters 8 and 9.

If you are interested in the philosophical underpinnings of Canadian state formation and colonization, begin with Chapter 2. Chapters 4-7 have strands of this throughout, but they really come to a head in Chapters 8 and 9.

If you are interested to read the contributions of interviewees, skip to chapter 8 (though there are a few additional quotes in chapters 7 and 9).

A note on transliterations

Generally speaking I have tried to use endonyms when referencing peoples or languages, however in some cases the historical records make distinctions that would not be made today (such as with Jesuit documentation of different “tribes” that would gather at Baawating). In these cases I have left the names of such groups as they are recorded in the documents that I cite. See appendix D for a list of commonly known eponyms of Indigenous nations from around the Great Lakes that are referenced in this text.

There is a similar challenge with Anishinaabe place and personal names. The historical record demonstrates a broad range of competing orthographies. I have opted to use a double-vowel orthography with the exception of two cases: 1) Where locals remain predominantly familiar

with a figure based on a spelling of their name that is not based in the double-vowel orthography (e.g. Shingwaukonse, Nebenaigooching, etc.), and 2) Where the historical documentation of the name did not clearly demonstrate the vowel quality, which would render a transliteration into a double-vowel orthography pure guess-work on my part (e.g. Payentanassin for St. Joseph Island, whose first syllable differs significantly from another reported place names in double-vowel orthography, Bikwadinaashing)

1 - Introduction

Aadizokaanag describe the creation of the *baawating*, or the rapids at the outflow of Lake Superior, emanating from a great beaver destroying a dam created by Nanaboozhoo to flush out the beaver from its home upstream (Heath, 1988, p. 16; Montgomerie, 1993, p. 183). These rapids are the referent for the Anishinaabe name most commonly applied to contemporary Sault Ste. Marie, being *Baawating*, signifying at, to or from the rapids.¹ The river itself takes its name, *gichi-gamiziibi*, from reference to Lake Superior, *gichi-gami(ing)*, generally referring to any large sea or giant lake, but particularly Superior given its status as the world's largest freshwater lake and certainly the largest lake in Anishinaabe territory (Kohl, 1860, p. 118).

William Warren, nineteenth century Anishinaabe historian, relays another *aadizokaan* told by Tug-waug-aun-ay, a chief of the Crane Clan in Upper Michigan in the late-mid nineteenth century, describing how the area came to be populated and considered to be under the stewardship of his clan:

The Great Spirit once made a bird, and he sent it from the skies to make its abode on earth. The bird came, and when it reached half way down, among the clouds, it sent forth a loud and far sounding cry, which was heard by all who resided on the earth, and even by the spirits who make their abode within its bosom. When the bird reached within sight of the earth, it circled slowly above the Great Fresh Water Lakes, and again it uttered its echoing cry. Nearer and nearer it circled, looking for a resting place, till it lit on a hill overlooking Boweting [...]; here it chose its first resting place, pleased with the numerous whitefish that glanced and swam in the clear waters and sparkling foam of the rapids. Satisfied with its chosen seat, again the bird sent forth its loud but solitary cry; and the No-kaig (Bear clan), A-waus-e-wug (Catfish), Ah-Auh-wauh-ug (Loon), and Mous-o-neeg (Moose and Marten clan), gathered at his call. A large town was soon congregated, and the bird whom the Great Spirit sent presided over all. (1885, pp. 51-2)

Consequently the Crane clan has been of great significance in the area for as long as Anishinaabeg have inhabited the area. Likewise, for the very reason it was chosen by the crane described by Tug-waug-aun-ay as well as what would be a strategic and central location,

¹ Due to varying orthographies, linguistic variations, and Anglicizations or Francisations of the endonym, this name is recorded in historical and popular sources in a variety of different ways, including *Boweting*, *Bow-e-ting*, *Bawating*, *Baawting*, *Pawating*, *Baawitigong*, *Bawitigong*, *Baawtigoong*, and *Baagting*.



Figure 1: Map of Baawating and surrounding locations (Image credit: Katina Schell, 2021)

Baawating became an important location for Anishinaabeg as long as they have inhabited the area.

Though the title of “chief” is used throughout both the historical record and this work to accord the significance of the interactions reported here, it must also be acknowledged that, as Bellfy (2011) notes, “The term and concept of ‘chief’ is a European invention, created to fit their preconceived notions of how societies ‘must’ function” (pp. 14-5). By contrast, *ogimaag* did not exercise coercive authority, but rather acquired recognition for their leadership qualities based on their actions. In Anishinaabe civilizations, ‘chieftainships’ -- despite what nineteenth century colonial officials would assume, enforce, and then later forbid -- were not innately hereditary. It was, however, common for children of chiefs to emerge as *ogimaag* in their own right, potentially due in part to the models of leadership they witnessed growing up. Communities frequently had more than one *ogimaa*, and some had more status and influence than others. “Individual members of communities,” as Bellfy explains, “could not be compelled to do the bidding of any ‘chief’” (2011, p. 14).

One such prominent *ogimaa* of the crane clan was Nebenaigooching. In 1850, he signed the Robinson-Huron Treaty as chief of what would become known as Batchewana First Nation. He led the Batchewana Anishinaabeg for most of his life, and was groomed for leadership from a young age following the death of his father, chief Waubejejaug, in battle in 1813 when Nebenaigooching was only five years old (Montgomerie, 1993). He remained chief until his own death in 1899 (Chute, 1998). The Batchewana Anishinaabeg inhabited the lands along most of the eastern shore of Lake Superior to Baawating. While it was an important seasonal meeting place for nations throughout the Great Lakes watershed and beyond, particularly for political councils or ceremonies in warmer months and the autumn run of whitefish through the rapids, for Nebenaigooching’s people the area was a permanent home.

He grew up speaking Anishinaabemowin and French, and sometimes went by Joseph Sayers, particularly when interacting with European settlers and their growing number of state officials that poured into the area in the late nineteenth century. He later also acquired English, which only added to his skill and value as an interpreter. This multilingualism allowed him and the other chiefs with whom he was aligned, such as Shingwaukonse, to navigate the three broad language groups that were most prevalent and politically significant at Baawating throughout the nineteenth century. He was also intimately connected to the burgeoning Métis community

at the rapids through both kinship and personal ties, and bridged the Anishinaabe and Métis communities, particularly after the 1850 treaty deliberately divided both groups. But despite the tightening vice of state pressure, the Indigenous communities surrounding Baawating sustained this multilingual equilibrium well into the twentieth century.

A hundred years after Nebenaigoochingbun has passed on, the communities in the area are now engaged in valiant efforts to promote Anishinaabemowin after decades of rapid language shift. Batchewana First Nation had fewer than 30 speakers remaining, while Garden River had fewer than five out of a total population of roughly 2,000 people each (though both First Nations are home to a few speakers from other regions that have married into the community). Among the Métis Nation citizens, there are no known people who speak Anishinaabemowin or its French hybrid (to be discussed in subsequent chapters). The cause of this state of affairs is evident enough, especially for those that live within the community: Colonization. But the simple answer sums up a long history that is not always well understood, especially for those who didn't live it, or were shielded from it (or at least, certain parts of it). For some the word evokes Residential Schools and their legacy, and undoubtedly these institutions played a pivotal role in the devaluing and theft of Indigenous languages (TRC, 2015a; RCAP, 1996; Miller, 1996; Haig-Brown, 1988; Milloy, 1999). For others it evokes the continued battle for the recognition of sovereignty and inherent rights, the failure to honour the treaties, or persistent encroachment, the forced interaction with other institutions of the Canadian state, or experiences of discrimination and marginalization. Colonization is not one single policy, but a system of interconnected policies, practices, and attitudes that legitimized and enacted these and other forms of subjugation, discrimination and marginalization. As a result, the standing of indigenous languages in Canada has continued to decline, whether such policies were intended to have specific impacts on language or not (TFALC, 2006).

Beyond a general recognition of the role of colonization in language shift among Indigenous peoples in Canada, the realm of explicit policy about language in Canada (and its study) has focused the historical context of accommodation between and cohabitation of English and French Settler populations (Martel & Pâquet, 2010; Mackey, 2010a; Cardinal, 2015). Indeed, Canada's policies of official bilingualism have been portrayed as hallmarks of progressive and inclusive language policy, or testament to political culture of accommodation and compromise (Mackey, 2010a; Cardinal, 2015). A growing number of scholars, however, have

begun to highlight the policy's limitations and the more coercive role it plays for both speakers of non-official languages and indigenous peoples generally (McRoberts, 1998; Galabuzi, 2011; Haque, 2012; Haque & Patrick, 2015; Patrick, 2018).

Yet throughout most of Canada, the upper Great Lakes especially, the French voyageurs and settlers first had to negotiate accommodation and cohabitation with Indigenous civilizations (Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016; Havard, 2003; Phillips, 2011). Though there was no uniform experience, the result of this in Baawating can be seen in the example of Nebenaigooching: stable, if not asymmetrical, multilingualism. This multilingualism was asymmetrical both in the sense of the distribution of power and that not *everyone* was multilingual, but multilingualism was nonetheless commonplace and there were unproblematic community strategies for navigating linguistic diversity. Indeed, as shall be seen, the occasions when Indigenous peoples were *compelled* to acquire European languages (largely English, though on rare occasions French²) were less often motivated by communication barriers, as interpreters were sufficiently commonplace, and more so by the conviction among late-nineteenth century settlers and their descendants that Indigenous peoples should “be like us.” For much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the antagonism towards Indigenous languages was likewise targeted at French-speaking communities, particularly in Ontario and points west, where the lines between French and Indigenous blurred at least from the turn of the 1800s (Sylvestre, 2013; Labrie, 2010; Philips, 2011; Peterson, 1985). The Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission and the policies that flowed from it, however, marked a critical shift in the place of French within not only federal language policy, but narratives about Canadian national identity. After the fact it is easy to take this for granted, that French would always have constituted a “founding people” of Canada (from a white settler vantage point), but this too was the product of massive socio-historical upheaval and political struggle. Though the policy era prior to official bilingualism in Canada has largely been overlooked among language policy scholars, it is especially instructive in how language figured in the state-building projects of

² Though French became a commonly spoken language among Indigenous peoples in the region, it was largely acquired as a process of cultural exchange flowing from kinship and trade relations, not as a matter of compulsion. Some French missionaries, however, did insist on acquiring French as a means for promoting “civilization,” though such efforts had little traction in the upper Great Lakes (Morrissey, 2013; Havard, 2013). The approach to relations with Indigenous peoples and languages, however, was markedly different in the centres of settler power in the St. Lawrence River Valley (Havard, 2003).

British North American colonies. It is also informative for how French attained a dual status with English after the 1960s, while Indigenous peoples and languages continued to be side-stepped.

Resistance to indigenous language loss in Canada, contemporaneous with similar movements across the globe, has also called into question why indigenous languages have not acquired 'official' status in Canada (AFN, 2007; Galley, 2009). While some jurisdictions (most notably the territories) have developed Indigenous language policies, the varying success and utility of these policies demonstrates the complexity in developing supportive policies for Indigenous language maintenance. In many cases, there is a significant disconnect between reported policy goals and what materializes for communities attempting to protect, promote, or reclaim their languages (Fettes, 1998; Meades, 2011). Furthermore, many indigenous people and communities continue to confront barriers at the federal policy level in their efforts to protect and recover language and indigenous knowledge (Fettes & Norton, 2000; McCarty, 2013; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Patrick, 2005; Patrick, 2007; De Korne, 2010; Meades, Pine, & Broad, 2018).

Though colonialism impacted nearly every facet of life among Anishinaabeg and Métis in the region, it was not the only thing happening in Anishinaabe and Métis lives, and not the only factor influencing language choices and constraints. Exploring precisely how the systems of colonialism impacted language shift can illuminate the constraints and motivations for language choices, and thus pathways for interventions to better support language reclamation efforts. However the story is richer and more instructive when it also encompasses a fuller range of experiences, particularly those that people report as influencing their linguistic choices themselves. The purpose of this research is to examine the changing linguistic dynamics in the Anishinaabe and Métis communities of Batchewana, Garden River, and Sault Ste. Marie, and to draw on Indigenous people's personal experiences of language shift to better understand how that process took place. The guiding, interrelated questions of this research are:

1. How have indigenous individuals adjusted their language choices in response to institutional language policy?;
2. How has Canadian Indian Policy more generally affected the language choices of Indigenous peoples?;
3. How have language choices affected relations between Indigenous and Settler peoples?

4. How have local language practice, beliefs, and management been impacted by the surrounding socio-economic, physical, political, and cultural environment?

In seeking the answers to these questions, new directions for language policy and language activism will be highlighted at the local, regional and federal levels in order to better respond to the critical situation facing Indigenous languages in the twenty-first century. Additionally, with a focus on the lead-up to Official Bilingualism, light is shed on the history of language policy more broadly in Canada, and how language interplayed with notions of race and nation in constructing the contemporary state, and how Indigenous peoples continue to be marginalized, yet continue to resist and assert their own sovereignty.

Beginning with establishing foundations for how colonialism was operationalized in the upper half of North America, the second chapter provides a review of literature related to state formation and the role language (and language policy) has played within it, particularly in the early stages of Canadian state formation. It situates the project of Canadian state formation within the context of liberalism and high modernism, which aggravated the dispossession of Indigenous peoples. It concludes with a review of how these movements influenced the ideologies of language that were prevalent throughout these eras and how they in turn impacted settler attitudes towards Indigenous peoples.

Chapter three provides an overview of the theoretical framework and methodology used in the research. It charts my attempt to navigate both Settler and Indigenous theoretical underpinnings, with an emphasis on syncreticity. I discuss the notion of language ecology and how I draw on the metaphor of ecology to describe the socio-linguistic dynamics that shape language use at Baawating over time. Likewise, I discuss how the research fits into the larger approach of ethnography of language policy. The chapter also introduces an overview of the Seven Fires Prophecy which provides a framework for much of the story that follows. Finally, it introduces the eleven participants that took part in this research.

The remaining chapters offer an overview of the changing language ecology at Baawating, starting in Chapter 4 from the early seventeenth century, to Anishinaabe contact with French missionaries, voyageurs and settlers, the genesis of the Métis nation, and the fall of New France. It explores French colonial and missionary policies with respect to language and race, and how these informed relationships with Anishinaabeg in the upper Great Lakes. Chapter 5 takes off from the Treaty of Paris, and explores the emerging relationships with British

officials and settlers that begin to enter the area. It also surveys early reports and legislation that had consequences for language in the new British North American colonies, including the Jay Treaty, Durham Report, and impacts of critical events such as the War of 1812, the imposition of the American border and state authority south of the river, and some aborted efforts to control Indigenous peoples in the region. Chapter 6 discusses an era influenced by growing liberal and modernist hegemony and the consolidation of the Canadas as a settler colony. The Robinson Treaties mark a new era of cohabitation with settlers, the creation of reserves, and a growing pattern of dispossession, each with unique consequences for language use, though most are not apparent until the turn of the twentieth century. Chapter 7 then charts the impacts of a policy era framed by tight restrictions on Indigenous peoples, the height of the residential school era, and the impacts of the reserve system, segregation, and the rapid industrialization and urbanization of Sault Ste. Marie. These pressures gradually give way to the social movements in the post-war era that mark a pivotal turning point for Indigenous peoples interactions with the state and the Settler society that has emerged by its design. It also profiles major technological change, including the impact of radio, television, and a growing network of roads and the accessibility of the personal automobile.

In conclusion, the final section draws from the previous chapters to illustrate how policy (sometimes explicitly about language, but often not) has shaped the changing language choices made by and available to Indigenous peoples in the areas around Baawating. It discusses not only the impacts on relationships between Indigenous and settler peoples, but draws on these lessons to propose alternative points of relation and cooperation. These conclusions are then used to inform propositions for how to reach a more just and effective language policy — locally and federally — that can promote the development and maintenance of Indigenous speech communities in the upper Great Lakes.

2 - Literature review

The ‘normal,’ or rather unmarked, intervention of the state into the realm of language choice and use is to do nothing (Spolsky, 2009, p. 147). McRoberts has suggested that there was little concerted effort directed at language policy in Canada in the first hundred years from confederation in 1867 (1998, p. 136). Yet the politics of language has figured prominently in Canadian history, particularly in contemporary retelling (see Mackey, 2010a; Cardinal, 2015; Ajzenstat & Smith, 1997; McKay 2000; Russell, 2017 or any early twenty-first century Canadian public school curriculum, for that matter). The place of Indigenous languages within this history of linguistic conflict, however, has been largely overlooked.

Narratives of Canada’s origins from ‘two founding races,’ first appeared in the nineteenth century and were eventually taken up by the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission in the 1960s. The Victorian conception of race at the heart of this narrative hinged largely on the shared “political traditions” and institutions of a people, rather than genetic accounts of race (Ajzenstat, 1997, p. 153). Though this account was not linguistic in nature, it did presume a unitary alignment between language and race, as shall be demonstrated. Consequently the linguistic diversity of Indigenous peoples was among the manifold reasons for Indigenous peoples continued exclusion from revisions to Canada’s origin stories in the era that followed the Commission. Haque & Patrick note that, “the commission might be seen, at its base, as an effort to rework the Canadian national narrative from one of Anglo-Celtic hegemony to one of two ‘founding’ settler groups” (2015, p. 30). Reactions within the Commission to the language and cultural issues of Indigenous peoples being raised at public hearings also emphasized that the majority of Indigenous people already spoke English, that Indigenous languages were not suitable for participating in the modern, presumably urban and capitalist, world due at least in part to a perception of later histories of written literacy, and that the social and political issues impacting Indigenous peoples were too abundant and complex to warrant attention on language (Haque, 2012; Haque & Patrick, 2015). Some within the Commission felt that these issues stemmed from a failure among Indigenous peoples to understand their place within the modern, liberal world. As Ilona Varjassy, the commission’s research and liaison officer wrote:

[...] a good part of the reserve-Indians, over 200,000, have yet to learn [...] that they are not only members of a band but citizens of a nation, that equality means more than a

treaty signed a long time ago, that they too are living in the 20th century and not in the 19th, or 18th. They are yet to learn that useful employment is the first step to dignity and self-sufficiency. (Varjassy as cited in Haque, 2012, p. 118)

Not only were the political orientations of Indigenous peoples portrayed as relics of a pre-modern era, the contemporary reality from which they have ostensibly excluded themselves is one based on waged labour (at least for the classes that Indigenous peoples could hope to join).

The rationales deployed for sidestepping questions of Indigenous language and culture in the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission illustrate many of the philosophical and historical antecedents of Canada's policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. The history of liberal philosophical movements within Canadian political culture, as well as competing perceptions of language, race and nationhood are integral to understanding how colonization and imperialism were manifested through the northern half of the continent, and the changing terrain of Indigenous and settler relations.

2.1 Language and state formation

Innate to the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission was also its fixation on the language of the state. This is a very plain fact, as its terms of reference emphasize its role being to:

[...] inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution. (qtd in Haque, 2012, p. 5)

Though the commission emphasized the "equal partnership" between Anglophone and Francophone "races," it nonetheless marked a process whereby French came to be accepted and taken up by a state apparatus that had already determined itself to be largely English in nature and function. The process by which this came to be, however, was not a natural accident, but a deliberate project of state formation.

James Scott has argued that the imposition of official languages in a given state "may be the most powerful" among a series of simplifications that are characteristic of how states come to be and assert their authority of direct control (1998, p. 72). He quotes Weber's assertion that

the process officializing French in France amounted to a process of “domestic colonization in which various foreign provinces (such as Brittany, Occitanie) are linguistically subdued and culturally incorporated” into the French state (1998, p. 72). In the upper Great Lakes, however, there was nothing domestic about the colonization (though it may be contended that domestic vs. international colonization is a distinction based solely on distance).

Similarly, others have emphasized the role of the officialization of languages as contributing to the formation of nations, which is particularly relevant to the development of nation-states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Étienne Balibar identifies “state languages” as one among the multiplicity of institutions that contribute to national formation (1991, p. 87). This is an important caveat to Spolsky’s contention that the unmarked norm of language policy is to effectively have no policy at all. Indeed, language played a pivotal role in the formation and conceptualization of nations, states and empires, particularly in Europe, which had significant consequences in their colonial reach.³ Evans (2012) warns that ‘official status’ is a relatively recent innovation, but that states have been exerting linguistic standardization for much longer. Within the British state tradition, this began with the incorporation of Wales into the Kingdom of England with the 1536 Act of Union. As Evans explains, “The decision taken in 1536 was connected directly with executive homogeneity, smoothness and efficacy, and with judicial reorganization” (2012, p. 133). The purpose of the Act’s linguistic provisions were tied directly to the goals described by Scott (1998).

2.1.1 Language and nation

German romanticists of the eighteenth and nineteenth century played an early role in positing an intricate link binding language, culture and race (Sampson, 1980). These links would be central in nationalist revolutions from the 1820s onward, where language played comparatively little role in revolutions in the Americas in the late eighteenth century (Anderson, 2006).

A notable distinction between the revolutionary nationalism in the Americas and that in Europe was the connection drawn between language and place, or “ecology,” made by European romantic philosophers. German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) posited that language emerged from a relationship between *Besonnenheit*, which Errington

³ Spolsky (2019) does amend this claim somewhat in his account of non-linguistic forces, such as colonization and genocide, on language use.

discusses as mediating “between natural environments in which the body’s senses are located, and internal experiences of those environments,” and the sounds experienced in particular physical locations (Errington, 2007, p. 51-2). While initially this theory lends itself to a complex, geographically fixed concept of language, Herder also tied his conceptions of language to the genesis of nations, arguing, as Haque (2012) explains, that “the sustaining and integrating power of language would lead to a higher rate of social cohesion and the emergence of a *Volk*, or ‘people’” (p. 10). His theories would be drawn on by nationalists such as Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), who used supposed language purity as a grounds for national superiority (Haque, 2012, p. 10). However, Herder’s vision of the nature of language led him to question the dominant political thrust of imperialism: “Languages and communities are natural outgrowths of diverse locales, which is one reason Herder was deeply suspicious of colonialism: it was a literally unnatural outside force or power which could only destroy any locale, language, and community” (Errington, 2007, p. 53). Notwithstanding Herder’s own interpretations of the extension of his theory of language, it was nonetheless influential in the connection it drew between language and nation, which would inspire an emerging body of German romantic scholars to explore the philological basis of nations and civilizations. William Von Humboldt, Friedrich von Schlegel, and Franz Bopp each advanced arguments that either claimed to demonstrate or presumed that some languages (largely European ones) were more evolved or represented more advanced civilizations than others (Errington, 2007; Sampson, 1980). Each blended not only romantic philosophy but an increasing embrace of scientific methods for demonstrating the evolution of language, its relationship to contemporary nations, and often the legitimacy or illegitimacy of those nations on the basis of their advanced or primitive status.

As philologists adopted from physics the practice of identifying universal laws to explain sound change, such work would have a major influence on the evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin (Cameron, 2007). The subsequent publication of Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species* would likewise influence future discourse on language vitality. The Darwinian notion of ‘survival of the fittest,’ was also extended to languages to explain why some languages disappear, while the number of speakers continues to grow for others (Errington, 2007). Errington discusses the impact of philologists’ appropriation of evolutionary theory, noting that, “by helping to make social Darwinism a natural fact, comparative philology demonstrated the underlying dynamics of civilizational progress, from industrialization to imperialism, in the world at large” (2007, p.

83). In so doing, the narrative of civilizational progress that had justified the imperialism of largely liberal nineteenth century polities such as the British, French and Dutch was mirrored in the romantic nationalist valorization of primordial nationhood.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the advances of romantic nationalism bound language to national identity in a number of European contexts, including France, Ireland, and dozens of others (Evans, 2012; Wolf, 2012). Later, the conflation of 'state' and 'nation' in the post-Westphalian era and the similar equation of one stable language per nation has produced a coercive role for language policies in the construction of state authority, particularly in states whose boundaries stem from processes of colonization (Blommaert, 2006; Kroskrity, 2009; Collins, 2011; Blake, 2003).

2.1.2 Language, modernity, and the colonization of Canada

Despite the contradictions of the coeval doctrines of romantic nationalism and liberalism, the acceptance of the doctrine of civilizational progress and of the unifying role of language in the state that was shared by many of the philosophies' respective proponents has led Albury to refer to the era and movements collectively as *romantic modernism* (2015a). Both embrace the ethnolinguistic assumption of a one-to-one relationship between language and national identity, which Blommaert asserts underpins a framing of the modern subject as "monolingual and monocultural" (2012, p. 3). Such interpretations of nationhood, along with an assumed relationship to the state, posited multilingualism as a problem to the unity and function of the state. Overcoming this problem was achieved by a number of means depending on the place and time, including assimilation, expulsion, and at worst, extinguishment (2012, p. 3). In its more coercive than punitive thrusts, Fishman notes that nationalism has engendered an approach to language policy that "encourage[s] and facilitate[s] behaviours of broader unity, deeper authenticity, and various modern implementations of sociocultural and political-organizational integration" (as cited in Haque, 2012, p. 11).

Scott's account of state formation, by contrast, does not assume a direct connection between nations and states, but demonstrates how linguistic uniformity remains nonetheless relevant to the development of systems of supervision and control that were increasingly relevant in the transition from pre-modern to modern states, especially in Europe. He argues

that all administrative systems had to deploy processes of “abstraction and simplification” in order to represent and understand the polities over which they have taken charge (1998, p. 22). Such “abstractions and simplifications,” he explains, “are disciplined by a small number of objectives, and until the nineteenth century the most prominent of these were typically taxation, political control, and conscription” (1998, pp. 22-3). Modern states, however, were “increasingly inspired to ‘take in charge’ the physical and human resources of the nation and make them more productive” (p. 51). The expanding project of statecraft required greater “legibility of local practice,” including the standardization of systems of land tenure and legal documents so that they could be easily interpreted by administrators (p. 72).

Though Benedict Anderson contends that ‘official nationalism,’ which represents a “willed merger of nation and dynastic empire” that would be a precursor to the nation-state, emerged in response to the already burgeoning linguistic nationalism that was able to proliferate as result of the popularization and standardization of the printed word, Scott demonstrates that national formations may also emerge from (or at least consolidate within) the growing role and power of the state (Anderson, 2006, p. 86; Scott, 1998). Though the history of state formation in Canada will be discussed further in subsequent chapters, the colonial imposition of certain technologies of government eventually included the imposition of a language of administration, which was decidedly English following the British consolidation of its conquest of New France. This became increasingly relevant in the era of ‘High Modernism,’ which Scott attributes to spanning largely between the 1830s and the First World War. He defines this era as “a strong [...] version of the beliefs in scientific and technical progress that were associated with industrialization in Western Europe and in North America” and that

“at its center was a supreme self-confidence about continued linear progress, the development of scientific and technical knowledge, the expansion of production, the rational design of social order, the growing satisfaction of human needs, and, not least, an increasing control over nature (including human nature) commensurate with scientific understanding of natural laws” (Scott, 1998, pp. 89-90)

The role of modern formal education, both in the colonies and the metropolises, would play a profound role in the consolidation of national identities within often-artificial state boundaries. As scientific solutions were increasingly pursued to reveal the objective truth of the natural world for the purpose of its control and rational management, so too were similar endeavours

sought for the social and political order. Throughout Western Europe and their colonies, the role and function of the state expanded, and with it, the need for a growing educated class to populate its expanding bureaucracies (Anderson, 2006, p. 115). Consequently the European model of formal education was expanded in both its home base and throughout the colonies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to train this emerging functionary middle class, but also because, as Anderson argues, there was “growing acceptance of the moral importance of modern knowledge even for colonized populations” (2006, p. 116). With a formal education system came questions of the language of instruction, the language and editing of texts, and of the linguistic aspirations of pupils and their families.

Anderson’s account of the role of print-capitalism in shaping the national imaginary, propelled by the instruments of modernity, makes only a passing reference to Canada, but the processes he enumerates in much of the colonial world are evident with abundant examples in British North America, with important caveats. While little effort was paid by state functionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to communication in indigenous languages, the question of the place and role of French within the emerging state apparatus would figure prominently in Canadian politics right from the British conquest of New France. While French Catholics were tolerated — often grudgingly, if not sporadically — as functionaries they had little mobility beyond Canada East after the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841. Nor did they immediately after confederation with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1867. Throughout these periods, the de-Francification of Canada coincided with the state’s ongoing expansion of colonial control throughout British North America.

As the “astonishing achievements of industrial capitalism” stitched the modern state closer and closer together through ever improving transportation technologies (most famously for Canada being the railway), a predominantly English-speaking functionary class including Indian agents, postal clerks, police, justices, and customs agents cultivated a shared experience of the new state (Anderson, 2006, p. 115). This new state came with defined borders and increasingly little need to interact with indigenous peoples, unless it was for the ostensibly righteous purpose of civilizing them, as was the shared responsibility of Indian Agents, educators, and various other representatives of Christian Churches and colonial governments. As Edward Soja underscores regarding the social production of the space of the state, the state apparatus was engaged in the reproduction of that *social spacialization* that emphasized the

unity of a patriarchal Euro-settler society in which indigenous peoples were subsumed, but expelled to its very margins (1989). Indeed the process of state formation in Canada was necessary for the reproduction of capitalist social relations, as Soja explains:

The survival of capitalism has depended upon this distinctive production and occupation of a fragmented, homogenized, and hierarchically structured space — achieved largely through bureaucratically (that is to say, state) controlled collective consumption, the differentiation of centres and peripheries at multiple scales, and the penetration of state power into everyday life. (1989, p. 92)

While Anderson has argued the profound role played by print-capitalism in nation-formation, and the capitalist basis of liberal philosophy evokes the centrality of commerce in the development and expansion of imperial colonies, the sustainability of capitalism depended also on the reproduction of the social relations that made the very system possible. This was facilitated by the “rational and purposive control of the environment” characteristic of the modernist project, including the expansion of the bureaucracy for the purpose of cohesive management, cultivation of supply chains and distribution centres (some of which pre-dated the high-modern era due to the fur trade), and the homogenization of the populace — both in terms of its hegemonic acceptance of market capitalism and the cultural values that would increase the predictability of citizens and thereby improve the efficiency of government (Jervis, 1998). Blommaert et al. similarly describes the homogenizing tendencies of modernity, noting that it “rejected ambivalence,” and with respect to language “it rejected sociolinguistic diversity, and if such rejection was impossible it ordered, regimented, and policed such ‘chaotic’ sociolinguistic realities by means of modernist language policies and planning efforts” (Blommaert, Leppänen & Spotti, 2012, p. 7). This process also required new markets and new products, access to which was facilitated by the expansion of transportation infrastructure facilitated by the state, exemplified most clearly in Canada by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

2.2 Canada and the liberal (imperial) order

In addition to the homogenizing tendencies of modernity, the process of state formation in Canada, particularly through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was influenced significantly by liberal thought. This in turn had significant impacts on language policy, particularly when we take a broader definition of language policy advocated by Spolsky that

includes language practices, language beliefs or status, and language management (2009). Within language management as well, there is a distinction to be made between “advocates without power and managers with authority” (Spolsky, 2019, p. 335). Given the thoroughly modern genesis of most language management mechanisms (in Canada at the very least), documentation of practices, “the observable behaviours and choices,” and of beliefs, “the values or statuses assigned to named languages, varieties and features” will form the bulk of the historical picture of Canadian language policy prior to the establishment of the province of Upper Canada (p. 4). Furthermore, the exploration of language policy that follows takes up the call of Ian McKay to reimagine the history of Canadian state formation in the context of consolidating a liberal order (2000). As McKay explains:

...the category 'Canada' should henceforth denote a historically specific project of rule, rather than either an essence we must defend or an empty homogeneous space we must possess. Canada-as-project can be analyzed through the study of the implantation and expansion over a heterogeneous terrain of a certain politico-economic logic -- to wit, liberalism. (McKay, 2000, pp. 620-1)

While liberalism is a heterogeneous philosophical movement, three defining features remain largely consistent throughout them. Dale Turner offers a succinct summary:

First, liberalism privileges the individual as *the* fundamental moral unit of a theory of justice; that is, individuals count most when we think about political justice. Second and third, but arising from the first are fundamental notions about freedom and equality, with both attached to and measured between individuals. (Turner, 2006, p. 13)

Though McKay argues the principle of liberty (freedom in Turner’s definition) is first, he also acknowledges that the philosophy embraces the primacy of the individual and their “‘natural right’ to liberty,” which entails “a subset of liberties, encompassing ‘free labour,’ ‘free trade,’ a ‘free press,’ and so on” (2000, p. 624).

Turner contends that this focus on the individual within liberal philosophy, and particularly what he terms ‘White Paper Liberalism,’ which shall be addressed in more detail in Chapter 7, has the effect of justifying the “cultural annihilation” of Indigenous peoples (2006, p. 12). Though the details of this argument will be discussed in later chapters, for now it suffices to say that foregrounding the individual in the context of equality and liberty side-steps the ways

in which particular social groups have been systematically marginalized, exploited, and oppressed, particularly Indigenous nations.

Many have argued that Canada's political foundations lie in a number of philosophical currents, including toryism and republicanism or civic humanism (See Ajzenstat & Smith, 1997). And certainly the population that has inhabited the lands known as Canada today has never been ideologically homogenous. As McKay notes, "far from being already a 'consensus' viewpoint in northern North America, liberalism was, as late as the 1840s in the eastern British North American colonies [...] a highly contentious and endangered program" (2000, p. 626). However, apart from an affinity for the word 'tory' for much of early Anglo-Canadian politics, the principal philosophical differences within the emerging state apparatus were largely variations within the currents of liberal thought. Loyalists who migrated to Canada following the American Revolutionary War "demonstrated a willingness to endorse the advantages of commerce," which was so emblematic of liberal philosophy at the time, in marked contrast to the agrarian inclinations of many earlier settlers (Smith, 1997a, p. 115). In comparing two leaders of nineteenth century Anglo-Canadian political currents, Lord Durham, a recognized liberal reformer, and John Beverley Robinson, a tory member of the Family Compact, Janet Ajzenstat argues that both were in fact liberals, sharing in common "that it is the purpose of government to guarantee individual rights and freedoms" (1997, p. 148). Where they differed was Lord Durham's emphasis on the right to political participation, while Robinson "held that individual rights, the rights that protect a citizen from government, such as the right to own property and security from arbitrary arrest, are the most important" (1997, p. 148). Though there were shifts in the Canadian state's policy towards Indigenous peoples and its approach to language, these were heavily influenced by currents within liberal philosophy.

McKay singles out seven "arresting moments" of the "Canadian Liberal Revolution, namely: (1) "the Rebellions of 1837, Lord Durham's Report, and the Act of Union of 1841;" (2) the compromise between so-called tories and reformers that precipitated responsible government; (3) the Confederation period from 1864-1896 (which "could be seen not so much as the 'birth of a Nation' as the 'Consolidation of a General Liberal State Program'); (4) "the 'liberalization' of the West;" (5) the National Policy of the 1870s; (6) "the 'liberalization' of Quebec" which neutralized the threat posed by civic humanism and the Catholic Church to liberal hegemony; and (7) the "codification of a framework of civil and criminal law, culminating

in the world novelty of the Criminal Code of Canada (1893)” (McKay, 2000, pp. 632-4). These events highlight a period from the 1830s to the turn of the century that consolidated the liberal order in Canada, many of which have ramifications for language policy and state formation in the upper Great Lakes.

They also coincide with much of the period of high modernism that Scott identified (1998). Thus to the role of liberalism we can add the influence of high modernity, shaping as it did the rationales for racial and other forms of discrimination and the justification for colonialism that would seemingly contradict notions of equality and freedom. The role of liberalism in the “new world” was intimately connected as well to the prevailing thrust of modernity and capitalism. Ultimately, the growing influence of liberalism in the colonized world was conditioned by a premise that fixed rational thought — and thereby civilization — to cultural and linguistic signifiers that would be taken up in nationalist discourses justifying European imperialism. While many liberal philosophers would critique more egregious actions of white settlers taken against Indigenous populations, such as J. S. Mill’s criticism of English settlers’ treatment of the Maori in New Zealand, the presence of these settlers and of colonial administrators continued to be justified on the grounds of showing “inferior” peoples the way to progress (Pitts, 2005, p. 255).

The philosophical tendencies extended not only to questions of civilization, nation, and race, but also to how language was understood and taken up as an object of study. This then both shaped and reflected colonial attitudes toward Indigenous languages of the Americas, which would have lasting effects on the status of these languages well into the twentieth century.

2.2.1 Modern and liberal language ideologies

As Bauman and Briggs (2003) demonstrate, the distinction that many Europeans and Euro-descended settlers in the Americas drew between themselves and indigenous peoples had its roots in the seventeenth century emergence of positivism and modernity. For linguistics, or even philology to emerge as disciplines, or for language to emerge as a distinct topic of study, necessitated a separation of the observer from that which is observed, a separation reified by Sir Francis Bacon’s construction of scientific knowledge as revealing objective truths through

tests with sensorily observable results, isolated from the messy interventions of a social context (2003). The counterposing of *nature* (and indeed, of extrinsic *truths*) against *society* provoked the perception of a need for an objective approach to the study of the world. Those messy elements of humanity, including language in its uncultivated form, clouded observation and required the intervention and interpretation of schooled, (so-called) experts who could extricate themselves from the influences of their social and historical context (2003).

Language itself, and especially rhetorical discourse, was portrayed as an obstacle to be overcome in the pursuit of knowledge. Bacon pursued this effort through the promotion of an artificial, universal language of signs with rigidly defined meaning and divorced from the malleability and subjectivity of utterances in their spoken form (2003). A generation later, John Locke, preoccupied more with the implications for philosophy and politics, promoted a rigorous cleansing process to privilege abstract, rather than concrete referents, premised on his argument that “‘*things* themselves’ are only particulars,” and that the contemplation thereof was “incapable of yielding universal knowledge,” while the combination of abstract propositions could yield universal conclusions (2003, pp. 34-5). Both processes, emerging from a time of significant class stratification in England, reinforced the superiority of elites within the context of an emerging modern project that emphasized order, reason, an objective reality, and human dominion over the natural world. This legitimized domination was also innately stratified, reflecting a contrast between the supposedly civilized, scientific, and knowledgeable, against the primitive, superstitious and ignorant. This contrast would shape not only the development of modernity, but also its contemporaneous evolution along with liberal political philosophy and the growing imperial project that would shape life in the Americas for centuries to come.

Locke’s linguistic purification endeavour, while affirming the social stratification of the time, emphasized the importance of English in civil and political contexts in contrast to the premodern power carried by Latin, whose status as the liturgical language of much of European Christendom invested it with greater capacity to convey truth and closer proximity to the divine (Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Anderson, 2006). While affirming the break from Church-Latin that was advanced throughout the reformation half a century before his first publications, Locke’s endorsement of English should hardly be considered an endorsement of vernacularization. Bauman and Briggs argue that Locke’s English language purification efforts were a means of ridding the knowledge-seeking speaker of a narrow, local, self-centred vantage, cultivating what

he envisaged as a 'cosmopolitan' tongue, capable of producing modern knowledge (2003, p. 68). They note that "by denying women, the poor, country people, and others educational rights, Locke excludes them by fiat from the promise of cosmopolitanism," further entrenching the social inequality of England at the turn of the sixteenth century (2003, p. 69). His adaptation of English for this purpose, however, in the early stages of print-capitalism, should also be considered in the process of the consolidation of England – and the English – as a nation, not just a Kingdom. Likewise Locke's interventions embraced an ontology of language, already apparent in the work of Bacon, that treated languages as objects clearly bounded and discernible from one another, an assumption that would form the basis of modernist contentions with language for the next two centuries (Albury, 2015b, p. 3).

Attempting to divest speech of its reliance on local knowledge, on the traditions and words passed down through generations, Locke endeavoured to purify English by disavowing 'rhetoric' in exchange for an abstract, one-to-one relation between words and meaning, thereby making it more suitable for logical reasoning. Embedded in this proposal was the belief in a singular, independent truth, discernible through scientific testing and reasoning, and the universal capacity for all individuals to employ that same reason. This construction of the rational, disinterested individual would become a hallmark of emerging liberal philosophy (Bauman & Briggs, 2003). Those who demonstrated the capacity to achieve this 'deprovincialized' status — in Locke's milieu, typically the elite male urban English intelligentsia — marked themselves in contrast to those who failed to embrace this process of self-improvement (2003). The agency projected onto the masses was an important feature of emerging liberal philosophy, emphasizing as it did the innate equality of all people, but justifying their material inequality, or their unequal access to influence the political structures that affected their lives, on the basis of a personal failing to undertake such self-improvement efforts (2003). While Locke professed the seemingly contradictory notion that access to political power, or at least the ability to engage with it, was a right of citizenship, his justification of an elite's governance of the masses would be echoed by numerous liberal philosophers throughout the following centuries, and bind liberal philosophy with what would otherwise be the contradictory thrust of imperialism (Singh Mehta, 1999; Bauman & Briggs, 2003).

While there were undoubtedly liberal critics of imperialism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries throughout Britain and France, liberals of both polities embraced a

paternalistic stance that justified their respective imperial regimes (Pitts, 2005; Singh Mehta, 1999). In the case of France, however, liberal hegemony would follow the 1789 revolution, some 35 years after the fall of New France at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War. The *mission civilisatrice* that typified French imperial ambitions was mirrored among British liberals at the turn of the eighteenth century. The notion of civilizational progress, and of Britain's place at the vanguard of that progress, was a common thread in the writing of prominent liberal philosophers and politicians about the colonies, and that place necessitated British intervention to lift up its colonial subjects to the status of equals (Singh Mehta, 1999). In his examination of liberal imperialism as it was manifested in relation to British colonization of India, Uday Singh Mehta argues that British liberals felt compelled to intervene to guide their colonial subjects down the path of civilization:

What was the response of liberal theorists as they cast their gaze on an unfamiliar world? In a word, it was to see those experiences, those life forms, as provisional. The empire as liberals conceived of it, and the terms in which they supported it, was premised on the idea — perhaps it is even correct to call it, as Conrad's Marlow does, the unselfish idea — that in the face of this provisionality it was right, indeed even obligatory, to seek to complete that which was incomplete, static, backward, or otherwise regnant, and to guide it to a higher plateau of stability, freedom, and purposefulness — to hitch it to a more meaningful teleology. (1999, p. 191)

This paternalistic discourse became increasingly common throughout the early nineteenth century, and would perpetuate its subtle embrace of nationalism that was apparent from at least the writings of Locke (1999).

The growing adoption of liberal principles throughout Western Europe remained largely bounded and influenced by nationalism that similarly invested power in a given country's citizenry. Within its own polity, Britain was not only seen as at the pinnacle of human progress, but as uniquely adept for spreading civilization *and* the ideals of liberty, equality, and the rights of citizenship. As Pitts explains, Britain's "gradual and secure progress towards political equality," was contrasted against the perception of "French political failures and instability," while Eastern Europe and other societies were portrayed as lacking political maturity (2005, p. 240). It's less surprising, then, understanding the national caveats placed on liberal ideals that colonial powers and officials were most reluctant to confer the responsibilities of self-government upon

those who were most different from their colonists. Even John Stuart Mill, a staunch advocate of self-government in principle, held that it “applied only to the Anglo-Saxon parts of the empire” (Singh Mehta, 1999, p. 7). Indeed, Mill specifically singles out the prevalence of Britain's “blood and language” as preconditions for colonies’ self-government, precisely at a time when the Empire united a wider diversity of cultures and languages than ever before (p. 196).

Language figured prominently in mid-to-late nineteenth century consolidation of imperial power at a time of waning authority of the monarchy and growing liberal political influence. The ‘official nationalism’ described by Seton-Watson, which was a deliberate alignment of the monarchy or governing elites with an emergent linguistic nationalism to cement its connection to and authority over its polity, was emergent in the time of William IV and embraced under Queen Victoria, and further influenced efforts to promote the Anglicization of the British Empire (Anderson, 2006, pp. 86-8, 91; Singh Mehta, 1999, pp. 15-6). In the context of a growing nationalist sentiment across Europe fuelled by the dovetail of print-capitalism and liberalism, colonial education authorities in India under the administration of Lord Macaulay designed a “thoroughly English educational system” for India (2006, p. 91). State-run education in India would thereafter in Macaulay’s words create “a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect” (as cited in Anderson, 2006, p. 91). Such would be the basis for Britain’s colonial education policy for much of the twentieth century, at least in so far as the recipients of that education were non-European (p. 91). Similar sentiments would be echoed in early twentieth century Canada by Duncan Campbell Scott, deputy superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932, arguing that indigenous peoples of Canada should “progress into civilization and finally disappear as a separate and distinct people, not by race extinction but by gradual assimilation with their fellow [European descended] citizens” (as cited in Cameron, 2011, p. 145).

Concurrently, the process of imperialism that saw European metropolises extend their political power over the Americas placed each of those movements in confrontation with indigenous civilizations that each had their own metaphysical and cosmological philosophies, some shared and some distinct. In nineteenth century North America, ethnologists and missionary linguists drew on language study and documentation as means for establishing various scales of control. Iyengar argues that linguistic advisors to the Smithsonian Institute encouraged philological studies of American Indigenous languages as a means for

understanding the ‘nature’ of Indigenous peoples, while Bauman & Briggs further tie the actions of the Smithsonian and its affiliated ethnologists to the discursive construction of a break between a “primitive or ancient past” and the “modern present” (2014, p. 49; 2003, pp. 250-1). Both draw on the writings and work of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft – a prominent figure in the administration of the Michigan Territory and an amateur ethnologist affiliated with the Smithsonian – to underline their respective claims. While his work and life in northern Michigan will be revisited in subsequent chapters, Schoolcraft’s quest to learn and document the language of Anishinaabe people was motivated by a desire to understand their history as well as their very manner of thinking. In 1823 he expressed, “I am inclined to think that more true light is destined to be thrown on the history of the Indians by a study of their languages than of their traditions, or any other feature,” underscoring an emerging shift in ethnology that emphasized the primacy of language as a source for knowledge (as cited in Iyengar, 2015, p. 50). Later, in 1856, describing the importance of the oral narratives he had recorded from Anishinaabe people, he writes:

[the narratives] are versions of oral relations from the lips of the Indians, and are transcripts of the thought and invention of the aboriginal mind. As such, they furnish illustrations of Indian character and opinions on subjects which the ever-cautious and suspicious minds of this people have, heretofore, concealed (as cited in Bauman & Briggs, 2003, p. 248).

Schoolcraft of course was by no means the first scholar, amateur or otherwise, to posit language and oral narratives as sources of insight into the mind, character, worldview, or essence of a people, though he is likely the most influential among them to work in the upper Great Lakes. Much of the early ethnological and philological work carried out in the United States and Canada presumed the ‘savageness’ of indigenous peoples in contrast to modern European civilization. Drawing on the assumption that languages of advanced civilizations embraced increasing simplicity, indigenous languages of the Americas, viewed through a Euro-centric gaze, appeared complex and thereby primitive. Peter Stephen Du Ponceau (1760-1844), for instance, argued that high morpheme-to-word ratios, which he coined *polysynthesis*, was not only a common feature of all indigenous languages of in the United States (though it was not), but also reflected an early, inferior stage of mental development as compared to Europeans and their own languages (Iyengar, 2015, p. 50). Such conclusions rationalized the unequal standing of

indigenous peoples and American settlers, casting colonial authorities as the reasonable stewards of land and local people who could not be expected to act in their own best interest on account of their deficient mental faculties (2015, p. 57).

The relevance and impact of imperialism on the sociolinguistic dynamics of indigenous peoples throughout the Americas is undeniable. Yet liberal and modernist ideologies, and their impact on state formation, have equally played significant roles in the marginalization of indigenous peoples throughout the continent. The reification of language as a sovereign object of thought and study in the early modern period; its refinement for reasoning, for the demonstration of status, and for defining the boundaries of nations; its appropriation as a vehicle for transmitting the defining features of civilization (with its own liberal and modernist underpinnings) have all been central precursors to the nineteenth and twentieth century policy of British and Canadian authorities in relation to indigenous peoples and the languages they speak, not least of which the Anishinaabeg of the upper Great Lakes. After providing an overview of the theoretical framework and methodology employed in this study, the following chapters will explore how these ideologies and the process of state formation in Canada impacted the linguistic practices, choices and challenges that shifted throughout the history of Anishinaabe and Métis contact with settlers at Baawating.

3 - Theoretical framework and methodology

Research involving or concerning Indigenous communities generated considerable debate in the last twenty-five years regarding the approaches employed in conducting that research.

Conventional methodologies and theoretical frameworks in the western academic tradition have been critiqued extensively for their perpetuation of an intellectual imperialism that marginalizes indigenous paths to knowledge (for examples, see Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Archibald, 2008; Wilson, 2008; Kovach, 2010; Absolon, 2011; and Chilisa, 2012). While largely less focused on the critical debates over post-coloniality that have been especially active in the social sciences, linguistic disciplines have been no stranger to similar critiques. Errington (2007) in particular has drawn attention to trends in philology that have contributed to the development of nationalist ideologies that have been employed to justify European imperialism. The missionary tradition that continues to play an active role in linguistics departments across the Americas continues to use linguistic science to (at least) question indigenous spirituality, while yielding consequences ranging from competing orthographies to the fragmentation of communities (Spolsky, 2009; Errington, 2007). Among the most prevalent critiques that I have witnessed from my own experiences in Indigenous communities in North America have been around questions of (un)ethical research practices and overall relevance to Indigenous communities (For instance, see Jocks, 1998 and Muehlmann, 2007 for a discussion of the disconnect between language documentation and language revitalization). Likewise, in the introduction to his chapter, “They didn’t teach us anything!,” Basil Johnston laments that most Indigenous language instructor programs are designed more for the benefit of linguists than for prospective teachers who could transmit their native languages (2011, p. 134).

Many critics of the colonizing effects of western research paradigms have emphasized the need to revalue indigenous approaches to seeking knowledge. Because these approaches vary from one indigenous civilization to the next, they are impossible to enumerate, but examples specific to Anishinaabe epistemology may range from the mentorship and apprenticeship processes common of healing lodges to the use and repetition of aadizokaanag to convey multi-layered teachings, to name just two examples (Absolon, 2011; Johnston, 2011). Indeed, even mixing indigenous and western methodologies remains controversial, as Absolon

argues it causes a form of decontextualization to indigenous-focussed searches for knowledge (2011, p. 146).

Conversely, fellow contemporary Anishinaabe scholars Leanne Simpson and Edna Manitowabi have conceded the usefulness of western theories, at least for “diagnosing, revealing, and even interrogating colonialism,” while emphasizing the greater capacity for Indigenous knowledge and worldviews to provide healing solutions (2013, p. 279). Other Indigenous scholars have emphasized some academic approaches are not intrinsically irreconcilable with Indigenous paths to knowledge. Bagele Chilisa argues that an integrative approach that allows for drawing on compatible aspects of western academic theories and research techniques is a valuable dimension of Indigenous research paradigms, acknowledging that Indigenous civilizations are not static or isolated from relationships with other civilizations, Indigenous or otherwise (2012, pp. 24-5). This approach is also exemplified by the life and leadership of Shingwaukonse, a leading figure among Anishinaabeg of the upper Great Lakes in the nineteenth century who would eventually be the inaugural chief of the Garden River First Nation under the Robinson Huron Treaty. Shingwaukonse and other Anishinaabe leaders “were continually looking around and borrowing from other sources, while retaining what they wished to keep” (Chute 1998, p. 249). Describing Shingwaukonse’s approach to spirituality, Janet Chute explains that he

...retained a sense of balance and perspective within [a] sea of ideological diversity by retaining much of his faith in his traditional beliefs, while gradually adding aspects of Christian belief to the range of his religious knowledge. This constituted a syncretistic process, involving little polarization of meaning in symbolic terms. The locus of this integration lay with the individual... (1998, p. 43).

Chute describes this approach, not only to spirituality but also to ways of life as part of a “cultural legacy” to his descendants in the areas around the St. Mary’s River (1998, p. 43). While syncreticity is frequently documented among indigenous peoples of the Americas in both pre- and post-contact eras (Meek 2009, p. 166; Kroskrity 2009, pp. 192-6), nonetheless, Shingwaukonse stands out as an example of a local visionary who applied this approach in his own search for resolutions to the problems that afflicted Anishinaabe society during the colonization process.

Absolon offers warnings concerning the disjunction between indigenous and western approaches to the quest for knowledge, she also advocates and privileges holistic approaches to that quest (2011, p. 57). This emphasis on holism is echoed by other indigenous scholars, notably Chilisa, who contends that holistic practices are those most appropriate for work that is for, by, or with indigenous peoples (2012, pp. 23-5). From my own perspective, however, certain syncretic practices are an important component of holism. An integral element of this research is the relationship between Indigenous and Settler communities. I argue that, while indigenous and western worldviews may vary considerably from one another, they are not diametrically opposed to one another. Likewise, each has generated distinct philosophies in response to distinct realities. Furthermore, there is significant diversity within each set of traditions. Consequently, returning to and investigating an era of shared (if not colliding) realities, particularly for the sake of learning more about a process (in this case, language use, mixing and shift) that takes place relationally, necessitates a reliance on both those shared and those colliding worldviews to understand such a process in a fuller complexity.

The methods I have used are partly rooted in those indigenous worldviews relevant to the space in which I will be conducting research, specifically Anishinaabe and Métis territory. I have also draw on methods from the ethnography of Language Policy and Planning, because they render such an investigation useful to the wider study of language reclamation without interfering with the community engagement necessitated by an indigenous-centred search for knowledge, and ethnographic work can be carried out in a “framework of co-participation, social action, and indigenous self-determination” (McCarty, 2013, p. 42). Similarly, I draw on both historiographic methods and local oral history in an effort to recover an understanding of language use and its social meaning in Baawating prior to the lifetimes of any of the research participants.

3.1 Anishinaabe approaches to knowledge

Indigenous, and particularly Anishinaabe methodologies, necessitate the researcher to be spiritually engaged in some form, reflecting an awareness that all knowledge flows from one’s relationship with both creation and with the spirit world (Absolon 2011, 61; Battiste and Henderson 2000, 41). By contrast, linguistic theory and policy studies have typically evaded questions of spirit because of the difficulty in proving any demonstrable relationship between spirit and social, linguistic, or political forces.

Part of this spiritual engagement is tied to the use of tobacco, both as a means of prayer as well as an offering to those from whom I seek knowledge. The use of tobacco in these ways is also tied inextricably to respect for local protocols, as both Chiefs of Garden River and Batchewana expressed the expectation that tobacco be offered to participants, particularly when speaking with elders. Whenever I was advised that tobacco would be inappropriate based on the beliefs or practices of a particular participant, a substitution would be made based on the advice of someone well known to them. This occurred only once, and a small box of tea was offered in recognition of the time they gave up to speak with me.

The use of tobacco in these respects can be easily misunderstood in a western academic context. The process of offering tobacco stems not from its usefulness as a commercial or agricultural product, but from the sacred story (*aadizokaan*) of the Earth's first people. In the story, Wa-bun', one of the sons of Waynaboozhoo⁴ and the Firekeeper's daughter, travels to the East where he meets the Firekeeper of the Eastern direction. The Firekeeper calls the East "the source of all knowledge" (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 24). He counsels Wa-bun' to "pay attention to all the things your Mother Earth has to teach you," and proceeds to teach him about Tobacco (1988, p. 24). The Firekeeper explained, "The smoke from Tobacco will carry your thoughts into the Spirit World. Its smoke will be your visible thoughts. You must use tobacco when you want to speak with your Grandfather, the Creator" (1988, p. 24).

The connection of tobacco to the East (the source of all knowledge) and its use for communication with the Creator and other spirits are the reasons for its use in exchange for information or help in Anishinaabe society. Not only does the tobacco offered by an individual reveal that person's true intentions, it continues to be a vehicle for the recipient to communicate with the spirit world as well.

As this example demonstrates, the *aadizokaanag* are among the principal sources of Anishinaabe philosophy or theory. Consequently one of these stories figures prominently in the research, which will be discussed further in subsequent pages of this chapter. Obviously with this research centring on the Baawating area and on the experiences of Anishinaabe people, such a focus on Anishinaabe worldviews is a necessity.

⁴ Nanaboozhoo in the areas surrounding Baawating.

An additional consideration was the legacy of knowledge theft that many Indigenous communities have experienced in relation to academic institutions (Tuhivai Smith 1999). In some respects, institutionalized academic practices that are intended to protect participants can inadvertently contribute to this legacy of erasure. For this reason, it was necessary to give participants the option to ask that I use their names in this research. Recognizing participant names, when they requested so, allows for the lineage of the knowledge that is being shared to also be recognized. Though I did not ask why participants made the choices they did in relation to being named or not (it was outside the scope of this research, and thus none of my business) ultimately all chose to have their names used.

3.1.1 The Seven Fires

The foundation of this research begins with the Seven Fires prophecies that were relayed to Anishinaabe people prior to contact with Europeans, when Anishinaabe people lived on the northeast coast of North America (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 89; Gaikezheyongai, 2002, p. 9). Though they may not be familiar to or accepted by all Anishinaabe people and communities, they are particularly recognized by those with connections to or familiarity with Midewiwin lodges, and they are alluded to in William Warren's 1885 history as well. Each fire represented a distinct prophecy (1988, p. 89). The period covered by this research begins in the fourth fire, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The fourth fire marked the arrival of Europeans and their interaction with Anishinaabe peoples. When the prophecies were relayed by the *nee-gawn-na-kayg'* (translated as 'prophets' by Eddie Benton-Banai), two delivered that of the fourth fire:

One of the prophets said, ""You will know the future of our people by what face the Light-skinned Race was. If they come wearing the face of *nee-kon'-nis-i-win* (brotherhood), then there will come a time of wonderful change for generations to come. They will bring new knowledge and articles that can be joined with the knowledge of this country. In this way two nations will join to make a mighty nation. This new nation will be joined by two more so that the four will form the mightiest nation of all. You will know the face of brotherhood if the Light-skinned Race comes carrying no weapons, if they come bearing only their knowledge and a handshake.

The other prophet said, “Beware if the Light-skinned Race comes wearing the face of ni-boo-win’ (death). You must be careful because the face of brotherhood and the face of death look very much alike. If they come carrying a weapon ... beware. If they come in suffering... they could fool you. Their hearts may be filled with greed for the riches of this land. If they are indeed your brothers, let them prove it. Do not accept them in total trust. You shall know that the face they wear is the one of death if the rivers run with poison and fish become unfit to eat. (Benton-Banai, 1988, pp. 89-90)

The fifth fire was a time of struggle stemming from the colonization of North America (Gaikezhoyongai, 2002, p. 19). During this fire, Benton-Banai recounts that many Anishinaabeg will follow a false promise of salvation that leads them away from their traditional teachings with catastrophic consequences (1988, p. 90).

The sixth fire involved the near destruction of Anishinaabe civilization as children were removed from their families, from their traditional teachings, and from the influence of elders. Sally Gaikezhoyongai explains, “the sixth fire is lit when children turn away in shame from who they are” (2002, p. 22). Connecting this fire to the effects of residential schools in Canada and boarding schools in the United States, Gaikezhoyongai explains “The residential school experience taught many young people there was nothing good about being Indian. The teachers said the old ways of living were pagan and evil. This new way of living was what was best for all. [...] [The children] had no choice but to go along with the new ways of doing things” (2002, p. 22). The consequences of this rupture lasted long after students left school. The assault on Anishinaabe families and knowledge left generations without the skills of how to care for one another while racist discrimination continued to marginalize indigenous people within settler society (2002, p. 22).

The seventh prophet told the people that in the seventh fire, “a Osh-ki-bi-ma-di-zeeg’ (New People) will emerge. They will retrace their steps to find what was left by the trail. Their steps will take them to the elders who they will ask to guide them on their journey” (Benton-Banai, 1988, pp. 91, 93). This task would prove difficult, as many elders will not have the teachings to offer or will be afraid (1988, p. 93). If the new people are successful in their search, however, and the Midewiwin teachings and drums are heard again, the “Light skinned race” will have a choice between two roads (1988, p. 93). One road leads to the eighth fire; and

era of friendship, love, and peace. The other road, said by some to be that of technology and unfettered development, leads to destruction (1988, p. 93).

Not only do the prophecies account for many of the events that have occurred over the last five hundred years (including the Anishinaabe westward migration, the impact of missionaries and of later governments assimilative and destructive policies, as well as movements for healing and cultural revitalization), they also provide insight into common aspects of human experience (See Gaikezheyongai, 2002 for reflections that focus on how individuals survive and cope with trauma). For the purposes of this project, however, the significance of the prophecies will be primarily with the historical trajectory they chart and their ramifications for understanding the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples.

3.2 Guiding parameters of research:

Much of what has been discussed points to some of the ethical concerns that present themselves in indigenous research. Added to these concerns are the complexities of my own relationship to the participants and the area. I am in some respects an insider and some (perhaps more) respects an outsider. I was raised in a sense in a parallel community, sharing space with members of the Batchewana and Garden River First Nations and the Métis Nation, but still in many ways segregated. My implication in indigenous communities came first through academic institutions and political organizing, resulting in the bulk of my social network being of the same generation (perhaps not surprisingly). And while I have come to know about personal indigenous (Mi'kmaw) lineage through my participation in Anishinaabe Mide ceremonies in 2013, I nonetheless grew up in the privileges of white settler society and continue to benefit from that privilege, and have no personal Indigenous cultural context beyond the relationships I have made in adulthood. Addressing the complexities of my role within my community and within this research necessitates establishing parameters for conducting my work in a good, respectful way. The parameters guiding my research will be:

1. Honouring the ecology in which my work is being carried out (Battiste and Henderson 2000, 41). This entails:
 1. Acknowledging my responsibilities to maintain relationships within my communities and the communities in which I work;

2. Ensuring that the knowledge gained throughout the research continues to be accessible and passed on within my communities and the communities in which I work; and
 3. Acknowledging that misuse of knowledge can be catastrophic, and to avoid such misuse at all costs by continuing to study in dialogue with elders and community members. (Battiste and Henderson, 2000, p. 41)
2. **Framing analysis within the context of indigenous intelligence** (Dumont 2002). Related to parameter (1), Dumont argues, “if our use of our knowledge and our approach disturbs or disrupts the balance and harmony of the life around us, it cannot be considered an intelligent act, according to indigenous standards of intelligence” (Dumont, 2002, n.p.). Thus my analysis must not in any negative way disrupt the balance and harmony of life in my communities or the communities in which I work.
 3. **Speakers define their own linguistic reality.** The uses of and distinctions between various varieties and styles of language use will be taken from participants.
 4. **Respecting that some knowledge is not intended for my audience,** and that the project’s ultimate readership could be beyond my intended audience. Consequently, traditional knowledge with an intended, restricted audience must be excluded from the written records of the research (Absolon, 2011, p. 160).
 5. **That control over the direction of the project be shared between myself, the communities in which I work, and the direct participants.** Consequently, permission must be sought from the leadership of all communities involved in the research. Likewise, all interviewees will have the opportunity to redact transcripts of interviews or my interpretation of what they have shared with me. Finally, all direct participants will have the opportunity to provide feedback on a final draft of my dissertation before it is submitted for defence.
 6. **Respecting established community protocols.** Care must be taken to ensure the proper sequence of protocols take place before pursuing any particular action (Irlbacher-Fox, 2009, p. 40; Absolon, 2011, p. 86). This includes, but is not limited to, consulting with leadership, elders, and prominent community members and activists before beginning the research process itself.

3.2.1 Bridging Indigenous and Western academic approaches to language

How language is defined and bounded is another area where there are significant potentials for syncreticity between indigenous and western academic worldview. Indigenous scholars that emphasize a relationship between language and the natural environment, and post-modern linguists that emphasize the locally situated, relational construction of linguistic meaning, both caution against the use of descriptions of language practice that rely on deterministic definitions of language or 'dialect' boundaries (Battiste and Henderson, 2000; Noori, 2013; Pennycook, 2010; Canagarajah, 2005). Instead, the descriptions I offer of language are based on how participants describe language and the languages spoken in the community. This does not have a substantially different effect, however. Most participants identified dialect as a salient feature in some form or other, and acknowledged a particular distinction between Ojibwe, as it was spoken in Garden River and Batchewana, and Odaawaa, which is spoken primarily on Manitoulin Island and communities around Lake Huron. Occasionally words and text in French and Anishinaabemowin are presented without translation, in keeping with York University's policy of accommodating English, French, and the Indigenous languages of the Americas. However all of the interviews were conducted almost entirely in English, as it was the strongest shared language between myself and the participants.

3.3 Language ecology

The concept of ecology has been drawn into both western and North American Indigenous discussions pertaining to language, though often with different implicit intentions. Stemming from the reciprocal relationship of indigenous peoples with land, based on what Patrick describes as "different cosmologies governing social and cultural meanings and human relationships to the natural world," language and land are often intimately linked in North American Indigenous language ontologies (2007, p. 47). Marie Battiste, for instance, describes the Mi'kmaw language as deriving from the interplay of perception, as experienced through all of the human senses, and the natural environment. In the interplay, "[p]erceptions of the sensory world unfold as affective sounds and rhythm," local ecologies produce language, as these sounds and rhythms are refined to words (2000, pp. 25-26).

Such conceptions of the origin of language bear similarity to those of Johan Gottfried Herder, a precursor of the romantic nationalists in the late eighteenth century German states.

Herder argued, in his 1772 essay *On the Origin of Language*, that language derived from the human capacity for reflection (*besonnenheit*) which, mediated by humanity's sensory experience of the natural world, produced language (1966, pp. 112-139). Yet, it is important not to make the fallacious assumption that the similarity of an indigenous idea to one with European origins means the former is necessarily derived from the latter. Battiste also offers unique explanations for her theory not seen in the work of Herder, noting "The Mi'kmaw language has always been made up of forces (*mntu'k*) that underlie the perceived world — these forces give rise to the perceived world" (2000, p. 76). This stance is similar to that expressed by Fred Kelly (2008), and has corollaries in the Anishinaabe *manidoog*. Kelly underscores the spiritual genesis of language, describing it as "an inviolable gift to the Indigenous peoples from the Creator and their ancestors" (2008, p. 37). Lorena Sekwan Fontaine elaborates that, "language is a gift given in the spirit realm, during a sacred period described as the time before the beginning of time" (2019). This is in stark contrast to Herder, who vehemently critiqued the notion that language had any divine origins (1966).

Jeanette Armstrong also describes how the environment shaped her Nsyilxcən (Okanagan) language:

My own father told me that it was the land that changed the language because there is a special knowledge in each different place. All my elders say that it is land that holds all knowledge of life and earth and is a constant teacher. [...] In this sense, all Indigenous peoples' languages are generated by a precise geography and arise from it. (Armstrong cited in Lawrence & Dua, 2011, p. 243)

Far from 'fixing' indigenous languages in space, as Blommaert has critiqued place-based accounts of language (2010, p. 45), the explanations elaborated by Armstrong and Battiste offer snapshots of genesis, change, and variation in linguistic systems. These unique language ontologies may also impact the ways in which Anishinaabe linguistic expression has been impacted by and responded to contact with other cultural groups.

Within the western academic context, the notion of a language ecology has also been taken up, though not without controversy. The first explicit definition of a conceptual framework of language ecology emerged from Einar Haugen in 1970, in which he articulated ten defining questions that cut across the sub-disciplines of linguistics, namely:

1. What is its *classification* in relation to other languages?

2. Who are its *users*? This is a question of *linguistic demography*, locating its users with respect to locale, class, religious or any other relevant grouping;
3. What are its *domains* of use, this is a question of *sociolinguistics*, discovering whether its use is unrestricted or limited in specific ways;
4. What *concurrent languages* are employed by its users? We may call this a problem of *dialinguistics*, to identify the degree of bilingualism present and the degree of overlap among the languages;
5. What *internal varieties* does the language show? This is the task of a *dialectology* that will recognize not only regional, but also social and contactual dialects;
6. What is the nature of its *written traditions*? This is the province of *philology*, the study of written texts and their relationship to speech;
7. To what degree has its written form been *standardized*, i.e. unified and codified? This is the province of prescriptive linguistics, the traditional grammarians and lexicographers;
8. What kind of *institutional support* has it won, either in government, education, or private organizations, either to regulate its form or propagate it? We may call this study *glottopolitics*;
9. What are the *attitudes* of its users towards the language, in terms of intimacy and status, leading to personal identification? We may call this the file of *ethnolinguistics*;
10. Finally, we may wish to sum up its status in a *typology* of *ecological* classification, which will tell us something about where the language stands and where it is going in comparison with the other languages of the world. (Haugen as cited in Mühlhäusler, 1996, pp. 3-4.)

For his part, Peter Mühlhäusler, who developed perhaps the most thorough account of language ecology published to date, with a focus on the languages of the Pacific, explicitly referred to the notion of ecology as applied to language as “a metaphor derived from the study of living beings” (1996, p. 1). He cautioned that

The view that one can study language as one studies the interrelationship of organisms with and within their environment presupposes a number of subsidiary metaphors and assumptions, most notably that languages can be regarded as entities, that they can be located in time and space and that the ecology of languages is at least in part different from that of their speakers. (Mühlhäusler, 1996, pp. 1-2)

Such subsidiary metaphors have garnered considerable critique. Many have highlighted the risk of essentializing languages and valuing them at the expense of their speakers, or reifying language as discrete, bounded objects (See Muehlmann 2007, Jaffe 2007). Pennycook maintains that discussing linguistic diversity in the context of ecology is “inevitably tied in this cultural climate to negate the social, cultural and political,” in so far as there exists a prominent trend in Anglo-American society at the turn of the century to increasingly take refuge in genetically-based explanations of biological determinism for a growing range of social and political questions (2010, p. 95). Similar critiques have been proposed by Cameron, who argues that linking language endangerment to ecological concerns serves to depoliticize the plight of a language’s speakers, while subsuming culture within nature (2007, p. 284). Likewise in earlier work, he critiques discourses of language ecology for privileging a stance based on “an insipid and romantic liberalism that suggests that society is maintained by consensus, or a vapid politics that insists on peace, justice, rights and harmony” in contrast to the contributions of critical theory, which have emphasized the influence of class and social conflict (2004, p. 222). What such critiques overlook is both the ability to move beyond the contemporary, de-politicized discourses of ecology that reify the semiotic association of the natural world to the western academic institution of biological sciences, as well as overlooking the co-occurrence of indigenous epistemologies centred on the interconnection inherent of ecologies, and indigenous conflicts with and contestations of scientific discourses (Absolon, 2011, p. 31; Atleo, p. 2004). Indeed, ecologies can be rife with conflict. Consequentially, Pennycook and Cameron’s critiques of ‘language ecology’ do not address models of ecology that embrace their understanding of language as part of a semiotic order of relations and associations, rather than as a discrete, bounded object. Relations of power, and particularly parameters such as class, gender, race, ability and others can be well accounted for in an ecological metaphor, so long as language is not treated as a discrete, bounded object.

Many indigenous scholars have emphasized ontologies of language that are fundamentally at odds with modernist notions of both the parsing of the world into separate domains of knowledge and of the fixedness of language that are foundational to the risks noted above. Kanienké:ha scholar, Chris Jocks explains that “the separation of political analysis from ‘cultural’ factors such as language and religion — not to mention other categories such as gender or science or economy/ecology — is markedly non-traditional” (1998, 222). In the

Haudenosaunee Longhouse tradition, the modern disciplinary divisions of economy, politics, and science (among others) find little currency, and instead are conceptualized as part of a holistic system. He elaborates:

It is not that Longhouse traditionalists make no distinction among these, or live in some kind of primitive-romantic intellectual formlessness. Longhouse practice naturally recognizes distinct areas of concern or interest among persons, activities, and expressions, but it also persistently attends to the interconnectedness of these nodes. (Jocks 1998, 222)

Similarly, Nuu-chah-nulth philosopher and educator, Richard Atleo (Umeek), in his treatise on Nuu-chah-nulth worldview, *Tsawalk*, articulates the interconnection of life as explained through Nuu-chah-nulth traditional stories that elaborate the foundational theory of *Heshook-ish tsawalk*, or “everything is still one” (2004). This interconnection extends to unite both the physical and spiritual realms, as “biodiversity, a purely physical phenomenon, is brought about by transformations effected by a *chiha*, a spirit being,” (Atleo, 2004, p. 69). This philosophy is echoed in Anishinaabe teachings, as social work scholar Kathy Absolon (Minogiizhigokwe), articulates “Indigenous worldviews teach people to see themselves humbly within a larger web or circle of life” (2011, p. 31). She echoes the spiritual extension of this interconnection, noting, “Spirituality is inherent in Indigenous epistemology, which sees everything in relation to Creation and recognizes that all life has Spirit and is sacred” (2011, p. 61). The spiritual significance of language in Anishinaabe epistemology and ontology is innate, as has been discussed previously. Drawing on Harold Cardinal and Walter Hildebrandt (2000), Lorena Fontaine explains,

The creation story indicates that before we travel from the spirit world to the physical world, the Creator speaks to us, prepares us for life in the physical world and gives us direction. These instructions [...] are given in our ancestral languages. This demonstrates that language is not only sacred but also a crucial part of our connection with the spiritual realm. Language is therefore more than just words and expression; it is recognized as a gift and responsibility received from the Creator, intended to teach principles of life and existence. (2019, n.p.)

This responsibility entails not only the maintenance of these languages to sustain those principles, but as Eddie Benton-Banai has emphasized, it also entails a respect for the ancestral

languages of others, recognizing that they are inalienable and cannot be extinguished (Doris Young, personal communication from Edward Benton-Banai, September, 2007). This teaching also reflects the balance that accords from distinct peoples abiding by the gifts given to them by the Creator. Mide Anishinaabe scholar Jim Dumont relates maintaining balance to conceptualizations of indigenous intelligence, stating “if our use of our knowledge and our approach disturbs or disrupts the balance and harmony of the life around us, it cannot be considered an intelligent act” (2002a, n.p.).

It is in this broad context that I wish to situate the concept of ecology as a framework for this research: In the interconnection of life, spirit, and all aspects of the material world. A change in one domain (to use the terminology of language management), will result in changes in its other corresponding interconnected domains. Thus, the political is ecological, as is the social, the economic, the cultural, and so on. Mühlhäusler also highlights the advantages that an ecological approach offers in contrast to those that privilege an understanding of linguistic and social systems:

I have found that the ecological metaphor is particularly productive and a great deal more appealing than a systems metaphor. The latter suggests that we can hope for mechanical, all be it complex explanations or that it is indeed legitimate to study a self-contained system or language as part of a larger system. An ecological view, on the other hand, suggests that we can at best achieve partial and local explanations but that we can hope for understanding and empathy. (1996, p. 2)

Spolsky also emphasizes not only the utility, but the necessity of an ecological view for understanding the linguistic choices that speakers make (or the choices that they have available to them)(2009, p. 1). He explains that such models “correlate social structures and situations with linguistic repertoires” (2009, p. 1).

Though some have extended the ecological metaphor to include a language-internal ecology, where aspects of grammatical and phonological change can be the result of competition between variant forms (see Mufwene 2001), my focus is uniquely on the experience of Indigenous speakers (not exclusively *Indigenous language* speakers) in the areas surrounding Baawating, largely from Batchawana Bay to St. Joseph Island (with occasional reference to areas outside this region as far as they are relevant to what happens within it). Rather than examining the ecology in relation to a language, as Haugen’s framework suggests,

my approach is based on the linguistic choices and behaviours of particular people. Consequently, some of Haugen's questions fall outside of my scope, though some of this is also attributable to limitations on my areas of expertise, access to data, and the compounding pressure of time.

I have thus far, and will continue to make only passing references to linguistic classification. Likewise with discussion of internal varieties of the languages discussed in this research, I have deferred in part to descriptions from the historical record and partly to the descriptions of local speakers. In addition to the reasons already noted, my primary purpose for doing so is to privilege the way local people define their linguistic practices and identify what is salient to them about their realm of linguistic choice. This is not to suggest that dialectological study or linguistic typology are not useful or meaningful, but rather that they are simply different projects.

Similarly, my interest in an ecological approach lies not in lending my labour to the construction of a body of knowledge on language ecology, but in understanding the dynamics and pressures on the linguistic options of local communities, and how they are influenced by the interconnecting facets of local realities. So I pay little attention to fitting what follows into a typology of ecological classification. Indeed, my focus (generally speaking) ends roughly in the early 1970s, though I offer descriptions of the language ecology of that time, and later still elaborate on why it is relevant to today.

Haugen's notion of *glottopolitics* has a corollary in the contemporary study of language policy. While considerable attention is paid to the institutional support or suppression of languages by the state, education and other social structures, I explore this in a broader framework of language policy, per Spolsky's definition encompassing not only these features that he calls language management, but the language practices and beliefs (2009, p. 4). Describing these facets of policy, he explains:

Language practices are the observable behaviors and choices — what people actually do [...] The beliefs that are most significant to language policy and management are the values or statuses assigned to named languages, varieties, and features. [...] [and] language management [is] the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs. (2009, p. 4)

Spolsky's account of language management includes the ways that institutions, particularly (though not exclusively) governments, enact policies — informed by language practices as beliefs — to address 'language problems.' Those problems, of course, are also discursively constructed based not only on practices and beliefs themselves, but as well as *perceptions* of language practices and corresponding value judgements about the desirability or undesirability of certain language practices. The framing of language 'problems' in Baawating has changed dramatically over hundreds of years, and currently among the most pressing is the spectre of language loss as the few remaining fluent speakers of Anishinaabemowin continue to age or pass on to the spirit world. However, understanding how we came to this point and place requires an understanding of dynamic ways language policy has changed throughout the region over time. Though I can only offer a general survey of these changes over the course of the 300 years covered by this research, this nonetheless touches not only on each of Haugen's questions, but on the interwoven aspects of social, economic, political, cultural, environmental and spiritual life.

3.4 Ethnography of language policy

A growing body of work in the academic disciplines of language policy and language revitalization have employed ethnographic methods as a means for understanding the role of language in its social and cultural context (See Perley, 2011; Meek 2009; and McCarty, 2011). Throughout the 1980s, ethnographic approaches to language research advocated by Hymes began to play an increasingly strong role in language policy research that focussed on the reclamation of indigenous languages (McCarty, 2013, p. 41; Gilmore, 2011, p. 123; Johnson & Ricento, 2013, p. 14). Because, as Johnson and Ricento explain, the kinds of policy established by institutions such as the state cannot produce predictable results ("especially considering the ideological inconsistencies found in many policies"), ethnographic approaches to language policy research shed light on the relationships between various layers of policy and practice (2013, p. 14). In a related article, Hornberger and Johnson identify ethnography of language policy as holding the capacity to shed light on the processes involved in language planning and policy formation, to explore the connections between various layers of policy, and thereby mobilize such knowledge to promote more equitable policies that challenge systems of oppression (2011). McCarty argues, similarly, that ethnographic approaches to language policy can provide a holistic framework rooted in sociohistorical and cultural context (McCarty, 2013,

p. 41). McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol and Zepeda note the roots of their approach to ethnography of language policy lying with Dell Hymes' ethnography of communication (2011, 31). Both Hymes and McCarty et al. argue for a shift away from looking at the abstract universal properties of language and toward the role of language within speech communities for the sake of addressing inequality and injustice, "through knowledge of the ways in which language is actually organized as a human problem and resource" (Hymes, 1980, p. 56). The use of ethnographic methods, then, is extremely useful to understand the processes that contributed to language shift in Baawating and the ramifications for the continuing relationship between Indigenous and Settler peoples in this area.

Where my own ethnographic practices diverge from those of McCarty et al. (2011) or Perley (2011), for instance, is that I have not taken on any particular role within the community (e.g. Teacher or assistant). Rather, my "entry point" is more amorphous, beginning from my involvement with Shingwauk Kinooomaage Gamig and an earnest participant in indigenous language and cultural activities in a diverse small city along the St. Mary's River, which shifted as I took on new roles within the community. These positions, rather than being locations of observation, were locations of relationship formation and maintenance. These relationships then informed the recruitment of participants into the research. The observations of these participants are outlined primarily in Chapter 7, and stem from their reflections on language use, attitudes and regulations in their daily lived experiences, rather than from pre-determined research sites.

Historical records and oral histories also feature prominently in the project, particularly in chapters 4, 5, and 6 respectively. Uncovering references to language use in historic documents can be challenging, particularly given many people might only consider language as the thing we use to record history, rather than the object of recorded history itself. Consequently, journals, correspondence, and records do not provide a full story of language use at this significant period of the relationship between Anishinaabeg and settlers. Oral histories, to an extent, face similar challenges, with language being largely the unmarked and unremarked medium through which information is conveyed, concealing the message of how language reflects social organization. Nonetheless, these sources still shed considerable light on how language use shaped and reflected life in Baawating.

By triangulating findings in both historical documents and oral histories from the same time period, I hope to contribute to indigenous projects of remembering and reframing (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, pp. 146, 153). Remembering language use in this period sheds light on how indigenous languages came to be displaced, as well as demonstrating alternatives that are alive and well in our past. Reframing, by contrast, will highlight language shift in its historic context, stepping out of frames that ignore how the process of language shift actually took place.

3.5 Methods:

Historical records, policy documents, community participation, and interviews are the principal sources of information informing this investigation, with a focus on the indigenous populations around the northern side of the rapids at St. Mary's River, today constituting the territory of the Batchewana First Nation, Garden River First Nation, the Sault Ste. Marie Historic Métis Council, and the City of Sault Ste. Marie.

After obtaining approval from the York University Research Ethics Board in the summer of 2014, based on the 6th parameter outlined above and out of respect for protocol requiring permission before conducting work with the local communities, I approached both the Sault Ste. Marie Historic Métis Council and the Chief and Council of Batchewana First Nation to seek approval for my proposed project before commencing any work involving community members. That approval was granted in August 2014 and September 2014 respectively. I was later granted approval by the then-Chief of Garden River First Nation, Paul Syrette, to conduct the research among Garden River members, with the assistance of my friend and colleague, Deb Pine, a Garden River band member and locally well known for her efforts to learn and speak Ojibwe.

While I have limited the scope of the communities that I have engaged in this project, the description of the communities involved is sufficiently broad so as to respect and acknowledge how they are connected to other spaces and communities and the fluid delimitation of their boundaries. Focus on the north side of the riverbank stems from the 1783 Treaty of Paris that affirmed the imposition of the Canada-U.S. border through the middle of the river (and consequently, the middle of Anishinaabe and Métis territories), which also affirmed two unique policy paradigms on either side.

3.5.1 Historical sources

Policy documents highlight explicit policy where available, however historical records shed greater light on informal policies and practices, as well as how more formal policies were received and actualized ‘on the ground.’ Sources for these records include the Sault Ste. Marie Public Library Archives, the Shingwauk Residential School Archives, the Archives of Ontario, Library and Archives Canada, the Archives of the Hudson’s Bay Company, and the oral histories of Garden River, Batchewana, and Sault Ste. Marie.

The archives were selected based on three criteria, namely (a) their location and focus on the study area and time period; (b) containing records of institutions, or reports or correspondence from agents of institutions active within the study area during the study time period; and (c) personal accessibility. There are undoubtedly additional locations that may hold relevant documents — notably archives in the United Kingdom, France, or the United States — however they were ultimately not pursued for reasons including uncertainty over their relevance and accessibility. In one instance, I planned to visit the archives contained at the public library in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, however these plans were interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic and the ensuing closure of the international border. These omissions leave great potential for further study.

Though all of the archives contained documents that shed light into life in the region over different parts of the historical period in question, a more limited range was relevant to the question of language, or shed new insights not contained elsewhere. In such circumstances, I have chosen to cite secondary sources that summarize relevant findings succinctly. Partly this is to acknowledge the role such sources play in my own knowledge and reading of the historical record, and partly for expediency and maintaining an element of compactness to a document that spans three hundred and fifty years of events.

Secondary sources also play an important role in shaping the narrative that follows. The rich body of work compiled by contemporary historians (Anishinaabe and non-Indigenous alike) provided further access to historical sources and information that were not available from the archives to provide a more cohesive narrative.

Both primary and secondary historical sources, however, present challenges for interpretation, principally around questions of authorship and standpoint. The vast majority of

the primary records from the study period that were accessible (and that are cited herein) were written or tallied by white settler men.⁵ As shall be seen, this carries significant limitations for their understanding of events and especially to their interpretation, documentation, and even access to knowledge about Indigenous people's actions and understanding of the socio-historical, natural, and cosmological environment.

This is not to say that Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples in this region throughout history did not keep records. To the contrary, Alan Corbiere and others have demonstrated not only that there are rich traditions of Indigenous forms of documentation, such as through wampum belts, but also that there were significant rates of alphabetic literacy in Indigenous languages particularly in the nineteenth century (2003). What is different, however, is the ongoing accessibility of many of these records. Though some of these sources do survive in contemporary archives, most were not preserved in a publicly accessible fashion, as institutions dominated by White Settler actors and interests made determinations about what merited being saved for historical record.

Still, there was not a uniform white settler perspective. There are competing interests, ideologies, relationships, and understanding within and between such sources. It's also important for contemporary viewers to recall that all people can — and do — change their minds and actions over time. The archival sources that were available provide important insights into how Settler communities and actors within Settler institutions understood their worlds and the intent (insofar as it is shared) of their actions. These insights can exemplify the consolidation of ideological hegemony and counter-hegemonies throughout the colonization process and the creation of the Settler state. Crucially to this study, they can elucidate the place of language in these contexts. The limitation of these sources is that they provide little in the way of understanding Indigenous peoples' side(s) of the story.

Understanding how institutional policy affects the emotional life of individuals and thus informs language choices, by contrast, necessitates the testimony of the very people making

⁵ I state this with the acknowledgement that the boundaries of "whiteness" shifted throughout the period and varied depending on the viewer. Many missionaries, for instance, were not of Anglo-Saxon or Celtic background, but for the most part they would have gained some form of social and political status from the roles they played. Actors within competing religious orders and denominations might have also refused to view their competitors as legitimate settler subjects, but within their own orders or denominations, they would have still held legitimacy.

those language choices. Calliou notes that local oral Indigenous knowledge “can also be used to rewrite history to include an Aboriginal perspective,” and that oral histories “provide primary research material where written evidence is lacking” (2000, pp. 25-6). Because language shift is not a one-way process of indigenous language loss in the region, developing a full picture of language policy and choice necessitates seeking the input of individuals representing diverse experiences with language shift. To that end, eleven semi-structured interviews were carried out with individuals who were members of Garden River, Batchewana, or Sault Ste. Marie Métis communities, and who were either Indigenous language speakers or who did not grow up speaking an Indigenous language because of the impacts of language shift on older generations.

Thus there are limitations on what can be inferred from earlier periods. There are considerable oral histories, particularly from many figures in Garden River and Batchewana’s political leadership in the nineteenth century. These histories persist in the communities today, including among some of the interview participants, and have also been documented by historians in some of the secondary sources that have been cited, such as Janet Chute’s work (1997; 1998). Nonetheless, for some of the time periods, groups and individuals discussed, we only have access to accounts from settler sources that would have likely been shaped differently from the vantage point of their own understanding of the reported events or perspective.

The content of interview questions spanned personal history and memories pertaining to restrictions on language choice as well as reflections on current language practices and motivations for their respective choices. Because of the trauma enacted by the Indian Residential School system and its legacy, referrals to social and psychological supports were made available to interviewees, and interviews were conducted in spaces that the interviewees deemed most comfortable and appropriate, wherever possible.

3.5.2 Introducing interviewees

Charlie Pine is the eldest speaker in Garden River from the community, and he grew up in the 1940s speaking Anishinaabemowin as the regular language of home and work life. His mother was from Sagamok and spoke both Ojibwe and English (personal communication, July 6, 2016).

Fred and Louise Pine are both speakers of Anishinaabemowin and live in Garden River. Fred grew up in Garden River in the 1950s and later married Louise who was born in Birch Island around the same time. Fred's father was from Garden River and his mother was from Manitoulin Island. Each of Fred and Louise's parents spoke Anishinaabemowin and English (personal communication, October 3, 2016).

Elizabeth Jones is a Garden River band member living in French Bay. She was adopted and was a Batchewana band member growing up in the same area in the 1940s and 50s before relocating with her family to the Rankin location where she lived until she married her husband Gordie and moved back to French Bay. She grew up speaking English and French in a multilingual household (personal communication, July 6, 2016).

Brenda Powley is a Senator with the Historic Sault Ste. Marie Métis Council. She grew up in the west end of Sault Ste. Marie in the 1950s, largely unaware of her Métis ancestry, until her family became more involved in Métis advocacy. In the 1990s, her husband and son were charged for ostensive illegal harvesting for shooting a moose. The case would eventually be decided by the Supreme Court and set precedent in the recognition of Métis harvesting rights (personal communication, July 21, 2016).

Judy Syrette is a Batchewana band member who grew up in the 1950s French Bay area of Garden River. Though her grandparents who raised her largely communicated with her in English, she recalls how her grandparents spoke Anishinaabemowin and the linguistic dynamics at Garden River when she was growing up. She went on to assist in the development of the Anishinaabemowin B.A. program at Algoma University (later transferred to Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig) (personal communication, August 19, 2015).

Cathy Syrette (Zoongiigaboowikwe) is a Batchewana band member who grew up in the 1950s and 60s French Bay area of Garden River. Though her grandparents and parents largely communicated with her in English, she recalls how they spoke Anishinaabemowin and the linguistic dynamics at Garden River when she was growing up, as well as her mother's struggle to reclaim her language. She is now the Director of the Indigenous Friendship Centre in Sault Ste. Marie (personal communication, February 16, 2016).

Dean Sayers is Chief of Batchewana First Nation and grew up in Batchewana Village at the Obadjiwan Location in the 1960s. Though his parents largely communicated with him and his siblings in English, they were among the most fluent speakers of Anishinaabemowin prior to

their passing in the 2010s. They were also some of the first Ojibwe language instructors at the Sault Ste. Marie Indigenous Friendship Centre. Chief Sayers is also a direct descendant of Batchewana's first chief, Nebenaigooching (personal communication, November 5, 2018).

Steve Gjos (Zhitwaamayinganenimod) is a retired OPP officer and active member of the Historic Sault Ste. Marie Métis Council. He grew up in East-end Sault Ste. Marie in the 1960s, somewhat aware of his Indigenous heritage, however this information was largely kept secret until attitudes toward Métis communities changed, notably from the 1990s onward (personal communication, February 23, 2018).

Mitch Case (Ozaawaamakwa) is a citizen of the Métis Nation of Ontario with longstanding engagement with both the Historic Sault Ste. Marie Métis Council and the Provisional Council of the Métis Nation of Ontario. He is Midewiwin from the Three Fires Lodge. He grew up in Goulais River in the 1990s and 2000s and resides in Sault Ste. Marie (personal communication, July 15, 2015).

Sam Boyer (Giibwonenhshnagamod) is a Batchewana band member who grew up in Goulais Bay in the 1990s and 2000s. She is an active Anishinaabemowin learner and currently resides in Garden River with her partner and children (personal communication, June 8, 2016).

4 - The faces of brotherhood and death: Early seventeenth century-1791

Following the revelation of the seven fires prophecies, many Anishinaabeg set about migrating from the eastern shore of North America inland, eventually to the upper Great Lakes. After stopping in Baawating for several years, the Ojibwe-Anishinaabeg who continued to travel split, with one group traveling on either side of Lake Superior (Montgomerie, 1993, p. 183; Warren, 1885, p. 79). Prior to arriving at the rapids, the Ojibwe had already become a distinct people from their Anishinaabe relatives, the Odaawaa and Bodéwadmi (Montgomerie, 1993; Benton-Banai, 1989). Bellfy notes that the migration story is corroborated by archaeological evidence demonstrating settlement prior to 1400 CE along the route to Baawating, spreading from there to the Straits of Mackinac (2011, p. xxxiv). A large settlement was sustained at the rapids, and from then on, Baawating would be an important location for seasonal fishing, political gatherings, ceremonies, and a strategic base from which to launch attacks on hostile neighbours including the Onkwehonwe (Naadoweg) to the East or Dakhóta (Bwaanag) to the West (Heath, 1988; Montgomerie, 1993; Warren, 1885). Heath notes that in the sixteenth century, the permanent population of 150-200 residents would balloon to 2 000 in the fall to take advantage of the abundant whitefish fishery (1988, p. 17). Warren also describes many families returning from the West to reside at the rapids, as the site continued to grow in significance (1885, p. 79).

While Warren posits that “the band of 150 Saulters who inhabited Sault Ste. Marie in the seventeenth century were probably the Crane clan,” the prohibition on intra-clan sex and marriage should cast doubt on any assertion that a given area could be the exclusive residence of any given clan (1885, p. 53). Nonetheless, the Crane clan was certainly among the largest and most influential in the area around Baawating, and were considered to have stewardship over the area, as demonstrated by the long line of local Chiefs of this clan throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1851, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, US Indian Agent at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, listed a succession of Crane chiefs at the rapids dating from the period of the British victory over the French in the late 1700s, based on “talking to fur-trading families [...] and through his observation of Native council meetings” (Chute, 1998, p. 10). Gitcheojeedebun, Maidosagee, Zhingabewasin, and Kabay Noden served successively over four generations, to

which Shingwaukonse, Nebenaigooching, Ogista, and Buhkwujjenene could be added from the latter half of the 1800s (Warren, 1885, p. 53; Chute, 1998, p. 10).⁶ Several Mide birch bark scrolls also demonstrate the mark of a crane at the intersection of lakes Superior and Huron (Dewdney, 1975, pp. 66-76). Nonetheless, the Crane clan was also present across much of Anishinaabe Aki, with major concentrations noted in the historical record at La Pointe among the Apostle Islands of contemporary Wisconsin, the northern shore of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, Detroit, and Hudson Bay (Kohl, 1860, p. 149).

Warren dates the first knowledge of Europeans by Anishinaabeg on the South shores of Lake Superior at about 1612 (1885, p. 81). The French, for their part, were aware of the settlement at Baawating since at the latest 1632, as demonstrated by Samuel de Champlain's map that depicts an Indigenous village in the area (Stewart, 2007, p. 50). The fur trade with the French was a fairly consistent presence in the upper Great Lakes from at least the early seventeenth century (Warren, 1885, p. 81). Theresa Schenck, editor of Warren's reprinted *History of the Ojibway People*, notes that the earliest recorded visit of Anishinaabeg from Baawating to trade with French at Québec was made in 1659, but that earlier expeditions may have been made with Odaawaa-Anishinaabeg from areas further east in 1654 and 1656 (Warren 2009 [1885], p. 81). Such long journeys became unnecessary as the French moved farther and farther west (1885, p. 81).

Long before sustained European settlement, Baawating would go through several periods of considerable cultural and linguistic diversity. Odaawaa, Bodéwadmi, Wendat, Ojibwe, Meskwaki, Mamaceqtaw, Hock and Dakhóta frequently visited the area for trade purposes, which stimulated "intermarriage, diplomatic and cultural exchange" with the resident Ojibwe-Anishinaabeg (Montgomerie, 1993, p. 190). Rhodes estimates that at this point in the history, there were approximately five dialect groups of Anishinaabemowin, consisting of Potawatomi (Bodéwadmi), Ottawa (Odaawaa), Algonquin, and a southern and a northern Ojibwe (2020). Though the upheaval that followed European contact within the area makes the sociolinguistic dynamics are hard to determine, Rhodes argues that Odaawaa, northern and

⁶ Chute (1998) attributes Shingwaukonse to the plover clan, while acknowledging his importance to the Cranes. However the most prevalent references to Shingwaukonse at Garden River attribute him to the Crane clan.

southern Ojibwe would have been commonly spoken in the areas surrounding Baawating in the mid-seventeenth century (2020).

The face of death, however, was clearly apparent in the impacts of French and English involvement in the fur trade, which triggered epidemics of disease and warfare. The Beaver Wars forced many Wendat, Chonnonton, and Odaawaa refugees from conflict to settle at Baawating in the early 1640s, away from the attacks of the Onkwehowe Five Nations Confederacy (Bellfy, 2011, pp. 19-20; Lawrence, 2002). Much of the resident population, however, would flee farther westward as the settlement was attacked by the Confederacy in 1650.

Not surprising given their name, the Beaver Wars were largely the product of increasing competition in the fur trade brought about by the growing European presence both on the continent as well as within the trade itself, bringing with them an astronomically higher demand for pelts than was previously the norm (Lawrence, 2002; Hart, 2002). While few had penetrated so far into the interior as the upper Great Lakes by the early seventeenth century, the growing presence of Europeans on the East Coast had reverberations felt well into the interior. In the early days of knowledge of the 'New World,' European presence in North America was motivated primarily by resource exploitation — particularly in the fisheries and fur trade — as well as exploration and missionization (Miller, 2000). Pursuit of these three objectives led to further dialogue, cooperation, and even integration with Anishinaabeg and other nations in the North American interior, with cultural and linguistic consequences. But it would not be until 1663 that France established a formal colony along the St. Lawrence, as the settler population grew and warranted a formal local government, and despite the fur trade's origins in the late 1500s, it would ultimately become a defining feature of the continental economy for much of the 1700s, and in turn, the social and linguistic exchange between French and Indigenous peoples (Hart, 2002; Dickason, 1985; Peterson, 1985). Meanwhile, the Beaver Wars persisted in the contemporary Lower Peninsula of Michigan for the remainder of the century, and caused the Chonnonton and Wendat to abandon the area, and Odaawaa and Bodéwadmi eventually moved into the areas that had been left unoccupied in the first fifty years of the eighteenth century (Rhodes, 2020).

4.1 Anishinaabe & French interaction near Baawating in the seventeenth century

Describing the early fur trade between French and Wendat, historian J.R. Miller notes “The affluent and proud Huron refused to lower themselves to learn the newcomers’ language. If the French wanted to trade, they could speak the Indian language. They did” (2000, p. 45). Miller takes this sociolinguistic phenomenon as a reflection of the power dynamics at play in early contact and fur trade politics. The French were more reliant on the Wendat, not only for furs but for sustenance as well, while the Wendat and other nations that the French would encounter later may have benefitted from the convenience or been intrigued by the novelty of some European goods, however they were hardly dependent upon them.

Throughout much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the fur trade between French and Indigenous peoples did not interfere with conventional ways of life (Miller, 2000). As demand for furs and competition for supply increased, coupled with the introduction of novel and destructive technologies such as firearms and alcohol, Anishinaabe society would experience massive social upheaval, though this progressed in subsequent decades and centuries, and is largely outside the scope of this research (Bellfy, 2011; Miller, 2000). The act of trade itself was largely adapted to Indigenous social conventions, “preceded by speech-making and gift-giving,” and on some occasions the trade itself took the form of an exchange of presents that affirm relationships, rather than a strictly utilitarian market exchange (2000, p. 44).

Many of the documented explorations or trade missions into the interior of North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveal that several Europeans (particularly French) had gone ahead years before. Only a few European explorers or traders of this time were able to write, and Bakker notes that many early accounts reference ‘mixed-blood’ guides or interpreters, and “some even mention French people living with Native groups” (1997, p. 36).

As permanent French agricultural settlements grew along the St. Lawrence, some began to put their agricultural tasks to the side in place of exchanges with Indigenous peoples’ furs that grew in price, particularly as European merchants discovered beaver’s suitability for fur hats (Hart, 2002; Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016). “French colonists,” write Foxcurran et al., “would head out into the surrounding forests to trade for furs with Indigenous populations,

bringing the pelts back to the colony for personal profit, often to the consternation of New France's Governor" (2016, p. 271). These *coureurs des bois* established the norms of the fur trade that would persist and evolve for two centuries to come. Foxcurran, et al. note that they "would often take Indigenous women as wives, adopting the technology and ways of life of the surrounding peoples to ensure their success in trade" (2016, p. 272). Anishinaabeg, however, saw the trade as more than the mutually beneficial exchange of goods, "Instead, they also saw trade as a blend of gift giving and kinship," which required these extensive personal relationships (Parker, 2007, p. 9).

As the trade progressed, particularly into the Great Lakes region, and the power of European colonists and trading companies began to increase, it became increasingly formalized, including a licensing system (employed by both British and French authorities to manage supply and European contact with Indigenous peoples), and the role of *coureurs des bois* was largely supplanted by a more permanent "occupational class," the voyageurs, that traveled the increasingly long distances to Indigenous villages and trading sites and enacted the protocols necessary of exchange (Peterson, 1985, p. 40). In many instances, this required kinship ties, which produced extensive intermarriage between voyageurs and Anishinaabe and other Indigenous women, eventually leading to a ballooning population of mixed-race peoples (1985).

It bears reaffirming that the mixing of French and Indigenous languages was hardly the first point of linguistic contact, as previous pages have discussed. Indian Sign Language was used extensively in the pre-European contact trade between Indigenous peoples in North America, and while Kohl notes from his travels that it was more common to the Plains than the upper Great Lakes area, in which he described it as "less cultivated" than among the western "nomadic" nations, who he noted could "make themselves understood by means of it everywhere" (Kohl, 1860, p. 138). He elaborated, "All travellers who had crossed the prairies told me that there was only *one* sign-language, which all the Indians comprehended, and any one who had learned it could travel with it from one end of America to the other" (Kohl, 1860, p. 140). Given the described limited proficiency of Anishinaabeg around the upper Great Lakes, the reference to "all the Indians" was likely restricted to those individuals implicated most actively in trade, and emphasized that the sign language knew no national boundary.

Jesuit Jacques Marquette established a mission at Baawating in 1668, however it would not be the first contact between missionaries and the local population (Montgomerie, 1993).

The first attestation of the area in the Jesuit Relations occurs in 1640, which describes the region as “Baouichtigouian, c’est à dire, [...] la nation des gens du Sault” (Thwaites, 1899a, p. 230). The reference, however, is made in passing in a description of vast geography of interior North America and speaks to a general awareness of the nations and places that make up much of the continent west of the French settlements along the St. Lawrence. In the relations of 1642, Jerome Lallemant writes of the Jesuits being invited to Baawating by the *Pauoitigouieuhak* after having shared in a “feast of the dead” with a number of nations and the Jesuits in September the year before at a bay of Lake Nipissing (Thwaites, 1899b, p. 223). The Jesuits had adopted the practice of supplying presents and contributing to feasts to gain the trust of Indigenous peoples, particularly in the interior where contact had to be deliberate, and had to learn the languages of the people to whom they proselytized (1899b; Miller, 2000). Throughout the seventeenth century the Jesuits saw the acquisition of Indigenous languages of the Americas as a necessity of conversion. As a letter from Jean de Brébeuf, a missionary among the Wendat, noted in 1637,

For now there is need of laborers not a few — not indeed to reap, but to sow, or rather to learn the language, that the word of God may be sown. For, if they are not versed in the language, they cannot sow, much less reap. (as cited in Salvucci, 2002, p. 95)

Brébeuf reported a “tolerable skill” in Wendat compared to his immediate colleagues who were far more proficient, but the earnestness of Jesuit efforts to learn Indigenous languages were not always welcome, as Miller recounts, “Hostile Indians ridiculed them and embarrassed them by teaching the priests obscenities while supposedly introducing them to the Huron vocabulary” (2000, p. 63). Indeed, it was not only the Wendat or other Haudenosaunee that gave the Jesuits trouble. Father Gabriel Marest, who had traveled to Hudson’s Bay in the vicinity of York Factory (in contemporary Manitoba) in 1695, had aspired to learn Cree, which was described as one of the two necessary languages to learn for communicating in the area (the other being Nakhóta, or *Assiniboëls* as it was recorded in the *Relations*) (Salvucci, 2002). He had recruited two people to assist him in his quest to learn Cree, but in addition to the interruptions of frequent travel between the Bourbon (Nelson) and Ste-Thérèse (Hayes) rivers, he found his informants deficient, stating “the man was a slave from another Tribe, who knew only imperfectly their Tongue; the woman, who deeply hated the French, spoke to me only through caprice, and often deceived me” (as cited in Salvucci, 2002, p. 264). Marest’s description of the utility of Cree as a

lingua franca, however, sheds light on the Jesuits' understanding of efficiency in communication and the ability to draw on mutual intelligibility to spread the gospel. He observed, "the language of the *Kriqs*, which is *Algonquin*, and that of the Savages nearest to the Fort are the same, with the exception of a few words and some slight difference of accent" (as cited in Salvucci, 2002, p. 264).

Lalement and most of his Jesuit brothers referred to the speech of Anishinaabe peoples as "la Langue Algonquine," and indeed grouped the disparate bands according to the mutual intelligibility of their speech (Thwaites, 1899b, pp.222). Describing the invitation, he wrote:

...les Paüoitigoüieuhak nous inuiterent de les aller voir [...] en leur Païs, (c'est vne Nation de la Langue Algonquine, esloignée des Hurons de cent ou six-vingt lieuës, tirant vers l'Occident, que nous appellons les Habitans du Sault). (Thwaites, 1899b, p.222)

Later relations expand on this characterization of the local languages, with Father Jean Quen noting:

... langue Huronne s'estend bien cinq cent lieuës du costé du Sud: & la langue Algonquine, plus de cinq cents du costé du Nord. le sçay bien qu'il y a quelque petite difference entre ces Nations; mais cela consiste en quelques dialectes, qu'on a bien-tost apprises, & qui n'alterent point le fond de ces deux langues. (as cited in Thwaites, 1897, p. 220)

Acknowledging the diversity within each of the large national and linguistic groupings, Quen described the variations within them as amounting to "small differences" that are easily learned in context and "do not affect the fundamental principles of the two languages" (as cited in Thwaites, 1897 p. 221).

Only two of the Jesuit fathers who had traveled from the mission among the Wendat in 1642 had been conversant in the *Langue Algonquine*, Fathers Claude Pijart and Charles Raymbaut (Thwaites, 1897). While the *Algonquine* nations of the interior were important to the Jesuits, their trajectory through contemporary South-Central Ontario from the St. Lawrence had brought them in closer proximity to the Wendat and other Haudenosaunee peoples, and the limited human capital of Fathers led them to concentrate their efforts, as Lalement recalls, "Mais il nous faut des Ouuriers pour cet effet: il faut auparauat tascher de gagner les Peuples qui nous sont plus voysins, & cependant prier le Ciel, qu'il haste les moments de leur

Conversion” (Thwaites, 1899b, p. 226). Father Pijart and others would focus their efforts in the Lower Great Lakes among the Wendat.

While Father Raymbaut took up the invitation to the Sault, he did not stay long and traveled to visit the Nipissings quickly upon his return to the mission (Thwaites, 1899b). On Raymbaut’s journey to the Sault, however, he was also accompanied by a number of Wendat travellers and Father Isaac Jogues (who spoke Wendat) (Thwaites, 1899b). Part of Raymbaut and Jogues’ purpose was to discern the “disposition” of the population at Baawating to conversion, and to learn more about the *Pouteatami* (Bodéwadmi), many of whom had sought refuge at Baawating following conflict in their previous territory (Thwaites, 1899b, pp. 223-4). They left from Saint-Marie-among-the-Hurons in September of 1642 by canoe, and upon their arrival after 17 days they found a village of approximately two thousand people. The account of Baawating and its surrounding area reflect a great deal of both cultural and linguistic diversity, which was not surprising given the upheaval that had occurred as a result of the Beaver Wars and Baawating’s status as relatively beyond the theatre of conflict (Bellfy, 2011).

Most notably the visit was the first contact Jesuits had with “vne certaine Nation Nadoüessis” (Naadowe or Dakhóta), and according to the Jesuits at least, the first contact that the *Nadoüessis* had with Europeans.⁷ They noted that the *Nadoüessis* lived in an area approximately eighteen days journey northwest of Baawating on the other side of Lake Superior and that they engaged in agriculture similar to the Wendat, had larger villages with significant defences and that their language was different from both *l’Algonquine* and *la Huronne*, suggesting that the visiting population was able to communicate with the Jesuits either through a lingua franca or Indigenous interpreters, or alternatively that the Jesuits acquired this information from those local peoples with whom they could communicate. That the *Nadoüessis* were identified by an early Anishinaabe exonym suggests the communication was largely carried out in some variety of *la langue Algonquine*.

During the Jesuit’s visit, the local leadership invited them to live among Anishinaabeg and share their knowledge. Lalement’s recording of the invitation also demonstrates the Jesuit

⁷ In contemporary times, *naadowe* refers to Onkwehonwe peoples in the Anishinaabe language, however the historical record indicates that it was more frequently applied to the Dakhóta in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

focus on conversion and that their good favour depended on the willingness of those to whom they ministered to abide by their instruction:

Les Capitaines de cette Nation du Sault, inuitent nos Peres à faire quelque sorte de demeure parmy eux. On leur fait entendre que cela n'est pas impossible, pourueu qu'ils fussent disposez à receuoir nos instructions. Apres auoir tenu Conseil, ils répondirent qu'ils desirent grandemet ce bon-heur; qu'ils nous embrasseront cōme leurs Freres, & qu'ils feront profit de nos paroles. (as cited in Thwaites, 1898, pp. 224-6)

Similarly, the openness of the *Pauoitigoueieuhak* was in line with the syncretic approach to spirituality that was common of many Indigenous peoples across the Americas (Chute, 1998). And while the Jesuits had their own syncretic tendencies, as Miller notes, accepting “there were some Native beliefs that could be incorporated into Christianity, thereby making the new dispensation more intelligible and attractive to the intended proselytes,” the Jesuits frequently mistook openness for submission, and would be likewise frequently disappointed when interest would wane, particularly when their prayers failed to have the results desired by local people (Miller, 2000, pp. 40, 71; further examples abound throughout the *Jesuit Relations*). This trend would ultimately result in the short-lived status of the future mission at Baawating.

4.1.1 Mission at Sainte-Marie-du-Sault

After Jacques Marquette was sent to establish a mission at Baawating in 1668, others including Father Claude D’Ablon soon followed. An admirer of St. Francis Xavier, D’ablon remarked at the death of Marquette that “he resembled that great Saint, not only in the variety of barbarian languages which he mastered, but also by the range of his Zeal [sic]” (as cited in Salvucci, 2002, p. 241). While the Jesuits faced considerable competition from other orders, such as the Récollets and the Suplicians in much of the areas of extensive French activity, they were among the few to travel to the upper Great Lakes region. Indeed, the Jesuits’ somewhat more tolerant approach to lingua-cultural difference and conversion was often at odds with the “one race” policy established by both the colony and the Company of New France, though it was based less on language and culture than it was on religion. Article 17 of the Charter of the Company of New France stated that,

The Savages who will be led to the faith and to profess it will be considered natural Frenchmen, and like them, will be able to come and live in France when they wish to, and there acquire property, with rights of inheritance and bequest, just as if they had been born Frenchmen, without being required to make any deflation or to become naturalized. (as cited in Dickason, 1985, p. 22)

The Jesuit approach of linguistic accommodation was by no means a given in early days of encounters between missionaries and Indigenous peoples of North America. Miller reports that the Récollets, who had travelled as far west as the Great Lakes up to their expulsion in 1629, returning only to the St. Lawrence in 1670, had believed that assimilation was a precondition for conversion and salvation (2000). Even earlier Jesuits, as well as Récollets and Seminary missionaries, viewed assimilation to European mores and ways of life as a necessary precondition for 'authentic' conversion, reflecting the common adage that "none could ever succeed in converting them, unless they made them men before they made them Christians" (Morrissey, 2013, p. 45).

Though Brébeuf had adopted a policy of linguistic accommodation early in the 1600s, after the formal establishment of the colony of New France, a policy of *francisation* was enshrined by France's minister of finance, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, in 1666 (Morrissey, 2013). It also emerged in the context of competing visions for the French place in the 'new world,' contrasting with previous policies of both the Crown and commercial ventures to promote intermarriage between French Men and Indigenous women, so long as they were Christian (Havard, 2003). Brébeuf's experience and that of other missionaries since the 1630s cast serious doubts on the viability of *francisation* as an effective policy for encouraging conversion, and by the time the assimilationist policy was given official sanction at the turn of the eighteenth century, the order was committed to sidestepping, if not eschewing it completely (Morrissey, 2013). The consequence was the Jesuits were frequently removed from authority over existing missions or overlooked in the establishment of new ones (Morrissey, 2013).

For their part, the Recollet missionaries who embraced the policy of *francisation* experienced great difficulty in demonstrating its effectiveness. Morrissey, reporting on the efforts of Father Louis Hennepin, who had been engaged in a contest with the Jesuits in the Illinois Country with the backing of the colonial administration since 1680, noted

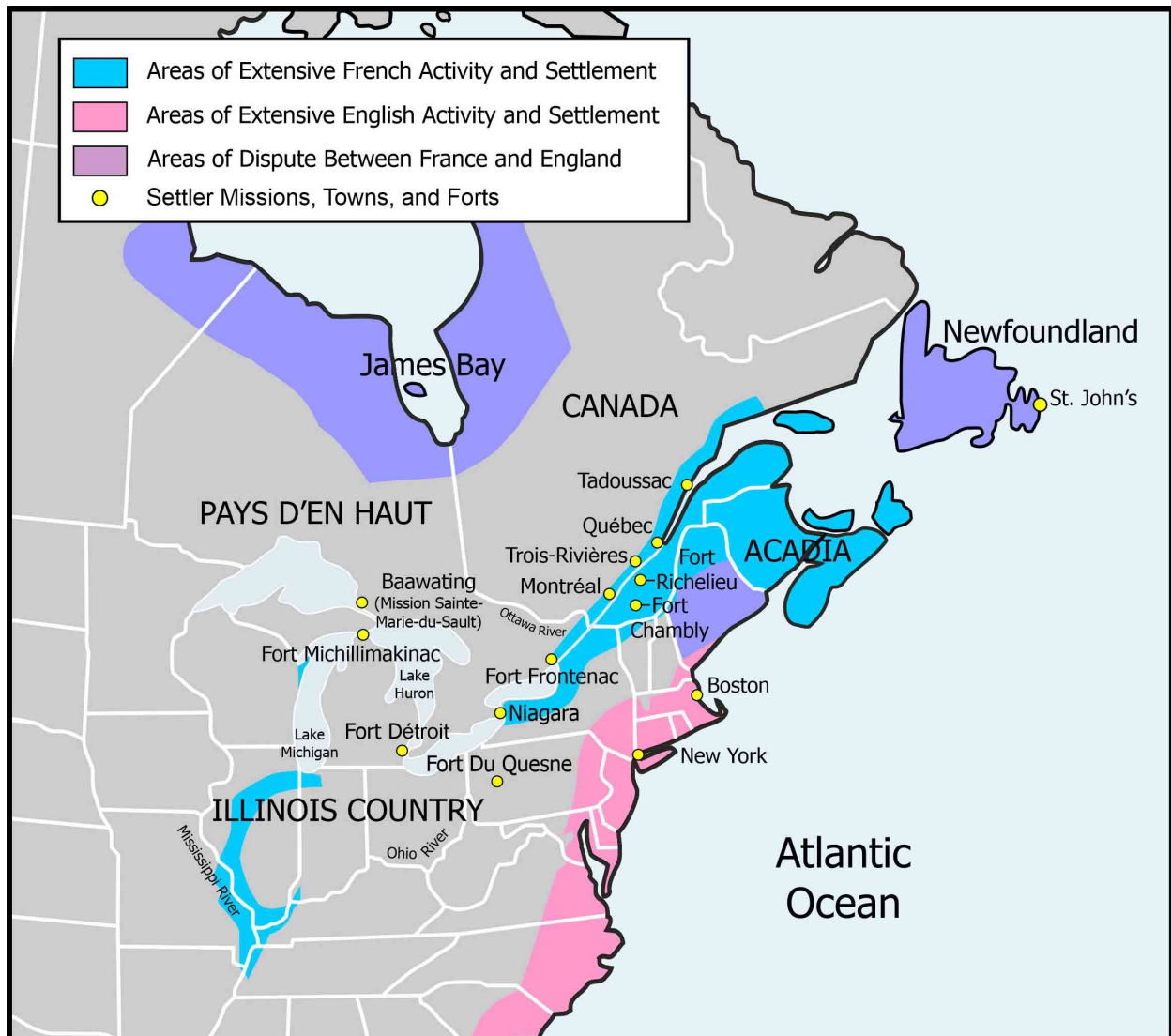


Figure 2: Approximate French presence in the Great Lakes, St. Lawrence and Mississippi Valleys, 1669 (Image Credit: Susan Meades, 2021)

In some cases [Hennepin] tried to teach the Indians to recite prayers in French, the strategy was difficult not just because the Indians could not understand the language, but because the Illinois were not accustomed to certain sounds necessary for French pronunciation. Nevertheless, Hennepin charged on with a disciplined, stern approach: “We forc’d their children to pronounce as we did, by inculcating to them the Labial Letters, and obliging them to frequent[ly] converse with the Children of the Europeans that inhabited the Fort” (2013, p. 56).

Though there was interest in Christian practices among those that frequented the mission, Morrissey explains that the missionaries were unsatisfied with the quality of their conversions:

He noted that the Indians used Catholic ritual purely for entertainment and diversion, and rarely, if ever, understood what their words and rituals actually meant. When they came to talk, Indians did not give much effort toward understanding what the priests were saying: “they come to us, and attend to what we say, purely out of idleness, and Natural Curiosity to converse with us, as we with them; or rather they are tempted to follow us, finding the kindness and flattery we Express for them.” (2013, p. 56)

Though Hennepin’s efforts in Illinois would ultimately be abandoned (though not before someone stole the Illinois dictionary that the Jesuits had developed), the colony abided by its policy throughout the late seventeenth century (Morrissey, 2013). The establishment of the mission at Détroit, for instance, would be invested in missionaries committed to the *francisation* policy, determined to bring about a “single, unified imperial community” (Morrissey, 2013, p. 57). Many missionaries and colonial officials alike felt that the “linguistic diversity of America seemed an obstacle in the way of Empire” (Morrissey, 2013, p. 64).

The Jesuits, however, were able to establish a foothold at Baawating. By 1669 there was considerable confidence in the peace between the Onkwehonwe and Anishinaabe peoples in the region, particularly following a decisive Five Nations Confederacy defeat in 1655 at Iroquois Point near Baawating (Stewart, 2007). The mission at the Sault was erected on the south side of the river downstream from the rapids and served a population of roughly two thousand (Thwaites, 1899c).

The mission at Sainte Marie du Sault, as the Jesuits named it, was a location of strategic importance, allowing missionaries to reach nations from as far as the Mississippi valley and the James Bay coast, as many passed through the Sault to fish at the rapids or trade with other nations (Thwaites, 1899d). Missionaries also cultivated small agricultural plots and encouraged others to take up the practice (Thwaites, 1899d). While ideologically the Jesuits did not firmly believe that new converts had to adopt all European cultural norms to be good Christians, they did find that a sedentary existence made it easier on the missionaries to minister to the populations, as well as to monitor and police behaviour (Thwaites, 1899d).

In 1670, describing the populations that settled or frequented the Sault, Father D'ablon distinguished the estimated 150 locals that he described as *Pahouitingwach Irini* and Saulteurs from more than five hundred individuals from three other groups who had relocated to the Sault permanently and to whom the *Pahouitingwach Irini* had "made a cession of the rights of their native Country" (Thwaites, 1899d, p. 129). These included the Nouquet from the southern shore of Lake Superior, and the Outchibous and Marameg from the northern shore of Lake Superior (Thwaites, 1899d, p. 131). Additionally he named the Achiligouiane, the Amicoures, and the Mississague as coming from the islands in Lake Huron and numbering around four hundred, two unnamed nations described as "nomadic," travelling between the Sault in the summer and northern lands in the winter, and six nations from the "North Sea region," or Hudson and James Bays, naming only the Guilistinous and Ovenibigonc (Thwaites, 1899d, p. 137). While not referenced frequently in the reports back to Rome, the relations also make reference to a number of copper mine locations found around Lake Superior in 1670, which would play a pivotal role in future Anishinaabe relations with European settlers (Thwaites, 1899d).

4.1.2 Pageant-de-St-Lusson

Nineteen different tribes are said to have passed through the Sault on a regular basis at this time (Thwaites, 1899d). Recognizing the multinational significance of Baawating, as well as the multinational cooperation of Anishinaabeg, the French chose this location for their first treaty with the nations of the interior. Eager to consolidate their territorial claims against growing threats from England and Spain, Intendant of New France, Jean Talon, commissioned an expedition headed by Simon François Dumont de Saint Lusson to meet with the nations of the upper Great Lakes and affirm French sovereignty over the area through treaty and cooperation with its people (Bellfy, 2011; Warren, 1885).

The explorer and interpreter Nicholas Perrot was tasked with inviting the most far-flung nations to the encounter, and arrived a month earlier to set about his task (Perrot, 1911). At Baawating in 1671, the *Pageant de Saint-Lusson* attracted delegations from the Odaawaa, Boodéwaadmii, Mamaceqtaw, Hock, Noquets, Cree, Nakhóta, and Ojibwa among others (Bellfy, 2011, p. 5). Perrot also distinguished between the Saulteurs – those resident at the

Sault, or Baawating, also known as Baouichtigouian – and other non-resident Anishinaabe clans, including the Amikwaa (Beaver) and Marameg (Catfish), and an additional group recorded only as Achipoes (or Ojibwe) (Bellfy, 2011, p. 5). This may have been the delegation headed by Kechene-zuh-yauh, described by William Warren as leading a delegation from the Crane Clan at Chequamegon on Lake Superior's south shore (1885). Notably, Perrot had identified that other French traders had already been in the area, describing how "the Frenchmen who were then trading in those quarters" had signed attestations to the ceremony that had taken place after all others (1911, p. 225).

The *Relations* report that fourteen nations responded to Saint Lusson's invitation and the ceremony began on June 4th (Thwaites, 1899e, p. 105). The ceremony itself began following the erection of a cross and the French King's Standard on a hill overlooking the settlement at the rapids (Thwaites, 1899e). The cross was blessed and the French Escutcheon was fixed to a cedar pole, followed by singing of such Latin hymns as *Vexilla Regis* and *Exaudiat* that were known and sung vigorously by many of the French present at the ceremony, impressing the Anishinaabeg that were present, at least by appearances to the Jesuits (Thwaites, 1899e). A prayer was said for Louis XIV followed by shouts of "Long Live the King," and an accompanying volley from the present muskets (Thwaites, 1899e, p. 105). Saint Lusson and Father Claude Allouez who had been stationed at the Sault mission made speeches and upon completion of the ceremony, with Saint Lusson proclaiming the union of the territories and New France (Thwaites, 1899e). A bonfire was lit at night in celebration, around which more hymns were sung (Thwaites, 1899e).

The *Pageant-de-St-Lusson* is notable not only as the first attempt at treaty making between Europeans and Anishinaabeg in the upper Great Lakes, but also for the discourse of national or racial integration that reportedly occurred there. The diverse gathering would have been by necessity a multilingual affair, with interpreters playing an active role, at least among the Jesuits. French officials and the Jesuits unambiguously understood the ceremony to be one of the Kingdom of France taking "possession" of the lands from Montreal in the East to the western extremities of the interior and as far South as the contemporary Gulf of Mexico (Thwaites, 1899e, p. 103), yet differing conceptions of land tenure, complications from translation, and confidence in the peace that had been achieved towards the end of the Beaver Wars suggests that the parties likely had different conceptions of what was being agreed to.

Drawing from several of the descendants of those who attended the council, William Warren explains:

The envoy of the French king asked, in the name of his nation, for permission to trade in the country, and for free passage to and from their villages at all times thereafter. He asked that the fires of the French and Ojibway nations might be made one, and everlasting.

He promised the protection of the great French nation against all their enemies, and addressing himself to the Chippeway chieftain from La Pointe, he said: -

“Every morning you will look towards the rising of the sun and you shall see the fire of your French father reflecting towards you, to warm you and your people. If you are in trouble, you, the Crane, must arise in the skies and cry with your ‘far sounding’ voice, and I will hear you. The fire of your French father shall last forever, and warm his children.” At the end of this address a gold medal shaped like a heart was placed on the breast of Ke-che-nu-zuh-yauh, and by this mark of honor he was recognized as the chief of the Lake Superior Ojibways. (Warren, 1885, p. 86)

While themes of union and protection are apparent in both accounts, the latter account does not convey any sense of French authority over lands, and affirms Ke-che-nu-zuh-yauh’s leadership and Anishinaabe authority over passage and trade within the lands. The *Relations* rendering of Saint Lusson’s final speech is more aligned with the “one race” policy of New France with respect to the integration of French and American Indigenous peoples, noting his reaffirmation of his purpose, which was “to take possession of that region, receive them under the protection of the great King [...] and to form thenceforth but one land of their territories and ours” (Thwaites, 1899e, pp. 113-5).

The ceremony, however, also occurred in a context where France had been employing two distinct forms of sovereignty both in Europe and the Americas. Havard notes that following the *Pageant de St-Lusson*, Intendent Jean Talon, “reported to the Court on this act of taking possession,” and “spoke of aboriginal nations who ‘voluntarily submitted to the rule of His Majesty, whom they regard exclusively and as their sovereign protector.’” (2013, pp. 116-7). The notion of ‘protection’ stemmed from earlier feudal relations of Europe, where various principalities, bishoprics and jurisdictions could swear fealty and pay tribute to another King while sustaining their own sovereignty. Protection, Harvard explains, “was understood as an

unequal Alliance, a greater power being able to take a secondary power under its wing upon request” (2013, p. 117). Given the significantly distinct frames of reference, however, Harvard also notes that at the *Pageant de St-Lusson* “The consent of the aboriginal populations was in this case purely imaginary” (2013, p. 117). Nonetheless, in terms of how the French understood their relations with Anishinaabeg at Baawating, Indigenous peoples had not surrendered any form of sovereignty, but rather a “symbolic subjugation” that the French claimed in the context of international competition for lands and influence (Havard, 2013, p. 125). Elsewhere as well, “the role of protectors and peacemakers” that the French had assumed would be taken up to interfere in relations and disputes between Indigenous nations. Conversely, in the colonies along the St. Lawrence and few other areas within New France of greater French settlement, the model of sovereignty adopted was one of “sovereignty-subjection” where Indigenous peoples, particularly “Christianized Indians” were inculcated into the emergent French settler society (Havard, 2013, p. 127).

During the ceremony, Father Claude Allouez spoke to the power and significance of the King for those assembled, and while the *Relations* note that he was “well versed in their tongue and in their ways” they make no further reference in this portion to the linguistic choices of the Father apart from its rhetorical effect (Thwaites, 1899e, p. 105). It is likely given his time stationed at Baawating that he expressed himself in a variety of *la langue algonquine* as it was understood by the Jesuits, given four years earlier Father François le Mercier had described the Sauteurs, noting “they speak the common Algonquin, and are easily understood” (Thwaites, 1899e, p. 217). The description offered by the Jesuits of the reception to Father Allouez’s speech lends itself as much to awe as to confusion or disinterest: “he was so successful in adapting himself to their comprehension as to give them such an opinion of our incomparable Monarch’s greatness that they have no words with which to express their thoughts upon the subject” (Thwaites, 1899e, p. 107). This would not be the last time an Indigenous person’s silence was mistaken for agreement. Yet Warren also remarked on the discursive adaptations made by the French, explaining “it will be readily seen by [their words] that the French had already learned to use the figurative and forcible style of expression of the Ojibways, and understood their division into Totemic clans” (1885, p. 86). Such adaptations reflected a growing rapprochement between French explorers, voyageurs, and even its governing authorities within the upper Great

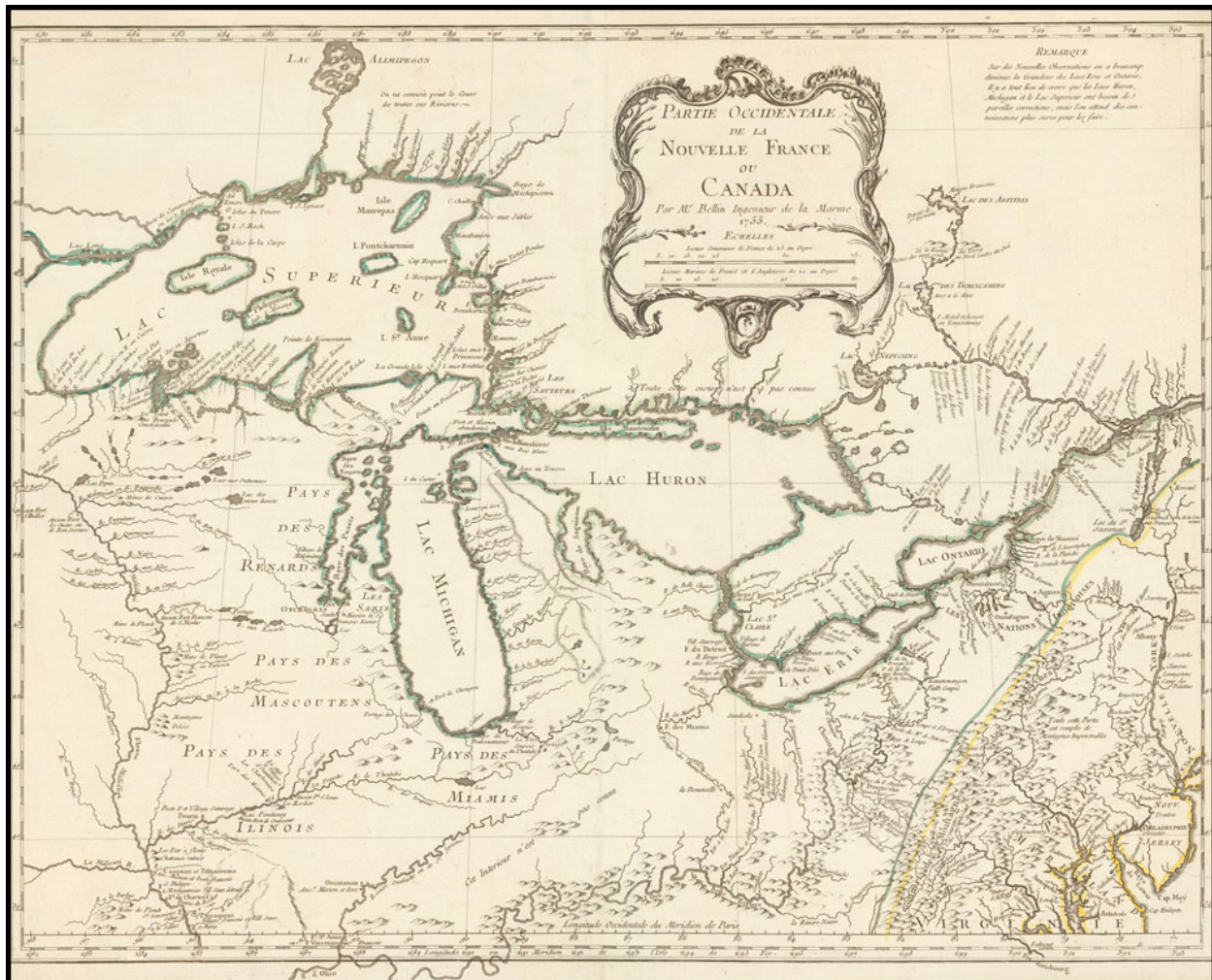


Figure 3: Map of the western territories claimed as New France (Bellin, 1755)

Lakes. As Father Claude D'Ablon reported, prayers and hymns would be sung in the local language at the mission at Sainte-Marie-du-Sault for many years (Thwaites, 1899d)

Following the *Pageant-de-St-Lusson*, several Anishinaabeg removed the cross on the hill the next day (Hele, 2021). Though the explicit intentions behind its removal are not fully known, it certainly undermines any claims of active Anishinaabe consent to French control.

Nonetheless, the French maintained a trading post at Sault Ste. Marie until 1689, at which point they moved the post to Mackinac Island due to growing competition from the British Hudson Bay Company, established some two decades earlier in 1670, and increased threats from the British-aligned Onkwehonwe (Bellfy, 2011). Trade in furs, maple sugar and fish persisted with the French, but efforts by the French to have Anishinaabeg in the area supply French posts throughout the interior had mixed results, as Chute explains, “bands proved reluctant to be

drawn into any unilaterally controlled commercial nexus which might impinge on their political autonomy” (1998, p. 12). Nonetheless, Anishinaabeg maintained their alliance with the French until the end of the Seven Years War that saw France cede its claims in the upper Great Lakes to the British, and the trade continued to be an important component of the local economy, even without a formal post (Bellfy, 2011). Though the relationship was complex, with different interests within both parties, Europeans' first forays into the upper Great Lakes appeared to carry the face of friendship. Though the cultural and linguistic exchange that ensued strengthened the bonds of some, it provoked anxiety among others.

4.1.3 Integration and segregation in New France

The French continued efforts to regulate the fur trade, including the imposition of the licensing system to regulate the flow of trade and contact between European and Indigenous peoples and maintaining the structures that constituted the voyageurs as a necessary occupational class, drawing furs from deep in the North American interior through long journeys consisting of large teams (Peterson, 1985). The trade relied on a number of social and political supports. Garrisons and trading posts were necessary to defend French interests from the incursions of other European colonists and their allies, particularly closer to the eastern shore and boundaries with the thirteen colonies (Peterson, 1985). Most crucially it depended on warm relations with Indigenous nations of the interior, and with respect to the immediate interactions between voyageurs and Indigenous peoples, it required the development and maintenance of personal and familial networks (Peterson, 1985).

Indigenous women, of course, were integral both to the “one race” policy as well as the growth of Franco-American trade, as the kin networks into which they brought their husbands provided access to trade goods and markets (Dickason, 1985). While many such marriages were performed *à la façon du pays*, according to local Indigenous conventions, French missionaries attempted to convert as many brides as possible, conduct marriages according to Catholic rites, and promote the absorption of mixed families into the colonial body politic in the pursuit of one race under the same God (Dickason, 1985, pp. 23-4). In 1699, Louis XIV proclaimed his blessing of marriages between French men and Indigenous women, so long as those women had converted to Christianity (Havard, 2003). Such integration was also important for the growth of

the colony at Québec that frequently wanted for a larger workforce (Havard, 2003; Dickason, 1985).

Fearing a lack of control over interactions between voyageurs and Indigenous populations, and moved by Jesuit protests that the voyageurs were corrupting the local population, the French colonial authorities closed much of the interior fur trade in 1698 and called their traders back to the heartland of French settlement along the St. Lawrence and proclaimed their opposition to mixed marriages (Bellfy, 2011; Peterson, 1985; Dickason, 1985; Havard, 2003). French authorities attempted to concentrate the trade in a few small settlements closer to the St. Lawrence, where Anishinaabe and Wendat brides and their children could be more thoroughly inculcated into conventional French ways of life and the Roman Catholic religion (Peterson, 1985). This policy was a substantial failure, with an ostensibly illegal fur trade emerging where the French authorities had relinquished their presence, and many Anishinaabe communities stayed where they were, unmotivated by the spectre of integration on French colonial terms (Peterson, 1985).

While the so-called debauchery of the upper Great Lakes and areas beyond persisted, Dickason notes that missionaries did at least consider the integration at work in the region to be a step toward the “one race” vision they had supported (1985, p. 28). But the early 1700s saw a rising anxiety among some Europeans over the impacts of mixed unions, and discourses of the ‘purity of blood’ gained greater currency among colonial decision-makers. In 1706, Governor-General of New France, Philippe de Rigaud Vaudreuil, forbade intermarriages between French and Indigenous peoples (Havard, 2003, p. 460). He had been warned by the Ordonnateurs of Louisiana that such marriages were unstable, with Indigenous women leaving their French husbands “au moindre chagrin,” and that rather than serve as a ‘civilizing’ influence on Indigenous peoples, they were more “un facteur d’ensauvagement des Français” (Havard, 2003, p. 459). Prohibitions were strengthened in 1735, prohibiting Indigenous women married to French men from inheriting their property (Peterson, 1985). Similarly, the English presence on the Hudson Bay, beginning in 1670, at first adopted the policy of traders taking native wives, but by the mid 1700s, the Hudson Bay Company forbade such arrangements (Bakker, 1997). Instead, it encouraged employees “to follow rules of celibacy and chastity” (Bakker, 1997, p. 47).

Not surprising, both policies were unqualified failures, and Indigenous-European unions persisted. While the French “one race” policy fizzled, Anishinaabe populations in the interior as

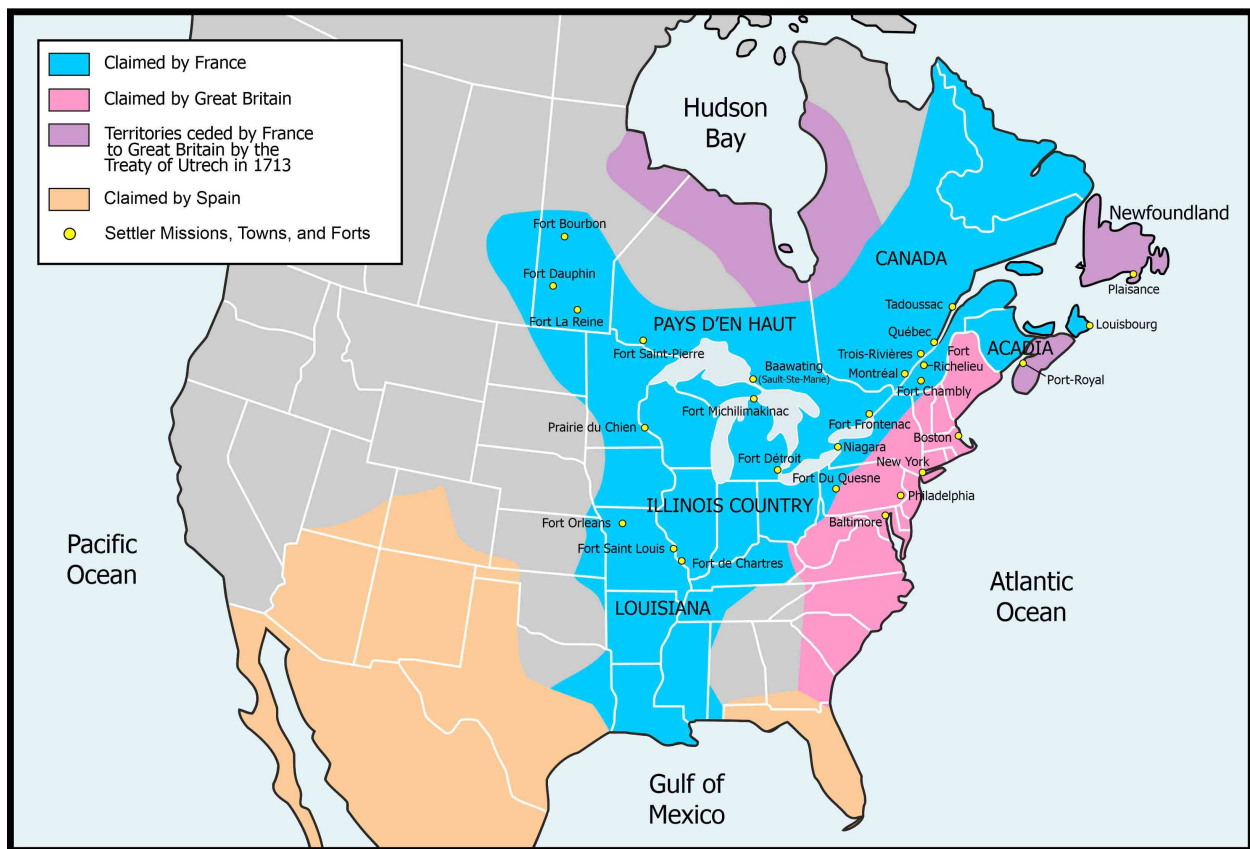


Figure 4: Approximate extent of French and British territorial claims in North America, 1750 (Image Credit: Susan Meades, 2021)

well as the French traders that remained with them were left largely to their own devices with little interference outside the trade of furs. Peterson notes that between 1698 and 1765, nearly half of the marriages recorded at Michilimackinac were between French fur traders and Indigenous women, the most significant proportion of marriages, followed by marriages between French Canadiens, totalling approximately one third (1985).

Cultural contact paralleled language contact, yet the development of a distinct Métis nation did not mirror the nineteenth century romantic fallacy of one-nation/one-language. Language contact was a phenomenon experienced by the French (including missionaries, voyageurs, and obviously interpreters) and Anishinaabeg (among other Indigenous civilizations), and the genesis of Great Lakes Métis communities took place within existing norms of translanguaging and multilingualism.

4.2 The French Crown retreats from the Pays d'en Haut

The alliance between the French and Anishinaabeg would remain strong throughout the eighteenth century, and military conflicts provided abundant opportunity to reaffirm the alliance throughout a century marred by struggles between European powers to assert their dominance over the Americas. The Fox Wars, the first of which running from 1712-1716 and the second from 1728-1733, resulted in the French and their Anishinaabe allies eventually expelling the Meskwaki from the areas around Lake Huron, Erie, and Michigan by 1734 (Stewart, 2007, p. 21; Bellfy, 2011, p. 27). Conflict between French and English traders and colonists were motivated by hostilities and competition in Europe. These hostilities also cause significant upheaval for Indigenous communities. For instance, Odaawaa were encouraged to return to Michilimackinac from Saginaw Bay in 1712 (Bellfy, 2011, p. 28).

When hostilities resumed between France and England in the interior of North America, Anishinaabeg and the descendants of intermarriages were critical military allies. According to William Warren, Anishinaabeg from Baawating, Michilimackinac and Lake Huron joined with the French army at conflicts in Detroit, Fort Du Quesne, Niagara, and Montreal, while a party from Lake Superior with Chief Ma-mong-e-se-da joined the French on the final battle at the Plains of Abraham (1885, p. 134; Stewart, 2007, p. 21).⁸ Anishinaabeg also participated in French campaigns in the Ohio River Valley in 1749 and later in conflicts with the British as far south as Virginia and Maryland (Bellfy, 2011, pp. 29-30). However portrayals of Anishinaabe-French relations as uniquely affectionate belie a more complex and changeable relationship. As Bellfy recounts in a retelling of ensuing tension between the two communities, Anishinaabeg did on occasion assert their sovereignty when given reason to distrust the French:

In 1757 [... a] group of Native warriors who had attacked and scored a stunning victory against Fort William Henry, about fifty miles north of Albany, were unwittingly exposed to an outbreak of smallpox at the fort. The warriors took the disease home with them to the Great Lakes with devastating consequences for their population. Mistrust of the French followed in the wake of this catastrophe. Some Native people, once allied with the French, broke into open rebellion; one faction of the Menominee at Green Bay

⁸ Warren records that the Anishinaabe word used to refer to the English, *zhaaganaash*, as reported by Jean Baptiste Cadotte, “was derived from the circumstances of their sudden and almost unaccountable appearance, on that memorable morning on the heights of Abraham. It is a little changed from the original word Saug-aush-e which signifies ‘to appear from the clouds.’ (1885, p. 134).

attacked the French in the winter of 1757-58. And it was becoming apparent that the many Natives who had allied themselves with the French had done so only to drive the British from their territory, and when that was accomplished, they planned to drive out the French as well (Bellfy, 2011, pp. 30-1).

Yet the French were not a monolithic population any more than the Anishinaabeg. Interactions varied between and among missionaries, voyageurs, military, state officials and others. Over the course of two hundred years of contact and relationship building, the French had cultivated generally positive relations through the habitual offering of presents, the integration of voyageurs within Indigenous kinship networks, and the mutual benefit of the fur trade (Bellfy, 2011). As the English replaced the Dutch in New York and encroached farther north and west into the Americas, failing to adopt these customs, imposing more stringent trade restrictions and bringing with them greater exposure to disease made life harder for most Anishinaabeg, to the great benefit of the nostalgic traces of the French in the collective memory (Bellfy, 2011).

Following the fall of New France, the distrust that had been cultivated between Anishinaabeg and English for over a hundred years made early interactions tense. Indeed, Indigenous allies to the French were not included in, nor consulted in treaty negotiations (Bellfy, 2011). Anishinaabeg were informed that the French had yielded all the lands east of the Mississippi to the British well after the treaty was signed (2011). While King George III's Royal Proclamation prohibiting settler acquisition of further Indigenous lands beyond the height of land of the Appalachians without formal treaties sanctioned by the Crown was an effort to ease hostilities and cultivate relationships with former French allies in the interior, many of the interior nations greeted the British with scepticism, if not open hostility.

Bellfy notes that the English were by and large more averse to intermarriage and living *à la façon du pays*, motivated in part by a desire to maintain control over English settlers (2011). Combined with memories of fighting against the English alongside the French, there was little sympathy or trust for the English as they came to assert their jurisdiction over the upper Great Lakes. When Pontiac requested support for ongoing resistance, many Anishinaabeg from the upper Great Lakes obliged, including a number of prominent chiefs, such as Katawabidai's presence at the capture of Fort Mackinaw in 1763 (Stewart, 2007; Warren, 1885). The summer of 1763 marked the beginning of Pontiac's rebellion, which included Anishinaabeg from the Ojibwe, Boodéwaadmi, Odaawaa and Mississauga, as well as Shawnee, Myaama, Lenaape

Mingos, Senecas, Wyandots and Weas (Bellfy, 2011). The cross-cultural alliance was facilitated by the high status of Eastern Ojibwe which was a common language among most participating nations in the resistance to British rule, however local norms of translanguaging and multilingualism had long facilitated collaborations between Indigenous peoples. Participation in the resistance, however, was not unanimous, as Bellfy notes:

The Ojibways from Michilimackinac took the British fort at the Straits, but the Odawas from L'Arbre Croche and St. Ignace redeemed the fort's prisoners and led them to safety in Montreal, demonstrating an obvious split between the Odawas of southern and central Michigan who were following their chief, Pontiac and the Odawas of northern Michigan, who were not. (2011, p. 33)

At Baawating, most declined Pontiac's request to resist the British, which many from the historical record attribute to a French merchant who had risen to prominence from his days as a *marchand voyageur* along Superior's north shore. Jean-Baptiste Cadotte⁹ was the grandson of Maturin Cadot who had been present at the Pageant-de-St-Lusson in 1671. His first recorded excursion to the interior was at the age of 18 in 1742, where he attended the post at Nipigon for a period of three years (Warren, 1885). If not the only French trader to stay among the Anishinaabeg at the Sault following the withdrawal of France from the Great Lakes (as William Warren has attributed to him), he was certainly the most influential (1885). According to Warren, he married an Anishinaabe woman of the Awaasasii¹⁰ clan according to Catholic conventions and had several children (Warren, 1885). Cadotte was also an interpreter, perhaps not surprising given his thorough integration with the Anishinaabe communities in the upper Great Lakes, and he received the Anishinaabe noozowin, Ke-che-sud-ub-ese, which was recorded to mean "Great Strong One" (1884, p. 147). Describing Cadotte's influence, Warren notes

He is the only French trader of any importance whom the Ojibways tell of having remained with them, when the French people were forced to leave the Lake Superior country. And it is said that though he made several attempts to leave the Ojibway people in company with his departing countrymen, such was the affection which they bore to

⁹ The spelling of Cadotte's family name varies throughout the historical record, including most frequently Cadot and Cadette (Warren, 1885, p. 147).

¹⁰ The catfish clan, A-waus-e as recorded by Warren (1885, 147).

himself and his half-breed children, that their chiefs threatened to use force to prevent his departure. (Warren, 1884, p. 148)

Pontiac had sent a wampum belt and messengers to La Pointe and villages surrounding Lake Superior, but ultimately the northern communities were more reluctant to join his resistance. While some did partake, most heeded the advice of Cadotte and remained neutral in the conflict (Warren, 1885).

Baawating regained much of its importance to the trade during Cadotte's time there, which had declined after the Jesuits (and Récollets) were prohibited from accepting new members after the Treaty of Paris, and largely vacated the upper Great Lakes (Peterson, 1985; Chaussé, 1996). A number of "traders and their native spouses" were attracted to the area, as well as other locations throughout the region, such as Michilimackinac (Peterson, 1985, p. 58; St-Onge, 2013). A growing number of Freeman, such as Cadotte, who were not bound to any sole company had decidedly taken up residence, if not in any one stable location, at least beyond the growing urban centres of power and settler hegemony (Hogue, 2015). Describing the process of the development of distinct Métis communities with ties to both European and Anishinaabe societies, Ens and Sawchuk explain:

Successive engagements with a fur trade entrepreneur (often an older kinsman) enabled the voyageur to establish an enduring marriage, because he returned regularly to his wife and children and the Métis village. His children could then retrace the cycle by entering the fur trade, thereby producing a new generation of Métis mediators. (2016, p. 46)

Those that married Anishinaabe women frequently stayed with her community, given the local matrilineal custom, though many also continued to maintain connections to established trading posts (Hogue, 2015). In the early 1700s, the children of such marriages were raised in Anishinaabe communities according to Anishinaabe cultural norms, and the challenges of patrilineal transmission of clan membership was solved through adoption (Havard, 2003, p. 475). In the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, a growing number of these interracial families throughout the Northwest gradually separated themselves from both locales, as Hogue explains:

Over time, some of these fur traders decided to live apart from either the Indigenous band or the trading post. In some cases, this involved a long seasonal absence, often in

the community of a small group of families who hunted, trapped, fished, gathered, and worked together. This environment created what one scholar has termed the “enculturation circumstance,” whereby children could be raised in circumstances distinct from either parent’s society. These family units worked and lived together and created a distinctive social milieu. Meanwhile, stronger kinship bonds developed between members of freemen families. These families formed the basis for new communities whose cultural, economic, and political ethos fused, often refashioning European and Indigenous values into something new. (Hogue, 2015, pp. 21-2)

Such was the situation for many ‘mixed-blood’ fur traders at Sault Ste. Marie who were increasingly dependent on excursions beyond the Great Lakes to collect sufficient furs, and while Anishinaabeg continued to reside at the Sault and maintain close familial and social ties to the mixed population, the occupational divergence between the two groups and the distinct ways of life endemic of the fur trade would foster the genesis of the village’s distinct Métis population.

When Alexander Henry, a New Brunswick-born English-descended trader who would come to affiliate with the North West Company, arrived at the Sault in 1761, he recorded a “stockaded fort” and only four houses: one for the clerk of the trade post (who was called the governor), one for Cadotte and his wife, and the remaining two were used as barracks (Henry, 1901, pp. 60-1). While there were only a few permanent structures at the rapids at the time of Henry’s arrival, it was nonetheless teeming with activity, as he recorded there was a village of “fifty warriors,” though only temporary for the summer months before most traveled west to hunt during the winter (1901, p. 62). Cadotte must have been well apprised of the region’s history, as he shared with Henry that “the village was anciently much more populous” (1901, p. 62). Henry also remarked on the impressive fishery and described the skill of Anishinaabeg who harvested the catch, “These rapids are beset with rocks of the most dangerous description; and yet they are the scene of a fishery, in which all their dangers are braved, and mastered with singular expertness” (Henry, 1901, p. 61). Describing the abundance, he noted “The fish are often crowded together in the water, in great numbers; and a skillful fisherman, in autumn, will take five hundred in two hours” (1901, pp. 61-2). Cadotte’s relationship with Henry would prove markedly influential, not only for each man himself, but for the community at large. Cadotte was known as an interpreter, though the record suggests his family spoke primarily

Anishinaabemowin, and Henry's desire to acquire the Indigenous language led him to winter at the fort and learn from Cadotte, as he reports "The pleasant situation of the fort, and still more the desire of learning the Chipeway language, led me to resolve on wintering in it. In the family of M. Cadotte, no other language than the Chipeway was spoken" (Henry, 1901, pp. 60, 63).

The relationship between Cadotte and Henry also extended well beyond the locality at the Sault. The two traveled inland with a large trading party in 1775, past Lake Superior, rejoining the Mississippi River, and following it upstream to a point at which they made a series of long portages to the Red River (Warren, 1885). Such expeditions were becoming more and more necessary for fur traders in the late eighteenth century, as the increasingly depleted beaver resources around the Great Lakes yielded fewer and fewer furs (Warren, 1885). When Cadotte and Henry made it to the Red River, and Henry established a trading post at Pembina (Warren, 1885; Hogue, 2015). A pivotal point in the development of the fur trade in what would become Manitoba, Henry and Cadotte's expedition also exemplifies the expansive geographical scope of habitual travel of the era, and of long before European contact in the Americas. Excursions of several thousand kilometres, while not every day occurrences, were neither rare occasions. Consequently, for Anishinaabeg and the burgeoning mixed-blood population at the Sault, the area with which one would be familiar spanned several thousand kilometres and encompassed dozens, if not hundreds, of relatively stable settlements. Trade was also necessary for certain agricultural products, as the population at the Sault sourced much of their corn from Odaawaa-Anishinaabe cultivators at L'Arbre Croche in the lower peninsula of Michigan (Peterson, 1985). Add to this the extensive kin connections that Anishinaabeg fostered through centuries of exogamous clan marriages, it is clear that little in the way of social and cultural trends can occur in isolation in a given community, particularly for communities along established trade routes.

Though it would be more than a decade before Britain would assert sovereignty over the upper Great Lakes, it created an Indian Department in 1755 for managing relations with Indigenous peoples in the colonies that it had established elsewhere in North America (Calverley, 2018). This institutional structure would persist and assume a greater scope after the Royal Proclamation in 1763. Concurrently towards the end of the seventeenth century, the economic activities and relations that structured both French and English colonization of the

Americas, as well as the actions of both imperial powers in Europe and around the globe, coalesced around what has been termed mercantilism. Hart explains,

Mercantilism was not an organized body of thought but rather the relatively coherent conclusions of men of affairs and letters in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reacting to events around them. It reflected the emergence of the nation-state as the principal form of political organization and advanced the doctrine of national self-sufficiency. It also advanced the View that men could shape their environment culminating in the philosophical optimism of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. (Hart, 2002, p. 23)

The mercantilist economy was both a product and perpetuator of competition between both imperial powers, which encouraged conflicts between Indigenous peoples aligned with competing colonial commercial interests. However there also existed many examples of Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples pursuing trade with whichever party provided the best terms of exchange (Hart, 2002). The control afforded to metropolitan merchants and colonial landed gentry under the mercantilist order, however, would also contribute to later resistance between settler peoples and colonial authorities, and ultimately the American Revolution (Hart, 2002).

One of the technologies of colonization by which colonial states could affirm their sovereignty over a population was the census (Scott, 1998). Anderson has described its use by Britain and other colonial authorities in Southeast Asia, noting especially how the categories by which it classified people — whether by racial or religious grounds — exaggerated and reified those distinctions, helping to craft colonial subjects in the image of European ethno-nationals (1985). The Jesuits in Acadia took the first estimates of Indigenous inhabitant population in 1611, undoubtedly to serve their own need to assess their comparative success (or lack thereof) (Canada, 1876). The nearly annual censuses of New France throughout the eighteenth century, however, should also be contextualized with the knowledge that at that time, and certainly in France, the strength and power of nations was measured by the size of their population (Dickason, 1985). The 1736 census, however, included a note that projected the Indigenous population for eastern North America based on the “warriors,” revealing not only the importance of France’s military alliance with Indigenous peoples, but of war being a surprisingly more defining feature for the relationship with French authorities than trade (Censuses of

Canada, 1876, p. xxiv). Similar observations would be made by William Johnson, the Upper Canada-based Superintendent for Indian Affairs, in 1763 (Canada, 1876). Though, the importance of consolidating British military authority and alliances with Indigenous peoples following the fall of New France the same year makes the focus on warriors less surprising. During periods of conflict between France and England, the censuses also distinguished desired, legitimate nationals from those that may pose a threat, as the 1752 census of Acadia demonstrates, drawing a clear distinction between the British and German population on one hand, and the French population on the other (1876, p. xxxiv).



Figure 5: Locations in the context of the upper Great Lakes (Image Credit: Susan Meades, 2021)

4.3 Baawating after the Treaty of Paris (1763)

Political relations and issues of land tenure underwent considerable changes following the British takeover of Canada. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 would prohibit settler

encroachment on lands that had not been ceded to the Crown by formal treaty. Though this would provoke longstanding resentment among American settlers in the thirteen colonies (and indeed among some Canadian settlers), at least for a few decades the policy required negotiations pertaining to land cessions be undertaken by the state rather than by individual settlers or communities, which Miller attributes to decreasing the likelihood of conflict in the new British North American territories (2000). Settlement in the Province of Quebec, which the British christened the new colony that stretched from Labrador to the Mississippi, was not initially encouraged, as Britain treated the region primarily as an extraction colony for furs and timber (Hart, 2002). Settlers could also upset this equilibrium, encroaching on Indigenous lands and disturbing the local ecology by razing forests to create farms, destroying the habitat of many fur-bearing mammals (Hart, 2002). The early administration in Quebec was content to keep the settler population serviceably small, limited to the existing settlements along the St. Lawrence and established trading posts (Hart, 2002).

Following the fall of New France, the trading post and mission at Sault Ste Marie was officially abandoned by the French, though the local Anishinaabeg continued to retain control of the area under the local head chief, Gitcheojeedebun¹¹ of the Crane Clan, whose descendants would continue to figure prominently in local leadership (Montgomerie, 1993; Chute, 1998). Cadotte and his children opted to stay behind and navigate the new order that was to emerge (Warren, 1884). Competition intensified between the Hudson Bay Company, independent French and Métis traders around the Great Lakes, and the upstart North West Company, composed primarily of English and Scottish traders and merchants, which Peterson notes increased the strategic importance of Sault Ste. Marie (Peterson, 1985).

The North West Company was chartered in Montreal in 1779, becoming a consortium of the smaller upstart companies that previously competed with one another (Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016). The company was under the financial control of British-descended traders, while Ross Cox, one of its clerks, described its staff as principally “young men from the junior branches of ‘respectable Scottish families,’” with only a few French partners (Cox, 1832, p. vii qtd in Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016, p. 276). Nonetheless it had to tap into the existing trade networks, including French, Métis, and other Indigenous (largely Onkwehonwe)

¹¹ Gitcheojeedebun is translated as Great Crane in Chute (1998).

agents and engagées to staff its operations (Hogue, 2016; Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016). The short-lived, upstart XY company carried a similar structure, dominated in the managerial ranks by British Anglophones, while employing a diverse population throughout its run from the 1790s to 1804 when it was absorbed by the North West Company (Peterson, 1985). Peterson explains, “after 1790 when the growth of powerful monopoly companies,” such as the Hudson Bay, Northwest, and XY companies, “ended the rise of French-speaking men to positions of influence in the trade, creating both a caste system based on ethnicity and sharp divisions of status and wealth” (1985, p. 42). The new order governing trade began to affirm British, or at least Anglophone, dominance of the upper echelons of commercial power. Podruchny points to a paternalistic relationship between the company owners and managers on the one hand and the staff who traversed the interior of the Old Northwest in search of furs, where the bourgeois encouraged “obedience, loyalty, and hard work” among the employees, while the traders would also push back if their dealings were not deemed to be fair, often by desertion (as cited in Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016, p. 277).

Changes to the regulatory regime of trade with Indigenous peoples following the fall of Québec similarly attempted to stratify the relationship between British authorities and Indigenous peoples. Such decisions exemplify not only efforts by the British to exert control over newly acquired territories, but also reflect a prevailing notion among the British of their racial superiority and the necessity of more advanced races to protect and guide less civilized peoples in their development. This provoked considerable hostility, particularly in the upper Great Lakes. Following new restrictions on trade items imposed by General Amherst, which forbade the trading of gunpowder, rum, knives and similar goods to Indigenous peoples, Anishinaabeg at Sault Ste. Marie are reported to have killed a number of traders, ostensibly in retaliation for the new paternalistic restrictions (Bellfy, 2011).

Despite British control of these companies, for at least several decades they had to permit, if not adapt to, the multilingualism of the trade. French continued to be the dominant language among the voyageurs, and it was used frequently interchangeably with the wide variety of Indigenous languages known to them, along with new languages of Europe that made their way into the trade, coinciding with the end of French domination. Even Cox, despite his Scottish provenance and distance from the front-lines of the trade, found he had to acquire and speak both French and Indigenous languages throughout his work. Foxcurran, Bouchard and

Malette describe Cox as “lamenting” his perceived declining English, quoting Cox, “Bad French and worse Indian began to usurp the place of English [...] and I found my conversation gradually becoming a barbarous compound of various dialects” (as cited in 2016, pp. 277-8). Cox’s notes also provide great insight into how the multilingualism of the trade was manifested and managed by other employees. Describing a man by the name of McDonald, Cox describes the influence of multilingualism on his regular speech after having added French and Indigenous languages to his existing repertoire of Scottish Gaelic and English when he joined the company, noting

He was subject to temporary fits of abstraction [...] during which the country of his auditory was forgotten, and their lingual knowledge set at defiance by the most strange and ludicrous mélange of Gaelic, English, French, and a half a dozen Indian dialects. (as cited in Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016, p. 278)

It’s unclear whether “half a dozen” is poetic license on the part of Cox or if this was indeed a fair approximation, however Foxcurran, Bouchard and Malette provide context to McDonald’s situation, noting he “was hired as an apprentice clerk with the North West Company, moving extensively over ten years and acquiring the languages of the Indigenous peoples of the territory where he was working, rarely spending more than a winter in any one location” (2016, p. 278). The long distances traveled, the necessity of communicating with local populations, and the frequency of his changing location necessitated rapid language acquisition (at least sufficient enough to facilitate exchange) and adapting to frequently changing linguistic contexts.

4.4 Treaty of Niagara

The fur trade continued to play a pivotal role in the political dynamics of Québec, which extended throughout the Great Lakes Basin. Company figures wielded significant political influence, and the continued importance to both Indigenous populations and most European-descended residents of the interior signalled its actors as crucial allies. Thanks primarily to Cadotte’s facilitation, assisting Henry to become acquainted and welcome among Anishinaabe settlements at Baawating and around Lake Superior, twenty delegates from the Anishinaabe community at Sault Ste. Marie would accompany Henry to the Council of Niagara in 1764, (Warren, 1884). The ensuing treaty, manifested by the covenant chain wampum belt, signalled an alliance between Britain and twenty two Indigenous nations who had come to the council.

The alliance would later lead to Anishinaabeg assisting the British during the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.

As for relations between locals and the incoming British trade and state official, these bonds would also foster future settler resource exploitation that would dominate the regional economic transition away from the fur trade, as Cadotte introduced Henry to the copper deposits known to French settlers in the region, and engaged with Henry in small scale copper mining in the Ontonagon Valley in present-day Upper Michigan (Warren, 1884).

4.5 Quebec Act of 1774 and the American Revolution

Following the conquest of New France, however, British authorities did not only have to forge new alliances with Indigenous peoples that had previously allied themselves with the French, they also had to contend with a domestic settler population throughout Québec of some 65,000 former French subjects. Little more than a decade after the Treaty of Paris, the Parliament of Great Britain enacted the Quebec Act of 1774 in an effort to acquire the loyalty of the populations it has absorbed into its colonies.

The Act incorporated the new territories north of the American colonies from the Baie des Chaleurs to the Hudson's Bay lands into a formal colonial province. Most significantly, it guaranteed the rights of Roman Catholics to practice their religion, to exempt previous French subjects from an oath of loyalty, and to maintain the privileges that had been afforded to the Roman Catholic Church within the province. Such accommodations were not uncontroversial, and would provoke the ire of many Protestant American colonists who, combined with the constraints on settlement imposed by the Royal Proclamation, grew increasingly resentful of the British Crown (Russell, 2018; Miller, 2000). Such provisions, however, were intended to be temporary (Neatby, 1966). Yet the accommodations made by the act have been noted along with the Royal Proclamation as constituting the roots of Canadian language policy and its focus on mediating English and French interests (Mackey, 2010). Mackey explains that the Act has

...been interpreted as being essentially an ethnogenic treaty — a pact between peoples — one whose leitmotif would colour the course of Canadian history, since it implicitly seemed to accept the French Canadian population and their descendants as a distinct people (race or nation) — distinct by their origins, religion, land, and language. (2010, p. 33)

The Act, however, makes no explicit reference to language, addressing only aspects of religion, subjection, and the institutions of civil government.¹² Though the distinction between Anglo-Saxon and French-descended settlers today is conceived of largely along linguistic lines, in the eighteenth century the dominant cleavages were primarily religious in nature, though aspects of law, land tenure, and to an extent residual national loyalties, also shaped contests between settler interests in the era. The distinctions identified in the Act as being a matter of unique kinds of ‘subjects’ (i.e. previous “Subjects of France” being marked as distinct from all others), would later be constructed as unique races, for which language remained little more than a coincidental pattern until the late nineteenth century.

Though the Act largely withheld the right for the newly formed legislative council to levy taxes, it did empower it to do so at the level of cities and districts for the purpose of

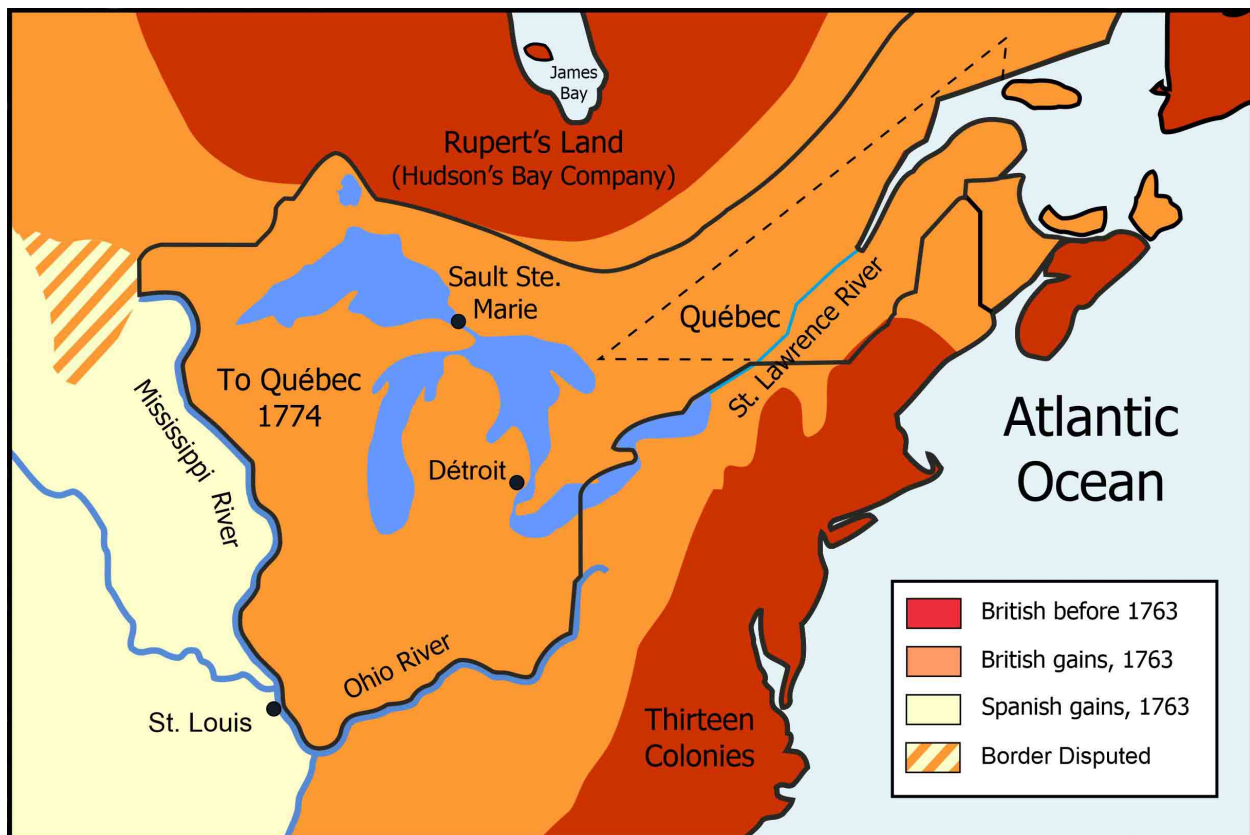


Figure 6: Approximate Expansion of British Claims and the Province of Québec, 1774 (Image Credit: Susan Meades, 2021)

¹² It is, however, worth noting that the Act was published in both English and French, demonstrating that authorities recognized linguistic distinctiveness as a complicating factor in bringing the Act into force (Quebec Act, 1774).

constructing roads and public buildings (Quebec Act, 1774). Again, while this has little bearing on language use, what it did was facilitate the development of the colony and progressive encroachment on Indigenous lands. The impacts in Baawating, however, would not be felt for several more years, driven largely by the fallout of the American Revolutionary War.

Growing frustration within the American colonies with Great Britain's policies that accommodated Catholics and Indigenous peoples throughout North America, among many other diverse social and economic interests, eventually fuelled secessionist sentiment among the American colonies (Russell, 2018). The larger populations and more established industries of the American colonies made for greater self-sufficiency and stronger competition with British commercial interests, while the northern colonies continued to rely more significantly on the metropole. As Hart explains, "Newfoundland relied on the English Fishery; Nova Scotia depended on the British Navy; and Quebec needed the London Merchants. All three remained loyal to the Crown and continued to see their destiny as lying within the British colonial system" (Hart, 2002, p. 22). The mercantilist system continued to work well for the northern regions, while it significantly chafed merchants in the thirteen colonies.

The covenant chain had bound Anishinaabeg in alliance with the British and fought with them against the American revolutionary settlers. At stake was the protection of Indigenous lands from further settler encroachment, and indeed the protections that the British state had enforced, meagre as they were, were a flashpoint in the revolution, as many settlers wished to expand their dominion over native lands west of Appalachia. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft recounts more than 6,000 Anishinaabeg from the upper Great Lakes joined with the British to fight in the Revolutionary war (Bellfy, 2011). Given the war and conflicts that persisted in its wake, Britain relied heavily on its military alliances with Anishinaabeg, which meant that it had to treat with Indigenous peoples in good faith, if only for the time being (Calverley, 2018). However the depth of British commitment to common interests became apparent by the war's end. The greatest impact was felt among Anishinaabe allies further south of the new border, whose lands had been readily surrendered by the British at the close of the war. As Hart notes, "the vast St. Lawrence drainage area was cut in two, with both merchants and Natives aghast to see the basis of their livelihoods handed over to the dreaded Frontiersman and their drive to establish permanent settlements" (Hart, 2002, p. 28).

Both during and after the conclusion of the war, many Anishinaabeg remained ambivalent to American claims of sovereignty. In 1781, Ojibwe and Odaawaa entered into treaty with the British to cede the island of Michilimackinac, despite its location well within American territorial claims (Bellfy, 2011). The treaty highlights that Anishinaabeg held they were the only arbiters of who may encroach upon and settle in their territories.

The Definitive Treaty of Peace, signed in Paris in 1783, formalized the boundary between British North America and the United States, dividing Baawating in half along the St. Mary's River. The definition of the boundary in the Treaty of Paris left much to the imagination, which led to further conflicts between American and British interests (Bellfy, 2011). Irrespective of the conflicts between colonial authorities, however, the new border mattered little in its early decades of existence to Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples who frequented the area.

In addition to the participation of local Anishinaabeg in the conflict and the new boundary that had been imposed between the shores of Baawating, the drive to affirm British territory and commercial interests began to have its impacts. More English traders joined their Canadian counterparts in Sault Ste. Marie by 1777, where there were now approximately ten houses and a fort. Following the American Revolutionary War, numerous disputes lingered until the 1794 Jay Treaty that affirmed a border between the United States and British North America running directly through the St. Mary's River (Bellfy, 2011). Consequentially the North West Company fort located on the south side of the river was relocated to the British side. "There, at the top of the rapids," explains Brian Stewart in his history of the notable Ermatinger trading family, "it built houses, a sawmill, and a canal to carry the larger canoes around the rapids" (2007, p. 50). The surrender of British forts south of the border, however, marked the decline of British hegemony within the region, which Anishinaabeg north of the border recognized as placing them within an increasingly tenuous position (Chute, 1998).

The resolution of boundary claims required the British to begin negotiations with Anishinaabeg in order to relocate the British fort at Michilimackinac, which the Anishinaabeg had ceded to the British well after the initiation of the American Revolution. The British moved their fort to Payentanassin in the North Channel, also known as Cariboux Island or St. Joseph Island as it was named by early Jesuits and known to the British, in 1762 (Bellfy 2011). On June 30, 1798, The St. Joseph Island Purchase, also known as Treaty 11, was signed by area chiefs, Meatoosawkee, Keequatakamsigishkam, Boanince, Ogoesque-Waiaune, Kaukonce, Sasang, and

Shawanapenisse and Deputy Superintendent General and Deputy of Inspector General of Indian Affairs, Alexander McKee on behalf of the Crown (Treaty of St. Joseph). The treaty conveyed the island to the British for the value of £1,200 of Quebec currency in goods, including cloth, kettles and other cooking implements, and vermillion (Ontario, 2020). The interpreter present was Guillaume Lamothe, demonstrating the ongoing relationship and importance to the socio-economic and political equilibrium of French-Anishinaabe-British relations and the linguistic dynamics that were necessary to navigate to cultivate and sustain these relations.

Though Anishinaabeg entered into friendly relations of mutual aid with the British following the latter's expulsion of the French Crown from North America, the conflicts with many settlers — Revolutionaries and Loyalists alike — demonstrates that Europeans were not uniformly antagonistic or cooperative with the original peoples of North America. The unions of French voyageurs and Indigenous women connected to the fur trade would eventually yield a new nation, in the form of the Métis. Still, the encroachment of settlers, conflicts within the fur trade, and later rushes on the land's mineral resources caused significant suffering and displacement. As the seven fires prophecy predicted, "the face of brotherhood and the face of death look very much alike" (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 90).

4.6 Anishinaabe & European language contact in eighteenth & nineteenth century

At the transition to the nineteenth century, the descendants of primarily French and Anishinaabe unions coalesced to form the Métis nation, which is today tightly associated with the language known as Michif, which stemmed from contact between French and Indigenous languages, depending on the area. Bakker's overview of the early socio-historical linguistic context of Michif notes that mixing of (at least) French and Anishinaabemowin was likely common in the Great Lakes region (1997). He cites as evidence Schoolcraft, who remarked at Michilimackinack that "the French language, the Algonquin [...], in several dialects, and the English, are employed. And *among the uneducated, no small mixture of all are brought into vogue* in the existing vocabulary" (as cited in Bakker, 1997, pp. 268-9, emphasis added). Similarly, Foxcurran, Bouchard and Malette contend that French had become a *lingua franca* throughout much of the interior, from the "Old Northwest" of the upper Great Lakes through the Mississippi and Missouri valleys, across the Prairies and even to the Pacific Northwest Coast from the seventeenth century, with vestiges persisting into the twentieth century (2016, p. 76).

However this is also tempered by an acknowledgement of the importance of Indigenous languages to the fur trade. They argue, citing Lang (1991) that “there was no true continental trade pidgin in the fur trade” and that “rather, it was voyageur French that served as the main medium of communication across the continent during the fur trade” (2016, p. 76). However it is my contention that later records of the languages spoken by Métis peoples calls into question the assumption that the linguistic exchange was unidirectional. Yes, French undoubtedly had a significant presence across Indigenous communities of North America. But voyageurs, or at least their descendants, also frequently acquired at least serviceable knowledge of Indigenous languages, while Rhodes (2009; 2020) points to how many of these languages (notably the Southwestern Ojibwe and later Odaawaa varieties of Anishinaabemowin) also served as *linguae francae* both within Indigenous communities and at least among missionaries, if not also voyageurs. The historical record cautions us against erasing the multilingual character of Indigenous communities, and even early colonial communities, prior to the establishment of white settler hegemony in the late nineteenth century. Likewise, the language mixing exhibited by many Anishinaabeg, far from reflecting a lack of education, rather reflected Anishinaabe values that emphasized the importance of language, and that sharing language was a sign of great respect.

Bakker tentatively aligned his cited observations with a mixed language that originally appears in literature by Margaret Stobie in 1970 and 1971, a language she calls Brailais or Brayet (Bakker, 1997, p. 269). She describes it as a mixture of “French and Ojibwa” and compares it to Bungee, what Bakker describes as a “Cree influenced English dialect” (1997, p. 85). Stobie describes the language as growing “up between Saulteau and Quebécois along the southern trade route from Sault Ste. Marie through the Lake of the Woods passage on the west” (as cited in Bakker, 1997, p. 269). Bakker also cites a Métis informant from Minnesota who reports “that his now deceased grandfather spoke a mixture of French and Indian, which in his own view was “very different” from Michif” (1997, p. 269). As shall be seen in subsequent pages, there are no shortages of attestations to the mixing of French and Indigenous languages in the upper Great Lakes region, particularly around Baawating, however the nature of that mixing and any potential grammatical reconstruction is next to impossible due to it never having been recorded in surviving historical records, even in orthographic approximations. Even Kohl, who did not shy away from multilingual reproductions in his travel writing, took editorial license

when reporting mixed French speech, noting on one occasion when speaking to an elderly “half-breed” woman in Garden River in the mid-1800s:

My old lady talked to me about these old times in broken Canadian-French, after her fashion. I was much inclined to give her characteristic speech just as she held it, and in her broken Indian-French. But I fear lest the reader may hardly understand it, and so many explanatory remarks would be requisite. Hence I will translate it as carefully as I can, now and then quoting her own words (Kohl, 1860, p. 368).

Kohl makes frequent reference to “broken Canadian-French” and “broken Indian-French” (note also how he refers to the two interchangeably in the above excerpt, demonstrating equivalence between “Canadian-French” and “Indian-French”), and not the least of these references frequently occur in Garden River, little more than 10 KMs downstream from Baawating.

Foxcurran et al. offer clarifying explanation on the dynamic use of the term “Michif,” as they explain “

This appellation is applied to the fused French-Cree bilingual mixed language, and is used by some, not all, to refer to the French language spoken by Métis, with the term Michif certainly having derived from the Métis pronunciation of the older term Métif and signifying the descendants of the French-speaking voyageurs and their Indigenous wives. (2016, p. 76)

However they also assert that

The European language spoken by the majority of the historical Métis would have been at its core French, with archaisms and some phonetic particularities that distinguish it from other forms of French on the continent. Naturally, this language would feature a number of Indigenous loan words, but it would still be French. (Foxcurran et al., 2016, pp. 76-7)

Aside from there being very few records that could definitively substantiate or refute such a claim, as this is fundamentally a question of language contact in action in racial and class contexts where there are few surviving records on the matter, the claim centres largely around what it means for a language to be “really” French versus something else. While this is addressed in significant measure on much of the literature on pidgin and creole languages (e.g. see Holm, 2000; Mufwene, 2001), drawing on Pennycook’s notion of language-as-local-practice (2010), I contend that even this “voyageur French” becomes something socially quite unique.

Indeed, they were sufficiently distinct that missionary linguist, Frederic Baraga, would note occasional translations in his *Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language* produced in the mid-1800s, with a distinction between “French” and “Canadian French,” though a review of the entries suggests that they would certainly be mutually intelligible (Baraga, 1992 [1861]).

To be fair, of course, Foxcurran et al. acknowledge the multilingual skills of the voyageurs, noting “These voyageurs could speak a number of languages and would willingly spend extended periods living in Indigenous villages” (2016, p. 78). They affirm that the voyageurs themselves “never did abandon his language or develop a true pidgin/creole, as even the mixed language of Michif was and is marginal” (2016, p. 78). However it should also be noted that “voyageurs” was not a closed class of people. Indeed the children of voyageurs and Indigenous women were often also brought into the trade as they grew older, and these second or third generation voyageurs would have had at least extensive exposure to both Indigenous languages and French (if not brought the two into interaction as Bakker suggests) (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016). This is by no means to contradict the notion that French persisted as a language of significance in the trade, as it did, and its presence was also sustained by the regular inculcation of new French settlers into the trade right up into the nineteenth century (St-Onge, 2013). To be clear, Foxcurran et al. do not contend that language mixing or Michif as a distinct language did not occur, but rather that French remained the dominant language among voyageurs and the Métis population that emerged from that history, particularly among those who adopted agricultural lifestyles later in the nineteenth century (2016). And certainly at Baawating, Garden River and the surrounding region, *both* French and contact varieties of French and Anishinaabemowin are clear to have been present, in addition to Anishinaabemowin, and many other languages, eventually including English. Furthermore, the linguistic role of Anishinaabekwewag (Anishinaabe women) in disseminating Anishinaabemowin among voyageurs and their children has been largely overlooked, despite being equal actors in the social, cultural, and linguistic exchange that would have produced both contact language(s) and the kinship networks necessary for the fur trade to function.

Records from Edwin James in the 1820s also attest to the presence of a trade language he calls Broken Ogghibbeway “used by the traders and the people of mixed blood in speaking with the Menominies and Winnebagoes also many of the Sioux, Saxes and Foxes” (as cited in Nichols, 1995, p. 1). Given the Indigenous nations referenced, it is likely to have been in use at

least in the areas west of Lake Michigan. Though sufficiently far from Baawating that it cannot be directly inferred that this variety was part of its sociolinguistic ecology, its development and use speaks to the sociolinguistic dynamics common within the region. Rhodes draws attention to the simplified verb inflection apparent in samples of the language, and its apparently fixed subject-verb-object word order which would have been a norm for English and French speakers, but peculiar to those for whom Anishinaabemowin was their dominant language, with its free word order (2009). The words that survive of Broken Ogghibbeway also appear to be taken from both Odaawaa and Southwestern Ojibwe varieties of Anishinaabemowin, which was more likely to occur among traders who had contact across the vast distances between the areas where these varieties were most common (2009). Rhodes argues, “since fluent Ojibwe speakers would readily understand Broken Ogghibbeway, it is likely that Broken Ogghibbeway was used primarily by whites and Métis” (2009, p. 368).

Language, however, was of limited concern to early British colonial authorities throughout Canada in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Likewise the entire region surrounding Baawating did not capture much attention, apart from its importance to the fur trade and as insulation from American advancement. But as the settler state expanded, the diversity of peoples at the rapids (which was the basis of its linguistic diversity) would come to pose problems for the bureaucracy’s desire for simple operations in a context of complex social relations.

5 - The Fifth Fire & emergent British hegemony: 1791-1839

By 1800, Sault Ste. Marie was home to the greatest proportion of intermarriage between Anishinaabeg and non-native settlers of any community tied to a major fur trading company (Peterson, 1985). Among the mixed blood families, Peterson lists those of J.B. Online, Joseph Piquet, Laurent Barthe, and François Comparé (1985). Disruptions to the cultural makeup of the region were limited up to the turn of the century. But falling under the ostensive jurisdiction of the Province of Quebec meant that impacts of the political upheaval downstream would reach the upper Great Lakes in only a matter of time.

The prophet of the fifth fire had warned that "there will come a great struggle that will grip the lives of all Native people" (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 90). Grand Chief of the Three Fires Midewiwin Lodge, Bawdwaywidun Banaisebun, described this period emerging after Revolutionary War, the growing missionary presence around the upper Great Lakes, and the waning of the fur trade (1988). He described it as "a cultural struggle of the traditional Native way of life pitted against the European way of life" (1988, p. 109). It manifested itself gradually across the continent at different times, particularly as European colonization moved farther westward accompanied by forced displacement. At Baawating, this struggle would begin as the two new states on either side of the river sought to assert their control over Anishinaabe lands.

The chapter that follows begins with an overview of a number of historical events and policy changes in British colonial practice that impacted life in Baawating (some immediate, and some more gradual). These are connected with an exploration of the socio-economic and local political dynamics within the region, reflecting the pressures of state formation and their impacts on language use and the cultural struggles that emerged in the early nineteenth century. The final sections summarize the intervention to language management and its connection with an increasingly racialized discourse of the emerging settler state.

5.1 Cultural struggle and the rise of English in Upper Canada

The population boom that resulted from the resettlement of loyalists has massive impacts on the northern colonies. Where the settler population had stood at 65,000 at the time of the Quebec Act, it soared to 750,000 by 1800, with the greatest impacts surrounding the Lower Great Lakes (Hart, 2002). The destruction of habitat pushed fur bearing animals further north and west, which provided a growing advantage to the Hudson's Bay Company over the North

West Company, whose reach did not extend as far beyond the sphere of European settlement (Hart, 2002).

Numerous treaties were initiated to secure land to settle incoming Loyalists, many of which effectively took the form of “deeds of sale,” according to Philips Valentine and McDougall (2003). Early treaties with Indigenous peoples pursued by the British in the wake of the revolutionary war sought to meet the obligations of the Royal Proclamation and establish a legal basis for settler property (Philips Valentine & McDougall, 2003). Matters pertaining to the relationship between nations were often treated in councils prior to the signing of such treaties, and never made it into their longer-reaching texts (2003). The 1781 Niagara Purchase surrounding contemporary Niagara Falls and Fort Erie, the 1783 Crawford Purchases surrounding contemporary Kingston and Brockville, and the Between the Lakes Purchase of 1794 surrounding contemporary St. Catharine’s and Guelph largely followed this format (Ontario, 2020). The Crown conveyed a portion of the Crawford Purchase to the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte in 1784 in recognition of their service during the war, and Onkwehonwe refugees were also conveyed land through a Crown Treaty with the Mississaugas, securing the Haldimand Tract along the Grand River for the resettlement of the Six Nations Confederacy, though this treaty was not executed until 1793, ten years after the Treaty of Paris (Ontario, 2020). This marked a major change in the Indigenous language ecology of the Lower Great Lakes.

5.1.1 The Constitution Act of 1791

The wake of the revolutionary war and the population boom that accompanied loyalist migration, however, necessitated modifications to the administration of Quebec. The Constitution Act of 1791 divided the Province of Quebec into the colonies of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, roughly along the Ottawa River. Relatively little changed with respect to official language policy of the state, though unlike the Quebec Act of 1774, the new Constitution Act made explicit reference to the question of language (Mackey, 2010). Section 24 allowed voters to swear oaths in either English or French and section 29 offered the same protection to members of the Legislative Councils and Assemblies (Compendium of Language Management in Canada [CLMC], n.d.a). But it did establish the right of the new colonies to levy taxes, signalling

a profound change in their status and ongoing pressure to make them self-sufficient. The division of Quebec also severed the predominantly Francophone east from the areas west of the Ottawa river that had been demographically inundated by Loyalist Anglophones.

Apart from the macro fallout from these changes, there is little record of the Constitution Act of 1791 impacting any kind of change in the daily lives of those living in the upper Great Lakes. The region was still largely considered a hinterland compared to the rapidly growing areas around the lower Great Lakes. But the pressure for the colonies to become increasingly self-sufficient would propel agricultural settlement and future industrial development, and gradually contribute to a perception of Indigenous allies as being a financial burden on the state. The influx of loyalists had also created a substantial body of subjects whose primary language was English, equalizing the linguistic distribution within the colony, which was reified through the Act and amplified a distinction between English and French populations, though still without active reference to the notion of race.

5.1.2 Life in Baawating at the onset of the nineteenth century

The growing population and resources exploitation in the areas around Sault Ste. Marie had severe consequences for those continuing to live primarily by subsistence. Montgomerie notes “Moose and caribou were virtually impossible to find by the early nineteenth century,” and the declining beaver populations discussed earlier persisted into the 1800s (1993, pp. 198-9). While engagés and other fur traders pressed farther and farther west in their quest for pelts, they maintained posts at locations such as Sault Ste. Marie, and particularly Michilimackinac, that offered strategic stopping points on the way to Montréal or gateways into the west and Mississippi Valley (St-Onge, 2013; Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016). As lands became increasingly scarce in the St. Lawrence Valley, young French-descended men in particular, either the youngest in their families unlikely to inherit land, or those born to families without land to pass on, increasingly enlisted in the fur trade. St-Onge explains, “for people without the possibility of apprenticeship in an artisanal trade, becoming a voyageur might have seemed an obvious choice [...] It should not be forgotten that these men hailed from old voyageur villages” (St-Onge, 2013, p. 208). As such, novice French-settlers from the St. Lawrence continued to be inculcated into the fur trade in the interior, contributing to the linguistic

stability of French throughout the old Northwest and Mississippi basins. Many Métis also exercised customary rights to land at Sault Ste. Marie that were conveyed by oral contracts, demonstrating the intent of permanent settlement within the region, even if work, family and political obligations continued to take them throughout the Northwest (Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016).

While there was tacit acceptance of the multilingual nature of the fur trade by the growing hegemony of the British merchant manager class, this acceptance did not always equate with amity. In Brian Stewart's history of the Ermatinger family, a significant player in the fur trade over several generations who would play a pivotal role in Sault Ste. Marie, he notes that Lawrence Ermatinger, then based out of Montréal, communicated on a number of occasions his preference for employing and working with Anglophones, despite the ease with which he was able to carry on in both French and English (2007). Glimpses of his rationale for this bias is apparent in only a few sources, such as when he counsels an interlocutor in London against hiring French-Canadian merchants on the grounds that "many of the French are but very indifferent correspondents" (as cited in Stewart, 2007, p. 11). His attitudes toward Indigenous peoples were similarly standoffish, wary of their previous (or in some cases, ongoing) allegiance to the French and the prospect of trade implications from destabilizing conflict (Stewart, 2007).

Two of Lawrence's sons would make their way to the fur trade at the Sault, George Ermatinger, his eldest son, located primarily on the American side of the rapids while Charles Oakes Ermatinger, his youngest, established himself on the Canadian shore. Prior to settling in the Sault, Charles took part in the trade around Lake Winnipeg, where he married Charlotte Katawabidai, daughter of Chief Katawabidai of the Anishinaabeg from the South shores of Lake Superior (Stewart, 2007). One of Chief Katawabidai's other daughters would also marry a fur trader, Samuel Ashmun, who had taken up residence in the American Sault, while the remaining daughter married an influential Ojibwe-Anishinaabe Chief Hole-in-the-Sky of Minnesota (Stewart, 2007). The strategic connections between marriage, trade, and politics clearly persisted into the nineteenth century.

The operators at North West Company headquarters in Montréal, however, began to fear that the growing networks of Métis families were costing them money, and in 1806 instituted a ban on company men marrying Indigenous women (Stewart, 2007). While the measure led to somewhat of a clampdown within the company and several agents being

reprimanded, it was little more successful than the French efforts to control the social lives of voyageurs over a century earlier (Stewart, 2007). Charles' marriage to Charlotte, however, was largely overlooked given it began long before the prohibition was set in place (Stewart, 2007).

Charles and Charlotte settled in the Canadian Sault with their growing family near the North West Company post, sometime between 1807 and 1808 (Stewart, 2007). While among the most prominent families of the area, they demonstrate the continued norm of multilingualism for families implicated in the fur trade. Describing the upbringing of the Ermatinger-Katawabidai children, Stewart explains:

To the older four, born in the Lake Winnipeg area, their young mother certainly spoke in Ojibwa to them before they learned much English. George Nelson, Charles' friend from the days near Lake Winnipeg, years later wrote that the languages in use there were entirely Indian and French except for a few days in June and September, just before and just after the Indian winter hunt. Then the white traders of the North West Company met to prepare for and wind up the season. At those times they occasionally spoke English. All the later children were also fluent in their mother's tongue. (2007, p. 52)

Such accounts reflect the general pattern of language use for not only Charles and Charlotte's family, but most of the fur traders in the area of Lake Winnipeg at that time. It is also worth noting that the prevalence of French extended well beyond the Great Lakes into the Northwest interior (and even the Pacific coast), which has been well documented in numerous sources (See Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016; Philips, 2011).

What would have been unusual to less affluent families, however, is the number of books and breadth of subjects covered in their children's education. Charles and Charlotte sent for books from Charles' family in Montréal, and the remaining bills reveal the purchase of "a French grammar, a French dictionary, and four volumes of *Gil Blas* in French; a Latin grammar, and works of Julius Caesar, the Roman historian Sallust, and Virgil, all in Latin; and Euclid's geometry" (Stewart, 2007, p. 57). While according to his friend George Nelson, Charles had instructed his boys in English from an early age, Charles and his brother George Ermatinger, across the Saint Mary's River, ordered "two English testaments, one English grammar, one arithmetic book, and a slate," in 1815, the first English books to be purchased (Stewart, 2007, p. 57). Bills for Charles' boys in 1822, however, continue to emphasize the importance of French and Latin in their education, with purchases such as "instruction in French" and "Clarke's Latin

Exercises” (Stewart, 2007, p. 57). The fact that Charles and Charlotte chose to educate their daughters was yet another way their educational choices and opportunities differed from the average resident at the Sault (Stewart, 2007).

Stewart also notes “Charles followed the pattern of many of the traders with multicultural children by sending the children to Montreal for their higher education,” suggesting that it was custom of more affluent traders in the interior to send their children for advanced studies in Montréal (2007, p. 56). This was also true of another prominent trading family in the area, John Johnston and Ozhaguscodawayquay, the daughter of a prominent Anishinaabe chief from La Pointe on the South shore of Lake Superior, Waubajeeg (Parker, 2007). Most of these children, like those of the Johnstons and the Ermatingers, were of mixed European and Anishinaabe lineages, and facing pressure to assimilate, Stewart notes “a high proportion of the younger children transplanted from the Upper Country to Montreal died early” (Stewart, 2007, p. 59). Charles by contrast, “showed no signs of stressing his children by forcing them to deny their Indian heritage. The rest of the Ermatinger family seem to have adapted to their new urban conditions relatively quickly” (Stewart, 2007, p. 59).

Anishinaabeg in the region also remained integrated into the allegiances and kin networks that stretched throughout the upper Great Lakes and further inland. Chute records, “Each spring, Lake Superior chiefs sent messengers with wampum to bands residing on Lake Huron and Michigan calling for assistance in their conflicts with the Dakota” among them Chief Shingwaukonse in 1810 (1998, p. 27). The conflicts with the Dakhóta, however, would not be the only occasions where local Anishinaabeg would come to the aid of their allies, as the growing tensions between Britain and the United States soon boiled over, posing particular threat to those who lived in the borderlands.

Britain’s ongoing occupation of forts that were ostensibly in American territory according to the Jay Treaty, as well as their alliances with Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples and support for claims to the Michigan Territory (corresponding to much of the contemporary US Midwest) were among the sparks of the War of 1812 (Bellfy, 2011).

While no battles took place at the Sault during the War of 1812, resident Anishinaabeg and Métis nonetheless offered their support in numerous battles, including most notably the Siege of Fort Mackinac. Within a month of the American declaration of war, John Askin Jr., an Anishinaabe chief and military commander from the Baawating area, along with Odaawaa chief

Amable Chevalier of Lower Canada and the British Captain Roberts, led a party of 230 Anishinaabeg, 189 settler volunteers, and 50 regular soldiers from Fort St. Joseph in the night to attack and seize Mackinac (Stewart, 2007, p. 32; Bellfy, 2011, p. 58; Chute, 1998, p. 28). The party reflected both the significant interest of the fur trade in the war as well as the demographic and linguistic diversity of the region, consisting of a good number of French Canadians, who continued to make up a sizeable proportion of the population within the northern reaches of Upper Canada. Prominent Baawating area fur traders John Johnston and Charles Oakes Ermatinger also participated, the latter as a captain for one of the three volunteer militias, which included his fifty employees (Stewart, 2007; Bellfy, 2011).

But battles farther south and east also featured significant contributions from Anishinaabeg of the upper Great Lakes. Waubejejauk, local Crane Clan chief, and Shingwaukonse both (along with many other Anishinaabeg from Baawating) fought alongside Tecumseh in the 1813 Battle of the Thames (Bellfy, 2011). The Battle of the Thames was a turning point in many respects for the region. Tecumseh and Waubejejauk were both killed in the battle. Tecumseh was a Shaawanwaki leader who had amassed a considerable cross-national confederacy that resisted settler expansion before the war broke out and leveraged its alliance with the British to ensure that after the war, the Michigan Territory would remain free of settler encroachment. Tecumseh's death and the disintegration of the confederacy have been discussed as precipitating conditions that allowed the British to renege on their promise to their Anishinaabe allies and cede control of the Territory to the Americans in peace negotiations (Bellfy, 2011).

Waubejejauk's death left a brief leadership vacuum among his people at Baawating. He left his son, Nebenaigooching, who was only five years old at the time and who would become increasingly close with Shingwaukonse. Shingwaukonse's own notoriety would increase substantially, particularly in relation to dealings with the British, due to his contributions during the war effort (Montgomerie, 1993; Bellfy, 2011). Nebenaigooching's family included a long line of chiefs, being also the nephew of Sassaba and Zhingabewasin (Montgomerie, 1993). Some have postulated that Nebenaigooching's mother, Julia Sayer, was Métis, though it is worth pointing out that while different national groupings were discernible at this period, group membership was not so clear cut (Montgomerie, 1993; Chute, 1998). One could be of mixed Indigenous and European ancestry without taking part in the emerging, cohesive Métis

communities, as Shingwaukonse illustrated, living primarily with his Anishinaabe family and community, despite most likely being the son of a British officer (Chute, 1997; 1998). Anishinaabeg and Métis did have relatively distinct communities and enjoyed economic autonomy, while interaction and co-operation were significant (Chute, 1997; 1998). Kinship, though an important social institution, was distinct from membership within a people from the vantage point of Anishinaabeg in the nineteenth century. Though there was overlap, as some form of kinship connection was necessary for group membership, Chute argues Anishinaabeg “did not really consider people, regardless of their racial background, as ‘Native’ unless they conformed to Ojibwa customs and mores” (1997, p. 48).

The linguistic proficiencies of the time, however, allude to the close interaction between these various groups, and how they functioned side by side for much of the encompassing century. As noted in the first pages, Nebenaigooching could speak French and a degree of English in addition to Anishinaabemowin, which made him a formidable partner to Shingwaukonse, who largely only spoke Anishinaabemowin for most of the early nineteenth century (Montgomerie, 1993). Of course, Nebenaigooching was not only an interpreter to Shingwaukonse, but also a power broker in his own right, and he would later be formally recognized by the British as Chief of his band in 1819 at the age of eleven (though the British were unsure of his age and estimated it at eight years old) (Chute, 1998).

The Treaty of Ghent returned the carving up of Indigenous lands to the status quo ante bellum later that year, with the consequence that Anishinaabeg and other peoples lost out on the promise of a settler-free Michigan Territory, though many continued to inhabit the areas now no longer protected from American settler encroachment. Kohl notes:

When the English made peace with them [the Americans], and gave up to them the whole southern half of Lake Superior, the savages would not hear of it, and still lived for a long time in good friendship with the English, and were, from ten to twenty years, as independent on the lake almost as they had been before. (1860, p. 372)

Indigenous relations with the Americans remained frosty after the war, and their officials were greeted with substantial disdain and distrust (Bellfy, 2011; Chute, 1998). Nonetheless the British had to vacate Michilimackinac, much to the consternation of Anishinaabe leadership, and moved their encampment to Drummond Island, southeast of the sound separating it from the previous Fort St. Joseph.

The fur trade resumed almost immediately following the end of the war, though with rivalries between American, British and Indigenous interests permeating the political and economic actions within the region, thanks to the growing US presence in northern Michigan (Stewart, 2007). The British were also keen to assert their sovereignty, creating more institutions of the state in Baawating by appointing Ermatinger as a justice of the peace for the region and resuming the distribution of presents to Anishinaabeg in 1816, temporarily strengthening the bonds between Indigenous peoples and the settler government (Chute, 1998). The transformation of land into discrete parcels was a critical step in state formation shaped by liberal notions of property (Scott, 1998; Smith, 1997a; 1997b). Registration of private property on both the American and British side of the river became increasingly important (though without a Treaty, the British had no legal standing for determining notions of, let alone distribution of property). Following the war oral depositions were taken on the American side of the river to determine the customary rights of local Métis (Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016).

Further west, however, the close of the War of 1812 made the impacts of the conflict between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company more apparent. In 1816 at the Battle of Seven Oaks, Métis aligned with the North West Company killed 21 Hudson's Bay Company men outside Fort Douglas along the Red River (Stewart, 2007). Lord Selkirk, who held title over the lands from a grant by the Crown, was with Ermatinger when he received word of the attack, and asked him to come with his party back to the Red River to preside over the trial to avoid perceptions of bias (Stewart, 2007). The incident illustrates the complicated relationships that many of the residents at Sault Ste. Marie would have to navigate, balancing relations with a growing body of British authorities, company interests, and emerging cleavages between Métis and Anishinaabeg on the one side and the pressures for settlement on the other. Though British government, military and trade officials were a growing presence at the rapids in the early nineteenth century, Anishinaabeg and Métis continued to be the dominant demographic. While the number of non-Indigenous French-speaking *Canadiens* had waned in number in the nearly half century since the fall of New France, their influence was nonetheless pervasive. Stewart describes the Canadian Sault of the 1820s, remarking "Many in the population here were families of mixed descent. They worked as traders, interpreters, or Indian agents, the wives helping their husbands in their work. Most were Catholic and French

speaking” (2007, p. 51). While British dominance in the area had been asserted with a number of treaties between France and the United States¹³ throughout the last half of the eighteenth century, social aspects of the French presence, including language and religion, were alive and well at the Canadian Sault well into the nineteenth century. Such should not be taken to discount the ongoing significance of the Anishinaabe population and political order around Baawating, both on the American and British sides of the new border.

The peace after the Treaty of Ghent proved relatively stable, and the growing perceived threat from the United States was no longer expansionism so much as republicanism, which would upset both colonial dominance and liberal economic development oriented to the British metropole. Though liberalism undoubtedly played a pivotal role in American politics and expansionism, Smith (1997a,b) draws a distinction between the classical liberalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that were especially in vogue among Loyalist migrants to Canada and the republican tradition of the American eighteenth century rooted in notions of civic virtue tied explicitly to model forms of citizen and citizenship. He explains, “Unlike the Patriot literature of the American revolutionaries, which extolled ‘agrarianism’ and a homogeneous society, the Loyalists extolled the advantages of a commercial society” (Smith, 1997b, pp. 115-6). For Anishinaabe and Métis peoples, both American republican and British liberal interests yielded more antagonistic relations with settlers, as the latter sought to expropriate land on both sides of the border out of their own self interest. Filling the lands with British immigrants was one strategy to stem the tide of American sympathies, which in turn exerted its own pressure on Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples as the state sought to secure lands for more settlers (Calverley, 2018). Where previous treaties covered relatively small tracts of land, those that emerged in the years that followed the War of 1812 began to grow and become more frequent.

Between 1815 and 1820 more than half a dozen treaties were completed in the lands across contemporary Southern Ontario. These included the 1815 Lake Simcoe Purchase, the

¹³ Anishinaabeg only ceded St. Joseph Island to British representatives in 1798 for the post-Jay Treaty relocation of the British fort at Michilimackinack, followed by a small tract of land at the American Sault in 1820 for the construction of a US Army fort (Hornbeck Tanner 1987, p. 155). Successive treaties between Anishinaabeg and the Americans would not be signed until 1836, treating with the territories of Upper Michigan, and with the British in 1850, respecting the North shores of Lakes Huron and Superior (Hornbeck Tanner 1987, p. 159-60).

1818 Nottawasaga purchase, the 1818 Ajetance Purchase around contemporary Brampton and Caledon, the 1819 Long Woods Purchase along the Thames River, and the 1820 Rice Lake Purchase, encompassing the contemporary communities of Peterborough and Lindsay (Ontario, 2020). These treaties made over 10 000km² available for settlement, which set the stage for close proximity to large populations of English speakers. Between 1819 and 1822, the Rideau Purchase was completed, which would facilitate the construction of the Rideau Canal, creating access for the growing industry base to access markets in the rest of the Empire (Ontario, 2020; Hart 2002). This in turn spurred more Anglophone population growth and the rising political clout of English speaking settlers.

As the emerging settler state took on a more homogeneous form in Upper Canada, the rise of liberal doctrines both in Britain and the colonies challenged the economic foundations of the Empire. Support for the mercantile system and the costly support of the colonies began to wane in an increasingly industrializing Britain. Hart notes:

Both manufacturers and intellectuals pointed to the costs of Empire, to the inadequacy of the system in promotion market for Surplus British production, to the additional costs of industrial inputs, and to the costs in feeding the urban masses. Political debate exposed the weaknesses of mercantilism and its adjunct, the Old Colonial system, and their inability to address the economic problems of rapid industrialization and urbanization. (2002, p. 34)

The colonies were increasingly under pressure to become self-sufficient, and increasing population and devolving certain authorities to local governments were among the strategies for limiting their liability on Britain (Hart, 2002). This fuelled the pivot in the relationship between the Province of Upper Canada and Indigenous peoples, as the colony sought more land and settlers to fill it, and increasingly saw Indigenous peoples as a financial liability.

5.1.3 American expansion and the Treaty at Sault Ste. Marie, 1820

South of the St. Mary's River, Americans were also amassing land through treaties. The signatories to the treaties illustrate that much of the population from the upper Great Lakes was still mobile and engaged in substantial cross-cultural trade, relationships and political alliance building. Shingwaukonse was a signatory to the 1817 Fort Meigs treaty, for instance, which

encompassed 4.6 million acres in northern Ohio and southern Michigan , who began to reside primarily in the Saginaw area from about 1817 onward, was a signatory on a number of these treaties (Montgomerie, 1993). The treaty concluded with Anishinaabeg (including Ojibwe, Odaawaa, and Boodéwaadmi), Wendat, Lenape, Shaawanwaki, and Onödowá'ga:', encompassed 4.6 million acres in northern Ohio and southern Michigan (Montgomerie, 1993; Bellfy, 2011; Clarke Historical Library [CHL], n.d.a). The 1820 Saginaw Treaty was signed by Shingwaukonse, his son Ogista and Shawanapensisse, who had signed the St. Joseph Island Treaty, among other Anishinaabe chiefs and ceded over 6 million acres surrounding the Saginaw Bay and River (Bellfy, 2011; CHL, n.d.b.).

The early nineteenth century treaties in the Michigan Territory, however, were executed with considerable pressure from the American government, including the threat of force (Bellfy, 2011). Nonetheless, Michigan Territory Governor, Lewis Cass faced resistance when he came to secure a treaty in 1820 to cede a small tract of land at Sault Ste. Marie so that the United States could establish a military base, Fort Brady, along the St. Mary's River. Cass argued that the United States already held title to the land as supposed successors to a grant made to the French in 1750 and refused to pay annuities (though the invocation of the agreement with the French was disingenuous, as the United States ignored the consequences of such agreements when they did not serve its policy objectives) (Chute, 1998). George Johnston ultimately had to enlist Shingwaukonse's support to mediate between the majority of the local Anishinaabeg and a smaller faction led by Sassaba, who opposed any cession to the Americans and went as far as refusing the tobacco offered by the Americans and raising a British flag over the village on the south side of the rapids (Chute, 1998; Montgomerie, 1993). Zhingabewasin and the other resident chiefs, including Oshawano, grandson of Kichiokamichide and who would later be a signatory to the 1850 Robinson treaties, ultimately signed and were followed by Shingwaukonse, who signed with his French name, Augustin Bart (Chute, 1998; Bellfy, 2011). Sassaba was the lone holdout, and eventually grew more and more isolated from his community until his death a month later (Chute, 1998).

While the dominant American narratives surrounding the treaty negotiations contrasted a modernist, rational expansion of the American state against the "archaic" interests of the British and fur trade, the role played by most locals, including the Anishinaabe delegates and the Johnston family, demonstrate a more measured strategy to avoid or diffuse conflict,

particularly where there was a high probability of an American victory if it were to devolve into armed confrontation (Chute, 1998). Indeed, the Treaty did little to interrupt cross-border relations, but it did herald a growing presence of the American state, its officials, settlers and efforts to incorporate the territory into the American freehold land tenure system.

Shingwaukonse eventually developed a close relationships with the new US Indian Agent who had been present at the 1820 negotiations, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (Montgomerie, 1993; Bellfy, 2011). Under the direction of the federal government, Schoolcraft pursued a policy of developing good relations with Indigenous leaders on both sides of the border (Bellfy, 2011). Undoubtedly this was partly due to ongoing disagreements about precisely where the border lay in relation to the islands within the river system (particularly St. George's Island, later Sugar Island), though it also recognized the relationships that existed between Anishinaabeg on both sides of the river, and the influence that both segments of the population could exert over the other (Bellfy, 2011).

Still, Métis in particular were viewed with great suspicion by the American government due to their interests in the fur trade, which was perceived as an obstacle to American expansion. This disfavour grew in the decades to come, and can be illustrated by efforts to remove Sault Ste. Marie Métis from the counts of valid voters and the intimidation of Detroit Métis in the 1825 congressional elections for the Michigan Territory (Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016). Métis were subject to violence and intimidation by incoming Anglo-American settlers, and when it came to voting rights, their validity as US citizens was assessed to be contingent on "mode of life and the society to which the party by his own voluntary act attaches himself," drawing a line between US Anglo-American settler society on one side and Anishinaabe civilization and fur-trade contingent practices on the other. While not stated explicitly, language-use may have been a contributing index to which side of the line individual Métis were on. One of the practices that stood out, however, was the political process of consensus block voting that Métis continued to use, particularly in the community of Prairie du Chien (Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016). This practice was a threat to the new regime in that it affirmed a group distinction between its participants and the surrounding settler state and valued collective consensus over individual self interest. Nonetheless, the growing presence of both state authorities and Anglophone settlers to the Michigan Sault would gradually overwhelm the resident Métis and Anishinaabeg.

5.1.4 Company mergers and the decline of furs & game

The same year as the Cass cession, Major changes followed on the North side of the rapids after the merger of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company (Montgomerie, 1993; Stewart, 2007). HBC shifted its primary posts for the Lake Superior Trade from Sault Ste. Marie to Fort William and Michipicoten, where furs were shipped to posts on the Hudson Bay rather than to Montréal (Montgomerie, 1993). Independent traders such as the Ermatingers maintained their operations at the Sault, but there was a notable decline in the trade for the community, the Métis population underwent significant economic upheaval in its wake, and the Ermatingers were forced to the Upper Canadian side of the river after the construction of Fort Brady in 1822 (Peterson, 1985; Stewart, 2007). Though the new HBC manager, Angus Bethune enjoyed cordial relations with the independent traders, they were also in competition (Stewart, 2007). On the part of the British, greater efforts were made to impose state authority with the appointment of a customs officer at Sault Ste. Marie (Stewart, 2007). The new surveillance ensured that Ermatinger, Bethune and other merchants and residents paid duty on all purchases on the south bank of the river (Stewart, 2007).

The growing settler population in Upper Canada began to precipitate changes in both the environment and the Anishinaabe way of life. The population had more than doubled in the colony in the first 25 years of the nineteenth century. Most Anishinaabeg were excluded from the early censuses, thus they offer particular insight into the pace of settler encroachment. From 1811, with 76,000 registered residents, the population climbed 25% to 95,000 in 1814. The active migration policies of the post-War of 1812 administrations drove that proportion higher, with an increase of 58% between 1814 and 1824, and more than 100% in the next decade (Statistics Canada, 2015a). This population boom required greater access to land, precipitating the Williams Treaties and the population began expanding into southwestern reaches of the colony, and later the Bruce Peninsula, meaning Anishinaabeg in the lower Great Lakes were increasingly surrounded and outnumbered by the predominantly Anglophone settler polity, as forests became fields (Calverley, 2018).

The declining population of large game in southern portions of the colony began to evoke concern from settlers and governing officials, who instituted restrictions on hunting deer in 1821, and fishing Salmon in 1823 (Calverley, 2018). From the late 1700s, settlers and even

colonial officials had encouraged Onkwehonwe and Anishinaabeg to sell their surplus hunt to settlers in York and Niagara (Calverley, 2018). But concern grew over the population of game as many species experienced over-hunting or moved northward to avoid the amplified human disturbance. Though Anishinaabeg were initially exempted from these state interventions in the hunt, both policy and popular opinion among settlers would begin to scapegoat Indigenous peoples (Calverley, 2018).

In the upper Great Lakes, however, these pressures were not as severe, as Anishinaabeg and Métis continued to outnumber settlers in the areas surrounding Sault Ste. Marie. The fur trade, relations with the United States, and among Indigenous peoples, the welfare of Anishinaabeg who were suffering dispossession and disease from southerly encroachments persisted as dominant local political concerns.

In 1826 Zhingabewasin, chief at Baawating, participated in a council at Fond du Lac, called by Michigan Governor Lewis Cass to secure further surrenders for the purpose of mineral exploration. William Warren notes that

He is said to have made a speech to his fellows, wherein he urged them to discover to the whites their knowledge of the minerals which abounded in their country. This, however, was meant more to tickle the ears of the commissioners and to obtain their favour, than as an earnest appeal to his people, for the old chieftain was too much imbued with the superstition prevalent amongst the Indians, which prevents them from discovering their knowledge of mineral and copper boulders to the whites. (1884, p. 284)

Warren's recounting of the occasion highlights how Anishinaabeg could assuage the interests of colonial officials while protecting their own interests, particularly when the performative expressions of support were understood among Anishinaabeg at the council as tactical. Indeed, this favour was used to secure concessions from American forces, as the council was assured that Métis on the southern shore of Baawating would be conveyed tracts of land (Warren, 1884). These efforts highlight the mutual concern between Anishinaabeg and Métis communities in the nineteenth century. Warren notes "the Ojibways, who felt a deep love for the offspring of their women who had intermarried with the whites, and cherished them as their own children" and had rejected state efforts to disenfranchise Métis from the rights held by other Anishinaabeg (1884, p. 284). However American officials for their part also employed

similar tactics. While the land grants were included in an annex of the treaty, they were never ratified by the US Senate, and thus were never conferred to the Métis who resided on the South shore (Warren, 1884). They consequently faced little protection against settler encroachment and displacement.

Renewed disagreements over the trajectory of the border through the islands of the St. Mary's River and Lake Huron were resolved in 1828, with the conveyance of Drummond Island to the United States (Bellfy, 2011). Métis who had established themselves on the island were relocated to Penetanguishene, marking a sizeable drop in the regional population, and another shift in the local language ecology favouring new English-speaking settlers (Bergen, n.d.). As the site of the annual distribution of presents by the colonial government since the relocation of Fort Michilimackinac, Drummond Island had likewise figured prominently in Anishinaabe economic life (Bellfy, 2011). Indeed, Britain's ongoing participation in the tradition of presents was viewed as an impediment to Indigenous assimilation (or dislocation, depending on the orientation of the official or settler in question). Pushing the distribution farther afield from the shores of Michigan was a boon to American policy, which sought to sever the ties between the Anishinaabeg of Michigan and the British authorities with whom they continued to maintain relations (Bellfy, 2011). Yet the relocation of the distribution of presents did not end this relationship, as many travelled from Michigan to partake in the ceremonies at Penetanguishene and Manitowaning (Bellfy, 2011; Chute, 1998).

But the conflicting interests of the emerging state authorities and the diverse local populations ultimately undermined the fur trade. For Charles Oakes Ermatinger, the last straw in a long line of setbacks in the 1820s was the surrender of Drummond Island (where he held interests), and he retired to Montreal in 1828 (Stewart, 2007; Chute, 1998). This in turn undermined the place of his wife's relatives at the other end of Lake Superior in the fur trade at Baawating, increasing the power of local leaders such as Shingwaukonse (Chute, 1998). When longtime local head chief, Zhingabewasin died the same year, Shingwaukonse's influence grew further, along with other local ogimaag (Chute, 1998).

As colonies were under increasing pressure to be self-sufficient, exchanges with Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples were increasingly perceived as a burden to the state. Yet discourses of Indigenous people's drain on the state and efforts to minimize colonial support of these nations butted against other prevailing ideas of the time in British society,

including what Chute described as “philanthropic liberalism” (1998). Although adopting the same paternalistic standpoint of dominant strands of liberalism that affirmed white societies as marking a pinnacle of civilization, and that the imposition of European notions of property and government was a natural good, it emphasized that this position engendered an obligation to “lift up” their deficient brethren through means such as education and charity, and to convert them to the ways of British society (Singh Mehta, 1999; Pitts, 2005; Chute, 1998). As Pitts explains, “Most liberals and radicals of the nineteenth century, to be sure, maintained that European superiority should be theorized as cultural, political, and economic, not biological” (2005, p. 241). Major General H.C. Darling, who became the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Upper Canada in 1828, thus set about a substantial policy shift at the Department that shifted from a policy of managing relations between settlers and Indigenous peoples to one that emphasized “civilizing” Indigenous peoples through the promotion of sedentary farming and Christianity (Chute, 1998; Calverley, 2018). This policy shift would place Anishinaabe and Métis culture, and a few decades later their languages, squarely within the crosshairs of the Province’s ambition for a liberal, self-sufficient state.

5.1.5 Indian Affairs transition to civilian control

With Indigenous peoples no longer constituting strategic allies in the eyes of the United Kingdom, jurisdiction for matters related to relations with them shifted from military to civilian authority. Miller describes the shift in authority,

As the Indians ceased to be allies and economic partners, they increasingly assumed the roles of obstacle to development and consumer of public funds [...] The response by Euro-Canadians to this changing relationship was to begin to develop Indian policy as part of the work of civil government, and to mount numerous and extensive programs to assimilate the Indian. (Miller, 2000, p. 123)

Also shifting in roles at this time was the Church. Where previously it had come into occasional conflict with state authorities, particularly when it came to sectarian conflicts or pious resentment against the “corrupting” influence of the fur trade, Churches occupied a central role in the civilizing mission of Canada’s new policy. These interventions not only promoted again

the assimilation of Indigenous peoples to European values and mores, they also shifted some of the financial and administrative burden for these civilizing programs off of the state's shoulders.

In the Lower Great Lakes regions of Canada, numerous treaties and purchases since 1764 had established precedents for dislocating Indigenous peoples from lands, which ultimately led to the common practice of establishing Indian Reserves through such negotiations (Marlatt, 2004). Nonetheless, into the 1820s relations between state authorities and Indigenous peoples soured somewhat, as the buffer between settler "mobs" and Anishinaabe territorial sovereignty thinned. Instead of dealing with Crown military officials who had previously fought alongside Anishinaabeg and Métis in battle, representing a Crown with more macro-concerns such as Britain's place in the world, Anishinaabeg would increasingly deal with comparatively local bureaucrats who often held commercial interests vested in the outcomes of any negotiations (Miller, 2000). As Anishinaabeg and Métis at Baawating began to feel the pinch of the changing climate and see the impacts of encroachment on their relatives in the Lower Great Lakes and Michigan, there was a growing acknowledgement that the economy that had previously sustained them was now out of balance and unlikely to be a reliable method of survival in the future (Montgomerie, 1993). A growing number of Indigenous people would test Church and state instructions for a path to a promised better life. As a result, the contest between European and Anishinaabe ways of life drew more severe, and as Benton-Banai notes, the understanding of traditional ways was increasingly depleted (1988).

5.1.6 Alexis de Tocqueville's *Quinze jours au désert*

The mounting pressure of the state to control the lives of Indigenous peoples and make way for more white settlers did not significantly disrupt the language ecology at Baawating in the early nineteenth century. Though distinct Métis communities had emerged throughout this time period, they were nonetheless interdependent and intertwined with Anishinaabe communities through both kinship and socio-economic ties. Such ties also conveyed political allegiance, as Zhingabewasin's efforts to secure Métis land tracts at Sault Ste. Marie Michigan in the 1826 Treaty of Fond du Lac demonstrate, as well as Shingwaukonse's efforts to maintain connections with the Métis. These connections fuelled linguistic exchange and the development of multilingual capacities in both communities that reflected social, rather than racial or national,

connections. A further example is apparent in the travel records of Alexis de Tocqueville, the prominent liberal scholar who visited upper Michigan in 1831. Foxcurran, Bouchard and Malette describe his journal from the trip, *Quinze jours au désert*, as providing “an informative account of the life in Michigan in the transition from a largely French and Algonkian speaking territory focused on the fur trade to a largely Anglo-American settler society” (2016, p. 192). The first notable encounter occurs at the Saginaw River in the Lower Peninsula, where he encounters a man that he believes to be Anishinaabe, but finds with great shock that the man speaks French. He recounts:

Qui êtes-vous donc? lui dis-je, vous parlez français et vous avez l’air d’un Indien? Il me répondit qu’il était un bois-brûlé, c’est-à-dire le fils d’un Canadien et d’une Indienne. J’aurai souvent occasion de parler de cette singulière race de métis qui couvre toutes les frontières du Canada et une partie de celles des États-Unis. Pour le moment je ne songeai qu’au plaisir de parler ma langue maternelle. (as cited in Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016, p. 197)

It becomes quickly apparent that the Métis population, and the prevalence of French, spans the Canadian borderlands of the upper Great Lakes. It’s also worth noting that, had there been much change in the variety of French spoken by the unnamed man, it was not enough to inhibit communication with a visitor from France, or at least not to produce any miscommunications of note. De Tocqueville also uses the word “Métis” (albeit carries a more generic meaning in French), while the man himself identifies himself as a *bois brûlé* and his father as *Canadien*, though it is not immediately apparent if his father is also of mixed ancestry.

De Tocqueville would later go on to offer a romantic, if not paternalistic, description of the Métis social and psychic world:

Enfant de deux races, élevé dans l’usage de deux langues, nourri dans des croyances diverses et bercé dans des préjugés contraires, le métis forme un composé aussi inexplicable aux autres qu’à lui même. Les images du monde lorsqu’elles viennent se réfléchir sur son cerveau grossier, ne lui apparaissent que comme un chaos inextricable dont son esprit ne saurait sortir. Fier de son origine européenne, il méprise le désert; pourtant il aime la liberté sauvage que s’y règne. Il admire la civilisation et ne peut complètement se soumettre à son empire. Ses goûts sont en contradiction avec ses

idées, ses opinions avec ses moeurs (as cited in Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016, pp. 200-1)

Though Métis were beginning to feel the pinch of both American and British encroachment and disparagement, de Tocqueville's own trivializing gaze casts a portrait of a people torn between two contradictory realities, though it is also tinged with admiration and curiosity.

Upon his arrival in Fort Mackinac and later Sault Ste. Marie, it becomes apparent that "everybody spoke French" (Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016, p. 201). He and his traveling companion Gustave de Beaumont are escorted up the rapids of the St. Mary's River to Pointe aux Pins by a Métis boatman who sings French songs to them (2016). Upon arrival, "Beaumont paints and Tocqueville hunts" (2016, p. 202). The episode not only illustrates the continued vitality of French to Métis residents of the area, but also the role Métis people (and Anishinaabeg, as shall be seen in the next chapter) play in an emerging market for tourism and guiding.

Though the vitality of French in the region surprised de Tocqueville, it garnered little attention from American or Canadian authorities apart from as a signifier of the distinctiveness of French Canadian and Métis peoples. The same can be said for Indigenous languages. It was the distinctiveness of these peoples, whether as impediments to settlement and resource exploitation, or existential threats to the cohesion of the colony that was typically the focus of efforts to intervene in or control their respective lives or political fortunes. However one exception stands out, authored by American Indian Agent Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, to reshape the Anishinaabe language itself.

5.1.7 Growing church influence in the upper Great Lakes

Missionaries had been active in the region since the fifteenth century, and British conquest brought with it new denominations, which by the 1830s include Anglicans (or Episcopalians), Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists (Chute, 1998; Hele, 2004; 2008). With connections to the state elite, the Anglican church enjoyed some privilege in the less settled parts of the colony as Upper Canada consolidated its territorial claims through the distribution of various officials to strategic points throughout the territory. Shingwaukonse's

son, Buhkwujjenene,¹⁴ became familiar with Anglican teachings through his interactions with Episcopalian missionaries at La Pointe in northern Michigan in the early 1830s (Chute, 1998). Most of the Cranes at Baawating continued their association with the Catholic Church that was first established by the Jesuits in the 1600s. Likewise the Métis descended from French Catholic engagés, largely combined aspects of the Catholic faith with Anishinaabe spiritual practice. Of course, this was not a uniquely Métis phenomenon, as it was common practice for Anishinaabeg, when moved by missionaries or other proselytizers, to integrate the favoured aspects into their existing belief system. Janet Chute articulates this process most illustratively in her description of Shingwaukonse's association with Anglicanism. She notes,

[Shingwaukonse] evidently retained a sense of balance and perspective within this sea of ideological diversity by retaining much of his faith in his traditional beliefs, while gradually adding aspects of Christian belief to the range of his religious knowledge. This constituted a syncretistic process involving little polarization of meaning in symbolic terms. [...] Otherwise, Native thought and its expression remained little changed in structure and content. The traditional world view continued to inform most activities. Little Pine apparently continued participating in the Midewiwin, Wabano, and conjuring ceremonies. (1998, p. 43)

This was by no means the only approach that Anishinaabeg employed in engaging with European faiths. Many became devout practitioners of their respective new faiths and eschewed traditional spirituality (sometimes condemning it, per the teachings of their Church). But missionaries, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike, typically faced difficulty in amassing a flock and having them meet European expectations of Church-defined discipline and engagement.

Many Protestant missionaries advocated for the creation of mission villages, where Anishinaabeg could be separated from the 'corrupting' influences of new settlers and of the fur trade. Such villages were premised on both isolation as well as self-sufficiency to the point of separating them the larger regional economic networks in which Anishinaabeg had not only taken part, but created. Instead missionaries, and the state officials that they convinced, urged that such settlements focus on the development of agriculture as the primary means for

¹⁴ Buhkwujjenene eventually married Marguerite Cadotte, whom he met at La Pointe, but she had brothers who remained at Garden River (Chute, 1998)

meeting the necessities of life. The new policy of promoting small faith-based agricultural villages for Indigenous settlement was first tested in 1830 with the relocation of Anishinaabe bands from the territory. Chute describes the scheme,

One of the first actions of the British government under the new policy was to collect three groups of south-eastern Ojibwa, as well as a band from Drummond Island, into two settlements at Coldwater and the Narrows just north of Lake Simcoe, and to furnish them with agents, missionaries, teachers, farmers, blacksmiths, and mechanics. (1998, p. 45)

Not only did the policy please the church, it provided a means to inculcate Indigenous peoples into the British model of land tenure and potentially eliminate an impediment to the simplification of governance.

The Sault Ste. Marie bands were invited, but declined. By and large, local Anishinaabeg wished to sustain their independence from both American and British control, whose gifts now contained more strings than the shared occupation of land (Chute, 1998). Instead, missionaries continued to recruit converts in the areas surrounding Baawating, and many encouraged a local application of the policy of Indigenous pacification. The Jesuits resumed missionary work in the region in 1834, later assuming charge of the Sault Ste. Marie mission on the South side of the rapids in 1844, and nearly the entirety of the Métis population north of the rapids, along with Nebenaigooching's band, continued to adhere to the Catholic faith (Chute, 1998; Proulx, 1960; Chute, 1997). The Anglicans established a mission on the North side of the rapids in 1830 (Hele, 2004; Chute, 1998).

Though there was competition for converts between denominations, there was also cooperation, particularly among Protestants. As a young Anglican missionary, for instance, James D. Cameron worked closely with the Baptist Abel Bingham to attract more Anishinaabeg to the Christian fold overall (Hele, 2004). Though there was a certain dovetail between the interests of the churches and the interests of the state, there was occasional divergence from state policy and differences of opinion between and within denominations about the place of Anishinaabeg in Christendom and the emerging Canadian society. Methodists promoted the separation of Indigenous peoples from settler society, where they could paradoxically acquire the skills of Christian civilization and be spared the influences of the encroaching settler societies. These efforts were also supported by a number of Anishinaabe converts, including

Peter Jones and George Copway of the Mississauga lands surrounding York, Peter Marksman of northern Michigan, and John Sunday. Chute notes

[they] gained widespread attention by promoting the idea of Native ‘homelands’ set apart from the pressures of frontier society, where Native people could seek spiritual solace, Christian fellowship, and material assistance in the development of their communities. (1998, p. 47)

By contrast, others did not feel the need for Indigenous peoples to be culturally assimilated to be religiously ‘saved.’ After Cameron’s conversion to the Baptist Church, he would argue in a letter to Bingham that his marriage *à la façon du pays* was “as binding, & should be held as sacred as if it were performed in our country, & agreeably to our customs” (as cited in Hele, 2004, p. 145).

Nonetheless, denominations also competed for state favour, of which the clear beneficiaries in Upper Canada were the Anglicans. Numerous examples of this favour were apparent at Baawating, including the fallout from Cameron’s defection to the Baptists. Karl Hele observes of Cameron’s relationship with his HBC factor father and Anishinaabe mother, that they “wished that he would return to the Anglican fold; they probably felt that, by joining the Baptist church, he had taken a step backward in social standing and ruined the opportunity presented by membership in the Anglican Church to advance on the social scale” (2004, p. 143).

Cameron was replaced in 1831 with William McMurray, who would preside over the mission at Baawating for several decades (Chute, 1998). The new missionary first resided at the Hudson’s Bay Company post, demonstrating the cooperation that existed between the Church of England and state-aligned commercial enterprises. He later moved in with the Johnstons, who would facilitate McMurray’s introduction to Shingwaukonse, allowing him to cultivate relationships with many of the local Anishinaabeg (Chute, 1998). The two became close, and William availed himself of the Chief’s influence, drawing a rapidly growing congregation through the early 1830s. A new mission school opened in 1833, and McMurray had to expand his services both during the week and on Sundays, where attendance ranged from 150 to 200 people and attracted visitors from up to 20 kilometres away (Chute, 1998). The same year, McMurray married the Johnstons’ daughter, Charlotte or Ogebunoqua, who would join McMurray at the mission as an interpreter, and played an active role in Christian missionization efforts throughout the region (Chute, 1998; Hele, 2008).

Shingwaukonse had long wished for Anishinaabeg from his homeland along the South shore of Lake Superior to relocate to the British side of the rapids, and he had eyed Garden River and Sugar Island as ideal locations for this purpose. Now with a local missionary with the government's ear, many of the area ogimaag expressed to McMurray a willingness to relocate if such a facility was furnished (Chute, 1998). Though Shingwaukonse had navigated British and American interests deftly, Anishinaabeg now living in American jurisdiction contended with their own shifts in policy, as the Jackson administration shifted responsibility for matters pertaining to Indians to the War Department (Miller, 2000). A series of decisions and about-faces from previous American policy in the mid 1830s made Anishinaabeg distrustful, including a refusal to protect Anishinaabe fishing locations and the expansion of Fort Brady over an Anishinaabe burial ground in 1835 (Chute, 1998). Shingwaukonse's invitation to relocate north of the rapids thus grew in appeal.

The alliance between Shingwaukonse and McMurray proved fruitful, with Anishinaabe timber and fishing interests being awarded protection by Lieutenant-Governor Colbourne in 1833, along with securing funds to construct housing for a mission village the following year (Chute, 1998). These were significant victories. Anishinaabeg and Métis were increasingly feeling the pinch of settler expansion and the gradual decline of the fur trade. The previous year the American Fur Company had entered the commercial fishery, and while this provided some employment for local Métis, it also mirrored ongoing dependence on engagement by commercial monopolies and dependence on settler economic power, which worried ogimaag such as Shingwaukonse who were concerned for the community's self-sufficiency (Chute, 1998).

With Colbourne's protections, Shingwaukonse now played an important role in managing local economic resources, though also drew on the authority of one such commercial monopoly, the HBC, when necessary, such as by enlisting them to investigate and penalize illegal operations (Chute, 1998). For their part, both the state and the Church expected Shingwaukonse to uphold some of their prerogatives. Consequently Shingwaukonse expected his own people, and asked both "the Canadians and half-breed inhabitants" to refrain from selling timber on the American side of the river out of observance of British trade restrictions, and forbade fishing on the sabbath (Chute, 1998).

Tensions emerged in 1834 over the location of the Anglican missionary village that Shingwaukonse had pursued. Shingwaukonse had preferred and frequently proposed Garden

River due to its close proximity to Sugar Island, then a centre of trade, and the better condition of the soil for agricultural purposes (Chute, 1998). McMurray, by contrast, had preferred to establish the village at the rapids, as he had recently rented the Ermatingers' estate including fields that had already been cleared for farming (Chute, 1998). It was also in closer proximity to his wife's relatives, Charlotte's mother, Ozhaguscodaywayquay (Susan), having taken over the family business after her husband's death in 1828, and her sister, Obabaamwewegiizhigokwe (Jane), having married American Indian Agent Henry Rowe Schoolcraft in the early 1820s, and residing on the South side of the river (Chute, 1998).

The diversity of the Sault also posed a threat to Anglican hegemony at the site of the proposed village. Numerous interests, then coalesced to propose removing the local French-speaking Anishinaabe, Métis, and Canadien Catholic population. Lt. Gen. Colbourne proposed relocating the Catholics to St. Joseph Island (Chute, 1998). HBC Factor Nourse also weighed in, favouring the removal of the Métis to neutralize their labour power and drive costs down: If the Métis were removed, the HBC could employ Anishinaabeg on a wage-system, dismissing them whenever they were not needed or proved troublesome for the Company, with the expectation that they would simply return to subsistence economic practices between wage periods (Chute, 1998).

The contest ultimately tested the limits of the alliance between Shingwaukonse and McMurray. In 1835, Catholics were subject to growing discrimination by the authority exercised by state sanctioned authorities, including Anglican officials. McMurray attempted to override Shingwaukonse's authorization of local Catholics to collect timber for the construction of a new Church (Chute, 1998). The same year, Indian Superintendent Thomas G. Anderson accused Nebenaigooching of taking part in the smuggling of goods across the border and used the charge as grounds to remove the colony's recognition of his Chieftainship, conferring local authority instead to the Anglican-aligned Shingwaukonse (Chute, 1998). Despite this effort, the local communities continued to recognize Nebenaigooching's leadership, as did Shingwaukonse, though the latter maintained responsibility for any negotiation or dialogue with Crown authorities (Chute, 1998). The distribution of presents was also divided, as Protestants received their presents at the Sault mission while Catholics were required to travel to Penetanguishene (Chute, 1998). These interventions stoked significant discord:

Confronted by the combined forces of the Established Church and a commercial monopoly, the Roman Catholic Native people and Métis not surprisingly felt both threatened and angered, and accused [Shingwaukonse] of siding with agents of discord. Although Anderson depicted the affair as a contest between 'Indians' and 'Half Breeds' the primary cause of the unrest stemmed from McMurray's assumption of control over resources and land in the interests of the Anglican Church. [Shingwaukonse] had tried to stem the growth of conflict by proposing to have the mission based at Garden River. This would allow the Métis and the Ojibwa under Nebenagoching, who depended principally on the rapids fishery, to reside in the vicinity of the rapids free from external interference. In response, the population at the Sault would respect the territorial prerogatives vested in [Shingwaukonse]. There is no evidence that, before Anderson's arrival, bad feeling existed towards the chief. Until 1835 the community had remained socially cohesive, in spite of outside intervention designed to drive a wedge between Roman Catholics and Protestants. (Chute, 1998, p. 64)

However Shingwaukonse secured Anderson's recognition of his authority as head chief for the areas stretching from Batchawana Bay to Thessalon, which then put McMurray's own claims to the Ermatinger lands in question, as they had never been ceded (Chute, 1998). For their part, the Métis had established customary family lots according to the style of the French *seigneuries*, which were recognized by the local Anishinaabeg. If the government wanted them to move, they would have to compensate them for their lost land, and the £1 800 requested proved too steep for a government whose primary motive behind support for missionary towns was to limit expenditures on Indigenous peoples (Chute, 1998). As a result the communities remained intact at the rapids.

Community leadership at Baawating frequently fought back efforts to meddle in their affairs by both colonial officials, such as Schoolcraft, and missionaries alike, many of whom also bore competing interests with the state. Chute's passage also illustrates that efforts to reify the import of the border for Anishinaabe communities at the rapids were largely unsuccessful as Anishinaabeg on both sides of the river continued to cooperate and meet in regular council. As a result, the interconnection of local Anishinaabe speech communities was maintained for the time being. But it would not be the last effort on the part of the state to create the conditions for Anishinaabe alignment with the denominations and interests favoured by the Province.

5.1.8 Interpreters & church publications

Command of the Anishinaabe language was integral to missionary success throughout the nineteenth century, and the cultural imperialism promoted by the Church largely excluded language from its list of European traits to emulate, in contrast to the underlying tendencies of figures such as Schoolcraft.

Prior to his Baptist conversion, James D. Cameron had translated the Ten Commandments into Ojibwe, and later served as an interpreter for the Baptist missionary Abel Bingham, and worked on translating the Bible (Chute, 1998; Hele, 2004). The role of interpreters was integral to Church operations and in many ways defined the social networks through which the Church's message could progress. Though interracial marriages were largely the only marriages available to European newcomers to the colonial frontier, these relationships, much like those between traders and Anishinaabekwewag, were mutually socially expansive, offering both parties greater socio-economic opportunity. Charlotte Johnston's marriage to William McMurray affirmed for her and her family a position of high status and influence with the colonial authorities and their position as brokers between locals and newcomers. But Johnston's combination of zeal and fluency in Anishinaabemowin was invaluable not only to McMurray, but all the denominations at the Sault, with whom she worked freely (Hele, 2008). These relationships highlight the pivotal role played by women in both the maintenance and teaching of Anishinaabemowin, both to newcomers as well as to successive generations.

Cameron understood the importance of his marriages to the work of the ministry, as Hele notes, "He also believed that his task as Minister to the Natives required a wife who knew, and was part of, the community" (Hele, 2004, p. 144). Cameron could, and did, preach in English, French, and Anishinaabemowin, and while the Baptist converts north of the rapids never rivalled their Anglican, Catholic, or even Methodist counterparts, the inroads that were made would have been largely impossible without Cameron's aid or someone like him, as Bingham spoke little to no Ojibwe, which would later cause Cameron to question his appropriateness for leading the effort at the Sault (Hele, 2004). Being of mixed ancestry himself and growing up in a fur trading family, Cameron valued his own ability to live an Anishinaabe way of life, integrating with his converts rather than living apart from them (Hele, 2004). Nonetheless, Cameron did teach Anishinaabeg the English language, but not for subtractive

purposes. Hele notes, “Cameron sought to educate the Ojibwe in the English language, so that they would be able to defend themselves against non-natives and work amongst them” (2004, p. 154).

Overlaps with the fur trading companies also afforded missions access to experienced interpreters. McMurray, for instance, employed Odahbit, known in English as James Robertson, to be a catechist at the Sault Ste. Marie mission in the early 1830s, for which he left his position as an interpreter at the Michipicoten HBC post (Chute, 1998). Yet for all the benefits that partnerships with Anishinaabeg and those knowledgeable in Anishinaabe language and culture afforded, Europeans carried their own cultural caché. When it was suggested that Odahbit take over McMurray’s responsibilities at the Anglican school, McMurray bristled, as Janet Chute explains “The Ojibwa, McMurray contended, would never listen to a school-master who was ‘an Indian like themselves.’” (1998, p. 61). It is unclear whether this assertion is based on McMurray’s knowledge of the community’s habits or perhaps hubris on his own part. The Anglican and Catholic denominations were certainly the largest at the Sault and neither was headed by an Anishinaabe figure. But both also enjoyed the backing of extremely influential local chiefs, Shingwaukonse and Nebenaigooching respectively, and given their influence proved more meaningful on the occasions where it came into conflict with Church officials, it’s most likely that Anishinaabe leadership held greater sway. Nonetheless, Shingwaukonse’s allegiance to McMurray hinged greatly on the latter’s influence with the Crown.

Catholic missionaries also continued to make active use of both interpreters and language acquisition as a tool for reaching Anishinaabe converts. Between 1836 and 1837, Frederic Baraga published a series of books for use by missionaries in an Ojibwe variety of Anishinaabemowin, after having revised his own and colleagues’ previous translations from Odaawaa (Nichols in Baraga, 1992 [1878]). He was aware of the salient differences between the two varieties, as well as where and when to use them, having published in both (Rhodes, 2009). He travelled extensively throughout Michigan and was stationed at L’Anse by 1848, making significant contributions to the documentation of Anishinaabemowin for the purposes of missionary activity. Baraga’s experience, however, demonstrates how missionaries acquired such skills through a dense but geographically wide network, first beginning his training in Odaawaa with William Maccatebinessi in Cincinnati in 1831 in preparation for his first mission assignment at Arbre Croche (Nichols in Baraga, 1992 [1878]). When he relocated to LaPointe, he

adapted his works and his speech to the Southwestern Ojibwe variety of Anishinaabemowin spoken along the South shore of Lake Superior (Nichols in Baraga, 1992 [1878]). Though he was a significant figure in language politics and policy, his most significant impacts will be addressed in the subsequent chapter.

5.1.9 The Manitoulin scheme and the Upper Canada rebellions

The following year, however, Colbourne was replaced as Lieutenant Governor by Sir Francis Bond Head. Growing agitation by reformers in Upper Canada, inspired by the earlier rebellion in Lower Canada and American Republicanism, required a response that the Crown saw fit to deliver through the appointment of Bond Head, who opposed responsible government on the grounds that Governors in a colony are required to enact direction from London, and that no assembly could thus take responsibility for their actions, as they were bound to uphold the will of the Crown (Douglas, 1980).

The spring before the Rebellions of 1837, a new goal for the census was to provide the data necessary to encourage Indigenous peoples to adopt the supposedly civilized ways of agricultural and industrial society (Neu & Therrien, 2003, p. 44). Neu & Therrien explain,

This census sought to represent, under cover of “pertinent data,” the population of Indigenous peoples with an emphasis on how large the population was, where they resided, how they lived, the locations of their hunting grounds, a summary and accounting of those employed in the superintendence of the settled Indians or of the other tribes and the number and description of the clergy or teachers attached to each tribe or party. (2003, p. 44).

The great significance of this census is that it marked the beginning of a distinction being discernible and drawn between those funds spent on Indigenous peoples versus that spent on settlers (2003, p. 44). The distinction, not only motivated by the liberal modernist desire to monitor and guide “uncivilized tribes” on a compulsory march of progress, also reinforced the marginalization of Indigenous peoples. The distinction was made so that the expenses could be monitored and managed. This approach would increasingly be taken to Anishinaabe people at large.

Bond Head ultimately did not honour Colbourne's pledge to build homes for the Anglican missionary village at the rapids (Chute, 1998). Instead he viewed these missionary settlements as overly costly, and endorsed Tomas Anderson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs' proposal for mass relocation of Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples of the interior to Manitoulin Island (Chute, 1998; Montgomerie, 1993). Though this plan was motivated by the desire to free up additional lands for more settlers, it was also rationalized by the paradoxical ends of both removing Anishinaabeg from the corrupting influences of settler life while at the same time providing greater economies of scale for instructing Indigenous peoples in the ways of Christian and European civilization (Chute, 1998; Montgomerie, 1993).

Bond Head also sought to iron out the vagaries of the state relationship with Anishinaabeg. In 1836 at the distribution of presents in Penetanguishene, he delivered an ultimatum that any Indigenous peoples receiving presents from the Crown — many of whom travelled annually from Michigan — must locate permanently in Upper Canada within three years (Bellfy, 2011). Bond Head wished to affirm the settler boundaries over Indigenous nations, forcing communities to choose whether they be American or Canadian Natives (Bellfy, 2011). The measure would further support Shingwaukonse's efforts to encourage many Anishinaabeg from the South shore of Lake Superior and elsewhere to relocate to the British side of the rapids.

The proposal to relocate to Manitoulin was the subject of great debate within Anishinaabe communities from 1836 to 1838, and highlighted the competing visions for Indigenous futures in relation to settlers. Though figures connected to Manitoulin, such as Jean-Baptiste Assiginack, supported the proposal, Shingwaukonse continued to advocate for an Anishinaabe settlement at Garden River and urged other communities to join his (Bellfy, 2011; Chute, 1998). Though he and other local chiefs entertained the proposal and visited the island several times during the period, at a Council on Manitoulin in 1836, he denounced the plan and argued for the lands around Sault Ste. Marie to be the location of any resettlement, affirming his vision for an Anishinaabe homeland centred at Garden River (Bellfy, 2011). The promise of civilization was also questioned, as Montgomerie notes, "Rather than agreeing with the Chief Superintendent that peace and happiness were the hallmarks of colonization, he [Shingwaukonse] stressed impoverishment, the destructive effects of alcohol and the loss of

continuity with the past” (1993, p. 180). He also objected to the exclusion of Métis from the scheme and argued for their mutual protection (Montgomerie, 1993).

The about-face in policy also challenged the relationship between the Anglican mission and Anishinaabe communities around Baawating. McMurray recognized that he had lost the faith of the local population and resigned his post in 1837 (Chute, 1998). Prior to being replaced by Federick O’Meara, the absence of an Anglican missionary to the area led Shingwaukonse to enter into dialogue with the Methodist missionary, James Evans, but these plans were ultimately aborted when the Church of England provided another missionary to the region. (Chute, 1998).

For his part, O’Meara would eventually ask Shingwaukonse to teach him Anishinaabemowin so that he could speak to Anishinaabeg directly (Chute, 1998). This was not for lack of trust of the mission’s frequent interpreters, Charlotte Johnston and Odahbit, but rather it continued to be a common missionary practice well into the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Given the dual role that Anglican missionaries played at the rapids, both as prostletizer and as intermediary between Anishinaabeg and colonial authorities, O’Meara’s language lessons often covered matters of political interest and were not exclusively oral in their nature, but also brought him in contact with Indigenous semiotic and orthographic systems. Chute describes this interaction,

One of O’Meara’s duties was to convey two large wampum belts, sent to him by chiefs in the interior, to the chief superintendent of Indian Affairs. And wampum was not the only mnemonic instrument in circulation. O’Meara also was expected to relay to the government messages ‘formed of pieces of eagles’ claws strung on deer skin or silk ribbon which are according to their arrangements – made to speak the mind of the person sending them. (Chute, 1998, p. 84)

Clearly the mnemonic systems of recording information was still in habitual use into the early nineteenth century, pointing to another layer of linguistic and semiotic diversity that was sustained in the upper Great Lakes. Not only was it incumbent upon O’Meara to acquire the

¹⁵ This is not to suggest that missionaries in the twentieth century have abandoned the practice of learning Indigenous languages, as this is not the case. However as subsequent pages will outline, missionaries in Ontario and in other parts of Canada closer to settler communities increasingly saw the practice as optional by the end of the nineteenth century.

local language, but at least to also have such materials interpreted so that he could convey the messages they were meant to impart.

But O'Meara found his political obligations less interesting than his religious ones, and somewhat resented being forced to turn his attention to his responsibilities as an intermediary (Chute, 1998). He ultimately suffered the same fate as McMurray and lost the confidence of the local community, stemming from his insensitivity toward traditional practices and his antagonism toward the Catholic Métis community, whom Shingwaukonse had assumed a responsibility to defend and integrate into cooperative economic endeavours (Chute, 1998). O'Meara also backed Sault Ste. Marie over Garden River as a mission village location as a means of discouraging reliance on game hunting, which was perceived as a greater threat to the goal of sedentary Christian agrarian life (Chute, 1998). His appeals for assistance from Shingwaukonse to increase attendance at the mission school were largely ignored, given the relative indifference with which the community now heeded missionary advice following the divisive and ineffectual influence that both missionaries had provided (Chute, 1998).

O'Meara became increasingly reclusive by 1840, turning his attention to translation of Christian texts into Anishinaabemowin (with interpreter assistance, though notably not that of Johnston and Odahbit) (Chute, 1998). His waning interest in reaching the communities that surrounded Baawating and in making habitual treks to Goulais and Batchawana Bays further undermined his influence, which undermined his congregation's numbers and enthusiasm, which further undermined arguments for Sault Ste. Marie as an alternative location for missionary settlement instead of Manitoulin (Chute, 1998).

Still, Shingwaukonse persisted in his advocacy and refused to relocate despite the pressure (Chute, 1998). The scheme was never fully implemented, as Bond Head was eventually removed from the post of Lieutenant Governor for his mishandling of the Upper Canada Rebellion (Bellfy, 2011). Neither missionaries nor government officials convinced local Anishinaabeg in any great number of the value of the relocation, pointing to their limited persuasive influence with local communities (Bellfy, 2011).

For all the rising tensions that were coming to a head in the late 1830s in the upper Great Lakes, this did not result in outright conflict. When Upper Canada's most ardent reformers revolted in 1837, they did so without much interest from Anishinaabeg, and the influence in the upper Great Lakes region was largely limited to the shifting concerns of state authorities.

Though the Upper Canada Rebellion was at its surface a conflict over responsible government and the excesses of the Family Compact, McKay points to the underlying philosophical distinction between the liberal agents of the colony and the civic humanist orientations of MacKenzie and many discontented settlers (2000, p. 632). The suppression of the rebellion and the reforms that would followed, he notes “could be interpreted as the high point and defeat of liberalism’s civic humanist adversary” (McKay, 2000, p. 632). Consequently the outcome of the rebellions would shape political interactions between Anishinaabeg and the Crown for years to come.

For Anishinaabeg in closer proximity to Settler communities, however, the rebellions did impact them immediately in two ways. First, some Anishinaabeg did come to the Crown’s assistance with military support, notably at Holland Landing and Rice Lake (Telford, 2001). Second, the continued alignment of Anishinaabeg with the Crown enlivened existing prejudices among some Settlers through rumour and suspicion of the role Anishinaabeg may be playing in preparing for attacks on rebel sympathizers (Bellfy, 2011). Given the past allegiance to the Crown and the mediating role the state had played between settler and Indigenous interests, Bellfy notes, “Many Canadians who otherwise may have felt only mild sympathy for the rebel cause fell prey to rumours of an impending ‘Indian uprising’ or, barring that, ‘revenge killings’ against those whose loyalties the government suspected” (2011, p. 95). These Settlers organized themselves into militias to “defend” themselves against such attacks that never came to fruition (Bellfy, 2011). Yet the Indian played an active role in the Settler imagination, as a threat to not only property, but life itself. These attitudes further eroded public support for respecting Indigenous communities and ways of life. Conversely, because the government felt the suppression of the rebellions didn’t rely heavily on its alliance with Anishinaabeg the way past conflicts had, the administration had its justification to continue its policy of minimizing its expenditures on the alliance. Still, the rebellion did temporarily result in a reversal of the 1836 decision to end the distribution of presents to ensure that, if Anishinaabeg were to be a factor in any conflict, that they would side with the Crown (Chute, 1998).

5.1.10 Changing livelihoods at Baawating

Despite the victories over attempts to further marginalize Anishinaabeg in the late 1830s, the region was undergoing considerable change due to the economic pressures — both deliberate and collateral — of colonial settler society. Pressure to focus the Anglican mission at the rapids was at the expense of what made more economic sense for Anishinaabeg. The fur trade had shifted and was beginning a long decline, and Sault Ste. Marie was the regional centre of settlement, which was beginning to have noticeable impacts on the surrounding environment and food sources (Montgomerie, 1993). Montgomerie describes the importance of Garden River for sustaining Anishinaabe ways of life, noting:

Ten miles east of the Sault, the area had been used as a hunting camp since the eighteenth century. Gardens had been regularly planted on the east bank of the river. The site was close to the trading posts and sugar bushes of Sugar Island, and an intermediate point between the fisheries at the Sault and Thessalon Bay. The land was well timbered and contained valuable copper deposits. In fact, the decision to build at the Sault had been a concession to missionary preferences. (1993, p. 209)

Indeed Anishinaabe agricultural practices were extensive throughout the region, consisting not only of regular planting of corn, pumpkin, squash and other vegetables, but also oats to feed horses and cattle often acquired from settlers (Chute, 1998). Baawating had a less protected, more unpredictable climate than many locations further downstream or in protected bays (Chute, 1998). From the vantage point of the state, a permanent settlement at Sault Ste. Marie was advantageous because it placed Anishinaabeg where they could be easily observed and controlled. When it became clear that the government had no intention of fulfilling its promises to construct the mission village, however, there was no trade-off to justify Shingwaukonse's band to settle permanently at the rapids.

Cooperation between Anishinaabeg and Métis on new ventures, such as logging, helped to supplement incomes that were at threat due to declining significance of the fur trade (as well as growing tension with the HBC and efforts by the company to dislocate Métis from the trade). Yet these were undermined by missionary and colonial interventions that attempted to stoke religious divisions within the community and impose an idealized Anglican Agricultural life on Anishinaabeg that would simultaneously encourage partial assimilation under conditions of

perpetual marginalization. For Anishinaabeg to engage in other forms of commerce would allow them to be self-sufficient, which was ultimately the goal of Shingwaukonse, but this self-sufficiency threatened the control of missionary and colonial authorities (Montgomerie, 1993).

Yet Baawating in the 1830s lay in the “‘undistributed middle’ — too far south to be under the jurisdiction of the Hudson’s Bay Company charter, too far west to be of much concern to Upper Canadian legislators” (Chute, 1998, p. 78). Budgetary concerns reined in the census to focus on those areas of settlement that were of most concern to the government, those areas of exponential population growth north of the Lower Great Lakes, and so there was no enumeration in places such as Sault Ste. Marie (Calverley, 2018). The work of constructing the colony was distributed to Indian Agents, protestant missionaries, and HBC factors, however each maintained unique and sometimes competing interests with the other.

For the state, Anishinaabeg and Métis were increasingly perceived as obstacles to progress. Upper Canada’s agricultural capacity was rising, with over a million acres in cultivation by the 1830s producing wheat for export to Britain (Hart, 2002). Land was necessary for the growing export-base of the colony. Hart explains the nature of British North America’s place in the empire,

... the colonies needed a stable product to sell to the metropolitan country in return for some of the necessities of life, immigrants, and defence. All the colonies could be self-sufficient in the bare essentials -- food, shelter, and clothing -- luxuries had to be provided by the more sophisticated economy of the mother country. The presence of an abundant staple that could be easily exploited and was in great demand in the metropolitan country was essential to economic development. First fish, then furs, and later lumber and grain, dominated the Canadian production and geared the development of Canada's productive capacity and infrastructure toward the export of staples at relatively low levels of processing. (Hart, 2002, p. 37)

Anishinaabeg and Métis were now of limited value to the Settler administration unless they could be inculcated into the dominant export-oriented economy, particularly as their use as military allies waned. But lumber was expensive to transport from the region surrounding Baawating for export to Britain, and that Anishinaabeg and Métis sought to thus focus their lumber activities within the immediate region, trading with Americans, undermined colonial authority and goals. Upper Canada’s longer term strategy, then sought to remove Anishinaabeg

from valuable arable land and limit their territorial prerogatives to small reserves. This impulse mirrored and coincided with the Jackson administration's efforts to displace Anishinaabeg from lands throughout the new state of Michigan (among the many operations of land theft committed by the United States in this era) (Foxcurran, Bouchard & Malette, 2016). While settlers were quickly filling the lands in the Lower Lakes region, Sault Ste. Marie was still far afield from the pinch of these enclosures, but growing interest in the copper deposits that were strewn throughout the Upper Lakes ensured that the region was not off the radar for exploitation (Calverley, 2018).

The paternalistic liberalism that drove congregant sympathies, particularly in Britain itself, however, exerted pressure to ensure that the state imposed itself as steward of Indigenous peoples — or at least certain Indigenous peoples. Successive governments had refused to recognize Métis as a community requiring government protection or even dialogue. They were not seen as an Indigenous people by colonial authorities in a time when racial boundaries were considered to be firm and carried biological consequences. Instead, the “half-breeds” were given few options beyond assimilation or marginalization. Their integration into the kin networks of Anishinaabeg (both historical and renewed through occasional intermarriage, which was notable in Baawating) is what afforded them their greatest protection during this period (Chute, 1998).

As the state began to exert more control over the upper Great Lakes, its agents also sought more interventions in the make-up of the population that would fill its border. The increasing interventions mirrored evolutions in the take-up of liberalism within the British Empire. Pitts notes that in the early nineteenth century “theories of progress became more triumphalist, less nuanced, and less tolerant of cultural differences, as a sense of civilizational — or more specifically, national — self-confidence came to pervade political discourse in both Britain and France” (2005, p. 240).

5.2 Language management in the emergent British hegemony

Over the course of the 1760s to the mid 1800s, as Britain endeavoured to establish its authority in the lands that it had absorbed from New France, the Indigenous communities and descendants of French settlers had to contend with a rapidly changing terrain and competing interests among the new commercial, religious and state representatives that encroached upon the territory. The struggles of the fifth fire gradually moved farther and farther west. At

Baawating, many missionaries cooperated with the state to advance their own goals of control over their respective flocks, and established schools to have more systematic control over the learning and behaviour of young Anishinaabe and Métis peoples. For its part, the government had survived significant threats to Imperial control of the colonies in the wake of the 1837-8 Rebellions. Though Anishinaabeg had supported the Crown, both local and metropolitan political attention was fixated squarely on consolidating the victory over republicanism and fashioning a cohesive settler state.

5.2.1 Lord Durham's Report

In the wake of the Upper Canada Rebellion, Bond Head was replaced with Sir George Arthur as Lieutenant Governor for Upper Canada, taking effect in 1838, and John Lambton, First Earl of Durham, was appointed by the Crown as Governor-General. Lord Durham was also tasked to assess how to resolve the political grievances that afflicted the colonies and to recommend appropriate reforms. Though hailed as a 'reformer' in Britain, his leadership within the liberal movement was perhaps more aligned with the Tories of Upper Canada than the reformers of William Lyon Mackenzie. Janet Ajzenstat compared the writings of Durham with Tory leader, John Beverley Robinson, and noted both had similar fears of the excesses of democracy and faith in liberal characterizations of economic progress (1997). "Both suggested," she notes, "that it is chiefly the individual's hope of acquiring property and improving his prospects that grounds his loyalty to nation" (Ajzenstat, 1997, p. 144). The ability to propel economic development was thus a central theme of Durham's assessment.

His report, issued the following year, recommended the union of the Upper and Lower Canada legislatures, establishing an executive council and supreme court of appeal for the colonies, guaranteeing existing endowments to the Catholic and Anglican Churches, and greater concessions to the Settler population and their engagement in government, including reforms to the Legislative Council to minimize its power of oligarchy, the establishment of municipal governments with protected local authority, greater revenue generating capacity, and implementing the principle of representation by population in the distribution of seats in the legislature (Arthur, 1943).

Lord Durham's report is clear in attributing much of the cause for the Lower Canada rebellion and its preceding hostilities to linguistic (as well as religion, law, race, "character" and "habit") differences between the French-descended settlers of New France, an emerging Anglo-Saxon and English-speaking minority from 1775 onward, and the British aristocracy that maintained political control through the Legislative Council (1839, pp. 45-8). The report also makes it clear that colonial authorities in the Canadas saw a definite distinction between the French Canadian population and Indigenous peoples. Indeed, there is not even so much as a passing acknowledgement of Indigenous peoples anywhere in Lord Durham's report. Yet Lord Durham's discussions of settlement and "wilderness" are illustrative of the driving motivations of colonial governments and British political discourse, as well as the erasure of Indigenous peoples from those discourses.

The hierarchy of racial superiority that was commonly accepted and integrated into liberal thought in the early nineteenth century was also clearly apparent. The report is the first public policy document in the Canadas that enshrined the distinction between British and French-descended settlers as a question of race. Mackey notes that the report held that "the fundamental conflict in Canada was 'a struggle not of principle, but of race' and that the only solution was its elimination through assimilation" (2010, p. 32). Describing the francophone population of Lower Canada, he noted, "The unenterprising character of the French population, and, above all, its attachment to its church [...] have produced the effect of confining it within its ancient limits" (Durham, 1839, pp. 47-8). Firm atop Lord Durham's hierarchy of races was, not surprisingly, the English, exemplified by this passage from his report:

But it was quite impossible to exclude the English race from any part of the North American continent. It will be acknowledged by every one who has observed the progress of Anglo-Saxon colonization in America, that sooner or later the English race was sure to predominate even numerically in Lower Canada, as they predominate already by their superior knowledge, energy, enterprise, and wealth. (1839, p. 48)

English dominance across the continent was presumed to be an inevitable fate more than half a decade before the term 'manifest destiny' came to be used to describe America's inevitable ascendancy.

Indeed, Lord Durham exhibited clear disdain for earlier policy that sought to maintain the distinctiveness of Lower Canada as a means for preventing it falling into the orbit of the

United States, and argued that had the province of Quebec not been divided and English forms of law and land tenure had been enforced, the incoming Loyalist and British migration would have soon overwhelmed the French population, rendering them a disparately distributed minority destined for assimilation (Durham, 1839). In particular he found fault with the contradictory policy of creating a French-majority jurisdiction while simultaneously encouraging English immigration and the development of competing English institutions and systems of land tenure, explaining “The attempt to encourage English emigration into a community, of which the French character was still to be preserved, was an error which planted the seeds of a contest of races in the very constitution of the Colony” (1839, p. 48). He argues essentially that Britain had made the process of overwhelming the population all the more difficult by separating the Canadas and not subjecting the French population to the emerging political whims of the emerging English majority surrounding the Lower Great Lakes. Indeed, the notion of drowning out ostensibly problematic or insufficiently ‘advanced’ populations in the processes of government was a common notion in Lord Durham’s report and in British political discourse of the time. He also suggested following a similar process with the Colony of Newfoundland, though he was unable to meet with any delegations from the colony to verify the chatter that he was previously party to about the political situation afflicting the island. He noted,

If it be true that there exists in this island a state of society which renders it unadvisable that the whole of the local government should be entirely left to the inhabitants, I believe that it would be much better to incorporate this Colony with a larger community, than to attempt to continue the present experiment of governing it by a constant collision of constitutional powers. (1839, p. 144)

The collision of powers to which Lord Durham refers also had its roots in the divergent class interests of the bicameral Westminster system of the mid-nineteenth century, with the interests of the emerging middle classes, which dominated the electorate due to restrictions on voting that limited the franchise almost exclusively to property-owning white men, dominating the Houses of Assembly, and the Legislative Councils overriding their authority in the interests of the wealthy establishment embodied by the Family Compact of Upper Canada and the Chateau Clique of Lower Canada (Sylvestre, 2010). Summarizing the conditions that afflicted all British North American colonies, he expressed,

In all these Provinces we find representative government coupled with an irresponsible executive; we find the same constant collision between the branches of the Government; the same abuse of the powers of the representative bodies, owing to the anomaly of their position, aided by the want of good municipal institutions, and the same constant interference of the imperial administration in matters which should be left wholly to the Provincial Governments. (1839, pp. 138-9)

The rise of liberalism in this period coincided with the rise of middle classes across western Europe and North America, and Lord Durham's advocacy and report reflected the reformist sensibilities that marked a significant shift from the United Kingdom's approach to Empire and colonialism.

Settlers' ability to accumulate wealth and social mobility was a driving theme in Lord Durham's analysis. He described the distribution of lands to settlers as "the first business of the Government" and he lamented inaccurate surveys and the influence of the wealthy elite in shepherding much of this land to the control of the pseudo-aristocracy that took hold of colonial administrations. Seventeen million acres had been surveyed in Upper Canada by 1839, and only 1.2 million acres were left to be distributed, 500,000 of which were already set apart by Government promises (1839, p. 155). He lamented that anyone who was "a person of no influence" was largely excluded from the distribution of lands (1839, p. 149). If favouritism were removed from the process of distribution and there were distribution free from influence, he also argued there would be "a constant and regular supply of new land in due proportion to the wants of a population increasing by births and immigration," signalling a desire to settle seemingly endless lands north of the main areas of settlement (1839, p. 146). Yes the system for the distribution of lands presented an obstacle to this development. Mr. Rankin, Deputy Land Surveyor, expressed that,

The system of making large grants to individuals who had no intention of settling them, has tended to retard the prosperity of the colony, by separating the actual settlers, and rendering it so much more difficult, and in some cases impossible, to make the necessary roads. It has also made the markets more distant and more precarious. To such an extent have these difficulties been experienced, as to occasion the abandonment of settlements which had been formed [...]" This witness, who was for ten years employed by Government as Deputy Surveyor in the western district, which I have

before described as the finest grain country in North America, states that “nine-tenths of the land granted by the Crown in that district are still in a state of wilderness” (1839, p. 174)

The distribution of Crown lands points to an emerging crisis of capitalism that afflicted the colony, which is the concentration of productive land for speculative accumulation, which stunted economic growth within Settler society. This is supported by the observations of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Mr. Kerr, who is quoted “The main obstacle to the speedy settlement and cultivation of all the more fertile parts of the Province is private land remaining wild; inasmuch as the land of the Crown is open to purchase, which is not generally the case with that of private individuals, excepting at too exorbitant a price” (1839, p. 175). This had the impact of delaying the dispossession of Anishinaabeg from traditional lifeways, though it was already noticeable in the upper Great Lakes by the 1830s, as their own means of economic production were less impacted than they otherwise would be, due to the preservation of habitat for large game (Montgomerie, 1993). Lord Durham’s concern for the distribution of lands, however, was not a matter of the speed of its distribution, but about it being turned to purposes that were deemed productive for an emerging agro-industrial capitalist colony. A distribution that was too restrained would prolong the “inconveniences that belong to a wild country,” while a distribution that was carelessly speedy and indiscriminate risked distributing substantial acreage to those without any intention of developing them (1839, p. 144-5). Achieving a particular range of density was important, as higher density in an agricultural context limited the surplus capacity of properties and the profit-making potential of farmers, while too low a density would threaten the development and maintenance of educational and religious institutions (Durham, 1839).

As clearly as Lord Durham’s economic concerns were tied to common liberal philosophy, so too were his social concerns. The development and maintenance of these educational and religious institutions were integral hallmarks of civilization, and he feared that the inaccessibility of quality education on the British model would lead to a process of settler regression. He noted, “The people may raise enough for their own subsistence, and may even have a rude and comfortless plenty, but they can seldom acquire wealth; nor can even wealthy land-owners prevent their children from growing up ignorant and boorish, and from occupying a far lower mental, moral, and social position than they themselves fill” (1839, pp. 131-2).

Related to Lord Durham's concerns for the distribution of land were the barriers to economic development posed by inadequate communications infrastructure. Communications in the early nineteenth century was tied closely to transportation, as electric telegraph technology was still in its infancy, at least at popular scale. Public roads were necessary for people to travel to common locations of worship, study, and civic government, and having large tracts of unpopulated and "unproductive" land made it harder for these settlements to be stitched together by such a network. Similarly, rapids and falls posed barriers for long-distance communication, which continued to be most expeditiously transmitted through the continent's network of lakes, rivers and portages. Lord Durham commended the completion of such works as the Rideau and Welland Canals in the earlier decades of the century that facilitated both communication and trade, and it is in this section of the report where Sault Ste. Marie earns its only passing reference, for the cautious acknowledgement of the lock that had been constructed there in the 1790s, which he acknowledged by noting "in 1797-8 some kind of canal appears to have been made by the North-West Company on the Canadian side of the Sault St. [sic] Marie" (Lucas, 1912, p. 208). These systems of communication also facilitated greater penetration of British economic and social norms and controls into Anishinaabe territory. In some respects this created new opportunities, as Anishinaabeg benefited from trade and in exchanges of knowledge, but the greatest threats were to changing environments that impacted the migration and populations of large game, and the impositions that the state and church increasingly sought to impose on Indigenous communities.

Indeed, Lord Durham wished to see greater extension of this infrastructure into the less developed portions of the colony in Upper Canada. And although he was critical of the restraints that the Legislative Councils imposed on the Houses of Assembly in the Canadas, he was also critical of Assembly members' self-interest and failure to advance the broader goals of settlement. He lamented,

There is no adequate system of local assessment to improve the means of communication; and the funds occasionally voted for this purpose are, under the present system, disposed of by a House of Assembly which represents principally the interests of the more settled districts, and which, it is alleged, has been chiefly intent in making their disposal a means of strengthening the influence of its members in the

constituencies which they represent. These funds have consequently almost always been applied in that part of the country where they were least needed. (1839, p. 132)

Improving communications infrastructure then also depended on creating stronger systems of local, municipal governments, as well as a broader interest among the political class for the advancement of settlement and industrial progress.

A major hurdle from the perspective of communications and Upper Canada's economic viability within the imperial market was the St. Lawrence Canal. The canal was meant to facilitate passage through the rapids along the St Lawrence, but where the words passed the border between Upper and Lower Canada, they were met with indifference. While the infrastructure was essential for Upper Canadian settlers to distribute their goods to the British market, the Lower Canadian administration had little interest in assuming great expense simply for the sake of another colony's prosperity, and the profound demographic differences between Upper and Lower Canada likely didn't help. Upper Canada had thus assumed a huge debt with the completed public works garnering customs duties so meagre that they were barely enough to service its interest, and as the colonies had no authority for direct taxation, the colony faced a fiscal crisis (Durham, 1839). Lord Durham observed,

Upper Canada now finds itself loaded with an enormous debt, which it is denied the means of raising its indirect taxation to meet, and mocked by the aspect of those unfinished works, which some small combined efforts might render a source of vast wealth and prosperity, but which now are a source of useless expense and bitter disappointment. (1839, p. 136)

These troubles thus motivated two of key recommendations from the report that were implemented, including the devolvement of the power for direct taxation to mitigate the immediate crisis, and the merger of Upper and Lower Canada, so as to prevent one colony (namely Lower Canada) from standing in the way of the other's progress.

Once the colonies were merged, Lord Durham felt that the process of assimilating French Canadians into the Anglo-Saxon body politic was only a matter of time. He explained, "Much as they struggle against it, it is obvious that the process of assimilation to English habits is already commencing. The English language is gaining ground, as the language of the rich and of the employers of labour naturally will" (1839, p. 218). He also shared similar sentiments in a dispatch to Lord Glenelg, noting "...the British already predominate in French Canada, not

numerically of course, but by means of their superior energy and wealth, and of their natural relationships to the powers of Government.” (1839, p. 308). Lord Durham’s postulations are telling with respect to early colonial language policy and practice, first of all recognizing the economic and administrative control that English Settlers and colonial officials had managed to seize, and that Anglophones were more financially privileged than their Francophone counterparts. He takes it for given that this power commands accommodation, not by might, but by the gradual process of self preservation and parental concern for their children’s social mobility. Returns received by the *Commissioner of the Inquiry into the State of Education* offered some evidence to corroborate this assumption, finding that ten times as many French children in Lower Canada were learning English as English children were learning French (Durham, 1839).

But he also believed the language shift process to be a slow one, and that in the meantime, it was necessary that French-speaking subjects of Lower Canada have their rights respected:

A considerable time must, of course, elapse before the change of a language can spread over a whole people; and justice and policy alike require, that while the people continue to use the French language, their Government should take no such means to force the English language upon them as would, in fact, deprive, the great mass of the community of the protection of the laws. (1839, p. 219)

Nonetheless, he felt that instruments to slow that assimilation or protect French national identity must be dismantled and the matter left to one of natural progression: “the alteration of the character of the Province ought to be immediately entered on, and firmly, though cautiously, followed up; [...] the first object ought to be that of making it an English Province; and that, with this end in view, the ascendancy should never again be placed in any hands but those of an English population” (1839, p. 219). This entailed, of course, ongoing English immigration and more land for their settlement.

The risk posed by the French population was not primarily an ongoing threat of resistance or rebellion to British authority, but of resistance to capitalist progress. He observed, They have found the British pressing upon them at every turn, in the possession of land, in commerce, in the retail trade, in all kinds of industrious enterprize, in religion, in the whole administration of government, and though they are a stagnant people, easily

satisfied and disinclined to exertion, they have naturally resisted an invasion which was so offensive to their national pride. The British, on the other hand, impeded in the pursuit of all their objects, partly by the ancient and barbarous civil law of the country, and partly by the systematic opposition of the Canadians to the progress of British enterprize, have naturally sought to remove those impediments, and to conquer, without much regard to the means employed, that very mischievous opposition. (1839, pp. 308-9)

The perceived complacency of French Canadians, their deference to the Roman Catholic Church, and their legal system that conflicted with English Common Law were all barriers to industry. Lord Durham's assessment reflected common perceptions among the English elite respecting the French, such that he was not self-conscious of his double standard. Rather than French economic marginalization being attributable to the rapid English takeover of the fur trade and government, the refusal of new Anglophone commercial administrators to promote Francophone employees to middle class positions, and the absence of new French immigration, that marginalization rested in a fault of national character. The obstacle to greater economic progress in English-majority colonies, by contrast, could be attributed to a confluence of factors, including inadequate technologies of government, corruption, class-conflict, and of course, the French.

The "problem," as Lord Durham saw it, was not so much one of language, but of race. In a secret dispatch to Lord Glenelg, Lord Durham describes the nature of the conflict between French and English within the colony, noting

The first point to which I would draw your attention, being on with which all others are more or less connected, is the existence of a most bitter animosity between the Canadians and the British, not as two parties holding different opinions and seeking different objects in respect to Government, but as different races engaged in a national contest. (1839 p. 306)

This animosity apparently crossed lines of class and vocation, as he went on to comment, "high and low, rich and poor, on both sides -- the merchant and the porter, the seigneur and the habitant — though they use different language to express themselves, yet exhibit the very same feeling of national jealousy and hatred" (1839, p. 307). This reference to language was not simply the distinction between English and French but also the varying registers common to

them that had either emerged or been imported along with their corresponding class distinctions.

The complicating factors of bilingual public administration and schooling were of little concern to Lord Durham, easily rectified by staffing and interpretation. Indeed, even some among the most vocal opponents of French interests and rights in the Upper Canada House of Assembly nonetheless spoke the language as a matter of good schooling. He made reference to the State of Louisiana's operations in both languages, noting

In all cases in which convenience requires it, the different parties use their respective languages in the courts of justice, and in both branches of the legislature. In every judicial proceeding, all documents which pass between the parties are required to be in both languages, and the laws are published in both languages. Indeed the equality of the two languages is preserved in the legislature by a very singular contrivance; the French and English members speak their respective languages, and an interpreter, as I was informed, after every speech, explains its purport in the other language. (1839, p. 223)

Louisiana was a model for multiple reasons, not only demonstrating the ease of linguistic accommodation in administration, but given the problem was one of race, not only language, it presented a roadmap for the inculcation of a French polity into an English-speaking Settler capitalist society. Indeed, the ambitious members of the population were key to the process of integration, because with higher targets to achieve than those available within their own insular communities, they would accommodate the interests of the majority population to curry favour with the powerful, which he observed in Louisiana's representatives to Washington (1839, pp. 223-5).

Lord Durham placed the highest emphasis on the colony's ability to generate wealth for its inhabitants and to achieve capitalist progress. All other concerns, he felt, ought to be subordinated, as his response to correspondence from some of Montreal's aristocracy, notes "Remember that you have all the same interest in the prosperity of your country; that the capital of the merchant and the estate of the seigneur, the skill of the artisan and the labour of the habitant, are alike depreciated by internal dissensions, whilst they are fostered and increased by harmony and public tranquility" (1839, p. 284). English dominance of government and commerce would eventually lead to French assimilation, while removing the impediments

to that assimilation required the merger of the Canadas and further English settlement so that the French population would be outnumbered in the halls of government.

The United States was a pervasive spectre in Lord Durham's report, both as a threat and as a model for emulation. He wrote, "It is not politic to [...] allow the backwardness of the British Provinces everywhere to present a melancholy contrast to the progress and prosperity of the United States" (1839, p. 193). In the early nineteenth century, the United States was experiencing rapid population, economic, and geographic growth, and Lord Durham's report illustrates the comparisons that dominated political discourse in the Canadas. This did not bode well for Anishinaabeg, as America's growth was fuelled by policies of removal and dislocation, which lent further legitimacy to discourses of Indigenous peoples as impediments to progress. Though Lord Durham made no reference to Indigenous peoples (and his travels extending only to the Niagara Peninsula would have prevented him from encountering "frontier" lands with greater Anishinaabe political control) in his report, they are alluded to in his frequent references to the "wilderness" as a space which must be tamed and occupied. Luckily there was such an ongoing issue with the unfair distribution of lands that had already come within the sphere of administrative influence, that those in the upper Great Lakes were spared the worst of interventions from the state for another decade.

Lord Durham's report was received with scepticism by Lieutenant Governor Arthur, of Upper Canada. Arthur feared that the demographics of a united province were too balanced and would result in consistent deadlock, noting "French and English, Catholic and Protestant will be almost equally balanced, and [...] therefore nothing can be looked forward to, but years of bitter, obstinate, dangerous contention, attended with universal jealousy and distrust" (Arthur, 1943, p. 58). He feared that the majority made up by English-speaking settlers was too slim and that the "casual absence" of a handful of members representing English-dominated constituencies could result in those representing French-dominant constituencies seizing the legislative agenda (1943, p. 59).

Just as for Lord Durham, however, the issue for opponents of union was not so much a question of language as a question of race. Though it is bordering absurd in the twenty-first century to think of French-speaking settlers constituting a unique race from English-speaking settlers in Canada, the terrain of difference and the exclusion of the 'Other' in the nineteenth century gaze of those from England was shaped by political, religious, and economic conflicts in

Europe, even among settlers in the Americas. The War of Independence and America's rapid growth in the early nineteenth century added a political dynamic of contest between Britain and the United States within notions of an English nation, but at least for Anglophone colonial officials in British North America, they were nonetheless seen to be the same race, which could no longer be said of the French-speaking population of Canada. The enterprising spirit of America, according to Lord Durham, was part of the Anglo-Saxon character, a character that was inhibited by French laws, religious institutions, customs and community solidarity, either through the physical obstacle that Lower Canada presented in getting Upper Canadian goods to market, or in political and legal institutions that 'dampened' settlers capacity for enterprise (Durham, 1839, pp. 308-9).

And so the French language itself was not necessarily the subject of concern. Notable Tories in Upper Canada, such as John Prince, representing Essex, held wavering stances on bilingualism — occasionally speaking in French in the legislature himself — but did not waver from their goal of a province dominated by an English order (Douglas, 1980, pp. xxix-xxxiv). Lieutenant Governor Arthur likewise echoed the perception of French social inferiority, noting that "the very gross and almost inconceivable ignorance of the French population is forcibly and justly dwelt upon by Lord Durham as the real cause of the evils which afflict that fine province," however he singled out the role of the Catholic Church in crafting this 'ignorance,' as he observed, "for the greater part of two centuries there have been throughout the French Settlements in Lower Canada in every village a Parish Church, in all cases decently, and in many cases richly endowed" (1943, p. 64).

Though there was consistent support for greater emigration from the United Kingdom, Lord Arthur questioned the certainty of the pace of this migration. He worried that "The emigration of men of property and education from the United Kingdom must, it is presumed, always be purely voluntary, and will consequently be casual and uncertain" (Arthur, 1943, p. 59). John Beverley Robinson would write to Arthur a month after debate over the Report's suggestions initiated, opining on the political and demographic impact of merger of the Canadas, he wrote "The more I think of it, the more satisfied I am that it would swamp *us* — that is the British population in both Provinces" (Arthur, 1943, pp. 88-9).

Any effort to overwhelm the French population would rely on Britain's underclasses, which posed problems with their eligibility to vote and their overall desirability as settlers, at least from Arthur's perspective:

It can only be the unemployed poor, upon whom His Lordship can calculate as being likely to be brought out suddenly, and in great numbers by the aid of the Government; and to rely upon this wholesale importation of votes from Europe to meet a political emergency on the other side of the Atlantic, seems to be an arrangement not in all respects convenient, and one which I fear no party in those Provinces would regard with much complacency; (1943, p. 59)

He was resistant to proposals for responsible government and the extension of the franchise, arguing that, "there is little in short but the presumed good sense, and good feeling of an uneducated multitude, (which may be too much tempted) to stand between almost universal suffrage and those institutions, which proudly and happily distinguish Britons from the subjects of other monarchies," and the United States (1943, p. 62). The lack of an aristocratic tradition in the colonies, to Tory sensibilities, was an institutional gap that made responsible government impracticable due to the questionable self-interest of poorer classes.

Likewise to Lord Durham, Indigenous peoples did not figure in Lord Arthur's protestations against the recommendations of the report. The central question was one of establishment and order rather than preventing the uneducated masses from disparaging the honour of the Crown through the encroachment on Indigenous lands. But the implementation of responsible government through the Act of Union did have the impact of making the new Government of Canada more responsive to settler interests at the expense of Indigenous peoples (Montgomerie, 1993). Indeed the Tory movement in Upper Canada had already largely abandoned concern for the welfare of Indigenous peoples, and many leading figures, from Bond Head to Denis-Benjamin Papineau (Crown Lands Commissioner from 1844-47), considered them temporary obstacles. Papineau would later question Anishinaabe claims to any nationhood, arguing their numbers were too small to constitute a nation (Arthur, 1943).

5.2.2 Paternalistic liberalism and changing discourses of race

Despite escaping the attention of Lord Durham, the continued preoccupation among missionaries and some colonial agents with protecting Anishinaabeg from corrupting Europeans exemplifies a contradiction in colonial logic. European, particularly English-descended settlers were ostensibly at the pinnacle of civilization (Pitts, 2005), a sentiment that was especially potent by mid-century in Upper Canada. Their faiths, character and technologies were all self-evidently superior to what the rest of the world had to offer, at least by the estimation of the Durham Report. And while missionaries of all denominations in the region held that Indigenous peoples could be Christianized (even if they differed on how to do so) and thus rejected the polygenic ideologies of race that were gaining popularity among anthropologists south of the border, and which held that different races heralded from different evolutionary sources (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016), it was other Europeans who presented at least one of the most significant barriers. This was true not only of the Anglicans such as McMurray, but of other denominations as well. The Baptist James Cameron argued for greater isolation of missions, noting of the Baptist Mission that had it been “located out of the reach of citizen influence, and animosity, it would have been much better for our cause and for the training up of the children in the fear of God” (as cited in Hele, 2004, p. 151). As the modernist fetish of control came to play a growing role in state formation in the nineteenth century, challenges to that control were increasingly problematic. Kristeva points to abjection, the rejection of a part of one’s self that is at once a constituent but defies the notion of corporal fixity and cohesion, as being both a phenomenon of personal as well as collective identity (Oliver, 2000; Kristeva, 2000; Haque, 2012). The corrupting settlers and mixed-race Métis (often, though not exclusively, members of lower classes and less esteemed European races) were the foil to European claims to paternalistic authority and had to be cut out of the relationship with Indigenous peoples. For missionaries, the hopes held for Anishinaabeg reflected the rejection of the Other within themselves, the threat within a depraved European civilization that simultaneously purported to follow Christ

while engaging in manifold un-Christian behaviours.¹⁶ Métis in particular were a convenient scapegoat (at least for Protestants) defying the boundaries of an emerging racialized logic.

The mission villages proposed for Anishinaabeg in the upper Great Lakes ultimately did not come to fruition,¹⁷ however discourses of protection and isolation would inform both Francis Bond Head's aborted efforts to relocate all Anishinaabeg to Manitoulin, as well as the creation of the Indian Reserve system. These separations in turn would also have impacts on the reorganization of Indigenous language speech communities, though largely after the late nineteenth century.

But in the early nineteenth century, Anishinaabeg, Métis, and most of those who treated with them regularly participated in communicative exchanges that enriched one another's linguistic repertoires and created dynamic situations of linguistic exchange and translanguaging. Still into the mid-century, there was an ongoing need for Church officials to acquire either the services of an interpreter or to learn Anishinaabemowin, even though knowledge of French was prevalent among Anishinaabeg. Catholic missionaries had long been acquiring Anishinaabemowin in some form, and Baraga's efforts would most significantly amplify the production of Church texts in the local language, and advance the documentation of varieties of Anishinaabemowin for missionary and European audiences like no one before. For his part, James D. Cameron's conflicts with Abel Bingham focused on Bingham's inability to acquire the language and his persistent reliance on interpreters, limiting his ability to reach new converts (Hele, 2004).

Emerging and competing racial discourses in both Canadian and American settler societies, however, began to pose challenges to previously accepted cross-cultural relationships and alliances. The predominant cleavage in these discourses hinged on beliefs on the origin of races, with monogenists arguing that all people derived from the same human ancestors, while polygenists argued that major races had unique origins which created not only difference in

¹⁶ This said, though sex, drink and poor church attendance were dominant themes in the missionary complaints about the moral development of Indigenous peoples (see the Jesuit Relations and early reports from the Department of Indian Affairs for a myriad of examples), their interactions with colonial officials make it apparent that they were no more enamoured with the greed and deceit common to their supposedly honourable European-descended counterparts.

¹⁷ One nearby exception being James Cameron's short lived Baptist missionary village at Tahquemenon Falls, in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan in the 1830s (Hele, 2004).

physical characteristics and the colour of one's skin, but also in intellectual ability (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016). Monogenist notions reflected both the Biblical notion of human descent from the Garden of Eden as well as Enlightenment and liberal philosophical tenets of the common capacities of man.¹⁸ Non-Anglo Saxon races were, however, culturally, politically and economically inferior if not biologically, justifying imperial subjugation (Pitts, 2005). This monogenic paternal liberalism emerged as the prevailing sentiment among missionaries and the political elites of British North America and the United States by the mid-1800s (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016; Pitts, 2005; Singh Mehta, 1999). Polygenism, however, began to gain favour in the United States, and "by the 1850s the principle tenets of polygenism [...] had captured the allegiance of almost all American anthropologists and naturalists" (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016, p. 21). This philosophy became instrumental in American Civil War discourses and the justification of slavery and the removal of Indigenous peoples from the Eastern United States. It also led to increasing discrimination of Métis people and diminishing tolerance of marriages and relations between Indigenous and settler peoples.

Though the polygenist ideology did not carry the same force in the Canadas, as the efforts of the state increasingly turned to the promotion of "civilizing" Indigenous peoples on an idealized Christian European model, it nonetheless amplified racist sensibilities of not only the inferiority of non-Europeans, but of the need to police boundaries between races. Consequently mixed-race peoples face increased discrimination and intentional exclusion from any engagements the government had with Anishinaabeg on both sides of the border.

Monogenetic ideologies maintained dominance in Canada, but Anishinaabeg and Métis peoples still contended with amplified discrimination and failed policy schemes, such as the Manitoulin removal plan, that were influenced by polygenic thought. Though marriages earlier in the century of voyageurs and Anishinaabekwewag, as well as state officials such as Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and Obabaamwewegiizhigokwe, were perceived as normal for the location and time (happening as they did long after the norm's establishment in contravention of French imperial policy), new unions were brought into question, such as John D. Cameron's marriages to Janet Shinganbawasan in 1835, and to Kewaqabunskwa, or Janet Malcom Shegud, in 1842

¹⁸ The gender specific reference here is intentional, as although liberal philosophers contributed greatly to arguments of equality between men and women, this was by no means a universal characteristic of the advocates of liberalism (Singh Mehta, 1999).

after his first wife's death. Cameron had argued that any convention that did not directly contradict Baptist teachings ought to be acceptable in defending his two previous marriages to Anishinaabe women *à la façon du pays*. Nonetheless his superior, Abel Bingham, admonished the union and enlisted the advice of both the Anglican missionary William McMurray and the Presbyterian Jeremiah Porter (Hele, 2004). At least part of the opposition rested in the union not having been performed according to Church practice, and it was eventually confirmed by Bingham.¹⁹ Cameron had also broken with European mores by providing gifts to his wife Lydia's father, and living with their family and embracing the matrilineal practice of Anishinaabe marriages (though it may have also been motivated by a desire to be in close proximity to the population to whom he missioned) (Hele, 2004).

Despite these growing challenges, Anishinaabe and burgeoning Métis communities persisted and adapted to new socioeconomic and political circumstances and survived both health and military battles. Ens and Sawchuk argue that Métis identity in places such as Sault Ste. Marie, Michilimackinac, Green Bay, and Prairie du Chien and smaller communities throughout the upper Great Lakes crystallized in the years following the fall of New France (2016).

However they also note that they did not exhibit by this point the "political consciousness of themselves as a 'new people'" that would characterize the Métis of the Red River nearly a century later (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016, p.47). However the term 'Métis' comes in to use after the 1760s, and exists coinciding with references to 'French,' 'French Canadian' and 'Canadian,' while 'half-breed' makes its most common appearances in the writings of white settlers after the 1820s, as race becomes increasingly relevant to Canadian settler society (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016). Though some, such as Chris Anderson, have argued that the new upper Great Lakes cultures don't constitute Métis for lack of that political consciousness, Ens and Sawchuk hinge their argument on the instrumentality of the fur trade in their genesis, in addition to the distinctiveness and mixedness of the community (2016). This is also exemplified by the interconnectedness of the upper Great Lakes Métis communities at the Red River. Consequently I have used the term "Métis" thus far to render the developments intelligible to a contemporary audience that attempts to trace the relevance of this overview of social,

¹⁹ Another complicating factor in his second marriage was that Janet had been the sister to Lydia's mother, "which meant that, by church rules, Cameron had married his niece" (Hele, 2004, p. 145).

economic, political, and inherently linguistic history of the region to contemporary understandings of nationhood and social organization, and to chart the evolution of what would become the Historic Sault Ste. Marie Métis community.

As British companies such as the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company came to dominate the fur trade in Sault Ste. Marie, English, Scottish and Irish traders would join the ranks of the voyageurs and integrate within the emerging community, the impacts of which will be apparent in the next chapter. New American interests in the fur trade in the nineteenth century would also largely adapt to the same strategy of forging alliances with traders and Anishinaabeg, which perpetuated the development of Métis communities on both sides of the border, however the depletion of fur bearing animals and the encroachment of farming settlers would eventually force many Métis north and west of Michigan (2016).

State officials, too, were implicated in the management of racial interaction and efforts to inculcate Anishinaabeg into a white Anglo-Saxon model of modern society. The manoeuvring over the Manitoulin scheme, efforts to reduce cross-border travel and separate Anishinaabeg from Métis served to stabilize a racial as well as political and economic order. But interventions into language serving this purpose were relatively rare. One exception was the short-lived and quickly abandoned plan of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Indian Agent for Michigan, to reform the Ojibwe language.

5.2.3 Schoolcraft's aborted attempt at colonial language reform

Schoolcraft would later be described as an amateur anthropologist and proto-linguist, and was fascinated first by Ojibwe spirituality, though later came to an obsession with Anishinaabemowin, first as a means of acquiring more knowledge about Anishinaabe cosmology and soon thereafter for its own sake (Schoolcraft, 1851). Shortly after his appointment as Indian Agent for the region, he began compiling Anishinaabemowin vocabularies with the goal of constructing a grammar that he shared with officials such as then-Michigan Governor Lewis Cass (Schoolcraft, 1851). "Obsession" is not a pejorative editorialization here, as he described his own interest in his journals of 1822, noting "The study of the language, and the formation of a vocabulary and grammar have almost imperceptibly become an absorbing object, although I have been but a short time at the place, and the plan

interests me so much, that I actually regret the time that is lost from it, in the ordinary visits of comity and ceremony, which are, however, necessary" (1851, p. 107). As his studies of the language progressed, he saw it increasingly as a tool for understanding Anishinaabe psyche and civilization, noting in May of 1823, "I am inclined to think that more true light is destined to be thrown on the history of the Indians by a study of their languages than of their traditions, or any other feature" (p. 174).

His methods for acquiring deeper knowledge and understanding of the language involved regular conversations with anyone of any knowledge of the language, Anishinaabe or otherwise, asking questions about the language, formulating hypotheses about the language's structure and later testing his perceptions in discussion with those who he felt had a deeper intellectual understanding of both Ojibwe and European approaches to language analysis, namely Susan and John Johnston (Schoolcraft, 1851). Susan, Ozhaguscodaywayquay, was raised steeped in Anishinaabe political culture and the fur trade before marrying John in 1793. For his part, John was born in Antrim, Ireland and moved to America before making his way to Montreal, where he began his long engagement with the northwest fur trade, and eventually settling with his wife at Sault Ste. Marie. Their early marriage indicates both the importance of such bonds to both Anishinaabeg and European traders, as well as the harsh conditions that were endured by some women in such arrangements. When Johnston asked her father, Waubajeeg, for his consent to marry Ozhaguscodaywayquay, Waubajeeg initially refused, fearing that Johnston would abandon her as many other traders did to their Anishinaabe wives (Parker, 2007). Only after Johnston returned the following year from Montréal to Chequamegon on the South shore of Lake Superior did Waubajeeg consent. However, Ozhaguscodaywayquay was apparently horrified, and after the marriage, Parker reports "she ran off to her grandfather, but her father beat her with a stick, threatened to cut her ears off, and brought her back to Johnston" (2007, p. 9). Such violence and effort to compel marriages was *not* the norm for Anishinaabe marriages, even of this era (2007). "Despite this disturbing start," Parker notes, "by all accounts the marriage grew into a happy match between partners devoted to each other" (2007, p. 9).

The Johnstons' sent their children to be educated in Irish and Canadian schooling, which no doubt contributed to the esteem that Schoolcraft held for them (though the daughters did not actually attend school while in Ireland, rather most of their schooling was done at home,

aided by John and Ozhaguscodaywayquay's appreciation for learning, language, and skill) (Parker, 2007). The Johnstons maintained strong connections to Ozhaguscodaywayquay's family, and their children, like many of prominent fur trading families, were conversant in Anishinaabemowin as well as English (Stewart, 2007). Indeed, Parker notes that "though Ozhaguscodaywayquay learned to understand English, and Johnston learned Ojibwe, Ozhaguscodaywayquay spoke only Ojibwe" and that "she held onto Indian ways, raised her children to respect Indian people and traditions, and grew into a figure of considerable influence in the Ojibwe world around Lake Superior" (2007, p. 9). That the two were deeply rooted in both Anishinaabe and European spheres gave them insights that Schoolcraft found invaluable. He explained of Susan,

Mrs. Jonston [sic] is a woman of excellent judgement and good sense; she is referred to on abstruse points of the Indian ceremonies and usages, so that I have in fact stumbled, as it were, on the only family in North West America who could, in Indian lore, have acted as my "guide philosopher and friend." (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 107)

Schoolcraft found the polysynthetic nature of Anishinaabemowin both fascinating and daunting. Describing his efforts to parse words, he explained:

The language is so concrete, that often, when I have supposed a word had been dissected and traced to its root, subsequent attention has proved it to be a compound. Thus verbs have been inserted with pronouns, or with particles, indicating negation, or the past or future tense, when it has been supposed they had been divested of these appendages. I am now going over the work the third time. (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 133)

His frustration with the "concreteness" of the language fuelled his thoughts on adapting the language to more modern uses. In April of 1823, he wrote in his journal that Anishinaabemowin "seems the farthest removed possible from the monosyllabic class of languages. I have thought that, if some of its grammatical principles could be applied to monosyllables, a new language of great brevity, terseness, regularity, and poetic expressiveness, might be formed" (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 171). He did not believe that Ojibwe lacked each of these qualities, but that achieving some of the qualities required reform, while others were already innate to the language. Brevity was his most obvious concern, as earlier passages illustrate, and echoes the growing modernist emphasis on (culturally mitigated understandings of) efficiency. The systematicity and consistency of the language, however, was already apparent to Schoolcraft, as he remarked only

a few days later on the absence of frequent irregularity as a benefit the language had over English:

The Ojibwa has this advantage, considered as the material of future improvement; it is entirely homogeneous, and admits of philosophical principles being carried out, with very few, if any, of those exceptions which so disfigure English grammar, and present such appalling obstacles to foreigners in learning the language. (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 134)

It is not clear how he felt about the language's poetic potential, though it does not appear to be something that has been lauded anywhere in his notes. And so he pursued constructing new grammatical forms, combining the remarkable strengths of Anishinaabemowin that appealed to early modernist sensibilities with his perception of English brevity, if not general superiority. His principal motivations lay in ridding the language of its complex compound words, which to his notes were perceived at large (at least to Anglophone settlers who attempted to familiarize themselves with the language) as a barrier to acquisition and widespread use. He explained, "One of the principal objections to be urged against the Indian languages, considered as media of communication, is their cumbrousness" (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 171). This frustration on the part of the European second-language speaker extended to the expressive norms of discourse, as he continued, "There is certainly a great deal of verbiage and tautology about them. The paucity of terms leads not only to the use of figures and metaphors, but is the cause of circumlocution" (Schoolcraft, 1851).

Schoolcraft thus wished to modify the language on the model of western European, "monosyllabic" languages. He proposed a new inventory of isolated pronouns modelled on the English pronominal system, including modified forms for subject, object, possessive and reflexive pronouns, as well as distinctions of number and the imposition of a feminine and masculine third person pronoun that did not exist in any Algonquian language, apart from what might be considered mixing with European languages, as might be observed in the *Français Sauvage*. He proposed the following pronominal paradigms:

Ni, I. Nid, We.	Niwin, Myself. Niwind, Ourselves.
Ki, Thou. Kid, Ye or you.	Kiwin, Thyself. Kiwind, Yourselves.
Wi, He. Wid, They. Masculine.	Wiwin, Yourselves. (Mas.) Wiwind.

Si, <i>She</i> . Sid, <i>They</i> . Feminine.	Siwin, <i>Yourselves</i> . (Fem.) Siwind.
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Table 1: Schoolcraft's proposed pronominal paradigm (1851, p. 172)

Ni, Nin, Nee -- <i>I, Mine, Me</i> .	Nid, Nida, Nidim -- <i>We, Us, Ours</i> .
Ki, Kin, Kee -- <i>Thou, Thine, Thee</i> .	Kid, Kida, Kidim -- <i>Ye, You, Yours</i> .
Wi, Win, Wee -- <i>Him, His, His</i> .	Wid, Wida, Widim -- <i>They, Their, Theirs</i> . (Mas.)
Si, Sin, See -- <i>Her, Hers, Hers</i> .	Sid, Sida, Sidim -- <i>They, Their, Theirs</i> . (Fem.)

Table 2: Schoolcraft's proposed declension of pronouns (1851, p. 172)

His choices in this proposal demonstrate some of the fine-grain of his attitudes toward the Anishinaabe language and the challenges it poses for first-language English speakers. He wished to move the language from one in which person and other grammatical relations were marked largely through the affixation of morphemes, to one that was more analogous to the English form of marking a considerable number of these grammatical relations through distinct pronouns. Where Ojibwe marks a number distinction in each person through complementary prefix and suffix combinations on verbs, he wished to “simplify” the process by reducing the person and number marking to unique, stand-alone pronouns. He also proposed embedding social gender into the pronominal system to create a distinction between <he> and <she> that simply didn't exist in Ojibwe. The Anishinaabe grammatical gender system is based on a distinction of animacy, and notions of maleness or femaleness (or other social gender forms) were (and are) expressed discursively through word choice rather than grammatically. Schoolcraft evidently saw this as a failing that had to be corrected, writing plainly, “it would be necessary to invent a pronoun for *she*, as there is, apparently, nothing of this kind in the language” (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 172). One simply could not expect to join the civilized world without signalling the sex of a speaker's subject or object, apparently.

It is telling, though, that Schoolcraft improperly declined the English third person singular pronouns. He also used “ye” and “thyself” to mark the singular number on the English side of his paradigms to make the distinction from the plural “you” and “yourselves” clear, though most speakers of English ceased to employ this distinction by the end of the seventeenth century. The distinction being so broadly out of favour likely contributed to his erroneous selection of “ye,” the Old English second person plural pronoun, for the

comparatively less archaic second person singular pronoun, “thou,” which persisted into Early Modern English. Where he may have exercised some humility in his relationships and discussions with such people as Ozhaguscodaywayquay, it was not apparent in his ruminations on Indigenous peoples writ large.

To mark number, he proposed retaining suffixes, but simplifying them in a manner that transparently mirrored English. “The plural,” he wrote, “might be uniformly made in d, following a vowel, and if a word terminate in a consonant, then in ad. So the class of plural terminators would be *ad, ed, id, od, ud*” (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 172). Despite the disregard, if not disdain he had for Anishinaabe grammatical systems, his proposals here were at least restricted to the Anishinaabe phonological inventory. Indeed his suggestion for “plural terminators” maintained the allomorphy of Anishinaabe suffixes more generally, compared to the rather limited English <-s> and <-es> plural allomorphs. Though he proposed retaining the language’s diminutive suffix, he wished to simplify it by eliminating its allomorphs, reducing it to an invariable <-is> (Schoolcraft, 1851). He also wished to retain the augmentative prefix <chi->, though also subjecting it to his somewhat contradictory vision, requiring its vowel to be elided when conjoined with a vowel-initial word (Schoolcraft, 1851).

His proposals for simplifying Anishinaabe nouns further illustrates the normative influence he places on English as a system around which to reorganize Anishinaabemowin. He proposed inventing new monosyllabic nouns based on single syllables from Ojibwe roots and inflecting small changes to denote semantic variations from a core concept. Implicit within this was to supplant the Anishinaabe conceptual realm to more efficiently convey concepts common to English speakers. The inflections would be based on the transposition of the initial consonant from their corresponding English words, as illustrated by his example: “Thus, from the word *aindum*, mind, might be derived,”

Ain	Mind
Tain	Thought
Main	Meditation
Sain	Sorrow

Jain	Joy
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Table 3: Schoolcraft's proposed inflection system (1851, p. 127)

The substantial distinctions that would have to be made to mimic the common English concepts that might relate to these basal nouns required a greater number of consonants than already available in the Anishinaabe inventory. Schoolcraft proposed “restoring” the <f>, <v>, <l>, and <r> consonants, the latter two of which are the only two posited to have ever been present in the history of the language or its proto-Algonquian predecessor (1851). The others were transplanted from English to serve the function of widening the potential field of monosyllabic words. Existing monosyllabic words he intended to keep, as well as a restricted set of disyllabic words, though subjecting them all nonetheless to his proposed new grammatical rules.

Adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, prepositions and more poly-syllabic verbs would all follow the same pattern of reduction to their initial syllable and assimilation of Schoolcraft's proposed Anglo-Anishinaabe affixes. Where his minimalist proposals created duplication, he simply replaced a consonant with one borrowed from English, as with his proposed for <of>, <ra> for <to>, <vi> for <is> (notably not a pronoun) and <af> for <at> (p. 173). Restricting the necessity of tense inflection, he also proposed the use of the verb “to be” as an auxiliary to mimic its English precipitator.

“Thus a new language might be formed,” he proclaimed in his notes (1851, p. 174). But what Schoolcraft proposed was essentially the transposition of (mostly) Anishinaabe sounds onto the grammatical skeleton of English while using the opportunity to eschew some of the pesky irregularities of Anglo-Saxon history. Schoolcraft spoke no other language than English, apart from a passing familiarity with Latin, and so it's of little surprise that English formed the basis of his judgements of an efficient and logical language, even if he did admire those instances where Ojibwe surpassed English in its regularity.

There is an irony to Schoolcraft's project. A colonial official would see the local speakers of a language and judge them wanting in communicative efficiency and expressiveness and turn to cultivating a prescriptive language reform to school its speakers. And yet, in so doing, he flouts the prescriptive English conventions of the day that are a mark of his supposed superior

civilization, justifying his intervention. But this irony is not unique to Schoolcraft, rather it shapes the entire colonial arrangement.

Bauman and Briggs make a similar case for Schoolcraft's role in reflecting, if not shaping, the execution of modernist futures for American relations with Indigenous peoples, but focus on his texts concerning "tales," or the *aadizokaanag* or *dibaajimowinan* (2003). They note his writings emphasize American (and culturally, European) victory over Indigenous peoples, and point to flaws in Anishinaabe character from which "they have not adopted our industry and Christianity, and stoutly resisted civilization, in all its phases" (as cited in Bauman & Briggs, 2003, p. 249). Though these writings took place a number of years after his initial investigations of the Anishinaabe language and may represent a hardening of his views towards Indigenous peoples, there is little doubt that Schoolcraft held white superiority to be self-evident from his early days in the Michigan Territory. Though not without sympathies for or interest in the Anishinaabe way of life, his language project is as much a step in the "march to civilization" as the political project of colonization that he assists as Indian Agent. Civilization in the mind of Schoolcraft, as much as it was in the mind of many of his contemporaries, is marked by both reason and human efforts to exert control over their environments to render the world more predictable and subservient to human will. This logic of domination, as Warren (1996) would call it, extended to a justification of settler domination of Indigenous peoples, who were perceived as primitive: closer to nature than civilization. Though notions of personal liberty permeated the political discourse of the time, that liberty was contingent on reaching certain hallmarks in the linear march of progress. Language, in Schoolcraft's eyes, was part of what held Anishinaabeg back. He lamented the tendency of Indigenous language studies to demarcate the distinctiveness of Indigenous peoples, noting in his 1823 journal that "The tendency of modern inquiries into languages seems rather to have been to multiply than to simplify" (1851, p. 174). His language reform project, though never implemented and shared with no one with any prospect of implementing it, was in large part also motivated by his impulse to simplify the language so that it be more readily mastered by second language speakers. But he also saw the descriptions of Indigenous language diversity as exaggerating the underlying differences between Indigenous groups, explaining "I do not believe we have more than three mother stocks of languages in all the United States east of the Mississippi, embracing also large portions of territory west of it, namely, the Algonquin, Iroquois, and what may be called Apalachian [sic]. Perhaps a little

Dakota” (1851, pp. 174-7). His attestation also suggests a belief in the performative power of language documentation, that transcribing the distinctiveness of Indigenous languages emboldened those differences. His efforts, by contrast, were based in a premise of ridding Anishinaabe peoples of the inefficient diversity that, supposedly, impeded communication. This was part of a larger mission that he saw himself serving. His thoughts on reforming the language were rooted in what he saw as a near futile effort to “save” both the language itself and its speakers, albeit as a pastime. About his efforts to document and reform the language, he noted in a letter to Cass in 1822, “To rescue it from that oblivion to which the tribe itself is rapidly hastening, while yet it may be attempted, with a prospect of success, will constitute a novel and pleasing species of amusement during the long evenings of that dreary cold winter” (1851, p. 126).

5.2.4 Language policies in the emergent British hegemony

Apart from Schoolcraft’s aborted foray into Anishinaabe language planning, formal language policy, particularly as it was enacted by governments of British North America, had little concern for Indigenous languages, and for that matter, the use of French in the *pays d’en haut* or northern reaches of Upper Canada.

Haque (2012) draws on the work of Ronal Weitzer in illustrating the process for establishing the conditions for stable settler rule in discussing the process of establishing a white Anglo-Celtic settler state in Canada. This includes the achievement of autonomy from the metropole, the consolidation of control over Indigenous populations, and the maintenance of settler solidarity (Haque, 2012). Though the period in question predates the popularly (if not erroneously) heralded point of autonomy reached with Canadian confederation in 1867, to say little of the more accurate points of sovereignty achieved by the Statute of Westminster (1931) and the patriation of the Constitution (1982), the period discussed in this chapter does outline the processes of asserting British sovereignty over Indigenous peoples through the Royal Proclamation and the initial stages of state formation that exerted coercive pressures over Indigenous peoples (some marginally successful, including treaties signed at St. Joseph Island and in the southern portions of Upper Canada, and others not so much, such as Bond Head’s Manitoulin removal scheme). State and state-sponsored actions in this period, including

legislative, commercial, and informal actions, often rooted in the direct relationships between settler officials and local communities shaped social and political relations.

While Wietzer's framework is largely true of the overarching process that led to the contemporary state of affairs in Canada, a review of the micro- and macro-levels of policy that impacted language and settler-Indigenous relations in the upper Great Lakes claimed by British North America also illustrates that this process was not obliquely linear. Early stages in the establishment of British hegemony demonstrate strategic, military and commercial alliances with Anishinaabeg and Métis peoples, but alliances that were gradually discarded, or 'unattended,' as existential threats from the emergent United States of America subsided. It also illustrates that the process of establishing British sovereignty was marked by competing interests between and within religious, commercial, and state institutions, as well as competing discourses and ideologies held by the individual settlers within and outside those institutions. These included the competition between liberalism and civic humanism, and competing understanding of race (McKay, 2000; Smith, 1997a; Ens & Sawchuck, 2016).

The relocation of loyalists to Upper Canada following the revolutionary war exerted immense pressure on Anishinaabe and Onkwehonwe communities in the lower Great Lakes regions, including the loss of traditional means of subsistence resulting from a loss of both land and game, which both migrated northward and was over-hunted. Anishinaabeg in the upper Great Lakes were not oblivious to these changes, having long-established political and kin networks both in the lower Great Lakes and throughout American territories, where starker threats of removal were carried out throughout Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan.

Such policies as the Quebec Act of 1774, the Constitution Act of 1791 and the recommendations of the Durham Report in the wake of the 1836-7 Rebellions focused on maintaining settler solidarity, but with important caveats. The Quebec Act paid little attention to the question of language, recognizing the threat as a more generic resistance among a class of *people*, where religion was a primary motivator. However language gradually played an increasing role. Suppression of French was not only untenable when French-speakers constituted the majority of the population, it was rather besides the point, as the larger issue was one of loyalty, and in which the Roman Catholic Church played a pivotal role. Protecting the privileges of the Church, though contravening popular opinion and the political status quo in Great Britain (Mackey, 2010), was an avenue of accommodation that effectively sustained an

ambivalent solidarity between French and English settlers. It also laid the foundations for missionary competition in the upper Great Lakes. Though religious divisions threatened to break Indigenous solidarity within the region, the prevailing associations with religious denominations were not based on heartfelt conviction over the nature of transubstantiation and baptism, but rather over which denominations provided access to particular kinds of power that would protect the interests and rights of Métis and Anishinaabe communities. Anglicans offered a clear path to the halls of power of the state, while Catholicism offered a combination of historical and community solidarity across a broader geographic range that incorporated both Métis and Anishinaabeg. When the two came into conflict, Anishinaabe and Métis solidarity typically won the day.

Conflicts with the United States, however, figure outside Wietzer's framework but nonetheless shaped the social worlds of Métis and Anishinaabeg. The imposition of a border through the upper Great Lakes, while initially posing little consequence for Indigenous populations (particularly as their rights of free travel were enshrined in the Jay Treaty), would come to have significant impacts as the American government enforced removal orders, as Métis were dislocated from Drummond Island, and as Upper Canada sought to sever its obligations of presents to Indigenous peoples who resided on the American side of the border. The effect was to cause the relocation of many Anishinaabeg from Michigan to both the region surrounding Baawating, Manitoulin Island, and Penetanguishene, increasing the local Indigenous population and community vitality and persistent campaigns to encourage others to take the same actions.

As the mid-nineteenth century approached, questions of race grew in increasing importance, and were imbued with an implicit stratification based on notions of civilizational progress that had informed previous state and missionary actions. These new racialized discourses, however, emphasized the importance of assimilation and the inevitability of English superiority. Indeed Anglo-Celtic hegemony became the object of statecraft after the Durham Report, where it was previously satisfied with British sovereignty.

For language-use in Anishinaabe and Métis communities, however, little had changed apart from the fact that a new language — English — was of strategic and commercial importance. Nonetheless, Anishinaabemowin and French remained the dominant languages within the communities, as well as within the working classes of the fur trade, while English

incorporated to a limited extent through new Scottish, Irish and English traders who were absorbed within the Métis community, without supplanting French and Anishinaabe ubiquity. In terms of variant prestige, what would become Southwestern Ojibwe remained the highest status variety surrounding most of the upper Great Lakes, at least for the first third of the century (Rhodes, 2020).

Major changes did occur to the language ecology in parts of the Anishinaabe world outside of Baawating. The Treaty of Greenville in 1795 precipitated many forced migrations westward from contemporary Ohio and later other parts of the Michigan country as the US government pressed beyond the Appalachians. These migrants would take their languages with them (Rhodes, 2020). With British officials affirming the necessity of any treaty beneficiary to reside permanently north of the border, and with subsequent US administrations making Michigan a less hospitable place, many Anishinaabeg from the Upper Peninsula relocated to the regions around Baawating, while Bodéwadmi and Odaawaa in particular moved from the Lower Peninsula into Manitoulin Island and other areas surrounding Lake Huron (Chute, 1998; Rhodes, 2020). Though the new residents at Baawating would have effectively reaffirmed the linguistic norms that had already been established, the migrations provoked some fairly substantial changes in the other areas. Rhodes notes that, with respect to Bodéwadmi and Odaawaa migration to reserves or unceded settlements in Michigan and Ontario, "Potawatomi speakers took up speaking Ottawa, which had become the 'standard' Ojibwe language in that area. All but the most conservative families stopped speaking Potawatomi within a generation or two of arrival on these reservations" (Rhodes, 2020, p. 565).

6 - The waning of the Fifth Fire & the pursuit of prosperity: 1840-1867

In Benton-Banai's popular retelling of the Seven Fires, he recites that the waning of the Fifth Fire coincides with "a promise of great joy and salvation" (1988, p. 90). "If the people accept this promise of a new way and abandon the old teaching" he writes, "then the struggle of the Fifth Fire will be with the people for many generations" (1988, p. 90). Though he does not make a singular attribution for this promise, numerous are evident in the mid-nineteenth century. Missionaries had by then a long presence at Baawating, as well as most of Anishinaabe Aki, but their influence grew in concert with that of the state. Canada's dedication to economic development, or more precisely, in cultivating a new extraction-based market economy within Britain's orbit, propelled further land encroachment and cessions. It also coincided with the entry to the era of "high modernism," which spanned approximately from the 1830s to the 1920s (Scott, 1998). This era was characterized by "supreme self-confidence about continued linear progress, the development of scientific and technical knowledge, the expansion of production, the rational design of the social order," and as Scott describes, "an increasing control over nature (including human nature) commensurate with scientific understandings of natural laws" (1998, p. 89). The promise of civilization reached a new intensity with the growing institutionalization of formal schooling and the seeds of the Indian Residential School system that would persist for another hundred years.

6.1 The Union Act and new state forays into welfare

In July of 1840, the Act of Union was passed and came into effect in February of 1841, uniting Upper and Lower Canada as Canada West and Canada East under a single parliament. The Act followed Lord Durham's suggestion to allow the Province to levy taxes and affirmed that all monies collected in the Province would be reverted to the provincial administration, and also created a court of appeal (Section XLIII, in CLMC n.d.b). The prickly question of clergy reserves and religious rights was afforded oversight by the British Parliament (Section XLII, in CLMC n.d.b).

Exemplifying its liberal assimilative intent, the Act was the first in British North America to make English an official language, affirming that all laws and operations of the state would be carried out in English (CLMC n.d.b; Cardinal 2015, p. 30). The use of French was still tolerated in

Parliament, however, as Francophone members of the Assembly frequently flouted this prohibition, most notably Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine, leader of the reformist contingent from the newly renamed Canada East (2015, p. 30; Douglas, 1980, p. 102). Nonetheless, proceedings were all documented in English, and though translations were not prohibited, their English originary was affirmed to be the only version with legal standing (CLMC n.d.b).

The governing structures and intent of the new colonial body were imbued with modernist interpretations of the role and goals of the state, as the Act of Union expressed clearly by granting the Crown, on advice of the Legislature, “power [...] to make Laws for the Peace, Welfare, and good Government of the Province of Canada” (Section III in CLMC n.d.b). This tripartite turn of phrase would be revived as “peace, order, and good government” in the British North America Act of 1867 that established the confederation of Canada with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Rather than institute representation by population, however, Canada West was afforded an equal number of seats in the legislature to its more populous neighbour, making an Anglophone majority more likely in any debate that might divide along linguistic lines (Section XII). The ability to stand for election was still limited to men who owned property in the Province with a value of £500 (Section XXVIII).

Several pieces of legislation in the early years of the legislature set about improving the systematicity of the state’s operations and its venture into new terrain. This reflected Canada’s entry to what James Scott refers to as ‘high modernism,’ spanning from the 1830s to the First World War (1998, p. 89). “The idea that one of the essential purposes of the state was the improvement of all the members of society,” he writes, “their health, their skills and education, longevity, productivity, morals, and family life — was quite novel” (1998, p. 91). In 1841, Canada ventured further into the novel terrain of education than ever previously, with The School Act and established the office of the superintendent of schools for Canada West and Canada East respectively.

6.1.1 Schooling and laissez-faire language policies

Its inaugural holder would be a Methodist Minister with a long record of advocating for nondenominational schooling, Egerton Ryerson (Gaffield, 1987). Official education in Canada

West under Ryerson's tenure from the 1840s to 1876 largely permitted linguistic diversity with respect to both teachers and textbooks. Not only were predominantly French-speaking communities permitted to run schools in their preferred language (and often with their preferred religious orientation), but Gaelic-medium schools sprang up in Eastern counties, while German-medium schools developed in the Waterloo region (Sylvestre, 2013; Gaffield, 1987).

Following Ryerson's recommendations, the 1846 Common Schools Act affirmed a centralizing tendency and desire to apply consistent standards across all the province's schools, including processes for teacher certification, school inspections, and adoption of textbooks among other regulations (Sylvestre, 2013). These new rules would face further revisions in the 1850 Common Schools Act (Gaffield, 1987). Yet restrictions on the language of instruction remained somewhat loose.

While the Common Schools Act had *assumed* the language of instruction would be English, in 1851 teacher examinations were ruled to be permissible in French and German, provided their licenses to teach were restricted to French and German-medium schools (Gaffield, 1987). Similarly with textbooks, while acceptable English texts were largely mandated by Department of Education under the Common Schools Act, French texts had not been considered (Gaffield, 1987). Consequently Ryerson ruled that French-medium schools could use the French-language texts employed in Canada East, "or any other which the trustees and teachers may prefer," demonstrating considerable latitude to French-language teachers and administrators to make decisions in their own interests (as cited in Gaffield, 1987, p. 11). Yet school boards composed primarily of Francophone trustees and French-language schools still had to conduct all of their reporting to the Department of Education in English and were accountable to a largely monolingual Anglophone bureaucracy (Gaffield, 1987). For Francophones who had recently emigrated to Canada West from the East, they found little local sympathy from the school trustees of previously majority-Anglophone counties who often denied requests for French-language schools or instruction (Gaffield, 1987).

Canada West's approach to French language education largely waited to see where the shoe pinched rather than articulating a consistent vision of a uniform education system. In taking such an approach, Ryerson might be seen to have departed somewhat from a modernist strategy of carefully planned large-scale interventions applied with systematicity, opting instead for one tolerant and responsive to the desires of the local Francophone population. In one

example, the Education department ruled that Catholic religious instruction could be permitted within the public school system should the school be servicing a community of largely “francophone character” (Gaffield, 1987, p. 12). Should local Anglophone Protestants object to the instruction, however, the school would have to be separated from the public system.

Nonetheless, there is significant scepticism among many contemporary historians about the inherent benevolence of Ryerson and the department’s stance. Ryerson was a staunch loyalist and believed the education system played a pivotal role in moulding the burgeoning Canadian polity in the image of British society (Gaffield, 1987). He modelled Canada West’s education system heavily on that of Ireland, (though notably Anglophone Irish schools), and indeed did envision a uniform school system for the province as early as 1847 (Gaffield, 1987). The tolerance he demonstrated toward French-language schooling, then, was largely pragmatic and temporary, believing (much like Lord Durham) that assimilation was a matter of inevitability, at least provided the largest proportions of Canada West’s society remained British and Anglophone in character. By 1868, the Council of Public Instruction developed a list of acceptable textbooks for use in francophone schools that forwent any Catholic religious influence and reined in the exceptions that had been made up to that point (Gaffield, 1987).

A number of municipalities in Canada East also exerted what authority they could to serve their residents in the languages they predominantly spoke. A copy of the *Canada Gazette* from 1858, for instance, lists notices of resolutions by three municipal councils whereby notices, by-laws and resolutions will be published in French (Canada, 1858). The parish of St. Augustin authorized publication in French, while the parishes of St. Frederic and Halifax North in Mégantic stipulated that they shall be “henceforth published in the French Language only” (1858, p. 15).

Likewise, there was a degree of bilingual recruitment within the civil service of the United Provinces. A notice of examinations of candidates for the civil service, while not requiring bilingualism of all applicants, did note that candidates wanting to be considered for such positions had the option of being tested on their ability in “translating English into French or French into English, and writing from dictation in either language” (Canada, 1858, p. 11). While the option was buried in the notice, forming only part of the last of 21 articles, having candidates with such a skill was nonetheless a necessity where nearly half the jurisdiction’s population and a similar proportion of its elected officials were Francophone. That it was such

an afterthought perhaps demonstrates the degree to which the United Province's civil service actually operated in English.

6.1.2 The Bagot Commission and a new *mission civilisatrice*

The province's growing concern for welfare also extended to Indigenous peoples, though cast through the lens of paternalistic liberalism. In 1842, Governor of the Province of Canada and Governor General of British North America, Charles Bagot, commissioned the *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, which was submitted to the Legislative Assembly in 1845. The report was compiled by commissioners Rawson William Rawson, John Davidson, and William Hepburn, who were charged with assessing the annual grant conveyed by the British Parliament to Indians in Canada and recommending any changes to the business of the Indian Department (Bagot, 1845, p. i). Its recommendations affirmed the policies and obligations to provide compensation for land "surrendered," established by the Royal Proclamation (Miller, 2000, p. 132). However it proposed restraining the financial toll of those obligations, and focussing any grants toward providing the resources necessary to foster a sedentary, agricultural lifestyle, in line with mission village schemes (Miller, 2000).

Its survey of British-Indigenous relations is also instructive of how colonial officials viewed their own role in Indigenous communities. The opening paragraph of this section reads, "The spirit of the British Government towards the Aborigines of this Continent, was at an early date characterized by the same forbearance and kindness which still continues to be extended to them" (Bagot, 1845, p. iii). Yet Indigenous peoples were uniformly portrayed as savage, bloodthirsty, and easily manipulated with material goods. Describing the alliances that Colonial powers forged with Indigenous peoples, the report notes, "the warlike character of their people, the temptation which the presents and encouragement of the 'Red Coat' offered, and the opportunity which the occasion presented for prosecuting their revenge against their adverse tribes, led a great part of the race into the field" (1845, p. iv). This portrayal was not even a nostalgic (however twisted) rendering of past habits, but framed in notions of racial character, continuing "The history of this period affords abundant evidence of their enterprise and prowess as warriors, with many remarkable instances of heroism and magnanimity, and no less striking examples of bloody revenge, and savage cruelty" (1845, p. iv).

The survey did acknowledge some allegations that the early treaties of the nineteenth century were “unjust, as dispossessing the natives of their ancient territories, and extortionate, as rendering a very inadequate compensation for the lands surrendered” (1845, p. v). But conflicts with settlers, in light of the policy established and maintained by the Royal Proclamation, were constructed as nearly inevitable, which required the removal of Indigenous peoples for their own protection. And so “to remove quietly to more distant hunting grounds, or to contain themselves within more limited reserves,” was portrayed as a benevolent strategy to prevent an assumed inevitable conflict, contrasting as it did with the option of “leaving them and the white settlers exposed to the horrors of a protracted struggle for ownership” (1845, p. v). The authors portray white encroachment as a natural process without possible intervention, and that the treaties and removals to smaller reserves were a means of evading conflict that would naturally ensue. The impact of liberal thought on the process is explicit, as illustrated by the authors own citations:

The wisdom and justice of this course is most strongly recommended by Vattel, in his Law of Nations, from which the following passage is an extract: ‘There is another celebrated question to which the discovery of the new world has principally given rise. It is asked whether a nation may lawfully take possession of some part of a vast country in which there are none but erratic nations, whose scanty populations is incapable of occupying the whole? We have already observed, in establishing the obligations to cultivate the earth, that these nations cannot exclusively appropriate to themselves more land than they have occasion for, or more than they are able to settle and cultivate. Their unsettled habitation in those immense regions, cannot be accounted a true and legal possession, and the people of Europe, too closely pent up at home, finding land of which the Savages stood in no particular need, and of which they made no actual and constant use, were lawfully entitled to take possession of it and to settle it with Colonies. The earth, as we have already observed, belongs to mankind in general, and was designed to furnish them with subsistence. If each nation had from the beginning resolved to appropriate to itself a vast country, that the people might live only by hunting, fishing and wild fruits, our globe would not be sufficient to maintain a tenth part of its present inhabitants. We do not, therefore, deviate from the views of nature, in confining the Indians within narrower limits. However, we cannot help praising the

moderation of the English Puritans, who first settled in New England, who, notwithstanding their being furnished with a charter from the Sovereign, purchased of the Indians the lands of which they intended to take possession.’ (1845, p. v)

Emmerich de Vattel’s *The Law of Nations*, first published in English in 1760, was an influential text on international law that shaped the thinking and actions of both the United States and Canadian officials. The excerpt from Vattel highlights the Biblical influences and emphasis on productivity that underpinned Indian policy in the Americas. Human domination of the natural world was conferred by God, and the just distribution of land was contingent on it being turned to productive capacity. Furthermore, relying on game and other forms of low-impact harvesting were deemed to be morally deficient. If the world’s entire population were forced to rely on these measures of subsistence, it was argued, no more than a third of its population would have its needs met. The emphasis on population size and density would eventually also inform Denis-Benjamin Papineau’s refutation of Anishinaabe claims to nationhood on the grounds that they were not a sufficiently large population and too dispersed across their territory (Montgomerie, 1993, p. 214). Settlement and agriculture were not only justified on the basis of assumed European superiority, but as a moral imperative for global social wellbeing. Yet portrayals of Indigenous peoples as dangerous and scrupulous were also pervasive throughout the report. Removal was not only justified for the moral good of settlement, but to protect settlers from the “predatory and revengeful habits of the Indians” (Bagot, 1845, p. v).

The report also included summaries of the present conditions of recognized Indian settlements within the province, however no such summary was provided for Indigenous peoples residing north of the settled lands in Canada West, offering instead a general assessment of the population’s number among the “Wandering Indians, having no fixed location but living within the Province and the Territory of the Hudson Bay Company” (1845, p. xxiv). Though affirming that “it is impossible to form an accurate estimate of the number” of the “Wandering Indians” and those “Visiting” from the United States at the annual distribution of presents, but cited Superintendent Anderson’s 1839 estimate of fewer than 3,300 between Lake Nipissing and Fort William (1845, p. xxiv). The commissioners noted, “They are for the most part, wild and uncivilized, dependant upon the chase and fishing for subsistence, and constantly exposed to the severest privations” (1845, p. xxiv). That such privations were becoming more severe throughout the late 1830s due to the impact of settlement on game and wildlife and

interference of colonial and missionary officials in Indigenous communities to promote sedentary life in inhospitable climates was not acknowledged, except in more southern communities. Calverley (2018) highlights that the commissioners tied the decline in large game to the prospect for encouraging Indigenous settlement, noting of large game that “its entire extinction ... might be ultimately more beneficial to the Indians than its most rigid preservation ... As the Game is destroyed the Indians take to the cultivation of land for sustenance” (Calverley, p. 31).

Indeed the Report emphasized the need and opportunity to promote assimilation to European systems of individualized land-tenure, and critiqued the communal title codified by existing reserves (Miller, 2000). Furthermore, grants were officially construed as “support,” which was provided not by obligation of the relationship between nations, but rather the paternalistic liberal obligation to charity. The report of the Bagot Commission was thus the first proposal for the policy of enfranchisement, arguing that those Indigenous people who reached an advanced level of education by Settler standards should cease to qualify for presents and other forms of support or rights acknowledged by the government (Miller, 2000).

The proposals would require that a census be carried out for the purpose of providing clear designations of who qualified for annuities and who did not, leading to the system of band membership rolls that persists under the contemporary Indian Act (Miller, 2000). Censuses had long been employed, dating back to the time of New France, to define the local population, and one had been completed in Canada West in 1842 for the purpose of determining parliamentary ridings following the Act of Union . The process of accounting for who was and was not a British subject in the colonies took a unique form in the Crown’s relationship with Indigenous peoples as more treaties were secured. Defining the populations of Indigenous communities in the form of band rolls was a perceived necessity from the vantage point of colonial administrations, as it defined who was entitled to rights under the treaties, to annuities and dividends of the sales made on behalf of the community, and to live on-reserve among other rights.

The 1842 census did not enumerate Indigenous peoples, though it did track the number of people native to the British Isles, to continental Europe, the United States, and those born in Canada of either English or French descent, as well as those deemed to be “coloured” (Canada West, 1842). It also tracked church membership in some detail. The question of English and French origin was significant to the constitution of the emerging settler nation state, and thus

remained a preoccupation of successive administrations. As territories north of the Georgian Bay had only sparse inhabitants of European descent, they were also not enumerated. Indigenous peoples and the territories in which they still constituted a majority had been somewhat of an afterthought, not being considered citizens of the colony. But the Bagot Commission underscored the political value in tracking Indigenous populations and ascribing criteria by which legitimate and illegitimate rights-holders could be imposed.

This categorical approach to group-membership was at odds with Anishinaabe approaches to social organization that embraced a flexible approach to community membership with significant value placed on personal autonomy and behaviour. Yet it facilitated the Colonial administration's ability to budget as well as to police who was and who was not entitled to various forms of resource extraction, as the state became increasingly involved in the awarding of contracts and licenses for mineral and lumber operations on so-called Crown Land.

The Bagot Commission also weighed in on existing efforts to school Indigenous peoples, and despite its support for promoting sedentary, agricultural lifestyles, it concluded that the existing assimilation policy that relied on religious day schools had failed (TRC, 2015a). The commission recommended the creation of residential industrial schools that would separate children from the "uncivilized influences" of their parents and communities, the precursor to the Indian Residential School system (2015a, p. 74). The Assistant Superintendent General of Indian Affairs requested that Ryerson provide guidance on the establishment of these industrial schools (TRC, 2015a). The report argued for nothing more "than to give a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic," emphasizing the rudimentary nature of the instruction and the expected future occupations of the schools' pupils (Ryerson, 1847, p. 73). Ryerson's reference to "English education," here, should be read mostly as a reference to the English nation rather than language, though as considerable attention is paid the role of religious instruction and book-keeping, with only a single passing references to language. Outlining the subjects that should be studied, he suggests:

The course of instruction should include reading and the principles of the English language, arithmetic, elementary geometry, or knowledge of forms, geography and the elements of general history, natural history and agricultural chemistry, writing, drawing and vocal music, book-keeping (especially in reference to farmers accounts) religion and morals. (1847, p. 76)

The role of English as the language of instruction is apparently taken for granted, with no special instruction for assisting children to acquire a new language or explicit prohibitions on the use of Indigenous language. By contrast, Ryerson spends considerable attention arguing for the importance of religious instruction and for religious institutions to take the lead in administering the schools with limited grants and oversight provided by the colonial government at a distance. The religious character of the schooling, he argued, was:

...absolutely essential, not merely upon general Christian principles, but also upon the ground of what I may term Indian economics, as it is a fact established by numerous experiments, that the North American Indian cannot be civilized or preserved in a state of civilization (including habits of industry and sobriety) except in connection with, if not by the influence of, not only religious instruction and sentiment but of religious feelings. (1847, p. 73)

Where English language was a taken-for-granted necessity of the contemporary work world that was necessary for pupils to leave the care and financial burden of the state, considerable emphasis was made in arguing for the place of the Church in maintaining civilizing influences. Indeed, it was a matter of “Indian economics” that the persistent adaptation to the settler economy on the part of Indigenous peoples required the shared “religious feelings” between settler and Indigenous peoples.

While residential or industrial boarding schools were among the instruments most responsible for Indigenous language loss in Canada and the United States (Galley, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; McCarty, 2013), several of the earliest iterations of this policy employed Indigenous languages in the instruction of their curriculum (Miller, 1996). Miller notes that state authorities in 1858 called on Jesuits in Wikwemikong to stop teaching in the vernacular Anishinaabe language, while for Anglican schools, the shift to an English-only curriculum occurred following the devolution of responsibility for Canadian missions to a base in Canada, where local authorities and adherents were invested in the project of Canadian settler nation-building, and the assimilation of Indigenous peoples it entailed (1996, pp. 84-5, 415-6). Generally, though, English was considered a hallmark of civilizational progress and a necessity of integration to the settler economy. While the strictest prohibitions against Indigenous languages would come at the turn of the twentieth century, the pre-confederation colonial administration largely held, as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission reports

regarding the typical approach of Indian Affairs, that Indigenous languages “were disappearing and would be of no interest or value to Aboriginal children in the future” (2015b, p. 103). The persistence of Indigenous languages would later become an irritant to the department for fear that “the whole work of the teacher is likely to be wasted” if they failed to impart English language skills (Indian Affairs, 1894, pp. 248-9).

Even in the 1840s, however, the doctrine of civilizational progress was not accepted by all settlers without question as a justification for removal (forced or otherwise) of Indigenous peoples. The Bagot Commission report, in its description of the policy of preceding decades, notes allegations that the Upper Canada treaties were “unjust” and “extortionate,” “rendering a very inadequate compensation for the lands rendered” (1845, appendix EEE n.p.). In defending the colony’s actions, however, the report continues:

If, however, the Government had not made arrangements for the voluntary surrender of the lands, the white settlers would gradually have taken possession of them, without offering any compensation whatever; it would, at that time, have been as impossible to resist the natural laws of society, and to guard the Indian Territory against the encroachment of the whites, as it would have been impolitic to have attempted to check the tide of immigration. (1845, appendix EEE n.p.)

The potential encroachment of white settlers on unsurrendered lands, in the view of the commission, was not an unjustified, illegal occupation that ought to be penalized by law, but rather the inevitable consequences of “natural law.” According to the doctrine of natural law accepted and promoted by such thinkers as John Locke and Emerich de Vattel, it was natural for industrious people to seize land they considered idle (Locke, 2009). Premised as it was in a “just-so” story of the natural progress of European civilization, the pivotal place of natural law, as defined by modern philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, played a pivotal role in justifying the displacement of Indigenous peoples.

6.2 Land struggles and Indigenous displacement

Though ostensibly part of the Province of Canada, the regions surrounding the North shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior were effectively administered by the Hudson’s Bay Company until 1845. The debates over the locations of prospective mission villages or the residence of the recipients of presents were a precursor to larger struggles over land that resulted from colonial authorities’ (whether of the state or the HBC) increasingly assertive

imposition of British land tenure systems. Scott describes this process as an “administrative simplification [...] of space” in the process of state formation, which has catastrophic implications when imposed by colonial powers on local populations (1998, p. 65).

When the Province of Canada extended its jurisdiction into the upper Great Lakes in October of 1845, the Crown Lands Department sent Lieutenant Harper to investigate the issues of land tenure in Baawating. Despite what had been a prevailingly hostile relationship between Colonial authorities and Métis populations in the northern reaches of the Colony, Harper sympathized with the Métis’ familial land tenure modelled on Seigneurial tracts, which contrasted with Anishinaabe collective tenure (Chute, 1998).

Around the same time, after Ermatinger’s retirement to Montreal, his wife Charlotte Katawabidai and her Anishinaabe relatives west of Lake Superior asserted a claim over the estate at Sault Ste. Marie. In 1847, Hudson’s Bay Company factor, George Simpson, had investigated the claims by directing his staff to ask associates of the Ermatingers about Charlotte’s lineage, whether her family’s residence and allegiance was with Canada or the United States, the degree of her father’s stature, and the location of her marriage to Charles and the birth of her children (Stewart, 2007).

Each of these factors had potential bearing on her claims in the eyes of colonial authorities, as the state began trying to define who was sufficiently ‘Indian,’ who was sufficiently loyal, and who could be slighted without consequence. These factors served to narrow the state’s obligations while increasing its resources for patronage and favour. The imposition of state fictions of jurisdiction, and British nineteenth century preconceptions about mobility, nationhood, class and gender all worked to shape the state’s interpretations of what constituted “legitimate” Indigenous occupants. The HBC also had commercial interests in undermining the Ermatingers, a fact which Charlotte protested, but her claim was dismissed by the province in 1847 (2007, p. 76).

The Crown Lands Department commissioned Alexander Vidal to survey mining locations in Baawating in 1846, following the opening of the first copper mine within the region at Bruce Mines, which provoked the protests of Shingwaukonse and Nebenaigooching, who rejected the notion that any mining location should be sold by Canada prior to a treaty (Calverley, 2018). As Calverley explains, “Treaties, from the Anishinaabeg perspective, were not a tool of subjugation but a vehicle to codify and regulate their relationship to the Crown and protect those things

they considered important” (2018, p. 20). At the Chiefs’ insistence, Vidal contacted Papineau, who instructed him to press on, assuring him that the government would “suppress” them “at once” if they offered resistance (Chute, 1998, p. 104). The chiefs organized a petition signed by the chiefs of communities from Michipicoten to Thessalon, requesting a treaty in the same year, however Papineau declined (Calverley, 2018). Papineau also argued that Anishinaabeg at Baawating had no territorial prerogative in the region given that Shingwaukonse and many of his community members had migrated from the United States following the War of 1812 (Calverley, 2018). The government insisted that it exercised jurisdiction over the lands of the region and its resources, and once again raised the prospect of removal to Manitoulin Island as the only path for the community to receive any government assistance (Chute, 1998). In October of 1847, the Crown Lands Department issued a notice that village and park lots at Sault Ste. Marie would go up for sale in January, including lots attractive to both merchants and farmers (Crown Lands Department, 1847).

Though it is little remarked in the historical literature, the church, company, and state interference in land tenure had potential linguistic consequences as well. If Shingwauk’s band and other Anishinaabeg who migrated from the South shores were deemed to have no territorial rights, they might have faced the prospect of expulsion. This would have significantly reduced the Anishinaabe population within the region, reducing the size of local speech communities and potentially the local perception of higher status varieties of Anishinaabemowin. Similarly, if Métis connections to Anishinaabeg were undermined, the utility of Indigenized French may be undermined within Anishinaabe communities with it. Access to land, in a colonial political context that was aggressively advocating sedentary life, defined community membership, proximity, and subsequently linguistic interaction.

The province’s attention to resolve questions of land tenure in the region was initially motivated by a rush on mineral prospecting rights, which led dozens of companies to stake claims along the Lake Superior north shore in the late 1840s, one of which was even on the site of the village that was established by Anishinaabeg at Garden River (Calverley, 2018; Vidal & Anderson, 1849). The mineral wealth of the upper Great Lakes was particularly attractive to all parties in the colony’s emerging contest over its economic future. Chute describes an emerging ideological clash between “Little Englandism” which emphasized colonial self-determination, and the mercantilist order that had otherwise dominated the relationship between Canada and

Britain (1998, p. 103). Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Britain's mercantilist economic policy directed wealth through its commercial centres in the metropole, promoting staples economies in its settler colonies focused on raw material production through agriculture and resource extraction (Hart, 2000; Chang, 2006). Manufacturing was discouraged, when it wasn't outrightly prohibited, to protect the supremacy of British industry (Chang, 2006). The rise of liberal economic theory, embodied in the colonies by the "Little England" philosophy, placed greater emphasis on local industrial development, and consequently, greater freedom from the tariffs and other restrictions that limited the import of cheaper raw materials from outside the Empire and trade across the US-Canada border. Nonetheless, the staples of the interior were necessary to fuel development in an industrializing Canada.

Shingwaukonse, Nebenaigooching and other area chiefs persisted in their fight for recognition, building alliances with Anishinaabeg throughout the region, as well as other actors, including missionary societies. The following year they also appealed by petition to accept more Anishinaabe refugees from the United States, emphasizing "the fostering care of England" and the "cold hearted policy of the United States" (Bellfy, 2011, p. 113). However, the state continued to maintain that the border also separated the people to which the colony had obligations, including Anishinaabeg. Reprieve came with the 1848 election of a Reform government, under the leadership of Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine and Robert Baldwin and the selection of Lord Elgin as Governor General (Calverley, 2018). Shingwaukonse led a delegation with Louis Cadotte, descendant of Jean-Baptiste Cadotte, as his interpreter, to Montreal to affirm to Lord Elgin the community's dismay at prospectors trespassing on their lands, and the negative impact they were wreaking on the climate and hunting territories through blasting and burning forest to make way for operations (Chute, 1998). After another intervention at Sault Ste. Marie by Anderson on the state's request, and some astute manoeuvring on the part of Cadotte to gain international press attention, nearly a year passed without a commitment from the government, propelling Nebenaigooching, Shingwaukonse and his Scottish settler ally and lawyer, Allan MacDonell, to travel again to Montreal in July to affirm their case before Lord Elgin (Chute, 1998). Shingwaukonse's speech was reprinted by the *Montreal Gazette* and covered favourably by the media, drawing increasing public sympathy, as well as the ire of settler mining interests (Chute, 1998).

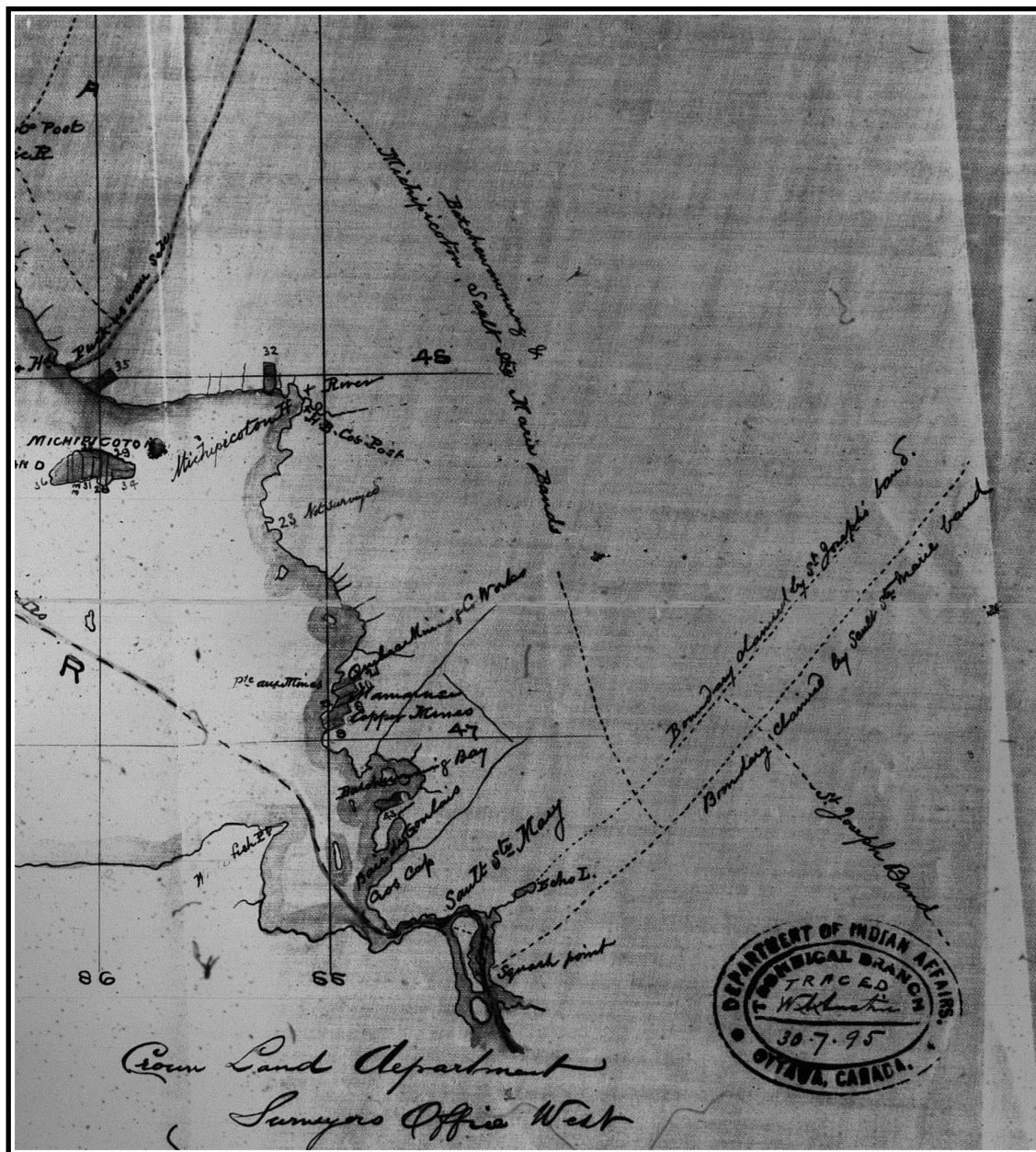


Figure 7: Map of territorial claims of "Batchawaunung, Michipicoten, and Sault Ste. Marie Bands" and "St. Joseph Band" compiled by Vidal and Anderson (1849)

Though Lord Elgin committed to sending a delegation within a month, Alexander Vidal and Thomas Anderson were entrusted to begin negotiations in September (Chute, 1998; Montgomerie, 1993). The protection of Indigenous fishing rights throughout the northern shores was also of significant importance to Anishinaabeg, who had experienced interference from settlers in exercising their harvest (Chute, 1998). The question of Indigenous rights,

however, was debated amongst settlers in the context of competing European economic theories, with the notion of unique rights for Indigenous peoples perceived as a form of protectionism “that might be conceived as a revival of aristocratic privilege,” even though it merely protected Indigenous civilizations from being overwhelmed by the burgeoning settler population that carried with it the advantages of the backing of the increasingly powerful state (Chute, 1998, p. 74).

Anderson, though invested in encouraging Anishinaabe agricultural settlements, was in his 70s and more familiar with Anishinaabe culture and politics, speaking both Anishinaabemowin and French (Montgomerie, 1993). Vidal, by contrast, was in his early 30s, had little knowledge of Anishinaabe peoples, and little interest in their future wellbeing (Chute 1998). Vidal was motivated chiefly to end the annoyance of the local chiefs’ disruptions and extinguish their right to the lands of the upper Great Lakes. He wished to frame the treaty as a purchase of rights to occupy and harvest from the lands, circumventing any acknowledgement of territorial rights, and to prevent Anishinaabe participation in deliberations about the amount of financial compensation they would receive through the treaty, knowing that there was broad knowledge of the profitability of existing mining locations (Chute, 1998, p. 126).

Chiefs had assembled from around Lake Superior to attend these preliminary negotiations, and Shingwaukonse and Nebeneigoching had enlisted the support of MacDonnell to represent them, much to Vidal’s objection. The negotiations took place at the Hudson’s Bay Company post at Sault Ste. Marie, and its factor, William MacTavish, was a nervous observer, recognizing that Vidal’s argument would invalidate the legal standing of the HBC’s land holdings that it held by virtue of Anishinaabe cessions to the North West Company (Chute, 1998). Discussing the prospect of reaching an agreement, Vidal and Anderson remarked that the Sault Ste. Marie chiefs were the greatest obstacle to concluding talks, noting:

The Sault Ste. Marie band alone appears to assume a position in which it would be impossible for the Government to treat with them; they refuse to hold communication with it except through a Mr. Allan Macdonell (formerly of Hamilton) and acting under his advice insist upon reserving for their own use tracts of land embracing no less than nineteen of the mining locations for which the Government has already issued location tickets... (1849, p. 8)

Vidal threatened to end negotiations if MacDonnell continued to be involved, and the chiefs refused to dialogue without him, resulting in an inconclusive termination of talks (Montgomerie, 1993; Chute, 1998).

Enacting a contingency plan that had likely been in the works since May of the same year, the local chiefs assembled a party to take over the illegal mining location run by the Quebec and Lake Superior Mining Association at Mica Bay, a few dozen kilometres north of Sault Ste. Marie. The party included Nebenaigooching, Shingwaukonse, MacDonnell and his brother Angus, along with approximately 30 Anishinaabe and Métis community members, including approximately fifteen Anishinaabeg from the American side of the lake, descended on the bay in early November with a cannon taken from the Hudson's Bay Company post (Chute, 1998). The party sent a messenger to alert the miners of their intent to take over the location, and the following morning evicted its occupants — numbering 160 people including miners families — without conflict (Chute, 1998). A Rifle Brigade was dispatched to take back the mine location on Lord Elgin's orders, however the onset of winter prevented it from going beyond Sault Ste. Marie until the subsequent spring (Chute, 1998). But as news of the affair began to take legs across the province, eight members of the party including Shingwaukonse, Nebenaigooching, and the Macdonnells, surrendered to authorities in early December, and were subsequently denied bail and transported to Toronto where they were questioned and imprisoned (Chute, 1998). After a few days, chief justice John Beverley Robinson ruled that they had been arrested illegally, and the eight were released (Chute, 1998).

The operation at Mica Bay also illustrated some of the competing economic visions for the future of the region. Chute notes that "MacDonnell strongly disagreed with a decision made by the mining company directors in 1848 to treat mining on Lake Superior as a speculative enterprise, rather than a long-term venture that would foster social as well as economic development" (1998, p. 132). Blame for the incident was directed by both the mine manager, John Bonner, and missionary officials at the MacDonnells, and Allan was portrayed as trying to benefit his own mining interests by manipulating his allies among the Anishinaabeg and Métis (Chute, 1998). Chute's description of how the dispute played out in the media, however, illustrates how competing commercial and partisan interests played out in representing the struggle by Baawating Indigenous communities for recognition of their rights:

Bonner, stung by allegations that he had vacated the mine solely in order to be able to claim compensation, wrote an article in the *Pilot* attacking Macdonnell for leading the mine takeover. In the lawyer's defense, the *Montreal Gazette* portrayed Macdonnell as no less than a champion of Native rights, while placing the blame for events at the mine on Lord Elgin, who was charged with 'duplicity' in his treatment of the Ojibwa and their valid claims. (1998, p. 135)

The arrival of the eight prisoners to Toronto also piqued public interest and fostered debate over the government's dealings with the community at Sault Ste. Marie (Chute, 1998). Lord Elgin was now under growing pressure to resolve the dispute, ultimately choosing Chief Justice Robinson's brother, William, who was also a manager at the Bruce Mines copper location, as the government's representative to conclude a treaty (Chute, 1998).

6.2.1 Negotiation of the Robinson Treaties

Robinson arrived in Sault Ste. Marie in May of 1850, from which point word was dispatched to the communities surrounding Lakes Huron and Superior to come to Baawating for negotiations (Calverley, 2018). Lord Elgin also took the liberty of dispatching a regiment of soldiers to the Sault for the duration of the negotiations (Calverley, 2018). Treaty negotiations began in September once the chiefs had arrived. An early point of tension in negotiations was the depth inland that the treaty would cover. The chiefs wished for the treaty to cover territories up to the height of land in the interior, whereas government representatives were largely only concerned with the shorelines. Calverley explains the rationale for the chief's preference:

Anishinaabeg saw ceding all the land as a way to protect themselves from poor hunts in the future and to lighten the credit they took on at HBC posts. Ceding only the lakeshore would help families that lived in those areas without doing anything to help families that resided in the interior. An economic motivation cannot be dismissed, but it does not take into account broader concerns. First, the Anishinaabeg probably believed that extending the treaty inland would protect family territories in the interior. Many families that resided on the lakeshore moved inland during the autumn to occupy winter trapping and hunting grounds. On its face, a treaty would protect their continued use of those territories. Furthermore, the Anishinaabeg probably had enough foresight to realize that

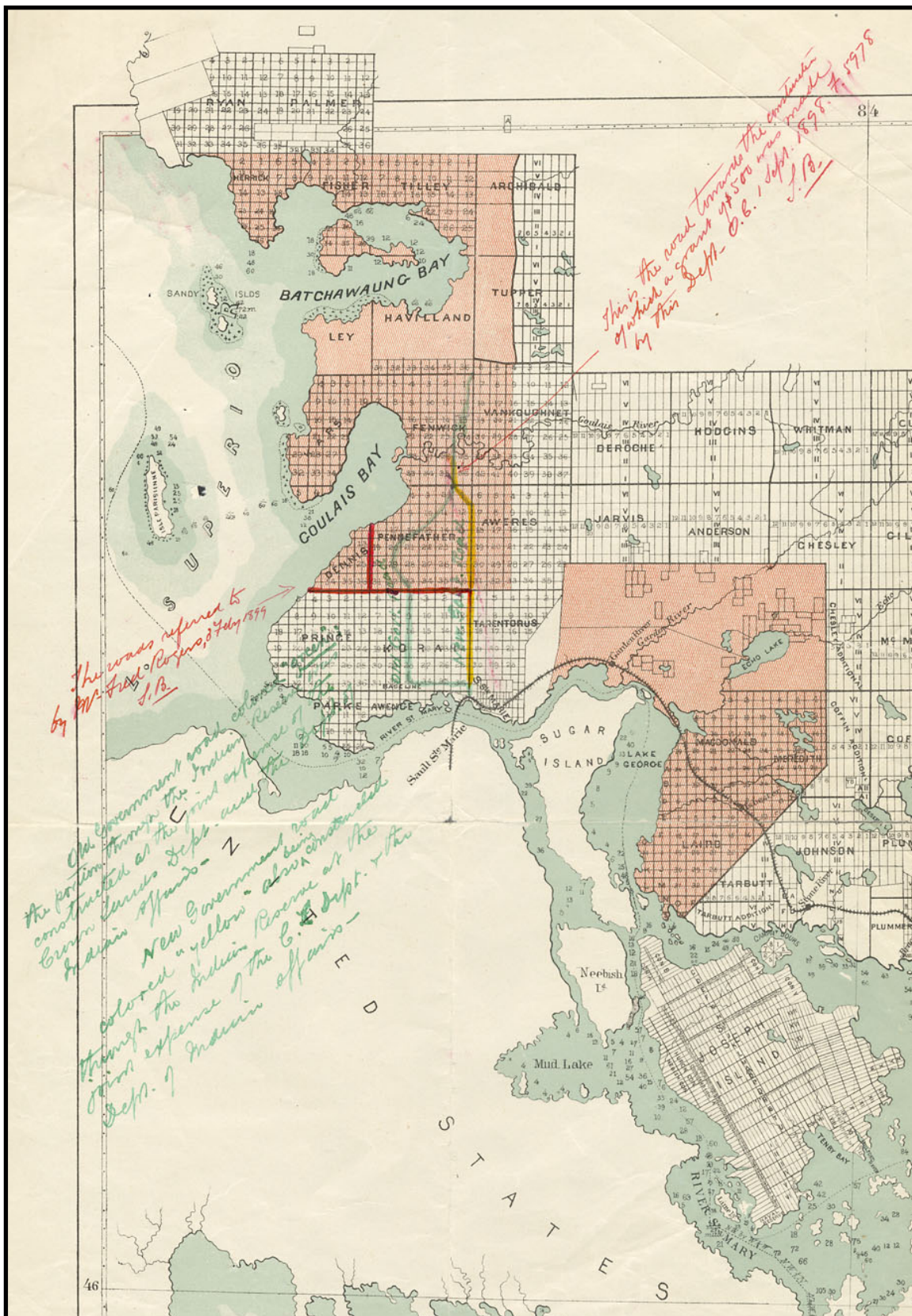


Figure 8: Map indicating the reserve boundaries of Batchewana and Garden River as recognized by the Government of Canada (Indian Affairs, 1900a)

mining and logging would not remain confined to the lakeshore for long. (Calverley, 2018, pp. 23-4)

Though increasing the land covered by the treaty may increase the sum the Crown would have to provide, of greater concern was protecting other economic factors (which Calverley excludes from the economic category), including affirmation of ongoing right to hunt in these territories, the interests of communities located in the interior, and future expected encroachment. To this Robinson eventually acquiesced, and affirmed their right to “free use of all territory ceded to [Her Majesty], to hunt & fish over as heretofore, except such places as were sold to white people and others by the Govt. & occupied in such a manner to prevent such hunting” (as cited in Calverley 2018, 25).

There was also disagreement regarding the amount of compensation and size of reserve lands. Shingwaukonse had insisted on a perpetual annuity of ten dollars per member, and a reserve encompassing fifteen miles of shore surrounding the Garden River’s outflow into the St. Mary’s River (Calverley, 2018). Robinson declined, and argued that since the remaining chiefs wished to sign, they could proceed to do so without Shingwaukonse (Calverley, 2018). Peau de Chat from the area surrounding Fort William and the lake head of Superior argued that he did not wish to have his own agreement to the treaty coerce other chiefs to sign (Calverley, 2018). The Superior chiefs signed on September 7th, receiving eight thousand dollars that would be distributed to their bands, and a recess was taken until two days later (Calverley, 2018). Robinson continually used the threat of excluding chiefs from the treaty process, affirming that “those who signed [would] get the money for their tribes & those who did not sign [would] get none, & I [would] take the remainder of the money back to Toronto, give it to the govt. and take no further trouble about the treaty matter” (as cited in Calverley, 2018, p. 26).

When negotiations reconvened on September 9th, Shingwaukonse and Nebenaigooching also advocated for the inclusion of the Métis community in negotiations, arguing they should each receive a grant of one hundred acres however Robinson refused, arguing that he only had a mandate to negotiate with the Anishinaabeg, and that they were free to share their lands and annuities with the Métis if they so chose (Calverley, 2018). Calverley argues that this was a strategy to increase the lands remaining under exclusive Anishinaabe control, though there had been long standing interplay and cooperation between Anishinaabeg and Métis since the community’s inception, notwithstanding the divisions stoked by

missionaries and colonial officials in the early 1800s (Calverley, 2018). Shingwaukonse petitioned again for the inclusion of Métis, and Robinson acceded that “certain old residents [could retain] ... free & full possession of their lands on which they now reside,” affirming that the Crown would recognize their lots along the St. Mary’s River, and that any non-Native resident of the Sault could petition the government for recognition of their inhabitation and receive official title after the treaty (as cited in Calverley, 2018, p. 26; Stewart, 2007). The Huron chiefs, Shingwaukonse and Nebenaigooching first among them, signed the treaty after it was read aloud again and translated by George Johnston, of the Johnston fur trading family, and John William Keating, a prospector and former land surveyor of the Crown Lands Department (Calverley, 2018).

Some forty years later, John Driver, a Métis man who would himself eventually join the band roll at Garden River, collected distinct lists of thirteen “Halfbreeds” and fourteen “French Canadians” whom Shingwaukonse had requested the maintenance of their land grants (Chute, 1998; Borron, 1892).²⁰ The lists are notable for the continued salient distinctiveness of French Canadian and Métis peoples at the rapids, as well as for Shingwaukonse’s advocacy extending not only to the customary land rights of Métis, but French Canadians as well.

Shingwaukonse, Nebenaigooching, Piabetassung and Kabaosa later supported a petition by the Ermatingers to have their proprietary rights to their estate acknowledged, as well as to grant mining locations to their children within the ceded lands (Stewart, 2007). This demonstrates that though the Ermatingers were certainly not actively immersed in the local Anishinaabe community, they had extensive dealings and each others’ presence was respected, particularly when there was a risk of the state failing to acknowledge such. Though Charles would later petition the government for personal compensation, arguing that he had assisted with “the conclusion of a *most advantageous and favourable treaty for his Majesty’s government with the Indians*” (as cited in Stewart, 2007, p. 80 [original italics]). Ermatinger walked a line of personal preservation, balancing his own interest with those of his Anishinaabe relatives, and the aspirations of the Crown.

²⁰ He attained the lists from one of Shingwaukonse’s sons, Buhkwujjenene, however Chute (1998) notes that Buhkwujjenene was “reluctant” to meet with Driver, partially out of distrust for the agent for whom Driver was working, E.B. Borron, whose intention was to find excuses to reduce the band rolls further (p. 211). Thus aspects of the list’s veracity may be in question.

The final treaty provided two thousand pounds for immediate distribution and an annual annuity, initially pegged at six hundred pounds for the whole. Reservations were selected by the chiefs and head men of each community, or tribe as they were referred to in the treaty, which would be surveyed at a later date. It also established a mechanism for chiefs to dispense with lands or mineral rights on reserve for the government to sell such access “for their sole benefit and to the best advantage” of the tribes, but prohibited them from selling lands or mineral rights to anyone without the permission of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (Robinson-Huron, 1850). This prohibition put the state in control of settlement and resource exploration in the area. Anishinaabeg retained “full and free privilege to hunt over the territory now ceded by them, and to fish in the waters thereof” provided the lands were not sold privately to settlers by the government (Robinson-Huron, 1850). It also included a provision for increasing the annuity, “should the territory [...] at any future period produce such an amount as will enable the Government of this Province [do to so], without incurring loss” (Robinson-Huron, 1850). The latter quoted clause gave the government flexibility that it used to refuse any increase to the annuity after the late nineteenth century, which is now the subject of active litigation (Stewart, 2007).

The Robinson Treaties set a new precedent for negotiations, establishing unique reserves for chiefs and the communities they represent. Montgomerie explains,

Thereafter the official definition of the bands involved changed. Bands had hitherto been based on extended families. A skilled hunter would be able to take several wives. Their sons, daughter-in-law and grandchildren would be the basis of a hunting band, augmented in some cases by others — grown daughters and their husbands, perhaps, or more distant relatives. After the treaty, these arrangements were formalized by the process of becoming beneficiaries of certain reserves and annuities. (1993, p. 232)

Group membership, then, was less defined by familial ties (though undoubtedly these were foundational to the signing bands’ membership) than by the band rolls that the Department of Indian Affairs would begin to keep. Band rolls would later become the subject of restrictive legislation and tenacious Indian Agents, both with the goal of decreasing the number of people entitled to annuities and Indian rights. Though reserve lands would play a role in maintaining separations between Indigenous and settler communities that sustained Indigenous speech communities (whether of Anishinaabemowin, Brayet or Canadian French), they also

created distance (and an even greater distance after subsequent treaties) between Anishinaabeg and the Métis people who opted not to join the bands of Shingwaukonse or Nebenaigooching. The exclusion of Métis peoples from the treaty process also put those who did not join the band rolls in direct, constant and consistent contact with the growing Anglophone settler population.

The restrictions imposed on communities to participate in decisions about to whom they could sell land and resource rights also limited their ability to shape both their own and the region's economic future. The treaty, unfortunately, would not mark the end of state encroachment over Anishinaabe rights, and eventually it would impose severe restrictions on Anishinaabeg's right to engage in the very commercial activities that chiefs increasingly felt they needed to supplement their peoples' survival in the changing climate (Montgomerie, 1993).

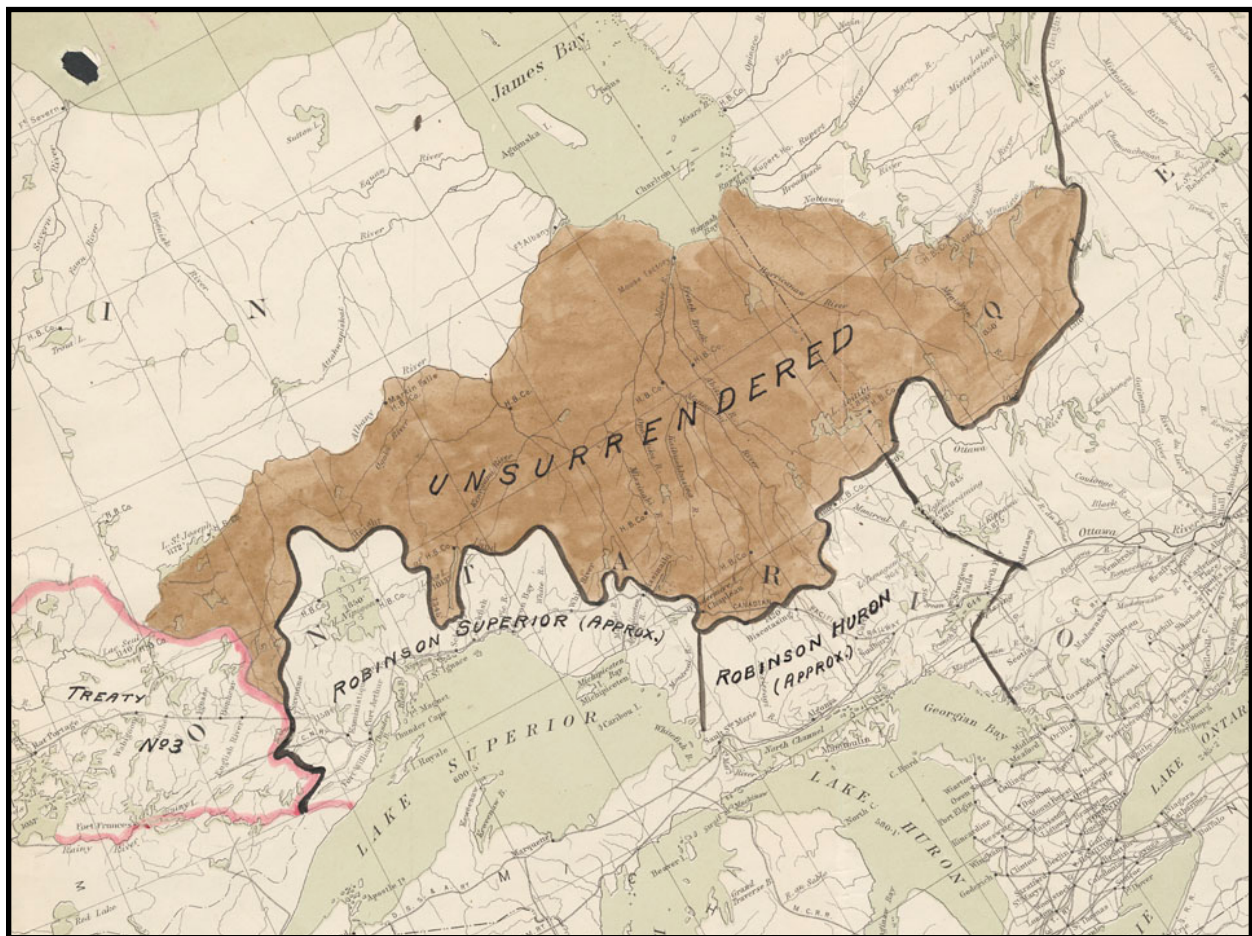


Figure 9: Approximate boundaries of the Robinson Treaties (Canada, 1901a)

6.2.2 Aftermath of the Robinson Treaties

The Robinson treaties are recognized for setting the standard expectations that such large scale cessions should include dedicated reserve lands, though there were examples of so-called land grants to Indigenous communities in the time of Upper Canada (Surtees, 1986). In contrast to many of the later numbered treaties, however, signatory communities had a hand in selecting the location of these reserves. However most existing community locations were of little concern to the state, as its primary concern in the area was mineral, and to a lesser extent, timber exploitation, neither of which relied on the removal of Anishinaabeg from the sites they most commonly frequented. On this, Robinson commented in his transmission of the treaties to Lord Elgin:

In allowing the Indians to retain reservations of land for their own use I was governed by the fact that they in most cases asked for such tracks as they had heretofore been in the habit of using for purposes of residence and cultivation, and by securing these to them and the right of hunting and fishing over the ceded territory, they cannot say that the government takes from their usual means of subsistence and therefore have no claims for support (as cited in Marlatt, 2004, p. 288).

Having the chiefs select their reserve locations was a conscious measure to prevent future claims for assistance and mitigate any costs the upper Great Lakes Anishinaabeg may impinge on the Crown.

The descriptions of the reserve boundaries in the treaty text were also considerably vague, but it made explicit promise to have the boundaries surveyed in subsequent years. However when Public Land Surveyor John S. Dennis was tapped to survey the reserve locations by the Indian Department, his team's efforts exposed many of the linguistic challenges that made treaty making a fraught process for Indigenous peoples negotiating with the Crown. Their work also illustrated the impacts of the discourses of public expense, combined with personal insincerity and inconsistency.

Dennis began the process of surveying the reserve lands in the summer of 1852 with the assistance of numerous other officials over the course of the two year endeavour, including J.W. Keating who had assisted in translating and documenting the requested reserve boundaries as part of Robinson's party in 1850 (Marlatt, 2004). Perhaps the most pervasive conflict between

the written record of the treaty and Superior and Huron chiefs' understanding of what they had agreed to lay with the unit of measurement that Robinson and Keating had used. Where the colonial officials used miles as their basis for measuring distance, the chiefs were far more likely to be familiar with the seventeenth century French unit of measurement, leagues, which were approximately 3.05 times the length of British miles (Marlatt, 2004). Indeed, not only were the chiefs more familiar with leagues, they were not at all familiar with miles and many learned of the difference when their claimed reserve lands came into conflict with surveys for resource exploitation of Crown land. Marlatt explains,

It is reasonable to infer that many, if not all, of the signing chiefs to the Robinson treaties neither knew of, nor understood 'miles.' That is not to say that all bands understood 'leagues;' however, it is apparent that most bands understood and intended 'leagues.' (2004, pp. 326-7)

Indeed, this interpretation was recognized early by Dennis and Keating in their initial dealings with the band at Shawanaga. Keating wrote:

Both Mr. Dennis and myself were satisfied...that in all cases were [sic] the word miles occurs the Indians intended leagues the only mode of measurement known to the Canadians from whom they have derived what knowledge they possess of distances the word in their vernacular meaning simply a measure _____. (as cited in Marlatt, 2004, p. 297)

There had been little need for this type of abstract measurement prior to French contact, as territories were not carved up along discrete lines. Rather Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples acquired the concept from their interaction with the French where it was necessary in their interactions, which was still not very much. When the Robinson treaty negotiations began nearly ninety years after the fall of New France, officials from the Province simply assumed the naturalness of measuring distance in miles, and made no accommodation for another interpretation of distance. But French contact had not ceased with the fall of New France in the upper Great Lakes, rather it persisted to the time of the treaty and well beyond. Contact was not a matter of flags and administrations, but of interaction with people, and that contact with the French had not only resulted in the exchange of ideas, but the genesis of a new people, and considerable integration and interaction between Anishinaabeg and French settlers and their descendants.

Marlatt notes that the Crown had intended to honour the expectations of the chiefs, but that the surveyors failed to understand the government's sincerity:

...the crown engaged PLS Dennis, and subsequently others, to demarcate the boundaries of the lands that the signatory First Nations wished to retain, as they were to be pointed out to the surveyor; a unique circumstance that the surveyor's failed to understand. (2004, p. 290).

Instead they inconsistently deferred to the written text of the treaty, their own expectations, or what was convenient. Dennis and Keating initially accepted leagues over miles in their first dealings with Shawanaga, as Keating recorded:

Assured however that the real intention of the Treaty was to give to the parties at the time of its execution, the Tracts they severally indicated, we thought ourselves bound to admit this interpretation when claimed. We therefore felt less difficulty in departing from the strict letter of description. (as cited in Marlatt, 2004, p. 297)

However they rejected the use of leagues over miles when surveying the location for Michipicoten, and consulted with the HBC for their factor's opinion on potential interference between the claimed reserve and HBC commercial interests (Marlatt, 2004). Marlatt explains, "Keating [...] proceeded in a way that he perceived was advantageous to the government and the Hudson's Bay Company, in terms of quantity and location of reserved land, rather than in accordance with his instructions to act on behalf of the Indians" (2004, pp. 320-1). Similarly at Thessalon, they acquiesced to using leagues to determine the frontage along the shore, but maintained the use of miles for its projection inland, rather than the distance three times greater that the chief had intended (Marlatt, 2004). They also took it upon themselves to reject certain reserve delineations because they judged them to be too large, postulating the Crown would never intend to have such large tracts excluded from Crown land, as in the case of the Mississauga reserve (Marlatt, 2004). Illustrating the survey team's disregard for Indigenous interests and greater preoccupation with Crown expense, some reserve locations were simply not surveyed at all, such as Wahnapiatae and Whitefish Lake (Atikameksheng), with the surveyors arguing that the locations were too far inland, and the lands worthless, to warrant the time and money to have them formally surveyed (Marlatt, 2004).

The boundaries of Garden River were also distorted by inaccurate inland measurements, completed by PLS Unwin who completed the survey on Dennis' instructions after his departure

for the season (Marlatt, 2004). Though Shingwaukonse was present for the identification of the location of the reserve corners along the shore, Dennis had instructed that the easterly boundary should have an arbitrary bend to meet up with its terminus at Maskinongé Bay, while Unwin used the wrong latitude for determining the southeasterly boundary, further distorting the included lands rather than abiding by the treaty's specification that it should extend ten miles inland from the predetermined points along the shore (Marlatt, 2004).

When the Batchewana reserve lands were to be surveyed just over a year later, the team cut still more corners. Ultimately they only established markers to indicate the northern and southern corners of the reserve along the shore (Marlatt, 2004). They marked only three miles of the length of these northern and southern boundaries (rather than the agreed-upon ten without making allowances for leagues), and made no effort to mark the inland boundary (Marlatt, 2004). Maps of the reserve contained instead an arbitrary projection of a straight line that had not been verified by Nebenaigooching or participants in his party (Marlatt, 2004).

As mineral and timber exploitation progressed, and settlement moved further north along with it, this loss of land would have further detrimental impact on Anishinaabeg. As Marlatt notes,

The improved accessibility for land speculators, developers, and timber, mining and agricultural interests also brought pressure for further acquisition of the reserve land and resources. If a First Nation chose to participate in the increasingly land- and resource-based economy by surrendering for their land or interests, its options were limited, in most cases, by the reduced land base from which it could bargain. (2004, pp. 331-2).

Not only did many communities lose lands for economic, social and cultural uses that were intended to be protected for them under the treaty, as pressure mounted for communities to surrender more lands as the decade progressed, they had less land to negotiate or exchange for compensation.

6.2.3 Membership, exclusions, and the Gradual Civilization Act of 1857

Encroachment continued apace after the treaty. The same year as the treaty was signed, the Province of Canada passed the "Act for the protection of the Indians in Upper Canada from

imposition and the property occupied or enjoyed by them from trespassing and injury,” which affirmed the civilian government’s authority to determine band membership (Miller, 2000). Miller highlights that this fixed the process for determining group membership in an institution over which those recognized as Indians “were not even eligible to have representation” (2000, p. 138). The state also began exacting efforts to reduce the number of people contained on band rolls, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Manitowaning, George Ironside, for example, removed anyone known to have a European settler father (Montgomerie, 1993). The threat of removal from the band rolls then also became a useful tool of coercion to prevent Anishinaabeg from interfering in settler commercial or political interests (Montgomerie, 1993).

The province also enacted policies that had significant implications for Indigenous economies, beginning with the establishment of closed seasons for hunting deer in 1851 (Calverley, 2018). Though Onkwehonwe and Anishinaabeg were largely exempted from this under the terms of their treaties, Métis people were not. Furthermore, Indigenous peoples were subject to accusations, particularly in more populated rural areas, of overhunting (Calverley, 2018). These restrictions were extended to all manner of small and large game by 1860 (Calverley, 2018). Yet in the upper Great Lakes, Anishinaabeg had to turn to hunting and trapping for a greater share of their food, as emerging restrictions on Anishinaabe economic activities and general local economic decline made it difficult for families to keep the cattle and horses that many began to keep by the 1830s (Chute, 1998). However restrictions that began to be imposed on Anishinaabe participation in the lumber and mining trades robbed the Indigenous population of the means they had for raising the money that supported local farming, through the purchase of seed, equipment and livestock (Chute, 1998).

Montgomerie notes that though both the Crown and Anishinaabeg in the upper Great Lakes shared an interest in striking a treaty for their mutual protection, their interests diverged in other fundamental manners that made it increasingly difficult for Anishinaabeg to see their goals materialized after the Treaty:

The treaty had not solved the underlying problems in the relationship between the Garden River band and the government. Band members expected the government to help develop the reserve, or at least to refrain from obstructing Indian commerce. At the root of their actions was an assumption of continuing Indian independence. Government officials expected the Indians to content themselves with pursuing diminishing game,

experimenting with subsistence agriculture and engaging in limited wage labor for the Hudson's Bay Company, and the various mining and timber companies. Behind government actions was a self-fulfilling presumption of increasing Indian dependence. (1993, p. 240)

Meanwhile, the American government had invested in creating a canal on the South shore of the St. Mary's River to facilitate further transportation access to the western reaches of Lake Superior, which opened in 1855 (Montgomerie, 1993). More and more settlers came to the region to exploit the region's mineral wealth.

After Ogista succeeded his father as Chief of Garden River after Shingwaukonse's death in 1854, Ogista and Nebenaigooching led a party to strike against the Quebec and Lake Superior Mining operations on Michipicoten Island. Though no one was harmed in the attack, as shots were intentionally fired past the miners, the incident nonetheless served as justification for Crown Lands Agent, Joseph Wilson, to argue for increased coercive control by the state and for the opportunistic moves by the Hudson's Bay Company to render Anishinaabeg more dependent on its activities:

Wilson used the incident as justification for establishing a police force at Sault Ste Marie for the purpose of arresting 'rowdies' and anyone who opposed government resource policies. Meanwhile the Hudson's Bay factor at La Cloche, Wemyss Simpson, saw the episode as an excuse to solicit government backing to prevent free trade, ensuring his company's monopoly and keeping the Sault bands, like the bands west of Sault Ste. Marie, economically dependent on him. (Chute, 1998, p. 161)

Free trade, as was advocated by many reformers and settler farmers in the nineteenth century, would have created an opportunity for Anishinaabeg to find significant markets for lumber across the border in Michigan. That American buyers could not be punished or as easily manipulated by the restrictions imposed by the province on its own settler population raised fears that Anishinaabeg would be able to pursue the activity without state sanction. Such activities would divert potential revenue from settler pockets (or perhaps more importantly, those of the select few aspiring oligarchs who were permitted licence by the Crown) and interfere with the prevailing policy direction to keep Indigenous peoples marginal and subservient to settler interests.

The prospect of Garden River serving as a homeland for Anishinaabeg fleeing the encroachment of American settlers south of the border also largely evaporated in the mid-1850s, as the American government lifted the prospect of removal to the Mississippi from the Treaties of La Point (1854) and Detroit (1855) (Bellfy, 2011). One party that did relocate in 1854, the Odaawaa of Mackinac Island under the leadership of George Abatossaway, opted to move to Little Current on Manitoulin Island on the recommendation of the Anglican missionary O'Meara, where they opened a store to serve the steamer traffic that passed through the North Channel (Chute, 1998). Colonial administrators also discouraged relocations to Garden River, as they endeavoured to keep band rolls, and thus annuity payments, lean. Agents actively prohibited Nebenaigooching and Shingwaukonse from encouraging relocation and struck any Indian with American ties from the rolls where possible (Montgomerie, 1993). Yet the discourse of a homeland at Garden River would emerge a few years later as an answer to the government's efforts to expropriate more lands from the Anishinaabeg of the upper Great Lakes.

In 1856, Robert Pennefather was appointed Superintendent of the Indian Department and further attention turned to pacifying the outlying regions of the province, including Sault Ste. Marie (Chute, 1998). Pennefather aggressively pursued policies not only of assimilation, but of interference in disrupting Anishinaabe capacity to chart their own economic future. His actions favoured settler commercial interests and their encroachment on reserve lands. Montgomerie writes,

Lawrence Oliphant, his predecessor as Superintendent, had endeavoured to contain the timber merchants by restricting leases to five years, demanding advantageous terms and allowing some Indian controlled commerce. Under Pennefather's administration this latitude disappeared. The terms of the leases were changed to benefit the lessees and Indians who sold timber illegally threatened with forfeiture of their annuities. Chronic offenders, especially those of mixed parentage, risked being struck off the band roll. Any Chief found guilty of selling timber was to be removed from office. Legalization of free trade in timber with the United States in February 1855 brought good times to the industry. The Department's actions in the late fifties ensured that white entrepreneurs, not Indian communities, reaped the benefits of the timber boom. (1993, pp. 249-50)

While the collective land-tenure of Anishinaabeg was an obstacle to the privatization of resources and the wealth they generated, once under the defining and administrative influence of the province, this collective title was also mobilized to aggravate the marginalization of Indigenous peoples. Mining and Timber licences for on-reserve locations were distributed by the Crown Lands Department ostensibly for the benefit of Indigenous peoples. Yet as Chute explains, by the province's interpretation, "as all Native people on unceded territory had a 'joint interest in the soil,' no one group could appropriate profits from communally owned lands and resources for its exclusive benefit," yet such exclusions did not apply to private settler interests, whether prospectors or the Hudson's Bay Company (1998, p. 163). Anishinaabeg who took part in any sale of land, timber or other resources on reserve, from 1856 onward, were punishable by the forfeiture of their annuities (Chute, 1998).

And while Anishinaabeg, prevented from participating in market activities, turned increasingly back to reliance on hunting for survival, this too dissatisfied figures within the colonial administration. Many officials, Anderson included, expressed concern that Indigenous peoples' continued participation in seasonal hunts interfered with efforts to assimilate them or enforce the model of agrarian missionary villages on communities (Calverley, 2018). The government also abandoned once and for all its distribution of presents to all Indigenous peoples, arguing that treaty annuities were sufficient, despite the fact that such a policy change was not discussed during the Robinson treaty negotiations, and many chiefs may have left those negotiations with the full expectation that presents would continue in perpetuity (Bellfy, 2011). The systematic removal of individuals from band rolls was both a means to cut costs, as well as a powerful threat that was used to extort concessions from Anishinaabeg to colonial interests. Pennefather initially proposed in 1857 to remove anyone from a band list in the area who attained their rights through their mother's lineage, disenfranchising any member whose father had relocated from another community (Chute, 1998). Instead, Pennefather's associates, Indian Superintendent George Ironside and Crown Lands Agent Joseph Wilson, devised a proposal that would be more far-reaching while also advancing the province's agenda to undermine Anishinaabe self-sufficiency through logging:

Because Ironside knew that the Superintendent General's primary goal was to reduce the size of bands on the frontier, rather than to establish hard and fast principles regulating band membership, he decided, instead, to split the Garden River band into

two groups based on occupational, rather than genealogical criteria. Family heads received an ultimatum: either they remained in Canada and did not cut timber, or else they removed to the United States and relinquished all attachment to the reserve and the Canadian government. (Chute, 1998, p. 167)

Such processes of excluding members from band rolls resulted in 133 Anishinaabeg being excluded from Garden River between 1857 and 1860 (Chute, 1998).

Efforts to curtail expenses and cull band rolls were a significant motivator of the Gradual Civilization Act of 1857. It undermined the Indigenous-Crown relationship by usurping authority to interfere with band members for the provincial legislature of Canada before such responsibilities were delegated to British North American colonies in 1860 (Miller, 2000). The legislation aimed to eradicate the legal distinctiveness of Status Indians by imposing paths to common citizenship that would effectively separate them from their inherent rights (Miller, 2000). Economic assimilation was also a central and related concern for the legislation, as the preamble highlights the importance of cultivating a system of private property among Indigenous peoples:

Whereas it is desirable to encourage the progress of Civilization among the Indian Tribes in this Province, and the gradual removal of all legal distinctions between them in her Majesty's other Canadian Subjects, and to facilitate the acquisition of property and the rights accompanying it, by such individual Members of the said Tribes as shall be found to desire such encouragement and to have deserved it: (Gradual Civilization Act, 1857)

Miller, however, notes an irony of the legislation in that prior to the Act, there was no formal codification of the distinction between Status Indians and citizens of Canada. "It began by defining Indians as non-citizens," He explains. "In other words, legislation whose purpose was 'to remove all legal distinctions between Indians and Euro-Canadians actually established them' in law" (2000, p. 140). Still, the Act set the tone for nearly a century of Canada's Indian policy, emphasizing the goal of assimilating Indigenous peoples into white settler society and also by usurping the authority for colonial public governments to "interfere with enfranchised band members" and arrogated the right to set Indian policy from Britain (2000, p. 140).

Among the criteria that could merit enfranchisement was if an "Indian of the male sex" was "able to speak, read and write either the english [sic] or the french [sic] language readily and well" (Gradual Civilization Act, 1857). This criteria marked the first legislated preference on

the part of the state for Indigenous peoples to acquire English or French. It is also noticeable that English was not the only language that could cause an Indigenous man to lose his rights. By the provisions of the 1857 Act, French was an equally sufficient vehicle for 'civilization.' In the years to follow, Canada would exert growing efforts to promote English education, as the lure of enfranchisement proved ineffective.

6.2.4 Pennefather Treaty of 1859

Another effort to impose capitalist regimes of private property on Indigenous peoples was manifested in the Robinson-Huron Treaty lands in the final years of the decade. Following the initial Robinson treaties and following concerted pressure to make more reserve lands available to prospectors in light of a local resource boom following 1856, Pennefather instructed William Keating to request the surrender of many of the reserve lands laid out by the Robinson Treaties (Montgomerie, 1993). The plan was for the lands to be subdivided into 640 acre lots and sold to settlers, with the proceeds to be invested on the band's behalf, with semi-annual distribution of any interest back to the band (Montgomerie, 1993). Over two years, beginning in 1857, Keating, along with Ironside, Wilson, HBC Factor Wemyss Simpson and the magistrate Richard Carney variously pressured the Anishinaabeg in Batchewana, Garden River, and Thessalon to abandon their reserves for private title and assimilation to the margins of Canadian society. Wilson maneuvered to manipulate Batchewana in particular to cede more of its lands by appealing to the threats now available through the withholding of annuities and removing individuals from band rolls. He attempted to have Nebenaigooching removed as Chief by fostering a rivalry with a sub-chief at Goulais Bay, Miskeash, and enlisting members to sign a petition stating that Nebenaigooching had distributed annuities to Anishinaabeg who had received disbursements from the United States (Chute 1998). Though Nebenaigooching was able to clear his name of the accusations, Wilson continued to threaten the chief not only to advance the interests of the province in securing more surrenders, but to protect his own personal interests and conceal the many crimes he committed in their pursuit:

Wilson knew that speed in effecting the surrender of the reserves was essential to enable the mining interests he supported to acquire further locations in addition to those Keating had helped them secure. In order to prevent further difficulties, Wilson set

out to silence Nebenagoching [sic] by threatening the head chief with penitentiary should he reveal anything of the agent's affairs to other government officials. (1998, p. 165)

Nebenaigooching agreed to surrender most of the Batchewana reserve lands on the condition that those of his people settled at Goulais Bay and Batchewana Bay could retain tracts by their fisheries, however this was rejected given the locations were considered prime sites for mining and lumber operations (Chute, 1998). Keating recycled a threat from the Robinson negotiations and argued that should the band not consent, the land would be taken anyway and no compensation would be offered (Chute, 1998). But after an intervention from the Baptist missionary James Cameron on behalf of Batchewana, Keating and his associates offered band members the opportunity to buy-back 80-acre lots in private title, in keeping with the intent of the Gradual Civilization Act to inculcate Anishinaabeg into Canada's legal system and policy (yet on disadvantageous terms)(Chute, 1998; Montgomerie, 1993). "The Batchewana tract would thus be freed from Native control," writes Chute, "and the Ojibwa compelled, at their own expense, to incorporate into the Western system of landholding" (Chute, 1998, p. 167).

While Ogista and his sub-chief brother, Buhkwujjenene, agreed to welcome the remaining Batchewana band members to settle at Garden River on 40 acres surrounding what would become known as French Bay, they also sought assurances that the rest of the reserve would not be surrendered; a proposal that was initially resoundingly rejected (Montgomerie, 1993; Chute, 1998). Carney also tried to sway Buhkwujjenene and Ogista with an annual salary of \$100, to no avail (Montgomerie, 1993; Chute, 1998). Ultimately the community resisted until the negotiators agreed to a smaller portion of surrender, whereby the contemporary townships of Laird and Macdonald, Meredith, and Aberdeen Additional were severed from the Garden River reserve lands (Chute, 1998). These lands also happened to contain a mining location claimed by Wilson (Chute, 1998).

The treaty was signed with Garden River and Batchewana on June 9, 1859 (Chute, 1998). Two days later, when delegates from Thessalon arrived for the distribution of annuities, they too were expected to formalize a cession (Chute, 1998; Thessalon First Nation [TFN] n.d.). The entirety of the Thessalon reserve was ceded as well with the expectation that the population relocate to Garden River. However, its contemporary negotiating committee for its special claim related to the treaty notes that it is unlikely that Thessalon's representatives were told that

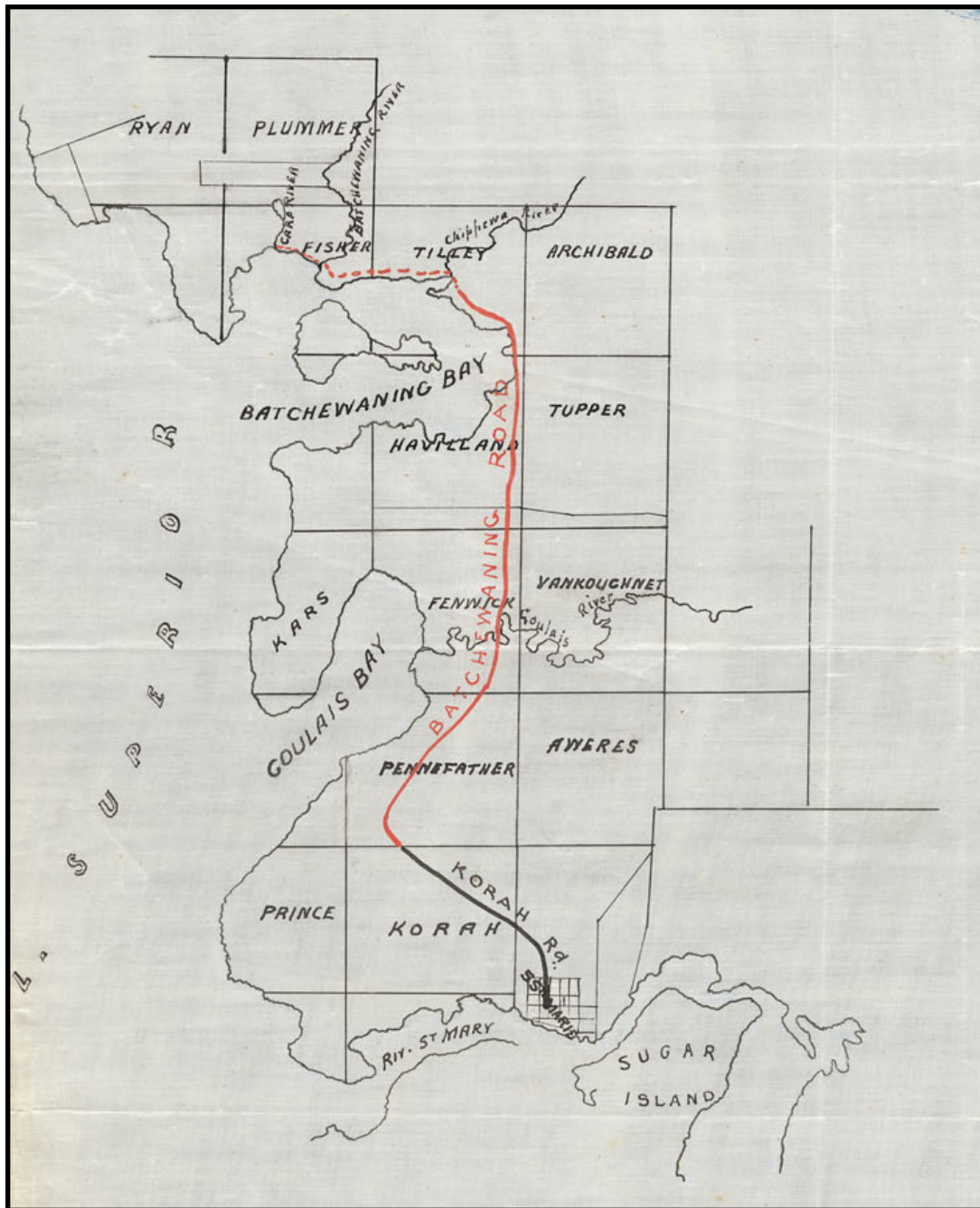


Figure 10: Surveyed townships on the Batchewana lands seized by the Pennefather Treaty (Indian Affairs, 1884a). Note the following townships are unlabeled: Herrick (west of Fisher, south of Ryan), Ley (west of Haviland, north of Kars), and Dennis (west of Pennefather, north of Prince).

Garden River “was now one-third the size it had been a day earlier” prior to agreeing (TFN, n.d.). The Thessalon delegates, however, were not informed in advance that there would be treaty negotiations, as had been done with the Robinson negotiations. As such it was not necessarily represented by those whom the community would have chosen for such an

occasion, but rather by those who had come to collect the annuity payments on the community's behalf. Using characteristic extortion, annuity payments were withheld until negotiations were concluded (TFN, n.d.). There is no evidence, however, that any members from Thessalon moved to Garden River, instead opting to stay largely at Thessalon Point until the lands were sold by the Crown in the 1880s (TFN, n.d.).

Batchewana was forced to cede nearly all of its reserve lands save for Whitefish Island in the rapids of the St. Mary's River, which continued to be an important fishing location for the community (Montgomerie, 1993; Chute, 1998). Though nearly half refused to move from the Batchawana Bay lands as a result of the Pennefather Treaty, a slim majority of band members were relocated to the Garden River reserve, largely settling around French Bay in the western half of the reserve (Chute, 1998; Bellfy, 2011). Though the community members who stayed around the Goulais Bay would have their lands set apart from the surrender by Order in Council in 1879, the arrangement of most Batchewana band members residing at Garden River would persist into the twentieth century when Batchewana would purchase land within the City of Sault Ste. Marie between 1939 and 1949, which would be recognized as a reserve in 1952 (Nadjiwon, 2011).

Little lasting documentation persisted from the Pennefather Treaties, which initially left the interpretation of the treaties up to those who negotiated them and the Indian Department (TFN, n.d.). Major omissions in the documentation also excluded guarantees made by Garden River leadership that Batchewana band members would have the same rights as Garden River members, which laid the foundation for later disputes which were stoked by officials such as Carney (Montgomerie, 1993; Chute, 1998). The remainder of the reserve lands, however, were not reformed into individual lots, retaining instead the collective title system that would continue to define the reserve system to the present day (Montgomerie, 1993).

The new treaty, however, was not the only state incursion into the lives and governments of Anishinaabe peoples for the era. After initially relying on the HBC for assistance in policing matters, a police force was established at Sault Ste. Marie in the mid-1850s (Chute, 1998). By 1859 a fisheries inspector, William Gibbard, was also enforcing provincial harvesting regulations in the area, conveniently ignoring promises made during the Pennefather Treaty to protect the right of Anishinaabeg for exclusive use of the fishery east of Thessalon point (Chute, 1998). The same year, another institution of Canadian law would be formalized with the

appointment of a judge for the new Algoma District, which encompassed most of the lands north of the French River under the jurisdiction of Canada West. In February 1859, Col. John Prince, previously the Member of Parliament for Essex and a minor industrial baron for his investments in railway construction throughout western Ontario, was officially offered the judgeship for the district (Douglas, 1980).

Prince had weighed into the emerging debates over confederation of Britain's remaining North American colonies, expressing favour for the idea a few days before his appointment, but also with qualified fears of "Frenchmen ruling over us" and a desire that the confederation be "thoroughly British at heart" (Douglas, 1980). His disdain for the French race that stymied the Anglo-Protestant ambitions of much of Canada West's political class also transposed onto his views of the French language. In debates over the Rebellion Losses Bill in the provincial legislature, he chastised Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine "for always addressing the House 'in that confounded French language'" (Douglas, 1980, p. 102). Yet representing a constituency that continued to have a substantial Francophone population, Prince nonetheless learned and spoke French on numerous occasions, sometimes even in the Assembly (Douglas, 1980).

Prince's attitudes toward Indigenous peoples were still worse. Douglas notes that Prince "regarded non-whites simply as natural resources, to be used as required" (1980, p. xiii). He continued describing his efforts to remove himself from contact with Indigenous and Black people, noting "One did not have to associate with them, however, and Prince for one was prepared to spend money acquiring land in order to avoid them" (1980, p. xiii). This disdain was limited by expediency, as Prince also had occasional social interaction with Anishinaabeg and Métis of the area, and occasionally relied on their assistance, as in the case of Kenosh, an elderly hunter who frequently accompanied Prince on hunts or other neighbourly obligations (Douglas, 1980).

The Judgeship at the Sault was thus considered as much a punishment, or exile, as it was a reward for longstanding service. His actions during the Upper Canada Rebellion, where he issued an order of summary execution for four alleged-rebels, made him a politically contentious figure (Douglas, 1980). Nonetheless, Prince ultimately accepted the position and located at Sault Ste. Marie in July of 1860 (Douglas, 1980). In 1865 a unique Court House and Jail would be built, moving proceedings out of the Ermatinger's Stone House (Douglas, 1980). His interest in land at the Sault was not merely one of agricultural productivity, but for financial

speculation. This interest shaped how his own actions both amplified Indigenous marginalization and undermined the government's efforts to limit the band rolls, as Chute explains:

[Prince] held that Native families at the rapids fell into two categories, based on his own predominantly late-eighteenth-century view of the social order. The judge perceived 'Indians' as belonging to the domain of the 'wild' and 'untutored,' while the term 'half-breed' he used to describe undisciplined, unstable social elements which he contended, constituted a 'pest to the whole country.' From his diaries, it is evident that Prince's categories were based primarily on residence and settlement patterns. Métis owned strip farms at the rapids, while 'Indians' lived in nucleated villages like the one at Garden River. In Prince's view, a Métis who joined the Garden River settlement became an 'indian,' and as land prices at the rapids were likely to rise with the approach of the settlement frontier, the more Métis who could be convinced to become 'Indian,' the more control men like Prince and [local lands agent, Joseph] Wilson could exercise over territory for the purpose of land speculation. (1998, p. 178)

By 1860, the British government formally transferred its authority over Indian policy to the Province of Canada, formalizing the practice that was established by the Gradual Civilization Act (Miller, 2000). The same year, the Indian Department came into being as a formal subdivision of the Crown Lands Department (Chute, 1998). The reports that were conveyed to the Indian Department by Deputy Superintendent, William Spragge, first praise the Department's efforts for improving life for Anishinaabeg:

It will be observed with some satisfaction by many, in addition to those who profess to take a deep interest in the Indian race, that the introduction of civilization among them so far from threatening their gradual extinction as a people, is producing results of an opposite description. This is assignable to various causes, one of the most perceptible of which, is the increased comforts, tending to a more general exemption from sickness and disease, which are secured to them by their location upon farms [...]

Another reason assignable for an increase, instead of diminution in their numbers, is the provision made for medical attendance upon them, and thus avoiding the sacrifices of life consequent upon contagious and other diseases, induced by the proximity of their abode to the white settlements. (Indian Affairs, 1864, 3-4)

Not acknowledged in the report, however, was the threat made by government officials in the negotiation of the Pennefather treaties that these medical supplies and services would no longer be funded through annuities, but rather necessitated land cessions to generate revenue for their procurement (Chute, 1998). The increasing population also owed something to Prince, who used “social, legal, and economic incentives” to “induce Métis to sell their holdings cheaply at the Sault and move to Garden River” (Chute, 1998, p. 178).

Resistance to the settler state grew stronger throughout the region in the 1860s, particularly at Wiikwemkong, which resisted further cessions such as those extracted from the Huron communities in 1857 and western Manitoulin in 1862 (Chute, 1998). In this context, Prince described Manitoulin as “settlements of obstreperous Indians, under the undue influence of the Jesuits and others” (Douglas 1980, 188). Nebenaigooching also launched a boycott of crop growing to protest restrictions on its fisheries, prompting Prince and Wilson to clamp down by sewing divisions on the Garden River reserve. As the Pennefather treaty had not recorded Ogista and Buhkwujjenene’s promises to offer Batchewana band members equal rights, Prince interpreted the treaty to offer only access to the lots conveyed to its band members, and no other rights, effectively eliminating Batchewana band members’ ability to harvest timber for sale on-reserve (Chute, 1998). Resource laws were increasingly used to constrain Anishinaabe economic activities and threaten resistance, as in the case of Charles Biron of Garden River, who was charged for cutting wood (Chute, 1998). Though eventually exonerated, such tactics were used to intimidate entire bands to fall back from resistance (Chute, 1998; Douglas, 1980).

The loss of land would also impact language through its disruption of speech communities. Though multilingualism was not unusual for either of the bands, the relocation of a significant portion of Batchewana band members to Garden River would sever the quotidian connections between those who stayed at Goulais and Batchewana Bays. Similarly for Métis, as some joined the rolls at Garden River, they became inculcated into the Anishinaabe communities that surrounded them, while others who remained at the rapids contended with a growing settler presence with whom they would increasingly have little but to interact.



Figure 11: View of the rapids at Sault Ste. Marie from the United States (Armstrong, 1860)

6.3 Competing interests and socio-economic upheaval 1840-1867

6.3.1 Churches and schools:

Throughout the 1850s and 60s, Churches and missionaries continued to be active within the region and played an ongoing role in both integrating their institutions within the Anishinaabemowin and French language ecologies, as well as increasing exposure to English. After Anderson's son, Gustavus, held a brief tenure as the Anglican missionary, the vacancy created a vacuum filled by other protestant denominations, notably the Methodists under the direction of missionary George MacDougall beginning in 1851 (Montgomerie, 1993; Chute, 1998). MacDougall assisted in the construction of wooden houses, which were closer to the expectations of agricultural village life than traditional *wiigwaaman*, as well as a church, and notably, a schoolhouse (Montgomerie, 1993).

Though Ogista initially embraced Methodism, its local representatives and the Church's greater promotion of assimilation to white settler society proved inadequate allies during the

conflicts over the Pennefather Treaty. After 1857, Ogista renounced Methodism as he grew more resistant to the tightening vice of settler encroachment (Chute, 1998).

Notably the Slovenian Jesuit missionary, Frederic Baraga, took on the position of Catholic Bishop in 1854 after serving as a missionary in the upper Great Lakes since the onset of the 1830s (Baraga, 1868, pp. 30-1). He moved to the American Sault with the creation of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie in 1857, but preached to congregants in the surrounding communities north of the border as well. Baraga kept a detailed diary where he documented not only his activities, but the language in which he carried them out. Though he occasionally used the word “Chippewa” to describe the language he nonetheless referred to Anishinaabemowin simply as “Indian” in his diary (1868). He shared his post with Father Menet in 1857, and occasionally split the linguistic work of preaching with him, noting in February “Today I let Fr. Menet preach, and now we shall alternate, he in French, I in English” (1868, p. 106). Baraga, however, was skilled in both languages and likely opted for English for having a stronger command than Father Menet, demonstrating the utilitarian approach to language that he and many other Jesuits employed. Linguistic utility varied greatly on the situation, however, and the multilingualism of the community and the increasing pace of demographic change made for an ongoing process of trial and error. On February 22, 1857, Baraga wrote at Sault Ste. Marie in Michigan, that he “Preached in all three languages and announced Lenten Regulations. I will never again preach in all 3 languages; it is of no use, because it makes the people, (including the religious,) bored and annoyed” (1868, p. 107). The following week he preached only in French, but his unilingual experiment ended the subsequent week, when he noted “Preached in French and English. I have again begun to preach in both languages. I should never have done otherwise” (1868, p. 108).

But the last time Baraga recorded preaching in Anishinaabemowin at Sault Ste. Marie Michigan was in March of 1862 (Baraga, 1868). He did continue work in the Indigenous language, however it was largely when visiting surrounding communities, such as those on Sugar Island or St. Martin’s Bay near Mackinac Island, or on his visits to Canada at Goulais Bay, St. Joseph’s Island or Neebish Island, whose residents were primarily, if not all Anishinaabe and Métis (Baraga, 1868). The need for such travels was mitigated by establishment of a Jesuit mission at Garden River in 1860 under the direction of Auguste Kohler, who took over visits to Batchewana, Goulais, Michipicoten and other regional locations (Proulx, 1960). By the

mid-1860s, the exclusive reliance on Anishinaabemowin among Baraga's congregants waned, and he typically preached in both English and French. The changing needs and attention of his congregants made trilingual preaching impractical, but English and French remained essential. The growing settler presence had made English of increasing importance, but the core of his congregation was not surprisingly made up of Métis and some French-speaking settlers, as Anglophone settlers gravitated more toward the protestant services. On hearing a new Reverend's first sermon, he noted "For the first time, Rev. Michael McLaughlin preached here in English, rather well; if he only preached like that also in French" (1868, p. 270). When attendance was low, he typically only preached in French (1868).

Baraga was frequently conflicted about his status as Bishop and how it separated him from his work as a missionary. By the end of March 1857, he wrote in his diary "Especially today, I have had lingering definite, resolute thoughts and plans of resigning, and (again become) an Indian missionary. Thy will be done, O Lord God!"²¹ (1868, p. 109). Though Sault Ste. Marie was increasingly populated by the already-converted, many surrounding Anishinaabe communities remained sites for missions, which continued to inspire Baraga. In these locations he was increasingly indispensable, as the newer officials were increasingly less likely to acquire Anishinaabemowin. On the St. Martin's Bay missions, he wrote in 1862, "Although old, I am obliged to care for these missions myself, because, the priest who is with me at the Sault does not speak Indian. But I do it with pleasure. May the good Lord give me the strength to do it yet for a long time, for his glory and for the salvation of souls" (1868, p. 256). His reception in such locations, however, was mixed. At Goulais Bay he received a self-described positive welcome, and undertook to have a Church built at the community, which was completed in July of 1862 (Baraga, 1868). The Chief at St. Martin's Bay, however, expressed to Baraga "that in no way did he want to become a Christian." (1868, p. 262). But he did note that at St. Martin's Bay "there were many Canadians and half-breeds,²² all of whom came to confession" (Baraga, 1868). Both the distinction he makes here between "Canadians" and "half-breeds" and that they are

²¹ Another complicating factor in his second marriage was that Janet had been the sister to Lydia's mother, "which meant that, by church rules, Cameron had married his niece" (Hele, 2004, p. 145).

²² 'Half-breeds' was written in English, in contrast to the German in which he more typically wrote. This also illustrates that, not surprisingly, the term came to have meaning from its use by Anglophone settlers and colonial officials (in contrast to its French equivalent, which would have simply been *métis*).

typically referred to in the same breath is illustrative of both a long-standing French-speaking autochthonous population that may align more closely with contemporary notions of Métis ancestry, and ongoing relationships across the perceptible-but-porous boundary between Anishinaabeg and Métis. Interaction between the descendants of French visitors and settlers and Anishinaabeg may have begun nearly two centuries earlier, but it was by no means at an end in the mid-nineteenth century.

Missionary actions in the 1840s to the late 1860s also demonstrate that their role was more complicated than merely opportunistically supporting the state to curry favour. In some circumstances, missionaries intervened to challenge the Province's abuses. James D. Cameron, the Baptist missionary, played a notable role in the defence of Indigenous rights after the Treaty. He offered a strong defence of Mishkeash and Nebenaigooching in the Pennefather Treaty negotiations, reporting to Pennefather of Keating's coercive practices and arguing that the appointee had lost the trust of the local community. Chute relays, "Keating, Cameron fumed, had proven beyond a doubt that he would go to any lengths to aid his mining associates" (Chute, 1998, p. 166).

6.3.2 Economic changes 1840-1867

The reserve system in the Robinson Treaty lands initially sought to facilitate the surveying and distribution of lands to settlers for mineral or lumber exploitation, or to a lesser extent, agriculture. As the regional resource boom of the mid-1850s exerted more pressure for lands on-reserve to be offered up to prospectors, and as discourses of assimilation gained wider acceptance among colonial officials, reserves were seen more as an intermediary stage before the inculcation of all lands into the Canadian land tenure system.

Métis, having been largely excluded from the treaty negotiations, continued to occupy lots in Sault Ste. Marie and made up the majority of its population (Chute, 1998). Despite continuing to be the bulk of the HBC's labour force in the area, many also persisted in local harvesting activities. Surveyor James Johnston wrote of Korah and Awenge townships (today making up the western half of the City of Sault Ste. Marie) in his 1859 report to the Crown Lands Department, "On this section are several sugar bushes, frequented in the spring by the inhabitants of the Sault village" (Kirkwood & Murphy, 1878, p. 172).

The Sugar Bush and hunting remained important seasonal activities for Anishinaabeg and Métis alike. Bishop Baraga made a number of remarks on how these activities impacted church attendance in 1863, noting that the sugar season interrupted the Easter season, he wrote “I am afraid that this year more than half will not make their Easter confessions,” and lamenting limited attendance the subsequent Sunday, “Many people have already moved to the sugar huts” (1868, pp. 290-1). Likewise hunting posed similar challenges in various seasons, as he noted in May of 1863, “There were no men in the church, all are out hunting” (1868, p. 294).

Surveyors began to chart out the townships of the former Batchewana reserve lands in 1865, noting the continued presence of the Anishinaabe villages along the Northwest shore of Batchewana Bay, where residents cultivated some potatoes, but otherwise derived their livelihood from the surrounding region (Crown Lands, 1866). There were good fishing waters off the Northeast shore of Batchewana Island, abundant Caribou throughout the region, and they continued to use the sugar bush north of the Bay, in what would be Tilley Township (Crown Lands, 1866). The surveyors noted this area not for its capacity to provide sustenance, however, but for its timber value, highlighting abundant maple, cedar and balsam (Crown Lands, 1866). The abundant arable land also made it all the more suitable for mineral exploitation, as Wilson noted “The mineral wealth of the country is apparently inexhaustible, and there is abundantly sufficiently good arable land capable of producing the cereal and other Canadian staple products necessary for the sustenance of a large mining population” (Crown Lands, 1866, p. 44).

The effects of encroachment on the Huron shore, however, and particularly at Garden River, were somewhat offset by the growing opportunities for Anishinaabeg to take part in wage-labour. Montgomerie describes the change in the region, explaining:

By the 1870s there were regular requests for work. For men, timber-cutting and mining were the major sources of employment on, or near, the reserve. Jobs were also available guiding fishing parties, or on Manitoulin Island loading ships. Women made money from selling maple sugar, bark work, mats and berries. (1993, pp. 273-4)

The mining boom did not entirely exclude Anishinaabeg, however the wage-labour they performed was often dangerous. Notably most of these activities were still tied to the environment and the stability of the local ecosystem. Maple sugar required access to the sugar

bush, berry harvesting required access to the various lands on which they grow, and guiding was dependent on the abundance of fish.

The socioeconomic upheaval in the mid-nineteenth century laid foundations for significant changes to the local language ecology. However, these would not be apparent for a number of decades to come.



Figure 12: Depiction of Sault Ste. Marie in late 1860s (Armstrong, 1869)

6.4 Language-use at Baawating by the mid-nineteenth century

Sault Ste. Marie had become increasingly accessible to Europeans in the early nineteenth century, with more frequent commercial ferry traffic to both banks of the river from further downstream, and the increasing proximity of dense settlement. Though language had been a significant concern of the emerging settler state (particularly from its relation to the question of what constituted English and French races), it was nonetheless not a factor in the early censuses of British North American colonies until the late 1800s. Increased contact, however, also

brought many travellers who toured the region, and whose journals provide great insight into the sociolinguistic dynamics of language use within the region at the time.

6.4.1 Descriptions of the multilingual character of Baawating, Garden River, and the upper Great Lakes

Despite major changes to the structure of the fur trade, the multicultural character of the Sault continued into the nineteenth century, with an increasingly important role played by the English language among new administrators, merchants, traders, and visitors. The 1850 visit of John Bigsby to the Ermatinger's home demonstrates aspects of the Ermatingers' social character and the linguistic judgements of a visiting Englishman. In his account of the visit with the Ermatinger family and their friends, Bigsby writes "The unsettled postures, dark hue, and wandering black eye of the Indian were well marked in some of the guests, and the perfect gypsy face. Their English was good, and without the disagreeable nasality of the American" (as cited in Stewart, 2007, p. 152). That the quality of the guests' English was noteworthy suggests that this was somewhat against Bigsby's expectations. He had served a 3 year military tour in Upper and Lower Canada from 1827-1830, and spent much of the following decades traveling the region, ensuring he had some previous contact with Anishinaabeg and Métis peoples before he arrived at the Sault. He was also surprised by the "value and extent" of Charles' library, "a thousand well-bound and well-selected volumes, French and English, evidently much in use, in winter especially; and not gathered together in these days of cheap literature" (Stewart, 2007, p. 151). He described the chatter at the gathering as "uncourtly but not uncourteous" (2007, p. 54) and remarked on its focus on the quotidian matters of life in the peripheral reaches of Canada West:

We dilated about the prospects of the fisher, of the wild rice harvest, the furs of the last winter's hunt, the rumoured incursions of the Sioux and other Indians upon the quieter tribes, the massacre of the whites at Red River, then recent, while I obtained from one or another descriptions of the adjacent regions. (as cited in Stewart, 2007, p. 152)

A few months later, German scholar Johann Georg Kohl traveled to North America, eventually making his way to Lake Superior and finding many similarities with the observations of Alexis de Tocqueville twenty years earlier. His writing on these travels was immensely popular when they

were first published in German in 1859, but are also significant for the considerable insight they offer into the social dynamics between Métis, Anishinaabe, and settler populations in the region in the mid-1800s. Remarking on his efforts to gain access to knowledge about Anishinaabe peoples at LaPointe in the newly created State of Wisconsin, Kohl writes:

Thus I formed at La Pointe the acquaintance of a half-breed, who spoke a little French, and possessed considerable knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians. He had even been employed in compiling an Ojibbeway dictionary; but for all that, he belonged, in his mode of life, more to the red than the white race. (1860, p. 148)

Kohl's remarks demonstrate an ongoing connection between French-Canadian and Anishinaabe communities. At the very least this informant possessed some level of French-Anishinaabe bilingualism to which Bakker (1997) alludes, and demonstrates that even within the newly consolidated United States, many so-called half-breeds maintained Anishinaabe practices and ways of life.

Kohl also documented a number of Anishinaabe and French toponyms, noting that Canadians at LaPointe referred to the North Shore of Lake Superior as, *l'autre bord*, roughly equivalent to its Anishinaabe appellation, *agamkitchigaming*, while the South shore was called *le pays de la folle avoine* (false wheat, or wild rice country) or *les terres folles* by French speakers and *manominikan* in Anishinaabemowin, again roughly equivalent (1860, p. 117). With respect to personal names, Kohl noted that among the "half-breeds," naming conventions incorporated both European and Anishinaabe traditions, noting "These men, who have two sorts of blood in their veins, have also generally two names, Indian and French" (1860, p. 314). Earlier in his travels, Kohl balked at the pride with which even the "poorest" Métis held both strands of their lineage, explaining to the reader that "The Canadian half-breeds often swagger with two genealogies — a European, commencing with a 'lieutenant du or,' and an Indian, from some celebrated chief" (1860, p. 299). This pride and embrace of one's ancestry, Kohl continued, was often expressed visually, offering by example "I met one half-breed, a man tolerably well off, who had engraved both his French coat of arms and his Indian totem (an otter) on his seal-ring" (1860, p. 299). Not only did Métis of the area embrace both European and Anishinaabe ancestors, but also embraced the clan system (totem) that played a significant role in Anishinaabe socio-political organization.

Kohl's travelogue also makes important observations about many aspects of community life in the mid-nineteenth century Northern Ontario. When Kohl traveled to Garden River he was told by Aurora LaFleur, a "half-breed" resident on the reserve, that "On one bank of the river [...] are the huts of the Protestant Indians, with their wooden church, and, on the other, the Catholic huts ranged round their chapel" (1860, pp. 304-5). As Chapter 8 will illustrate, this religious segregation perpetuated well into the twentieth century.

The conversations Kohl documented also speak to the political and psychological climate of Anishinaabe communities in the nineteenth century, noting an already apparent anxiety about the loss of traditional knowledge foretold of the Fifth Fire, as well as the dispossession of land and resources. Again reporting the words of Aurora LaFleur, she laments:

My head has grown quite weak lately. I have lost my memory. The Ojibbeways have all lost their memory. The Americans have made them weak. Our people do not talk so much about their own affairs now as they used to do. They no longer feel the same pleasure in telling the old stories, and they are being forgotten, and the traditions and fables rooted out. You often ask after them, but you seldom find any more who can give you the right answer. Our nation is fallen; and this came quite suddenly, since the Kitchimokomans, or 'Long-knives,' entered our country. (Kohl, 1860, p. 367).

In the early days of the Métis nation, many French traders and their descendants had long integrated with Anishinaabeg and Cree people, not only socially, but linguistically and spiritually as well (Peterson, 1985; Havard, 2003; Hogue, 2015). Kohl describes one such person he encountered who came from Vieux Désert in Wisconsin by the name of Antoine Gendron. Perhaps more interesting than the description of Gendron himself, however, is the insight Kohl offers into the language mixing that the local population in upper Michigan used to describe him:

The said Gendron had relatives here, who ran down to the beach to welcome their friends. "Antoine" — so I was told — "was a French Canadian, but had lived from his youth among the Indians, was a pagan, and pire que les Indiens, plus sauvage que les autres, et grand magicien, but much respected among the people up the country." (Kohl, 1860, pp. 34-5)

Such accounts reaffirm that cultural mixing was a two-way street. Kohl's accounts in *Kitchi-Gami* describe travels almost exclusively among peoples he termed Ojibway Indians and half-breeds,

and his time in Upper Michigan was spent in Anishinaabe communities, many of which included so-called half-breeds or French Canadians. At least some Anishinaabeg had acquired sufficient French to employ it in full grammatical phrases throughout their speech. Similarly, the French Canadian they describe had mastered a marked Anishinaabe way of life and become a high-ranking practitioner in an Indigenous spiritual society. Gendron was also not the only non-Native person in this community to have integrated within Anishinaabe civilization. Kohl continued describing another person at the same encounter, noting:

The countryman of Mme. De Genlis, "le Français sauvage" (they often call themselves so, and I remember one of these wild Europeans telling me he was a savage Englishman) held his medicine bag in his hand, and, as he invited me to take a seat by his side, he soon began showing me a quantity of "medicine" and charms, whose virtues he explained to me. (Kohl, 1860, pp. 36-7)

A number of European or Euro-descended people had not only integrated within Anishinaabe society, adopting spiritual practices, acquiring and mixing local languages, they had also come to name the interface of that integration with demonyms like "Français Sauvage" or "Savage Englishman."

Reflecting from the late nineteenth century on the connections that were fostered over two hundred years prior, William Warren offered an account of French-Anishinaabe relations that reflects the prevailing ideologies of racial character and inferiority that prevailed throughout much of the Victorian era:

The Ojibways learned to love the French people, for the Frenchmen, possessing a character of great plasticity, easily assimilated themselves to the customs and mode of life of their red brethren. They respected their religious rites and ceremonies, and they "never laughed" at their superstitious beliefs and ignorance. They fully appreciated and honored accordingly, the many noble traits and qualities possessed by these bold and wild hunters of the forest. It is an acknowledged fact, that no nation of whites have ever succeeded so well in gaining the love and confidence of the red men, as the Franks. It is probably that their character in many respects was more similar, and adapted to the character of the Indian, than any other European nation. The "voyageur du Nord," as were then termed the common class of the French who visited them for the purposes of

trade, were nearly as illiterate, ignorant, and superstitious as themselves, and many of them were far beneath the red man in strength of character and morality. (1884, p. 87)

Nostalgia for previous eras also persisted, Kohl's travelogue demonstrating from his interactions among Anishinaabeg in Michigan greater affinity for British authority over American, and French authority over British. Still, the greatest affinity was reserved for the period before European contact:

I frequently heard it asserted here that the people and country were tolerably free and independent under the French and British, but suddenly fell, and are rapidly proceeding to ruin, since the Americans have taken them, and they already call the recently expired period of British dominion "the good old times." The time of the French, or Wemitigoshis, as the Ojibbeways call them, was naturally still older and better. It was what we may call a silver age; and, of course, the time when there were no pale faces — the primitive times, when the Indians lived entirely alone — was the golden era. (1860, p. 368)

Kohl also made a number of observations about Shingwaukonse. While he did not encounter Shingwaukonse during his travels, his interlocutors spoke of him and shared stories of his youth. Describing his early childhood, they noted that he was the son of a member of the British military and Anishinaabe woman. Kohl reports:

He proposed to him to enter the English service, and become an officer. "Mais Shinguakongse ne voulait pas se faire mettre blanc." He had a settled desire to remain with his mother and his Indian relatives. The father, however, dismissed mother and son with handsome presents, and from that time kept an eye upon them, and often sent them up messages to Lake Superior. (Kohl, 1860, p. 377)

He further acknowledged that Shingwaukonse was well respected throughout the region, leading to his eventual status as a chief. He was practiced in the Midewiwin and Waabanowiwin, and kept "a number of birch-bark written songs and traditions," demonstrating his seniority within those respective lodges (1860, p. 380). Such observations also corroborate the prevalence of Indigenous forms of literacy that were little recognized by Europeans and settlers, given their distinctiveness from the roman alphabet.

6.4.2 Anishinaabe literacies

The task of Rev. O'Meara to deliver and explain wampum belts to Indian Affairs mentioned in Chapter 5 has already demonstrated the continued relevance of locally developed Indigenous literacies into the mid-nineteenth century (Chute, 1998). Though the settler state was exerting a greater tendency to set the terms of debate, in the northwestern reaches of Canada West, missionaries and other intermediaries with the state still had to hold some competence in interpreting Indigenous systems for recording information.

Some would also mix aspects of the pictographic and mnemonic systems that they were accustomed when confronted with demands of written record keeping that accompanied not only administrative functions, but many responsibilities within the fur trade as well. One such example is the account book of Vincent Roy, an Anishinaabe man who managed the Vermillion Lake post of the American Traders', west of Lake Superior, from 1835-1839 (Fulford, 1992). Fulford notes that the book "contains 92 pages bearing pictographic inscriptions," documenting inventory and the accounts of various traders, including Shingwaukonse and many of his family members (1992, p. 191).

Nonetheless, Anishinaabeg were also acquiring roman alphabetic literacy, and adapting it to their own language. Alan Corbiere notes that "there are enough Nishnaabe-authored Ojibwe documents housed in various archives to demonstrate that there was a burgeoning Nishnaabe literacy movement from 1823 to 1910" (2003, p. 57). Obabaamwewegiizhigokwe was writing poetry in Anishinaabemowin with roman orthography as early as 1810, and would centuries later be recognized as the first:

...known American Indian literary writer, the first known Indian woman writer [...] the first known poet to write poems in a Native American language, and the first known American Indian to write out traditional Indian stories (as opposed to transcribing and translating out from someone else's oral delivery, which she did also). (Parker, 2007, p. 2).

"Known" is a key word here, and the distinction is largely based on the use of roman orthography and the preserved record that stems from her high status as a member of the Johnston family and connection to American officials. Nonetheless, she was remarkably prolific, and produced poetry and prose in both Anishinaabemowin and English.

Her siblings, too, notably George and Charlotte, had written extensively, though with a greater focus on religious purpose. Parker notes, "George published a book of Episcopal prayers and hymns that he translated into Ojibwe and Ottawa. Charlotte, too, filled notebooks with hymns (in English and Ojibwe), songs, and a motley assortment of poems" (2007, p. 13-4). Though much of the written material in Anishinaabemowin from the early nineteenth century was produced by missionaries for the purpose of proselytizing and instruction (and to facilitate other missionaries' language acquisition), Corbiere notes that many of the documents also include materials written by Anishinaabeg with no religious motivation, but "more mundane, but equally important, material such as requests for annuities, census reports and the equivalent of contemporary Band Council Resolutions" (2003, p. 58). Even Roy's account book contained some notes written in Anishinaabemowin with roman orthography (Fulford, 1992). As conflicts mounted with the state, Anishinaabeg on Manitoulin and Wiikwemkoong in particular did not hesitate to express their own wishes in their own words, and leave it to the Province to do the accommodating. Corbiere explains, "through all the challenges to their autonomy, to the encroachments on their lands, to the suspicious dealings of their Superintendent, the chiefs responded indignantly and defiantly with petitions written in Ojibwe" (Corbiere, 2003, p. 71).

The roman alphabet, however, reflected unique phonological values depending on the dominant language of the instructor. Consequently, it was apparent whether Anishinaabeg writing their language with the roman alphabet had been schooled by French Catholic missionaries or English Protestants (Corbiere, 2003; Pentland, 1996).

6.4.3 Shifting ecologies: "A strangely heterogenous community"

The reserve system segregated settlers from Treaty Indians, creating uneven parallel paths of development. The descendants of Métis peoples who did not join the Batchewana and Garden River band rolls would largely be pushed to the margins of the community by incoming British descended settlers from southern Ontario, or they would be overwhelmed by the booming town that emerged at the turn of the century. Yet, the Catholic Church and a proportionally small, but growing French-speaking community would be sites for French-language maintenance within Sault Ste. Marie, following immigration from Québec, but the socio-economic forces that had maintained the shared stable multilingualism of the Métis and

Anishinaabe peoples began to disintegrate in the late 1800s as both populations were isolated from one another. Conflicts within the Catholic Church throughout Ontario would likewise undermine its role in French-language maintenance. Still, the reserves also functioned to shield band members from the sociolinguistic effects of the inundation of settlers that occurred beginning in the same period. Consequently, the prevalence of Anishinaabemowin, French, and their indigenized hybrid forms persisted on reserve, but were effectively erased from the Town developing at Sault Ste. Marie by the late nineteenth century. In the broader upper Great Lakes region and within Anishinaabemowin speech communities, Odaawaa would rise in prestige from the 1840s onward, competing with Southwestern Ojibwe for status as the highest prestige variety of the language (Rhodes, 2020).

The preceding pages offer only a brief overview of the massive social and economic changes that preceded the consolidation of colonial authority in the areas around Baawating following the Robinson treaties. They offer essential insights into the preceding sociolinguistic ecology, as well as the political struggles and ideologies that informed them, most notably the syncretic approach that many Anishinaabeg took in interacting with European peoples and technologies, and the acceptability of hybridization in the face of mutual benefit and support.

While trade and to a somewhat lesser extent missions were powerful institutions all throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, their coupling with the burgeoning bureaucracies of the colonial state and education would have profound changes on the socio-economic conditions affecting Anishinaabe, Métis and settler peoples following the key political changes brought by the Act of Union, the Robinson Treaties, and later Confederation. Institutions such as trading companies, states, churches and schools exerted influence on language use, contact, and choice in sometimes competing, sometimes mutually reinforcing ways, and these were also influenced by variations enacted by actors within these institutions, sometimes for ideological reasons, and sometimes for logistical reasons, as exemplified by conflicts between the approaches of the Jesuits and the Seminary missionaries, or between the surveyors of Robinson Treaty reserves and the directives of the state that they were meant to carry out.

Significant pressures began to limit Anishinaabe and Métis ways of life, access to lands and free movement, and even the vitality of Indigenous cosmologies. However the linguistic and cultural diversity and hybridity persisted, creating what Colonel John Prince would call in his

lamenting letter to John A. Macdonald little more than a week after Confederation, “a strangely heterogeneous community” (reported in Douglas, 1980, p. 201).

7 - The Sixth Fire, confederation, and cultural genocide: 1867-1914

The Seven Fires predicted that the deceit of the promise of the Fifth Fire would become evident in the Sixth Fire (Benton-Banai, 1988). Shingwaukonse had called out the false promise of civilization as early as 1836, pointing to the poverty and loss of the old ways that accompanied colonization (Montgomerie, 1993). The Sixth Fire was marked by a turning away from the elders and traditional knowledge, particularly by those “deceived by this false promise” (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 90). Benton-Banai identifies the Sixth Fire as corresponding to the period of the Boarding Schools policy in the United States, which largely overlaps with the period of the Canadian Indian Residential Schools (1988, p. 91; McCarty, 2013; Miller, 1996). The schools on both sides of the border would play a growing role through the late 1800s in promoting an increasingly rigid definition of civilization that integrated Christian mores and Anglo-Saxon sensibilities.

From the first efforts of Britain to consolidate its control over the territories previously claimed by France, the relationship with Indigenous peoples and Francophone settlers were preoccupying questions for the political classes. The emerging romantic nationalism that associated state legitimacy with shared culture, religion and language affirmed a distance between the growing Anglophone population that immigrated from both Britain and the United States and the Francophone settlers that had occupied the St. Lawrence River Valley for over a century. At the same time the impact of settler nationalism was tempered by the sympathies of European missionaries and humanitarians and an emerging liberal political order in Britain that stressed tolerance. Yet the doctrine of civilizational progress inherent in the liberal philosophy embraced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries nonetheless reaffirmed the assumption of superiority that British colonial officials brought with them in the colonies.

By the time representatives of the various British North American colonies began meeting to discuss the prospect of confederation in the 1860s, they had consolidated control over their claimed territories through a combination of usurpation, displacement and treaty making with Indigenous peoples (Tully, 2008). Tully explains that,

The means to this end are twofold: the on-going usurpation, dispossession, incorporation and infringement of the rights of Indigenous peoples coupled with various

long-term strategies of extinguishment and accommodation which would eventually capture their rights, dissolve the contradiction and legitimate the settlement. (2008, p. 264)

Attitudes and policies targeted at language use were part of a multiplicity of attitudes, practices and policies that were intent on consolidating the national cohesiveness of the new colonial states and assimilating the Indigenous population, both in British North America and other American settler colonial states (McCarty, 2013). Early policy in the Province of Canada saw fit to leave language alone, with the underlying assumption that English would eventually overtake all others. But traces of concern for language management began to appear, such as through the common schools policy and the Gradual Civilization Act, which made it abundantly clear that European languages were a sign of civilization, while Indigenous language were not.

The British North America Act of 1867, which initiated confederation of Canada (then subdivided into Québec and Ontario), New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, did affirm the new settler state's intervention in the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Crown. Turner notes that section 91, which outlined federal jurisdiction, established "Indians and Lands reserved for Indians" as the sole purview of the new federal government, marking a unilateral change to the relationship without the consent of Indigenous peoples (2006; British North America Act, 1867). He notes that this enshrined the fiduciary responsibility of the federal government into the new state framework (2006).

The Act also affirmed the legal use of French (along with English) in the Parliaments of Canada and Québec and their respective records, federal and Québec courts, and the publication of legislation from the federal government and Québec (British North America Act, 1867, s. 133). Though Cardinal notes numerous "references to the principle of compromise in regard to language and minority rights" in the constitutional debates leading up to confederation, the compromise was largely absorbed by the federal government (2015, p. 30). Though Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia all had sizeable francophone populations, their legislations were under no such obligation, free to pursue an Anglo-Celtic hegemony. The right of Québec's Anglophones to express themselves in their language at the provincial assembly and courts, by contrast, was enshrined into the act. As Mackey notes, "the French fact was largely ignored by English Canada, and the burden of bilingualism was carried almost entirely by the native-born speakers of French" (2010, p. 35).

Confederation itself made little immediate material difference for the peoples of the upper Great Lakes. Largely it was more of the same, or as McKay argues, more a “consolidation of a general liberal state program” than a completely new country with sweeping policy change (2000, p. 632). The promotion of settlement and migration into the farther reaches of the provinces persisted. Locally, efforts to enforce settlement were explicit, with Deputy Superintendent William Spragge noting in his annual report that:

In the management of the Indian lands the object has for several years been [to] steadily keep in view, of inducing actual settlement, thus promoting the great agricultural interests of the country, while giving an additional value to sufficiently continuous unsold lands; and *furnishing also from Indian funds substantial aid towards opening out leading roads.* (emphasis added, Secretary of State, 1868, p. 3)

Funds, then, that were derived from the sale of Indigenous lands, which were supposed to be used for the benefit of Indigenous peoples, then, were used systematically to fund infrastructure that increased access for settlers to acquire lands. Neu & Therrien explain, “the economic pressure to this lowest echelon was applied with such bureaucratic finesse that the Indigenous people themselves were forced to pay the government for the cost of having their land taken from them” (2003, p. 41). Around Sault Ste. Marie and north to Batchewana Bay, such roads would not be undertaken until 1872, as the settler frontier moved northward (Indian Branch, 1871).

Yet the efforts to promote settlement throughout the region were yielding unsatisfactory results. In 1870, John A. Macdonald wrote confidentially to Ontario Premier John Sandfield Macdonald (no known relation), lamenting that the new state institutions, particularly the 1858 establishment of the judicial district of Algoma, had done little to encourage settler migration northward:

I note what you say about Algoma, & I think that you are quite right in the course you propose to take. Our legislation with respect to Algoma was altogether [sic] experimental. It was represented to us that the Country would not be settled until it had Judicial Institutions & Tribunals which would protect life and property. The experiment has now been fully tried and has not resulted in an influx of settlers. While on this subject I will say that I endeavoured to secure the resignation of our old friend Prince through his son. I did not mention my object which was to provide for Walter McCrea

and make a vacancy for Frank Smith.(Macdonald, Nov. 29, 1870, as cited in Douglas 1980, 204)

Prince did not resign. Rather, he died the very next day from the dating of Macdonald's correspondence (Douglas, 1980).

There were clear classical liberal motivations for the 'experimental' policy, attributing the lack of white settlement to insufficient protections for personal property. Yet when new protections did not yield the increase both levels of government desired, attention turned to communications infrastructure. This was not done *instead* of increasing state interference in the lives of Indigenous peoples, but rather in addition and to amplify the control the state exerted over Indigenous peoples.

7.1 Legislative control & extinguishment of Indigenous difference

7.1.1 Gradual Enfranchisement Act of 1869

After Confederation in 1867, Canada's Indian policy continued on its path of becoming more and more severe. In 1869, Secretary of State Hector Langevin tabled the Gradual Enfranchisement Act, which amplified the pressure initially embodied by the Gradual Civilization Act. In his annual report the previous year, Langevin notes:

The experience which I have gained since I took in hand the superintendence of the affairs of the Indians has convinced me that the time has come for facilitating the enfranchisement of a great number of those Indians who, by their education and knowledge of business, their intelligence and their good conduct, are as well qualified as the whites to enjoy civil rights and to be released from a state of tutelage. For this reason, I propose, with Your Excellency's sanction, to submit to Parliament a measure which would attain that object and would be more easily carried into effect than the present law respecting the Indian tribes of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec.

(Secretary of State, 1868, p. 2)

The Act imposed criteria for defining band membership on paternal lines and limited residence on-reserve to those who met the criteria for membership. Those who attained citizenship, through education, wealth accumulation, or other means, were no longer permitted to reside on reserve, and thus had no choice but to move. Similarly, the patrilineal definition of

membership imposed innately sexist provisions that would cause any female Indian to lose her membership should she marry a man without such status.

Critically, language policy began to seep in more explicitly to Indian policy legislation, with enfranchised Indians required to adopt European naming conventions that effectively required English or French names. The children of any enfranchised Indians, rather than being able to return to the community if their father died, instead had a tutor appointed for them by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. Their widowed mother was permitted to remain in her husband's home, but only "so long as in the opinion of the Superintendent General she lives respectably" (The Gradual Enfranchisement Act, 1869). The Act also set out a process for the election of Chiefs that limited participation to male-Indians over the age of twenty-one, and extended significant authority to the Superintendent General's office to intervene in elections. It also reserved for the Governor the right to remove any chief for "dishonesty, intemperance, or immorality" (The Gradual Enfranchisement Act, 1869).

Indigenous peoples did not meet the Act with passive acceptance, however. Shortly after it came into force, Indigenous peoples across Ontario gathered at Brantford and passed resolutions relating to the governance of Indigenous affairs. Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces between 1869-1873, noted in his first annual report:

A good deal of diversity of opinion exists among many of the more intelligent Indians, as to some clauses of the laws by which their affairs are regulated. A general council was held at Brantford during the past summer, and certain resolutions were passed, to which due weight will be given, should the Indian laws be revised. (Indian Branch, 1870, p. 3)

The government must not have thought much weight was due, as the resolutions had little bearing on the policy changes that would follow.

Throughout the late nineteenth century, pressure from Canada mounted on Indigenous peoples, as the Ministry of the Interior encouraged greater surveillance and interference for promoting their vision of civilizational progress. Minister of the Interior, David Laird, remarked in his report for 1874:

The local superintendents and agents should carefully observe the movements of those under their supervision, and report every sign of material, mental and moral improvement or retrogression. The adoption of this course would, no doubt, tend to mitigate some of the evils under which the Indians labor by bringing them prominently

into notice; and, on the other hand, it would furnish examples of achievements in certain quarters which might help to guide and encourage others elsewhere who are less successfully, yet faithfully, striving to elevate the Indian race. (Department of the Interior, 1874, p. 5)

The Minister had instructed local superintendents and agents to collect information on related matters, and reproduced summaries of their results in his reports. The Department of the Interior required increasing measures of control and surveillance to shape Indigenous futures, as Laird explained, “I am satisfied that the attainment of full and accurate knowledge of the real state of our Indian population will be attended with the best results” (1874, p. 5).

The policy of enfranchisement was framed in the context of liberal civilizational progress, in addition to having the side-benefit of saving the government expense. Laird noted in his Annual Report, “To grant enfranchisement to the intelligent and well-behaved Indians would probably train them to still further self-reliance, and encourage their brethren who are lagging behind to make greater exertions to overtake the Anglo-Saxon in the race of progress” (1874, p. 6). In considering revisions to the policy, chipping away at collective title to reserve lands remained a going concern for the Department, as Laird proposed that

...accompanied with enfranchisement, they should obtain, probably, at first an allotment of their proper share of the reserve to which they belong; then after four or five years continued good behaviour, the fee simple of said share; and, perhaps eventually, after a still longer probationary period, they might receive some proportion of the invested capital funds of their band. (1874, p. 6)

The cost of enfranchisement, of course, was proposed to be borne by the band.

7.1.2 The Indian Act of 1876

In 1876, assent was given to *An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians*, otherwise known as the Indian Act. It further limited Indigenous self-government, affirming a Canadian state-determined process for unilaterally defining which communities were recognized as “bands,” and who got to be counted among their membership (Montgomerie, 1993; Leslie, 2002). Its definitions for who constituted an “Indian” were also illustrative of the prevailing European settler gender ideologies:

The term "Indian" means

First. Any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band ;

Secondly. Any child of such person ;

Thirdly. Any woman who is or was lawfully married to such person. (Indian Act, 1876)

From the initial codification of the Indian Act, women derived their “Indian” status from their husbands, while male status was a matter of blood lineage and reputation. Where group members for Anishinaabeg could be determined either by lineage or social recognized belonging (whether through adoption or some other form of longstanding and immersive community participation) the Act effectively stipulated both criteria, which made it easier to exclude prospective members from band rolls. Genetic lineage was not enough to qualify as an Indian, particularly if through the processes of enfranchisement one were deemed to be sufficiently “civilized” as to no longer merit the so-called protections conferred by Indian status. Likewise, recognition and acceptance by the community as a member was not sufficient either. While genetic testing was obviously unavailable to the state at the time, it could still rely on genealogical records and accounts. Subsequent amendments to the Indian Act reaffirmed this goal of limiting band membership, as amendments in 1879 created a means for removing “half-breeds” through a process that is unlikely to have provoked much incentive:

And any half-breed who may have been admitted into a treaty shall be allowed to withdraw therefrom on refunding all annuity money received by him or her under the said treaty, or suffering a corresponding reduction in the quantity of any land, or scrip, which such half-breed as such may be entitled to receive from the Government. (An Act to Amend “The Indian Act, 1876,” 1879)

Of course, in Baawating, only a handful of self-proclaimed half-breeds, who were recognized as such by the local Anishinaabe and Métis communities, were included in the membership lists that followed the 1850 Robinson-Huron Treaty (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016). Yet the local Indian Agent who served throughout the end of the nineteenth century, William Van Abbott, would explain of the Batchewana band in his 1896 report to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs that “These Indians are descendants of the Chippewas mixed with French Canadian half-breeds, of which the latter are by far the greater number” (Indian Affairs, 1896, p. 16). This may have been a product of Prince’s efforts to displace Métis from Baawating, or it may reflect shifting perceptions of the boundaries of race in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. It may also

have been a product of declining band rolls due to migration for seasonal labour (and subsequent removal on the basis of now being ‘American’ Indians) that followed an economic downturn in the 1870s (Chute, 1998). While these group membership policies were not explicitly language policies, they impacted Indigenous communities by usurping Anishinaabe communities’ authority to determine their own constituents. As restrictions on access to reserve lands, and thus physical community locations, became increasingly severe in subsequent amendments to the Act, so too did it gradually create barriers for accessing certain linguistic speech communities.

Though the Indian Act was expansive in its reach, it was as its full name suggests largely a consolidation of existing policy. It spread such policy more consistently across the Dominion (with exceptions and special circumstances for the Northwest Territories, British Columbia, Manitoba, and the Territory of Keewatin, though they would come under its jurisdiction in subsequent amendments), and affirmed band council authority for a narrow range of local government responsibilities, including:

1. The care of the public health ;
2. The observance of order and decorum at assemblies of the Indians in general council, or on other occasions ;
3. The repression of intemperance and profligacy ;
4. The prevention of trespass by cattle ;
5. The maintenance of roads, bridges, ditches and fences ;
6. The construction and repair of school houses, council houses and other Indian public buildings ;
7. The establishment of pounds and the appointment of poundkeepers ;
8. The locating of the land in their reserves, and the establishment of a register of such locations. (Indian Act, 1876)

Among these responsibilities were the enforcement and policing of restrictions that were imposed by the act itself, expecting local governments to be complicit in carrying out the aims of the Government of Canada. The 1879 amendments would add to this list “the repression of noxious weeds” and:

The imposition of punishment, by fine or penalty, or by imprisonment, or both, for infraction of any of such rules or regulations,—the fine or penalty in no case to exceed

thirty dollars, and the imprisonment in no case to exceed thirty days. (An Act to Amend "The Indian Act, 1876," 1879)

Exercising the authority to fine or imprison members, however, would shift later from chiefs and councils, who may have been sympathetic to resistance to many of the impositions of the Act, to the local Indian Agents, eroding local control over governance. Elements that might have otherwise signalled some permissiveness of Indian uniqueness were also gradually eroded, such as the protocols for acquiring testimony from non-Christians, which were removed in the 1880 amendments to the Act (Indian Act, 1880).

Gradually the role of Indian Agents, or Agents of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, as they were first referred to in legislation, expanded as the turn of the century neared. Amendments in 1881 gave agents the power and authority of justice of the peace, and further amendments the next year conveyed the same authority as magistrates (An Act to Amend "The Indian Act, 1880," 1881; An Act to Further Amend "The Indian Act, 1880," 1882). They had the authority to chair and set agendas for band council meetings and increased the supervisory capacity of the Superintendent General. As justices of the peace and magistrates, Indian Agents enforced the restrictions of the Indian Act, such as prohibition from spirituous liquors and rules regarding proper occupancy and trespassing, as well as other provisions of Canadian law. William Van Abbott remarked on his challenges for laying charges for the sale of liquor to residents at Garden River in a place so close to the American border and with a population who had little regard for colonial territories, "There are several warrants out against them at present, but so soon as they hear of my appearance or the constable they move across the river" (Indian Affairs, 1893, p. 9).

Despite the growing control exerted by the Department of Indian Affairs, there continued to be manifestations of local resistance. Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples organized larger associations, such as the Grand Indian Council of Ontario and Quebec. At this body in 1884, then-Garden River Chief Buhkwujjenene advocated for changes to the Indian Act that would end the discriminatory provisions of the Indian Act that revoked a woman's right to reserve land if she married outside the band (Montgomerie, 1993). His efforts, unfortunately, would ultimately fail. Batchewana also began pursuing arrears in annuity payments, on the grounds that such payments were expected to increase with the profits that were generated from the sale and extraction of wealth from treaty lands (Indian Affairs, 1884b). The increased

value of land between 1850 and 1874 had not been recognized in the annuity payments prior to an increase in their amount to \$4 per member, per year (Indian Affairs, 1896). Disagreement between the provincial and dominion governments as to who was responsible for paying the arrears caused the delayed payment to drag out over decades (Indian Affairs, 1896).

More severe restrictions enacted under the Indian Act, such as the “pass system” which was enacted in 1885 limited free movement on and off reserve, was largely flouted (Montgomerie, 1993). However attendance at school, and the language of instruction at these schools, became a growing preoccupation of the Indian Department. A first attempt was made in 1884 to make school attendance mandatory, with little success. A few months later it was amended again to prohibit the potlatch, which also served community processes of wealth redistribution on the West Coast (Leslie, 2002). Though this amendment would have little effect on the upper Great Lakes, its consequences began to reach the region when it inspired further amendments in 1895 that expanded the ban to include any ceremonies that involved the redistribution of money or goods (Backhouse, 1999). In 1894, amendments once again turned to education, imposing strict penalties for failure to attend school (Leslie, 2002). Deputy Superintendent General for Indian Affairs from 1893 to 1897, Hayter Reed, commented that the enforcement of attendance at schools, and provisions to facilitate the removal of “trespassers,” and changes that prevented the conveyance of any Indian estate to non-Status Indians were among the most important changes to the legislation of this time (Indian Affairs, 1895). He also lamented that measures to encourage assimilation, including the 1884 Indian Advancement Act which only applied to those reserves named by Order-in-Council, were too permissive:

There seems, generally speaking, to be too much inclination to take advantage of such exemptions as special legislation has necessarily provided for the protection of Indians in the earlier stages of evolution, and to shrink from assuming the responsibilities of citizenship. (Indian Affairs, 1894, p. xviii)

Discourses of evolution, tutelage, and government-prescribed racial uplift permeated the construction of Indian Policy legislation and reports by government officials. Indeed, various staff pontificated on the failings and pitfalls of Indigenous cultures and character, and how legislative restrictions could be enacted to better recreate Indigenous peoples in the image of European (and in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly British) settler societies. And though Indian Affairs certainly did provoke debates between governments and

their opposition, the direction of the Indian Department changed little between the alternations between Conservatives governments and Wilfrid Laurier's Liberals accession. In 1897, Deputy Superintendent General James A. Smart discussed the limitations of traditional governance on the so-called advancement of Indigenous peoples in his annual report. He noted,

...in dealing with the Indians the department has for long time past kept before it as an ultimate end, their transformation from the status of wards into that of citizens. In the earlier stages of reclamation from the untutored state, chiefs and councillors or headmen have as a rule proved of great assistance in dealing with bands, but the hereditary system tends to retard the inculcation of that spirit of individuality without which no substantial progress is possible.

The department's policy has, therefore, been gradually to do away with the hereditary and introduce an elective system, so making (as far as circumstances permit) these chiefs and councillors occupy the position in a band which a municipal council does in a white community.

With this end in view the "Advancement Act" was framed, and the 75th section of the "Indian Act" enacted to provide the introductory or intermediate stage. The provisions referred to have not been taken advantage of as speedily or extensively as could have been desired.

The "Advancement Act" has been applied to the Cowichan, Kincolith, Metlakahtla, and Port Simpson Bands in British Columbia; to the Mississauguas of the Credit in Ontario; and to the Caughnawaga Band in Quebec; but only the two last mentioned have to any extent availed themselves of its provisions, and the Caughnawaga Band does not consider that having done so, has proved by any means an unmixed benefit (Indian Affairs, 1897, p. xxv)

The mechanisms elaborated in the Indian Act and the Indian Advancement Act expanded state control over the lives and livelihoods of Indigenous peoples, but had no demonstrable impact on any improvement or advancement, even by the Euro-centric standards of the late nineteenth century. Many legislators and government officials blamed treaty rights for protecting Indigenous peoples and keeping them within "an infantile state," particularly for their protection of harvesting rights (Calverley, 2018, p. 37).

After Chief Ogista Shingwauk's death in 1890, the Indian Department intervened to impose a new process for selecting chiefs on Garden River with voting limited to adult male members of the band. The Department's surveillance also increased after the elections, wielding the power to approve or reject any resolutions of the Council, as well as any election results it did not find acceptable. Montgomerie notes,

[Indian] Agents had considerable power to influence elections indirectly, and when that failed Ottawa could directly overrule band and council decisions. For example, George Kaboosa received 39 votes on 4 March 1916, in an election contested by two other candidates, George Shingwauk and Moses Larose. Kaboosa had a history of conflicts with William McNabb, the [Indian] agent, and as the next council meeting McNabb informed the band that their new chief would be Albert Wahbinosa, "as a result of the Department letter ... stating that they could not approve of any of the candidates as Chief." There was little disgruntled band members could do. (1993, p. 264)

The Department's new sweeping powers put Indigenous communities in the position of having no choice but to interact with the federal government, and to do so on the terms set by that government. Though Corbiere (2003) highlights important moments of resistance where communities insisted on corresponding in Anishinaabemowin, largely correspondence had to take place in English. Where even in previous points of colonial history, there existed many competing pillars of power with whom Anishinaabeg could engage, the consolidation of state boundaries and their administrative control limited that engagement. New & Therrien describe the widening reach of the high-modern Canadian state and the Indian Department under Deputy Superintendent, Lawrence Vankoughnet, noting how amendments to the Indian act demonstrate:

...how a bureaucrat exercising a technology of governmentality applying action-at-a-distance is able to control the most micro-economic transactions of commerce – with a direct effect on an individual's ability to put food on the table. Down to the minutest detail, including collecting a debt, passing on an inheritance to a family member or the division of a family estate, tribal decisions were under Vankoughnet's discretion. (2003, p. 86)

Under the guise of restricting 'uncivilized' behaviours, the state increasingly eroded the capacity for Indigenous peoples to exercise their traditional social and economic practices where

changes to the environment and encroachment of settlers hadn't already made it impracticable. Increasingly at the turn of the twentieth century, the use of Indigenous languages was one of those 'uncivilized' behaviours.

7.1.3 Court decisions and Indian policy in late nineteenth century Canada

The late 1880s also marked a series of important court decisions that had far-reaching implications for Anishinaabe rights and livelihoods in the upper Great Lakes, marking the emergence of the courts as a policy-making body with significant repercussions for Indigenous peoples, which would perpetuate to the present day. There were occasional victories for Anishinaabeg at the courts, even in the early days, such as the 1889 recognition of some of the errors in the survey following the Robinson Treaties that had unfairly limited many reserve lands (Marlatt, 2004). However for the most part, this policy making function was coloured deeply early on by the prevailing cultural biases of Euro-Canadian Justices.

Among the first arenas of contesting Indigenous rights was pursued by the provinces, who sought to have their jurisdiction acknowledged over a wider area. Calverley highlights the significance of the *St. Catharines Milling* decision as one in a series of conflicts between the Government of Ontario and the Government of Canada over control of natural resources:

The best known of these legal decisions, and the one that affected First Nations rights most directly, was the *St. Catharines Milling* decision in 1888. Concerned with the granting of federal timber license within the Treaty 3 area, which the Ontario government claimed jurisdiction over, this ruling undercut the legal standing of treaties in relation to provincial control of natural resources. Ontario premier Oliver Mowat argued before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council that the Anishinaabeg possessed no title to the land or resources because "there is no Indian title at law or equity. The claim of the Indians is simply moral and no more." (2018, p. 31)

Similarly, Turner highlights how the decision flowed from earlier usurpations of Indigenous rights, noting that "the Privy Council in England decided which kinds of rights Indians were to have over their territories without them even participating in that decision" (2006, p. 18). The decision was a major setback for Anishinaabe rights, expanding provincial incursions into jurisdictions that significantly impacted Indigenous peoples. The decision would pave the way

for further provincial restrictions on hunting and trapping, which it pursued to protect game stocks in Southern Ontario. Calverley argues that the province's "concern over wildlife, its attitude towards First Nations, and its reflexive response to any perceived threat to its jurisdiction led the province to wield its regulatory powers without compromise or compassion" (2018, p. 52).

The conservation movement, as it was manifested in settler society in Ontario and taken up by its government, was shaped by discourses of transcendentalism and economic utilitarianism (Calverley, 2018). The emerging urbanization surrounding the Lower Great Lakes and the industrialization that defined the more densely populated corners of Canada provoked a romantic nostalgia for communion with nature shared by other industrializing European and settler societies. Transcendentalism, as exemplified by such figures as Henry David Thoreau, juxtaposed a primitive self nourished by wilderness and a civilized self adapted to urban industrial capitalism, that had to be balanced (Calverley, 2018). Meanwhile, economic utilitarianism, which was the dominant ideological influence driving Canadian Indian policy since the union of the Canadas, intersected with this growing movement, and left Indigenous peoples portrayed as the threat to the preservation of the natural world for white enjoyment. That status Indians were not subject to emergent provincial controls on hunting led to them being portrayed as threats to the sustainability of several species and settler peoples' abilities to continue to exploit game resources for their own enjoyment and the growing industry of wilderness tourism. The sector became increasingly important for employment, particularly in the upper Great Lakes, as Calverley explains, "Tourists seeking a respite from the mental and physical breakdown Thoreau cautioned against headed by steamer to Lakes Huron and Superior in the 1860s to marvel at the vast forests, steep cliffs and raging rivers" (2018, p. 32). By the late 1800s, the province began exerting its newfound authority to impinge on Indigenous hunting rights, and found little opposition from the federal government that was still largely preoccupied with coercing Indigenous peoples to manifest an imaginary idyll of perpetually marginal Christian agrarianism (2018). Indeed, provincially imposed restrictions on hunting complemented federal efforts to force Anishinaabe communities to become more reliant on agriculture, even though the poor climate for agriculture made hunting an intuitive means for sustaining subsistence.

7.1.4 The game commission and the Preservation of Game Act of 1892

The government of Ontario passed the Game Act in 1892, which created closed seasons for most game and placed limits on what any one family could harvest (Calverley, 2018). Despite Ontario's efforts to expand its policy-making power over Indigenous peoples, it made explicit that it did not impinge on the harvesting rights of Indigenous peoples established in treaty. Non-native hunters were required to purchase licenses for particular game, with sport hunters paying two dollars, while settlers in unorganized townships who hunted largely for subsistence paid twenty-five cents (Calverley, 2018). The new fees more than covered the expenses of the Game commission and began to be a source of revenue for the province.

Still, there was growing concern for the sustainability of game stocks in the province and Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples were convenient targets. They were now “a menace to the viability of an important economic resource” (Calverley, 2018, p. 38). In 1895, a commission set up to investigate the impacts of conservation policies blamed Anishinaabeg partly for declining stocks, rather than lucrative sport hunting tourism. The commission recommended sending a “competent man well versed in the Indian languages, to make a tour of the Indian reserves in the northern portion of the Province, for the purpose of convincing the Indians that they are acting very foolishly and very much to their own detriment, in the useless and indiscriminate slaughter of game” (as cited in Calverley, 2018, p. 38). No such effort was undertaken, but subsequent reports continued to lament the impact of Indigenous harvesting on the plenty of game that provided mounting sources of revenue for the province. The 1906 report by the Game Commission projected a tenfold increase in wilderness tourism revenues for the province “in a few years if the attractions remain, namely an abundant supply of game and fish” (2018, p. 34). In 1905, the commission drew analogies between Indigenous peoples and wolves, noting “they did not ‘recognize ... close seasons, age or sex. Cow or calf moose is always preferred when required for food, and killed accordingly, irrespective of season or condition” (as cited in Calverley 2018, 36). As Calverley explains, “the commission equated First Nations with an ecological invasion, stating that only those parts of the province not ‘infested by Indians’ saw any increase in game population” (2018, p. 36).

Provincial game legislation would continue to recognize a treaty exemption until amendments in 1913, however multiple charges and restrictions were laid on Anishinaabeg

before this amendment. Yet such restrictions were upheld by magistrates, in spite of clear and explicit language within the legislation that honoured the treaty exemption, demonstrating the power of policy actors to create new meaning and consequences outside legislative processes for setting policy (2018). Similar to the actions of the reserve land surveyors, it demonstrates that policy is set also by the actions of individuals in their choice to take up or reinterpret directives from state-sanctioned authorities, and the power of hegemonic ideologies in shaping what can be rendered intelligible exceptions to otherwise clear policy directives.

7.2 Schools emerge as the nexus of assimilation

Schools were a tool of increasing importance in the government's competing ambitions to assimilate and marginalize Anishinaabe peoples. Churches were typically the initiators of any school in Anishinaabe country, as they offered a means for promoting the various manifestations of 'civilization' over which denominations disagreed were required for incorporation into Christian society. From the Bagot Commission onward, schools played a critical role in Canada's Indian policy. In his Annual Report for 1869, Secretary of State, Joseph Howe noted that "The Indians everywhere have been encouraged to self-reliance and mental development. The schools already in existence have been sustained, and others have been established or aided" (1869, p. 3). Five years later, the new Department of the Interior made it explicitly clear that schools were a central means for carrying out their assimilative function. Minister David Laird remarked:

...regard it as highly important that the Indian youth, where practicable, should be afforded an industrial school training. They require not merely the elements of an English education, but also to be taught and trained in some useful industrial pursuit.
(Department of the Interior, 1874, p. 6)

Laird's Deputy Superintendent General, Lawrence Vankoughnet, remarked two years later, echoing the sentiment, "Education is the primary principle in the civilization and advancement of the Indian Race — without it but little progress in that direction may be expected" (Department of the Interior, 1876, p. 6).

Though an education modelled on a hybrid of English practices and efforts to inculcate Anishinaabeg into agricultural and industrial wage-servitude was central to the government's vision, it remained an ambivalent interest among Anishinaabeg. Vankoughnet remarked:

...it is lamentable to observe the indifference to educational advantages, as evidenced by the few children who attend school, compared with the number in each Band who are of an age to do so; and the conviction is forced upon one, that the adoption of remedial measures, calculated to induce a more general and regular attendance, is called for.

(1876, p. 4)

The tables reproduced in the report identify 131 school aged children in the 3rd Division of the Northern Superintendency, which encompassed the areas from Garden River to Agawa Bay. Less than half of them (62) were enrolled, demonstrating that parents and communities still had some authority to keep their children out of school if they so wished. The Department proposed a number of interventions to drive up numbers, including a punitive incentive for teachers to increase their average attendance rates by making their salaries conditional on achieving such averages, and musing that “It would appear to be even advisable, in the interests of the young people, to render attendance at School compulsory, by Legislative enactment” (Department of the Interior, 1876, p. 6).

Nonetheless, the region hosted an early cornerstone of the system of Industrial schooling that would come to be known as the Indian Residential School System. The significance and torrid history of the Shingwauk Indian Residential School is well and thoroughly documented today in historical record, and by the archive administered by its Alumni Association, the Shingwauk Residential School Centre (Miller, 1990; TRC, 2015ab; SRSC, 2020). To recount its full impact and history would be beyond the scope of this study and be a pale approximation of the extensive work done in documenting the school’s legacy, however reference to the school and its impacts are important for understanding the changing language ecology of the region, the evolving relations between Anishinaabeg, Métis and settler peoples, and the trajectory of colonization in northern Ontario. As such, references to the residential school will focus on its impacts on language shift, however this should not be interpreted as overlooking or undermining the serious damage caused by the emotional, spiritual, physical and sexual abuse that took place at the institution up to the 1960s.

Schooling figured prominently in Canadian promises to Indigenous peoples and the benefits that would accrue either through treaty or mutual partnership. Though the Robinson Treaties made no explicit reference to education, many subsequent treaties northwest of early Ontario did.

The advocacy of Ogista and other Garden River community members to support the creation of an Industrial School began in the 1870s. As conveyed by oral histories in Garden River and the surrounding region, Shingwauk's Vision, as it is referred to in shorthand, emphasized the need for Anishinaabeg to adapt to the new emerging realities while still maintaining their identities as Anishinaabe peoples. It sought to create a teaching lodge, or *kinoomaagewigamig*, where Anishinaabeg would learn the best of what both European and Anishinaabe traditions had to offer, preparing them for success in a shared society while sustaining Anishinaabe world views and knowledge.

Reverend E.F. Wilson had a different interpretation of the purpose for a school. His own reporting of Ogista's speech emphasized the preparation for settler society, but made no reference to Anishinaabe teachings:

I told the black coats I hoped that before I died I should see a big teaching wigwam built at Garden River, where children from the Great Ojebway [*sic*] Lake would be received, and clothed, and fed, and taught how to read and write, and also how to farm and build houses, and make clothing, so that by-and-bye they might go back and teach their own people. (Wilson, 1886, p. 81)

Despite his comparative sympathies with Anishinaabeg in contrast to the ambivalent frustration of many other state actors, Wilson nonetheless shared a paternalistic stance that saw Anishinaabeg as requiring tutelage in accessing the presumed-necessary qualities of Euro-American civilization. His account of his journey with Ogista to visit Bishop Strachan in Toronto to request the creation of a school thus portrays Ogista in a deferential light:

Chief Little Pine [Augustin Shingwauk] was following his work in the lonely bush, his heart was sad at the thought of the black-coat (missionary) leaving them. Suddenly a thought entered his mind, it was as though an arrow had struck his breast, "I will go with him — I will journey with this black-coat where he is going. I will see the great black-coat (the Bishop of Toronto) myself, and ask that Mr. Wilson may come and be our teacher, and I will ask him also to send more teachers to the shores of the great Ojebway Lake, for why indeed are my poor brethren left so long in ignorance and darkness with no one to instruct them?" (Wilson, 1886, p. 79)

It is also possible that Ogista crafted his words for his audience. Wilson's reporting of Ogista's speech come from Ogista's dictation of his account of the journey when they stayed together at

Sarnia on their return (Wilson, 1886). Later in Wilson's career, his experiences with Ogista would demonstrate that Ogista played an influential role in the evolution of Wilson's thought and a reconsideration of his more orthodox expectations of the relationship between Indigenous peoples, churches and schools (Chute, 1998).

7.2.1 The Shingwauk & Wawanosh Homes

Bishop Strachan ultimately granted the request that Wilson be the Anglican missionary at Garden River and sanctioned the creation of an Industrial School in addition to the Day School, which suffered from poor attendance (Wilson, 1886). In 1874, the Shingwauk Home, or later the Shingwauk Indian Residential School, was established in Garden River with Wilson as its first principal, after fundraising for the school since 1871. It burned down a few days later, and was ultimately reconstructed in the eastern reaches of Sault Ste. Marie where Wilson purchased a lot, some three kilometres downstream from the heart of the settlement. The Anglican and Catholic Day Schools at Garden River continued, however, as by the time the Industrial school reopened in 1875 it targeted primarily youth from other communities. First pupils were recruited from around Lake Huron, including Manitoulin Island, Spanish, and Walpole Island, later coming from as far as the James Bay Coast.

In 1877, Wilson opened the Wawanosh Home for girls, which was located on a plot north of the township of St. Mary's, some five kilometres northeast of the Shingwauk Home. The home was named for Chief Wawanosh of the Chippewas of Sarnia (Aamjiwnaang) who was an Anglican convert like Shingwaukonse and Ogista, and assisted in Wilson's missions. The Wawanosh school was funded by the reallocation of federal funding in 1873 for an infirmary to be collocated at the Shingwauk Home (Indian Affairs, 1878). The Wawanosh home began with 15 students, while the Shingwauk Home for boys began with 48 (Indian Affairs, 1878; Department of the Interior, 1875).

Both schools early on required parents to sign an agreement stipulating the length of time for which their children should be admitted (Wilson, 1878). For apprentices, though they were paid a wage, the school held these monies in trust and they were forfeited if the apprentice ended their term early (1878). Wilson's description of the success of one student is illustrative of the type of curriculum that was pursued in the early years of the institution:

Joseph had been two and a half years in the Institution; he began with the first-part of the First Book and knew hardly any English; at Christmas he had finished the Fourth Book, was learning geography, grammar, English history, Latin, was playing on the organ, had become a capital baker, and could talk English well. (1878, p. 20)

In addition to English, Latin was taught for its liturgical and philological uses (from a decidedly Eurocentric point of view), while, reflecting the notion that English society represented the pinnacle of civilization, History lessons focused on England. By no means was this unusual for any colonial school of the era, however it is illustrative of the dominant cultural hegemonies at play.

The language of instruction at both the Industrial and Day Schools were initially a subtractive transitional bilingual model, beginning with Anishinaabemowin and incorporating progressively more English. Throughout the schooling systems across Canada, this mix of Indigenous and English language was common to instruction. Though Indigenous languages were by no means considered to be on equal status as English (or French for that matter), they were not yet innately considered a problem, and fluency in them was a sought-after characteristic for teachers in addition to clergy serving the interior, for whom it had been expected for the previous two hundred and fifty years.

But the low status of such languages, and the growing settler population seeking wage labour, rather than a vocation of “saving souls,” meant few teaching recruits had bothered to acquire these languages. In discussing the barriers to schools achieving their aims and retaining students, Vankoughnet in his 1877 report blamed first “the indifference and nomadic habits of the parents,” but secondly, “the general lack of interest on the part of the teachers in their work, as well as of knowledge of the two languages, English and Indian. If, however, they possessed the first qualification, the latter might be readily acquired” (Indian Affairs, 1877, p. 8). He continued, “Great patience as well as zeal is doubtless requisite in instructing Indian children, and unless teachers ‘have their hearts’ in the work, no success will attend their labour” (1877, p. 8).

Wilson illustrates how the bilingual transitional model worked at the Shingwauk school in his Annual Report for the home:

Every Wednesday evening we have bible class for the whole school. The boys are ranged in three classes. First of all the first class stands and commences reading the chapter,

verse by verse, in English. Then they sit down and the second class stands, and the chapter or lesson is continued, until it is concluded. The third class, meantime, sit and listen, not being, as yet, sufficiently advanced to join in the reading, but we translate every verse into the Ojebway tongue as the lesson proceeds, so that all, if they will listen, may well understand what is read. As soon as the reading is over we ask questions of the first class. Whoever can answer holds up his hand, and if he says right he goes up in his class. After all the chief points have been referred to, and answers made, by the first class, the same questions are put to the second class, and then again, a third time to the third class, the questions being given both in English and Ojebway, and the third class being allowed to make their answers in Ojebway if unable to frame them in English. In this way nearly every boy in the school gets a good idea of the subject by the time the lesson is concluded. (Indian Affairs, 1877, p. 21)

The boys at the Shingwauk Home, however, came from a variety of different communities throughout the upper Great Lakes in these early years, and there was likely significant dialectal variation in the languages they spoke (see Rhodes, 2020 for an overview of that variation in the Great Lakes region during the nineteenth century). The ability for Wilson and his instructors to offer instruction in Anishinaabemowin may speak either to the high degree of mutual intelligibility between these varieties, or that there was common understanding of the high-prestige variety of Anishinaabemowin that Wilson would have acquired as a missionary. Alternatively, there is also the possibility that Wilson's instruction did not work as seamlessly as was presented.

Regardless, particularly for junior students, maintaining a role for Anishinaabemowin — and instructors with the linguistic skills to instruct in the language — was an important part of the curriculum, however temporary it was intended to be. Wilson described the process of teaching twelve new students in the mid 1880s:

We commenced at once with twelve children, but found that unfortunately we had come without any alphabet cards [...] we cut the letters of the alphabet out of a newspaper, and pasted them on to a sheet of paper. Mr. Frost taught the children to sing several Indian hymns — “There is a happy land,” “Here we suffer grief and pain,” &c. (Wilson, 1886, pp. 151-152)

This passage also illustrates the training provided in literacy of the roman orthography. The orthography employed was based largely on a transposition of Anishinaabe sounds to English spelling conventions, and while wanting a stronger element of systematicity, from Wilson's account, the students were soon able to read in Ojibwe and make comparisons for the purpose of understanding novel English words and expressions. He later remarked on overhearing another group of students study with written materials:

I sat in the matron's rocking chair by the cook stove, and was amused to hear them puzzling over the English words, spelling, and helping one another; some of them had copies of my Ojebway grammar, and were teaching themselves the English sentences translated from the Indian. (Wilson, 1886, p. 158).

Despite producing a grammar and employing it in his work as both a missionary and as Principal of the Shingwauk Home, Wilson made few pretences, at least to the readers of his grammar, of being an expert in the subject. Rather he was motivated to fill a need resulting from his work that was particularly acute since Baraga's dictionary and grammar went out of print prior to the 1870s. More will be said on Wilson's work in compiling the manual in subsequent pages, but in so far as it is relevant to the impact of the changing nature of schooling on Anishinaabe society in Baawating, Batchewana and Garden River, such texts demonstrate the continued necessity for Anishinaabe language skills for missionaries and teachers working with Anishinaabeg in the late nineteenth century.

Still, the transition to English was of paramount importance at the Shingwauk school and most others, even from an early point in their histories. Wilson remarks,

We make a great point of insisting on the boys talking English, as, for their advancement in civilization, this is, of all things, the most necessary. Twice a week we have English class. The more advanced boys sit with their slates and write out definitions of English words; the rest of the boys form line in two classes and are taught *viva voce*, besides being put through certain manual exercises, such as shutting the door, putting a slate on the bench, pulling down the blind, &c., &c.; the object being to teach them to understand, and obey promptly, directions given in English. (1878, p. 20)

Acting out such scenarios also facilitated the acquisition of the trait most desired for their employability: Obedience. Though initially permissive of Indigenous language use among new pupils and encouraged for teachers to convey concepts effectively to those acquiring the new

language, the school's policy regarding English was proudly strict. In describing the visit of the School Inspector to the Shingwauk Home, Wilson wrote:

About two weeks ago both the Homes were officially visited and examined by Mr. R. McLean, the School Inspector. He spoke in high terms of praise of both our institutions, and was specially struck with the readiness with which our pupils understood and spoke English. This is one of the chief points we aim at, and, on the whole have certainly been successful. Not a word of Indian is heard from our Indian boys after six months in the institution. All their talk among themselves while at play, is in English. Even those who knew not a word of the English tongue when they came to us last fall, now talk nothing else among themselves. We bring this about principally by great strictness — sometimes punishing heavily any old pupil who presumes to break the rule. The boys feel the benefit of it, and do not rebel. (Indian Affairs, 1884b, p. 24)

Teachers and administrators also enlisted students to police each other's use of Anishinaabemowin or other Indigenous languages. Wilson writes:

We have also a plan by which the boys are induced, in a good-humoured way, to keep a check on one another about talking Indian. A certain number of buttons, of a particular pattern, are given out to the boys, every Saturday, five each. To boys who can scarcely speak English at all, two each to those who can talk a little, and none to those who can talk well. If any boy hears another talk Indian, he says to him, "Give me your button," and when Saturday comes round again, each boy produces his buttons and receives nuts in exchange; after which a re-distribution is made. (1878, p. 20)

Even in early days, the Shingwauk Home was hardly a welcoming or attractive place for a child, and it was not unusual for students to feel hungry or lack nourishment. In this instance, that hunger was mobilized to break down solidarity between pupils and prevent students from speaking their first language.

In later years, after Wilson was succeeded as principal first by John Irvine, and later by George King, the school's curriculum was organized into the standards set down by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1894, into which students would advance depending on their progress (Indian Affairs, 1894). For English, Standard I focused on learning the roman alphabet and the sounds with which letters were associated, as well as simple word recognition and sentence structures. Standard II progressed in writing, and incorporated dictation of words and

simple sentences. Each Standard built on the previous learned content, with the third adding the composition of “sentences about objects and actions” and an exploration of homonyms, the fourth incorporating letter writing and a “general knowledge” course, and the fifth enlarged the variety of sentence structures examined. The sixth and final standard for English at the Shingwauk Home added the “analysis of simple sentences” and “parts of speech” to previous areas of study (Indian Affairs, 1895, p. 396). A note at the end of the programme expressed the emphasis that the Department placed on conveying English to Indigenous students: “Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English, and to teach them to understand it: unless they do, the whole work of the teacher is likely to be wasted” (Indian Affairs, 1895, pp. 298-9).

Other elements of the prescribed curriculum demonstrate a realignment to favour the Department’s goals of assimilation, as well as its increasing coerciveness. The history curriculum, introduced in Standard III, begins with “Stories of Indians of Canada and their civilization,” of course from the perspective of white colonists. Standard IV focused on the history of the school’s province, while subsequent standards focused on general Canadian history (Indian Affairs, 1895, p. 298). Ethics was pursued from Standard I, beginning with “The practice of cleanliness, obedience, respect, order, neatness” and progressed into Standard V which included “Citizenship of Indians. Patriotism. Industry. Thrift. Selfmaintenance. Charity. Pauperism” (1895, p. 298). Imbued within the curriculum were racist perspectives on Indigenous ways of life and values, with a conscious and unreflective effort to imbue a sense of innate inferiority that must be overcome to join an ostensibly more advanced white settler society. Thus Standard VI in ethics addressed the topics of “Indian and white life. Patriotism. Evils of Indian isolation. Enfranchisement. Labour the law of life. Relation of the sexes as to labour. Home and public duties” (1895, p. 298). Lest any sympathetic schoolmasters or teachers wish to moderate the disparaging curriculum, it was distributed to schools with the proviso that “The programme of studies herein prescribed shall be followed by the teacher as far as the circumstances of his school permit. Any modifications deemed necessary shall be made only with the concurrence of the department” (1895, p. 396).

The early work of the Shingwauk Home, nonetheless, was heralded by the Department of the Interior (later the Department of Indian Affairs) for preparing students for agricultural and industrial pursuits, including tinsmithing, blacksmithing, boot making, telegraphing, and

carpentry (Indian Affairs, 1879; 1884; 1894). By 1884, the school itself became so reliant on the labour of its students for sustaining its operations and generating revenue that “a certain portion” of them were denied summer holidays, “our work having so far progressed that we find it now impossible to keep things in order when all hands are away,” and the work for which sufficient students ostensibly volunteered (as cited in Indian Affairs, 1884b, p. 24). The carpentry work of the boys gradually developed a broader clientele than most other trades, as they were commissioned to do work in the village of Sault Ste. Marie and constructed the Garden River council hall in 1894 (Indian Affairs, 1894).

The Shingwauk Home operated on a half-day system, where mornings were spent on academic subject matter, including English reading and writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, music and other subjects depending on the progress of the student. The afternoon was dedicated to industrial and agricultural crafts. One observer, Miss E. Bolton, principal of the Normal Kindergarten School in Ottawa, remarked on the format during her inspection of the schools in 1894: “Certainly, from a scientific standpoint, your schools will be on a very solid basis. There is no doubt in the mind of educators generally that there is no true education given which does not combine technical and intellectual training, and your half-day system seems to me to be the height of perfection” (Indian Affairs, 1895, p. xxxii). The influence of enlightenment-discourses on the project of assimilation for the sake of civilizational advancement is apparent in Bolton’s reference to the “scientific standpoint,” that the empirical results prove the value of the experiments (however distant such notions may be from discussions of scientific rigour today). On those results, she continued,

When one sees the Indians in their native state, as I saw them, and then sees them and talks with them in the schools, as I did, one cannot fail to remark the great strides made and even if only a few fulfil all your desire, yet your government has much cause to be thankful, as even in our schools, after centuries of training, the number are few who fully realize all our expectations. (Indian Affairs, 1894, p. xxxii)

The pleasant surprise underlying the Bolton’s conclusions reflect the predominant view among settler educators, missionaries and officials working with Indigenous peoples that there were significant gaps among Indigenous peoples’ intellectual capacity and what were the expectations of model, settler citizens. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Edgar Dewdney, illustrated this in his 1888 report, underscoring the necessity of education from a young age:

As [...] the improved methods now employed for the amelioration of the condition and the mental enlightenment of many are applied to all of the bands, the progress of the Indian towards complete civilization will be more rapid, and his eventual emancipation from the present state of ignorance, superstition and helplessness, in which too many of them still remain, will be more assured; and it is submitted and earnestly pressed that the most essential level for the elevation of the race would be the adoption of a vigorous policy of imparting to the young a thorough practical knowledge of mechanical arts and of agriculture, as well as of other employments, including a systematic method of ordering and managing their domestic affairs — In short, a complete training in industries and in domestic economy. (Indian Affairs, 1888, p. ix-x)

This passage also exemplifies the gradual push for the standardization of education methods in the Department's dealings with Indigenous peoples, which propagated the uniformity of the Indian Residential School System across Canada.

7.2.2 Standardization of industrial and residential schooling

The emphasis on industrial and “domestic economy” skills, and their gendered application, it has already been asserted, were pressed to advance assimilation into the dominant settler economy. However, while some individuals, Reverend Wilson notably, highlighted and celebrated the accomplishments and ability to excel of a number of his Anishinaabe students, the system at large provided training geared toward working-class and serving vocations. Though assimilation was a goal, there was little pretence, particularly in the early days of the school system, that students would occupy equal footing of their white contemporaries upon their completion. Indeed, moving Indigenous peoples from the lifeways of their parents to a competent and flexible underclass would alleviate expenses for the state without upsetting the racial order that shaped Canadian settler society. Dewdney highlighted this perception of Anishinaabeg as burdens on the public purse in his 1891 report, where he explained:

I need hardly add that the sacred trust with which Providence has invested the country in the charge of and care for the aborigines committed to it carries with it no more important obligation than the moral, social, literary and industrial training of the Indian

youth of both sexes; and money expended with this object in view must surely be regarded as well spent, accomplishing as it will, through the education and training imparted, not only the emancipation of the subjects thereof from the condition of ignorance and superstitious blindness in which they are, and their parents before them were sunk, but converting them into useful members of society and contributors to, instead of merely consumers of, the wealth of the country. (Indian Affairs, 1891, p. x)

Notably, however, such discourses are also couched within notions of divine responsibility for moral and social uplift, justifying such expenses, however temporarily (Indian Affairs, 1891). These expenses, along with the protections of treaty rights noted previously, were represented frequently as benefits and advantages that protected Indigenous peoples from the cruel consequences of competing with the now-numerically dominant white population. Among the perceived deficiencies that settler officials, missionaries and educators critiqued were conceptions of “work ethic.” It’s worth noting, however, that the Industrial School system came under scrutiny as more Indigenous peoples were able to compete with white settlers for jobs in the trades (Chute, 1998). The Indian Agent stationed at Sault Ste. Marie, William Van Abbott, noted “The Indians are good workers when at it, but as a rule, after earning money enough to go on with, they take a rest” (Indian Affairs, 1896, p. 18). In a context where capital accumulation, coloured by racial stratification, defines economic systems of production and reproduction, working enough to get by became a deficiency in the eyes of Van Abbott and others.

Frequently these deficiencies were attributed to an innate, rather than circumstantial inferiority, which defined many of the debates over settlement and Indigenous relations within the white settler polity at the turn of the century. Illustrating the oppositional stance of his contention that Indigenous peoples were not innately intellectually inferior to white people, Wilson described his decision to personally finance the tuition of a promising student, David Waubegegis, at Trinity College School, noting he did so “as an experiment, and in order to prove to those who are sceptical about the intellectual powers of Indians, that an Indian boy is as capable of acquiring knowledge as a white boy” (1886, p. 19). Nonetheless, Christian European civilization, values, and knowledge were taken for granted to be superior to the ways of life and knowing that Anishinaabeg had manifested. Advocates from decades earlier for non-

intervention or partnership had given way to competing interpretations of duty, civilizational progress, and the narrow prospects for coexistence.

Desiring to limit the perpetuation of these so-called deficiencies was also a preoccupation of the Indian Department and educators. As Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, James A. Smart, observed in 1898, sustaining the impacts of schooling was greatly abetted by breaking down the locations of Indigenous culture, which is to say, Indigenous communities. Promoting, if not coercing Anishinaabeg to settle in predominantly white villages and cities encouraged their continued adaptation to settler society, rather than reverting to the ways of life manifested by their communities on-reserve. Smart notes,

Should the pupils prior to returning to the reserves, go out to service or follow any trade or occupation in a white community, the danger of their retrogression should be proportionately less, and if they have been successful and provident they will be in a better position to make a start for themselves on the reserves. (Indian Affairs, 1898, p. xxviii)

Exclusion from Anishinaabe communities was not only a concern for graduates, but an underlying rationale for the residential industrial school model in the first place. Removing Anishinaabe children from their families interrupted the transmission of values, practices, skills, and language from one generation to the next. This was a fate recognized by Anishinaabe families, as parents would publicly recognize the value of education, even contribute meagre earnings to the salaries of teachers and the construction of schools, but frequently keep their children back from classes, particularly in Day schools where guardians had more direct and frequent interaction with their children and awareness of what was happening in the schools.

As the century drew to a close the Department, and many of the officials associated with the school system, increasingly explicitly favoured boarding schools, similar to the Shingwauk Home, the Mohawk Institute, and other early precursors, for the distance that they put between pupils and their parents and communities. Dewdney wrote in the 1889 Department report, that:

Much, however, has still to be done in the cause of education by the inauguration of a more perfect system and the extension of educational advantages to Indian communities that have not as yet been reached, or in regard to whom, if day schools have been established, they have provided ineffectual in accomplishing the objective in

view. It is to be deplored that this is the case within very many of the Indian communities among whom day schools are conducted, and the importance of the establishment more generally of boarding schools at convenient points is greatly enhanced by this consideration.

The boarding school dissociates the Indian child from the deleterious home influences to which he would be otherwise subjected. It reclaims him from the uncivilized state in which he has been brought up. It brings him into contact from day to day with all that tends to effect a change in his views and habits of life. By precept and example he is taught to endeavour to excel in what will be most useful to him. (1889, p. x-xi)

Dewdney's perspective would be echoed by successive generations of Indian Affairs officials, as exemplified by his successor, Hayter Reed, commenting in the 1894 report that:

Experience has proved that the industrial and boarding schools are productive of the best results in Indian education. At the ordinary day school the children are under the influence of their teacher for only a short time each day and after school hours they merge again with the life of the reserve. It can readily be seen that, no matter how earnest a teacher may be, his control over his pupils must be very limited under such conditions. But in the boarding or industrial schools the pupils are removed for a long period from the leadings of the uncivilized life and receive constant care and attention. It is therefore in the interest of the Indians that these institutions should be kept in an efficient state as it is in their success that the solution of the Indian problem lies. (Indian Affairs, 1894, p. xviii)

Reed's invocation of "the Indian problem" speaks to the perspective of the Government of Canada largely held from the early nineteenth century onward: Indigenous peoples, particularly their ways of life, the lands they occupied, and the practices that maintained their cultures, were perceived as a "problem" for Canada.

Such sentiments were also echoed by Wilson, though with less visceral disdain for Indigenous cultures, as he wrote a few years earlier:

Those who came from a distance had their travelling expenses paid by their band; and we thought if anything, it was an advantage to get them, as their homes were too far off for them to be likely to run away if they became home-sick. (1886, p. 127)

Notably the expense of traveling to these farther removed institutions was borne by Indigenous communities, placing the cost of assimilation on Indigenous communities themselves. Wilson was also preoccupied with attendance, even in the context of an Industrial School. He wrote in his report the following year:

The only thing that causes me trouble and dissatisfaction is that the Indian parents are not obliged to keep to their agreements to make their children remain with us for a term of years, and that they can with impunity keep back their children after vacation, retain institution clothing and harbour runaways. I think the sooner this state of things can be remedied, the better. (Indian Affairs, 1887, pp. 18-19)

Indeed, it was the advice of figures like Wilson, however more sympathetic they may have been to Indigenous causes than officials in Ottawa, that guided the Department in setting its future policy of favouring residential Industrial schools and enforcing mandatory attendance.

It is also worth noting that Wilson attributes the phenomenon of students running away from his school to “home sickness” as opposed to how students experienced their treatment, particularly in contrast to the cultural context in which they were raised in Anishinaabe and other Indigenous communities. Yet while distance was a disincentive, it was by no means innately preventative of student efforts to escape. In the first sixteen years of the Shingwauk Home, Wilson reported that 39 pupils ran away, and 15 died, often from illnesses such as consumption (Indian Affairs, 1890). In one instance of runaway students, Wilson pursued three boys with other Shingwauk Home staff to St. Joseph Island, where they located the boys taking refuge in a Métis man’s “shanty,” ultimately bringing them back to the Home (Wilson, 1886, p. 169).

Wilson was also interested in the question of whether Industrial schools were better suited near or far from the communities from which they drew students. He put his theories on the best methods for promoting Indigenous assimilation to the test in response to the Northwest Resistance, making at least four annual trips to Manitoba and the Northwest following the rebellion (Indian Affairs, 1887). He wrote in 1885, “... it is my desire to make use of the present crisis to extend our work among the Indians, to enlarge our present buildings and to increase the number of our pupils.” (Indian Affairs, 1886, p. 24). In complementary fashion, the motivation underlying his first mission was

...to prove whether or not Indian parents would be willing to allow their children to go great distances for their education, whether or not it would be better for Indian Institutes to be built in the immediate neighbourhood of the Indian reserves, or at a distance from them. (Indian Affairs, 1887, p. 25)

Initially this served his experiments to see how far afield families would let their children travel for the promises of education, and of frequent concern to Wilson, how to recruit enough pupils to keep the Shingwauk Home solvent.

However he was also dedicated to his larger vision for Indian education, and ultimately opened another sister institution to the Shingwauk Home in Elkhorn, Manitoba, and in later years an abortive effort to establish another in Medicine Hat, Alberta. The Elkhorn School was founded in 1888 and closed in 1949.

From his experience he concluded that “it is not only possible, but also is the wisest course, to take Indian children entirely away from home influences for their education” (Indian Affairs, 1887, p. 25). He further claimed to have proved his point by virtue of the fact that he had brought back with him Siksikáwa and Nakhóta boys some “900 and 1,500 miles from their homes” (Indian Affairs, 1887, p. 25).

In 1888, he concluded a tour of 13 US Indian Boarding Schools, travelling as far as New Mexico. As the Shingwauk Home drew more of its students from outside Anishinaabe territory, however, its program of transitional bilingual education became less tenable. Singing Ojibwe hymns and perusing Wilson’s grammar was not as useful an aid to students who spoke neither Anishinaabemowin or English.

Another factor in the Department’s preference for industrial residential schools was that they were easier to staff. Day schools on reserve were often far from white settlements, and the settler population in Canada gave a decreasing consideration to Indigenous peoples as an innate part of the country they occupied, and were increasingly drawn to wage labour with which Indigenous people had little to do. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were fewer and fewer teaching candidates who saw Indian education, however paternalistically it was conceived, as a calling to fill the growing number of teaching positions. In his 1893 report, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs Lawrence VanKoughnet remarked:

As regards the day schools on Indian reserves, as has been repeatedly said, the circumstances incidental to their being established on reserves of themselves make

them a very imperfect means of education; and the salaries which the Department finds itself able to offer are totally inadequate to induce well qualified and certificated teachers to undergo the hardships and deprivations attendant upon filling such positions on Indian reserves. It is, therefore, only in cases where the amount paid by the Department is supplemented by a grant from the religious denomination, under whose auspices the school is conducted, that a properly certificated teacher's services can be obtained; and even then, it is with difficulty, as no residences are provided for the teachers. To meet this want there are, therefore, only two alternatives open to the teacher, neither of which can be regarded as pleasant, viz., either to lodge at an Indian house, or to occupy a portion of the school building as a residence. Either of these modes of lodgement necessarily involves very cramped quarters, with in the former, the additional discomfort of uncongenial surroundings, if nothing worse. (Indian Affairs, 1893, p. xiv)

By the 1890s it was no surprise that, even among those settlers willing to travel far from the locations of dense white settlement, cohabiting with or among "Indians" was necessarily uncomfortable and "uncongenial." This is a remarkable contrast to the missionaries, voyageurs, soldiers and even many early state and fur trade officials who made the journey to the pays d'en haut in the early nineteenth century and times before it. Even the day schools in Garden River, less than ten miles from the growing settlement at Sault Ste. Marie, experienced difficulty in recruiting teachers. Indian Lands Agent, William Van Abbott remarked in 1886 that the Anglican day school at Garden River had to close temporarily for want of a teacher after the departure of its principal, and Abbott saw "no prospect at present of getting one, the salary being too small to induce anyone to take charge of it" (Indian Affairs, 1886, p. 8).

7.2.3 Attendance & resistance to colonial schooling at residential & day schools

Whether a matter of students running away from boarding schools or parents refusing to enforce their children's attendance at day schools, the perceived "disinterest" exhibited by Indigenous peoples toward colonial schooling was attributed to innate faults within "Indian character." In 1891, Dewdney wrote about an apparent contrast between the zeal with which

communities will organize a school and their respective concern for children's attendance (Indian Affairs, 1891). This contrast straddles, however, a disconnect between what is promised and what is delivered. Education was, according to missionaries and colonial officials, the key to uplift and economic progress, to being free from hunger and hardship. However, even successful graduates were largely relegated to the margins of the labour force, and meanwhile the regimented school schedule interfered with the activities that families needed to pursue in order to survive. These factors alone might have been enough to prevent the success of day schools, without factoring in the mistreatment that students experienced at the hands of their teachers.

Though it was not an evident concern to the teachers and Indian Land Agent at Sault Ste. Marie in the 1880s and 90s, in locations further west many parents also rejected the religious indoctrination that was promised to their children. Deputy Superintendent James Smart noted in 1898, "Among those who have not renounced paganism, the belief prevails that the children will be educated into other creeds, which will affect their existence in a future state, and separate them from their parents in the great hereafter" (Indian Affairs, 1898, p. xxvii). Such separations were often invoked in pleas by missionaries to the family members of converts to join their kin in the fold of Christendom, so such protestations were hardly a unique invention of "superstitious" parents.

Keeping children back from attending classes was the dominant form of resistance to the experience of day schools, in addition to serving practical needs of meeting the requirements of subsistence and transmitting skills for survival to the next generation. Throughout the time that records were reported to Ottawa on day school attendance in Garden River, both the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools exhibited the larger national trend at work.²³ From 1877 to 1900, daily attendance at the Roman Catholic school averaged just over 52%, fluctuating greatly year-to-year with a high of 69% in 1878, and a low of 38% in 1893 (Indian Affairs, 1878, 1893). The Protestant school fared much worse, already bearing lower raw numbers of attendance, as the

²³ Records from Garden River Roman Catholic and Church of England day schools first reported on attendance in 1876, but in both cases reported the average daily attendance as the same number as those enrolled. Given the number is the same for both schools, that both schools had the same teachers in 1876 as they did in subsequent years with lower attendance, and that William Van Abbott never referenced this period as one of exemplary attendance in any of his reports suggests that the figures from 1876 are likely inaccurate and have thus been excluded.

Protestant population was much smaller, despite the political power of the Church. The Garden River band was roughly equally split between Catholic and Anglican adherents, while the Batchewana band was nearly entirely, if not at least nominally, Catholic. Attendance at the Protestant school averaged 40% over the same period, and shared the same significant year-to-year variations as its Catholic counterpart. Average attendance never exceeded its high-water mark of 57% in 1881, however, and dropped to a paltry 24% in 1886, with only six of twenty-five enrolled students who could be counted on to attend regularly (Indian Affairs, 1881, 1886). Officials such as school principals, the Indian Agent Van Abbott, and bureaucrats in Ottawa celebrated at various changes of fortune in attendance at the schools, however as Table 1 illustrates, upswings rarely ever lasted. Among the reasons for one of these increases were changes to the Indian Act that conferred on Indian Agents the authority of magistrates and the ability to appoint constables. In 1896, Van Abbott, reflecting on the previous year's increase in attendance attributes this success in "good deal owing to the constable, W. J. Pine, who went among all the parents insisting on their sending their children to school, and looking after those who strayed away" (Indian Affairs, 1896, p. 19). This success was short lived, however, as attendance at the Anglican School declined from 55% of those enrolled in 1895 to 31% the next year, never exceeding 50% again until the turn of the century.

Table 4	Garden River Anglican School			Garden River Roman Catholic School		
Year	Enrolled	Avg. Daily Attendance	Per cent Avg. Attendance	Enrolled	Avg. Daily Attendance	Per cent Avg. Attendance
1877	45	19	42%	32	14	43%
1878	42	18	43%	26	18	69%
1879	34	18	53%	28	15	54%
1880	24	13	54%	36	18	50%
1881	21	12	57%	37	20	54%
1882	34	19	56%	45	25	56%
1883	23	10	44%	32	18	56%

1884	25	9	36%	25	14	56%
1885	25	7	28%	28	14	50%
1886	25	6	24%	29	17	59%
1887	29	11	38%	33	18	55%
1888	40	15	38%	39	23	59%
1889	34	12	35%	35	19	54%
1890	36	12	33%	37	19	51%
1891	31	14	45%	38	19	50%
1892	36	15	42%	48	23	48%
1893	38	10	26%	42	16	38%
1894	33	10	30%	49	24	49%
1895	51	28	55%	Not Reported	Not Reported	Not Available
1896	49	15	31%	71	32	45%
1897	44	20	46%	105	47	45%
1898	45	19	42%	76	42	55%
1899	47	13	28%	77	35	45%
1900	37	19	51%	68	39	57%

Table 4: Enrolment and attendance at GR Day Schools (1877-1900) (Indian Affairs, 1877-1900)

Boarding schools, by contrast, intercepted the intervention of families, which is what endeared them to colonial officials. However even in such circumstances, and particularly when those schools were within reasonable travelling distance from the students' home communities, many managed to intervene in spite of significant resistance from the schools themselves. One such occasion at the Shingwauk Home is worth noting, not only for intervention of parents advocating on behalf of their children, but also in illustrating how the school mobilized to defend itself against allegations of mistreatment. In 1876, the first edition of the Algoma

Missionary News contained a description of Wilson's reaction to a letter of complaint from one of the students' fathers. It reads:

Mr Wilson a short time ago received a letter from the father of one of the boys in the home complaining of the manner in which his son was fed and otherwise treated.

Feeling how entirely unjust were these charges, he showed the letter to three monitors [senior students] and asked them to reply to it. They expressed great readiness to do so, and this is what they said:

Dear Sir,

We are now writing this letter to you and let you know what we think about your letter what you sent to Mr. Wilson, telling him about your son that he does not get enough clothing and he does not get enough to eat and he does not go to school: but of course he did not go to school once in three weeks while the bootmaking was going on, but now there is no boot-making since Mr. Wilson return. And your son is not short of clothes he had 3 pair Trousers given to him since he came here besides other clothes, and he does not live on porridge only. There were 10 cattle killed last Fall & 3 hogs. It is very hard to take care of 50 children and it is hard for Mr Wilson to find everything. Mr Wilson went to England this winter. He did not go that far distance for himself but for us, and he was nearly drowned on the Ocean coming home so he would have died doing good to the Indians. He is working hard for the Shingwauk Home. The letter you wrote we think is not right, all this is given you for nothing you don't have to pay anything.

This is all we bid you goodbye we are the monitors (Algoma Missionary News, 1876, pp. 2-3)²⁴

Wilson enlisted three of his senior pupils who had risen to the rank of monitors to respond to the father. The letter clearly emphasizes pity for Wilson and the sacrifices that he makes and dismisses the complaints levied by the boy's parent. Indeed, the line "all this is given you for nothing you don't have to pay anything" reaffirms the stereotypes of Indigenous peoples as ungrateful, entitled, and ignorant of the value of hard work and sacrifice. Missing from the letter, notably, is any reference to the experience or sentiments of the student in question.

²⁴ The letter was signed by three monitors.

With ambivalent interest and support within Anishinaabe communities, missionary teachers, such as Rev. Wilson and his contemporaries at the day schools, relied on both political support, but also endeavoured to cultivate interest among Christian charitable networks. The Algoma Missionary News was one such endeavour, which lasted from 1876 to 1956. As the previous excerpt from its first issue demonstrates, it shared news of the missions in Algoma, including the Shingwauk Home. Largely it sang the praises of such institutions, as one of its 1883 issues exemplifies, where it printed “If you remarked upon the intelligence, energy and superior appearance of any one [Indigenous youth], you were sure to hear ‘Ah! He is (or was) a Shingwauk boy,’ or ‘she is at the Wawanosh’” (1883, p. 5). In the mid-1880s, Wilson also launched a monthly newsletter under the banner “Our Forest Children.” By 1888 it had 700 subscribers, and the following year became a 16 page magazine. Interest in the periodical was also drummed up by Wilson’s travels to the west and the United States, where he recruited subscribers (Indian Affairs, 1888, 1889). In it Wilson would include each month “a concise history with some insight into the grammar and vocabulary of the language of one Indian tribe, also as much information as possible as to the condition of the various tribes and the efforts that are being put forth for their improvement” (Indian Affairs, 1889, p. 22). By 1890 it had proven so successful that it became a national publication, rebranded as “The Canadian Indian” with the co-editor, H.B. Small. Today, such publications are illustrative of the earnest condescension and sense of moral superiority that was so pervasive among the region’s Victorian missionaries, such as where the Algoma Missionary News proceeded after praising student accomplishments, “Still much watchful care and kind encouragement is needed, line upon line, and precept upon precept, to prevent the good acquired being overborne by the lingering listlessness and inertness of Indian life and character” (1883, p. 5).

Such measures assisted with fundraising, but did little in the manner of addressing issues of attendance. To that end, the Indian Act became one of the most important policy tools for Ottawa and local officials alike. With the growing control over band council affairs and early attempts to mandate school attendance deriving from amendments to the Act in the early 1880s, a number of band councils passed resolutions mandating local attendance. Dewdney writes in 1891:

Educational matters among the Indians of the province have been fairly successful. The Indians on a number of their reserves have through their councils passed rules and

regulations for ensuring more regular attendance on the part of the pupils, and in respect to school matters in general on the reserves concerned. These rules have, with slight emendations, been confirmed by Your Excellency in Council, and they have, therefore, under the provisions of the Indian Act, the authority of law. (Indian Affairs, 1891, p. xxi)

Garden River and Batchewana were not among those bands, as the data from Table 1 may have foreshadowed, and nor was Michipicoten, the other band under William Van Abbot's superintendency.

The Department's efforts to promote enrolment and attendance at schools were not only directed at parents and children. The quality of instruction was flagged by the Department as a factor in the efficacy of the schools, even if communities and the Department had sometimes divergent notions of what constituted 'quality.' By 1880, it had mandated systematic inspections of schools, as well as requiring teachers "to hold certificates of competency and character from School Boards or other competent authorities" (Indian Affairs, 1880, p. 7). Notably the same year, the Department is said to have "instructed [teachers] to adapt the periods of vacation to the time when the Indians will be absent from the reserves," so that predictable periods of family labour, such as the sugar bush in early Spring, or seasonal harvests of fish, game or berries, would not result in the systematic exclusion of children who wished to attend (1880, p. 7). However, there is no evidence in the historical record from what I have been able to uncover that any such accommodations occurred at the Garden River schools in the late nineteenth century. This perhaps is illustrative of another instance where federal policy that would have actually favoured Indigenous peoples was not taken up by the agents of the state responsible for carrying it out.

The Department was also concerned with the consistency, efficiency, and predictability of the Indian educational system. The era of high modernism shaped the policy goals of Ministers and public servants alike. Despite acknowledging (at least somewhat) the diversity of Indigenous peoples across the half-continent that was claimed by the Dominion of Canada, uniformity in curriculum, process, and practices within the education system was a growing concern in the late nineteenth century. John A. Macdonald wrote, of efforts to systematize schools while he was also acting as the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs during his Prime Ministership:

The important subject of schools is receiving careful attention from the Department. It was found that the information in its possession as to the actual requirements as regards the educational facilities of the numerous Indian tribes and bands in the Dominion was insufficient to admit of a comprehensive scheme such as would embrace all the various Indian communities being propounded. Succinct information is being obtained, with a view to the inauguration of a more perfect system than at present exists. (Indian Affairs, 1886, p. lxvii)

Increasingly, the coercive powers of the state figured prominently in the federal government's approach to advancing settlement and the assimilation of Indigenous peoples. In 1894, amendments to the Indian Act entailed strict penalties for those who failed to comply with the obligation to send their children to school. Still, even these compulsions were not sufficient to substantially increase attendance, leading James Smart to remark in his 1898 report, "With regard to education, this plan has worked successfully, and as was stated in last year's report, a healthy growth of interest can be noticed, despite a still far too prevalent indifference on the part of the parents" (Indian Affairs, 1898, p. xvii). Though modest progress in the eyes of the Department were acceptable for a time, continued 'indifference' was anticipated to yield greater impositions on the part of the government. Smart opined:

It is of course recognized that a point may be reached at which forbearance from benevolent aggression may cease to be a virtue; but where no serious consequences are imminent, it seems the part of wisdom to continue the persuasive plan at any rate, until a proper sentiment has become fairly widespread, and when the application of compulsion to the obdurate, will meet with a fair amount of sympathy, and moral support. (Indian Affairs, 1898, p. xxvi)

The time of "forbearance from benevolent aggression," a most euphemistic characterization of systematic kidnapping, would come in 1920, with the amendment of the Indian Act to include compulsory attendance at Indian Residential Schools (First Nation Education Steering Committee, n.d.).

7.2.4 Mounting pressure to promote the acquisition of English

The increasing coercive tendencies of the Indian Department were also evident with efforts to promote the use of English. That the Department signalled the centrality of English acquisition with its new standardized curriculum in the 1890s has already been discussed. Even prior to this period, Wilson was not only a willing participant in promoting the acquisition of English, but in staunchly constraining the use of Indigenous languages, particularly among more senior pupils. In 1884, he wrote:

About two weeks ago both the Homes were officially visited and examined by Mr. R. McLean, the School Inspector. He spoke in high terms of praise of both our institutions, and was specially struck with the readiness with which our pupils understood and spoke English. *This is one of the chief points we aim at, and, on the whole have certainly been successful. Not a word of Indian is heard from our Indian boys after six months in the institution. All their talk among themselves while at play, is in English.* Even those who knew not a word of the English tongue when they came to us last fall, now talk nothing else among themselves. *We bring this about principally by great strictness — sometimes punishing heavily any old pupil who presumes to break the rule.* The boys feel the benefit of it, and do not revel. (Indian Affairs, 1884b, p. 24, emphasis added)

Yet despite the reported success in conveying a command of English, Wilson still preoccupied himself with plans for how to limit the use of Indigenous languages and promote styles of English that were more pleasing to settler ears. One such scheme involved the recruitment of white orphans to set an example for Indigenous children and create a sense of competition that would, it was hoped, motivate students to assimilate more quickly. “My object in taking them is rather experimental,” he wrote, “the idea being that they may have a leavening effect upon the Indian pupils, induce them to speak more correct English, and perhaps inspire them with some ambition to get on in the world” (Indian Affairs, 1885, p. 23). His plan, however, was not as successful as he may have hoped, as the school never followed up on plans to recruit more white orphan children.

A few years later, he launched a new endeavour to promote greater facility and embrace of the style of English to which he aspired his pupils would reach, along with the Anglican values

he wished to imbue. The “Onward and Upward Club” launched in 1888 with the aim of promoting such ends. He wrote,

The idea is to encourage self-reliance in speaking publicly in English, to draw out the thinking powers of the pupils and to create in them an interest in what is going on in the world, while at the same time making religion the basis on which all else must rest.

(Indian Affairs, 1888, p. 22)

The club persisted for a number of years, but ultimately either fell out of favour or ceased to be a priority.

One of Wilson’s successors as Principal at the Shingwauk Home, George King, exemplified shared concern for the ‘quality’ of English speech exhibited by the students. Yet even by the time of his report in 1897, the strict prohibition on all Indigenous language use was not yet in force. Remarking on reading, he wrote,

Pupils must be taught to read loudly and distinctly. Every word and sentence must be fully explained to them, and from time to time they should be required to state the sense of a lesson or sentence, in their own words, in English, and also in their own language if the teacher understands it. (Indian Affairs, 1897, p. 315)

For just a few more decades, teachers and school administrators would be able to use their discretion to incorporate Indigenous languages into the school lives of students, however it was always with the caveat of facilitating the acquisition of English.

Acquisition of English among Indigenous peoples was a growing preoccupation of the Indian Department as the century closed. In 1895, under the heading “Acquisition of the English Language a Necessity,” Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Hayter Reed, provided the following passages of what is illuminating for understanding the variety of motives underlying this priority from the perspective of the Dominion government:

To a certain stage in an Indian’s advancement there exists but little doubt that he should be kept in communities; but as soon as that stage is reached, and it should be at an early period, he should be brought to compete with his fellow whites; but in order that this may be done effectually he must be taught the English language. So long as he keeps his native tongue, so long will he remain a community apart. (Indian Affairs, 1895, p. xxii)

The ability to compete with settlers in the job market and civil society was a crucial underlying rationale for the Department’s insistence on the acquisition of profound and dynamic

competencies in the English language (though paradoxically, when successful it provoked political resistance (Chute, 1998)). Such concern is necessarily predicated on the notion that Indigenous peoples would cease to have unique communities, which necessitated their ability to compete for scarce resources and opportunities to avoid destitution, and critically from the government's perspective, to avoid any form of dependence on the state. Furthermore, the maintenance of the Indigenous first language was considered an oblique obstacle to this goal. Monolingual ideologies that presumed that a command of one language came at the deficiency of another, I argue, were rooted in modernist notions of efficiency and conceptions of the mind as a finite matter, similar to the capacities of a machine. He continued:

If the Indian has not had, with his white neighbours, the same chance to acquire industrial knowledge, he cannot be blamed for not having these qualities equally with us, and for all we do for him we must from the first consider the English language quality, for without it he is permanently disabled, and from what Indians have said to me and from requests made by them, it is evident that they are beginning to recognize the force of this themselves. With this end in view the children in all the industrial and boarding schools are taught in the English language exclusively. (1895, p. xxii)

Two notions are striking in the first sentence. It is clear that Reed saw the education system as a matter of benevolent intervention and charity to secure the welfare of Indigenous peoples, and there is little acknowledgement that the calamitous alternative of destitution was a matter of the state's own making. The climate change and dispossession of lands that made Indigenous economies increasingly untenable were matters of the natural march of progress, rather than the consequences of explicit policy decisions. Sympathy was only accorded in so far as Indigenous people did not have access to 'know better.' Second, the ability to acquire these new necessary skills was contingent on a particular *quality* of English. It was not enough to be able to communicate with an English-speaking interlocutor, rather one had to communicate *on the terms of* the latter, as settler English speakers could not be expected to question their own conceptual fields to arise at a summation of what their interlocutor might intend with their speech. By the end of the nineteenth century, English speaking settlers were expected to make no communicative accommodations whatsoever, however mild, to interact with Indigenous peoples or anyone else for that matter. They occupied the terrain of the norm to which all others had to accommodate.

As the passage continues, it is apparent that Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples were already experiencing this pressure, and understood the importance of their children acquiring English, even if there were other points of resistance to the education system as it was designed by the Indian Department. However, considering the longevity of the maintenance of Indigenous languages in Garden River and Batchewana, which shall be discussed in subsequent pages, it is evident that families did not share the monolingual ideology of the government.

Lastly,

If it were possible to gather in all the Indian children and retain them for a certain period, there would be produced a generation of English-speaking Indians, accustomed to the ways of civilized life, which might then be the dominant body among themselves, capable of holding its own with its white neighbours; and thus would be brought about a rapidly decreasing expenditure until the same should forever cease, and the Indian problem would have been solved. (Reed reported in Canada, 1896, pp. xxii-xxiii)

Creating “a generation of English-speaking Indians” was thus the purpose of the Department’s education endeavours, which would be carried chiefly by the Indian Residential School System, so as to separate students from speech communities where they would continue to acquire their Indigenous languages. The “great transformation” envisioned was one of complete assimilation, where the only distinguishing features between settlers and Indigenous peoples would be the colour of their skin. Such sentiments would be echoed by one of Reed’s successors, Duncan Campbell Scott, when he explained to a House of Commons Committee in 1920 that “Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department” (as cited in Leslie 2002, n.p.).

7.3 Métis resistance reshapes national language politics

In 1868, the new government of Canada had negotiated with Britain to purchase and absorb Rupert’s Land from the Hudson’s Bay Company (Russel, 2017). When local Métis residents encountered surveyors who were measuring lots irrespective of local land holdings, they enlisted the support of one of the community’s most educated community leaders, Louis Riel. He led the process of organizing the Métis communities and founding the Métis National Committee to organize its own assertion of sovereignty in the fall of 1869 (Russel, 2017). When

the government-appointed Lieutenant Governor, William McDougall, whom Peter Russell described as “a blustering ‘Canada First’ nationalist, dedicated to building a Canada that was Protestant and English,” Riel and the National Committee set about preventing his entry to the territory and occupied Fort Garry (2017, p. 170). The Committee dialogued with English settlers and Anglophone-Métis, and proposed the formation of a regional government that recognized Métis as a distinct people, would operate in both English and French, and guaranteed representation from all the region’s national groups, including Anishinaabeg and Nakhóta (2017). It also called for treaties with Indigenous peoples, and that the Northwest Territories should have fair representation in Ottawa (2017). Though the Canadian government postponed the takeover of Rupert’s Land and negotiated the entry of Manitoba into Confederation with delegates named by a provisional government, the political fallout from the suppression of an Anglo-Protestant counterinsurgency and the execution of one of its ringleaders led to Riel being exiled from Canada (2017).

The Manitoba Act would separate a small portion of the lands around the Red River from the remaining Northwest Territories (2017). It also made assurances safe guarding denominational schools and the use of both English and French in the legislature and courts in the province (CLMC, n.d.d; Manitoba Act, 1870). It also ostensibly protected Métis land rights, though reserved substantially less than desired, and distribution of new lands to Métis was effectively delayed indefinitely (Russell, 2017).

Apart from the general flare in Orangist sentiment that the Red River conflict ignited among much of Ontario’s Anglophone Protestant population, the resistance was overshadowed in Sault Ste. Marie, Batchewana and Garden River by local concerns and it did not garner much support among the Great Lakes Métis (Foster, 1985). However when Macdonald sent Col. Garnet Wolseley with several hundred troops and volunteers to assert Canadian sovereignty in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, they were stopped at the Sault Ste. Marie Canal (Russel, 2017; Remember This? May 11, 2015). The American President, Ulysses S. Grant, ordered that

No military expedition of any foreign power whether of troops or of boats intended for this purpose is taking part in any military or warlike material be allowed to pass through that Sault Ste. Marie canal without express instructions from Government at Washington (as cited in Remember This? May 11, 2015).

The steamship *Chicora* was held for several weeks before the intervention of the British Ambassador (2015). The incident would play a pivotal role in justifying the construction of a lock on the Canadian side of the river, directly through the only remaining reserve lands of Batchewana after the Pennefather Treaty (Mount, Abbott, & Mulloy, 1995). Notably, though, Algoma's Member of Parliament and former HBC factor, Wemyss MacKenzie Simpson, accompanied the Wolseley expedition as a guide and interpreter (Morgan, 1871, p. 144).

7.3.1 The Northwest Resistance

More detrimental impacts would follow the Northwest Resistance in 1885. In the fifteen years since the Red River Resistance, Louis Riel had adopted a messianic posture, and argued that Métis people were the "Chosen People of the New World" (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016, p. 109). "They would continue to perfect the evangelical mission of New France in America" write Ens & Sawchuk, "that the Métis had inherited from their French Canadian fathers" (2016, p. 109). Meanwhile, Indigenous American lineages were meaningful because he posited they were descended from the lost tribe of Israel (2016). Riel advocated that Métis peoples were entitled to a homeland by virtue of God having created them as a nation (and that all nations had a divine right to a homeland)(2016). Over those fifteen years, though he spent several years in Québec, his orientations to French-Canada shifted, as Ens & Sawchuk explain:

In 1869-70 Quebec had very much been the 'mother colony,' and his Métis Nationalism was a variant of Quebec Nationalism. In 1884, as Riel was to state at his trial, he decided to return to Batoche because the northwest was his 'Mother Country.' (2016, p. 109)

Nonetheless, Riel was found guilty of treason and sentenced to die (Mackey, 2010; Russell, 2017). Though the jury recommended clemency, the Macdonald government was confronted with powerful resistance from Anglo-Protestant settlers: "The Macdonald Conservatives, caught between the wrath of Ontario and the sympathy of Quebec, and with no medical basis for finding Riel insane, decided against reducing his sentence to life imprisonment" (Russell, 2017, p. 200).

Louis Riel had advocated a vision of Métis nationalism that aligned with common affinity with French-Canadians across the continent and heavily rooted in (albeit unique interpretation of) Catholicism (Ens & Sawchuck, 2006). However, this was not universally shared by the other

Métis resisters, who resisted not only an Anglophone-protestant domination, but rather a deeper rejection of Canadian state authority and the unilateral usurpation of the ways of life and land tenure that both predated European contact, and emerged naturally from the contact of peoples (Ens & Sawchuck, 2006; Russell, 2017). But the sympathies that the resistance movements had among many Francophones, particularly Francophone politicians in Québec, drew on Riel's pronouncements and read into the conflict the shared grievances and fears many French-speaking settlers had about being overwhelmed by English immigration and an Anglo-Saxon settler state that would eventually undermine the Catholic Church and linguistic protections that had been afforded in 1867. This transposition would then be taken up by large media outlets, such as *The Mail* and *The Globe* and disseminated out to the settler Anglophone and Francophone populations, reifying the Métis resistance struggles as flashpoint in the national conflict between French-Catholics and English-Protestants (Sylvestre, 2013).

The nuances of French-Indigenous contact and culture were largely lost in the political debates that followed Riel's execution. The contest between a majority-Anglophone settler polity and political class and an otherwise substantial Francophone equivalent transposed its political conflict (first by Riel's invitation) onto that of Métis resistance. While there were certainly motivations rooted in a desire to protect the presence and status of the Catholic Church influencing the Red River rebellion, among the greatest motivators was a more fundamental conflict between an approach to life and livelihood rooted in Indigenous conceptions of land confronted by the progression of a modernist liberal state. That state sought to assume control of land and impose new systems of tenure, and with it, entirely new populations and economies.

As a result of national discourses and political cleavages usurping local ones, the unique role and place of Métis and many French descended voyageurs was more easily interpreted by colonial officials through the lens of the national pattern. The Northwest Rebellion then provoked a series of anti-French policy measures in Ontario and elsewhere. In 1885, the Ontario Department of Education introduced a regulation requiring French schools to offer two hours a week of instruction in English in the first four years, and four hours a week in the remaining elementary years (Sylvestre, 2013). In 1890 it made English the mandatory language of instruction, except in cases where students did not understand the language in early grades (Labrie, 2010).

The 1885 Northwest Resistance was the first of four conditions that aggravated conflicts between Anglophones and Francophones in Ontario, according to Sylvestre (2013). The second would be the Manitoba Schools Act of 1890, which enacted what many French-Canadians had feared: an erosion of French and Catholic education rights brought on by demographic changes of immigration in the Province of Manitoba. The Manitoba government stripped Catholic schools of government funding, which provoked protest from Francophones both in Manitoba and in Québec, which remained the only Francophone-majority province (Mackey, 2010a). The crisis was later abated by the Laurier-Greenway Compromise in 1896, by which the federal government forced Manitoba to allow French instruction in bilingual schools where a certain threshold of Francophone students was met (Cardinal, 2015).

The third condition was growing agitation by groups such as the Protestant Protective Association, which became increasingly political active in the 1890s (Sylvestre, 2013). The fourth was growing Francophone migration from Quebec into part of Ontario, particularly the counties of Prescott and Russell, but which also extended into Northern Ontario, and eventually reached Sault Ste. Marie (Sylvestre, 2013). As the numbers of Francophones from Québec began to outnumber the French-speaking Métis and Anishinaabeg, it became increasingly associated with a pan-continental settler French-Canadian identity distinct from the *bois brûlés* who had abandoned the comforts of European civilization for the *Pays d'en Haut*.

7.4 Socio-economic changes 1867-1914

From Garden River's cessions under the Pennefather Treaty, Laird and Meredith townships lots came on to market in 1876, followed by Macdonald the following year (Indian Affairs, 1876). While settlers slowly began acquiring these lands, those ceded by Batchewana remained unclaimed, largely for lack of a road (Indian Affairs, 1877). In 1878, the Department of the Interior struck a deal with the Government of Ontario to pay half the costs for the gradual construction of such a road, which reached the Goulais Bay by the following year, extending in to the townships of Fenwick, Pennefather and Tupper (Indian Affairs, 1878; 1879). The creation of more efficient means for communications between settlements resulted in the rising tide of settlers moving northward into the Batchewana lands by 1879 (Indian Affairs, 1879). A sawmill was erected at the mouth of the Goulais River the same year, and a bridge built across the river to stimulate further settlement through the region (Indian Affairs, 1879).

Thessalon's resistance to the outcome of the Pennefather Treaty was also notable in reports from the Department of the Interior, and Deputy Superintendent General, Vankoughnet, recounts that despite the supposed cessions, Thessalon band members persisted in the vicinity of their former reserve locations:

This tract was, in the year 1850, set apart as an Indian Reserve. The Indians to whom it was assigned, subsequently surrendered it, however, to be sold for their benefit; and they then expressed an intention of emigrating to the Garden River Reserve, and settling there. They have failed, however, to carry this intention into effect, and have resided for many years in the neighbourhood of the Bruce Mines.

Owing to numerous squatters having settled on the Thessalon River Tract; and the land being reported well adapted for Agricultural purposes, it was thought advisable to have it surveyed, and offer it for sale to actual settlers. (Indian Affairs, 1876, p. 8)

The supposed much improved welfare of the communities at Garden River reported in early 1869 did not persist indefinitely. The resource boom and its opportunities for wage labour dwindled in the mid 1870s, and a late frost killed considerable proportion of crops (1877, p. 21). In the winter of 1876, disease spread throughout the reserve and Indian Lands Agent, William Van Abbott reports "The complicated form of the disease from which they suffered, became epidemical, and its severity was much intensified by the want of proper nourishment" (1877, p. 21). In such occasions, the bands relied increasingly on hunting and furs, in particular the Batchewana Band, where the numbers according to Van Abbot "were greatly in excess of previous years" (1877, p. 21).

7.4.1 Agriculture

Despite the fact that the local climate was comparatively inhospitable to agriculture, the Department continued to promote, if not coerce bands into agricultural villages. Vankoughnet wrote in his 1878 report:

Instructions in farming, or herding and raising cattle (as the character of the country inhabited by the different Tribes may indicate to be best_ should be furnished to the Indians, and in such manner as will effectually accomplish, within the shortest period, the object sought for, namely, to make them self-supporting.

The Indians should be encouraged by precept, and, when necessary, by pecuniary aid to erect houses and barns.

The use of the tent and wigwam should be discouraged as much as possible, and every effort should be made to induce them to abandon their old habits of life and to adopt those of the White man. (Indian Affairs, 1878, p. 5)

The pressure to enclose lands for pasture and farming persisted in Garden River, with an increasing share being severed from collective use from 1877 onward (Indian Affairs, 1877). The pressure to rely on inadequate agriculture, as well as the encroachment of settlers on the terrain of large game and fur bearing animals wreaked greater havoc on Anishinaabeg's self-sufficiency. In 1879, Vankoughnet reported:

In the northern portions of the Province [of Ontario] many of the crops were destroyed by summer frosts, and in other sections they are reported to have been short, consequently some of the Indian bands, especially those in the northern districts, are in somewhat distressed circumstances this winter: the distress being augmented to a great extent by the diminution in the value of furs and the scarcity of game which is attributable to the advance of settlement, and by the fisheries not being so productive as was formerly the case (1879, p. 6)

Such problems persisted for both the Garden River and Batchewana Bands for several decades to come. In 1882 the crops at French Bay would be hit badly by grasshoppers and other insects (Indian Affairs, 1882). After rebounding the following year, there was a disastrous harvest due to early frost and the Colorado Beetle (Indian Affairs, 1884b). A scarcity of seed in 1885 caused the band to request an advance on its annuity payments to purchase seed and stave off future starvation (Indian Affairs, 1885). Despite a few good years scattered across the 1890s, agriculture was not an easy endeavour in the area, resulting from pests, frosts that were both earlier and later than expected by the standards expected in the Lower Great Lakes, and other harsh weather conditions. While serving as Superintendent General for Indian Affairs, John A. Macdonald wrote in his annual report that "The two Ojibbewa or Chippewa bands, who occupy a reserve on Garden river are not successful as agriculturists" while William Van Abbott, Indian Agent for the 3rd Northern Superintendency which encompassed Michipicoten, Batchewana and Garden River stated simply that the bands at Garden River "are not farmers" (Indian Affairs, 1885, p. xxi; Indian Affairs, 1895, p. 170).

There were some successes among Anishinaabeg who took up farming, however. A number of residents at the Goulais Bay, and on occasion Batchawana Bay, supplemented hunting and fishing, which were the dominant drivers of subsistence into the twentieth century, with small scale farming, where the land was better suited to the practice (Indian Affairs, 1886). Nebenaigooching also purchased a thresher for the use of his band members, and Van Abbott occasionally remarked that the Batchewana members at Garden River had somewhat more success in agricultural pursuits (Indian Affairs, 1887, 1890).

By the mid-1890s, most of the valuable land suitable for agriculture had been picked over by incoming settlers (Indian Affairs, 1895). And though ultimately no further land severances were made from the Garden River reserve, the government still encouraged the reorganization of reserve lands into individual plots with private tenure, however unsuccessfully (Indian Affairs, 1889). Indeed state speculation of Indian reserve lands still continued and was propelled as new advances in communications, notably roads and canals, increased the accessibility of the upper Great Lakes to private speculators looking to profit from timber, mineral and agricultural claims (Marlatt, 2004). Because of the administrative constraints that had been imposed on bands through the 1870s and 1880s, Anishinaabe communities faced a double bind of both continued reliance on land for new economic opportunities, while needing to part with land to finance any such operations. As Marlatt explains "If a First Nation chose to participate in the increasingly land and resource based economy by surrendering for their land or interest, it's options were limited, in most cases it reduced the land base from which it could bargain." (2004, p. 332). This impulse was also apparent in Indian Department reports, such as when Van Abbott noting in 1895 that Batchewana had "only a small reserve of their own of about twenty-three acres, an island at the St. Mary's Rapid, which will, no doubt, be very valuable some day" (Indian Affairs, 1895, p. 170). And indeed it was, as it was expropriated in the late 1800s, not to be returned to the band formally until the 1990s.

Though Van Abbott and officials in Ottawa recognized the different quality of the soils being farmed and the challenges of the climate, blame for the failure to make agriculture the centrepiece of a new 'civilized' economy typically landed on the shoulders of Anishinaabeg. Van Abbott remarked that "the Indians do not pay sufficient attention to farming" (Indian Affairs, 1897, p. 11). Though the purported aim of promoting agriculture was to promote self-sufficiency, it did not escape state critique if self-sufficiency got in the way of fashioning the

idealized Christian agricultural villages. In 1881, Van Abbott reported on the destruction of crops in French Bay by insects, and noted that

inattention to the evil [of the pests] by the Nubenaigooching band may, in a great measure, be placed to the absence of the male members of the band, who are generally engaged at high wages during the summer season with fishing parties on Lake Superior, and neglect to engage other labor to look after their home affairs, the women being at this important time employed picking berries, making mats, baskets, bark work &c. Therefore the large gardens, as the cultivated plots may be called, are left generally with no one to look after them. It was only with the home staying, industrious man that the crops came out really well. (Indian Affairs, 1881, pp. 10-11)

That many members of the band were engaged in high-earning wage labour was in this instance considered a liability for the obstacle that it created for agriculture. When those other opportunities diminished, the Department considered it a win for their efforts in promoting an agricultural lifestyle. As Hayter Reed remarked in 1897, "As other means of support have disappeared, so have the Indians of this province applied themselves more energetically to farming and other kindred undertakings for a livelihood" (Indian Affairs, 1896, p. xxvi).

7.4.2 Wage labour & the growing settler presence at Sault Ste. Marie

Indeed waged labour occupied a greater and greater proportion of economic activity, particularly for those living at Garden River. In what became an increasingly gendered labour market, reflecting the Victorian sensibilities of those settler agents and entrepreneurs that typically dedicated wages, men of both bands found work variously assisting mineral prospectors, guiding touring Americans looking for sport fishing, boat building, selling the surplus of hunting and fishing, and most significantly, in forestry. Working in lumber camps was at least for a time near the turn of the century, the occupations that most men gravitated toward, particularly if hunting and agriculture did not bear sufficient fruits. James Smart observed in 1898, "The more the Indians abandon hunting, the more they turn their attention to lumbering" (Indian Affairs, 1898, p. xxix). Women, by contrast, fairly consistently contributed by making mats, bark work, and sewing, as well as berry picking and making sugar, though men would often also take part in these latter activities (Indian Affairs, 1886, 1896).

Of the 141 residents whose occupations were reported in the 1881 census, the largest proportion by far was labourers, who numbered 42. The next highest was farmers, totalling 22, followed by fishermen and boatmen at 12 each, hunters at 9 and voyageurs at 8 (Canada, 1881). Though these numbers give us a picture of the growing importance of wage labour, occupations within the community were not as static as they may have been in settler communities with, as the Indian Affairs reports suggest, many people changing their tasks — whether hunting, farming, or labouring — depending on the viability of the task itself. When agriculture failed, more food had to be garnered from hunting and fishing. When the hunt was poor, money could be procured by labouring.

The new wage economy, however, was no less prone to booms and busts than agriculture, or the harvesting of wild foods. A scarcity of work in 1880, for instance, after mass crop failures and the closure of the mining location on reserve where many members had previously found work led the band to exert some of the authority it still maintained, refusing to grant permission for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway through reserve lands without guarantees of work for band members assisting with land clearing and the laying of track, which were ultimately met (Montgomerie, 1993). This face-off would be repeated in the 1890s over the construction of the road from Sudbury to Sault Ste. Marie (Montgomerie, 1993). Where agriculture and the hunt were prone to seasonal environmental variations, now the wage economy would suffer during wider regional and national economic depressions (Indian Affairs, 1895).

Such activities were also subject to intervention by state officials to better advantage new settlers, rendering the pursuit of wages all the less reliable. Leases for timber merchants to harvest lumber from reserve lands were lengthened under the tenure of Deputy Superintendent Pennefather, while band member access to the resource for the purpose of making a living was increasingly limited. As Montgomerie explains, “Indians who sold timber illegally [were] threatened with forfeiture of their annuities. Chronic offenders, especially those of mixed parentage, risked being struck off the band roll. Any Chief found guilty of selling timber was to be removed from office” (1993, pp. 249-50).

Not surprisingly, the local economy was also profoundly affected by a rapid increase in the settler population of the region in the late 1800s. With Anishinaabeg largely removed from the town location at Sault Ste. Marie apart from a few who remained at Whitefish Island and a

spattering of others, the settler population remained relatively stable at approximately eight hundred people from the time of the treaties until it soared to 2,400 in 1891, then surpassing 7,000 ten years later in 1901 (Canada 1861; 1871; 1881; 1891; 1901). Figure 13 demonstrates the scale of the increase in population at Sault Ste. Marie compared to the populations registered on the Garden River and Batchewana band rolls, as well as the population reported

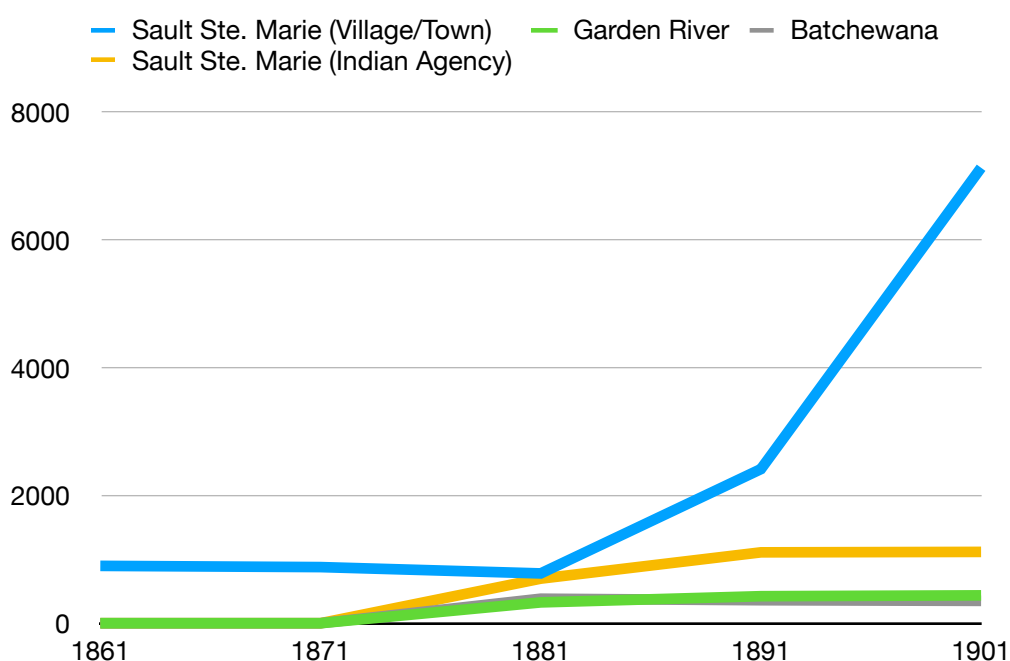


Figure 13: Population Surrounding Sault Ste. Marie 1861-1901

for the 3rd Division of the Northern Ontario Superintendency for Indian Affairs, which included Batchewana, Garden River, and the Michipicoten bands.²⁵

In Sault Ste. Marie, of the population enumerated in 1861, 566 of the 898 residents were recognized as “Indians,” constituting a substantial majority (Canada, 1861). By 1901, the census

²⁵ Prior to 1884, population statistics conveyed by Indian Agents to the Department in Ottawa were offered for the totality of their superintendency and not subdivided by band. For the periods 1861 and 1871, populations were not broken down by superintendency either, instead they were reported only as “Lake Huron Indians.” For the sake of maintaining comparisons of like-numbers, data on Indigenous populations from 1861 and 1871 have been omitted from Figure 13. The Indian Agent also did not submit a return for 1901, so the figures used are from 1900 compared to Sault Ste. Marie’s numbers from 1901. Similarly Indian Affairs returns are compared from 1884 to Sault Ste. Marie’s numbers from 1881.

recorded 209 “Half-Breeds”²⁶ and 83 “Indians,” 74 of whom were students at the Shingwauk Home (Canada, 1901e). Of the remaining nine, most were identified as “Chippewa” or simply “Indian” with the exception of one man who was identified as a “Huron Indian.”

Within the Algoma District at large, which at the time stretched from the contemporary area surrounding Sudbury to encompass much of the Lake Superior north shore, including Lake Nipigon, the population increased from just under 5,000 people in 1861 to nearly 42,000 in 1891 (Census of Canada 1861; 1891). This is especially remarkable considering the geographic

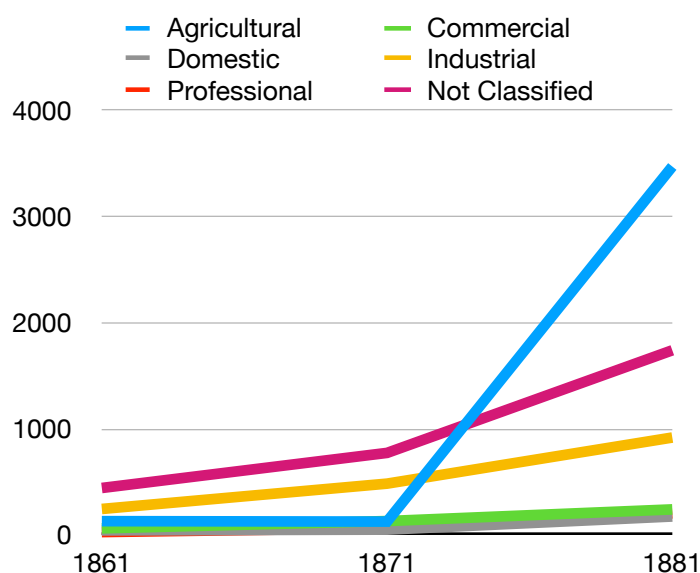


Figure 14: Class of worker, Algoma, 1861-81

size of the district shrank during the same period, with the creation of the Thunder Bay District in 1881 which absorbed the watershed feeding into Lake Nipigon.

Much of this encroachment was due to the settlement of Agricultural lands, as Figure 14 demonstrates, with occupations classified as “Agricultural” dwarfing commercial, domestic, industrial and professional class occupations by 1881 (Canada, 1861; 1871; 1881).

It is apparent in reviewing the annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs that government officials were content with Indigenous peoples occupying waged labour — under certain circumstances — rather than being relegated to the agricultural village model that had informed many missionary efforts. However they continued to disparage Anishinaabe work ethic, often transposing many of the subsistence activities that were undertaken as “idleness” if not leisure. On a number of occasions, William Van Abbott remarked in his reports that “all the Indians who were *willing* to work got employment,” (emphasis added), placing the onus on Anishinaabeg for any poverty, without acknowledging the constraints imposed by the state and

²⁶ The census of 1901 for Sault Ste. Marie provided a number of variations on “Half-Breed,” including “English Breed,” “French Breed,” “Scotch Breed,” “Other Breed,” and in the case of one family, “African French Breed.” The number reported above reflects the total of all such designated people.

the changing environment on Indigenous peoples' ability to make a living (Indian Affairs, 1888, p. 9). Such sentiments were echoed by officials in Ottawa. In 1890, Dewdney noted "the Department insists upon the principle being applied to them [Indians], that if a man will not work neither shall he eat" (Indian Affairs, 1890, p. ix). The coercive measures to force Anishinaabeg into an increasingly narrower economic space thus also explicitly took the form of hunger and the refusal of the necessities of life.

Anishinaabeg who lived farther afield from Garden River, including those at Goulais River, Batchawana Bay, Mamainse, Agawa River, Michipicoten and the Lizard Islands continued to rely more and more on hunting, fishing, and the sugar bush for their subsistence, as well as selling surpluses and trapping. Notably, despite these communities exhibiting the most diversion from desired government policy of enforced 'civilization,' Van Abbott often remarked that they were "the most contented" of all the band members (Indian Affairs, 1885, p. 11).

7.4.3 Impacts on traditional economies

Selling the proceeds of harvests, whether fish, game or berries, was an integral means for Anishinaabeg and Métis to supplement their incomes after having cultivated and gleaned enough food to support their families. Van Abbott noted that berries in 1895 would fetch \$1.50 per bushel (more than \$34 per bushel in 2020 currency)²⁷, and that a good season would yield up to seven bushels a day, demonstrating the ongoing abundance of certain resources and their profitability for the local community (Indian Affairs, 1895). Yet the policy constraints that began to take shape in the late nineteenth century placed further limitations on the very activities that were left to anyone who could not find waged labour or till a farm. While describing the prevalent occupations among the Garden River band, Van Abbott noted in 1897 that "the law prohibiting them from selling partridge, prevents them from making a good deal of money, which in former years they made in this way" (Indian Affairs, 1897, p. 12)

However, the growing human footprint on the landscape of the region brought by settlers and state interests was having an immense impact on the sustainability of traditional harvesting. The construction of the shipping locks on the Canadian side of the river and a

²⁷ Inflation tracking data is only available from 1914 onward, from which point the Bank of Canada calculates a 2,186.67% inflation rate to June, 2020, which would render \$1.50 in 1914 as \$34.30. Exact inflation rates from the nineteen years previous to 1914 are unknown (Bank of Canada, 2020)

railway bridge spanning the river had a devastating impact on the fishery at Whitefish Island that had previously nourished families from a span of hundreds of kilometres. Van Abbott noted in 1890, “This used to be a very profitable fishing station [...] but where they used to catch hundreds now they do not take dozens” (Indian Affairs, 1890, p. 10). The construction of two hydro power generating stations on either shore after the turn of the century aggravated that devastation even further. Bellfy explains, “Every inch of the rapids is now under human control with the result that the rapids are reduced to a mere trickle; as a consequence, the fishery has been all but destroyed” (2011, p. 133).



Figure 15: Anishinaabeg fishing at the rapids in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (Albertype Company, ca. 1900-1925)

7.4.5 Maintenance of Traditional Life

Despite the considerable efforts of the state to intervene in the lives of Anishinaabeg and Métis peoples of the upper Great Lakes throughout the nineteenth century, and despite the

significant economic and political upheaval that characterized the era for local communities, they nonetheless retained their cohesion and adapted traditional practices to changing socio-economic surroundings. The regimented processes of band rolls that were imposed by the Indian Department, though maintained as legal distinctions and sustaining local political consequences, didn't prevent the communities of the Garden River and Batchewana Bands from overlapping. Indeed, the expropriation of Batchewana's land base facilitated the process further. William Van Abbot remarked in 1891, "The Garden River and Batchewana Bands are so mixed up on the one reserve that it is difficult to speak of them apart" (Indian Affairs, 1890, p. 9). And though it was certainly an exaggeration considering the upheaval for Anishinaabe and Métis communities that has been documented in the preceding pages, the maintenance of local culture was so palpable to settler perceptions that Hayter Reed remarked in 1893, "In the newer districts along the shores of Lake Huron and Superior they are still unsettled and remain for the most part as the dominant race found them" (Indian Affairs, 1893, p. xvi)

7.5 Language use at Baawating at the end of the turn of the twentieth century

The region encompassing Baawating underwent significant economic and political change from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, with the railway, hydroelectric facility, and commercial locks spurring a rapid industrialization at the rapids. F.H. Clergue's pulp and paper company was joined by a new steel mill in 1901, which would emerge as the lifeblood of the local economy for much of the coming century. The new communications measures and growing number of jobs requiring industrial labour further propelled immigration. Most new settlers were of various British ancestries and came from Southern Ontario, but the twentieth century marked a major inflow of migration from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia (Canada, 1901; Heath, 1978).

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Canada's immigration policies operated on a racial order, with British descended settlers the preferred class, followed by central Europeans, and then by southern and eastern Europeans (Walker, 2016). Heavier restrictions, if not active denials, were imposed on migrants from African and Asia, which served the function of maintaining the Anglo-Celtic hegemony and whiteness of the settle state (in spite of the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833) (Walker, 2016). In Sault Ste. Marie the racial hierarchy was evident, as new neighbourhoods would emerge in the city's west end

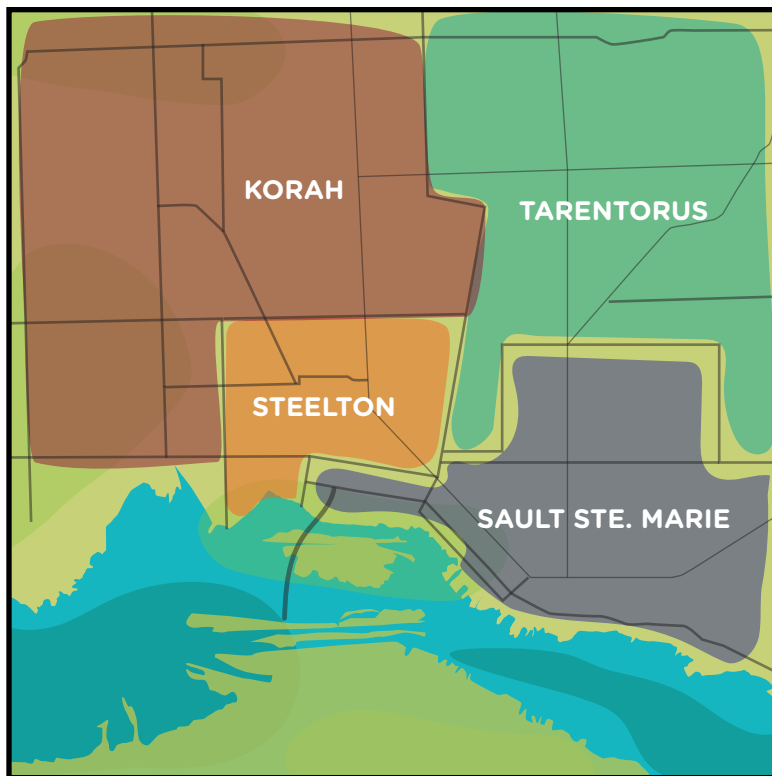


Figure 16: Approximate boundaries of Sault Ste. Marie and Steelton, 1905 (Image Credit: Katina Schell, 2021)

surrounding the new industries, with Finnish immigrants developing a neighbourhood centred on the intersection of John and Alexandra streets that would become known as Hakkisen Maki, while Italian immigrants clustered in what would become Jamestown east of the steel plant surrounding James Street, and Poles, Croatians, Russians, Ukrainians and Lithuanians among other

clustered in Bay View, west of the steel plant, while new developments throughout Steelton hosted a mix of each group. These new populations were largely segregated from the British-descended settlers who made up the community's elites and merchants (Ducin, 1978a, p. 5). Livo Ducin notes "there is no evidence of any significant social intermingling between residents of the two districts," and explains that the West End "was held in a certain degree of contempt by the rest of the town" (Ducin 1978a, 6). An editorial from the *Sault Daily Star* in 1902 illustrates this point:

The Government should take hasty cognizance of the presence of hundreds of Italians at the West End of the town. On Sunday two incidents occurred which showed the state of things decent people are exposed to who have to pass that way. A lady was chased by a partly undressed dago [sic], and a short time afterward several of these fellows threatened the life of a citizen with weapons [...] Every other shack sells liquor it would seem, from the dray loads of beer which are seen going towards the place [...] It is quite

evident that Italians and some others need to be told a few things at once. (Sault Star, 1902, as cited in Ducin 1978a, p. 6)

New classes of outsiders from the Anglo-Celtic hegemony were being created within the city's rising population and quickly industrializing economy.

Just as the fur trade's ascendancy supported conditions for French/Anishinaabe multilingualism, the growing machinery of the Canadian state, the influx of settlers, and rapid industrialization also shaped the local sociolinguistic norms. As shall be demonstrated by an analysis of census records from the era, Anishinaabeg had largely been forced out of the village, and later cities, that burgeoned at the rapids, while Métis were either similarly pushed to the periphery, or their presence was absorbed by the surrounding white settlements, or closer, dynamic and intertwined relations developed on reserve for those who integrated with Anishinaabe communities in a variety of ways.

Being demographically overwhelmed at Sault Ste. Marie, Steelton and surrounding townships, the use of Anishinaabemowin was imperceptible apart from the handful of residents remaining who spoke the language amongst themselves. Settlement policies and the efforts of the state were successful in making English the language of public life in the city by the turn of the twentieth century.



Figure 17: Approximate boundaries of early 20th century Italian, Finnish & French neighbourhoods (Image Credit: Katina Schell, 2021)

Making a living also increasingly relied on employment with settler-owned enterprises and communication on their terms. While traditional activities such as fishing, producing maple sugar, hunting, berry harvesting, and bark work continued (despite declining yields) and the sale of surplus goods supported Anishinaabe participation in the emerging cash economy, waged labour largely took place in lumber camps, at

small-scale mining locations in the region, or as guides and boat-men (Indian Affairs, 1884b). By 1883, Van Abbott noted that most employed residents at Garden River worked outside the reserve (Indian Affairs, 1883).

Still, Anishinaabemowin remained exceptionally healthy on-reserve, as well as to a degree in surrounding rural areas. Wilson's pursuit of three runaway boys from the Shingwauk Residential School in the 1880s, for instance, is telling in that when they arrived at St. Joseph Island on their search, they were directed to "a half-breed shanty" by a prominent local settler, where upon knocking at the door "A man answered in English, and asked what we wanted" (Wilson, 1886, p. 169). That Wilson noted the language, particularly in juxtaposition to the race of the man who answered, suggests that it was marked from someone of Indigenous ancestry to speak in English.

A lack of multilingualism, however, did not always prevent settlers from communicating with Anishinaabeg and Métis peoples, even if neither party had any mastery of the other's language. In one example from Wilson's reports, he describes how his brother Arthur developed a close friendship with Buhkwujjenene, and that despite neither being proficient in the other's primary language, they would spend hours together in the evenings sharing their "mutual love of tobacco." Wilson noted that Buhkwujjenene nicknamed Arthur *nigig* [otter]²⁸ and that "they could not understand each other's speech, but by dint of signs and a few broken words of English occasionally introduced by the chief, they managed to carry on some conversation" (Wilson, 1886, p. 99).

Wilson notably attributes the linguistic deficiency to Buhkwujjenene ("broken words of English") though it is actually Buhkwujjenene that has a wider linguistic repertoire. Arthur, from what the record suggests, spoke no Anishinaabemowin, "broken" or otherwise. This is in line with paternalistic ideologies that devalued Indigenous knowledge of all kinds and presumed white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant supremacy even in face of oblique evidence to the contrary. Regardless, the anecdote illustrates the ability of two people from the era communicating largely across linguistic boundaries, as well as that their motivation was not economic, religious,

²⁸ A possible explanation for the nickname is the phonetic similarity of *Arthur* with *otter*, particularly given there was no interdental fricative in Anishinaabemowin by this point in its history. This type of translanguaging wordplay — where knowledge of both languages is necessary to 'get the joke' — was, and remains, common in Anishinaabe communities, as a later example will illustrate. However there is no documentation explaining Buhkwujjenene's choice and this hypothesis is only plausible conjecture.

or political, as we have seen in other cases (though it's impossible to preclude it may have served such purposes for both men), but largely social: shared interest and mutual affection.²⁹ Buhkwujjenene, however, was the one to make accommodations, employing what he knew of English where there's no evidence from the anecdote as reported by Wilson that Arthur made any effort to acquire much Anishinaabemowin. Such was the norm for settlers in late nineteenth century Algoma, now occupying the status of those who had to be accommodated rather than being the ones to do the accommodating.

French also persisted and despite also being overwhelmed by Anglophone settlers, it sustained its life among Métis and Anishinaabeg alike, and developed new speech communities propelled by a growing number of Francophone settlers also arrived from Québec in the 1890s onward. Census data demonstrates the extent of its continued use, but its significance to Anishinaabe and Métis communities was also apparent by a number of common, if anecdotal, turns of phrase, such as Anglophone Indian Agents referring to the flu that frequently afflicted Garden River, Batchewana and Goulais Bay as "la grippe" (Indian Affairs, 1891, p. xv).

7.5.1 The church and language

Within the sphere of Christian Churches, both Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries had abandoned any notion of compelling congregants to adopt the English language in order to be good Christians. The battles of the eighteenth century over whether European languages had to be acquired as part of Christianization were temporarily resolved in the Baawating region by the nineteenth century in favour of Jesuit arguments for accommodation, though the same could not be said for other elements of so-called civilization. Roman Catholic services often continued to draw on both Ojibwe and French, not because French had been compelled, but because it had been readily acquired by earlier generations, as a means of facilitating interaction with voyageurs, missionaries and later with the burgeoning Métis community that persisted in its bilingualism.

Nonetheless, the number of church officials, preachers and teachers alike, with a genuine interest in acquiring Indigenous languages began to wane in this time period. Still those

²⁹ Of course, this is what Wilson reported. We don't actually know what Buhkwujjenene thought about the whole matter.

who wished to engage in missionary activities with Anishinaabeg continued to acquire them, whether by desire or necessity. Still this process was not made easy even when pursued with genuine interest. A story of the experiences of the Anglican Reverend Chance was relayed in the Indian Affairs reports from 1897 after travelling to Manitowaning to study with Rev. Dr. O'Meara, who was noted as "an excellent linguist" (1897, p. 1). He was motivated by his failings to communicate via interpreters:

Oh, how many ruinous mistakes may be made through misinterpretation, and especially if the interpreter is not an apt or very clever man. He used to say, "If you do not understand the language yourself, you have no possible way of finding out whether they have comprehended to the full what you wish to make known;" and to illustrate this he used to tell a good story of how one evening he was called from his room to see an old Indian woman, who said she had come for the dress that the interpreter had told her the young minister was to pray to God to give her; he was so very disgusted with himself and the interpreter that he gave the old woman the price of a dress, and determined to perfect himself in the language as soon as possible, so as not to have to depend upon an interpreter. Dr. O'Meara, however, explained to the old woman that Mr. Chance had been speaking of the robe or dress of Christ's righteousness. In often years the Dr. used often to tease Mr. Chance about this incident, and remark, "We frequently learn more by our failures than we do by our successes." Be that as it may, he did learn the language in a very short time, and grammatically, too. (Indian Affairs, 1897, p. 1)

The ability of missionaries to speak to Anishinaabe people in their own language not only facilitated communication, but trust as well. The legacy of residential and day schools, however, demonstrates how fundamentally this trust was betrayed. Characterizations of the value of speaking Indigenous languages among missionaries in the region also demonstrate that by the latter half of the nineteenth century, settler accommodations of the original peoples of the territory were sufficiently rare as to make them remarkable. Upon traveling to Batchawana Bay to discuss the prospect of a new school, Wilson remarked at his reception, noting of the residents that "Many of them knew me, as I had visited them once before, and they seemed very glad that we could both speak to them in their own language and understand what they said" (Wilson, 1886, p. 151)

The political power held by the Anglican Church made it an important ally for the leadership at Garden River. Successive chiefs at Garden River had a close relationship with Reverend Wilson, in particular. Ogista had travelled with Wilson to visit Bishop Strachan to request the construction of a school which would become the Shingwauk Home. Wilson noted that Ogista “could scarcely speak a word of English” and he served as his interpreter on such occasions (1886, p. 100). This qualification of Ogista’s English skills is not well supported by the historical record (though of course these skills likely varied across periods of time). Nonetheless, Anishinaabemowin was his dominant means of communication and he drew on the assistance of interpreters, including Wilson and Allan Salt, when discussing more nuanced and consequential matters (Chute, 1998). Wilson also interpreted for Ogista’s brother, Buhkwujjenene, who succeeded him as Chief. In lobbying for the funds to create a school, Buhkwujjenene reportedly argued, through Wilson, “We have readily given up our hunting grounds to you, and all that we ask of you is that you will help us in improving ourselves and in educating our children” (1886, p. 103).

The acceptance of Indigenous languages, however, persisted among Church officials only up to the point of entering a school. Preceding pages have already drawn attention to the use of Indigenous languages at both day schools and the Shingwauk and Wawanosh Homes and the transitional bilingual model that it served.

Throughout the late nineteenth century, missionaries expanded their work in the region and established more churches and schools. Roman Catholic Churches were built in Goulais Bay and Batchawana Bay, and Anglican schools in Sugar Island, in addition to the schools that had been established at Garden River, and the Anglican Shingwauk and Wawanosh homes. These schools would play a pivotal role in promoting, when not compelling, the acquisition of English (Indian Affairs, 1886; 1896).

Building on the work of previous missionary linguists such as Frederic Baraga, whose dictionary was out of print by the late nineteenth century, and O’Meara, whose work was not published widely, Wilson had developed a grammar, prayer books, and numerous school work books in Anishinaabemowin. Much of Baraga’s work began with Odaawaa varieties, but were modified on his relocation to the South short of Lake Superior to align more closely with Southwestern Ojibwe varieties (Nichols in Baraga, 1992 [1878]). These texts would be critical in the development of alphabetic literacy at Garden River and in the transitional bilingual program

at the area schools. He was relatively modest in his claims to knowledge about the language. He notes in the introduction to his grammar, "In presenting this Manual [...] to the public, the writer wishes it to be understood that he by no means assumes to himself the title of Grammarian or Philologist" (1874, p. iii). Still, necessity put him to the task of compiling the manual, and though he used the English-derived orthography developed by Reverend O'Meara, Wilson drew heavily on his own copy of Baraga's works to complete the text (1874).

The table he provides on page 11 illustrates some of the challenges of adapting an English Orthography to Anishinaabemowin, as in two instances the same English word is provided to illustrate the pronunciation of two unique letter combinations. In Figure 18, *father* is provided as an example for both AH and AU, while *but* is provided for U and UH (1874, p. 11).

ALPHABET.				
A B D E G I J K M N O P Q S T U W Y Z.				
Vowels and double Consonants—AH, AU, EE, OO, UH, UY, CH, QU, NG, NS, SH, ZH, WH.				
PRONUNCIATION.				
{ AH	as in father, fast,	e.g.	mahjah,	he starts.
{ AU	" father, laugh,	"	odenáun,	he says to him.
A	" fate, day,	"	dabwa,	he speaks truth.
EE	" feet, meek,	"	opineeg,	potatoes.
{ E	" met, tepid,	"	ekedó,	he says.
{ I	" mit, iniquity,	"	nindekid,	I say.
O	" note, so,	"	ekedo,	he says.
OO	" foot, soon,	"	mókomaun,	a knife.
{ UH	" but, dumb,	"	muhkuk,	a box.
{ U	" but, brush,	"	muhkuk,	a box.
UY	" buy,	"	chébuy,	a ghost.
G	" go, pig,	"	néegig,	an otter.
J	" jug, judge,	"	nuhwúj,	more.
CH	" chop, much,	"	cheemaun,	a canoe.
QU	" queen,	"	equa,	a woman.
NG	" king,	"	neebing,	in summer.

Figure 18: Anishinaabemowin Alphabet and Pronunciation of Rev. Wilson (1874)

Nonetheless, these idiosyncrasies were comparatively few considering the great inconsistencies that exist between the orthography of English and its phonological realization. Consequently it appears from attestations in the historical record that it was acquired frequently by native speakers of Anishinaabemowin. Among the regular attendees at church services at Garden

River, Wilson remarked at the number of people who had acquired and readily used the prayer books written in the same orthography that he had produced, "I was pleased to find how many of the people had their Ojebway prayer books and testaments with them, carefully wrapped up in a pocket handkerchief" (1886, p. 77).

With respect to French, local Catholic parishes had been sites of continued use for much of the nineteenth century, however conflicts over language within the church were brewing since British immigration policies led to Irish Anglophones making up a growing proportion of the Catholic Population in Upper Canada. The ascendancy of the Irish-born John Joseph Lynch to become Bishop of Toronto in 1860 marked a turning point for the Church's language politics, which had previously been sympathetic to the protection of French-Canadian language and identity (Perin, 1990). Roberto Perin notes that Lynch's vision for national questions in the Church "was predicated on assimilation — the historic assimilation of the Irish to the English language," and "the inevitable assimilation of non-English speaking Catholics to prevailing North American cultural norms" (1990, p. 19). Many Irish-Anglophones in the Roman Catholic Church of Ontario held that "assimilation was merely an instrument to achieve the pre-eminent aim of converting the English-speaking peoples," and thus a preoccupation with preserving and catering to French interests presented an obstacle to the growth and influence of the Church (1990, p. 20). At Sault Ste. Marie, such conflicts would take several more decades to materialize. A cathedral was erected under the guidance of Monsignor Jamot to serve the city's growing settler population in 1883 (Proulx, 1960). By the time the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie (not to be confused with the Diocese of the same name south of the border) was separated from Peterborough in 1904, Irish Anglophones would begin to rival Francophones for numerical dominance among the city's Catholic population, however this was overshadowed by the town's more rapidly growing Italian population, which would account for more than a quarter of the local Catholic population by 1901 (Proulx, 1960; Canada, 1901e). The growing linguistic diversity would result in individual parishes choosing their language of service based on the populations they served, with French persisting in the town's west end, along with an Italian parish opening in 1910 (Proulx, 1960).

7.5.2 Language demographics and the Census of Canada

Anderson notes that census questions — what is counted and what is not — are illustrative of what is of concern to the state doing the enumeration (Anderson, 2006). Scott similarly notes the function of enumeration to extend the state's ability to control the people and resources in the lands it claims (Scott, 1998). In Canada, the census generally became more detailed throughout the nineteenth century, as the state grew and extended its power. In 1871 and 1881, they included a question pertaining to whether children were going to school, reflecting the preoccupation with school enrolments, though this was not a concern unique to Indigenous populations in Canada. The 1891 census added a discrete box to be ticked if a person is considered a French Canadian, as well as whether they can read or write. The question about French Canadians disappeared in subsequent years, but its inclusion is illustrative of how French Canadians, as a unique population, were necessary to be numbered. This was the first census since the Northwest Resistance in 1885, and though the Red River Resistance had occurred prior to the 1871 and 1881 censuses, the fallout from the Northwest Resistance provoked much greater backlash from Anglo-Protestant settlers in the rest of Canada (Sylvestre, 2013; Russell, 2017). The execution of Louis Riel was a flashpoint for Francophone politics in Canada who rejected Anglo-Protestant domination of the character of the state, spurning protests and creating political upheaval across much of the country. The Francophone presence in North America spanned the upper half of the continent, which meant that identifying French-Canadians was a national concern, not a regional one, despite constituting a majority in Québec. The instructions to enumerators, however, provide little insight into who, in the eyes of the state, counted as a French Canadian, taking the information to be self-evident. The instructions note only “Whenever the person enumerated is a French Canadian the figure ‘1’ is to be used” (Department of Agriculture, 1891, p. 13). Based on the instructions for the same year, however, the recorded statistics likely reflect self-identification, as they were explicitly intended to pose the categories as questions to the people being enumerated:

The enumerator must himself, *in every case*, go in person to every dwelling or industrial establishment in each district or division at which inquiry is to be made. Each heading of every schedule [...] is to be read over at every visit. The enumerator is not to take for granted that any person addressed can only supply answers to the

questions arising from the headings of part of the schedules. He must [...] ask every question. (Department of Agriculture, 1891, p. 9)

The singular classification of Francophones, however, effectively erased much of the diversity among French-speaking people within the interior. The census was another means by which dominant national political discourses were transposed onto local realities.

Beginning in 1901, the census began recording more substantial data about language knowledge.³⁰ Its novel inclusion points to the notion that language was of increasing interest to the government. Not only did it provide insight into the ongoing concern over the balance of French and English, it was also of increasing importance as Canada accepted more immigrants from parts of Europe where English and French were not prevailing languages.³¹ For the Métis and Anishinaabe population, this data offers the first quantitative documentation of language knowledge in the region. Such documentation, of course, is not without its conceptual problems, particularly with respect to how languages are categorized and described. The census data for 1901 identifies mother tongue, ability to speak English or French, and building on the data collected in previous censuses, whether the person could read or write.³²

By 1911, the questions on language change somewhat. Mother tongue is no longer of concern, but rather the language commonly spoken. Reading and writing are still captured, as is school enrolment. By 1921, the questions revert to a focus on mother tongue. The result is that

³⁰ Several caveats must be addressed concerning nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian census data. First, observations here are based on the individual tabulation sheets recorded by the enumerators. These sheets are filled in with handwriting and are, as the dates would suggest, quite old. Furthermore the scans of these tally sheets that are available on the website of Library and Archives Canada are not all of great quality. There are occasions where the scan is too dark or too light, or the writing too obscured to be legible, though it is a small proportion of the overall data. This data has been excluded. Furthermore, Library and Archives Canada notes that “the enumerators were not thorough in their work” in 1901 and “many Aboriginal areas were not enumerated or only partially enumerated. In some cases, the people themselves refused to be enumerated” (Library and Archives Canada, n.d.). Though there are certainly many Anishinaabeg and Métis peoples enumerated at Garden River, Batchawana, and the Goulais Bay reserves, it cannot be said for certain that these tallies represent the entirety of the population. Indeed, there are no tallies for Agawa Bay or the Lizard Islands where a number of Batchewana band members are reported to have lived.

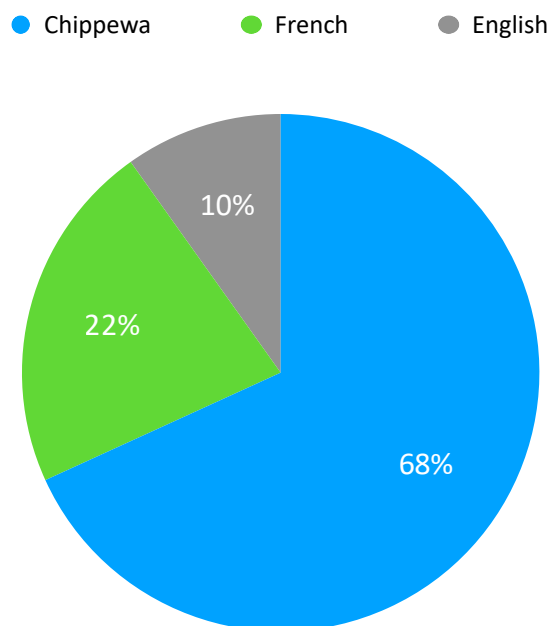
³¹ In Sault Ste. Marie and the surrounding region, a large proportion of the immigrant population at the turn of the century came from Italy and parts of Russia that would become Finland.

³² In none of these early censuses is it specified whether they can read or write in any particular language. There are some potential biases that likely impact this data, notably that the question quite obliquely presumes alphabetic literacy, as opposed to other forms of literacy, such as wampum or the ability to interpret scrolls.

the available data is not necessarily comparable year-to-year, however each instance does provide a snapshot into some dimensions of language transmission and use within the regional communities.

7.5.2.1 Garden River, Goulais Bay, Batchawana, and Gargantua

Within Garden River, a little less than 590 people were enumerated in 1901 (Canada 1901b).³³ Among them, the enumerator listed the racial origins of 187 as “Chippewa,” 323 as “Chippewa French Breed,” 6 as “Chippewa Irish Breed,” 33 as “Chippewa Scotch Breed,” 8 as “Ottawa” and 29 as “Chippewa Other Breed.” In total, of the 528 residents who were reported



to have a mother tongue³⁴ 360 (68%) were recorded as Chippewa, 116 (22%) as French, and 52 (10%) as English (Canada 1901b). Breaking that data down further based on the racial origins that census-takers attributed to Anishinaabeg, among “Chippewa” 95% of the population reported Chippewa as their mother tongue (the remaining 5% being English) (Canada 1901b). Among Chippewa French Breed people, 51% reported Chippewa, 39% French, and 10%

Figure 19: Mother Tongue in Garden River, 1901 (Canada, 1901b)

English (Canada 1901b). Yet all of the Chippewa Irish Breeds reported Chippewa as their first language, while even among the Ottawa, 33% recorded English as their first language, compared to 67% Chippewa (Canada 1901b). For Chippewa Scotch Breeds, 20% reported

³³ Though this is lower than the figure we might expect from combining the Batchewana and Garden River band rolls, it must be remembered that many Batchewana members continued to live at Goulais Bay, Batchewana Bay, Agawa Bay, and the Lizard Islands.

³⁴ Children younger than 2 years of age were often not recorded as having a mother tongue, quite rightly, as most could not yet speak. Still in other cases there were omissions, or the tabular data was damaged, rendering it illegible.

English as a mother tongue compared to 80% Chippewa, and among the indeterminate Chippewa Other Breeds, 62% recorded Chippewa as their mother tongue compared to 38% English (Canada 1901b). Only the Chippewa French Breed population continued to transmit French as a first language, however it is apparent from data on knowledge of languages that this did not mean that French was not used by others (Canada 1901b).

Among the total population at Garden River, 270 reported knowledge of French (50.4%), while 405 (77%) reported knowledge of English (Canada 1901b). Among the 50% with knowledge of French included those recorded as Chippewa, the Chippewa Scotch Breed

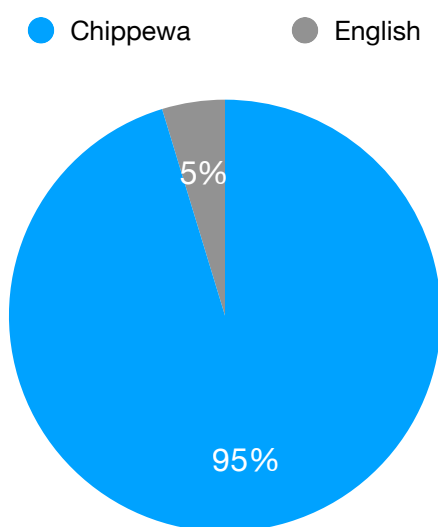


Figure 20: Mother Tongue of Chippewa at Garden River, 1901 (Canada, 1901b)

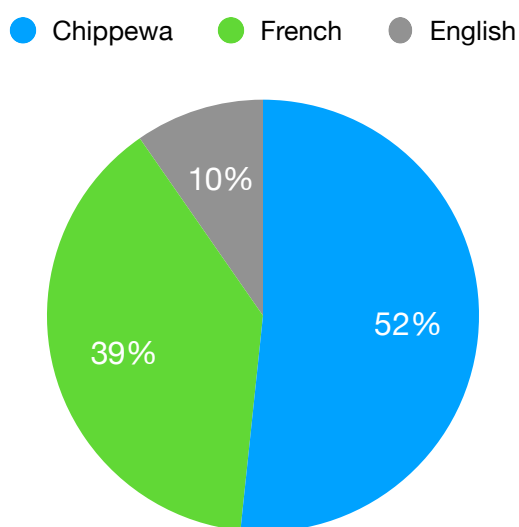


Figure 21: Mother Tongue of Chippewa French Breed at Garden River, 1901 (Canada, 1901b)

residents, and the Chippewa Other Breed population. Even among the Chippewa French Breed population, however, 63 of 305 reported no knowledge of French (Canada 1901b). Comparing mother tongue reporting to those reporting knowledge of French or English, it is apparent that though English ranked third among the three principal languages at use at Garden River in terms of mother tongue, it was more commonly known, if not transmitted to subsequent generations. This suggests that at the turn of the twentieth century English functioned as an important auxiliary language for the community, indeed, more so than French, even though French was a more common mother tongue and was more likely to be transmitted to subsequent generations.

This should not be surprising. After all, English was taught not only at the Shingwauk and Wawanosh Homes, but at the Day Schools. And though church officials could be more frequently relied on to communicate in either French or Anishinaabemowin, state officials and settlers in the booming surrounding communities were significantly less likely to share any language with Anishinaabeg and Métis other than English.

At first glance this might appear to be the ‘writing on the wall’ for language shift to English, however knowledge of a language does not determine that it will be the language that one passes on to their children, or that one would use it more commonly within families. Indeed, when we look at the age distribution of mother tongues at Garden River, language shift would be manifested with a higher proportion of English mother-tongue speakers in earlier age groups. This does not appear to be the case. The overall total numbers for Garden River demonstrate that the age-distribution of English as a mother tongue is relatively consistent, with the exception of very few between the ages of 45 to 54 and those over 65 (This is not surprising, given the proportion of English-speakers in the region in the 1850s was dwarfed by Anishinaabe and French speakers, while those in the 1830s and earlier were even fewer). Certainly the greatest number of people who reported English as a mother tongue at Garden River was under 14 years of age, however this was the largest age group overall at the time, and also included the highest number of Anishinaabemowin and French speakers as well.

Age range	Chippewa	English	French	Not Listed
4 to 14	95	20	36	6
15 to 24	67	9	24	1
25 to 34	61	13	15	1
35 to 44	38	10	11	1
45 to 54	40	1	11	2
55 to 64	15	3	4	0
Over 65	31	1	6	2

Table 5: Garden River mother tongue by age group, 1901 (Canada, 1901a)

When considered as a share of the population in each age group, however, it is apparent that the share of English mother-tongue speakers remained relatively consistent in the youngest four age groups. Looking at individual households the picture is still more complicated: Four households listed English as the mother tongue of all members; another four households listed Anglophones with no children; 2 Anglophones were lodgers; and eleven were mixed mother-tongue households. Overall there were only three households where there was demonstrable shift from Anishinaabemowin to English, with the parents recording Anishinaabemowin as their mother tongue while the children recorded English. Instead it appears that Anishinaabeg were simply adding English to their linguistic repertoires. In contrast to a narrative of language

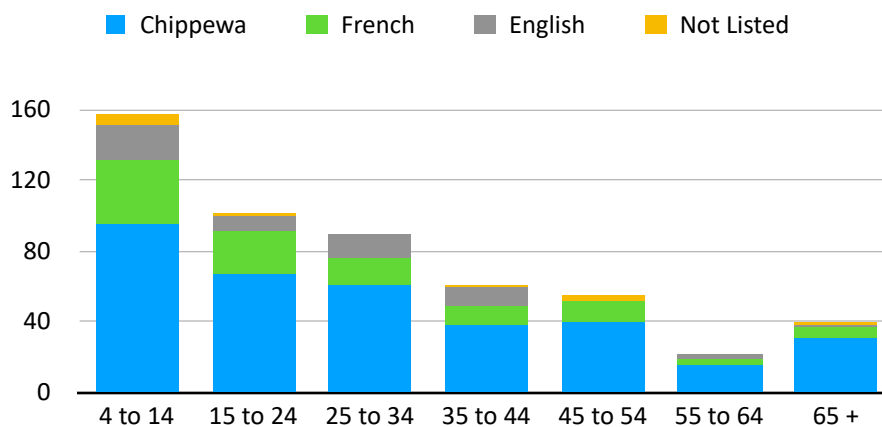


Figure 22: Mother Tongue at Garden River by age group, 1901 (Canada, 1901b)

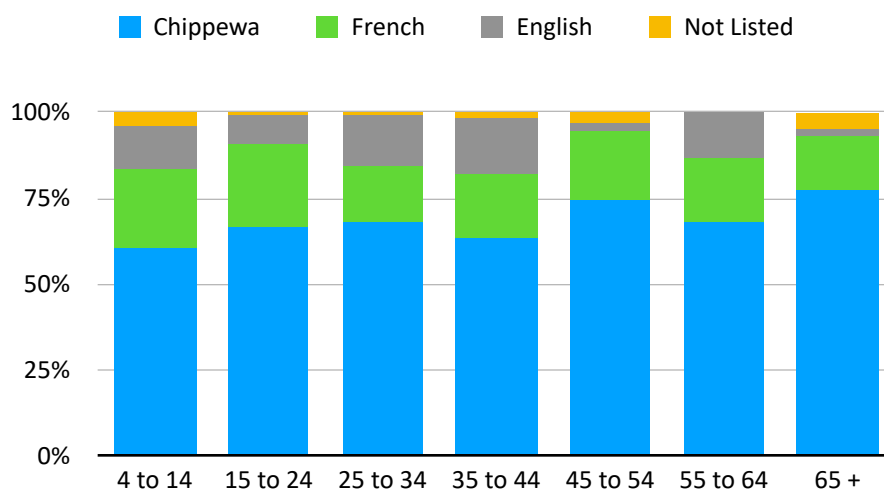


Figure 23: Proportion of Garden River Mother Tongue by age group, 1901 (Canada, 1901b)

attrition, Garden River appeared to becoming *more* linguistically diverse at the turn of the twentieth century, not less.

Among Batchewana members, both at Garden River and north of Sault Ste. Marie, English was substantially less likely to be transmitted. Census takers similarly identified distinctions between “Chippewa,” Chippewa French Breeds, Chippewa Irish Breed, and Chippewa Scotch Breed populations. To complicate matters, Goulais Bay was enumerated by a different census taker who had different notions of racial categories, and they enumerated all Indigenous residents at Goulais simply as “Indians” (Canada, 1901c). In total, those 68 members who were enumerated at Garden River, 64 (94%) reported Chippewa as their first language compared to 3 for English (4.5%) and 1 (1.5%) for French (Canada 1901b). Among the 90 residents enumerated at Goulais Bay, all reported Chippewa as their first language (Canada 1901c).

Of the total Batchewana population recorded in the 1901 census, 19 of the 158 residents (12%) reported knowledge of French, while 44 (28%) reported knowledge of English (Canada 1901b, c, d). Of the entire “Indian” population enumerated from Garden River to Batchawana Bay, more than a third (35%) reported knowledge of both French and English, and 41% reported knowledge of French (Canada 1901b, c, d).

Of the entire “Indian” population enumerated from Garden River to Batchawana Bay, still nearly three quarters (74%) reported Chippewa as their mother tongue, with French recorded at 17% and English at 9% (Canada, 1901b, c, d). It is possible that, while Anishinaabemowin was still a vital language at Garden River and Goulais Bay in 1901, French may have been in decline. But it is also possible that at this moment in time its speakers were simply coming to be outnumbered, which is not quite the same thing.

Though the 1911 census did not record mother tongue, it provides more insight into the vitality of language use within the area, asking instead for the language most commonly spoken. The enumerated areas also do not line up perfectly, as for the Batchewana band 119 “Batchewana Indians” were enumerated on the Garden River reserve lands and another 60 were enumerated at the Goulais Bay reserve, yet Indian populations also appear, not separated out, but rather in the totals for the Townships of Kars, which surrounds the Goulais Bay reserve, as well as small populations at Gargantua and Fisher Township, and one elderly Indian farmer in Tarentorus, who lived alone and reported English as his primary language (Canada, 1911a, b, c,

d, e, f). At Garden River, 522 residents of the band were enumerated, while a subset of the reserve, likely a mining location, was enumerated separately (Canada, 1911g).

The Batchewana tally sheets list the entire population as having “Ojibwa” as their racial origin, and Ojibwa is also reported as the language most commonly used by the entire population (Canada, 1911a).³⁵ Similarly at Goulais Bay, all 60 residents report “Ojebwa”³⁶ as their primary language and all are recorded of Ojebwa racial origin (Canada, 1911b).

The populations outside the reserves, though smaller, illustrate less consistency. Two households at Gargantua included Anishinaabeg among their inhabitants, the first being J. Cody, a Catholic fisherman who recorded English and Indian as his primary languages, while the other included P. Gordan and his wife,³⁷ as well as the wives of Cody and J.H. Granville, all of whom reported “Indian” as their primary language, though Mrs. Granville’s racial origin is recorded as French, and her husband who was recorded at another household at Gargantua is also French, but lists his primary language as English (Canada, 1911d). At Fisher Township on the North shore of Batchawana Bay, and previous site of a frequent settlement and fishing location for band members, only two people of “Indian” origin are recorded, and their primary language is illegible (Canada, 1911e). Kars Township, however, is notable as 48 people are reported across twelve households, eight of whom are reported to be of Indian origin, three in the same household are Greek, while the remainder are identified as French (Canada, 1911c). Among the Indian population, five in one household give Chippewa as their most common language, while three in another give both English and French (Canada, 1911c). However, there are another two households where the occupants are designated as of “French” origin, but their 21 occupants list Chippewa as their most commonly used language (Canada, 1911c).³⁸ It is worth noting here that previous categories, such as “half-breed” and variations thereof do not occur in the 1911

³⁵ For 23 individuals, the language most commonly spoken was illegible. There is a chance that among these, a different language may have been noted, but among those that are visible, all report Ojibwa.

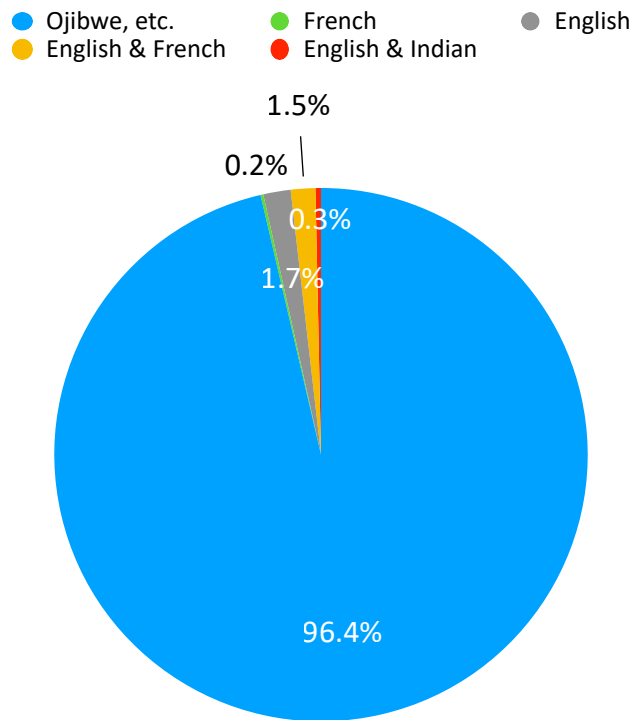
³⁶ The difference in spelling is attributable to the different conventions used by the enumerators. A number of enumerators, even within the same region, did not specify which Indigenous language, rather, writing only “Indian.”

³⁷ The first names recorded here are simply “Mrs.,” hence their characterization here.

³⁸ One of the 21 household members’ most common language is actually illegible, however given their relation to the others in the household, age, and the alignment of other factors, we may be able to presume that they also reported Chippewa.

census for these regions with the exception of three residents in Prince Township, and these families likely would have met this status in earlier censuses (Canada, 1911h). Further discussion of the recording of race is offered in a subsequent section.

At Garden River on the primary tally sheets, all residents were listed to be of “Ojibwa” origin, and nearly all had Ojibwa listed as their primary language (Canada, 1911g).³⁹ The



separate tally sheets for Garden River include primarily, but not exclusively, settlers such as the teachers and clergy who worked in the community, as well as many labourers. It also recorded 19 people of Indian racial origin among the total enumerated tally of 72 people (Canada, 1911g). Of these, all but seven reported English as their most commonly used language, while six reported both English and French, and the last reported both English and Indian (Canada, 1911g). Of those who were identified as “Indian” or Ojibwe in the region outside

Figure 24: Languages most commonly spoken by “Indians” outside Sault Ste. Marie, 1911 (Canada, 1911a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l,m,n,o)

of the village at Sault Ste. Marie (from Gargantua to Garden River), there was a total population of 733, of whom eight were too young to record a primary language and 121 for whom the records are illegible. Of the remaining 604, 582 were recorded as having some variation of Anishinaabemowin as their language most commonly used (Canada, 1911a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j,

³⁹ As with the Batchawana returns, a number of instances of primary language were illegible, accounting for 97 of the total 522 entries. Even if all of these reported another language, it would be just under 19% of the total population.

k, l, m, n, o).⁴⁰ Of the remainder, 10 reported English, one French, nine English and French, and two English & Indian.

If the census was enumerated accurately, then, Anishinaabemowin continued to be the dominant language of communication for Anishinaabeg in the region, outside of the emerging city at Sault Ste. Marie. The rate of Anishinaabemowin as the primary language of communication for this region exceeds even the proportion of the same population who in 1901 reported some variety of Anishinaabemowin as their mother tongue. There are, of course, many caveats to be considered. For one, the Métis populations recorded in 1901 at Garden River appear to have disappeared, though of course they did not. They were likely recorded as either being of “Chippewa,” “Ojibwe,” or “Indian” origin, or conversely of “French,” “Scotch,” or some other European lineage based on the guidelines provided to enumerators. We have already seen the example from Kars Township of three nominally “French” households (according to enumerators) speaking Chippewa as their dominant language. In each of the surrounding townships, there are sizeable French populations, some of which to be sure do not necessarily identify as part of the local Métis community, having migrated directly from Québec, however a good many may also be part of that community and report English, French, or some combination of languages as their primary mode of communication.

French was also still common in much of the region surrounding the growing cities at the rapids. Recollections from Batchewana and Garden River point to its use among Anishinaabeg from Garden River to Batchewana Village. The diary of Mary Bussineau, whose family ran a tourist camp along Lake Superior near Agawa Bay in the 1910s and 1920s, in addition to illustrating the racial dynamics of the era and the perception of significant boundaries between “white” and Indigenous peoples, also demonstrates the persistence of French within the region. Though it was written nearly entirely in English it is apparent from her entries that she and most of her family were at least conversant in French.⁴¹ Recalling the visit of a Priest, Father McMillin, she noted “In the evening we sat out on the varanda and talk and

⁴⁰ This total includes 4 people whose language was recorded with the imprecise “Indian,” however given their locations, surnames, and other data recorded in the census, it is most likely that they spoke some variation of Anishinaabemowin, if the census tallies are to be trusted.

⁴¹ There are occasional French idioms and turns of phrase, such as “Au beau clair de la lune,” (June 1916) “en picke de bois” (March 22, 1918), or when she records a favoured expression: “les amis sont comme les melons, il faut en essayer plusieurs pour en trouver un bon” (July 22, 1922).

laugh Father McMillin is very good at telling stories both in English and French” (August 4, 1920).

Among band members of Garden River and Batchewana, multilingualism persisted, and though English and French did not supplant Anishinaabemowin in the early decades of the twentieth century, they did become ubiquitous within the respective communities. From 1914 to 1916, Indian Affairs reported annual estimates from its local agencies of the number of status Indians who spoke or could write in English or French.

Year	No. who Speak English	No. who Write English	No. who Speak French	No. who Write French	Population
1914	894	247	976	0	976
1915	984	585	984	78	1167
1916	985	660	985	0	1158

Table 6: English & French oral & written proficiency in the Sault Ste. Marie Agency (Indian Affairs, 1914; 1915; 1916)

The numbers from the Indian Affairs reports are likely little more than an educated guess on the part of the local agent, the most obvious tip-off being the changes in the number of locals who could write French. It is unlikely that in the span of a year that 78 band members would acquire French literacy, only to either die, become enfranchised, or otherwise disappear the following year, yet be replaced by almost exactly the same number of band members who could speak, but not write, French. It is equally odd that every single band member, including newborns, would be said to speak French in 1914. Still, even as a best guess, the report signifies that at the very least there was a predominant perception that French was nearly universally spoken within the communities under the Sault Ste. Marie Agency in the 1910s (Garden River, Batchewana and Michipicoten). Furthermore, it suggests that English was acknowledged to be not as prevalent (though still spoken by the vast majority of band members) earlier in the decade, and ultimately matched the prevalence of French by the close of the decade. Meanwhile English literacy was also climbing at a significant pace during this period.

7.5.2.2 Sault Ste. Marie and Steelton

Among the Métis population at Sault Ste. Marie in 1901, a substantial majority reported French as their mother tongue (71%, or 141 of 198) (Canada, 1901e). Notably the next highest mother tongue was English (23% or 45 of 198), then Chippewa (6% or 11 of 198). The hegemonic power of English was evident within the region, even though it had not resulted in substantial language shift among Indigenous peoples by this point. For those Métis people who spoke Anishinaabemowin as a mother tongue, all could speak French and nine of the eleven could also speak English. Of those who reported French as a mother tongue, 100 could also speak English (it is not reported what proportion also could speak Anishinaabemowin, however other evidence suggests that this was still fairly common among French-speaking Métis) (Canada, 1901p). Yet for those who reported English as their mother tongue, only eight of 45 could also speak French (less than 20%) (Canada, 1901e).

For those students at the Shingwauk Home, the policy of recruiting pupils from distant locations was well underway by 1900. It is not clear whether the recording of the mother tongue of students was an unmitigated conveyance of the student's own self-reporting or if it was filtered through the enumerator's — or for that matter, the teacher or principal's — understanding of Indigenous languages. But the languages reported at the Shingwauk Home include Chippewa, Cree, Delaware, English, French, Indian, Iroquois, Mohawk, Oneida, Ojebway, and Pottawattami. Of those that are clearly varieties of Anishinaabemowin (Chippewa, Ojebway, and Pottawattami), a little more than 60% of the students were mother-tongue speakers. The next largest mutually intelligible group would have been Lenapeew (Delaware) accounting for about 10% of the students, while just under 15% spoke an Onkwehonwe language of some kind (Canada, 1901e).

The "Indian" population at Sault Ste. Marie was exceptionally small, and among them, four of the eight that were not students at the residential school spoke English as a first language (Canada, 1901e). Here we see early evidence of a correlation between living in an urban centre and the loss of Indigenous language.

By 1911 at Sault Ste. Marie, of the 9,741 residents who were enumerated with a legible most commonly used language indicated, only 17 record an Indigenous language and nearly all of these also recorded English (Canada, 1911p). The only resident who only spoke an

Arabic Austrian Chinese Dutch Danish
 Finnish German Greek Indian Italian
 Norwegian Polish Russian Swedish Celtic languages
 Spanish

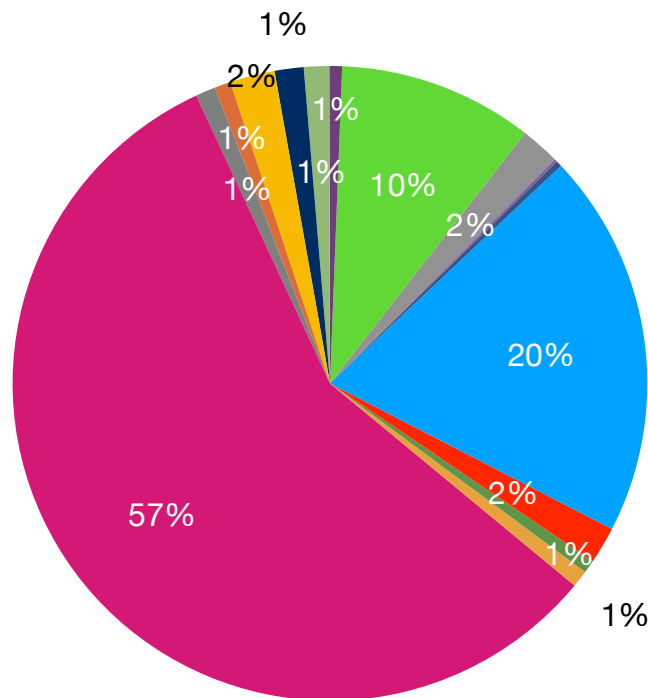


Figure 25: Languages other than English or French commonly spoken at Sault Ste. Marie, 1911 (Canada, 1911p)

Indigenous language was recorded as a young “inmate”⁴² at the Shingwauk Home (Canada, 1911p). Indigenous languages, and Indigenous people, were not only being overwhelmed by the incoming settler population, but also pushed out from the rapids and excluded from the emerging urban fabric. The new settler population was overwhelmingly English-speaking and of British origin, though it also had significant Italian, Finnish, and other European populations, particularly among the labouring classes that first worked on the railway, and after the turn of the century at the paper and steel mills. However, the dominance of English in the public sphere was readily apparent, with over 87% of the city’s population using English commonly, if not

⁴² “Inmate” was the word used to describe all students at the Shingwauk Home by census enumerators, which suggests that even in the very early twentieth century, the institutions were not merely seen by settlers as educational opportunities benevolently offered by the Church and facilitated by the state.

● English
 ● English & another language
 ● Not English

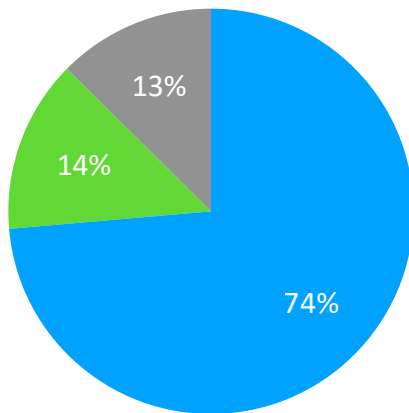


Figure 26: Reported use of English in Sault Ste. Marie, 1911 (Canada, 1911p)

● French
 ● French & another language
 ● Not French

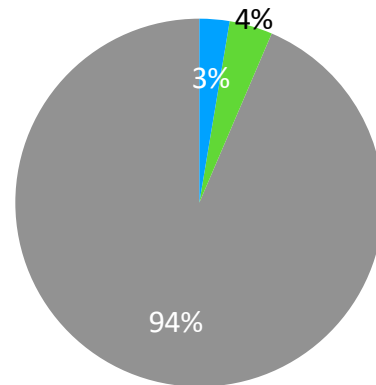


Figure 27: Reported use of French in Sault Ste. Marie, 1911 (Canada, 1911p)

exclusively. French, by contrast, continued to be spoken commonly by just over 6% of the population.

In the rapidly growing adjacent working-class town of Steelton, which was incorporated in 1904 and surrounded the steel mill, the linguistic landscape was similar, though with a greater immigrant population speaking predominantly southern and eastern European languages. The proportion who spoke English exclusively or in conjunction with another languages was nearly 90% (Canada, 1911q). No enumerated resident reported an Indigenous language as being most commonly spoken, while a larger proportion of the population reported common use of French, at 11.9%, one in six of whom reported French exclusively as their most common language (Canada, 1911q).

● English ● English & another language ● Not English ● French ● French & another language ● Not French

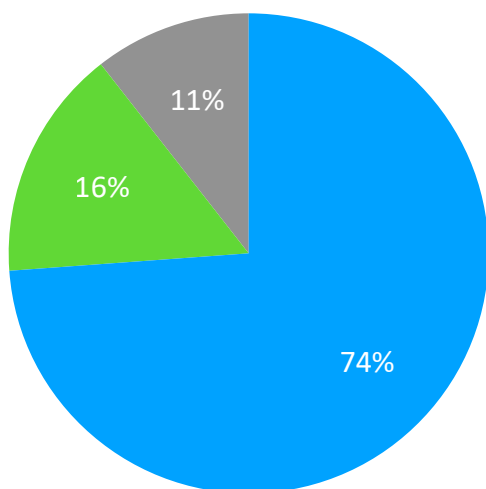


Figure 28: Reported use of English in Steelton, 1911 (Canada, 1911q)

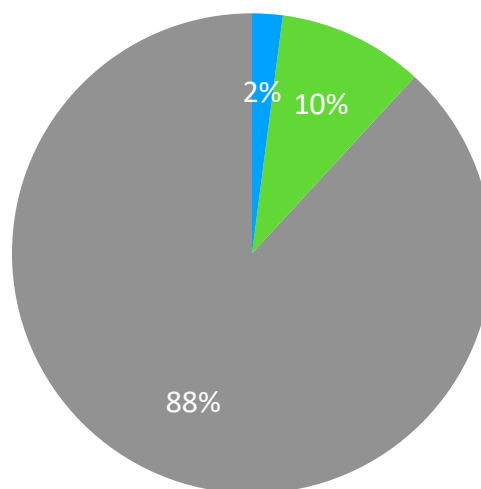


Figure 29: Reported use of French in Steelton, 1911 (Canada, 1911q)

The proportion of the population in both towns that reported both English and another language (most commonly Italian, Finnish, German, Polish and Russian)⁴³ as being most commonly spoken also indicates that either English was already spoken by many of the new migrants, or it was acquired relatively quickly. Most heads of households, even among international immigrants, identified their ability to speak English, while women who worked in the home were more likely to only speak their native language commonly. Though these new languages would persist in small communities throughout the twentieth century, English was still the dominant language of public communication at Sault Ste. Marie from the late 1800s to the present day.

The surrounding primarily agricultural townships of Korah, Parke, Awenge, Tarentorus and the Town of St. Mary's which would eventually be absorbed into the City of Sault Ste. Marie also report no residents claiming to commonly speak an Indigenous language (Canada, 1911f, o,

⁴³ It must be acknowledged that early census data on language was problematic on a number of fronts, not least of which was the knowledge and bias of the enumerators. For an illustrative example, one of the largest linguistic minorities recorded in the town of Sault Ste. Marie was those who reported "Austrian" as their most commonly spoken language. For lack of evidence that people commonly referred to their language as "Austrian" in the early twentieth century, this was likely erroneously assumed by an enumerator who had been able to identify a resident as originating or migrating from Austria-Hungary. A review of the last names of those who had "Austrian" attributed as their dominant language suggests that this group likely could have included Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Croats and Slovenes among others. Similarly "Russian" was a broad category that often included other Slavic or Baltic languages.

r, s, t). Indeed only one resident of the collective 1,511 who were enumerated was identified as an “Indian,” John Connor, and he had migrated from the United States, lived alone at his farm in Tarentorus and spoke English most commonly (Canada, 1911f). Only at Prince Township, at the western extremity of the region, was an Indigenous language still commonly spoken (often in conjunction with French) among three households (The Neals, Jangras’, and the Daigles) of the township’s total of 49 households (Canada, 1911h). Notably within these households, there is no evidence of language shift, as the Indigenous language continues to be commonly spoken by all youth. French is also spoken in 8 of the 49 households, including the three that reported continued use of an Indigenous language.

From the late 1800s into the early twentieth century, the place of English within the regional population grows to a significant extent due to both internal and international settler migration and the expansion of communications throughout the region which tie the region to surrounding Anglophone-dominant communities, reaching a hegemonic point by the 1910s. The process, however, was not one primarily motivated by language, but rather by notions of race and the racial character that state officials wished to imbue in Canada’s emerging frontiers of occupation and settlement.

7.5.2.2.1 Frenchtown emerges in the late nineteenth century

The influx of English-speaking settlers of various British descents from the late 1800s well into the early twentieth century (most of whom relocated from southern Ontario) gradually supplanted the quotidian hegemony of French and Anishinaabemowin at the settlement along the rapids. Gradually French speakers, joined by new settlers relocating from Québec, clustered in particular residential pockets. The first remaining attestation of “Frenchtown” to describe the predominantly French-speaking neighbourhood northwest of Gore Street, comes from a map published by the *Sault Daily Star* in 1871 which has been reproduced as an insert to a map of the City in 1903 which is on display at the Sault Ste. Marie Museum (See figure 30).

Though the points of interest on this map largely signify the emerging British hegemony, as with new state institutions such as the court house and post office along with Anglophile religious institutions such as the school house and Methodist Church, there remain significant French, Métis and Anishinaabe landmarks. Whitefish Island is recognized as Indian

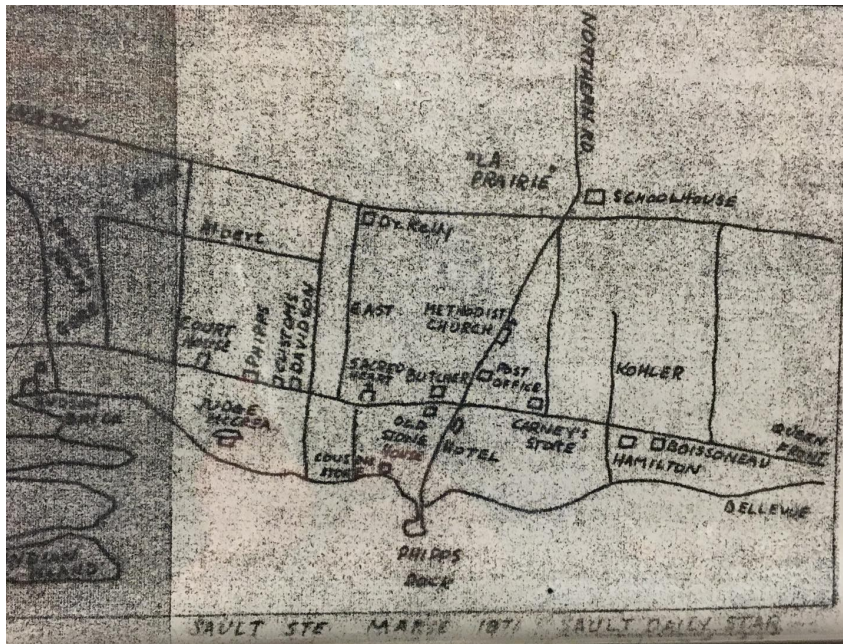


Figure 30: Sault Ste. Marie, 1871 (Photo credit: Isabelle Michaud)

Land, for instance. The residence of prominent Métis community member, Leo Boissoneau, is also marked east of Kohler Street. And the sparsely populated areas north of Wellington Street at the base of the Canadian Shield are marked as “La Prairie,” a toponym for which there is no contemporary recorded use for this area in the twenty-first century. Other

sources refer to the predominantly French-speaking neighbourhood as “The Old Fort,” a reference to the nearby Hudson’s Bay Company Fort which was an historic employer of many of the community’s Métis and French-descended residents (Dubois, 1936, p. 6). Dubois notes that even among migrants from Québec who came to work at the paper mill, “they settled in the section known as the Old Fort and lived almost in complete isolation from the remainder of the city.” (1936, p. 6). “On Sundays they marched over a narrow trail through the bush to a spot on Wellington Street, where a missionary priest said mass in a barn” Dubois explains, but by 1902 the community was served by the creation of the Paroisse St-Ignace, which became an officially French-medium church in 1927 (1936, p. 6; Sault Star, 1933, Aug 26, p. 8).

The Métis community was highly integrated within these French-speaking portions of the city, as Steve Gjos relates:

The Metis originally lived along the St. Mary’s River; plots of land all along the river. Then over by where St. John’s church is now, over by the casino, was called Frenchtown; that’s where the Metis originally lived. Then the Hudson Bay Company sold the land to the Anglican church. Of course then the city took over the rest of it so, the Metis were kicked out of their land; were all removed. Some of them went and lived in Garden River, Batchewana First Nation, on their territory but most of them

just went wherever. My grandfather and grandmother lived on North Street originally, in a small little house and then they went to Cathcart. So it was all west end; all my ancestors lived in the west end, around Cathcart. Actually not far from St. John's there. That's where they lived. (personal communication, February 23, 2018)

However the linguistic bond of the French and Métis communities (recognizing there was not universally distinct boundaries between the two) at the Fort and newcomers from Québec began to fashion new bonds of affinity, and a hegemonic French Canadian identity. By 1901, non-Indigenous Francophones outnumbered Métis by a rate of about five to one, with 722 residents of the town having French recorded as their racial origin (roughly 10% of the total population), compared to 148 "French-Breeds" and another 60 non-French Métis (Canada, 1901e). Coupled with the segregation from Anishinaabe communities imposed through the reserves and various provisions of the Indian Act and its agents, as well as shared stigma in the wake of the Northwest resistance, many French-speakers with Indigenous ancestry reoriented their social affiliations along linguistic and religious lines and assimilated with incoming French-speaking residents from Québec or other parts of Ontario. Even references to French settlement of the region that acknowledged the relationship between French settlers and Indigenous peoples tended to ignore the existence of a distinct cultural group emerging therefrom, as one article from the *Sault Star* illustrates: "Mrs. O.J. Lenville; 218 Cathcart Street, claims that her parents," P.C. Dubois writes, "and their children were the first French Canadians to come here although there were already many unmarried young men from Montreal who had found their way here years previously to work for the Hudson Bay Company" (1936, Jun 13, p. 7). The article on the "Soo's First French Settlers" defines 'first' according to Mrs. Lenville's (née Lemieux) affirmation of it beginning with the settlement of a family, consisting of a husband, wife and children in 1884 (Dubois 1936, Jun 13, p. 7). The Lemieux family moved to the Fort area two or three years later to open a boarding home for men working on the rail bridge: "My father built a large house in The Fort and we lodged 25 to 30 men all the time the bridge was under construction" (1936, p. 7). But her description of previous French-speaking residents projects the early twentieth century clear affirmation of boundaries between Indigenous and French peoples: "Many French Canadian young men who had come here years before we did married Indians and there were still many Frenchmen who were single but I believe our family was the first of the race to come to the Soo," (Dubois, 1936, Jun 13, p. 7). No mention is made of any

children from the aforementioned marriages, and the French “race” remained whole and singular.

7.5.2.2.2 New immigrant languages

As Italian, Eastern and Northern European immigrants moved into the city’s west end, new languages came with them and shifted the local language ecology in fairly significant ways. Italian was prevalent throughout Steelton, Bay View and the west end of Sault Ste. Marie, most notably the Jamestown ‘Little Italy’ neighbourhood that centred on James Street (Sault Daily Star, July 1920). Slavic languages, such as Ukrainian, Polish and Russian were also common in Steelton but particularly in Bay View. The geographic concentration of these new languages was tied to the class stratification and the proximity to the new industries on the river shore west of the rapids. Senator Powley explains, “...mostly it was the west end of town that was [...] what they considered lower class because a lot of them went and worked for the plant, [...] so a lot of the workers just walked from that basic area, eh?” (personal communication, July 21, 2016).

The growing population from parts of Europe outside the British Isles provoked early and recurring anxiety from the politically dominant Anglophone settler population of the region. A report from the *Sault Daily Star* in 1911 ostensibly about importing goods and supplies rather than shopping from local merchants illustrates anxieties that were projected onto the city’s Italian population:

Fifteen people, nearly all men, live in a house in the west end assessed at \$250. People in Canada are awakening to the slum evil, with its insanitary dangers. It is the result of the crowding into Canada of foreigners who have no conception of an Anglo-Saxon standard of living. [...] The Sault isn’t a large city, but it is no secret that conditions among some of its foreign residents are as bad as those usually associated with very large centres of population. And Steelton can show conditions, if report be correct, that demand attention.

An Italian does not “board” in the sense understood by English speaking people. He merely pays for shelter and does his own cooking. The Star is informed that practically every Italian who falls into the hands of the police has his “butchers’

book” to keep account of his purchases of meat and provisions. Several of the boarders will use a cook stove at once.

The beds in some of the houses “are never cold.” As soon as one set of occupants leaves them another gets into them. If there are not enough beds to go around the floor will do. “I have seen men sleeping on the floor without any covering,” said a member of the police force to the Star.

At a recent meeting of Steelton council a description of the moral atmosphere surrounding some of the large boarding houses was given which would more than startle the public.

Under present conditions, the Sault and Steelton have a number of very undesirable citizens. They pay little or no heed to sanitary regulations, are herded in overcrowded rooms and enjoy themselves, drinking beer and carving each other up. Little wonder a Britisher [sic] cannot compete with them from a wage standpoint. The Board of Health have undertaken to clean up the west end this spring. But it won’t stay clean. The houses are so small that few of them will connect with the sewer system unless the town compels the owners to sign a contract to that effect before laying the mains.

There should be a remedy for the overcrowding too. We might as well discover and apply it as wait till forced to do so. Foreigners should be made to live up to an Anglo-Saxoa [sic] standard.”(p. 4)

Notably, overcrowding and wage depression are blamed on the inadequate standards of incoming Italian migrants, rather than on those supplying the housing or the wages. The presumed norms of the twin cities were also noted to be both linguistically and culturally English, with references to “the sense understood by English speaking people” and “Anglo-Saxon” standards of living.

In 1918, “The Foreigner” became the subject of discussion at the local chapter of the Rotary Club, though the report of the evening illustrates some of the competing perspectives that pervaded in both the city’s formal and informal authorities (Sault Daily Star, 1918). Lawyer and former Mayor, J. A. MacPhail reportedly stated that

“It is true there has been considerable segregation of the foreigners in this city, [...]but it has not been an enforced segregation, but rather one of their own choice in an

endeavour to keep in touch with their own people and customs, but the city has put forth every effort to better conditions for them.” (1918, p. 3)

The report continued, describing a tour that senior political officials made of “what is generally known as ‘Little Italy,’ Bay View and the Steel Plant subdivision” in the city’s west end to investigate claims of inferior infrastructure and investments:

Mr. Kelso said the best schools and the best civic improvements were to be found in the east end of the city, but Mr. McPhail said his party found that the city had made vast improvements in the West end, and that they had good up-to-date schools with all the latest improvements, and Mr. McPhail found reason to compliment the Public School Board on the work they are doing for the foreigner, for not only have they good day schools, but they have also inaugurated night schools for them, which the foreigners are taking advantage of: Great praise was given Miss McCrea⁴⁴ of McFadden school, who the Rotarians said was doing more good than any twenty persons in the Sault among the foreign residents, by her devoted attention to them and throwing her whole life into the work of educating them. (1918, p. 3)

Education, and linguistic education in particular, became a central focus of the discussion.

MacPhail noted again,

“The great problem of dealing with the foreigner is to educate them. [...] Until they are educated they they [sic] cannot become good citizens. The greatest trouble maker we have to deal with is the individual who has a spattering of the English language. He preys on the ignorant one, and becomes an agitator, and the result is that those who do not speak the English language become the victims of the agitators and soon find themselves in the police court.” (1918, p. 3)

City Solicitor G. W. Goodwin reportedly “urged that every foreigner should learn to read and write the English language and put on a sort of probation before being given the franchise” and is said to have expressed that “Education is the only, though slow, process, by which the foreigner could be made into a good citizen” (1918, p. 3). A Mr. L.L. Jacobs also reportedly expressed that

⁴⁴ Anna McCrea would go on to become somewhat of a local folk hero for her work with Italian immigrants (Sault Star, Feb 25 1928). An elementary public school with the Algoma District School Board continues to bear her name.

Canada would be able to handle them better if there was some way of getting them to learn the English language, so that they could understand what was wanted of them and they would know that others know they understand, as at the present time a great many of them pretend ignorance. (1918, p. 3)

Thomas Chitty later commented that “the foreigner was a pretty decent fellow when you understand him. [...] But his language, habits, customs, and ideals [...] are not the same as ours,” and urged that “We should help him to learn our language, and endeavour to help him live in clean, sanitary quarters” (1918, p. 3)

Failure to acquire English was also suggested to have severe personal consequences, as a local magistrate suggested:

Magistrate Mackay said there was two things to do with the foreigners. One was to censor them well when they came to this country and to compel them to learn the English language, and the second, to require them to declare their intention of becoming citizens. He had no use for promiscuous immigration. Those who would not learn to read and write English and become citizens should be shipped back home after the war. (1918, p. 3).

Still, another member was disinterested even in the question of assimilation altogether and affirmed “I do not know that we want to accept them as citizens, as doing so would mean they would degenerate our race” (1918, p. 3). Apart from a bizarre inference that limiting citizenship would somehow prevent people from having sex with one another, Mr. Fuller’s quote also illustrates the continuation of discourses of an Anglo-Saxon settler race that characterized the Canadian settler state, and that such discourses persisted in Algoma.

Member of Parliament T.E. Simpson was also at this meeting of the Rotary Club, and lamented his inability to win majorities among the predominantly immigrant west end neighbourhoods. In a passage that today’s reader would see laden with irony, the *Star* reported:

Mr. T.E. Simpson suddenly discovered why he had not been able to get a majority in the West end as some other members present inferred that the foreigner had been used for election purposes, but by being given liquor. Mr. Simpson said he had listened to the same question being discussed in the House of Commons at Ottawa all

day and well into the night when the members had concluded they were no farther ahead than when they started.

“One thing we have got to remember in dealing with the foreign element,” Mr Simpson said, “Is that they are here on our invitation. Canada has spent thousands of dollars in the past in order to induce these men to come to help out the labor problem of the country. But there is another phase of the situation. These men are getting larger wages than they ever got in their lives before and very few of them are contributing anything toward the prosecution of the war. They should be made to contribute their fair share of the cost of the war.

“This, Mr. Simpson thought, might be done through taxation, possibly by a heavier poll tax.

Mr Simpson thought that all who were not assessed should pay a heavy poll tax, and that none of them should receive the franchise unless they had learned to read and write English. He also thought that the work being carried on by Miss McCrea and through the industrial classes of the Y.M.C.A. was a very effective way of dealing with the foreigner. (1918, p. 3)

English fluency was affirmed as a keystone of deserving citizenship and political rights, while the Anglo-Saxon Canadian settler hegemony was now issuing invitations, without any acknowledgement that they, too, were present by invitation.

Though such a meeting of a service club — even one attended by the city’s elites — did not have immediate policy consequences for newcomers, it is illustrative of the dominant and competing attitudes toward local immigration held by the settler hegemonic core of Sault Ste. Marie. A year later, the Rotary Club hosted a number of “non-English speaking citizens” for dinner (Sault Star 1919, p. 1). “The evening was designed,” the Star reported, “to give the Rotary members some information as to how the English speaking citizens could become better acquainted with the foreign element here with the idea of taking a friendly interest in their affairs” (1919, p. 1). The guests included:

Mr. Wm. Grassi, Royal Italian consul, Mr. James Vincenzetti, manager of the West End Cooperative Store; Mr. C. Symon, storekeeper; Mr. Chas. Raiva, a Finnish grocer; Mr. Kalmar Mecruchnek, who introduced himself as a Russian Hebrew; and Mr. Jacob Kashuba, from Ukrania [sic] (1919, p. 1)

Though the purpose of the meeting was much more conciliatory than that held the year prior, fewer details are reported in the *Star*, with the article concluding “It was a most interesting evening” (1919, p. 1)

Though non-Indigenous linguistic minorities of the area are not the primary focus of this research, the manner in which they were represented in local English-media and treated by the dominant population of the city is illustrative of the broader concern for shaping a White Settler Anglophone polity based on Anglo-Saxon cultural norms west of Québec. It is this same context in which Indigenous communities were increasingly being coerced to conform to an idealized national form, not merely as subjects of a liberal empire. To be valid citizens required subjects adopt English as their dominant means of communication, among other British cultural and liberal philosophical attributes.

7.5.3 On race, language, and the white settler state

From the Durham report onward, the discourses of race began to figure more prominently in Canadian legislation, not only between Indigenous and settler peoples but also within white settler populations. Throughout every census conducted at Sault Ste. Marie, religion was documented, signalling its pervasive importance to the state. But with respect to notions of race, the 1861, 1871 and 1881 censuses enumerated the “origin” of the population, which was understood to convey notions of race or ethnicity, as “Indian” and “Half-Breed” were common designations. Instructions to enumerators in 1861 noted

“mark a figure (1) every coloured person’s name, i.e. negro or negress. This was much neglected last census, and the number of coloured persons was not ascertained. If Mulatto, mark M after his or her name — thus, (1) M; and if Indian, mark “Ind”.”
(Gagan, 1974, p. 363)

Though slavery had been abolished throughout the British Empire in 1833, tracking Black populations became a new interest of the government in 1861. Enumerating Indigenous peoples had been a periodic concern, whether to understand the size of Canada’s military allies or to estimate the anticipated costs of the distribution of presents, but treaty annuities and the establishment of closely watched band membership that would be increasingly regulated by the Indian Act after 1878.

Throughout this period, however, the categorization of race was mutable, yet stratified. Influenced greatly by the liberal modernist notions of progress, and thus differentiation in relation to a universal path, various social formations were judged against an Anglo-American norm (Singh Mehta, 1999; Goldberg, 1993 in Haque, 2012). While Lord Durham and successive Anglophone politicians conceived of the French population in Canada as a distinct, and typically inferior racial group (not that this was any special status; After all, all racial groups were reputedly inferior to Anglo-American Protestants), Métis peoples were sometimes within this category, and sometimes within a distinct, lower category. In the latter scenario, that Métis crossed the deeper racial divide between European and Indigenous peoples posed a threat to notions of racial purity rooted in polygenic conceptions of race that viewed Indigenous peoples of the Americas and Europeans as having unique origins and fundamentally different intellectual capacities. Such cross-racial mixing threatened definitions of race that, while obviously socially malleable from today's vantage point, were frequently framed as absolute and deterministic by some in North American settler societies, and posed a threat to both a white Euro-descended settler state and settler solidarity (Basson, 2008). In the wake of the Métis Red River and Northwest Resistances and the hanging of Louis Riel in 1885, other French-speaking Canadians identified with the resistance and its defence of Roman Catholic and French linguistic rights, which led to significant blowback against the Macdonald government's handling of the crisis (Sylvestre, 2013; Ens & Sawchuk, 2016). While Ens & Sawchuk note that the growing ire and discrimination directed towards Métis by Anglo-Protestant settlers and officials led many to adopt a 'safer' French-Canadian identity, French-Canadians would also face growing persecution and marginalization from the 1880s to the late 1920s (2016; Sylvestre, 2013). In the wake of the Métis resistances, language became an increasingly salient feature in the racial hierarchies of Canada. Furthermore, its reification as a unifying feature of French-Canadians and the dominant political cleavage in Canada functioned in such a way as to erase much of the diversity of French-speaking peoples in the interior and supplant it with a national discourse of two solitudes.

Demonstrating changing notions of race, the 1891 census dropped what had been a rather imprecise question about "origins" in favour of three questions that were more precise in documenting lineage, but less so in conveying the social meaning that they attached. As noted earlier, whether one was identified as a French Canadian was uniquely marked, while "Place of

Birth of Father” and “Place of Birth of Mother” were now included. In Garden River, only 16 French Canadians were enumerated (two of whom being Roman Catholic clergy). For Peter (earlier Piere) and Theressa (Terais) Lesage, and their sons John and Moses who were identified as French Canadian in the 1891 census, by 1901 they are included in much larger communities. Peter, John and Moses are classified as “Chippewa French Breeds,” while Theressa is uniquely “Chippewa.” All are classified as “Red.” The “Chippewa French Breed” population at Garden River in 1901 also far exceeds what one might expect 16 people to create in the span of ten years. Indeed, the “Chippewa French Breed” population makes up more than half of the 600 individuals enumerated at Garden River in 1901, suggesting that the categorization of races and identification of French-Canadians had wildly variable criteria based largely on the judgements of enumerators. The inconsistencies that emerge are thus not just a product of changing questions from one census to another, but of the variability of notions of race and identity within even the settler population at large.

In 1901, “Colour,” “Racial Origin,” and “Nationality” were all unique categories for reporting. Among the Métis, or “half-breed” populations, 196 of 198 had their colour recorded as “Red” while racial origins varied, including “French Breed,” “English Breed,” “Scotch Breed,” “Other Breed,” and in the case of the family of Joseph and Jennie Biron, the enumerator, Theophil Hugli, had some difficulty landing on a classification. Initially “F.B.” for French Breed was noted for all of the family members, but “African” was written over the entry for Joseph, and the subsequent “F.B.” notations were crossed out and a ‘ditto’ sign was superimposed in the remaining space (See figure 31). Notably, the Biron family were also identified among the French

11	121	121	Biron Joseph	m	B	Head	m	Dec 29	1865	35	Out	m	F.B.
12			Jennie	f	B	Wife	m	Jan 3	1840	61	Out	m	F.B.
13			Marion	f	B	Daughter	b	Jan 12	1884	14	Out	m	F.B.
14			Therese	f	B	Daughter	b	Mar 20	1888	13	Out	m	F.B.
15			Joseph	m	B	Son	s	Jan 28	1891	10	Out	m	F.B.
16			Charles	m	B	Son	s	Mar 31	1893	8	Out	m	F.B.
17			Field	m	B	Son	s	Jan 26	1896	5	Out	m	F.B.
18			Charles	m	B	Son	s	Jan 21	1898	3	Out	m	F.B.

Figure 31: Tabulation sheet entry for the Biron family, 1901 (Canada, 1901e)

Canadians in the 1891 census. All of these references clearly refer to people with mixed Indigenous ancestry, as no other combinations of lineage (e.g. the children of an English father

and a French mother) are referred to with the qualifier “-Breed.” The perceptually foundational distinction between European and Indigenous races from polygenic ideologies may motivate this unique distinction.

The preoccupation with multiple dimensions of racial or ethnic characteristics seen in the census reflects growing anxiety in the early 1900s regarding the racial makeup of the Canadian settler state. As Canada was no longer able to propel its policy of settlement of Indigenous lands farther and farther west with those of British origins, it increasingly recruited migrants from parts of Europe that were considered less desirable (namely, southern and eastern Europe). Still, immigration from other parts of the world remained scarce and tightly controlled, particularly from any part where one’s colour in the 1901 census would be recorded as something other than ‘white.’ Such the stratified “opening up” strived to balance the economic development priorities that underpinned the emerging state with its racial character. As Barrington Walker explains:

Canadian immigration policy has always been concerned with preserving that fundamental “character” of the nation while balancing the needs and desires of industrialists, who often pushed for immigration out of a desire for cheap and compliant (at least, that was the stereotype) labour, and nativists, who wanted to guard the country’s gates against newcomers. (2016, p. 40)

Such policies ensured that the number of non-white settlers in the region would remain limited. The 1901 census is particularly instructive for revealing the impacts of such policies, as it was the first to classify ‘colour’ in addition to racial origin and nationality. It reveals that there was only one household in Sault Ste. Marie of Asian origin, consisting of four men (Joe, Jim, Sam, and C.⁴⁵ Lee) who operated a laundry and had immigrated from China (Sam also appears in the 1891 census) (Canada, 1891, 1901e). Black residents were similarly small in number, with only three households and a lone lodger recorded (Canada, 1901e). The Birones, noted previously, were all born in Ontario and made their living in the fishery (Canada, 1901e). The others

⁴⁵ Lee’s first name was not legible on the census tabulation sheets apart from the letter ‘C.’

included Jeane Hunter and Richele Walace⁴⁶ who resided together and worked in the service industry, and though Jeane is reported to have been born in the United States, a date of migration was not recorded (Canada, 1901e). Malachiar and Hanna Ross were a mother and daughter, the former having migrated to Canada from the United States in 1826 as an infant, while her daughter was born in Canada and then worked as a housemaid (Census of Canada, 1901e). Though the settlement of Sault Ste. Marie had a significantly stratified racial hierarchy, the machinations of Canada's immigration policies ensured that while there was some leniency for settlers who did not meet the Anglo-Saxon ideal (provided they would work in dangerous and destitute conditions), even this was largely unavailable for those whose colour was reported as anything but white.

This distinction between colour and racial origin was abandoned in the 1911 census. Instead, "Racial or Tribal Origin" is noted, as well as nationality. It is worth noting here that previous categories, such as "half-breed" and variations thereof do not occur in the 1911 census for these regions. Though no specific instruction is offered in the 1911 guide for enumerators to this effect, the conceptualization of race is markedly different from what it is today, as the instructions illustrate:

The racial or tribal origin, column 14, is usually traced through the father, as in English, Scotch, Irish,[...] etc. A person whose father is English but whose mother is Scotch, Irish, French or other race will be ranked as English, and so with any of the others. In the case of Indians the origin is traced through the mother, and names of their tribes should be given, as "Chippewa," "Cree," etc. The children begotten of marriages between white and black or yellow races will be classed as Negro or Mongolian, (Chinese or Japanese) as the case may be. (Canada, 1911u, p. 29)

Where those of European ancestry were assigned blanket patrilineal dissemination of racial origins and Indians similarly a uniform matrilineal inheritance, for other marked racial groups, any racial mixing whatsoever marked their children as other than the norm. These designations demonstrate a growing preoccupation with whiteness for the settler state, as the cultural

⁴⁶ The names reported here are documented from the census tabulation sheets and are based on the enumerator's interpretation of how to spell the name reported. In some instances, the names are a 'best guess' at what the enumerator intended, as they may have been illegible due to either issues with handwriting or scanning of the originals.

uniformity to which many policy makers aspired was untenable in the trade-off for industrial development and western expansion.

7.5.4 Language policies in the new Canadian Anglo-Celtic hegemony

From 1840 onwards, language policy (or more accurately, state formation policy with linguistic ramifications) did offer some accommodations to Francophone settler populations in Lower Canada and certain segments of Upper Canada, however this was done primarily to achieve what Haque refers to as an Anglo-Celtic hegemony (2012). The growth of the French Catholic population was an existential threat to a colony intended to inherit the best of Britain's lineages, and indeed the union of the Canadas was intended to facilitate the assimilation of the French population. Confederation, too, required some guarantees against Anglo-Upper Canadian dominance, and in relation to the possibility of rapid Anglophone settlement suppressing French-speaking communities in the West (Sylvestre, 2013).

Anishinaabeg, Métis and other Indigenous peoples were still and increasingly perceived as an obstacle to development, a drain on state resources, and a race that had to be assimilated into the Anglo-settler body politic. The Robinson Treaties secured settler access to lands after Anishinaabe assertions that the lands could not simply be occupied by prospectors and speculators. Though these treaties would ultimately enshrine Indigenous rights into Canadian law and form a powerful basis for the defence of Anishinaabe interests, the government's insistence on refusing to treat with the Métis not only left a constitutional question that would be brushed under the rug until the late twentieth century, but attempted to drive a wedge between Anishinaabe and Métis communities. Garden River and Batchewana ultimately did allow many Métis people to join their respective band rolls, however many declined the offers and were severely displaced by the rapidly growing settler population at Sault Ste. Marie and the surrounding townships. These changes thus had ramifications for Indigenous speech communities, hurrying assimilation outside of the reserves and recognized Indigenous communities, while effectively also creating a protective barrier that supported the maintenance of Anishinaabemowin and to a lesser extent, Indigenized French.

Legislation, such as the Gradual Enfranchisement Act, the Preservation of Game Act, and successive iterations of the Indian Act dramatically curtailed Indigenous sovereignty and

gradually eroded the traditional economic activities that sustained Anishinaabe and Métis communities for the previous three hundred years. This in turn increased the reliance on waged labour, neighbouring settler communities or visiting English-speaking tourists. Well into the twentieth century, however, the increasing importance of English did not supplant Anishinaabemowin or French, but rather largely added to residents' linguistic repertoire, at least until the mid-twentieth century.

Day and Residential Schools also advanced the acquisition of English, and though they initially employed bilingual models of education, these were gradually phased out as teachers conversant in Indigenous languages became harder to find and the federal government, who began to enforce mandatory attendance at the end of the century, would strongly discourage the use of any Indigenous language. The results were traumatic for most of those who attended either school system, and ultimately contributed to a systematic devaluation of Indigenous languages across Canada in the twentieth century.

The churches that ran the schools, however, largely continued to operate with the use of Indigenous languages, though as the century drew to a close it became harder to find clergy willing or able to acquire the local languages. Largely sharing a 'civilizing' mission with the government and the schools the two operated, efforts to promote idealized agrarian Christian life persisted, though eventually anxiety over corrupting settler influence yielded to resignation.

Though language began as largely auxiliary to questions of race and civilization, by the end of the nineteenth century, and particularly after the Northwest Resistance, language was increasingly tied to race and emerging as a concern in the government's efforts to establish a cohesive and stable nation state. Indeed, The 1857 Gradual Civilization Act codified English and French as markers of civilization, and at Sault Ste. Marie by the early twentieth century, English proficiency was a marker of racial assimilation. Yet much of the policy that impacted Indigenous speech communities throughout the era was not language policy at all, but rather race and state formation policy, as well as the manifold social relations that shaped interactions between Anishinaabeg, Métis and settler peoples. Nonetheless, Anishinaabemowin and Indigenized French remained vital. By the mid-twentieth century, however, things would begin to change.

8 - The Sixth Fire and the wake of high modernity in Baawating 1914-1971

Though Scott (1998) puts the end of the period of high modernism at the transition of the First World War, the time of the sixth fire continued well into the twentieth century. The Indian Residential School System would reach its apex in the first half of the century, along with some of the most aggressive restrictions on Indigenous spirituality, social conventions, and economic practices. The upheaval within Indigenous societies that resulted from this systematic oppression would leave devastating impacts, disrupting intergenerational relationships and the balance within communities (Benton-Banai, 1988; Gaikezhayongai, 2002). Along with the major technological changes of the twentieth century, it would also lead to the most significant disruption in Anishinaabe speech communities that ever impacted the region.

8.1 Early twentieth century revisions of the *Indian Act*:

The inculcation of Indigenous peoples into the Anglo-Saxon liberal hegemony was a guiding motivation behind federal Indian policy, and the persistence of Indigenous difference — and its apparent alignment with the “French race,” which was an additional, if less perplexing, proverbial “fly in the ointment” of that national project - was a frustration for a policy regime that had grown more restrictive and less patient. That indigenous communities persisted in organizing their own communities and economies by their own “logics,” borrowing the terminology of Ian McKay, was a threat to the establishment of a liberal socio-economic order across the lands claimed by Canada. As McKay explains:

The containment of these alternative logics was an ideological imperative of the liberal order, without which it could not exist as a transcontinental project. A reconnaissance of this 'Other' would mean relativizing the Canadian/liberal claim to represent the rule of law; the Canadian project would be seen instead as a historically contingent formula for liberal order, in competition with older and long established Aboriginal practices. (2000, p. 636)

McKay argues that reviewing Canadian history with an eye toward how the state (among related actors) operationalized the construction of a liberal order leads to confronting the myth that “Ottawa’s handling of the ‘Indian Question’” was a “series of misunderstandings, premised on a distanced misreading of Native societies” and instead revealing this policy trajectory to be the

intentional “fulfillment of liberal norms, which required the subordination of alternatives” (2000, p. 637).

By the early twentieth century, Garden River and Batchewana were challenging to Indian Affairs’ aspirations, but they were not of the greatest threat or concern. Tabular statements from the 1914 annual report of Indian Affairs indicates, for instance, that all of the adult population of the Sault Ste. Marie Agency (which also included Michipicoten) “wear civilized clothing,” for instance, though only 4 adults were “engaged in Farming” compared to the 559 who “engaged in Hunting, Trapping or Fishing” (Indian Affairs, 1914, p. 103). English, as has been established, was widely spoken. But Indigenous communities in western provinces had greater numbers and less consistent or prolonged contact compared to the communities of the upper Great Lakes, and less inclination to compromise with the directives of federal authorities.

Consequently many of the amendments to the Indian Act in the early twentieth century targeted western communities. Amendments in 1914 prohibited participation in public festivals while wearing “Aboriginal costume” without permission, though this was amended again in 1933 to remove the stipulation concerning “costume” to prevent status Indians from attending largely any gathering outside the reserve without permission (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People [RCAP], 1996). In 1918, amendments gave additional authority to Indian Agents to enforce prohibitions on traditional dances and ceremonies, such as the potlatch (RCAP, 1996). Other prohibitions, which were not restricted to western Provinces, targeted the sale and use of alcohol, or attendance at “pool rooms” (RCAP, 1996). Amendments in 1911 allowed federal judges to physically relocate reserves that were adjacent to larger municipalities (RCAP, 1996). And yet another set of amendments that would have direct consequences for Garden River and Batchewana, to prevent lands from falling back under the auspices of Indigenous communities or Indigenous systems of title and use, reforms in 1927 barred the collection of money for Indigenous legal purposes, thereby effectively banning land claims (Leslie, 2002; RCAP, 1996). As Ottawa sought to remove the challenges to its vision of social order and government, Indigenous peoples lost more control over their own governance, lands and economies, with significant consequences for the social and sociolinguistic dynamics of communities.

8.1.1 The changing working world and the erosion of Indigenous economies

The local economy underwent many changes over the course of the twentieth century, as Figure 32 illustrates. Though the ultimate result was that few residents could sustain themselves via the previous mainstays of hunting, trapping, fishing, and the production of other tradable goods, there was no single direct trajectory for the changes that took place within the local economy in the early twentieth century:

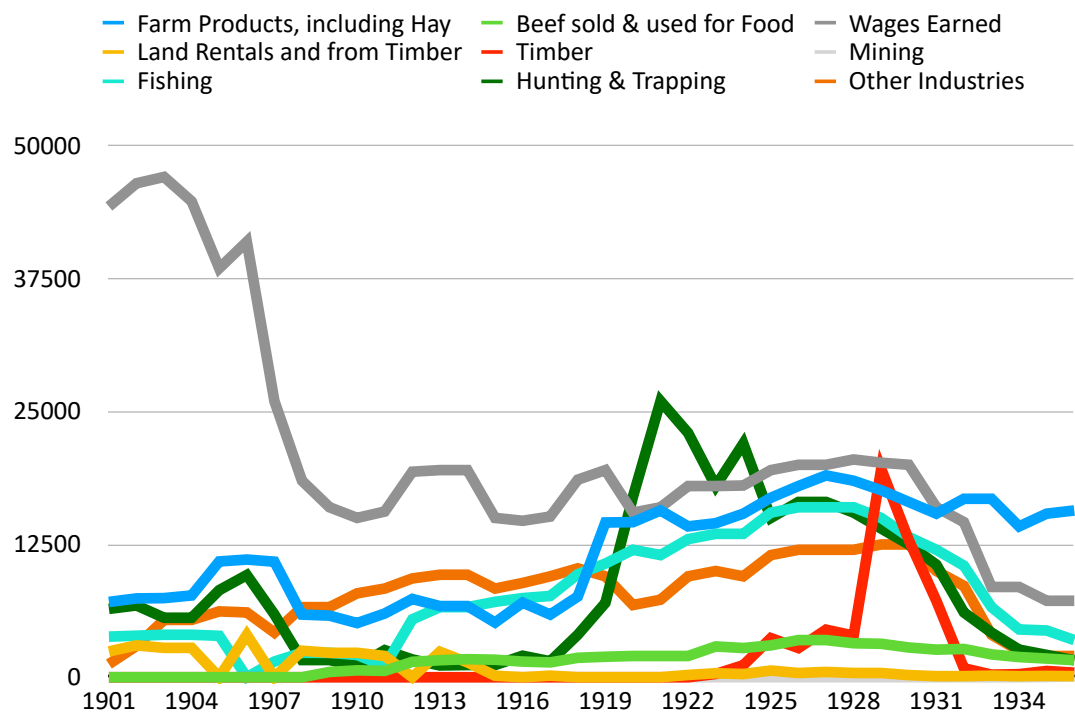


Figure 32: Sources and value of income (Sault Ste. Marie Agency) (Indian Affairs, 1900b-1936; Mines and Resources, 1937; Indian Affairs Branch, 1938-1939)

The annual reports from Indian Affairs included summary tables for the sources and value of income of band members for each agency until 1936, after which such data was only presented for each province. The numbers reported for the Sault Ste. Marie Agency included the band members of Garden River and Batchewana (who had roughly equivalent populations throughout the period) as well as for Michipicoten, whose band members resided along the eastern shore of Lake Superior north of Whitefish Bay, and inland, and who generally number $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population of the larger bands to the south.

Though the reports can only illustrate income that could be measured by the Indian Agents, they do paint a general picture of the economic activities of band members. These are, of course, supplemented by narrative commentary throughout the reports, as the agent, William Nichols, observed of Garden River in 1904:

Many of the people cultivate small plots of land in the reserve, raising cattle and horses, and the coarser grains, roots and vegetables, which are cultivated to a considerable extent; A few engage in hunting and trapping in the winter, while some are employed in the lumber woods for a considerable portion of the year; others perform the duties of guides and prospectors, as well as working with survey parties. During the winter months a number of the band usually take out ties and saw-logs under contract, and make considerable money. Besides the above industries, sugar-making and berry-picking are engaged in during their respective seasons. The women manufacture fancy articles from sweet grass, birch bark and deer-skin. (Indian Affairs 1905, p. 23)

And of Batchewana the same year:

Those of the band who reside on the Garden River reserve, of which there are upwards of one half, cultivate small patches of a few acres each. They are engaged in the winter in working in the woods and hunting and trapping, while in the summer they act as guides, explorers and river drivers. They also manufacture baskets, moccasins and fancy articles. The Goulais bay and Batchawana members of this band nearly all engage in fishing and hunting in the summer, in fact some of them continue fishing during the winter, through the ice. No farming is done by them at either Goulais Bay or Batchawana. (Indian Affairs 1905, p. 24)

These general narratives changed little over subsequent decades, and do less to shed light on the major changes that are observable from Figure 32. Yet these changing conditions do provide context for the rapidly changing dynamics that would influence the sociolinguistic ecology of the area.

The trapping and trade in furs, while once a mainstay of Anishinaabe and Métis economies, had suffered from decreasing returns and demand. Yet anxieties about the depletion of stocks of large game and fur-bearing animals, which had disproportionately targeted Indigenous peoples, provoked conflict between Anishinaabeg, the Hudson's Bay

Company, and the Government of Ontario. Though the province had no jurisdiction in dealing with Indigenous peoples, the Conservative government of James Whitney wished to limit Indigenous harvesting rights in the same way it had placed controls on its own population. The Province's Game Commission began raiding HBC posts and charging post managers for violations of the new game legislation in 1906 as a means of pressuring them to limit their intake of furs from 'Treaty Indians' (Calverley, 2018). After a pattern of harassment emerged, the HBC felt it could fight charges in the courts using Treaty Rights as a shield from the province's efforts to expand its jurisdiction, though the province and its Game Commission would use raids and charges liberally to coerce the Company into submission (Calverley, 2018). Though the company initially had a strong relationship with the federal Department of Indian Affairs which would support its arguments with the province, this support ceased when the company's counsel put forward legal arguments that would undermine the Department's goal of "enculturation" or worse still, challenge the very nature of Canada's Indian Affairs regime, as Calverley explains:

When it became apparent that an HBC victory could set a legal precedent for treaty rights and place First Nations outside of the Dominion government's regulatory control, Indian Affairs' assistance disappeared and the company was left to its own devices. (2018, p. 53)

The province and company took a different approach following the election of William Hearst in 1914, reaching a negotiated agreement that effectively trampled Anishinaabe harvesting rights by requiring the HBC to take out licenses for its managers, clerks, and harvesters (Calverley, 2018). As Calverley explains, "All fur shipments now required permits and treating coupons attached to them, and posts had to supply written fur returns on an annual basis to the Department of Game" (2018, p. 70). Exemption were provided to "Treaty Indians living north and west of the French and Mattawa Rivers and Lake Nipissing," including the Algoma District which encompassed Baawating. Calverley explains:

[...] these new regulations exempted Anishinaabeg and Mushkegowuk trappers from purchasing a trapping license if they possessed a certificate (provided by Indian Affairs) attesting to their Indian status. Although they were limited to 10 beavers and/or otter skins per season, this restriction could be circumvented by an Aboriginal trapper's assumption of the quota of his other family members. A man with a wife

and three children could take 50 beaver and/or otter skins in a season. To ensure that only the HBC had access to First Nations trapped furs, the Province further legislated that only those traders with “royalty coupons” could purchase furs from Treaty Indians. (2018, p. 70)

The new limits placed on Anishinaabe trapping effectively made it more difficult for Anishinaabeg to make a comfortable living in this manner, leading fewer to rely on trade with the HBC as a primary means of survival. Though the Indian Affairs reports do not separate the revenues earned from hunting and trapping, it is apparent that revenues from these combined activities declined significantly from \$9,620.00 in 1906 to \$5,920 the following year, and remain below \$2,000 for much of the period between 1906 and 1917, after which point there is a slow rebound before reaching record highs from 1919 to 1921 (see Figure 32). Income from this sector then declines gradually from the mid-1920s before a sharp decline during the Depression and thereafter. By avoiding a ruling by the courts, the province was able to continue limiting Indigenous rights (at least up to a time when they could be challenged in the courts again). Meanwhile, so long as the HBC was placated, Anishinaabeg did not have access to lawyers in their own right, and Métis peoples rights and jurisdiction remained entirely overlooked by the province.

Hunting and fishing persisted as common practices, and particularly in the early 1900s, they remained for many essential activities of survival to supplement what could be acquired by waged labour or other means. Fishing especially accounted for a considerable and stable proportion of local income from 1912 onward until the Depression, despite the decline of local stocks following the construction of the canals and hydroelectric facilities. It is also important to note that Indian Agents, though they exerted an inordinate amount of control over Anishinaabe lives in the early twentieth century, would not have full knowledge of any subsistence activities Anishinaabeg carried out, and even the revenues from the sale of surpluses were estimates. This is evident where we see that for those sources of revenue for which the agent had near or direct oversight, the reported figures are precise (for example, \$2,749.23 in the sale of timber in 1926, any sale of which had to be approved by the agent) whereas those over which they had little control tended to be round figures (further example, \$20,000 in earned wages the same year). So there is reason to believe that much of the subsistence hunting and fishing that took place was unobserved by and unremarkable to the

Indian Agent, at least insofar as it did not present a barrier to the Dominion's aspirations for shaping the Anishinaabe economy.

Charlie Pine recalled that apart from working at the sawmill, his father would hunt to put food on the table (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Likewise, Dean Sayers recalled growing up in Batchewana Village that his father would hunt and maintained a trapline (personal communication, November 5, 2018). Cathy Syrette noted that her grandmother was a craftsperson, and that "she could sew anything, she could make anything" (personal communication, February 16, 2016). Elizabeth Jones recalled joining her guardians on hunting expeditions in the winter:

Liz: ... they'd take me out of school and take me over here, make me stay with this old lady, whatever her name was and whatever, and take me out of school, put me in the bush in the winter time while her old man was working the mines or whatever it was back in there. So I was the one that once stayed with this one, stayed with this woman, and they had grandchildren of their own. I said "What did they take me for?"

Sean: ((laughter))

Liz: ((laughter)) But I learnt, you know. That's where I had some of my first tastes of different foods, too, eh.

Sean: Yeah. Out in the bush? Like what-

Liz: Out in the bush, yeah. It would just be me there as a child, they had cards or whatnot, they had cards, they'd show me, you know.

Sean: And were they speaking mostly-

Liz: Oh yeah, French and English. Yeah. (personal communication, July 6, 2016)

The isolation that accompanied hunting and fishing expanded the domains for home languages to flourish, as Jones noted with respect to their use of French in the Bush.

Even outside of reserves, traditional practices such as hunting and fishing remained important means for agrarian and working class families to supplement their food and income. Brenda Powley, recalling her childhood growing up in rural Korah Township, in the contemporary northwest of the City of Sault Ste. Marie, noted that these activities were important parts of her family's lives, particularly when money was scarce:

We always, growing up being four girls, first my oldest sister and I, we always went with our dad, whether it was hunting or fishing or whatever, you know, we were

always out in the bush learning something. But — and my dad was not Aboriginal, he had no Aboriginal background, he was Ukrainian but you know we grew up learning how to live off the land, some of it too, you know? (personal communication, July 21, 2016)

She continued:

I mean it was a normal childhood you know? We had a hard time you know, when my dad wasn't working and off you know, we learned to hunt for whether it was rabbits or whatever we were going after, or grow some of our own food. But (umm) besides that, it was pretty normal. (personal communication, July 21, 2016)

8.1.2 Agriculture and the war effort

The preceding century's push to promote Christian homesteading at Garden River persisted into the 1900s and received modest traction. However the idealized mission villages promoted by the church continued to be undermined by increasingly restrictive federal government policy. Though those with farms could grow some of their own food, through significant portions of the twentieth century they were prohibited from selling their produce to settlers by Indian Affairs (C. Pine, personal communication, July 6, 2016). The rationale for this provision was ostensibly to protect Indians from disreputable swindlers, and to prevent them from having access to cash to purchase alcohol (RCAP, 1996). Additionally, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People posited that "another motive may have been the desire to reduce competition between Indian and non-Indian farmers" (1996, p. 271). Still, income from farm products was a distant second source of income among band members in 1900, and the significance gradually increased in the subsequent decades, particularly from the 1920s onward (see Figure 32).

Part of this increase resulted from conscious efforts to increase agricultural production on reserves across the country to support the war effort during WWI. Where the 1915 annual report of Indian Affairs noted "there is a little farming done by the Garden River and Batchawana bands," (Indian Affairs, 1915, p. 13) noting other occupations including saw milling, fishing, and loading lumber, the following year noted:

The Garden River band has turned its attention to farming on a much larger scale than usual. These Indians take great interest in their work, and during the past season with the assistance of the department they had good crops of oats, peas and vegetables of all kinds. (Indian Affairs, 1916, p. 14)

The number of band members who were engaged in farming, according to the education and industrial tabular statements from the report, show a rise from four in 1914 to 35 in 1916 (Indian Affairs 1914; 1916). By the last year of the war, the department had organized a production campaign to promote more agriculture on reserves throughout Ontario. “A series of meetings on greater production was held on all the reserves in the southern part of the province and also on Manitoulin Island and at Garden River,” the department boasted, noting that the:

[...] meetings were well attended and arrangements were made thereat among the Indians to farm more land and to take over vacant lands, and in consequence practically every acre of cultivable land on Indian reserves in Ontario is being utilized either in the raising of crops or pasturing of cattle. (Indian Affairs, 1918, p. 10)

Farming eventually became the largest source of income following the Depression, as one of the few local sources of income that demonstrated some degree of insulation from the larger global economic crisis, whereas all other income sources dropped sharply. Charlie Pine recalls that farming persisted as a major economic practice into the 1950s, but Anishinaabe producers could only barter with settlers due to Indian Affairs restrictions (personal communication, July 6, 2016).

Though bartering with residents of the neighbouring towns and city would likely encourage the use of English as it became increasingly dominant within local settler society, the Indian Affairs reports from 1914-1916 indicate this would not have been a problem as nearly all band members had some degree of English proficiency (Indian Affairs, 1914; 1915; 1916). However, the production of agricultural goods, particularly within the context of family based farming or farming that drew on local labour, would have also insulated the familial language dynamics, sustaining, if not advancing the local multilingualism that had been common since the nineteenth century.

8.1.3 Lumber and the Great Depression

Lumber was not only significant as a raw material for the pulp and paper mill. Its harvesting employed many throughout the Algoma District. By the 1930s, a majority of the workers at lumber camps along the Algoma Central Railway line were Finnish immigrants and their descendants, and rough estimates of the population in the mid 30s put the figure close to ninety per cent (Ducin 1978b, p. 82, 90). Their presence is also attested by many of the camp names that existed along the corridor, including Maki and Tahti at mile 122, Harju and Hormavirta at mile 138, and Suuronen at mile 155 (1978b, p. 91). Conditions in the camps were generally squalid and pay was minimal, particularly in the wake of the Great Depression, with credit arrangements for equipment and supplies leaving many men indebted after weeks of work (1978b, p. 80). These conditions ultimately led to a series of strikes and labour disruptions across the camps throughout Thunder Bay, Cochrane, and Algoma Districts from 1933 to 1935, to which Ducin argues “the ethnic and cultural aspect had much to do with the nature of the strikes” (1978b, p. 90). He explains:

Most of the Finns in the camps could not speak English and had no means of being informed about events that concerned them except through their own paper, *Vapaus*, and by word of mouth. In their working life this cultural handicap left them open to exploitation by their employers. [...] And with their truly fervent belief in the Communist ideologies from their homeland, it is clear that the Finns viewed their strike in strongly political terms and not only as a fight for better wages and conditions. Their Communist paper, *Vapaus* (meaning freedom) provides evidence enough that the strike, for the Finns, was a struggle of poor exploited workers against their bourgeois, capitalist oppressors. (Ducin, 1978b, p. 90)

The linguistic difference of the Finns from their employers also served as a tool for organizing and subversion, with *Vapaus*, published in Sudbury and distributed among workers throughout the camps, providing records of strike meetings and transparent accounting of donated funds, while regional English media reported “from the outside” (1978b, p. 90). As Ducin continues, “where the majority of workers did not understand English the organizers had easy control over information reaching the strikers and could tailor it to encourage the cause of fighting rather than negotiating” (1978b, p. 90). Militancy, however, would be put aside in subsequent years in

the interests of achieving greater public sympathy for workers' causes, and thereby more concessions. Ducin continues, "There was a need for adjustment to a new cultural setting with different codes and systems of behaviour. The strike had already made the Finns aware of the need for some adaptation, and they initiated steps to overcome the language barrier" (1978b, p. 98). At the end of October 1934, the Lumber Workers Industrial Union voted unanimously

[...] to hold language instruction courses because most of the workers were not fluent in the English language and therefore were not completely aware of all the developments, events and happenings taking place. Language instruction to be given in three languages, English, Finnish and Ukrainian. (Vapaus, 1934, as cited in Ducin, 1978b, p. 98).

The LWIU's language instruction resolution is notable for not solely focussing on the instruction of English, but also encouraging communication in two of the workers' otherwise most commonly spoken languages, Finnish and Ukrainian. This reflected a more egalitarian conception of the regional language ecology, acknowledging that as much as Finnish and Ukrainian speakers could gain from access to the language of the dominant settler society, so too could workers benefit from easier communication with one another. Ultimately, however, English largely supplanted both Finnish and Ukrainian surely due to a multiplicity of factors, but not least of which were its hegemonic status in commerce, state operations and growing availability of public communications.

Logging was also a major source of income and livelihood for Francophones and Indigenous peoples. Ducin notes the higher proportion of 'French-Canadians' employed in logging in the Cochrane District, while many interviewees either made their own living in the industry or recall its significance for Anishinaabe workers (1978b). Charlie Pine worked for a time in the 1950s at a lumber camp with many other Anishinaabeg, and recalled that Anishinaabemowin was commonly used amongst the workers at the camp (personal communication, July 6, 2016). He recalled that at least one non-Indigenous labourer had acquired the language and used it with his co-workers, though for the most part when non-Indigenous co-workers picked up Anishinaabemowin it was in small phrases or swear words. Fred Pine, who has worked in forestry most of his adult life and ran his own lumber business, recalled employing a group of Francophone Quebecers for nearly 10 years, adding that most of

his employees over the years were either Anishinaabeg or 'Frenchmen' (personal communication, October 3, 2016).

Though there was a small saw mill at Echo Bay where many men from Garden River would have worked alongside white settlers from the townships to the east, occupations in logging and lumber often meant traveling long distances and working in camps. The concentration of workers from particular linguistic groups — whether Finnish, French, or Anishinaabemowin — combined with isolation from dynamic urban centres where English was the primary means of communication and commerce, created conditions that fostered not only language maintenance but linguistic exchange as well.

Forestry was not the only occupation in natural resources that offered Anishinaabeg employment in a rapidly changing economy that was largely structured on the exclusion of Indigenous peoples. Elizabeth Jones recalled her father's work experience as a guide and fighting fires:

My dad, he worked in the bush and he was a guide, guiding tourists. And fighting fire. Whatever jobs that native people could, you know. Lands and Forest would come to the reserve if there was a fire some place, [...] they didn't have much time to get ready, just pack some clothes and [...] they were gone. (personal communication, July 6, 2016)

Such occupations were often staffed with large groups of Anishinaabe men in the mid-century, and as a result, the languages they spoke were in frequent use within the camps. She continued, "If they were even out at the movies or something like that, they were picked up" (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Anishinaabeg were apparently preferred for this highly dangerous occupation on the grounds that they were natural firefighters, as Jones explains, "they were natural, they didn't have to be taught in a classroom, nothing like that" (personal communication, July 6, 2016).

Forest firefighting, however, was not necessarily regular work for Indigenous people in the mid-twentieth century. Instead it was often combined with tree planting, guiding, and other activities to make ends meet. Jones explains:

So they planted trees, they fought fires, then they guided on the side, you know, like whatever was available, like, but it's not that way today. Today is totally different. All what the Indian men were able to do back then, they came and they got them to go

and do whatever, you know, fight fire, plant trees, you name it, whatever. Surveyors, that kind of stuff. (Personal communication, July 6, 2016)

Guiding visitors and tourists had been an occupation for as long as there has been contact between Anishinaabeg and Europeans in this part of the world, and it persisted long after permanent European settlements were established, even though White people would join the tourism economy as well, particularly during its heyday in the romantic era of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The diary of Mary Bussineau, whose family ran a camp near Agawa Bay on the eastern shore of Lake Superior in the 1910s and 20s, illustrates both life in a tourist camp as well as the local social (and linguistic) relations that it shaped. The Bussineaus drew on local traditional ecological knowledge to stave off illness, and relied on 'Indian guides' to take their guests hunting and fishing. An entry from 1919 highlights their interaction with the most recognized guide of the area, Tawabinise, for whom several locations at Lake Superior Provincial Park are named:

Mr. C.S. Withy and family from Grand Rapids, Michigan come again and camped at their old camp ground at "Burnt Rock Pool." [...] Tawab the old indian guide was who made the dinner. Mr. Withy told us that Tawab had been guiding and cooking for them every year [p. 45] for twenty-two-years [sic] at that time. He is the only thourth[sic]-bred Indian in the Country now. It was the first time Mrs Bussineau had seen Burnt Rock Pool and also had her first canoe ride as young Withy took her accross [sic] the river. (Bussineau, 1919, July 5)

Though the Bussineau's shared a family name that was common to Anishinaabeg and Métis peoples of the area and era, Mary draws clear distinctions between her own family and the 'Indians' on whom they rely to make their business work.

Work in the tourism industry is captured in Figure 32 under "Other industries," along with craftwork and other sources of revenue. It experienced a gradual incline in its proportion of income from 1900 until the Great Depression, after which point it slumped like many others. Reports from Indian Affairs from the Depression era reflect some of the diverse other source of income on which Anishinaabeg relied:

The Indians in the southwestern and central parts of Ontario engage largely in farming. The reserves generally are well suited to this purpose and the activity of the department's field agents has resulted in a steady improvement both in the methods

of operation and the results achieved. The success achieved by the returned soldiers of this province has been especially creditable and they are rapidly developing prosperous communities. During the summer months Indians find a profitable source of income as guides and canoe-men. Many are employed at various industries and trades, while railway and navigation companies employ a certain number. As a rule they are excellent bushmen and many find employment in the various lumber camps. There is still a good market for snowshoes, canoes, and moccasins, and there are usually manufactured by the older members of the community. The women also have many sources of income; some are employed as domestics; others support themselves by making baskets and fancy work. In certain districts berry-picking is an important item and furnishes considerable income. (Indian Affairs, 1934, p. 21)

The reference to “returned soldiers” may appear odd for 1934, but the text of this report had actually been reproduced in each annual report nearly verbatim since 1926. Indeed several sentences from the excerpt go back to 1917, the first year local agents’ reports were omitted from the larger departmental report. It is sufficiently vague that whatever state of affairs in Ontario was underway could be read into it, notwithstanding the major fluctuations that Figure 32 indicates were underway in the early twentieth century in the communities surrounding Baawating. Similarly, reports on New Ontario, which would have otherwise included the North shores of the upper Great Lakes, carried the same reference to hunting and fishing remaining the dominant activities in remote parts of the province, and agriculture being generally unsuitable, along with the annual repetition that “This condition will greatly change as civilization progresses” (Indian Affairs, 1934, p. 21).

8.1.4 Industrial labour and the Second World War

The early twentieth century also saw a significant portion of local income coming from wages. These may have included the new industries at Sault Ste. Marie in addition to many of the infrastructure projects, such as new roads, that occurred throughout the early twentieth century (see Figure 32). The same occupations that were alluring to new immigrants may well have been competitive for Anishinaabeg, as the *Sault Star* reported, “A major driver of immigration, particularly those attempting to enter Canada from the Sault Ste. Marie port of

entry, was work on the railway lines between Sudbury and Port Arthur, including at Sault Ste. Marie” (Sault Daily Star, 1912, p. 1).

Work in lumber camps and saw mills was also considered waged work, however, and not revenue from timber as reported by Indian Affairs. There are many possible reasons for the extremely sharp decline in income from earned wages in the first decade of the 1900s: The rapidly increasing settler and immigrant population of Sault Ste. Marie and surrounding areas may have absorbed more of the available waged jobs; the infrastructure boom of the turn of the century was also tempered by recessions in 1903 and again in 1907; and crucially, the ability to be ‘self-sufficient’ in addition to demonstrating standards of Anglo-Saxon morality and command of English were among the conditions for involuntary enfranchisement under the Indian Act. Many stable wage earners could well have been gradually struck from the band rolls, though the annual Indian Agent reports did not provide details for enfranchisement at the local level. Regardless, the reason for this decline, illuminating as it might be, is beyond the scope of this study. Those waged occupations where Anishinaabeg were predominantly in contact with one another or worked collectively with speakers of common languages would have provided conditions within those domains to sustain those languages, while more industrial settings that combined interaction predominantly with settler and new immigrant labour, or which relied on more direct contact with English-speaking settler supervisors, would have favoured at least the acquisition and use of English in the workplace.

In later decades many more men from Garden River and Batchewana found work at the Steel Mill or Paper Mill in the 1950s and onward (C. Pine, personal communication, July 6, 2016; F. Pine, personal communication, October 3, 2016). Charlie recalled that “by then people didn’t want Ojibwe or French,” and so English became the dominant language of communication at both of the city’s largest industries (personal communication, July 6, 2016).

Though much of the industrial development of the region displaced Anishinaabe and Métis peoples, there were also rarer exceptions of alliances, or at least cooperation, between industrial agents and Indigenous communities. Most notably, the Misener Steamship Company, which had acquired some of the lands along Batchawana Bay to erect docks for the transport of timber and lumber products from the interior, didn’t interfere with the ongoing Anishinaabe settlements on the lands that the Crown had sold them, acquired through the Pennefather Treaty. Chief Sayers explained:

So these, in Batchewana Village as an example, those lands were never — they were original lands, they were ours, and then the government sold them to different companies over the years. And whoever bought the land didn't have a problem with the Indians squatting on their lands, including companies like the Misener Steamship Company. They had no problem with the Indians living on their lands. So people have always stayed there. (personal communication, November 5, 2018)

Anishinaabeg on those lands continued to live there for generations and did not relocate to Garden River along with the several hundred others following the 1859 Treaty. For more than a hundred years later, Batchewana Village would continue to have the highest proportion of Anishinaabemowin speakers of any location of Batchewana First Nation. The maintenance of the village far from the growing city at Sault Ste. Marie, with its economy that relied more on the surrounding environment and fellow community members protected domains in which Anishinaabemowin was a dominant language of communication.

8.2 Schooling and the cultivation of new Canadians

Schools played a significant role throughout the twentieth century in promoting the use of English as the “language of communication,” or more abstractly for young students, as “the official language” of Canada. Residential and Day Schools especially went further with the active intent of linguicide. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015a,b,c,d), as well as many scholars have documented the impact and efforts of the residential school system to end the use and transmission of Indigenous languages (see Celia-Haig Brown, 1988; J.R. Miller, 1996; Milloy, 1999). Increasingly the Canadian government and institutions that created day schools are acknowledging the similar role that they played in discouraging the use of Indigenous languages (Bernard, 2019). Public schools have also played a significant role in promoting English speech and literacy, particularly for newcomers and the generations of Anishinaabeg who attended school after the residential and day schools closed their doors in the 1960s and 70s. This was also true for the children of new immigrants, and though there were community-based efforts to introduce heritage language instruction into Sault Ste. Marie's west-end schools very early in the twentieth century, the controlling interests at local school boards maintained a largely subtractive focus on English.

8.2.1 French schooling and Regulation 17

An exception to the English hegemony of schools in Sault Ste. Marie and the surrounding area was that schooling offered in French. The British North America Act had maintained the protections for parochial schools in Ontario that had been established by previous legislative compromises, which were used in francophone communities to establish French-medium schools (CLMC, n.d.c; BNA Act, 1867).

Paroisse St-Ignace, which opened in the Old Fort or Frenchtown neighbourhood in 1902, erected a school the same year (Sault Star, 1933, Aug 26 p. 8). As francophones moved to the area from Québec throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s, and the Métis French-speaking population was largely cut off from Anishinaabe reserve communities, the school played an important role in fostering a sense of shared “French Canadian” identity. This was amplified by having to contend with rising anti-French sentiment in the late 1800s and early 1900s that had gained new life in the wake of the Riel resistance and been stoked throughout the province of Ontario by groups such as the Orange Order, the Protestant Protective Association, and competition with Irish Anglophones for supremacy of the Catholic Church in Ontario (Sylvestre, 2013; Perin, 1990). The election of Conservative James Whitney as Premier in 1905 marked a shift in greater political influence for the Anglican Church and Anglophiles within the Catholic Church, as figures such as the Irish Catholic Bishop of London, Michael Fallon, pressured Whitney to limit French Catholic schooling, as it perpetuated French Canadian distinctiveness, delaying assimilation to the Anglo-Catholic community (Sylvestre, 2013). The Liberals, for their part, also sought to make political advantage out of the anxieties that a growing French-speaking population in Eastern Ontario showed no signs of abetting, and threatened the Anglo-Saxon character of Ontario (Gaffield, 1987). English media in the province stoked these fears as well, with several article from *The Mail* decrying the “invasion” from Québec and the *Toronto Daily Star* conducted an investigation into the quality of schools in Prescott and Russell counties in Eastern Ontario, decrying their low quality and exclusive use of French (1987, pp. 29-32).

In April 1912, Whitney proclaimed that the teaching of English must begin from the moment a child entered school (Sylvestre, 2013). In June, the Minister of Education Robert Pyne established Regulation 17, which required the use of English except in those cases where the

students did not understand the language and might require transitional instruction (CLMC, n.d.d.). For the next thirteen years, Francophones across Ontario would struggle to have the regulation overturned to reinstitute French-medium education in the province. Sylvestre argues that the collective response to the province's restrictive measures played a pivotal role in consolidating a Franco-Ontarian identity that unified pockets of French settlement from the East and Northeast to longer-standing Francophone areas (which I note had long standing connections with Indigenous communities) in the Great Lakes trade routes (2013). The policy was maintained under the succeeding administration of William Hearst, MLA for Sault Ste. Marie, after Whitney died in office in 1914, as well as by the United Farmers-Labour Coalition from 1919-1923.

The resistance, however, ultimately resulted in the election of more francophone MLAs, and a growing number of French-language institutions, advocacy groups and businesses (Sylvestre 2013, p. 129). Two years after the election of Howard Ferguson in 1923, a new commission was struck to review bilingual schools, but for the purpose largely of assessing the adequacy of English instruction (Sylvestre, 2013). Two years later, its recommendations to restore the legal status of French in Ontario schools and to create dedicated bureaucratic functions responsible for bilingual schools were accepted by the government (2013, p. 127). The same year, l'École St-Ignace, regained its status as a location of French-language instruction. (Sault Star, 1933, Aug 26, p. 8).

8.2.2 Residential schools

The Shingwauk Indian Residential School continued to operate until 1970 when it closed after being unable to afford renovations to bring the building up to safety standards (TRC 2015d). Although its first principal, Rev. Wilson ultimately became an advocate of Indigenous self-government and cultural maintenance, he hardly ever carried over these sympathies in his work at the school and successive administrators continued the policy of suppressing Indigenous languages, ceremony, spirituality and other practices. The *Programme of Studies for Indian Schools* issued by Indian Affairs from the 1930s instructed teachers that "every effort must be made to include pupils to speak English and to teach them to understand it. Insist on English even during the supervised play. Failure in this means wasted efforts" (as cited in TRC

2015a, 616). Throughout nearly the entirety of the twentieth century, the Shingwauk Indian Residential School was an active agent of linguicide, forbidding the use of Anishinaabemowin and employing a subversive model of English instruction.

All participants cited the experiences of residential schools as having a major impact on individuals' willingness to speak Anishinaabemowin or teach their children. Several shared their own or the experiences of others that they knew of from the Shingwauk Indian Residential School. Charlie Pine reported that Mark Erskine Pine, the father of celebrated local hero of the Second World War, John Erskine Pine, was severely punished for speaking Anishinaabemowin: "When he was at Shingwauk Indian Residential School, they strung him up in the barn for speaking Ojibwe, and made him promise to speak English. The first couple times he refused, but eventually he agreed" (personal communication, July 6, 2016).

Cathy Syrette reflected on her mother's experience and how the abuse of the schools deprived students and successive generations of their language:

My mom was a residential school, I'm gonna use survivor, you know I don't like to use the word victim, cause she survived. Of course lost the language, being from the Pine family it was, for speaking Ojibwe, and she as well was five years old and taken from her home and her and her sisters were put into the residential school. My mom passed away at 82 this past November, so if you kind of mentally do that math, she was five years old and she spent eleven years at the resident- the Shingwauk residential school where her and her sisters did lose the language. It was forbidden of course, and my mom really, really never spoke of the abuse. The physical, the sexual, whatever other kind of abuse was happening She never really spoke of it, um, when it came time, when the apology came and time to do their application for their compensation for residential school, she touched just a little bit on the abuse and she totally shut down. So from that, from witnessing that and observing that I, I knew there was a lot that she endured. Unfortunately, I feel bad because my mother really never got to heal, you know, from that abuse that she endured. (personal communication, February 16, 2016)

Though he persisted in speaking the language and was able to avoid the residential school, Fred Pine saw similar impacts among his relatives and fellow community members:

Fred: But then I guess maybe, I don't know maybe, like some of them then, mainly, some that went to residential school in [...] Spanish and so they were Catholics, and then the ones-

Louise: In the Sault

Fred: In Garden here went to the [...] Shingwauk. [...] So then they had to speak English there. They had to speak English over there and I suppose maybe they got ashamed of their Native language or something in the schools, or they were told you shouldn't speak that language, it's no good, eh? Like maybe that spoiled them from talking the language, eh? [...] Then some of them see the good things, that wasn't on the reserve, the good things outside of the reserve, better than us, and then they got into that groove and they kind of, they didn't like our way kind of, eh? [...] So why would we want to live that way anymore, we want to live in the white society so we gotta, you know, talk their way, eh, you know? (personal communication, October 3, 2016)

Louise Pine began experience with the school system at the Day Schools in Birch Island and later attended the Spanish Indian Residential School from grades 9 to 12. She spoke of how Anishinaabemowin was prohibited but she would find spaces away from surveillance to be able to talk to her peers in their own language:

[...] from the time we were born that's all we spoke, was Indian. When I first went to school I had to go to- because we had a Native teacher I had to [...] go and whisper in the teacher's ear that I wanted to go to the bathroom. Of course it was outside toilets then you know? I'd go and tell her that I had to go outside and she's let me go outside, you know? Because I know- I didn't know English at all. And then when I finished grade 8 there, well, they sent me to a residential school because there was lots of us, there was 8 of us in the family, you know? So I went to a residential school in Spanish and I stayed there for 4 years but I did go home at Christmas time, and Easter and summer time, you know? But they wouldn't let us talk our language at school, at the residential school. And then, we had to- we used to walk around and spoke Indian; this girl and I from Wikwemikong. We'd walk around and just make sure there was nobody around ((Laughter)) We'd talk our language, you know? (personal communication, October 3, 2016)

The message at both the Spanish and the Shingwauk Residential Schools was clear: That English was the dominant language of communication, the language of commerce and the language of success. Conversely, Anishinaabemowin was at best an impediment to English acquisition, or worse, a shameful relic of primitivity. Judy Syrette attributed much of the region's language loss to the residential school system, explaining:

I think a lot of it had to do with the fact that a lot of people didn't speak the language in our community because a lot of kids had been sent to residential school. So there was always that, I guess, if you don't speak it you don't have to worry about the kids or anything. And the residential schools were still in operation when I was going to school in Garden River at that time, but it was something that I think people were well aware of. (personal communication, August 19, 2015)

That awareness began much earlier than the time in which Syrette attended school, as Dean Sayers relayed a story from his family and how it responded to the treatment of his parents' siblings at the Catholic Spanish Residential School:

In the 1930s my dad's dad was the chief, my dad had a lot of brothers and sisters and I think there was two or three of them that went to school down in Spanish. But they weren't down there very long, like, months, and my dad's dad went down and took them out of the school and took them back home. And nobody else went to boarding School, residential school. My parents were the oldest and they never had any effect of residential school, and their parents, so we don't, my brothers and sisters and I, we don't have any, we don't see it. Of course there's other cultural institutions that affected our culture that have been brought here, but not directly through residential schools. (personal communication, November 5, 2018)

Survivors of the Shingwauk Indian Residential School and documents reviewed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission highlight that students at the school suffered physical and sexual abuse, malnutrition, forced labour, inadequate medical care (including inadequate responses to outbreaks of disease, such as tuberculoses), lateral violence (sometimes stoked by school staff), neglect, and all too often as a consequence from many of the previously mentioned conditions, untimely death (TRC, 2015a,d).

Attendance at residential schools was an ongoing challenge for both Indian Affairs and school administrators, as both parents and students resisted the treatment that they received at

the hands of teachers, administrators and other staff. Most of the students attending the Shingwauk Home, however, did not come from the immediate region surrounding Baawating. In 1910, for instance, only 3 of the pupils came from the Sault Ste. Marie Agency (including Garden River, Batchewana, and Michipicoten) (Indian Affairs, 1910). The remainder came from the Agencies of St. Regis⁴⁷ (4 students), Lake of the Two Mountains⁴⁸ (1 student), Manitowaning⁴⁹ (5 students), Parry Sound⁵⁰ (1 student), Port Arthur⁵¹ (3 students), Sarnia⁵² (7 students), Thessalon⁵³ (8 students), and Walpole Island⁵⁴ (3 students) (Indian Affairs, 1910). Though the

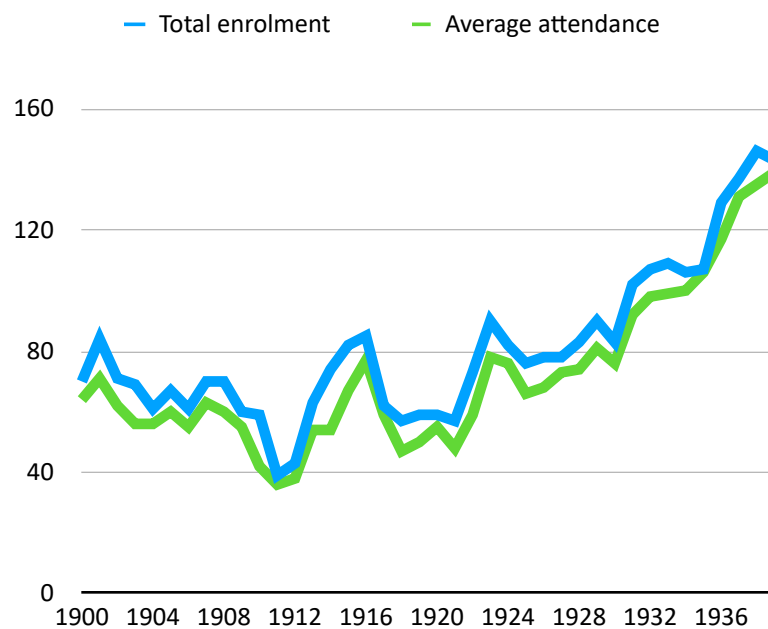


Figure 33: Enrolment and attendance at Shingwauk Home (1900-1939) (Indian Affairs, 1900b-1936; Mines and Resources, 1937; Indian Affairs Branch, 1938-1939)

numbers and provenance of students varied year to year, students from Garden River, Batchewana and Michipicoten did attend the school, but never made up a majority of its student body, as most local children attended the day schools available in their respective communities, when school was attended. Enrolment at the Shingwauk

⁴⁷ Ahkwesáhsne.

⁴⁸ Kanehsatà:ke.

⁴⁹ Comprising Whitefish River, Point Grondin, Whitefish Lake, Tahgaiwinini, Magnatawan, Spanish River (Sagamok), Sucker Lake, Sucker Creek (Aundeck Omni-Kaning), Sheguiandah, South Bay, and Unceded Indians of Manitoulin Island (Wiikwemkoong).

⁵⁰ Comprising Parry Island (Waasaaksking), Henvey Inlet, Magnatawan, Shawanaga, and Watha (Wáhta).

⁵¹ Comprising Lake Nipigon (Animbiigoo Zaagi'igan Anishinaabek, Bijiitiwaabik Zaaging, Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabek), Red Rock (Opwaaganasiniing), Fort William, Pic River (Biigtigong Nishnaabeg).

⁵² Aamjiwnaang.

⁵³ Comprising Thessalon, Mississauga, Serpent River, and Spanish River (Sagamok).

⁵⁴ Bkejwanong.

Home in the early decades of the twentieth century ranged from a low of 39 in 1911 to a high of 85 students in 1916 (see Figure 33), though average attendance was of course never 100%, it varied from a high of 59 of 62 pupils (or 95%) in 1917 to a low of 42 of 59 (or 71%) in 1910 (see Figure 33).⁵⁵ Indian Affairs, however, used its overwhelming power and influence to coerce parents to comply. In 1919, then Assistant Deputy Minister MacKenzie advised staff to deny aid to parents who did not send their children to school, noting that they “shall not be regarded as being eligible for relief or other assistance from the Department” (as cited in TRC 2015a, p. 278). Additional means of coercion came the following year.

8.2.2.1 An Act to Amend the Indian Act, 1920

In 1920, the federal government intervened to address the issue of attendance at residential schools nationwide with amendments to the Indian Act at the urging of many churches (TRC 2015a). The amendments marked a peak for federal government efforts to force assimilation of Indigenous peoples, enacting mandatory attendance at day schools or residential schools, provisions for deputizing truancy officers, and fine and potential imprisonment for parents that refused to send their children to the schools. The new provisions read:

- 10.(1) Every Indian child between the ages of seven and fifteen years who is physically able shall attend such day, industrial or boarding school as may be designated by the Superintendent General for the full periods during which such school is open each year. Provided, however, that such school shall be the nearest available school of the kind required, and that no Protestant child shall be assigned to a Roman Catholic school or a school conducted under Roman Catholic auspices, and no Roman Catholic child shall be assigned to a Protestant school or a school conducted under Protestant auspices.
- (2) The Superintendent General may appoint any officer or person to be a truant officer to enforce the attendance of Indian children at school, and for such purpose a truant officer shall be vested with the powers of a peace officer, and shall have authority to

⁵⁵ Attendance was broadly speaking the difference between the number of spots for which the school was funded and the number that regularly attended. Some students may not have attended due to illness, due to a need to assist their families or others, or in some cases, simple aversion to the school. Still, some of the numbers reflect the school’s inability to fill the funded seats.

enter any place where he has reason to believe there are Indian children between the ages of seven and fifteen years, and when requested by the Indian agent, a school teacher or the chief of a band shall examine into any case of truancy, shall warn the truants, their parents or guardians or the person with whom any Indian child resides, of the consequences of truancy, and notify the parent, guardian or such person in writing to cause the child to attend school.

- (3) Any parent, guardian or person with whom an Indian child is residing who fails to cause such child, being between the ages aforesaid, to attend school as required by this section after having received three days notice so to do by a truant officer shall, on the complaint of the truant officer, be liable on summary conviction before a justice of the peace or Indian agent to a fine of not more than two dollars and costs, or imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten days or both, and such child may be arrested without a warrant and conveyed to school by the truant officer: Provided that no parent or other person shall be liable to such penalties if such a child, (a) is unable to attend school by reason of sickness or other unavoidable cause; (b) has passed the entrance examination for high schools; or (c) has been excused in writing by the Indian agent or teacher for temporary absence to assist in husbandry or urgent and necessary household duties. (as cited in TRC 2015a, pp. 278-9)

Though not only attributable to the changes of 1920, from 1921 onward, Figure 33 indicates fairly consistently increasing enrolment at the Shingwauk Home. Nonetheless, attendance was never perfect, however the major gaps between enrolment and average attendance that can be seen in 1910 and 1914 never appeared in the subsequent years for which they were documented in Indian Affairs' annual reports. Attendance averaged 90% or more for 12 of the 18 years that followed.

The 1920 amendments also expanded the program of enfranchisement to allow for the enfranchisement of Indians deemed to be civilized on the advice of local Indian Agents irrespective of whether they owned property or not (Leslie, 2002). The motivations of both policy changes were abundantly clear and unconcealed by the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott, who said to the House of Commons Committee on Indian Affairs that examined the proposed changes in 1920:

Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department, that is the object of this Bill. (as cited in Leslie, 2002)

The coercive powers of both enfranchisement and compulsion to attend school gave Indian agents, and subsequently schools, significant power over local communities. Residential schools were tools for cultural genocide for the ends of producing new citizens in the image of the Anglo-Saxon-supremacist liberal hegemony that largely direct Ottawa's Indian policy. The slow progress they made in 'killing the Indian in the child' for much of the early twentieth century yielded new measures from the government to strengthen the reach and power of the schools because they were such a central component of the Department's goal of absorbing Indians into the Canadian Polity. As Ian McKay explains:

It was perhaps in the residential schools that the full utopianism of a vanguard liberalism came to the fore, for within these Christian/liberal manufactories of individuals, pre-eminent laboratories of liberalism, First Nations children were 'forced to be free,' in the very particular liberal sense of 'free,' even at the cost of their lives. (2000, p. 637)

The treatment that students received at residential school was also a motivating factor for Indigenous people who could 'pass' as white to move the markers of their cultural identity underground. Steve Gjos explained how the discrimination against Indigenous peoples of the 1960s suppressed Métis identity:

You have to understand that I was born in 1961. So, I was a child in the sixties, so things were not like today. Right now if you're Métis it's like "hey I'm Métis" and that's good, that pride is good and that the way things are now is so much better but when I was young, a young boy, you didn't talk about it, you couldn't. We knew about it but I can recall my mom's aunts or my great aunts were all Métis, when we would get together at one of their houses or whatever when I was kid and they're all talking about their heritage; they all had pictures of Louis Riel on the wall but it was almost like a secret society; it was kept very quiet. The reason being, at that time period if you were Métis you were included with the First Nations and you were sent to a residential school or even in the sixties scoop and all that stuff, or even just mistreated. (personal communication, February 23, 2018)

Though it was evident that Anishinaabeg were mistreated, discriminated against and disparaged, the broader public awareness of precisely what was happening at the Shingwauk and Spanish Indian Residential Schools among Métis, Settler or other non-Anishinaabe residents of the area likely varied from household to household. Gjos explains:

I talked to my mom about it and she goes...they didn't really know what was going on with these residential schools eh? [...] And anything they were told was that they were getting special education and there was nothing bad about it, you know, it was almost like a private school that they're going...that was kind of the thought at the time, so. You know listening to my mom talk she goes, we didn't know what was going on in those schools you know? The average Canadian at the time had no idea.

(personal communication, February 23, 2018)

Regardless of the public's awareness, however, both the state and the Churches that ran the schools were very much aware of the intention they served to end the transmission of Indigenous languages and cultures (TRC, 2015a,d).

Cathy Syrette spoke of the deeply seated emotional and cultural impacts of this language loss, explaining: "they were forbidden to speak that language and when that's taken away from you, half of you dies, you know, because, in order to be a full functioning, full balanced Anishinaabe person, you gotta have language" (personal communication, February 16, 2016).

The effects of residential schools reverberated throughout the generations that followed the survivors as well, long after this region's schools closed at the end of the school year in 1970. Not only were many deprived of their language and culture, but many survivors struggled to cope with the memories of abuse that they suffered. Sam Boyer recalled some of the impacts that the school had on her grandmother:

I would see my friends' grandparents, they'd drink but they were [...] functioning; they worked, they raised their kids they had jobs, they retired, they were doing the things that grandparents do but they were having a few drinks. Whereas, my grandparents and my grandmother was- drinking was an everyday thing to almost get her through the everyday. And she was mean, she was really mean to us and I never knew why, I never ever knew why because at the time I didn't know she went to a residential school, I didn't know any of that, right? There was talk about us being Indians, but we

weren't proud of that, we never told people that. (personal communication, June 8, 2016)

Looking at the span of the impacts of the residential schools, Cathy Syrette expressed the opinion that, considering the Seven Generations principle, it may take many more generations before the damage of the schools is undone:

[...] coming from that second generation of residential school, this is the effects of that, it is. It's the effects of that. Right down to my grandchildren, so how many generations is that. It's trying to make a comeback. Long ways to go. It may never even happen in my grandchildren's lives, but I pray that it does, I pray that it does. (personal communication, February 16, 2016)

Though not every student that attended residential school lost their ability to speak or their affinity for their Indigenous language, the schools undoubtedly had not only a profoundly devastating impact on the perceived status of Indigenous languages and on the psychic wellbeing of many of its speakers. It is hard to overstate the impact of residential schools on Indigenous communities, not only with respect to language maintenance, but emotional, social, cultural and economic wellbeing overall.

8.2.3 Day schools

In many cases, Day Schools were little better than their residential counterparts in terms of the respect they offered their students' languages and cultures. In Louise Pine's account in the preceding pages, she was able to ask questions of her teacher in Anishinaabemowin at the Day School in Birch Island, however these had to be asked clandestinely as the language of the classroom remained English. Such accommodations were not available at the Day Schools in Garden River, as throughout the twentieth century, they were largely taught by Priests and nuns who spoke no Anishinaabemowin. Fred Pine discussed his experience with Day Schools:

Fred: And the strap they had...I'd say it was about maybe this thick, half of this thick here eh? The strap was about a foot long, maybe a little bit longer than a foot. If you did something wrong, you got fifty whacks in each hand.

Louise: Fifty?

Fred: Fifty, yup.

Louise: Oh jeez.

Fred: They cut my hand over here one time with the strap, eh? The scar was still there for a long time. it's there some place. And that's when my dad went to the school, eh? He got mad, eh? He wanted to know what was going on and why I got the strap. I don't know what happened anyways, then he says "you go back to school there in the morning and see what happens," but the Mounties were going to be there over the noon hour. And the Mounties came to the school, eh, and talked to the teacher. I don't know what happened there but I never got the strap again after that. Maybe they cut a deal with the- they broke a vein or something someplace behind there eh, with that strap. They were mean, them teachers, you know? (personal communication, October 3, 2016)

The two denominational schools established in the nineteenth century continued into the next, though their locations occasionally changed. They were joined by new schools at Goulais Bay between 1914-15 and Batchawana Bay between 1912-13 that served the communities of Batchewana Band members who did not relocate following the Pennefather Treaty, and consequently operated under the auspices of Indian Affairs (See Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1912 to 1939). Elizabeth Jones described the dynamic at Garden River, noting of her childhood in the 1950s:

Everyone spoke English because that was pretty common. (Umm) The schools on the reserve were taught by the nuns and the priests. Like, so in Garden River, on this side, the Garden River on the west side was Catholic, so it was all Catholic on this side. There was a Catholic church, Catholic schools. On the other side of Garden River the Anglican church and there was also an Anglican school house where the Anglican kids went to school. So, we had denominations if you will and the border seemed to be the bridge. (personal communication, July 6, 2016)

The bridge that she refers to is the one spanning the Garden River. Charlie Pine also reported that there was a notable rivalry between Anglicans and Catholics within the community at Garden River, based roughly on the denominational split at the river (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Judy Syrette also observed the divide, noting "The Anglicans were English for the most part. So you did have that kind of divide in the community. And there was a divide, I mean

people- if you were Catholic you didn't associate with the Anglicans" (personal communication, August 19, 2015).

The Catholic school at Garden River continued to have higher enrolment and attendance than its Protestant counterpart throughout the twentieth century. Not only did it serve the

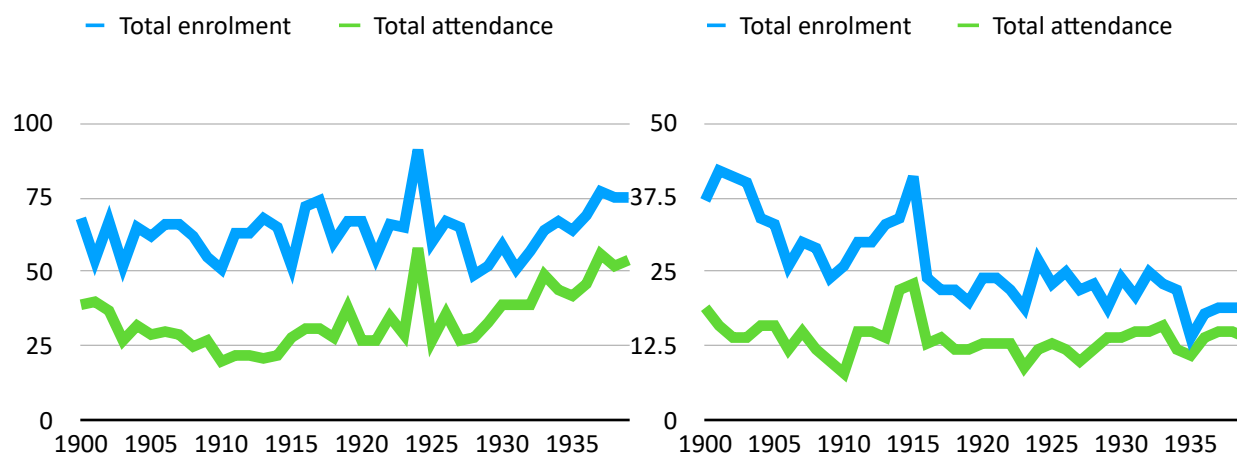


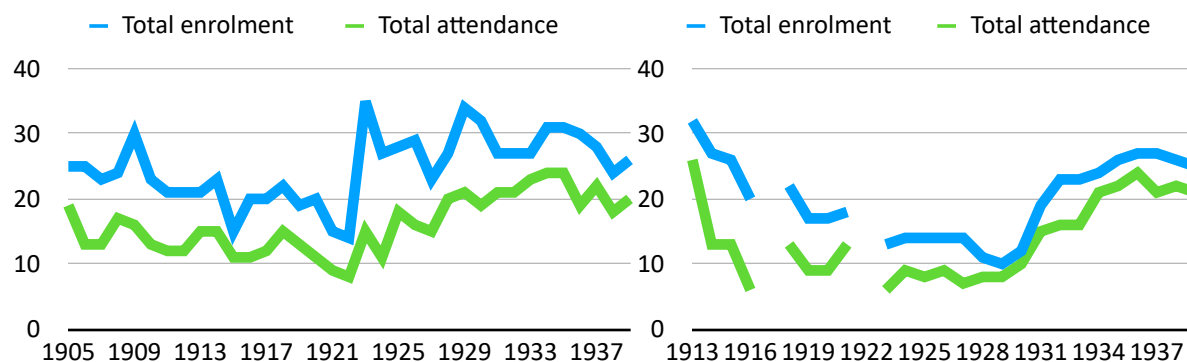
Figure 34: Enrolment & attendance at Garden River RC School (1900-39) (Indian Affairs, 1900b-1936; Mines and Resources, 1937; Indian Affairs Branch, 1938-1939)

Figure 35: Enrolment & attendance at Garden River Protestant School (1900-39) (Indian Affairs, 1900-1936; Mines and Resources, 1937; Indian Affairs Branch, 1938-1939)

Catholic Garden River band members who were already a majority on the reserve, but also the predominantly Catholic Batchewana Band members around French Bay.

Attendance at the Day Schools was harder to enforce, notwithstanding the changes to the Indian Act in 1920. Figure 34 provides the total enrolment and average attendance of the Garden River Roman Catholic School, and Figure 35 provides the same for the Garden River Protestant School for the years that enrolments were reported in Indian Affairs annual reports, from 1900 to 1939. Attendance at the Roman Catholic school fell as low as 30% in 1913. And though it never reached the 90% rates of attendance at the Shingwauk Home, attendance did generally stabilize in the 60-70% range in the 1930s, perhaps as acceptance of schooling as a new social norm grew. Enrolment at the Protestant School, however, was always dwarfed by that of its Catholic counterpart, and hovered around only 20 students from 1916 onward, though it similarly saw attendance stabilize above 50% in the 1930s, and both schools ultimately had very comparable rates of attendance, notwithstanding the different patterns evident year to year.

Both the Goulais Bay and Batchawana schools were run by the Catholic Church and served relatively small communities along the shores of Lake Superior. Both enrolment and attendance were more erratic from year to year in Goulais Bay (Figure 36), with a spike in enrolment in 1923 being matched by an equally record breaking low attendance in that and the following year of 43 and 41% respectively. Likewise at Batchewana, just four years after the school opened, attendance tumbled to 30% (see Figure 37).⁵⁶ However average attendance for both schools was actually comparatively high, with Goulais Bay averaging 65% for the period between its opening and 1939, while Batchawana's rate was 73% for those years for which data is available. This compares to the Garden River RC school's rate of 54% and the Protestant School's rate of 55%. The ongoing gap between enrolment and attendance, however, may suggest that the new punitive provisions of the Indian Act introduced in 1920 were, despite their draconian coerciveness, not entirely successful. Still, average attendance did increase after 1920 in all schools. The Garden River RC school, which had average attendance of 47% between 1900 and 1919, rose to 61% between 1920 and 1939. For the same period, the protestant



school's average attendance rose from 48% to 62%, while Batchawana rose from 54% (1913-1919) to 72% and Goulais Bay rose less remarkably from 63% (1905-1919) to 66%. The legislation was not the only impact on attendance, however, otherwise we may see more consistent changes. Rather the influence and relationship of each community with its local

⁵⁶ Returns for Batchawana School were not included in the annual reports from 1917 and 1922. The school did operate during these times, however, or at least there is no indication in the reports to suggest otherwise.

church, the teachers, and environmental phenomenon could all have bearings on levels of attendance, and the narrowing attendance gap is likely at least partially attributable to improved health care and medical treatments, as outbreaks of illnesses generally decreased in the communities as the twentieth century progressed.

8.2.4 Integration

By the mid-1950s, Indian Affairs, which had become a branch of the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, reflecting the universalist liberal ideology that prevailed at the time, had begun the process of dismantling the Day School system, and in 1957 provided grants to the Sault Ste. Marie School Board “to provide adequate facilities for this program of integration,” which provided an influx of new students to the local board (Citizenship and Immigration, 1957, p. 61). The consistently lower enrolled Garden River Protestant School was the first in Garden River to close, followed by the Garden River Roman Catholic School a few years later. Catholic School students were then bussed in to attend the St. Thomas School on Gibb Street, while most others attended East View Public School on Arizona Avenue in Sault Ste. Marie’s East End (J. Syrette, personal communication; August 19, 2015; E. Jones, personal communication, July 6, 2016; S. Gjos, personal communication, February 23, 2018). Likewise the schools in Goulais Bay and Batchawana eventually closed as well, with students being bussed instead to St. James School, and later Sacred Heart School in central Sault Ste. Marie (D. Sayers, personal communication, November 5, 2018). Indigenous language classes would not be introduced into the public or separate school systems within the regions for several decades later, outside the period of this study, in the late 1970s. Though additional languages would be introduced in high school, they were largely limited to French and Latin within the area and time period concerned. As Judy Syrette explained of her experience:

[...] when I went to school on the reserve it was only English. When I went to high school I learned French and Latin. I mean those were the two languages that were taught and, that’s what I- I took French all the way through high school. I took Latin for only two years when I was there... (personal communication, August 19, 2015)

The integration of First Nation students into provincially run schools in the region, however, provided the first generation of Anishinaabe students with significant new challenges

in fending off harassment from non-Indigenous peers. Fred Pine explained of his time at the Iron River School which served the areas around Echo River and Echo Bay:

Fred: It was, it was terrible. It was- I guess them kids, they learnt all this from their parents eh? Indians were no good, they're lousy they called them, they called you lousy and everything, eh?

Sean: mmm hmm

Fred: If you had-

Louise: Lazy ((laughter))

Fred: If you bought a new shirt and went to school, somebody's bound to rip it. They don't want to see you with a new shirt on. [...] I don't know how many new bikes I had. I had about three, three or four. I come outside, there all the spokes is broke. And I'd have to push the bike home, "tok-a-tok-tong," the spokes, eh? No use fixing that bike there, they'd smash it again, eh? So I didn't take the bike, I just walked to school, eh? Or I'd hide the bike some place before the school. Oh, they didn't want you to have nothing, anything new, nothing no sir, boy, they're real prejudiced, eh? Prejudice and what do you call that thing, jealous of you if you had something new on, you know? (personal communication, October 3, 2016)

The importance of learning English was a significant preoccupation of public and separate school teachers' dealings with their new students, as Fred recalled:

And then, the [...] teacher would get mad there and shake you up, "come on you gotta speak the [English] language, you've got to learn this is going to be your- the language you're going to speak all the time when you're finished school." But I didn't finish school, so I didn't have to speak it all the time. ((Laughter)) (personal communication, October 3, 2016)

Fred added later, "This is the official language, she said, eh?" indicating the salience of federal language policy to teachers working with Indigenous students, even though this policy had no legislative bearing on the language of instruction of Ontario schools (personal communication, October 3, 2016).

The integration of schools, however, did not end the segregation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, rather it simply changed the shape of that segregation. Steve Gjos recalls from his childhood in the 1960s and 70s:

But [Anishinaabeg] were segregated. Nobody hung around with them. We didn't hang around with them. That's just the way it was. Well, there was some fights between the- you know, they got picked on a lot, the First Nations kids. That's the way it was, you know, Canada wide. They were second class citizens. They weren't even allowed to vote at one point. So they were treated different. I never treated them wrong, I knew my background; my ancestry. I never treated anybody different but I just remember that I know I remember that the First Nations kids were treated really badly in Sault Ste. Marie. (personal communication, February 23, 2018).

The integration of schools began two years before Brenda Powley began attending high school in 1963, and she recalled that the process was highly controversial in Sault Ste. Marie, There was a lot of people that were against it and even back then you could remember the racism that went on in the Sault [...] you just didn't talk to them and you didn't associate with them, you know?"⁵⁷ later adding "People didn't even want to associate with them" (personal communication, July 21, 2016). Gradually tensions subsided, but the segregation persisted, as Powley explained:

It was better a few years after I like, started, yeah it wasn't as bad as when they first went in but, you know, but they more or less kept to themselves, you know, had their own groups and, you know, you can basically see the line where they did their thing and everyone else did theirs. (personal communication, July 21, 2016)

8.2.4.1 Integration of immigrants

Teachers would similarly be preoccupied with the linguistic faculties of new immigrants, whose children were similarly integrated in public and Catholic schools. Brenda Powley recalled of her early school experience, discussing the prevalence of English, she noted "you learned English to go to school or even the ones coming in, you know, from the different families that- we used to know the Italian families, was the main thing, they learned English before they learned anything else" (personal communication, July 21, 2016)

Service Clubs and other voluntary associations also played important roles in the promotion of English language skills. The All People's Mission, a United Church missionary effort

⁵⁷ It is important for the reader to note that Brenda Powley was using the impersonal generic "you," and was not describing her own behaviour.

active in the early twentieth century, ran English classes “four periods each week for Finnish residents of the west end” as well as for Italians at its Queen Street branch in the 1920s (Sault Daily Star, Oct. 4 1926, p. 3).

But service clubs were not only the purview of Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Many emerged within each distinct immigrant community, including the Italian Marconi Society and Sons of Italy, the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple and the Workers Benevolent Society, the Finnish labor temple, the Croatian Fraternal Union and the Slavonian-Croatian Union (Sault Star, Dec 19 1928, 15). The Kuomintang also had a local branch among the approximately 100 Chinese residents of the Sault (1928, p. 15). Just under two years after the Sons of Italy was incorporated in 1915, it was supporting the petition of Italian residents to have Italian taught in the west-end McFadden and St. Mary’s separate schools (Sault Daily Star 1916a). The first report of the petition also alluded to bilingual education questions involving ‘French-Canadians,’ however it is unclear whether this refers to a local or national question, as it states “This will be of interest at the present time owing to the discussion which is taking place on the bilingual question in sections where the French-Canadian population is large” (1916b, p. 5). However the report also called into question the motives of previous advocates for the construction of the McFadden School to begin with, noting:

It will be remembered in this connection that when the petition was circulated a few years ago to have the McFadden school built, the leaders of the movement urged in favour of the scheme their desire to have their children taught English thoroughly. (1916b, p. 5)

The effort however was strongly supported by Catholic Priest Father Martinez who attended the Sons of Italy meetings and moved a motion to support the petition. The Star reported:

In speaking to the Star Father Martinez stated that English was the language for business, but a boy, who has been born in this country learns only English perfectly and when he returns to the old country he finds he cannot speak the pure Italian and cannot converse with the people. (1916a, p. 4)

Ultimately the petition was not successful, though Italian and other heritage languages would eventually be taught in public high schools in later decades. Within immigrant communities, however, some organizations did offer instruction in their ancestral languages, such as the two ‘schools’ run by the Ukrainian community that operated downtown and in Bay View in the

1920s (Sault Star, Dec 19 1928, 15). Likewise during the 1920s the Zionist Society was reported to be operation “a school to teach their children the Jewish language” among the 14 Jewish families that resided in the city in the late 20s (1928, p. 15).

The driving force of integration, and that it was intended to include assimilation, was a dominant feature of public discourse on immigration or the nationalities that had relocated to Sault Ste. Marie in the twentieth century. One example is apparent in the *Sault Star's* April 26th entry in its *News from the West End* column about Finnish immigration. The article from 1927 describes the original motivations for Finnish immigration, the formation of the local Finnish temperance society *Pelastuksen Sankari*, and a description of the celebration of *Juhannus*. It ends with the paragraph:

“Juhannus” in Finland is in memory of ancient tradition, of days long dead in America among the Finns here, it is in memory of Finland, and all that she holds dear. It was no religious, no political, only a little national significance. It is being celebrated less and less every year, and in time will pass away completely. But it is a graceful tribute to the old country, that little land which has supplied America with so many stalwart sons. *A tribute to her quaint customs, which can have in reality no place in this new land; this land where even the fair haired sons and daughters of Suomi are soon lost in the melting pot of nations, to become with all other foreigners, Canadians!* (Sault Daily Star, April 26, p. 112, emphasis added)

Descriptions of Finnish culture are neutralized of any challenge they may pose to the Anglo-Saxon hegemony at Sault Ste. Marie by affirming their status as relics of the past. Assimilation, by contrast, is portrayed as an inevitability. Indeed many of the headlines in the *Sault Star* emphasize the assimilative process underway, such as “Soo Moulds the Foreign Born Into Canadians”, which associated ‘Canadian’ with Anglo-Saxon hegemony, and was first printed in 1928 and then reprinted verbatim in 1932 under a new headline, “Foreign Born Make Good Citizens” and a new subtitle, “Sault Moulds the Alien into Good Canadian” (Dec 19, 1928, pp. 14-15). Similarly a 1938 article highlighted racial anxieties associated with immigration in its headline, “Anglo-Saxons Letting Go Their Hold on Canada?” (1938, Jun 10, p. 15). It concluded, “On the present basis of natural increase, it will be only a few decades until the French are numerically the largest race in Canada and a few generations until foreign European races will outnumber the Anglo-Saxon” (Sault Star 1938, Jun 10, p. 15). However the columns in the *Sault*

Star were not monolithic in their representation of immigrant communities, even if they were consistently from an Anglo-Saxon viewpoint. A 1929 article titled “Aliens Retain Their National Background” observes:

The average English speaking person clamors for the converting of these foreign born people into good Canadians, and emphasize their demands by asserting that they must not only learn English but must forget as much as possible the land of their origin, its customs and traditions. (Sault Star, 1929 Dec 19, p. 20)

However it goes on to quote an unidentified “foreign born” explaining:

We are anxious to adopt the language of the country in which we have made our homes, but if you ask us to forget the race from which we sprung, you leave us like a husk from which the grain has been taken. Our historical background is not yours, and while we love Canada and the opportunities it gives us for progress, its traditions are not ours. We have our own traditions and history of which we are justly proud, and if we are forced to abandon these we are men without background, and this would not be productive of the best type of Canadian. (Sault Star, 1929 Dec 19, p. 20)

The article concludes:

Assimilation is not the main thing as many people think. There must be education, and it should not be carried out so as to obliterate the national background of these visitors to Canada. Retain it and the traditions of which they are justly proud, and it will result in a Canadian citizen who will do his best to show Canadians how good a man his particular nation can produce, and that, after all, is the highest goal that one can attain to a good man — whatever the nation. (Sault Star, 1929 Dec 19, p. 20)

English remains the gateway to Canada, but assimilation to Anglo-Saxon norms is called into question. Evidently the discourse of language substituting racial background as the basis for Canadian national belonging was apparent in the country and Sault Ste. Marie from the early twentieth century.

Indeed, some immigrants also highlighted the relativity of the notion of ‘immigration’ and pointed to the migration of those of British descent to North America as well. William Halonen, then-Finnish consul remarked in an interview with the *Sault Star*: “we are all foreigners if one wants to look into the matter deeply enough. The only people who are not foreigners to this country are the native born Indian” (1929, Apr 11, p. 16).

By 1928, the *Sault Star* published a retrospective on the efforts to promote English language fluency among recent immigrants from the turn of the century. In it, the plight of Italian, Ukrainian, Finnish and Polish immigrants who could not speak English is initially presented sympathetically, describing their “plight by acknowledging “They were working with the English speaking classes, under English speaking foreman, buying their food from stores where the majority of the clerks spoke only English, and carrying on money transactions in a bank with only English speaking employees” (Sault Daily Star, Oct 11 1928, p. 10). In so doing, it also alluded to the types of occupations and the class stratification that awaited new immigrants in the early 1900s. It continued, “It is a marvel how these people held their jobs and were able to make themselves understood enough to obtain the dire necessities of lifef [sic]” (1928, p. 10). English acquisition is thus portrayed as a neutral necessity of survival, the only agent in this construction being the immigrant themselves. Where the only potential responsibility to be assigned rests with the very population in need of the service (and not with the state, or their employers, or the broader surrounding community), the efforts of Anna McCrea take on dimensions of heroism. The article continued:

The great need for some means of teaching these immigrants the language of the land was realized, by probably hundreds of citizens, but the first real action was taken by Miss A. McCrea of the McFadden School. She started the night school at McFadden having classes twice weekly there.

The attendance was mostly Italian although several other nationalities were represented. The largest attendance at any of her classes was in 1915, when the average was 70 and the maximum for one night was 108. Miss McCrea conducted the classes herself for several years, receiving absolutely no pay for her services with the exception of one year. (1928, p. 10)

Anglophone settlement and dominance had been so thoroughly established by the early 1900s that English had acquired the status of the ‘language of the land,’ at least from the vantage point of the city’s largest outlet of news media. The drive for English lessons also coincided with the height of the first World War, as nationalist tensions underlying the war underscored the importance of assimilation to the state and much of the public. However, the publication of the retrospective in the late 1920s also conveys that anxieties around challenges to the ubiquity of

English at Sault Ste. Marie were not merely a consequence to the heightened sense of nationalism that surrounded the war.

Anna McCrea's actions were also praised for her charitable approach, acting when others did not, and her refusal to accept compensation. This is not to question the intentions or good deeds of McCrea, but rather to highlight their framing as a matter of assimilation and the promotion of English, rather than as labours of compassion. Indeed, the state and local industry's reliance on immigrant labour for local production while relying on the charity of a local teacher to assist those immigrants in acquiring English points to two unique layers of local capital's exploitation of labour through both wage suppression and the externalization of costs associated with workers' wellbeing.

McCrea's teaching methods were also profiled, with her focus on "only practical everyday English" with both "domestic" and "industrial" units to expose the students to the most common vocabulary they may hear or use both at home and at work (Sault Star 1928, Oct 11, 10). The paper notes, "It is interesting to know that in all the actual teaching that was done [...] to a group of men who had no idea whatever of the English language, not one word of anything but English was used," highlighting her use of props and immersion, "For example, if the lesson was concerned with food stuffs and table settles, the table would be placed in the room fully set with the different foods on it" (Sault Star 1928, Oct 11, p. 10).

Other teachers also undertook acquiring (or at least studying) the language of their students to assist with English instruction, particularly within the All People's Mission which may have been influenced by previous missionary movements' embrace of learning the language of the population they expect to convert. Rev. Fred Smith studied Finnish to assist the mission's work with Finnish immigrants, while Rev. I.G. Perkins acquired Italian (Sault Star 1928, Oct 11, p. 10).

Ultimately acquisition of English, however, remained a steadfast goal of integrating immigrants and an essential component of fashioning "Canadians." Furthermore, the examples of immigrant experience outlined in excerpt from the *Sault Star* illustrate that the management of language was not something carried out only by state directives. The language policies that defined communicative life at Sault Ste. Marie were every bit as much shaped and debated by local populations, the media, and civil society organizations.

8.3 Churches & spirituality

Apart from their involvement in Canada's Indian Day and Residential School System, Christian Churches, particularly Catholic and Anglican denominations, continued to play an active role in community life in both Garden River and Batchewana. Though both had actively encouraged their missionaries and priests to acquire Anishinaabemowin in the nineteenth century, the growth of settler communities surrounding Garden River and Batchewana (and throughout Canada), and the decreased isolation of many communities combined with a declining interest within the Church to accommodate Indigenous languages. By the twentieth century, nearly all services in the region were being conducted in either English, French or Latin. While French services persisted at Paroisse St-Ignace and Italian was introduced at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Sault Ste. Marie, the Church hierarchy largely placated various interests in the province that sought to affirm English dominance, appointing Anglophone Bishops for Sault Ste. Marie throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Adolphe Proulx notes, "Le Saint-Siège, à cause sans doute de l'incertitude de la composition démographique de ce territoire dans l'avenir, et à cause de ce contexte ontarien, a cru sage de nommer ici des chefs spirituels de langue anglaise" (1960, p. 79). This provoked discontent among French-speaking parishioners and conflict with the Anglophile Bishops, prior to a shift in approach in the late 1950s (Proulx, 1960).

By the mid-century in Garden River, Anglican services were conducted in English, and Catholic services were conducted in Latin with all other communication in English, as were the services at the Catholic churches in Goulais and Batchewana Village until the Second Vatican Council permitted the use of vernacular languages to deliver mass in 1962. Dean Sayers recalled, "my parents used the language a lot with the people that were their age. But the priest would never speak Ojibwe. He would always do everything in the English. But they still, they understood" (personal communication, November 5, 2016). The memory of important historical religious figures also lived on, as Sayers recalled that his parents and most of the parishioners "always thought highly of him" (personal communication, November 5, 2016).

For most young people growing up in the church, the use of Latin in the Catholic mass was a relative mystery. Elizabeth Jones recalled, "It was just a way of life. Yeah, it was no big deal, y'know. Learned some Latin, still know some Latin, but didn't mean nothing to me, you

know what I mean? That's what they use, and you, you just followed suit. I didn't know what I was saying" (personal communication, July 6, 2016). She continued:

They never explained anything about, like, what it was you were saying in Latin or you know, you'd do this and do that, your whatever. I think if they wanted us to know Latin they could have went in depth a little bit. ((laughter)) I mean I don't even know what the heck it was we were doing, you know, and they'd make the sign of the cross over here and over here, and over here, and I still don't know. 70 years old, I still don't know what that signifies, you know. In my mind I'd say "Well I don't know. It might mean this, it might mean this" you know? Like, but they didn't teach. They didn't explain. (personal communication, July 6, 2016)

Still others who had been heavily involved in Church activities had a greater recognition of Latin's use in the liturgy and attachment to it. Judy Syrette discussed her familiarity and that of her family with Latin in the mass and hymns of the Catholic Church:

[...] we used to go to church probably three times a week and it was Latin mass so we used to- I was in the choir and we learned Latin because that was that was the liturgy and that was in the liturgy at that time. So, we used to sing in Latin, all the Gregorian chants and the mass of the dead and, I mean we knew those by heart because we learned to sing those and we could sing without a choir director and like we were only grade seven, eight girls, [...] And we could sing any of the masses. In fact once, we started on a Sunday, we started singing the Agnus Dei for the mass of the dead and oh my god, the priest started singing the right one and we'd stop and start singing again... ((Laughter)) And my grandfather says, because we were walking home, "what the heck were you doing up there?" Because my grandpa used to be in the choir; my grandmother was an organist at the church. So they knew Latin too. They knew Latin, like all the Latin hymns in Latin, the Christmas carols, some of them were in Latin. (personal communication, August 19, 2015)

Yet many Anishinaabeg continued the syncretic approach to faith, combining Christian teachings and practices with traditional Anishinaabe spirituality and medicines, concealing it from the view of Church officials and unsympathetic eyes during the darkest era of repression in the early twentieth century (C. Pine, personal communication, July 6, 2016). For some, this melding of worldviews came later in life and sometimes at the urging of their children.

Reflecting on how his parents, who had previously been devout Catholics, began to re-approach Anishinaabe spirituality, Dean Sayers noted:

It became a beautiful, cultural understanding and then they started to want to know more about our culture and eventually participated and went to ceremonies with me after being staunch Catholics. So there was- I helped with deconditioning them, trying to help them come out of what they were conditioned. And then towards the end, my dad told me, he said a lot of the stuff that he's learned again when he was older were things that- he grew up in three worlds, he said. There was when he was really young, it was only about Nishnaabe way. But cultural teachings, and then the Catholic Church came along and he became a Catholic, and then he hung on to both of those and that's what he found his balance, being the third way, trying to balance things that he knew, and balance those with the Indigenous stuff, and the Catholic church's stuff and he was able to do it, cause he'd always have those things like we'd ask him things and he'd say "oh yeah" and go get some thing, and he'd make something or he'd, he knew medicines, he knew so much. How to say things and what that meant from a spiritual perspective, from Anishinaabe perspective. Which was pretty cool, but he said that "I don't know anything, I'm not traditional," but he knew more than most people that claim to know lots. (personal communication, November 5, 2018)

Charlie Pine noted that a cultural revival was beginning to happen in the region in the 1950s, which was gradually embraced by the Anglican Church, though the Catholic hierarchy was slower to respond (personal communication, July 6, 2016). However this changed following Vatican II, as Sayers recalled:

[...] there would be more guitar masses, they'd have a native nativity scene in the winter for Christmas, they'd have Ojibwe hymns. Even my grandma, my mom's mom, she had an Ojibwe song book, so they always had Ojibwe songs and Ojibwe prayer books, but I don't know if- I don't think they actually could speak, some of the priests could, but not very many. (personal communication, November 5, 2018)

He also recalled a friendship that his parents had with an Anishinaabe Priest from Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, noting that "he speaks [Anishinaabemowin], and he does ceremonies, and he has a sweat lodge right on the Church property [...] He melds them or merged them in the last 20 or 30 years when it became more acceptable" (personal communication, November 5, 2018).

Within the Anglican Church, the Pine Sisters became known for their singing of hymns in Ojibwe, and later produced an album (Judy Syrette, personal communication, August 19, 2015).

The Catholic and Anglican Churches at the beginning of the twentieth century were sites of cultural and linguistic repression, and through their involvement with residential schools, perpetuated acts of cultural genocide. However in response to cultural revival moments in the 1950s and 1960s and loosening state restrictions that coincided with a growing liberal tendencies that recognized such hegemonizing and coercive practices as unjust, the churches began to accept Indigenous languages, and even some aspects of Indigenous spirituality, within their practice once again.

8.4 Technologies of government, modernity, and service: The administrative and interactional pressure of English

The bureaucratic technologies that had developed over the previous half-century of Indian administrations extended their reach as western countries moved into an era of high modernism after the first World War. James Scott defines this era as exhibiting:

At its centre was a supreme self-confidence about continued linear progress, the development of scientific and technical knowledge, the expansion of production, the rational design of social order, the growing satisfaction of human needs, and, not least, an increasing control over nature (including human nature) commensurate with scientific understanding of natural laws. (1998, pp. 89-90)

With its implications already apparent in the deployment of the state and religious schooling institutions, the ideology of high modernism expanded the reach of the decidedly English state into multiple dimensions of life while provoking other major socio-economic changes with linguistic consequences.

Administrations of band government were influential sites of contention between local interests and language ecologies on the one hand, and the coercive power of the Canadian state — actioned entirely in English — on the other. Though the affairs of the band were largely carried out in Anishinaabemowin in the early twentieth century, this largely ceased from the 1950s and 60s onward (F. Pine, personal communication, October 3, 2016). Band council resolutions, however, were subject to approval by the Indian Affairs Branch, which could also overturn the results of any election of which it didn't approve. Citing just such an example,

Montgomerie describes what happened when three candidates for chief at Garden River were known to be hostile to Ottawa's interests:

George Kaboosa received 39 votes on 4 March 1916, in an election contested by two other candidates, George Shingwauk and Moses Larose. Kaboosa had a history of conflicts with William McNabb, the [Indian] agent, and as the next council meeting McNabb informed the band that their new chief would be Albert Wahbinosa, "as a result of the Department letter ... stating that they could not approve of any of the candidates as Chief." There was little disgruntled band members could do. (1993, p. 264)

Further modifications of federal Indian Policy would tighten the vice around communities' political agency.

8.4.1 Amendments to the Indian Act in 1936

In 1936, the Indian Affairs Branch was transferred to the Department of Mines and Resources, signalling that the government of Canada largely saw Indigenous communities as barriers to resource development. Amendments to the Indian Act the same year gave Indian Agents the authority to preside over band council meetings and cast deciding votes in the event of a tie at band council elections (RCAP 1996). Three years earlier, a policy change by order-in-council required any complaints against the department be directed through local Indian Agents. As the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples explained, "This produced the paradoxical situation of band complaints about their agents having to be directed to headquarters in Ottawa by the very agents complained about" (1996, p. 263).

The significant power held by both Indian Agents as well as the federal department to which they report forced communities to engage regularly with Ottawa on its own terms and in its own language. Where traditionally communities had many poles of power with which they could engage across North America, the consolidation of colonial authority and burdensome restrictions that the Indian Affairs Branch placed on communities forced a reorientation of that engagement.

8.4.2 Post-war investigations and the Indian Act of 1951

Shortly before the end of the Second World War, in which local Indigenous communities as elsewhere in Canada made up a disproportionate number of enlistees, the House of Commons struck the Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment with the goal of examining Canada's post-war future in response to the social challenges that had accumulated. As Leslie explains, "In this period of national account-taking, Indian reserve conditions and Indian policy and administration came under sustained public scrutiny for the first time since before Confederation" (2002). The end of the second world war also spurred many to resist the authority of Indian Affairs, as the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples noted of the post-war years, "Indian agents and other Indian affairs officials found themselves confronted increasingly by challenges to their authority and influence from activists" (1996, p. 275). The subsequent review of the Indian Act that followed from 1946 and 1948 by a joint committee of the Senate and House of Commons undertook a major review of the provisions of the act, with briefs being submitted from many Indigenous communities and Indian Affairs officials of course being called to testify (2002).

On July 29th, 1946 a joint meeting was called at Garden River with the chiefs of Batchewana, Serpent River, Spanish River and Michipicoten who were by now all included in the Sault Ste. Marie Agency. The chiefs put forward a series of resolutions in a brief to the joint committee, addressing a wide range of issues, including the affirmation of treaty rights, the desire for full control of band membership, the need for equal benefits such as old age pensions and quality of medical care, and crucially affirmations of the distinctiveness between 'Indian' and Canadian societies (Joint Committee, 1946). A motion put forward by M. Boissineau and Norman Jones called for "all denominational schools within reservations to be abolished and the education of Indians to be committed to regional boards upon which Indians in the regional districts shall be represented by Indians" (Joint Committee, 1946). The motion conveyed the inadequacy of the denominational schools, which was also emphasized by a motion put forward by Dick Pine and Norman Jones that "we require a qualified teacher able to teach high school or higher so the Indians can obtain higher education, which will bring advancement in every walk of life" (Joint Committee, 1946). The motions highlight not only that there were concerns over the inferior quality of schooling on-reserve, but that there was an increasing need for more

sophisticated education, of which language was a critical part, to keep pace with the changes underway in society.

These recommendations were not taken up. The Joint Committee did however recommend a broad range of significant changes to the Indian Act and Canada's Indian policy in 1948, including allowing status Indians to vote in federal elections, the establishment of a claims commission, the reduction of ministerial discretionary powers, the transfer of title from the Crown to bands, and creating a framework for bands to develop their own constitutions and implement self-government (Leslie, 2002). It also called for a shift in focus from assimilation to a policy of integration with the broader Canadian body politic. Though the recommendations drew on a range of ideological underpinnings, liberal ideals of individual equality and self-government were influential in shaping a view of Indigenous communities as excluded arbitrarily from the benefits of the Canadian melting pot. The Mackenzie King government, however, did not have the appetite for such sweeping changes.

The Indian Act of 1951 did lift bans on ceremonies and other cultural practices and reduced the Minister's discretionary powers. But as Leslie explains, it was "not a radical departure from earlier versions" (2002). It also entailed changes to band membership, removing from the Indian Agents the responsibility of keeping band rolls, and creating a central registry in Ottawa. Such changes were motivated by the administrative growth of the state and the need for new technologies of government to manage the distribution of post-war welfare benefits, as Leslie explains:

In many respects, the need to specifically identify who was an Indian — at least in government eyes — and was thus entitled to receive government benefits such as mothers' allowances and old age pensions, was prompted by the advent of the post-war welfare state. The passage of the revised *Indian Act* suggested to policy-makers that Indian administration had set out on a new and enlightened course for the 1950s. (2002)

Eventually Indian Agents were phased out altogether, replaced by more central authority from Ottawa. Most were phased out by the end of the 1960s (RCAP, 1996). Revisions to membership criteria also continued to advance the agenda of enfranchisement by targeting women who married non-Indians. Though previously these women also lost their status, until

1951 many would still have been able to collect treaty annuities or live on-reserve (RCAP, 1996). The new provisions ended these practices and robbed Indigenous women of their treaty rights.

As the bureaucracy of Indian Affairs grew more complex, Garden River and Batchewana First Nations increasingly had to straddle the divergent linguistic need to match the technical varieties of English performed by the state and serving a multilingual population, albeit one that embraced English more with each successive generation. Dick Pine would be the last Chief of Garden River whose first language was Anishinaabemowin and who conducted council business in that language, serving as Chief from 1962 to 1964 and again from 1968 to 1972 (F. Pine, personal communication, October 3, 2016; Garden River, n.d.).

Substantial commentary and literature in community economic development in First Nation communities has noted the limited employment prospects on-reserve, often referring to a “cul-de-sac” or the “leaky bucket” economy, where local earnings drain out of the community (Technical Assistance and Planning Associates, 1979; Loxley, 2010; Wood, Loney & Taylor, 2015). For many communities, the band office became the largest on-reserve employer, and for at least stretches of the twentieth century, this was also true of Batchewana and Garden River First Nations. Elizabeth Jones explained how Garden River during her childhood had very few employment opportunities when she first entered the labour force in the 1960s, noting “there was nothing that I know of on the reserve up there. My aunt had a little store of just candies and whatever, but she’d man it herself” (personal communication, July 6, 2016). As a result, from the 1960s onward, as the bureaucracy of the Canadian state became more and more sophisticated, so too was it necessary for Anishinaabeg at Garden River and Batchewana to acquire more specialized varieties of English if they wanted to access one of the few sites of on-reserve employment. Increasingly communities straddled the necessity of serving local populations with the need to meet reporting requirements from federal funders that must be completed in increasingly specialized forms of English.

Indeed, mid-century capitalism in Algoma (and the rest of Canada for that matter) entailed not just a rise in industrial production, but also a growing specialization of the division of labour that flowed from the process of professionalization encouraged by the obsessions in the post-war period with “continued linear progress” and “the development of scientific and technical knowledge” that defined high modernism (Scott, 1998, p. 89).

Elizabeth Jones reflected on these changes to the local economy, explaining “But today’s not like that. Everybody needs a ticket today to fight fire, plant trees or what have you” (personal communication, July 6, 2016). The professionalization of many of the occupations in natural resources and other fields throughout the later twentieth century has functioned to make entry into them more complicated, often requiring training no longer provided by the employer, but incurred at the expense of the worker. Similarly, licensing arrangements were expanded throughout the twentieth century and reached many more of the emerging professions.

Concurrent to the growing fragmentation of the divisions of labour was a growing abundance of service occupations. Though service work had always existed within the region, its occupationalization grew and morphed throughout the 1900s, and in the latter part of the century, its space within the economy grew at both the lower and higher levels of the income scale. The necessity of individual interaction with customers, or in the social service and administration fields, with clients and funders, added to the economic necessity of English language skills for anyone working in these fields.

Jones recalled the options that were available to working women in the 1960s:

Liz: I finished school, grade 8, then from there, well I worked. Lied about my age so I could get to work.

Sean: Where did you work?

Liz: I worked in restaurants

Sean: Yeah. In the Sault or?

Liz: In the Sault. Yeah. That’s all there was, there was nothing that I know of on the reserve up there. (personal communication, July 6, 2016)

For those working as servers, English was the language of employment, (even when working for business owners whose first language was not English, as Jones did for the Island City Chinese restaurant) (personal communication, July 6, 2016).

Other areas of the service sector were similarly English-dominant. As Dean Sayers’ parents shifted into the service sector for wages in the 1970s, his father began as a bus driver with the Algoma District School Board, and later began working for the Indian Friendship Centre as an employment counsellor, which largely required most interactions in English (personal communication, November 5, 2018). It was at the Friendship Centre, however, that Sayers

created one of the few new service jobs that required the use of Anishinaabemowin: Ojibwe teacher. His son Dean recalled:

And while he was at the friendship centre, that's when they learned that he could speak, and my mom, she, so they started to get them to come in to teach language in the evenings [...] there was already people wanting to protect the language. And they, and it was because they were local. It was local Ojibwe. It was the original language of here. And they actually, they're the ones, my parents named Neechke-wenh Homes at the time, they were involved with Neechke-wenh. Carolyn Harrington was a big player in the friendship centre downtown here. Rolland Nadjiwon was actually the executive director at the time. (personal communication, November 5, 2018)

By the latter half of the twentieth century it became apparent that Anishinaabemowin was not being acquired by successive generations and greater attention and resources turned to promoting its use, though primarily through classes taken by individual interest. In the early half of the century, however, there was little economic value to be claimed through the use and promotion of Anishinaabemowin.

One of the most consistent service occupations that has existed throughout the history of Anishinaabe and European contact in the region, however, largely ceased to be remunerated in the early twentieth century. Where interpreters were previously an integral part of the local economy (even if it was not a sizeable proportion of people), the skills associated with the service were progressively devalued as English attained a hegemonic position within the region. In essence, it was up to individuals to ensure that they could speak the dominant language, and when they could not, family and community would volunteer to provide support. Liz Jones recalled providing her parents with assistance on occasion:

Liz: Well Dad was not a good writer or whatever, he was limited in what he could, you now, write and spell or whatever. So I'd explain things to him, and mom I would help her but mom was pretty good. But if she didn't know something she would ask me "what does this mean" or whatever. You know.

Sean: Would that be in English?

Liz: Yeah I'd do it in English and I'd maybe have to switch a little bit into the French, you know.

Sean: So she'd understand.

Liz: "Do you understand?" you know what I'm saying. But I looked after like all of their power of attorney and all that kind of stuff, like for my mother, eh. And like I say my mother was a pretty good reader, pretty good, she could- I would say, good writer. In fact her work was sent to Ottawa for good penmanship when she was in school.

(personal communication, July 6, 2016)

Similarly Charlie Pine recalled having to interpret for an Anishinaabemowin speaking friend at the hospital in Sault Ste. Marie in the 1970s (personal communication, July 6, 2016).

8.5 "And then Elvis came:" Communications, technology & language shift

The agenda of cultural genocide that was pursued through the residential and day schools, combined with significant pressures to embrace English as a necessity of participating in an economy increasingly geared to either service for settler communities or interaction with settler governments each profoundly impacted local sociolinguistic norms, and thereby the linguistic choices available to Anishinaabe and Métis peoples in the areas around Baawating. And while the policy goals were for English to make inroads at the expense of Indigenous (and Indigenized) languages, fluency in Anishinaabemowin persisted on-reserve well into the 1940s, as well as by the accounts of elders and other community members, the multilingual and translanguaging practices that had been common throughout the nineteenth century (though prior to integration of local schools in the 1960s).

8.5.1 Transportation

Physical communications through the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway's Algoma Branch in 1889, which tied Sault Ste. Marie to Sudbury, and the Algoma Central Railway in 1914, which connected Sault Ste. Marie to Hearst and the larger east-west railway networks, connected the dispersed Anishinaabe communities around Baawating to the new burgeoning population centres across Northern Ontario. Roads were gradually constructed through the territories that were ceded through the treaties to facilitate access for settlers to agricultural lands. Though local roads connected Sault Ste. Marie to sections of Goulais and Batchawana Bay by the early twentieth century, the Trans-Canada Highway was not completed north of Sault Ste.

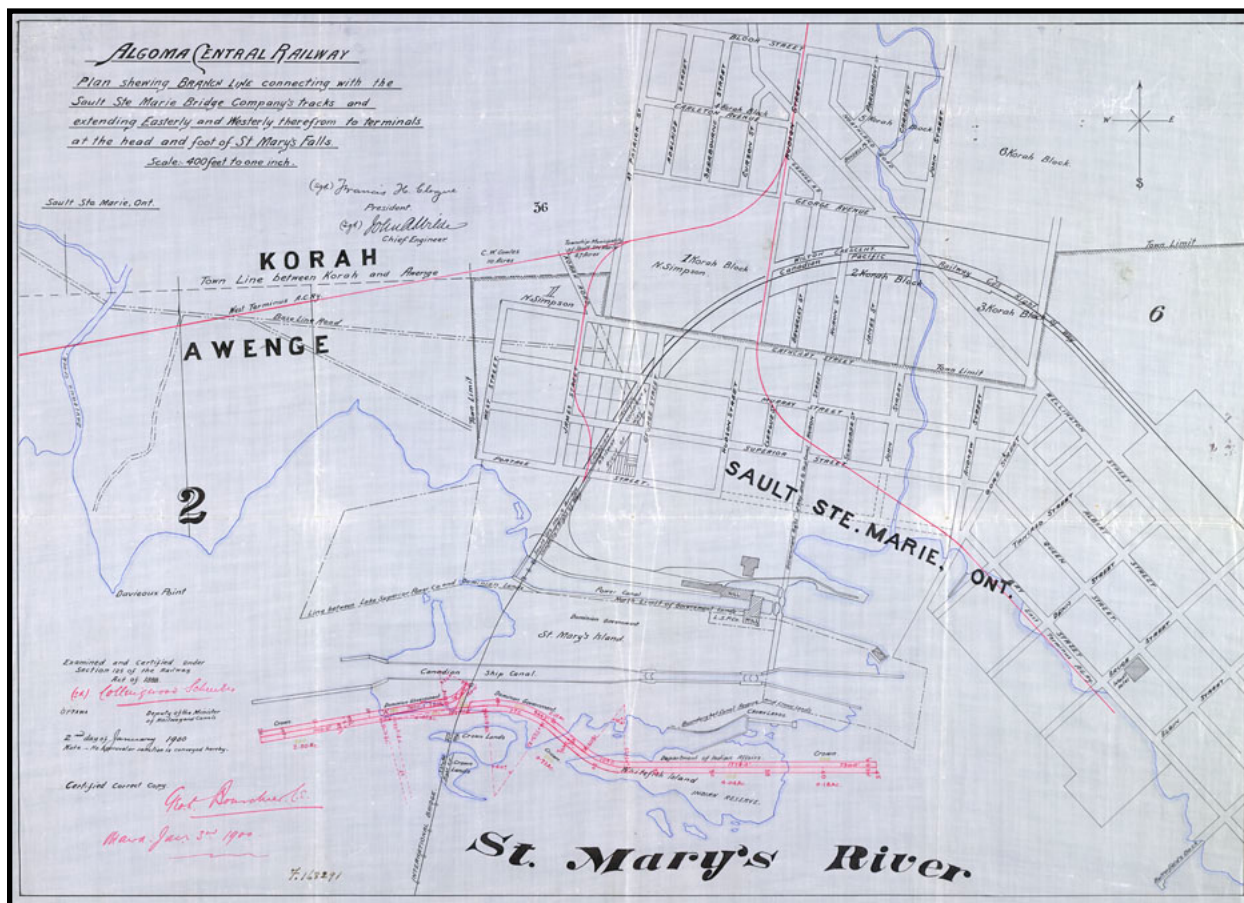


Figure 38: Plan for the juncture of the Algoma Central Railway with the Canadian Pacific Railroad at Sault Ste. Marie (Algoma Central Railway, 1900)

Marie until 1960, when “the gap” between Sault Ste. Marie and Schreiber was closed and Highway 17 officially stretched from one end of Ontario to the other (Shragge & Bagnato, 1984).

The new transportation connections, along with increase ease and accessibility of personal transportation following the boom in automobile ownership in the mid-twentieth century, reduced journeys that would have taken the better part of a day to a mere matter of minutes. This new infrastructure allowed for residents at Garden River to more easily access employment in the neighbouring city. The proximity to the comparatively large, urban and English-dominated community at Sault Ste. Marie also bears a correlation with the rate of maintenance of Anishinaabemowin into the twenty-first century. Between Batchawana Village, Goulais Mission, Rankin and Garden River, the farther the location was from the city, the higher the number of Anishinaabemowin speakers they had in the early 2000s (not including when

elders may have moved to assisted living facilities from the more remote locations).

Commenting on this phenomenon, Chief Dean Sayers expressed that language loss was quicker in Garden River “I think, because they’re in such close proximity to the city here” (personal communication, November 5, 2018). He continued:

Chief Sayers: And the closer you are to this, the more you lose. Same with the cultural, I find that more of the people in the external communities, north, have more of the original understandings or teachings, or spiritual understandings than the people in this community. You can’t be too generalized here.

Sean: Right, people are different, but there’s a pattern.

Chief Sayers: You can sense that. A lot of people, they go with what they hear as opposed to what they, in the other communities, they go with what they know. [...] They grew up with- We have one Elder in this community here that’s from up there [Batchawana Village], and she’s never been to a school, she never went to ceremonies to learn ceremonies, she grew up with it, it was part of her life, and so she’s become a resource for us. She knows, never learned it, it’s just part of second nature for her. Which is unique. It’s the only one probably left in all the communities in the area. And language, and just her and my dad were the last two speakers, really fluent, that would be able to sit and talk for a long time and laugh, and grew up from the same- like her dad was a chief, my dad was the chief’s son, too, so they both grew up at the same time. (personal communication, November 5, 2018).

Though the physical communications in the surrounding district underwent immense development throughout the 1900s, for much of the period through which Garden River and Sault Ste. Marie were connected by both rail and road, the multilingual sociolinguistic ecology was maintained, along with the robustness of Anishinaabemowin speech communities. Illustrating how this played out in interactions between Anishinaabeg and settlers from the neighbouring communities, Fred Pine described an interaction that he had with his father in the 1950s:

Sean: Like in your work life, did you use the language much, like in...?

Fred: Oh, pretty much yeah. My dad, eh? He spoke English and Native, eh? [...] he talked Native all the time and then if you didn’t understand that, he’d talk English. ((Laughter)) [...] my uncle was the same way, eh? Talked Native all the time.

Louise: And then he would talk to you in English after that.

Fred: Yeah.

Louise: To make sure you understand.

Fred: Like say now, if him and I were doing business with some Native, that white person like, he'd talk to me in Native and then he'd be talking English ((Laughter))

"Why do you do that?" I says to him, "maybe those people don't- think I don't speak English." "Oh no no," ((Laughter)) (personal communication, October 3, 2016)

English may be used not just to confirm understanding, in case the vocabulary being used in Anishinaabemowin was unfamiliar, but it also signalled to settler interlocutors that the people they were dealing with were perfectly capable of communicating in English. Nonetheless, that wouldn't stop people from communicating in Anishinaabemowin if they both knew the language.

8.5.2 Media

"And then Elvis came," explained Charlie Pine (personal communication, July 6, 2016). The 50s marked a major turning point in the social dynamics of Garden River, from Pine's recollection, particularly with respect to the values and beliefs that emerged among many from his generation and those that followed. He asserted, "our generation went to work right after school [...] you used to be able to leave a bike or your tools on the ground overnight and the next day they'd still be there" (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Where previously most of the population spoke Anishinaabemowin, as well as English and for most French as well, after this shift, there was a significant shift to English based on changing attitudes toward the language itself. Charlie noted, "once modern technology took over, everything went out the window" (personal communication, July 6, 2016). While few families in Garden River had televisions in the 1950s, many people knew someone who did, and still nearly everyone had access to radio. The pervasive reach of popular culture through the growing availability of mass media developed new indexical associations with English beyond the ability to get by in a world dominated by settler governments that discouraged traditional Indigenous lifeways. English was not just the language of getting by anymore, it was the language of being cool.

Mass media also amplified the reach of settler discourses about Indigenous peoples, at this time reaffirming negative stereotypes that degraded the appeal of Indigenous cultures while erasing or masking Indigenous values and intelligence (Roth, 2005). As Spolsky observes of language management within the domain of the family, “as long as parents maintain authority, they can sometimes expect children to comply with the policies they favour. A great deal depends on the status of the parents and of the language” (2009, p. 19). But when that authority is undermined by the surrounding social world as it became with the new influx of English media, the values assigned to Indigenous languages changed to model what was evident from the surrounding Canadian colonial society: “Thus, external domains enter the home by changing values assigned to language and varieties” (Spolsky, 2009, p. 19)

While Garden River had access to services such as CBC Radio for most of the twentieth century, Szwarc and Fairchild note that the broadcaster’s 1970s Accelerated Coverage Plan to reach all communities in Canada with more than 500 people was pursued at least partially to advance the federal government’s efforts to assimilate Indigenous peoples into Canadian settler society (2018; 1998).

Print media, by contrast, had not played as influential a role by any accounts of the research participants, at least not with respect to Anishinaabemowin. Most print media in the region was in English, and there were few printed materials in Anishinaabemowin apart from primers created by teachers and missionaries to assist with the transition to English. One notable exception, however, stands out among Finnish immigrants and their descendants. The Finnish language *Vapaus* was a popular media source that was integral for syndicalist organizing throughout the 1920s and 30s. The linguistic differences of media in Sault Ste. Marie also reflected the diverging interests of their readership. Considering the lumber camp strikes of the 1930s, the English-language *Sault Star* was considered to be more sympathetic to the capitalist class, as Ducin explains:

The “lies, accusations and propaganda” of the “bourgeois” papers were repeatedly denied in the pages of *Vapaus* and *The Worker*, and after October 16 [1934], the *Sault Daily Star* reporter was no longer welcome at strike meetings. “Because our city’s paper, ‘*The Star*’ has reported these propagandized stories and other lies and it has been against the workers all along and has tried to sway all public opinion against the strikers it was decided that the *Star* reporter could no longer attend our meetings,

since his reports have been so biased.” Every report on the Algoma strike in *Vapaus* and *The Worker* was accompanied by a plea for assistance for the Sault strikers.

(1978b, pp. 93-4)

Yet there was enough awareness of *Vapaus* and its ideological orientation in the English media to lead then-Finnish consul at Sault Ste. Marie, William Halonen, to publicly distance himself (and the broader Finnish community) from the publication in a 1929 interview with the *Sault Star* (1929, Apr 11, p. 16). As subsequent generations acquired English and consumed English media, there was little demand to sustain Finnish or other immigrant language papers as *Vapaus*. Though its communist sympathies led to publication moving underground in 1940, after its publisher, the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada, was deemed illegal, it ultimately merged with other Finnish-language press in 1974 and ceased to play the significant organizing function it did in the 1930s (SFU, n.d.). Though *The Worker* was published in English and distributed regionally, it did not have as strong a foothold in Northern Ontario and was also subject to state suppression and carried stigma from its association with the Communist Party of Canada and did not play the same role among Anglophone workers as *Vapaus* could with Finnish workers. It is likely that subsequent generations descended of Finnish immigrants exhibited similar trends as other immigrant children. Anishinaabemowin was not the only language whose broad appeal waned in the wake of mass English media. Charlie Pine observed, “even young Italians today don’t speak their language” (personal communication, July 6, 2016).

8.5.3 Visiting & interaction

Though the causes of the major social changes that were taking place in Garden River and throughout the region cannot be definitively pinpointed, they do follow profound changes in media, communications, the economy and the post-war political world. One of those major social changes that stood out to participants was the gradual decline of the practice of visiting in the late twentieth century. Though it may seem odd to offer a definition for “visiting,” a concept that many readers might find intuitive, its decline alerts one to the prospect that many others may still be thoroughly unfamiliar with the practice. Visiting in Garden River, Batchewana, Sault Ste. Marie and likely countless other places, was an intergenerational activity of periodically dropping by the homes of friends, family and neighbours to catch up, reminisce, ask questions

and otherwise simply to talk. Nearly every participant shared stories of visiting, being visited, or observing when their parents or other adults would visit one another. Dean Sayers recalled:

So we went to see when we were kids we would go and see different people that were their age and everybody that would come to the house would speak Ojibwe, they'd speak to them all the time in Ojibwe and they'd joke around in Ojibwe, and they'd go visit people and my dad would go visit and I'd go with him, and he'd be speaking Ojibwe, with like the fishermen, like Angus Kakapshe, and Peter Robinson, and all my dad's brothers, they all spoke Anishinaabemowin. [...] And people would always come to my house. My dad's, my parents house, when we were kids, asking about who's who in the village. Like, how am I related to these people, how am I related to these people, who's my family, who's my grandma, and always asking my mom. More about my mom, she remembered everything about the communities.
(personal communication, November 5, 2018)

He added later that Batchawana village "was a small community, maybe 100 people. And everybody knew everybody, and everybody visited everybody" (personal communication, November 5, 2018). For Brenda Powley, it was her grandmother's house that was the centre of her family's social world:

[...] at my grandmother's house there was like, everybody there at any time, you could find like, you know, anywhere from 5-15 people, because grandma's place was always the place you hung out, eh? So, it was good times, she was always- you know, you enjoyed going to visit, or staying there. (personal communication, July 21, 2016)

Similarly, Elizabeth Jones recalled from Garden River and Rankin in the 1950s, "you basically went with your grandma or your parents visiting, you were always going with them for visits. You really didn't go alone because they brought you all over wherever they went" (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Visiting was (and for many remains) both an informal socialization practice as well as a means for intergenerational language transmission, as Jones explained, "that's the good thing, you learn lots from the old folks when you visit or whatever. If you were a kid, if you were 10 years old and whatnot, if they took you out visiting you would have learned a lot of stuff" (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Likewise Fred Pine spoke of the importance of visiting and interacting with elders, among other community members, and how it shaped his awareness of language use in Garden River: "everybody here when I was a kid

went to Garden River and all the Elders spoke to me in our language, you know? Even some of them that didn't look Native, they spoke it good, eh? Clear, eh?" (personal communication, October 3, 2016).

Visiting also typically involved a practice of mutual care: checking in on elders, ensuring that guests were comfortable and well fed, and ensuring that children were cared for. Jones described some of her memories visiting Elders, explaining:

Yeah, and [I went to] work for some of the old people down here, that one man was crippled, and go over and wash his tea towels and whatnot [...] and you were always well fed. Of course they made pies and bread and everything else, no matter how hot it was. They always had a lot of treats for whoever went there. It was custom, I guess, for them to do that way, tea, biscuits. (personal communication, July 6, 2016)

These norms contrast remarkably with the scarce frequency and limited hospitality of visits today, as she expressed:

Yeah. Yeah. Sometimes you go someplace they don't even give you a water or anything [...] ((laughter)) But I go to [name omitted] some times over there, sometimes I'm there for two hours, I'm like "Oh geez, didn't even say 'do you want a drink of water' or-" I said "Oh well, I guess you gotta bring my own." ((laughter)) You know. Like the changes are major, major. But I don't think people take time to think about those changes. I don't think. And if you don't take time to think about them, you don't realize [...] But that don't happen too much any more. It's sad. It's real sad. (personal communication, July 6, 2016)

Though the practice of visiting is not unique to Indigenous communities, the beginning of its decline does parallel many other social upheavals that profoundly changed them and led to greater alignment between Indigenous and settler communities, sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse. Canadian settler society was undergoing significant social upheaval in the late 50s and 60s, and "issues of racism, discrimination and social inequality were at the forefront of many Canadians' minds," writes Deborah Shadd of the era (2018). This provoked many important legislative changes that ended at least certain kinds of discrimination and disadvantages that the Canadian government had imposed on Anishinaabe peoples. In 1960, Status Indians received the right to vote in federal elections, a right that was previously only reserved for those who had been enfranchised and lost their treaty rights (or rather had them

removed) (Leslie, 2002). The following year, the process of enfranchisement was eliminated altogether through revisions to the Indian Act (Leslie, 2002). But these changes were also influenced by changing courses in the liberal order in Canada, which adapted to the threats of civic humanist and socialist ideals that had gained ground throughout the early twentieth century (McKay, 2000). Describing a process whereby the hegemony of liberalism was preserved through the adaptation of the state to these emergent pressures, McKay explains,

The thesis of 'passive revolution' maintains that, confronted with a serious quasi-revolutionary challenge to its hegemony, the liberal state executed far-ranging changes in its social and political project to 'include' some of those previously excluded, with the *quid pro quo* that they divest themselves of the most radical aspects of their oppositional programs. (2000, p. 643)

The alignment of pressures to end discrimination, segregation and oppression of various forms aligned with the liberal value of equality, however when considered through the lens of liberalism's primacy of the individual and its unrelenting embrace of modernist notions of progress in the mid-twentieth century, new forms of inclusion had their limits. Though the advances of these principles created broad public pressure to eliminate discrimination against Indigenous peoples, they also threatened the unique status that Indigenous group membership afforded, and in some occasions overlooked the value of community and national sovereignty.

8.5.4 The Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission 1963-65

As Shadd highlights, two major federal policy investigations challenged the image of Canada as an Anglo-Saxon nation in the 1960s, namely the bilingualism and biculturalism commission, and the *Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada* which was commissioned the following year in 1964 (Shadd 2018). Both projects received input from Garden River and Batchewana. Though the product of the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission largely side-stepped the issues presented by Indigenous peoples, various elements of the research and reports produced by it highlight how discourses of equality and inclusion undermined Indigenous interests and cultural and political integrity. A summary report of the Indian and Eskimo Association in 1964 that was attended by one of the commissioners and staff noted:

If one brings up the question of B and B while chatting with Indian chiefs their reaction generally seems to be indifferent or negative. But then one learns that a good part of the reserve-Indians, over 200,000, have yet to learn [...] that they are not only members of a band but citizens of a nation, that equality means more than a treaty signed a long time ago, that they too are living in the twentieth century and not in the 19th, or 18th. They are yet to learn that useful employment is the first step to dignity and self-sufficiency. (Varjassy, 1964b, as cited in Haque, 2012, p. 118)

Though the report of the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission “frequently emphasized the importance of language and culture to the formation and preservation of identity” the commissioners generally opted to avoid dealing with the issue of Indigenous languages and cultures (Shadd, 2018, p. 189). A number of rationales were advanced, including that Indigenous languages were too variable and diverse to function as ‘national’ languages, and also that Indigenous languages were too primitive, mere relics of a by-gone time and not warranting of consideration to be protected on a national scale (Haque, 2012; Haque & Patrick, 2015). As Haque explains, “The commission felt that ‘Indians and Eskimos’ were rooted in a pre-modern and pre-literate past which was incompatible with modern Canadian life and community. In addition, linguistic fragmentation was perceived to undermine any group claims” (2012, p. 127). Principally, however, the primary limitation was the terms of reference for the Commission that had been set by the federal government, which limited the scope of sympathetic participants.

Adhering to the structures of the modern state were also a taken-for-granted preoccupation of some commissioners and their staff, as was evident with the question of how Indigenous languages could be taught. Varjassy’s background report on ‘the Canadian Eskimo’ illustrates this limitation:

[...] It has been federal policy that education in the Eskimo language is not feasible as there are very few qualified teachers who can speak Eskimo. In any event, it is a language that would not help in providing for employment or leading, ultimately, to higher education since it has virtually no written literature and is not readily adaptable to modern concepts or activities. (Varjassy, 1964a as cited in Haque, 2012, p. 126)

Inuktitut’s viability as a language of instruction defined first by its speakers’ professional credentials, and the notion of training additional teachers doesn’t muster much consideration

as its utility for employment — defined by the presumption of the urban southern settler economy as the model and inevitable shape of all others — is questionable, at least partially due to different concepts of literacy.

Despite Varjassy's comments, however, the Commissioners acknowledged the importance of Indigenous culture and language to Indigenous peoples, at least 'where numbers warrant.' In the general introduction, they wrote:

...the Commission considers it a duty to remind the proper authorities that everything possible must be done to help the native populations preserve their cultural heritage, which is an essential part of the patrimony of all Canadians. The Commission also feels that the Canadian government, in close co-operation with the provinces concerned, should take the necessary steps to assist the survival of the Eskimo language and the most common Indian dialects. (Dunton & Laurendeau, 1967, p. xxvii)

Ultimately, however, the federal government ignored this advice.

The bilingualism and biculturalism commission did usher in a significantly distinct approach to language policy in Canada, promoting multiculturalism within a bilingual framework as the defining approach to Canada's national and linguistic identity. In constructing this policy, "anxieties about race and ethnicity would come to be articulated as issues of language and culture" (Haque & Patrick, 2015, p. 31). However it side-stepped the submissions and objections of Indigenous peoples in a sense by pointing to the limitations of the Commission's terms of reference, instead highlighting the importance of Indigenous language and culture for Indigenous peoples and "the patrimony of all Canadians," but without the attention of the federal government such recommendations had little weight. Haque concluded that "the commission's goal was to develop a new, unisonant formulation for nation-building; one that could preserve white-settler hegemony at the same time as it disavowed its racialized exclusions" (2012, p. 239). The new policy regime allowed language to stand-in for race as the grounds of exclusion from the Canadian national project by using the "purported openness of language to the integration of other ethnic groups" (2012, p. 239). Though linguistic duality and ostensible multiculturalism continue to define Canadian policy today, such policy would not have been possible without the cultivation of Anglo-Saxon and Anglophone hegemony throughout Ontario through the marginalization of Indigenous peoples, the suppression of Indigenous languages, and the imposition of boundaries between 'Indians,' their Métis relatives,

and those settlers — primarily French — who had collaborated and cohabitated with Anishinaabeg through the 150 year history of the *Pays d'en Haut*.

8.5.5 The Hawthorn Report (1966-7), the White Paper (1969), and Citizen Plus (1969)

Though the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission avoided grappling with Canada's marginalization and oppression of Indigenous peoples, Harry Hawthorn and a team of researchers were tasked with undertaking a study on the socio-economic conditions faced by Status Indians beginning in 1964. The Report describes its purpose in equally general terms, being a study "of the contemporary situation of the Indians of Canada with a view to understanding the difficulties they faced in overcoming some pressing problems and their many ramifications" (Cairns, Jamieson & Lysyk, 1966, p. 5). The mandate of the report was sprawling, addressing a wide range of matters from economic development to governance, and where it had most relevance for language, matters of education.

The report's first volume, published in 1966, captured the monumental shifts that participants described from the 1950s onward:

To many Indians the maintenance of a separate culture is important; to others it does not matter, and many of the young in particular would prefer to see the past transferred to the pages of histories and ethnographies rather than have it continue into the present. (Cairns et al., 1966, p. 10)

Addressing the issue of language specifically, the authors lamented:

[...] the use of English or French in most homes and for most of the day has effects on the Indian languages, as does the need to add words for the new items that are constantly purchased; all these new ventures change the Indian's view of himself and of his world. Where separate Indian cultural forces continue to operate, they can only do so while accepting and adjusting to these influences. (Cairns et al., 1966, p. 10)

In contrast to much of the discourse surrounding the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission, however, Hawthorn recommended that the protection and preservation of Indigenous languages and cultures should be considered a right that governments should work to affirm:

But those who cherish the language, the religion, the special relationships of kin and association, the exchanges of goods, support and obligation, that mark some Indian communities today should have their right to these affirmed by any program of government rather than diminished. (Cairns et al., 1966, p. 10)

Crucially, the first recommendation from the first volume explicitly argued that the Indian Affairs Branch should cease pursuing the objectives of assimilation and integration and instead focus “on a series of specific middle range objectives, such as increasing the educational attainments of the Indian people, increasing their real income, and adding to their life expectancy” (Cairns et al., 1966, p. 13). Though groundbreaking for a report of its nature to critique the assimilationist agenda of the Canadian state, it nonetheless retained affection for modern metrics of progress, most evident in its recommendation for the creation of an “Indian Progress Agency” which would prepare reports on the advances on those “middle range” objectives (Cairns et al., 1966, p. 13).

Garden River and Batchewana were also at least somewhat included in the data collection for the report. Contributing to the investigation of educational matters, Mrs. P. Koezur visited a number of the communities around Lake Superior and Lake Huron, including Garden River and the Rankin location of Batchewana (Cairns et al., 1966, p. 3). The second volume of the report, released in 1967, a hundred years after Confederation, focused most on education, and thus had the most to say about language. Though it advocated the continued integration into provincial schools, it called for teachers to be encouraged to learn about the Indigenous “background and culture” of their students (Tremblay, Vallee & Ryan, 1967). It also proposed a series of recommendations on “Special Educational Services” that spoke directly to language, including the need for remedial English and French courses, advising Faculties of Education to include comparative grammar in teacher training, greater investment in English as a Second Language courses and curriculum, the development of backgrounders on Indigenous languages for teachers to better understand (but not teach) their students’ first language, the further development of community-based kindergartens and nursery schools, and the formation of community education committees (Tremblay et al., 1967). It also recommended the removal of texts that contained “material about Indians which is inaccurate, over-generalized and even insulting” from all curricula (Tremblay et al., 1967, p. 13).

Perhaps most remarkable and in contrast to the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission, the Hawthorn report recognized and affirmed the unique inherent, treaty and constitutional rights that did apply to other Canadians. In its first volume, it recommended “Indians should be regarded as ‘citizens plus’; in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain additional rights as charter members of the Canadian community” which was a stark contrast from the Bi & Bi Commissions commitment to “two founding races” (Cairns et al., 1966, p. 13; Shadd, 2018).

Had the report’s recommendations been implemented, it would have marked the first major departure of Canadian Indian Policy from a fixation on assimilation. Unfortunately, the federal government did not accept these recommendations, and instead issued its internally developed white paper on Indian Policy, the *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969* which proposed an entirely assimilative approach to the relationship between Canada and Indigenous peoples (Shadd, 2018). However, this too was expressed in the universalizing discourses of liberalism and equality (Turner, 2006). The closing of the paper’s preamble states: “To be an Indian must be to be free — free to develop Indian cultures in an environment of legal, social and economic equality with other Canadians” (Government of Canada, 1969, p. 2). Though it recommended that “there be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian life,” Canada remained the central subject of which “Indian culture” (notably singular) remained a constituent (Government of Canada, 1969, p. 7). It also argues for Indigenous peoples to access services through all the same means as other Canadians, assume other “lawful obligations” and that reserves no longer be common property held in trust by the Crown, but rather “transferred to the Indian people,” but by way of individual privatization (Government of Canada, 1969). In critiquing the policy statement, Dale Turner coined the term “White Paper Liberalism” to refer to a point in liberal philosophy hegemonic within the state that saw the eradication of Indigenous rights as part of a project of equality and justice (2006). Describing its features, he notes that:

White paper liberalism fails to

1. Address the legacy of colonialism;
2. Consider that indigenous rights are a *Sui generis* form of group rights and not merely a class of minority rights;
3. Question the legitimacy of the initial formation of the Canadian state; and

4. Acknowledge that any workable 'theory' of Aboriginal rights in Canada must include the participation of Aboriginal peoples. (2006, p. 15)

The evolution and institutionalization of liberalism in Canada rested on the displacement of Indigenous peoples and the usurpation of their authority to self-govern and self-represent. As this collided with the emerging civil rights discourses of the 1950s and 60s, discourses of equality premised on "truly equal treatment" and the primacy of the individual in conceptualizations of justice justified the eradication of Indigenous group rights (Turner, 2006, p. 22-3).

Discussing the implications of the White Paper for political economy, Turner continues: The White Paper's commitment to moral individualism was also woven into the idea that free market capitalism is the ideal economic system to frame our political understanding of justice: Indians ought to become like other citizens, which means they ought to enjoy the same rights, benefits, and economic opportunities as every other citizen in the state. (2006, p. 29)

The measures proposed within the White Paper would thus erode the few remaining roadblocks to the forced inculcation into the expansion of capitalism and absorption of traditional Indigenous economies.

The measures proposed by Hawthorn that would increase teachers' cultural competency and students' abilities to transition to English-medium education were also completely ignored by the White Paper, and no alternative approach was suggested. Instead, students would continue to be thrown into submersive English classrooms, integrated with their white peers in provincial schools. As Shadd notes, "The barriers of languages, culture, communication, and experience identified by the Hawthorn Report as impediments to understanding, to learning, and consequently to any real development or progress, remained completely unaddressed and entirely ignored" (Shadd, 2018, p. 205).

The White Paper for its part was vehemently opposed within Indigenous communities (Shadd, 2018). The Indian Chiefs of Alberta offered a counter-policy in what would become known as 'the Red Paper,' its official title having been taken from the recommendations of the Hawthorn Report that 'Indians' be recognized as "Citizens Plus" (Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970). The response was later amplified by ICA leader, Harold Cardinal's publication of *the Unjust Society*, calling out cultural genocide and the federal government's previous failure to fulfil its

obligations in the fiduciary relationship (Haque & Patrick, 2015; Patrick, 2018; Turner, 2006). The Red Paper asserted the primacy of Treaty rights, the ongoing recognition of Indian status, and new approaches to development and education (1970). Among them was the creation of an education centre that would teach the eight largest Indigenous languages of Alberta, and profoundly reshape the place of Indigenous languages in public education (1970). The path forward was not only about accommodating the transition to English, but about revitalizing Indigenous language speech communities. In response to the call for the recognition of the benefits of Indian culture to Canadian life, the Chiefs wrote:

We say that these are nice sounding words, which are intended to mislead everybody. The only way to maintain our culture is for us to remain as Indians. To preserve our culture it is necessary to preserve our status, rights, lands and traditions. Our treaties are the bases of our rights. (1970, p. 194).

The value assigned to cultural contributions in the Canadian liberal order framework, thus, was recognized as offering little more than a friendlier faced assimilation.

8.6 Regional language ecology at the end of the Canadian Anglo-Celtic hegemony: Language shift, English dominance, and smaller persistent Indigenous-language speech communities

The 1961 Census was the first to record data on language use since the early twentieth century. Though the returns for the Algoma District could not be broken down to examine the unique situations of each community, numbers for Sault Ste. Marie illustrate the continued and increasing dominance of English in the area's largest city.

Of the soon-to-be two official languages, nearly 90% of the city's population only spoke English, while another 7.4% were bilingual. Three per cent spoke neither official language, and only 290 residents spoke French, but no English.

The 1971 census data, however, could be broken down by census tract. Within the Sault Ste. Marie Census Area, Tract 100 included Garden River First Nation and the Rankin location of Batchewana First Nation, and parts of Sault Ste. Marie's East End. Though the caveat remains that First Nations were not often enumerated thoroughly, mother tongue data illustrates the prevalence of the decline.

The number of mother-tongue French speakers declined substantially to less than 5% of the population (though these numbers do not account for knowledge of the languages reported, only if they were considered the mother tongue). Among the total population of 935, 760 identified as being of “Native Indian” origin, signalling the significant percentage of the area’s population that was coming from the two reserves. The urbanization of the Indigenous population was also apparent, with 170 residents in CT6, and 110 in CT7 reporting to be of “Native Indian” origin, a number of whom spoke their Indigenous language as a mother tongue, with 25 people in each of the two central census tracts reporting “Indian” as a mother tongue.⁵⁸ By 1986, only 75 people would report an Indigenous language as their mother tongue in the entire Sault Ste. Marie CA, compared to 295 in 1971.

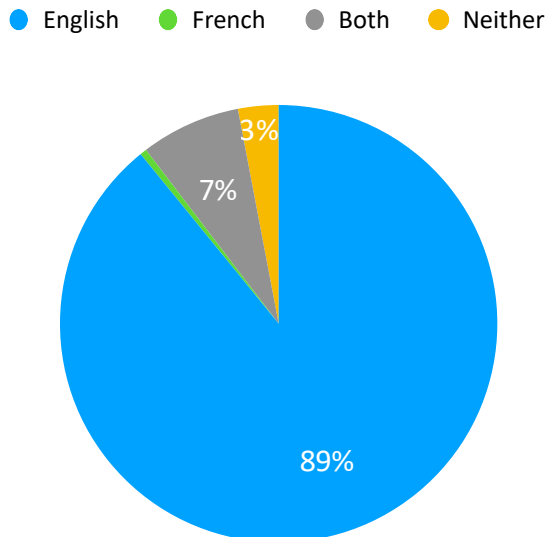


Figure 39: Official language spoken in the Sault Ste. Marie CA (1961) (Canada, 1961)

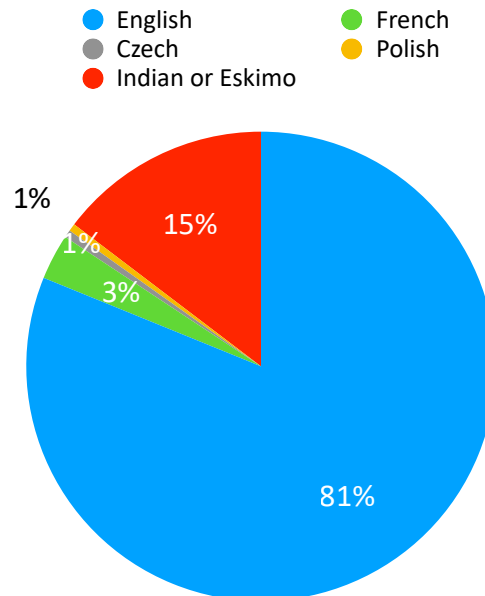


Figure 40: Mother tongue of CT100 in Sault Ste. Marie CA (1971) (Canada, 1971)

By the 1960s, English had become the first language of successive generations of Anishinaabeg and Métis people. Chief Dean Sayers recalled, “people that would have been my dad and mother’s age [...] if there were a lot of them alive [today], they would all be speaking

⁵⁸ It should be noted that the figure of 25 is likely imprecise, as it is sufficiently low to be rounded as a result of Statistics Canada’s practices for sustaining the anonymity of responses.

language the same as them. [...] it was the next generation as well that lost it" (personal communication, November 5, 2018). Describing his parents' use of the language, he continued, "So language was never spoken with us, but always spoken with everybody else, and they would not speak Ojibwe unless they didn't want us to hear something as kids, then they would speak it, they would speak amongst themselves" (personal communication, November 5, 2018). This shift would be evident to still younger generations, as those who grew up in the 40s or earlier clearly still spoke Anishinaabemowin, but generally wouldn't speak it with younger generations. Sam Boyer recalled:

[...] there were a few older people who spoke the language but never really in front of us. So, we would hear them from a distance but if the kids went near them they would stop and speak in English right away. I remember my great grandma when I would sleep over, she would speak, like a language- I didn't know what she was saying on the phone, so no one ever talked about it, right? I didn't even know that Ojibwe existed, but that is what she was speaking and then when she knew we were listening, she would start speaking English right away. She never encouraged us to speak anything else other than English. Same with my papa, he would speak Ojibwe to older people his age when they got together, but he never spoke it to us. (personal communication, June 8, 2016)

But the farther the community was from Sault Ste. Marie, the greater the concentration of speakers existed. By the early 2000s, Garden River had only two remaining speakers born in the immediate area while Batchewana First Nation had 25, mostly from Obadjiwan, the location furthest from the city (D. Sayers, personal communication, November 5, 2018).⁵⁹ The community in Batchewana Village, at Obadjiwan, may have benefitted from similar conditions that existed in Manitoulin which supported the more prolonged maintenance of Anishinaabemowin speech communities, including greater distance from larger non-Indigenous settlements where the dominant settler language was most prevalent and economic conditions that allowed for speakers to rely more on interaction with one another than with outsiders.

⁵⁹ Garden River does have many additional speakers of Anishinaabemowin, but they primarily come from Manitoulin Island.

As the city population grew and its footprint expanded, a second “Frenchtown” emerged in its east end, between the Rankin location of Batchewana First Nation and Garden River, along Frontenac Street, which followed the Grand Trunk railroad and highway that cut through Garden River and connected Sault Ste Marie to Sudbury. Liz Jones recalled from her childhood in the 1940s,

Liz: Well like, I had a lot of [friends that were] non-natives that are French

Sean: Ok, yeah.

Liz: And I hang around with French people on Frontenac street-

Sean: -Oh ok-

Liz: Those are my friends. But we didn’t talk French, like my friends and I on Frontenac street, but my grandma and my mom spoke with those their age and whatnot, and- but us as young folk, we didn’t speak, you know, French, but today if I hear somebody talking I can hear what they’re saying from that era. But Frontenac street is known as Frenchtown.

Sean: Really?

Liz: Mmhmm.

Sean: Was that mostly non-native folks?

Liz: All non-native, yeah. Yeah.

Sean: Really?

Liz: Mmhmm

Sean: When was that?

Liz: Well we moved to Rankin in about, it must have been, oh about 8 years old maybe, so you know you’re looking at- and I got to be friends with kids up there, whatnot through school.

Sean: And was that East of Rankin on Frontenac or west of Rankin on Frontenac?

Liz: On Frontenac street from the trailer park-

Sean: Uhuh.

Liz: -down. There's no houses down to the river, but that's where, that's where you'd be heading. (E. Jones, personal communication, July 6, 2016)

The emergent east-end Francophone community would eventually receive its own parish, l'Église Ste-Croix, on Trunk Road, serving not only the east-end Frenchtown, but all francophones scattered throughout the city's east end.

Though there remain several thousand mother-tongue speakers of French in Sault Ste. Marie today, the proportion of speakers has steadily declined along with its audibility within the sociolinguistic plane of the community. Senator Brenda Powley, whose family was Métis, French, and Ukrainian, grew up in contemporary Sault Ste. Marie in the late 1940s and 1950s on what was then the Goulais Side Road in Korah Township after having relocated from Algoma Mills. Considering the prevalence of French in the community from her recollection, she explained "well my aunt was married to a Frenchman and he would speak French sometimes and I know my cousin had- he spoke French and when he went to Blind River high school he took all the French and that. But just to speak it you know, around everybody, it wasn't a regular language that was used" (personal communication, July 21, 2016). Though her maternal grandfather had moved to Sault Ste. Marie from Québec and spoke French, he chose not to pass this on to his daughters or use it in the surrounding community. "he never spoke any of the French," explained Powley, "they never learned it at home, I don't know why but it was something when he left there, he didn't want to speak the French and you know, it was always English at home" (personal communication, July 21, 2016). Steve Gjos reported a similar experience with his French-Canadian maternal grandparents that he recalled from the mid-60s:

Well [my grandfather] was bilingual, he was French, he was fluent, but he didn't talk a lot. I don't know if he was embarrassed by it or he thought it was disrespectful to be speaking it. He talked to his sisters in French but I just don't know. I know my mom was fluent at one point and then they stopped and I don't know really why. (personal communication, February 23, 2018)

The shift to English in Powley and Gjos' homes also accompanied a larger process of assimilation at Sault Ste. Marie that was not only linguistic, but also specifically targeted Indigenous peoples. The stigma against Métis people that many settlers and their government internalized to greater extents in the latter half of the nineteenth century continued to exert

considerable pressure on Métis to conform to white settler society and eschew any Indigenous lineage or connections to Anishinaabe peoples in the new century. As Powley recalls the place of French in her early family life, she drew connections with how their Indigenous lineage was concealed:

Brenda: It's hard because most of our family- and I knew there were different parts of our family that knew the French and could speak it, they just never did. Most of them have passed now so, at the time when everything was changing you know, they were, they didn't want to talk about it or- now that most of them are gone it's hard to, you know, to understand why they didn't or the reasons they had.

Sean: Yeah.

Brenda: Some of the family still don't want to talk and don't admit to anything either. So, like I said, there's big changes but there's still some of them [who] say "I don't want to be an Indian" you know. (personal communication, July 21, 2016)

Much of the pressure to conform was also economic. Reflecting on what she has learned from her involvement with the MNO and others who have reconnected with their Métis identity, Powley spoke of how the previously hidden linguistic diversity within the Métis population at Sault Ste. Marie was becoming more apparent, but also how employment relied on English communication:

You know, because it was hidden so much, and you see some of the families that will talk about it now, where it was never mentioned at all, you know? And if you wanted jobs you spoke the English and nothing else, eh? (personal communication, July 21, 2016)

The effects of the country's restrictive immigration policies were also apparent from the later census data, ensuring the city remained almost entirely white in its racial makeup. In 1961, though the metropolitan area⁶⁰ surrounding the city had grown to over 58,000 people, only five Black residents were enumerated under the ethnic origin category of "Negro," representing a *decline* from the census of 1901, despite the city's astronomical population

⁶⁰ In 1964, the city would be amalgamated with the surrounding townships of Korah and Tarentorus.

increase (Canada, 1961). Only 134 people of Asian descent⁶¹ were enumerated the same year, or 0.002% of the census area's population (Canada, 1961). By 1971 these numbers generally increased, though not substantially as a share of the city's overall population, which had reached over 80,000 (Canada, 1971). At Sault Ste. Marie, Canada's restrictive immigration policies preceding the era of multiculturalism had served their function to sustain the colony's white character.

8.6.1 Growing stigma

The growing role of English in the work lives of Anishinaabeg and Métis people, combined with the prohibitions against speaking Indigenous languages at school (residential or otherwise) fostered a climate where parents felt it necessary to foster their children's English skills to avoid discrimination and hardship. "Parents would speak English because they thought they were helping," explained Charlie Pine (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Reflecting on how her grandparents ceased to speak Ojibwe and French around their grandchildren, Judy Syrette observed

I think a lot of it had to do with the fact that a lot of people didn't speak the language in our community because a lot of kids had been sent to residential school. So there was always that, I guess, [sense that] "if you don't speak it, you don't have to worry about the kids." (personal communication, August 19, 2015)

The community in Garden River was largely "Christianized and the language wasn't acceptable," she continued, "so you gradually quit speaking the language, so there aren't that many language speakers in Garden River any more" (personal communication, August 19, 2015).

Many parents made an active choice to emphasize speaking English with their children. Chief Sayers recalled an interaction between his parents in the 1960s:

I remember one time we were riding somewhere and my mom would get mad at him, 'Why do you gotta talk Ojibwe all the time! You gotta talk English!' Because it wasn't acceptable, they wanted to protect us from some of the common misconceptions at the time and what was being promoted by Canada. Like, teach your kids English, and

⁶¹ The categories recorded in the 1961 census included Chinese (76 of 134), East Indian (4), Japanese (4), Syrian-Lebanese (48), and Other Asiatic (2).

that was what they did. They didn't want us to suffer like they suffered because of the language and culture and knowing things. Distance themselves from being Anishinaabe. (personal communication, November 5, 2018)

Following the turn at the mid-century, Anishinaabemowin acquired a stigma even among younger generations of Anishinaabeg. Charlie Pine recalled "people used to laugh at me for speaking Ojibwe" (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Fred Pine similarly observed that while the parents and grandparents of his generation nearly all spoke Anishinaabemowin, a shift occurred with most Garden River youth in the late 40s and early 50s demonstrating a growing shame around the use of the language and other characteristics that marked Anishinaabe identity:

[...] everybody here when I was a kid, went to Garden River and all the Elders spoke to me in our language, you know? Even some of them that didn't look Native, they spoke it good, eh? Clear. But their kids, I don't know why they didn't speak it because their parents all spoke the language. I guess they were shy to be an Indian, you know? Like their colour, they didn't like the colour of being brown. They wanted white, eh? Like the white people. See that's what changed, oh, let's say about the '50s. '45, '47, '50s, eh? That's when everyone wanted to be English, they didn't want to be an Anishinaabe. (personal communication, October 3, 2016)

The generational attitude shift toward Anishinaabemowin is reflective of a common process that motivated language shift in Indigenous communities throughout North America. Rhodes explains, citing Barbara Burnaby:

Barbara Burnaby (p.c.) reports that in northern communities the shift to English can be quite sudden. These communities start with an increasing proportion of the population learning English in school — white teachers are sent onto the reserves — and by the ubiquity of television and radio. In time the communities reach a stable state of widespread bilingualism that can last for years. But at some point a cohort of teenagers decides to express its rebellion by refusing to speak the Indian language. The result is that their younger siblings no longer have full access to the Indian language and the language of the reserve shifts to speaking English in many social contexts, including in the home, and within a matter of only a few years the maturing of the half-generation of non-Indian speaking younger siblings forces English in almost all contexts (2020, p. 567).

The parallels with language shift in the upper Great Lakes are evident from what census data and the personal experiences of Fred and Charlie Pine illustrate.

By the mid-twentieth century, the stigma regarding Anishinaabe language began to parallel the stigma increasingly associated with Anishinaabe spirituality and other cultural practices, which had long been promoted by Christian Churches, schools, and Canadian state institutions. Charlie Pine recalled, “we used to pray in secret. We’d get together, put tobacco in the wood stove [...] All of those activities were prohibited” (personal communication, July 6, 2016). He explained further how this stigma transferred to language, noting “that attitude would seep into the young people. They would make fun of us. We would have ceremonies down by the point, where the powwow grounds are, and they’d say it was a ‘bearwalkers convention’” (personal communication, July 6, 2016). The stigma promoted by the Church and popular culture reflected the prophecy of the Sixth Fire, where “grandsons and granddaughters will turn against the elders” (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 90). Judy Syrette also remarked on how ceremonies went ‘underground’ in the twentieth century, explaining

[...]the traditions and traditional ceremonies, what have you, those all went underground where if they were being practiced it wasn’t anywhere I knew about. But my grandmother did and she would put tobacco down when we were picking berries. I didn’t understand why then, but now I do. (personal communication, August 19, 2015)

Similarly, Sam Boyer reports finding out later in her life about the significant role her grandmother played in the Goulais Bay community, explaining:

[...] my grandmother was [...] a traditional midwife. She delivered all the babies. She never told me that, nobody ever told me that. It came up while I was doing research and talking to older people in my community and they brought that up. And I was like “what?!” I forget what my point was or what I even started saying but those things that aren’t talked about; our language, our clans, none of that but it must have been there? Like, growing up, that never existed. It was just the white way of living, right? (personal communication, June 8, 2016)

8.6.2 Dialect, contact and shift in Garden River and Batchewana

Dialectal variation continued to be a salient distinction between speakers who grew up in Batchewana and Garden River compared to those from other locations. Rand Valentine's work on Anishinaabemowin variation demonstrates that the variety of the language spoken in Batchewana patterns more closely to Saulteaux and Northern Ojibwe than it does with varieties that are spoken in nearer communities, particularly that of Odaawaa and Eastern Ojibwe (Valentine, 1994). This was confirmed by Batchewana First Nation Chief, Dean Sayers, as he noted "It seems to be, like, people that came from the North, like Michipicoten and Pic Mobert, even out towards Lake of the Woods, [speak a] really similar language" adding, "even out west, out in Manitoba, very similar" and "Even in to Minnesota and Wisconsin, a similar language as to us, around Lake Superior Ojibwe" (personal communication, November 5, 2018). Greater mobility and urbanization in the latter half of the twentieth century would bring many Anishinaabeg to Sault Ste. Marie who spoke differently from the local population. Chief Sayers explained:

[...] at the time there was a lot of speakers in the Sault that spoke this language. But there wasn't very many because it was, no school, no immersion, it wasn't everybody. And that's when people started to come into the Sault that were different dialects And it was troublesome for the elders, the people that had our language because it wasn't our language. And it wasn't even about dialect, it was like a different language to them. (personal communication, November 5, 2018)

The distinctiveness and prevalence of Odaawaa, in particular, was a frequent theme among many of those interviewed. There may be many reasons for this, including that Odaawaa or Eastern Ojibwe were historically common languages of communication through the fur trade (Rhodes 2020), as well as more contemporary influences, including the high number of speakers who relocated to Garden River and Batchewana or to Sault Ste. Marie for marriage or work.

Fred Pine alluded to this being at times a point of contention, explaining

[...] ten years ago, like some people, they kind of didn't like other women from other reserves coming in here, you know? They didn't like that, other Natives, eh? You know, I guess it's the same as any place else — I don't know if like the women went down there [someplace else] and married men, I don't know if they would be treated

the same way, I can't tell you that. I know here, some of them don't even know the difference. They're from Manitoulin Island, their mothers, or Cutler or someplace, but yet they'll discriminate [against] the people over there, you see? Lots of this reserve was like that. (personal communication, October 3, 2016).

Yet these tensions were reportedly not linguistic in nature. Still, Odaawaa remains the dominant variety on Manitoulin Island, and the region has among the highest concentration of Indigenous language speakers in the Great Lakes region. Odaawaa was also common to nearby communities in Lower Michigan. Contrasted with the rapidly declining population of Anishinaabemowin speakers in Batchewana and Garden River in the latter twentieth century, Odaawaa speakers who moved to the area simply began to outnumber those who spoke the local variety. Considering the prevalence of Odaawaa speaking Anishinaabemowin teachers in the region, Chief Dean Sayers said, "there's a lot more people on Manitoulin Island that speak, so it's probably easier to maintain the language there as opposed to here where there isn't as many people that speak" (personal communication, November 6, 2018).

Local speakers have also acquired Odaawaa as a consequence of their travels for their personal and work lives. Charlie Pine explained, "I've gotta be careful talking to people up here, because I would use Odaawaa words sometimes" (personal communication, July 6, 2016). He had worked for some time in the United States and picked up the variety from his Anishinaabe co-workers. When he relocated later to Sioux Narrows in Northwestern Ontario, he explained that sometimes "they couldn't understand me" because he would occasionally "slide in a word here or there" from Odaawaa (personal communication, July 6, 2016).

Other varieties were also remarkably distinct, particularly those spoken in Moose Deer Point or Cape Croker. Louise Pine recounted an anecdote of running into another speaker from Cape Croker when the visitor's car got stuck near Louise's home in Birch Island:

Louise: There's people that came home one time, I guess their car got stuck, they were turning around in front of the house there some place. They were turning around and the car wouldn't go so they came in the house -- it was about eight, nine o'clock in the morning -- so my dad says to come in. My mother told them to come in and they spoke Indian. They had, they said they were from Cape Croker, they were looking for somebody. Anyway, my dad says to my mother "you better cook them breakfast" you know? So she cooked breakfast and fed them you know? So, after a

while they were leaving, they were going to fix that car outside over there, that one man says, “Chi-maamiigwech gosham zhiyam [see 1:41:57]” ((laughter)) it was almost like singing, you know?

All: ((Laughter))

Louise: They were from Cape Croker. My mother said she didn’t want to laugh at them but they sounded so different, she says.

All: ((Laughter))

Louise: “Thank you for feeding us” you know?

Fred: One of them says chair, pabiwinaagan

Louise: Nmadibiwaagan

Fred: Nmadibiwaagan, yeah.

All: ((Laughter))

Louise: Nmadibiwaagan, He called that pabiwin like I say, we would say pabiwin, you know, and this would be doopowin and they called this wiisiniwaagan

Sean: Oh.

All: ((Laughter))

Louise: But the way they said that my mother said she almost started to laugh, because they were singin’ eh? They were just “Chi-maamiigwech gosham zhiyam”

All: ((Laughter)) (personal communication, October 3, 2016).

It’s important for the reader to note that the laughter in this excerpt was in no way malicious or pejorative. Rather it was a manifestation of Anishinaabe humour that plays both with linguistic differences and good-natured teasing. No one is inferred to be stupid or a bad speaker, it’s simply funny that “they sing when they talk.”

Despite the distinctions from other — particularly eastern — varieties being noticeable, this rarely hindered communication. Chief Sayers recalled his parents' ability to converse with Anishinaabeg from a multitude of different communities: “They could talk to Odaawaas too, they spoke fluent and they’d all joke and laugh. But when we were kids they used to travel with

a bunch of Ojibwe elders and Odaawaa elders, and they'd all get along great, there'd be lots of laughing going on, they were all enjoying each other's language" (personal communication, November 5, 2018). Later he added, "probably not so much to speak, because even when they'd speak with the Odaawaas, according to my parents, they wouldn't speak Odaawaa, they would speak Ojibwe, but they would be able to speak to each other because they were close, pretty close languages" (personal communication, November 5, 2018). Speakers such as Charlie, Fred and Louise Pine also expressed an ease in understanding or communicating with speakers of other dialects. Charlie expressed ease in understanding Algonquin and Oji-Cree (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Fred Pine also recalled how his mother, born in Manitoulin Island, could speak at least three varieties of Anishinaabemowin:

Fred: My mother, she spoke the language, Manitoulin Island, and she spoke in Garden River and Cutler. She spoke all them dialogues they call them...

Louise: Dialects.

Fred: She could speak them all. She'd be like, she'd be in Cutler, and the way in Garden and the way, she's from Manitoulin Island. She had them accents, eh? Three accents, eh? (personal communication, October 3, 2016).

Where Fred was born and raised in Garden River, Louise was born and raised in Birch Island, near Manitoulin, and speaks a variety closer to Odaawaa and Eastern Ojibwe. Their experiences are illustrative of the dynamics of navigating dialectal variation in Garden River, and demonstrate that while these differences are noticeable, they did not carry significant stigma amongst speakers and typically did not significantly impede communication:

Fred: See Garden, Garden River is a clear language, you know what I mean? It's like (umm) it's not broken up eh? It's clearer you know? When you say something, that's what it is eh? You can't go back and say no no you know what I mean? Like, Aanii is hello eh? You got, "Aandi ezhaayin?" where ya going? "Baawating nibaazhaa," going to the Sault, eh? That's clear eh, see? But then down there they would probably sound a little different, their language anyhow. Like when I say "Aaniin" that's hello but then sometimes they'll say over there they'll say "Aashinaa," eh? So, it's almost the same as that "Aaniin" eh? You get different things there eh?

Sean: Just a little different like, but people wouldn't hold that against anybody or anything?

Fred: Oh no nobody would hold that against anybody. It's just a little different, you know, like it's different eh, you know?

Louise: What would you call that, different slangs?

Deb: Dialects some people say.

Louise: Yeah.

Deb: When you first came here and you talked Indian like to...

Louise: Dina.

Deb: Aunt Dina or to Grandma Pine, was there a difference in the language? Did you notice it?

Louise: Aunt Dina spoke really slow. His mother was from Manitoulin Island so I could understand her good, you know? So, over here they had a different, different sounds here and there you know? ((laughter))

Sean: Right. Did it ever confuse you or was it just...

Louise: No, no I understood what they were talking about. Or, I was at Dina's place one time and she says "Oh" she says "nishke" she says, "naakwonesinibdenong" I said "what the heck is that?" I looked out the window to see what she was looking at, what was going by you know? There's boats going by, "naakwonesin" and we would say "jiimaan, jiimaanesin" you know or something you know?

((Laughter))

Louise: I didn't know what naakwones means you know? I didn't know what that meant. (personal communication, October 3, 2016)

Though communication was relatively easy, both Fred and Louise's observations also point to different associations with the linguistic differences between the two regions. Fred, for instance, hears greater clarity in the variety spoken in Garden River, while Louise recalls Fred's sister

(Dina) as speaking very slowly. Yet neither equated these distinctions with “good” or “bad” language, but rather only as differences.

Elizabeth Jones also remarked that most of the remaining speakers of Anishinaabemowin in Garden River come from Manitoulin Island. She observed:

Liz: ...And I think that a lot of the ones that do speak Ojibwe in Garden, they’re actually not from Garden but they come from another, you know, and that’s ok.

Sean: Yeah.

Liz: You know.

Sean: Yeah. At least it’s more people.

Liz: Yeah. Well nothing is static, it doesn’t stay still, like everything’s gotta move or they’re gonna throw earth on it pretty soon. (personal communication, July 6, 2016)

Though the speakers from Manitoulin bring with them a noticeably distinct variety of the language, they are still recognized for maintaining Anishinaabemowin within the community.

Despite the fluidity with which most Anishinaabemowin first-language speakers could navigate different dialects of the language, the distinctions would also occasionally stand out for or become barriers to learners. Some expressed wishing only to learn their own local variety (rather than the one spoken by an available language teacher) while others felt stigmatized for choosing to learn from speakers from other communities who speak Odaawaa or Western varieties. Sam Boyer, a learner for several years who graduated with a minor in Anishinaabemowin from Algoma University, explained,

You start to feel that shame that you’re not learning the right language, and then you stop learning. It made me want to stop learning. But then the people who have the ‘right’ dialect aren’t teaching it to anybody, so... and the people who are complaining about me not learning the proper dialect aren’t exactly making opportunities and spaces for the proper dialect speakers to come in and teach it to other people.
(personal communication, June 8, 2016)

She continued,

[...] and really, if you look at different dialects they're not really all that different. Even if you're not speaking the 'right' dialect, the person's going to pretty much understand what you're saying, or trying to say. (personal communication, June 8, 2016)

The distinction in the approach to dialect between those who speak Anishinaabemowin as a first language and those who attempt to reclaim it was also apparent to Sam, as she explained:

[...] a lot of the people like the language speakers, if you would try and speak to them, they would speak back; like actual language speakers in our community, they will speak back to you. It was the people who weren't totally fluent I guess or...our communities are so laterally violent towards people; even if people try they put them down immediately. There's no encouragement for it, so dialect became a big thing, "that's not how our people speak around here." Like, you're speaking down to Odaawaa or, people would say "that's not Odaawaa" they'd say, and it's like "oh crap" so, even as I was learning it, I was ashamed to speak what I was learning because it was wrong. It was always wrong. Good god it's always wrong. (personal communication, June 8, 2016)

Boyer also drew analogies between the conflicts over dialect that emerge in debates over language instruction — and between and among students and teachers — and colonial efforts to divide Anishinaabeg:

We know about when INAC [Indian and Northern Affairs Canada] [...] set up the reserves, they did that in a way that we were all fighting with each other. They did that. They made sure that those boundaries were in place so that we couldn't communicate with each other. Because if we all banded together, even today, if all of our communities could come together and agree on anything, Canada would be in trouble and Canada would be in *big* trouble, and Canada knows that. [...] Our people just don't know that because we're too wrapped up in the petty arguments that they orchestrated in our communities. And us educated people who go out and figure that out can't come back because now we're, 'Oh, well we're all educated, we're all better than them, we think we know best.' So, like you said, there's no winning. No matter what you do, there's no winning. (personal communication, June 8, 2016)

Though the distinctions between the varieties of local communities and others within the region are recognizable, and the critical endangerment of local varieties in the twenty-first century makes their maintenance a serious concern, for first-language speakers the distinctions continue to be relatively easily navigated. For those seeking to reclaim their language, however, navigating dialect differences is fraught with discouragement, fear, and confusion that pose serious risks for demotivating the next generation of speakers. Spolsky draws our attention also how the modernist paradigm underlying western models of education have aggravated the tensions of linguistic diversity, explaining:

Because teaching seems easier when there is a single approved “correct” answer to every question, and because of the commitment of schools to literacy which has come to assume a single correct writing system for each language, the consequent tendency towards standardization discourages any recognition of pluralism or plurilingualism in the school. (2009, 91)

Still others, however, have been able to move past the stigma and pursue their language learning journey irrespective of dialect, as Sam Boyer concludes:

People either get angry about it, like I got angry about it first and then I got ashamed of it and then I stopped caring. [...] I stopped caring about what other people try to say.[...] My biggest argument is “you know what? You can argue about dialect until you die. But, at least I am learning some language, you’re gonna die arguing about dialect in English. At least I might die arguing about dialect in the language. Like I at least have the chance. Like, I know it’s not our language but, at this point, any language in Anishinaabemowin is better than no language and English.” So, that’s my argument. (personal communication, June 8, 2016)

8.6.3 Nicknames & lexicalization of Anishinaabe words into English

Describing some of the pivotal differences between his childhood and young adulthood in Garden River, when Anishinaabemowin was more prevalent, and the decades that followed in the latter half of the twentieth century when the language came to be increasingly supplanted by English, Charlie Pine explained that everyone continued to have Anishinaabe names — not necessarily Anishinaabe noozowin, but at least names in Ojibwe (personal communication, July

6, 2016). In addition to traditional Anishinaabe and Christian naming practices that coexisted for much of the last two hundred years in the areas around Baawating, nicknames were commonplace at least throughout the twentieth century. Elizabeth Jones recalled, “everybody had nicknames” (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Indeed her own nickname, *lapiinhs*, was bestowed by her parents generation and demonstrates evidence of persistent contact between French and Anishinaabemowin speakers, combining the French *lapin* for ‘rabbit’ and the Anishinaabe diminutive suffix, *-iinhs*. Her daughter is widely known as *Bunny*, further illustrating the changing sociolinguistic dynamics at Garden River. Other examples of nicknames with French influence included Jones’ godmother, Lizzie Pine, who was known as Maatin, and the mother of Peter Jones, known as Totonne (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Gus Boyer’s nickname also illustrates how they could emerge from the translation of names across the three languages, with the French variant *Gaétan* becoming the Anishinaabe *Giizhtenh*.

Though the practice of nicknames persists to the present day, those derived from French and Ojibwe declined in number after the mid-century. Yet numerous traces of Anishinaabemowin remain evident in the English spoken by Anishinaabeg within the region, notably through the lexicalization of many Ojibwe words into English. Judy Syrette recalled that despite growing up in a largely English-speaking context, that:

I would hear the odd Ojibwe word at home like *waabooz* for rabbit, *skogonz* for slippers or *niibiish* for tea. My grandma used to say *Maayaahn ma* to me in the morning when it was time to get up. That is all I remember thinking back to growing up at home. My family always spoke English except when they wanted to say something we kids were not supposed to hear, then they would speak French.
(personal communication, May 30, 2021)

8.6.4 Multilingualism & translanguaging

Multilingualism more broadly persisted in both Garden River and Batchewana well into the twentieth century, primarily among the generation born in the first half of the century, though Anishinaabemowin and French came to be rarely spoken by those born in the latter half (with the exception of what they may have learned in school). Still, the memory of the earlier

multilingual language ecology remains with many who grew up primarily speaking English. Judy Syrette recalled:

I didn't grow up with the language, I knew my grandmother, I assumed I guess, but I don't know for sure, that she spoke the language. Her and her sisters would get together and they would chit chat and was always laughing and what have you but we didn't, because we were always sent outside to play, we weren't told exactly what language they were speaking but I would assume there was a lot of Ojibwe spoken between my grandmother and her sister. Between my grandparents I'm not really sure but I do know that my grandfather spoke French. So French, Ojibwe and English were taught, were spoken in the home, certainly well before I was there. But when I came to live with my grandparents, they were older then, they only spoke English and I didn't get to learn any French or any Ojibwe because they didn't speak it at that time.
(personal communication, August 19, 2015)

Elizabeth Jones who was a Batchewana band member who grew up in French Bay at Garden River in the 1940s was raised primarily speaking French and English, and spoke French primarily in her home and with her extended family growing up, though her grandparents, aunts, uncles and their social circle also spoke Ojibwe (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Sometimes this multilingualism was used strategically, as she explains, "like some people, if they didn't want us to know something they spoke Ojibwe" (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Other times, however, people engaged in active translanguaging, she continued, "French and Ojibwe, they'd mix that up, it's those two languages will never be the same, you know, as a result of the way they spoke, and all of it I understand it" (personal communication, July 6, 2016). Recalling her grandmother visiting with friends who shared her multilingualism, Jones remembered:

Liz: And she loved, she loved when she met- well especially the ones her age or older that she could speak, you know, speak the language, eh. And to twist it up or whatever, you know.

Sean: Yeah.

Liz: Distort, they had fun when they done that.

Sean: Yeah

Liz: They had fun. Like they laughed

Sean: like a game.

Liz: and they laughed, like it was, you know, it wasn't just like us sitting here visiting or whatnot, it meant something. Today, hmm, I don't know, I think there might be one or two younger, around my age that could have some fun...(personal communication, July 6, 2016).

Cathy Syrette, who was also a Batchewana Band Member who spent some of her childhood around French Bay in Garden River, also recalled the continued mixing of French and Ojibwe:

It seemed to be at a time, I can remember quilting bees happening in my grandmother's living room and I was a little girl and I would play underneath the quilt when all the women would sit around and they would do their quilts, and there was Ojibwe spoken, um, and I was starting to, as a little girl, catch on to the phrases, and my grandma would say little things to me, you know, in Ojibwe. And I was starting to catch on, but then there was, it was being like, kinda like slowly infiltrated by French and English- (personal communication, February 16, 2016)

She continued, "at that time the [Ojibwe] language was spoken but I can also remember some French, French in there too. My grandma [...] spoke Ojibwe and my dad's dad spoke Ojibwe, but there was also some French mixed in there as well" (personal communication, February 16, 2016). There were some geographic parameters to the multilingualism within the region, however, as Syrette explained:

Cathy: Yes, it was quite a mixture, I'd have to say. There were some people who were multilingual, they spoke Ojibwe, and like my grandfather actually for, my grandpa Syrette, he was fluent in the Ojibwe language but when they moved here, there seemed to be, of course Sault Ste. Marie was one of the largest Métis settlements, so there was French speaking Indians back in the day, so when you're living in a place and you're settling, and you're socializing, you get to meet some really good people, so my grandpa got to speak some French, and Ojibwe. My grandmother was mostly Ojibwe. But my grandpa actually picked up quite a bit of French, and he also spoke Ojibwe. So it, there was a mixture back in the day, you know, and the French seemed

to be around and I can remember like the, I'd say upper part of Garden River, they called French Bay, you know, was a mixture of French and Métis and Ojibwe, then seems to me, like the lower part of Garden River-

Sean: Like downstream?

Cathy: Down that way, maybe Echo River- Garden River [to] Echo River, um was mainly Anishinaabemowin strictly. (personal communication, February 16, 2016)

French was prevalent, however, throughout the communities of Batchewana First Nation in the early twentieth century, from Rankin up to Obadjiwan. Dean Sayers, who grew up in Batchewana Village in the contemporary Obadjiwan Location of Batchewana First Nation recalled how his grandparents spoke French in addition to Ojibwe:

[...] in the last hundred years not so much, but anybody a hundred years or more, like my dad's dad, my dad didn't, he was 96, but his parents, my mom's parents, my mom's mom, they all spoke French. It was just, maybe even more so than English. There was more French. I mean there was a lot more French than there was English. (personal communication, November 5, 2018)

However the similarities between Anishinaabemowin varieties and related Algonquian languages also facilitated cross-linguistic communication for many of the most skilled speakers. As Chief Sayers explains of his parents, "They could understand Odaawaa and even Blackfoot. My dad could understand Blackfoot" (personal communication, November 5, 2018). He continued:

[...] we would go to Southern Alberta and he would be able to speak, not fluent, but he would be able to understand what they were talking about fr- and Cree, they could understand the good speakers, like the ones that — and my dad, and my mom too, they could look at a word and understand the root word within the word in Ojibwe, where the word came from, which was a different kind of being able to speak, and knowing that was different. (personal communication, November 5, 2018)

8.6.5 Maintenance of Michif and Indigenized French

Though considerable attention has focused on Michif as a national language of Métis peoples at the turn of the twenty-first century, there is broader recognition still within Sault Ste. Marie that there was no single Métis language, and that multilingualism also played a factor with regional variation. Senator Brenda Powley explains,

There was different ones, yes. Because we have the Ojibwe, Métis Ojibwe and some of them have the Cree and then there's a couple other different one's we're finding out. [...] there's different sections, different areas that you learn the words a little different, from here to maybe Timmins even. (personal communication, July 21, 2016)

Powley also reflected on the growing interest in Métis languages today and the growing light that has emerged on their history and use. Speaking to her growing involvement with the Métis Nation of Ontario, she mentioned:

Brenda: we learned a lot, being with the Métis Nation and just learning about our Métis culture because [...] we understand why a lot of people that spoke it [Michif] didn't speak it.

Sean: Right.

[...]

Brenda: But now that people know why the language is different or the words are different, now you're understanding why we had our, the Métis had their own language. Where, it was almost similar to the French but just a lot of French slang I guess is what they called it. And everything that's out there now, people are willing to explore their background and they're you know, they're willing to talk about it, or why they were told not to speak it at home or at school and- the Sault, you know, there's a lot of people that, they said, you know, they couldn't speak it but they're finding out when they listen to it now or see the words out there that they're finding out the words they spoke the way they said them. It's all part of the message of language there. (personal communication, July 21, 2016)

Mitch Case also reported that the MNO's Michif Language committee had identified a number of speakers within the region. He also highlighted one of the paradoxical challenges for those

seeking to (re)learn their ancestral languages, as he explains: “because I don’t speak it there’s not a lot of incentive for them to speak it around me, right?” (personal communication, July 15, 2015).

8.6.6 New languages in the local ecology

The new linguistic diversity that came to Sault Ste. Marie with successive waves of immigration (primarily from Europe) gradually eroded at the approach of the mid-century. New immigrants learned English, as did successive generations. Senator Powley described her interactions with the father and grandfather who were Ukrainian immigrants to Sault Ste. Marie:

He [my dad] knew how to speak it [Ukrainian] but he would not teach it. I don’t know why either and, I know my grandfather, he died just after we moved to Algoma I was about five and a half, six he died, and my grandmother had died before I was born there. So, but he was another one that didn’t speak nothin’ but the English when we were around them. (personal communication, July 21, 2016)

Later she recalled the sociolinguistic dynamics that were apparent to her as a child in the 1940s and 50s, explaining “Mostly it was all English. There was [...] very few of them spoke the French and you didn’t even have the French schools at that time. It was pretty well English all over the place unless you were in the Italian community but, but [it was] just English as far as I remember” (personal communication, July 21, 2016). Her recollections point to the longer standing maintenance of Italian linguistic communities, which may be as a result of simply being the largest newcoming linguistic group from the early twentieth century (though ultimately this would deserve its own study). When asked about interacting in the diverse Bay View neighbourhood, she explained:

Brenda: It was mostly English, unless you got some of the older ones that- unless there was a group of Italians or something like that that were speaking their language, you know? But more English than anything else. I think at the time, you know, everybody- it was a language that everybody used and sort of kept their own language to their own house.

Sean: Right.

Brenda: More than anything else I think. Because you, you know, you learned English to go to school or even the ones coming in, you know, from the different families that we used to know the Italian families was the main thing, they learned English before they learned anything else. (personal communication, July 21, 2016)

Powley's recollection is mirrored by that of Steve Gjos who grew up in Sault Ste. Marie in the 1960s, and explained: "Sault Ste. Marie had a lot of Italian and I did hear French. Not a lot of- I mean not even the Native kids spoke Ojibwe, so there was not- I didn't hear a lot of [Ojibwe] language in Sault Ste. Marie. I mean, it was either English or Italian, you know?" (personal communication, February 23, 2018).

8.7 Language, race, and the modern white settler state

Anglophone hegemony consolidated in the areas around Baawating throughout the twentieth century by consequences of the beliefs, practices and overt political interventions purported by many different actors. The most obvious were the actions of the Canadian state, through the bureaucracy of Indian Affairs and the control it exerted on local communities, particularly through its partnerships with Christian Churches in the Residential and Day School systems. But this control was also tied to the ability of Indigenous communities to have control over their own livelihoods, which diminished throughout the early twentieth century. Activities that had always been part of the Indigenous economies, such as trapping, hunting, and fishing, were increasingly no longer able to support the communities as they used to, and were subsumed by activities that required interaction with Anglophone settlers either through the state apparatus or a new service-based economy. That state and industrial settlement policies demographically overwhelmed local Indigenous communities, and added to the pressure to acquire and communicate in English. Yet the maintenance of reserves which initially sought to move Indigenous peoples *off* settlement land, and the conscious efforts to promote farming on-reserve, or the reliance of Indigenous labour in natural resources actually created new work-worlds where the dominant language of communication remained Indigenous. The imposition of not only reserves, but membership criteria controlled by Ottawa policy, functioned also to separate Indigenous peoples and allies, manufacturing new boundaries between Anishinaabeg and Métis peoples, as well as with those settlers who had developed close bonds with local indigenous communities. The pressure of the surrounding settler society was increasingly felt

among Indigenous communities throughout the region, particularly at the sites of closest proximity. The popularization of radio, and later the advent and ubiquity of television then broke past the barriers of distance to expose Anishinaabeg and Métis people to English-language Anglo-American culture along with disparaging images of Indigenous peoples and cultures that threatened the status of Anishinaabemowin at a scale never seen before. All these changes functioned also to change the patterns of interaction that created and sustained Anishinaabe, Michif and Indigenized French speech communities.

Colonial language policy, like colonialism itself, however, was not a straight line. The history is rife with contradictions, resistance, inconsistencies and changing minds. The interlocking but sometimes conflicting forces of capital, modernity, imperialism and the emerging Canadian liberal order contributed throughout this era to the political project of colonization that was at first premised on both linguistic and racial assimilation on the model of bourgeois Anglo-Saxon values. Restrictive immigration policies ensured that the majority of newcomers would come from the British Isles, while the industrial desire for low-wage labour collided with the state's interest in maintaining a 'white' modern Canada. This conflict shaped the racially stratified immigration system, which allowed for immigration from 'less desirable' southern and eastern Europe to fulfill the industrial demand at Sault Ste. Marie in lieu of Asian or Black migration. Integration of the new class of settlers, nonetheless, would preoccupy the Anglo-Saxon settler elite at the Sault for much of the early twentieth century. For some, the necessity of assimilation to Anglo-Saxon norms ceased to be as essential, provided the citizens of the Dominion were firmly part of the Anglosphere. And so before the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission even began, language was already a substitute for race, at least at a community scale, as the grounds for the exclusion of the 'Other' from the Canadian polity. Rather than understanding these changes to the Canadian language regime as reflecting a state tradition of compromise, they reflect one of the constructions of a white racialized and liberal order in which compromise has been necessary to sustain its universalizing liberal orientation (Cardinal, 2015; McKay, 2000).

The consequence for speakers of Anishinaabemowin was successive generations who could not or would not speak the language back to them. For some, they ranked among passive bilinguals, familiar enough from overhearing their parents speak the language to understand

what was being said, but reluctant or unable to respond in Anishinaabemowin (C. Pine, personal communication, July 6, 2016). The same outcome was largely observed with Indigenized French in both Garden River and Batchewana.

Yet tumult that followed the second world war and the response to Indigenous peoples being shut out from the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission also highlighted the dangerous trend of language loss that was apparent in Indigenous communities from coast to coast, particularly near the junction of Lakes Superior and Huron. The prophet of the Seventh Fire had predicted that a new people “will retrace their steps to find what was left by the trail” (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 91-3). Many would turn to their elders in the process, though they would face many challenges, including continued fear among some elders, or not knowing who to approach who still maintained the old ways and knowledge (1988). This transition would be marked with the emergence of the Red Power and American Indian Movements, and exemplified by moments such as the occupation of Anicinabe Park in Kenora (Haque & Patrick, 2015; Meades, Johnson & Broad, 2011). At Baawating, a growing number of people from Batchewana and Garden River would seek out elders to learn about the old ways, sometimes as a result of being exposed to traditional ceremonies in other communities (Broad, Boyer & Chataway, 2006). New generations and institutions, such as the Indian Friendship Centre and their staff, began to mobilize to respond to the looming crisis of language and cultural loss. Cathy Syrette spoke of her mother Hilda’s journey of surviving residential school, explaining:

She prayed and prayed and prayed to get that language back, which she did later on in life, she got the language back. And it was so nice to hear her pray, maybe a little bit of trouble with the fluency but that came in time. And that together with the memory of my grandma’s language, she spoke to me, really gave me that good grasp on the Anishinaabe language today. (personal communication, February 16, 2016)

Today there still remains hope for the revitalization of Anishinaabemowin throughout the upper Great Lakes, with a new language regime replacing the *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework* that sidestepped Indigenous peoples. But what’s clear is that for the current order to take root, first English was consolidated as the “language of the land” through processes of displacement, division, and the devaluation of Indigenous languages, ultimately becoming the

grounds by which 'the Other' may be excluded prior to French being invited under the same umbrella following its de-indigenization.

9 - Conclusion

Understanding how language choices contribute to language shift requires understanding the context in which those choices are made and how they change. Initially this project was framed in the emerging tradition of ethnography of language policy, but it differed from this body of work in critical ways. Foundationally it shared with this work a grounding in the social and place-based context of language use, as well as a critical approach to policy that emphasizes its formal and informal manifestations (see McCarty, 2011). However its methodological orientation has been more historical than anthropological. While it covers a shifting terrain over the course of more than three hundred years, this remains grounded by the voices and experiences of Anishinaabe and Métis people today. Historical context is critical to understanding phenomena with longstanding presence or that have taken root over extended periods of time. However, the inclusion and foregrounding of Indigenous voices is necessary for overcoming some of the challenges presented by archives, namely that the choice of what has been preserved is shaped by who was empowered to preserve records, whose voices were considered legitimate, and what aspects of our societies were considered worth preserving for the future. The consequence of this in Canada is that much of what has been maintained that is relevant to Indigenous peoples is authored by and from the vantage point of white settlers. The triangulation of methods employed here has thus sought to provide a richer and more accurate assessment of the changing conditions that affected the language choices of Anishinaabe and Métis people. This has also facilitated my use of the ecological metaphor, to explore a diverse range of parameters that impacted language use and choice.

The cross-cultural dimension of the research, common to the practice of ethnography, was also a central feature that necessitated further grounding of the analysis in Indigenous frameworks, as well as western ones. In so doing, it foregrounds the complementarity of McKay's trajectory of the liberal order (2000) with the Seven Fires prophecies (Benton-Banai, 1988; Gaikhezheyongai, 2002), but without subsuming either under the other. Where McKay's framework foregrounds the process of liberalism's trajectory of hegemonic dominance within the Canadian political context, and how this has shaped both historical events and Canadian political and legal institutions, the Seven Fires foreground both personal agency as well as

spiritual and moral imperatives to take action to prevent further social and environmental calamity.

We have seen how processes of colonization led to English becoming the dominant language in the area surrounding Baawating. As Battell Lowman and Barker note,

In Canada [...] invasion did not finish at the moment when Indigenous lands were first occupied or appropriated by EuroAmerican people in the past. Rather it continues to happen because the social, political, and economic structures built by the invading people endure. (2015, p. 25)

But it was not only the presence of settlers, nor their intent to stay, nor efforts to displace or exterminate Indigenous peoples alone that caused language shift (though all played a role). Examining how different interactions — between different peoples and in different contexts — shaped the perceived choices available to Indigenous people, and the selections that individuals made in those different contexts and times is what allows us to understand the overall shifts in the language ecology of the area. This is by no means a depoliticized process, as some critics of the ecological framework have claimed. Rather it is a process that must take into account the shifting relationships of power within a particular time and place. In so doing, we can also see how conflict and resistance are manifested through linguistic⁶² choices. It should also take into account relevant changes to technology and communications, environments and economies, or any other domain that may alter how one carries out their life. Such analyses can in turn reveal what strategies have been successful in sustaining Indigenous language speech communities, and what has contributed to their erosion.

This is why the preceding chapters have examined these relations in some detail, even in contexts where what was being discussed might appear to be unrelated to language. From this we can see how Indigenous peoples adjusted their language choices in response both to institutional policies and new constraints that emerged as a result of colonial settlement and Canadian state-formation practices. Indeed, most of the policies that were especially damaging for Indigenous language maintenance only seldom dealt expressly with language, if at all.

⁶² Here I am making a deliberate distinction between ‘language’ and ‘linguistic,’ because although the maintenance of Anishinaabemowin is an underlying concern of this research and of a significant proportion of Indigenous communities in the area around Baawating, resistance to colonialism can still take linguistic forms even if an individual or group choose to express themselves in English, for example.

Canada's 'Indian policy' played an especially significant role, dispossessing Anishinaabeg and Métis of most of their lands, traditional livelihoods, and important aspects of self-government, including the right to define their own membership.

Likewise, land acquisition and settlement policies combined with Canada's immigration policy to cultivate a white Anglo-Celtic hegemony within Canada in the years between the conquest of New France and the 1960s. This occurred in concert with state-formation processes that embraced liberal and modernist discourses of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which justified the marginalization of Indigenous peoples through colonization.

Partly by consequence of contact and communications change, and partly as a means of state formation, conceptions of land, territory and place also changed with great consequence to the language ecology. Colonial competition for land created new layers of sovereignty over territory for settler peoples (or at least those who recognized the sovereignty of their home metropolises). The competition for land would also enlist alliances with Indigenous peoples that would cause major permanent migrations in the surrounding area, particularly in the seventeenth century. The imposition of the border between Canada and the United States further divided Anishinaabe and Métis peoples, especially as state authorities introduced police and customs officials to bring the border into significance for locals in the upper Great Lakes. Through such actions, colonization is a process of placemaking that centres settler interests and orientations and suppresses Indigenous understandings of and relations to place. Consequently the geographic scope of this research extended much farther in its discussion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, connecting locations roughly between the Great Lakes, the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence. From those times and locations, it followed a thread to its end in the areas along the shore between Batchawana Bay and Garden River First Nation.

On a more local scale, though seigneurial tenure was never established in the upper Great Lakes, many French descendants and Métis still drew from the shared principle of long strips that guaranteed access to common water sources. This would be later challenged by cadastral surveys undertaken since the British colonial administrations acquired control of the northern lakeshores, which divided the land into square concessions. Both approaches to land tenure entailed significant shifts in the relationship to land and livelihood, with a new emphasis on sedentary agriculture. Though such approaches to agriculture would only be slowly and sparingly adopted by Anishinaabeg and Métis peoples, they would inform the creation of the

reserve system in this region, which emerged as a consequence of the Robinson and Pennefather Treaties.

The colonial settlement process both segregated and demographically overwhelmed Indigenous populations in the upper Great Lakes. Though this included a linguistically diverse population from the late 1890s onward, Anglophones were without exception the largest proportion of newcomers. Indeed, federal policies and local settler interventions ensured that English become and remain the dominant language of communication in the new City of Sault Ste. Marie. Furthermore, up to reforms in the 1960s, it ensured tight restrictions on immigration that cultivated and maintained whiteness as a cornerstone feature of this hegemony.

The segregation and in some cases physical distance between settler townships and First Nations did insulate Anishinaabe and Brayet or Indigenized French speech communities on-reserve for some time (though English was nonetheless promoted, if not imposed, through day schools and residential schools).⁶³ But the increasingly scarce prospects for making a living within these speech communities (itself a product of the economic structures imposed by the state and the negative impacts rapid settlement and resource exploitation had on the local environment) made working with or for Anglophones the primary means for survival. Concurrently, advances in communications technology gradually broke down that insulation. Roads joined the railroads connecting communities throughout the region and the increased accessibility of the personal automobile made distance less relevant. Radio, and later television brought the new settler popular culture across reserve boundaries, and along with it, a reinforcement of the narratives of Indigenous backwardness and white settler progress, property, consumption and cool.

A new generation did emerge in Batchewana, Garden River and Sault Ste. Marie to pick up what was left along the trail. From language classes at the Friendship Centre to the establishment of community powwows, and the restoration of ceremonies, the value of Anishinaabe and Métis identity, language and ways of knowing would eventually be reaffirmed (Broad, Boyer & Chataway, 2006). As Chief Dean Sayers of Batchewana reports:

⁶³ This is with the caveat that some portions of the contemporary reserves would not be officially incorporated as reserve lands until late in the twentieth century, but the villages in these locations were nonetheless majority Anishinaabe.

The First Nation is investing in [language] ourselves. We're going to be providing immersion and a lot of language and cultural programming in all of our communities. There's an acceptance of responsibility with our governance here that we need to do what we can do in order to preserve and protect and enhance the language. (personal communication, November 5, 2018)

In the 1990s, Anishinaabeg from across the region, including Judy Syrette, Barb Nolan, and Howard Webkamigad, played a pivotal role in creating the first Bachelor's degree in an Indigenous language anywhere in Canada (Judy Syrette, personal communication, February 16, 2016). Less than ten years later, Eddie Benton-Banai and Jerry Fontaine led the development of the Anishinaabe Studies program through Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig, with the support and tenacity of community leadership from Garden River and Batchewana. Recent national census figures also indicate a growing number of indigenous people are attempting to (and reported succeeding in) acquire their ancestral languages (Langlois and Turner, 2012, p. 7). But the previous two centuries of genocide have left a colossal challenge for restoring Anishinaabe and other Indigenous language speech communities. Describing the support for language documentation from the community, Chief Sayers continued, "we're not going to always have, we believe, first speakers, people that have Anishinaabemowin as a first language, so we have to try to capture as much as we can of it" (personal communication, November 5, 2018).

Just as the consequences of these contacts and changes to the lives and livelihoods of Anishinaabe and Métis peoples have had demonstrable impact on the language ecology of the region, they also point to a path for a strengthening Indigenous speech communities for the future.

9.1 Language revitalization

The path of language shift in Baawating demonstrates how complex the process of shift was. Coercive policies alone, though extremely damaging for individuals' physical and emotional wellbeing, were insufficient to erode the community strength of Anishinaabemowin. It took generations of negative messaging, economic and political pressure, and crucially, the dissemination of Anglo-American popular culture by mass media to provoke an actual generational shift to English as the dominant language of communication on-reserve. For Métis or Anishinaabeg in the city of Sault Ste. Marie or surrounding lands that were incorporated into

the private land tenure system, intergenerational transmission of any language other than English became extremely rare given similar circumstances plus being surrounded and vastly outnumbered by white Anglophone settlers, which created social, political and economic spaces where the English language was the dominant, if not the only tolerated language of communication.

At present there are only a few dozen, largely elderly first-language speakers of Anishinaabemowin remaining in the area, and even fewer speakers of the Anishinaabe-French contact variety. There are, however, many Anishinaabemowin learners of all generations, ranging from casual to eager, earnest and dedicated learners. Using UNESCO's Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages framework for determining language vitality, Anishinaabemowin in this region would be classified somewhere between critically and severely endangered, as it is spoken primarily by the grandparental and great-grandparental generations, though not by a majority within these generations (UNESCO, 2003, p. 8, see Appendix B). More optimistically, Fishman's 8-point scale for "Graded Intergenerational Disruption" regarding the intergenerational transmission of languages might place Anishinaabemowin in this region at Stage 7 (see Appendix C). Though there may be some socially isolated speakers (a characteristic of stage 8 on the scale,) most speakers in the area "are still societally integrated, living in homes, neighbourhoods and communities among their own [other language] speaking children, grandchildren and neighbours" (1990, p. 90).

The sociolinguistic dynamics of the past highlight the crucial role played by particular spaces and domains for sustaining Anishinaabe speech communities. Today these spaces remain largely limited to ceremonies, small social gatherings of elders, or language classrooms. The importance of these spaces should not be undervalued, but expanding the number of domains where Anishinaabemowin or other Indigenous languages may be heard, spoken, or signed is critical to redeveloping intergenerational transmission of the languages. As Chapter 7 indicated, the gradual erosion of these spaces played a pivotal role in language shift. Notably, the gradual erosion of economic spaces where the language could be used effectively coincided with a growing sentiment that English was the language of work, and that to help one's children in the future necessitated that they have a strong command of English.

Creating new spaces where the language can be learned, heard and used presents significant challenges. The efforts of institutions like Kenjgewin-Teg Education Institute for supporting the acquisition of Anishinaabemowin and its use in the workforce stand out as an example for how a workplace can support the integration of the language into work life (Meades, Pine, & Broad, 2018). There may be farther reaching consequences still, as creating spaces where Anishinaabeg can pursue their livelihoods in Anishinaabemowin may entail more economic independence, or in other words, an end to or reversal of the policies imposed from the federal government and others that have made traditional economic activities untenable. Alternatively, it must be possible for communities to chart new paths for making a living within themselves.

For Indigenous language teachers or revitalization program designers, this research cannot provide a clear prescription for reversing the tide of language shift. However, it does highlight the potential of turning programming attention to the process of expanding existing speech communities and reclaiming space in domains where the language is seldom heard. These potentials are unique to each community (and smaller groups within communities), and actualizing them will necessarily be different from one to the next. Questions that can help guide the development of programs to support new speech communities include: ‘where can speakers still be heard?’ ‘Who wants to share their language who is not doing so already, and how do they want to be engaged?’ ‘Where can learners feel safe to practice without judgement?’ And ‘What can greater numbers begin doing again in our language?’ Undoubtedly, many teachers and language advocates have already been asking and answering these questions, and providing them the sufficient resources to respond is critical to success. Achieving this will require policy makers to recognize that language revitalization hinges on more than language acquisition.

That Indigenous language maintenance and revitalization cuts across multiple policy domains, however, has been acknowledged by nearly all of the large-scale inquiries into the subject. RCAP’s central recommendations on language emphasized the need of the federal government to recognize the significance of language to indigenous nationhood and self-government processes and for community planning for language revitalization and documentation among others (1996). The point here is that the sociolinguistic ecology of a

place is not determined only by the decisions that we take specifically with language in mind, but that treaties, land claims, economic development, and political jurisdiction all have implications for language use and vitality.

This is not to say that separation and segregation are in any way a necessity of language revitalization. The history also demonstrates that multilingualism is a perfectly normal state of affairs for any community, and that the acquisition of one language does not necessarily negate any skill in another. The communities in and around Baawating can restore a greater, stable multilingual language ecology without any individual losing their proficiency in English. This is supported by many volumes of research on language acquisition (see Garcia, 2009 or Genesee, 2007 for the briefest of samples).

While the stigma associated with Anishinaabemowin has largely dissipated, the expansion or development of new Anishinaabe language speech communities has to contend with the pervasive influence and reach of English language popular culture. Though Indigenous language fluency is valorized today, it still contends with Elvis. English remains the dominant language on Netflix, most popular social media platforms in Canada and the United States, Wikipedia, and the internet at large. Competing with the English cool factor is no small task, and will require concerted investment and effort in cultural production. Given the significant role played by media and telecommunications both in language dissemination as well as in shaping popular culture, the domain has figured prominently in policy recommendations about Indigenous language vitality from a variety of sources. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, for instance, has called for the CBC to take on a greater role in the promotion of Indigenous languages, for ongoing support for APTN's role in promoting Indigenous languages and stories, and for journalism and media schools to require more training for students on Indigenous history to combat the pervasive misinformation and negative portrayals of Indigenous peoples in mass media (TRC 2015c). Likewise Article 16 of UNDRIP emphasizes the right of Indigenous peoples to establish media in their own languages and that state-media reflect Indigenous diversity (UNDRIP, 2007). As yet, federal communications policy support for Indigenous language revitalization has largely been limited to northern communities where Indigenous languages continue to be spoken by a majority of the population.

Perhaps more challenging will be competing with the English convenience factor that has been cultivated over the past century. For the time and effort that must be invested to acquire any language, the convenience of speaking the dominant language, and the bilingualism of those who currently speak Anishinaabemowin, alleviates some of the urgency felt by prospective language learners. This poses a tragic challenge, in that just as generations of Indigenous community members in the early twentieth century had the mental and emotional burden, and the burden of time and energy for learning English imposed on them, the process of language shift leaves the generations in the early twenty-first century with the same pressures tied to revitalizing their Indigenous languages. This time, however, they do so with inconsistent and minimal support from the state that bankrolled Indigenous language loss.

Supporting the acquisition of Anishinaabemowin for younger generations will also entail significant advances to the place of that language within the education system. There are a myriad of potential directions for this to take, depending on the needs, aspirations and resources that communities have available. Some might also require greater community control over education, as Cathy Syrette expressed:

I think we need to have our own educational institutes that are funded according to the reserve jurisdiction that we have as Anishinaabeg. It has to be a true exercise of educational jurisdiction, not as a delegated authority from Canada or Ontario and that way we have pure ability to incorporate those things that will preserve our nationhood. Right now it's a real compromise with the current educational system. So a proper educational institute would be a good thing. (personal communication, February 16, 2016)

9.2 Relevance for understanding Canadian language policy

In the early stages of the research in seeing how French came to be indigenized and many French settlers and their descendants came to be integrated into Anishinaabe communities in the upper Great Lakes and points west, I wondered if the acceptance of French in the model of Official Bilingualism first had to be de-indigenized to be accepted by the state as a modern language of civilization. The historical evidence suggests the story is more complicated. There were undoubted affinities between the general French Canadian population

and the French (and Michif or Brayet) speaking Métis communities that fed both anti-French sentiment and policy in the wake of the Northwest resistance movements and well into the twentieth century. But the development of a distinct French-settler polity was well underway in the St. Lawrence River Valley in the time of New France. The migration of Loyalists and intentional Anglo-immigration recruitment to what would become Upper Canada (and other British North American colonies) effectively cut off and reaffirmed its distinctiveness from Métis and the *Canadiens* of the *Pays d'en Haut*. Still, this division did not deterministically alter an “ethnogenesis” of French Canadian identity along future provincial lines. A unique political culture did emerge in Lower Canada (and eventually Canada East and later Québec), but the growth of families and the subdivision of lands eventually led to significant Francophone migration into eastern and northern Ontario. Many of these new migrants often met and intermingled with the descendants of French settlers and Métis communities that remained in the area. Concurrently, Métis peoples were cut off from federal recognition and in many cases segregated from Anishinaabe peoples through their exclusion from Treaty processes and reserves (with some exceptions, of course).⁶⁴ With the contention to Canadian Anglo-Celtic hegemony posed most greatly by the critical mass of French settlers in the St. Lawrence Valley, conflicts within the political classes between the advocates of Anglo-Celtic national control and the maintenance of French settler distinctiveness created an abstraction of the French presence in Canada. This abstraction would then be reified in popular media and disseminated back to diverse localities across the federation, and with particular force following the Northwest Rebellion. The result was to transpose the conflicts in the capital across the federation, reconceptualizing the French presence in the upper Great Lakes in a manner that did not reflect the development of most French-speaking communities in this region.

There is no singular, uniform pattern to the place of French west of the St. Lawrence: Some descendants of eighteenth century French settlers intermarried with Anishinaabeg and their descendants gave rise to the Métis Nation. Others returned to the St. Lawrence River Valley, or went elsewhere, and retained a French (or at least, *Canadien*) identity. Still others maintained that identity in the upper Great Lakes, but with apparent continued affinity with Anishinaabeg and Métis communities. Among the Métis in the latter half of the nineteenth

⁶⁴ The most significant among these being the Halfbreed Adhesion to Treaty 3 (MNO, Nov 3 2020).

century, a small number joined Shingwaukonse at Garden River, and their descendants largely assimilated into the Anishinaabe communities. Others joined the rolls later, or intermarried within other Anishinaabe communities. Still others remained at Sault Ste. Marie or its rural surroundings. As the settler population grew, some assimilated with the English-speaking population, while most others became part of a larger French-speaking community that grew with new migrants from Québec. In both scenarios, some maintained a clandestine familial knowledge of their Métis identity, including framed portraits of Louis Riel, while for others this knowledge would be suppressed through some generations. Even this is a capsule summary of how complex the historical French presence in the upper Great Lakes truly is. But the state sees in the form of abstractions and simplifications (Scott, 1998).

The processes of attempted de-indigenization imposed by the state were not uniquely applied to Métis or *Canadiens* who had formed familial, economic and political bonds with Anishinaabeg. They were also imposed on Anishinaabeg explicitly as well. The treaty exclusions were the first manner for limiting the number of rights-bearing people, but this was followed by the policies of enfranchisement, residential schools and gender discrimination within the Indian Act. The uniqueness of French-speaking populations in the upper Great Lakes (whether Indigenous or not) was never truly acknowledged by the state. Its policies, particularly from the late nineteenth century onward, were driven by the precursor to “White Paper Liberalism” (Turner, 2006). The primacy of the individual, with the value of rights viewed largely in relation to the protection of property, made ‘group rights’ writ large, an obstacle. Discourses of English linguistic supremacy coexisted with the perception of unilingual efficiency, and the English language was the supposedly equalizing means for integration into the white settler body politic by the early twentieth century. True citizenship, true participation in the Canadian state, at least at Sault Ste. Marie, was contingent on linguistic assimilation. For Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples, enfranchisement was encouraged because it reduced the obligations of the state, but only under strict assimilative conditions that demonstrated the individual’s acceptance of Christian liberal economic values, and of course, English fluency. Though economic and social pressures embodied through popular culture played the most critical role in interrupted the intergenerational transmission of Indigenous languages, the government of Canada had every intention of eradicating Indigenous languages. This is most concretely

exemplified by the explicit policy of discouraging, and later prohibiting the use of Indigenous languages in residential schools, which was instituted by the federal government.

Anti-French policies effectively solidified a unique French-Canadian (later Franco-Ontarian) identity as communities coalesced and organized against them (Sylvestre, 2013). The rest is well documented: Sovereignist and separatist movements in Québec in particular, with a clear threat to state cohesion, paved the way for the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission (MacKey, 2010; Haque, 2012). The promotion of a common Francophone experience and sense of belonging across the entire country (where numbers warrant), in turn, *might* undermine a Québec-specific national identity that would have the political infrastructure to break from Confederation. The continued threat points to the unfinished nature of modern liberal hegemony. For Indigenous peoples and newcomers alike, the onset of Official Bilingualism allowed the French language (albeit the state's conception of what French 'is') to stand alongside English as a pathway for entry into the modern settler nation-state. This stratification of language rights and status demonstrates a "hierarchy of exclusion and belonging articulated through policies on language and culture" which functions to racialize and mark Indigenous peoples as Others in their own lands (Haque & Patrick, 2015, p. 38). Despite the valorization of French, Indigenous languages continued to be portrayed as relics of a pre-modern world. Not only did Commission researchers portray them as unsuitable for contemporary civilization, but paradoxically their decline was considered a sign of a loss of national distinctiveness that could justify Indigenous claims for sovereignty.

The new era of language policy that followed was thoroughly informed by the coalescing modern liberal order. The personal principle that is at the core of contemporary official language policy, rooted in the paradigm of individual rights, situates language within a model of rational choice. Their premise is the protection of an individual's right to select a medium of communication (so long as it has 'official' designation), particularly with respect to interactions with government services. Such paradigms do not necessarily concern themselves with the question of language maintenance, but rather access to choice. In this manner, the proclaimed goal of linguistic duality — let alone multilingualism — takes a back seat to the liberal character of the Canadian white settler state.

As Réaume notes, there is a need for "a viable community of language speakers in order to provide the material and conceptual base for the protection of language use" (2003, p.

194). Though neither she nor I advocate the rejection of individual language rights in some form of shift to an entirely territorial conception, she notes that “we would expect to see some concrete accommodations given a territorial scope” (2003, p. 295). Indigenous communities and scholars have repeatedly emphasized the connection between their languages and land, as noted in Chapter 3 (Battiste, 2000; Jocks, 1998; Kelly, 2008). What I hope to have demonstrated here, too, is that language ecologies are place-specific. The ability for a group to maintain its “linguistic way of life” is contingent on several place-specific factors, most obvious being the sustaining of particular domains of use, which many language policy scholars have emphasized (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2009). This also entails the preservation of space for those domains to persist, or more explicitly, an end or reversal of the encroachments on Indigenous lands.

There is a caveat that widespread Indigenous language loss in Garden River and Batchewana was only reached in the mid-twentieth century with greater mobility and the explosive accessibility of new communications technology. These technologies have every capacity to be used for language maintenance, and they are, whether carpooling to ceremonies or language conferences, or texting other Anishinaabe language learners in Ojibwe. However, among their greatest impacts in the twentieth century was to propel economic growth, and the shift of farther and farther reaches of Indigenous territory into what Anthony Giddens, drawing on Wallerstein, calls the semi-periphery⁶⁵ of globalization (1994 [1990], p. 184). Part of the inculcation of communities into this order “involved, and involves today, the commodifying of labour power in class relations which separate workers from control of their means of production” (1994 [1991], p. 185). Anishinaabeg were increasingly pulled into not only the economic life of the surrounding white Anglophone settlements, but more tightly into the expanding network of modern global capitalism. Giddens notes that, “the global extension of the institutions of modernity would be impossible were it not for the pooling of knowledge,” which he ties to representations of “the news,” but could easily also refer to contemporary bodies of common knowledge, from American popular cultural references to how to operate a word processor (1994 [1991], p. 188-9).

⁶⁵ Though so-called developed economies such as Canada might normally be considered at the ‘core,’ there continue to be internal stratifications, particularly with the relationship between First Nations and the surrounding settler society.

Wendy Russell's analysis of accumulation by dispossession in Nishnawbe Aski Nation draws our attention further to how such process of economic and political change alter the nature of community, from one that is place-based and "constituted through kinship, mutual knowledge, and [...] shared orientations toward one another and the land base," to one that has been defined by the interests of settler institutions (2008, p. 42). She draws a thread through numerous experiences of contact and struggle between Ininew and various settler groups, which Anishinaabeg and Métis in Baawating share: "the denial of community that colonization, missionization, modernization, and development have in common has thus opened a new frontier of conflict" as the accumulative pressure of capitalism "denies the capacity of this kind of community to tie itself to place" (2008, p. 45). The pressure that communities feel to be oriented to the national or global economy erodes the place-connection that is embodied not only through time on the land, but also through processes like visiting, which Liz Jones lamented had become increasingly rare in contemporary times.

This is not to suggest that Garden River and Batchewana now lack such place-based communities, but that such connections are under threat — as they are in most communities — and contribute to the process of language loss. Reasserting those ties is critical for sustaining and building speech communities. As these are fundamentally questions of relationship, it is not only rural or reserve spaces that could hypothetically be home to renewed speech-communities.⁶⁶ The question of land, however, is not just about location for interaction between people, but of the kind of activities, practices, and ceremonies that are integral to Anishinaabe and Métis ways of life. The ability to be in such places and to interact with them has consequences for what we may call the genres of speech that get maintained or developed anew. Consequently connection and access to land is integral even for intentionally urban communities.

Here the progression of the Canadian liberal order presents another obstacle to the development of policies that would support language revitalization, at least insofar as it remains committed to a universalizing individualism and fails to grapple with the complexity of language as a phenomenon of social ecology. The government of Canada might take umbrage with my

⁶⁶ Depending on the conceptualization of space, one might argue the potentiality for even digital place-based communities, though this raises the spectre of digital communities as an imposed alternative to physical space that has been appropriated for the benefit of white settler capitalism.

claim of “inconsistent and minimal support,” and while these may be subjective qualifiers, I believe the evidence supports them. Supportive federal, provincial, and territorial interventions would only begin in 1971 with incidental funding under the Secretary of State, evolving gradually into the Northern Aboriginal Broadcasting Program and the Aboriginal Languages Initiative (Galley, 2009; Guthrie Valaskakis, 2001). Though the NABP has brought great cultural resources, such as Wawatay Native Communications Society, the Aboriginal Language Initiative was plagued by inadequate funding, burdensome bureaucratic restrictions that limited the types of projects that could be funded to one-off interventions organized around the federal government’s fiscal year-end (Meades, 2011). In some years, funding was so late in being distributed to communities that they had only two months to deliver their programs (Meades, 2011). The fundamental problem was that it could only fund small project-based interventions, which are simply not enough, no matter how well executed, to reverse a tide of language shift or generate a process of intergenerational language transmission.

Ultimately treating language largely as an issue of personal access and acquisition fails to respect the complex social contexts in which we communicate and make both conscious and subconscious decisions about how to do so. Existing interventions that focus on funding for classes, documentation, or curriculum development only begin to scratch the surface of what is necessary to promote vital speech communities (whether we be speaking of Indigenous languages or any other). Canada’s language policy frameworks approach the goal of promoting Indigenous languages similar to if it sought to build houses by only providing screws, screwdrivers, and two-by-fours, but none of the other hardware necessary for making a contemporary, habitable shelter. One can build a frame, perhaps even a structure with some determination, but it will never be able to contain the same kind of functions as other contemporary homes. Indeed, the way it approaches heritage languages is not so different, and even its official language policy lacks a strong foundational understanding of language ecology. The Indigenous Languages and Cultures Program that replaced the ALI in 2019 did not fundamentally address this underlying problem, and though there were some improvements, it is largely just the ALI with a bigger (though still inadequate) budget.

The new Indigenous Languages Act, while a step forward, does not represent any serious change as a form of state-shaping language policy the way that ‘Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework’ did, though it is in line with an incrementalist approach that does not

undermine the foundations of the liberal order of the state. Recognition that language rights are included among the rights of Indigenous peoples affirmed by section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, though still confined within the liberal order legal framework, could have far reaching positive implications. But as language rights lawyer David Leitch warns, the precise rights that are being recognized are not defined anywhere in the legislation, rendering the recognition to be purely symbolic with virtually no legal consequence (2019).

Still, the new legislation offers an opportunity to advance agreements between the federal government and Indigenous governments, governing bodies, or organizations specifically to address issues of language. The necessity for any federal intervention supporting Indigenous language maintenance and revitalization to reflect the will and diverse on-the-ground realities of Indigenous communities necessitates that the legislation be somewhat tentative in nature. And so this is a tentative victory. The degree to which the federal government is willing to make the concessions and investments necessary for communities to support the conditions for language revitalization remains to be seen. Yet the breadth of the framework provides communities and organizations with the opportunities to link land as well as socio-economic and political domains to any language agreement. Communities do not have to limit themselves to project-based funding for recurring introductory language classes, or short-run language documentation projects, as has been the effect of the ALI. There is a significant opportunity for developing agreements that support a holistic, community-driven approach to language revitalization. That is, in a context where the Canadian government still assumes authority over First Nations, opportunity in so far as the state is willing to fulfill such agreements.

9.3 Relevance for Indigenous-settler relations

The multilingualism and language mixing of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reflected a fundamentally different social equilibrium. Though it is important not to romanticize Indigenous-French relations during this period (after all, there were still conflicts, still assault and murder, still manipulation and dishonesty, as well as efforts to Christianize and shame Indigenous spiritual practices), on the whole they were pursued with greater mutuality. This was even more so between Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples. The few contemporary examples also reflect that spirit of mutuality, of common bond and affection, whether it be

millworkers learning each others languages, or interracial couples navigating the building of a family across cultural and linguistic divides. This spirit of mutuality is also reflective of Anishinaabe conceptualizations of language, recognizing it as an inalienable right — a gift from the Creator (Fontaine, 2019). Consequently, Eddie Benton Banai explains that customary law asserted both Anishinaabeg's responsibility to sustain and care for Anishinaabemowin, as well as not to interfere with or deprive any other people of their own language (Doris Young, personal communication from Edward Benton-Banai, September, 2007).

Indigenous and settler relations are at a critical juncture today. In late May, 2021, 215 unmarked graves of Indigenous children were located on the grounds of the Kamloops Indian Residential School in British Columbia. Since then, over a thousand have been discovered at sites across Canada, including Brandon, Cowessess, and Cranbrook. While survivors and their descendants mourned, there has been an outpouring of shock, sympathy, and expressions of solidarity from many settlers across Canada. While others continue to deny or diminish the tragedy, the public reckoning with the genocide committed through residential schools may be a tide turning moment for settler and Indigenous relations.

The Seventh Fire marks an opportunity for settler peoples to change the predominant course of their relationship with Indigenous peoples throughout the last two hundred years. They “will be given a choice between two roads,” writes Benton-Banai, “If they choose the right road, then the Seventh Fire will light the Eighth and Final Fire — an eternal Fire of peace, love, brotherhood and sisterhood,” where the alternative leads to mass destruction and suffering (1988, p. 93). Many of the examples from our shared history discussed in the preceding chapters demonstrate that a different relationship is possible: we can return to the face of brotherhood. This should not be taken as a call for Settlers to once again try to save the day, but to follow, listen, and participate.⁶⁷ Movements in this direction will not necessarily result in immediate shifts in the language ecology at Baawating, as the sociolinguistic dynamics of both communities have changed. Most Anishinaabeg and Métis people in the immediate region speak English as a first language.

⁶⁷ It is also important to acknowledge that populations are not necessarily easily broken up into a dichotomy between Indigenous and settler peoples. Though I have explored some of the complexity with these identities/positionalities, it is not my intention to construct a taxonomy of who fits where. Belonging is a social and malleable process.

One of the challenges in sustaining new place-based speech communities is undoubtedly interactions with the surrounding settler society. Anishinaabeg and Métis people may create new spaces where Indigenous languages become the dominant means of communication, but most will still be confronted by the normative privilege experienced by those who speak English as a first (or only) language. It may be possible to sustain vital, but segregated Indigenous speech communities, and indeed for much of the early twentieth century, this was the reality for Garden River and Batchewana, though aspects of this segregation were imposed by federal and provincial governments. The spirit of mutuality and respect, however, calls for a fundamental shift away from the dominant monolingual ideology that has shaped settler approaches to language. In its place should be an embracing of linguistic diversity⁶⁸ that is inherent to Anishinaabe understandings of language. Such a shift would see language learning more broadly portrayed as an ongoing process of life, a process that enriches our understanding of the world and each other, rather than as an obstacle to efficiency. Such a shift would engender more support, more interest, and more visibility for language revitalization. It would celebrate and hold space for Indigenous languages within the public sphere. It would do so not for an appropriative sense of local exoticism or marketability, but to remove the barriers to Indigenous language expression in shared spaces. In turn there may be more space for new Anishinaabemowin speech communities to emerge and more domains for the active use of Anishinaabemowin. The greater the sense of mutuality and care, we may hope the less fixation on performance and perfection there may be for learners, which in turn may empower them to learn without fear and to multiply the social relations (both with Elder speakers and other new learners) with whom they pursue in Anishinaabemowin or another Indigenous language.

The collective embrace of the spirit of mutuality and respect would also have reverberations beyond the dynamics of language use. It would entail settlers contending with the history of colonization, which has been manifested through the expropriation of lands, forced relocation, residential and day schools, spiritual abuse, family separations, the overdevelopment of lands and destruction of animal habitat, the destruction of local food systems, and the mass accumulation and hoarding of wealth by a select few. It would entail a shift in priorities, to reshape the economy in a way that we can sustain livelihoods in balance

⁶⁸ This also requires relinquishing a dimension of control, the notion that one is entitled to understand everything that one hears or sees.

with the resources and capacities of the earth; to minimize our impact on the environment; and to build community and relationships.

The most important dimension about this lesson of mutuality is that it does not require lobbying, or grant writing, or waiting for the government to act — or for government to be compelled to act by the courts. The spirit of mutuality and respect is something that we can employ as soon as that spirit strikes us.

Nikaanag gonaa.

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3. Original images

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Appendix A: Departments responsible for Indian affairs

The departments responsible for Indian Affairs were (in chronological order):

- The Department of the Secretary of State of Canada (to 1869)
- The Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces (1869-1873)
- The Department of the Interior (1873-1880)
- The Department of Indian Affairs (1880-1936)
- The Department of Mines and Resources (1936-1950)
- The Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1950-1965)
- The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (1966)
- The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1966 to the 2019⁶⁹)
- The Department of Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Development and Indigenous Services Canada (2019-Present)

⁶⁹ The Department used the public name *Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC)* from 2011-2019.

Appendix B: UNESCO Intergenerational Language Transmission Scale

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Speaker Population
Safe	5	The language is used by all ages, children and up.
Unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in some domains.
Definitively Endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
Severely Endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
Critically Endangered	1	The language is used mostly by the great-grandparental generation and up.
Extinct	0	There are no speakers

(UNESCO, 2003, p. 8)

Appendix C: Joshua Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Stage	Characteristics:
8	Most vestigial users of X-ish are socially isolated old folks and X-ish needs to be reassembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults.
7	Most users of X-ish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond childbearing age.
6	The attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement.
5	X-ish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy.
4	X-ish in lower education that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws.
3	Use of X-ish in the lower work sphere (outside of the X-ish neighborhood or community) involving interaction between X-men and Y-men.
2	X-ish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either.
1	Some use of X-ish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided of political independence).

(Fishman, 1990, pp. 88-107)

Appendix D: Commonly known exonyms of Indigenous nations in the Great Lakes region

Autonym used in this text:	Commonly known exonyms, Anglicisations or Francisations:
Anishinaabe (plural, Anishinaabeg)	Inclusive of Ojibwe, Odaawaa, Bodéwadmí, Saulteaux (Saulteurs, Saulters, Pahouitingwach Irini), Mississauga, Algonquin, and many groups thereof identified in the historical record.
Bodéwadmí	Potawatomi, Potawatomie, Pouteatami
Chonnonton	Attawandaron, Neutral
Dakhóta	Sioux
Hocąk	Ho-Chunk, Winnebago
Lenaape	Delaware, Lenape
Mamaceqtaw	Menominee
Meskwaki	Fox
Myaama	Miami
Nakhóta	Assiniboine, Assiniboëls
Odaawaa	Ottawa, Odawa
Ojibwe	Ojibwa, Ojibway, Chippewa
Onkwehonwe	Iroquois
Onödowá'ga:	Senecas
Onöñda'gaga'	Onondaga
Oθaakiwaki	Sac, Sauk
Shaawanwaki	Shawnee
Siksikáwa	Blackfoot
Wendat	Huron, Wyandot