

Pathways to the Eighth Fire: Indigenous Knowledge and Storytelling in Toronto

Jon Johnson

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 Communication and Culture
York University
Toronto, Ontario

July 2015

© Jon Johnson, 2015

Abstract

A considerable body of scholarly research now accords with long-held Indigenous prophecy in affirming the ongoing importance of Indigenous knowledge for the health and wellness of contemporary Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and their environments. Yet, while much research has examined Indigenous knowledge and traditions in more natural or rural contexts, there has been to date very little examination of the presence and character of Indigenous knowledge and traditions in more urban contexts. This dissertation redresses this gap in the research via an analysis of Indigenous knowledge, traditions, and storytelling in Toronto and their prophetic implications for contemporary Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

The analysis is based on a comparative literature review of Indigenous knowledge, traditions, and community as they have been practiced in urban and non-urban locales, long-term participation within Toronto's Indigenous community particularly as a tour guide for the highly-regarded community-based Great 'Indian' Bus Tour of Toronto, and in-depth semi-structured interviews with a small group of Anishinaabe Torontonians regarding their perceptions of the city and the practice of urban Indigenous knowledge and traditions. These lines of investigation revealed that land-based urban Indigenous knowledge and storytelling traditions are practiced in at least some cities like Toronto in ways that exhibit significant similarities and continuities with those practiced in non-urban locales. Land-based stories of Toronto's Indigenous heritage shared among Indigenous Torontonians portray Toronto as a traditional Indigenous territory, promote life – and *land* – affirming connections to places in the city and the development of a

cosmopolitan ethics of place that may constitute a significant pathway to the Eighth Fire of Anishinaabe prophecy.

Acknowledgements

I am incredibly grateful to my doctoral supervisor Joseph Sheridan who provided me with sage advice and the best maps available to start me off in the right direction. He was unfailingly patient, encouraging, challenging, and confident in my ability to ‘get the words right’. I am also very thankful to my doctoral supervisor David McNab, who graciously agreed to shepherd me during the final years of my dissertation. This dissertation may not have seen completion were it not for his advocacy, holistic vision, and expert guidance through both the big questions and little details. I am likewise grateful to have been able to draw on the considerable expertise and wisdom of my dissertation advisors, David Newhouse, Fred Fletcher, and Lynne Angus. I thank them for posing the challenging questions that contributed to a better interdisciplinary analysis. I would like to express my thanks to the Communication & Culture Program, whose interdisciplinary and flexible nature allowed me the freedom to forage across disparate disciplinary landscapes toward a richer, more holistic, and relational understanding of the issues than I could have achieved in a more disciplinary program. My dissertation research was supported by both the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRCC) and the Ontario Graduate Scholarship (OGS) Program, and I wish to thank these programs for their much needed financial assistance during my doctoral education.

Beyond York University, I owe a significant debt to many colleagues and friends within Toronto’s Indigenous community who have taught me innumerable and invaluable lessons on the importance of maintaining relationship, responsibility, and reciprocity with all that is. I have learned much (and am still learning!) from their collective experiences,

knowledge, and stories. I would like to thank Monica Bodirsky, former co-ordinator of the Toronto Native Community History Program, for guiding me into relationship with Toronto's Indigenous community, for her advice and guidance over the years, and for her ongoing friendship. I would also like to thank Elders Joanne Dallaire and Jacqui LaValley for the teachings, stories, and good talks they shared with me in the spirit of generosity, kindness, and the Seventh Fire. Thanks also to my friends and colleagues within the community that took the time to interview with me for this dissertation. Their stories and perspectives on Toronto and tradition are the heart of this work. It is also important to acknowledge the ancestors of the Wendat, Seneca, Ojibway, and other original peoples who call Toronto their traditional territory. They have seeded this *land* with their knowledge and stories of their accomplishments, and continue to look out for the current generations. *Chi-miigwetch. Nyawen'gowa. Tiawenhk.*

I would like to extend my sincerest thanks to all my family and friends who have been so encouraging, sympathetic, and patient during the time that I toiled away on this dissertation. Despite the years of absences at important social engagements, they have nevertheless remained supportive and understanding. My mother deserves special thanks not only for this, but for instilling in me all the requisite values, skills, and resilience to complete this work. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the efforts and sacrifices of my wife, Christine. When this work became all-encompassing, it was she that most keenly felt my absence and absent-mindedness. Yet, she was the person that I most often looked to for the kind words, advice, perspective, and laughter that would sustain me through the hardest times. This work is as much hers as it is mine. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Tracking Indigenous Knowledge - A Short Review of the Science and Art of Relationship	22
Introduction	22
Indigenous Knowledge as Process: Understanding Continuity through Change ...	23
The Importance of Contextual, Experiential, Ecological Knowledge.....	29
All of Creation is Animate and Related	33
Reciprocity and Balance as a Cosmological Ethic (and Determinant of Health)	38
The Prominence of Circular Models	42
Storytelling and Ecology	44
Conclusion.....	58
Chapter 3: Indigenous Knowledge as Living Well – Cultural Integrity, Storytelling, <i>the Land</i> and Healing	62
Introduction	62
Colonialism, Health, and the Ongoing Importance of Traditional Indigenous Culture for Contemporary Indigenous Groups	64

Colonial Trauma and Indigenous Health.....	80
Cultural Integrity, Ecological Integrity and Healing.....	92
The Importance of Indigenous Cultural Traditions for Western Society	104
Conclusion.....	129
Chapter 4: Urban Histories are also Indigenous Histories - A Review of Urban	
Indigenous Knowledge, Culture and Community.....	131
Introduction	131
The Pre-Colonial Urban Indigenous Tradition.....	133
Problematic Representations of Indigenous Re-Urbanization	135
Review of Recent Literature on Urban Indigenous Knowledge and Community	141
Connected to Culture and Heritage	143
Land-Based Traditions	146
Geographically Dispersed	163
Mobile and Connected to Reserve Communities	167
Intra-Community Cultural and Economic Diversity	171
Cosmopolitanism and Pan-Indigeneity	175
Fluid Membership	180
Anonymity	181
Women	183

Conclusion.....	185
Chapter 5: “It’s the Spirit of the Place” - Indigenous Knowledge and Therapeutic	
Landscapes in Toronto	188
Introduction	188
A Temporal-Spatial Overview of Toronto’s Indigenous Heritage.....	190
Overview of Toronto’s Indigenous Community	205
Placing the Past/Present: Mapping Toronto’s Indigenous Oral Traditions on the	
Great ‘Indian’ Bus Tour.....	209
Interviews	221
Characteristics of the Interviewees.....	223
Key Themes.....	224
Conclusion.....	267
Chapter 6: Retrospect	271
Bibliography	289
Appendix A: Map of Ontario Municipalities	325
Appendix B: Regional Map of Significant Locations	326
Appendix C: Map of Significant Toronto Locations.....	327
Appendix D: Interview Questions.....	328
Basic Questions	328

Toronto and Health.....	328
Toronto and Indigenous Traditions	328
Final.....	329
Glossary.....	330

Chapter 1: Introduction

My decision to undertake research in the area of Indigenous knowledge, and among Toronto's Indigenous community in particular, can only be understood as a product of a series of experiences over the course of my lifetime. These same experiences have not only shaped my interest in this topic, but also ultimately how I approach and understand these issues. I was born in Kamloops, British Columbia, but when I was only a year old, my mother divorced my biological father and moved my older brother and I to Elliot Lake¹, a small Northern Ontario town situated just north of Lake Huron and Manitoulin Island, roughly equidistant from the cities of Sault Ste. Marie and Sudbury. It was there, at the edge of the boreal forest nestled in the Canadian Shield, that I spent most of my childhood years. Some of my fondest childhood memories are of summers spent hiking, fishing, and camping with my family along the many lakes that dot the region, and playing with friends and family in the woods that were never further than a 5 minute walk from my house. I spent seemingly endless hours catching salamanders, snakes, toads, and insects amid the grasses, ponds, and rocks, picking blueberries growing amongst the moss and lichens, eating wild mint, and chewing pine bark. When Elliot Lake's uranium mines closed down in the early 1990s, my family moved to Marathon, an even smaller Northern Ontario town located along the rocky cliffs of Lake Superior's North Shore. It was there that I spent the majority of my teenage years. Elliot Lake and Marathon were both located at least two or three hour's drive from the larger northern Ontario cities like Sudbury, Sault Ste. Marie, and Thunder Bay, so my family only visited these cities on an

¹ See Appendix A: Map of Ontario Municipalities and for a list of communities in Ontario mentioned throughout this dissertation.

occasional basis, usually to go shopping or for vacations. As such, the prospect of traveling to or living in a city was always a foreign, but fun and exciting one for me.

Both Elliot Lake and Marathon were situated within Ojibwa traditional territory, and close to Ojibwa reserve communities. As a teenager in Marathon I occasionally delivered building supplies to the nearby reserve communities of Pic River and Pic Mobert as part of my job at the local hardware store. Over time, I noticed that while relations between the Indigenous minority and the non-Native, mostly white majority were usually amicable, there was also a significant amount of underlying tension and division between these groups, particularly around issues related to treaty rights and discrimination. So when I moved to London, Ontario, to attend university as an undergraduate in 1995, I was pleasantly surprised to learn that Native and non-Native people there were much less likely to express animosity towards each other.

While completing my undergraduate degree in anthropology, I explored my interest in archaeology and became involved, through volunteer and work-study placements, with the London Museum of Archaeology². I gave public museum tours and worked as an archaeology exhibitor at the Attawandaron (Neutral) village archaeological site located next to the museum. For two summers I worked for the museum as a contract archaeologist, assisting with salvage excavations and cataloging of artifacts from sites across South-Western Ontario.

It was also during my undergraduate university years that I gained a more critical understanding of the history of Western religions and of the incredible diversity in human

² The London Museum of Archaeology is now the Museum of Ontario Archaeology.

life-ways and belief systems. Although I was raised as a Roman Catholic, during my undergraduate years I found my own beliefs moving from Roman Catholicism toward a more relativist agnostic theism. In the year 2000, while finishing my Master's degree in Anthropology in London, Ontario, I was fortunate to be invited to rent a room in the house of David Kanatawakhon-Maracle, a Mohawk language teacher. We became friends and, since I expressed interest, he taught me about Mohawk language and culture. We spent many summer afternoons sitting in his backyard speaking very rudimentary (on my part) Mohawk, and I assisted him in creating Mohawk language instructional materials for his undergraduate students.

It was also around this time that I became more interested in my mother's genealogy, which I learned extended back to at least 1668, when my 9th great grandfather, Pierre Gauthier dit Saguingoira, first came from France to the burgeoning settlement of Montreal. He would become one of the earliest founders of the village of Lachine, now a neighborhood in Montreal located along the St. Lawrence River. In 1689 Pierre Gauthier and his wife Charlotte were taken captive during a Mohawk raid on Lachine, an event which became popularly known as the 'Lachine Massacre'. Charlotte apparently died in captivity, but Pierre survived and lived with the Mohawks for 10 years before suddenly and inexplicably returning to Lachine. Pierre's first son, Jean Gauthier, became a voyageur and eventually married an Illini woman named Susanne Capciouekoue. In 1702, Jean moved south with Susanne to help establish a new mission at the historically significant settlement of Kaskaskia, Illinois. He stayed there with his wife's community and adopted their ways. Further genealogical research completed since my undergraduate

years has revealed generations of ancestors that had originally emigrated (predominantly from France) during the 17th century to settle in different communities all along the St. Lawrence River. I was astounded to learn that dozens of these ancestors experienced sustained interactions with different Indigenous nations in the area; some were voyageurs, some fought, married, or were captured and adopted by Mohawks while others lived among, married, or traded with Wendat and Montagnais-Innu peoples. Many of these ancestors lived in Montagnais-Innu, Wendat, and Mohawk communities, or missions such as Tadoussac, Ste. Marie Among the Hurons, the Sillery, L' Ancienne Lorette, Ile d'Orleans, Notre Dame de Foy, and Deux Montagnes (Oka). One of my ancestors is none other than the famous explorer, fur trader, and interpreter Nicolas Marsolet de Saint-Aignan, a contemporary of Samuel de Champlain and Étienne Brulé. Nicolas Marsolet befriended and lived with the Montagnais-Innu, who taught him their language, and trusted him to act on their behalf (Vachon, 1966). Another of my ancestors is Éléonore de Grandmaison, who had resided at the Sillery for a time with her influential husband François de Chavigny de Berchereau. When a group of Wendat peoples took refuge from the Haudenosaunee on the Ile d'Orleans, Éléonore rented lands to them, and allowed them to establish a community there from 1651-1656. Her son, François Chavigny de la Chevrotiere (also my ancestor), was present at the gathering of nations at Sault Ste. Marie in 1671 when Jean Baptiste de St. Luson presumed to claim the entirety of the Northern Territories for France (Lefebvre, 1966). In 1704 two other ancestors of mine, Josiah Rising and Abigail Nims, were, as children, captured by Mohawks at Deerfield, Massachusetts. They were adopted into Mohawk society and raised as

Mohawk. Years later, they were released to a Catholic mission at Montreal and soon after married each other at Oka. After they married they decided to return to live among their Mohawk community nearby. The priest who married them wrote that they wished “to remain with the Christian Indians, not only renouncing their nation but even wishing to live *en sauvages*” (Haefeli & Sweeney, 2003, p. 219). Subsequently, several generations of my ancestors were born, lived, and died at Oka.

I became fascinated by these and other stories of significant inter-cultural and bicultural encounters experienced by my ancestors during the 17th and 18th centuries. I wondered what it might have been that some of my European ancestors found among Indigenous ‘others’, during a time when European society was convinced of its inherent superiority (T. King, 2012, pp. 23–24, 28–29), that tempered or even reversed those views. By the time I had completed my Master’s degree, these cumulative experiences had cultivated in me an intense interest in Indigenous knowledge and worldviews. I took these experiences as a sign that perhaps I should undertake extended research in this area. This dissertation is the product of my decision to do so.

My initial broad research plan was to examine the presence and character of land-based³ urban Indigenous knowledge and traditions as expressed among Indigenous Torontonians. I prepared to conduct this research in Toronto by becoming involved in the city’s Indigenous community, attending events, meeting community members, and volunteering wherever I was needed. In 2003 I began volunteering at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto (NCCT), particularly with the Toronto Native Community History

³ Refer to the entry ‘Land / Place / Landscape’ in the glossary of this dissertation (p. 330) for my usage of the terms ‘land’, ‘land-based’, ‘landscape’, ‘place’, and ‘place-based’.

Program (TNCHP)⁴, a program within the NCCT dedicated to documenting and sharing Toronto's Indigenous history. At the outset I shared my research interests and plans with the NCCT's Executive Director, Larry Frost, the TNCHP co-ordinator, Monica Bodirsky, and anyone else in the community who was interested. I started by assisting with miscellaneous tasks such as workshops for the NCCT's annual Elder's Gathering, the annual pow-wow then held at the Sky Dome / Rogers Centre, developing displays for the TNCHP's archival and material culture collection, working on TNCHP websites, organizing and leading annual bus trips to the pow-wow at Curve Lake reserve, and conducting and synthesizing research on Toronto's Indigenous history. During this time, I also met with Indigenous Elders at the NCCT, the *Dodem Kanonhsa* (an Elder's lodge in Toronto), and Trent University to discuss my dissertation topic and methodology and, with my dissertation supervisor Dr. Joseph Sheridan, attended Elder's Conferences and ceremonies at Trent University and Curve Lake reserve. Essentially, I became a participant in Toronto's Indigenous community during several years of work at the TNCHP and NCCT.

As time passed, TNCHP co-ordinator Monica Bodirsky asked me to take on additional responsibilities. I began attending the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour of Toronto, a highly-regarded tour of places of Indigenous heritage in Toronto originated in 1995 by Rodney Bobiwash. Rodney Bobiwash was a prominent Indigenous scholar and community leader in Toronto who unfortunately passed away in 2002, roughly a year before I became involved with Toronto's Indigenous community. However, the TNCHP

⁴ In 2013 the TNCHP was renamed to First Story Toronto.

continued to offer the bus tours, led by local Indigenous playwright Alanis King. I was asked to assist Alanis King in guiding the tours, and did so for a few years. Inspired by the stories told during the tour, I began researching Toronto's Indigenous and environmental heritage in more depth, and initiated the development of a map of place-based stories for the TNCHP and the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour. I was also increasingly asked by members of the community to conduct walking tours of places such as *Mashquoteh*, the Toronto Carrying Place Portage, and High Park, which are of significance to the Indigenous heritage of Toronto⁵.

In 2008, bus tour guide Alanis King moved away from the city, and in the same year Monica Bodirsky left her position at the NCCT, and a new co-ordinator was not immediately hired to replace her. I was asked by both the NCCT and Monica Bodirsky to continue the responsibility of organizing and leading the Great 'Indian' Bus Tours. When I asked her why she approached me to take on this responsibility, she responded that 1) I was dedicated, 2) she saw that people in the community were comfortable around me, 3) I was not patronizing, and 4) she knew I had Indigenous ancestors (even before I did!). However, of all these reasons, she explained that caring deeply about the tour and the community was the only important requirement for the job. Monica had previously asked several others from the community to help lead the tours, but, for a variety of reasons, they had each refused to take on the responsibility. Although initially apprehensive of the responsibility involved, I accepted the challenge, and, taking cues from the tours led by both Rodney Bobiwash and Alanis King, I have since led dozens of bus tours. More

⁵ The Indigenous significance of these places is detailed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

recently, I have begun working with several Indigenous community members that have also become interested in conducting the Great ‘Indian’ Bus Tour.

Very early in my work with the Great ‘Indian’ Bus Tour, I realized that it was an important example of an urban land-based oral storytelling tradition that in many ways paralleled those found in less urban contexts⁶ and this realization informed my approach to leading bus and walking tours. Getting the stories right, I felt, necessitated learning them by heart, both in the sense of committing them to memory, and in the sense of trusting personal intuition, emotion, imagination, experience, and context to guide their telling. In investing something of myself in these stories, I was surprised to find myself developing personal connections with the stories and the places they were about. The places began to resonate with the lessons and metaphors from their stories, each developing its own unique and palpable character. Collectively, these storied places coalesced into a nascent ethics of place, a recognition that places hold lessons that are important to heed as a precondition for learning how to live well within them. It is these accumulated experiences from over a decade of work within Toronto’s Indigenous community that informed this dissertation which, at its core, is an exploration of what I’ve learned from Toronto’s land-based storytelling tradition, and its potential implications for contemporary Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

The title of this dissertation refers to the Anishinaabe prophecy⁷ of the Seven Fires. The prophecy describes how seven prophets came among the Anishinaabe people at

⁶ The Great ‘Indian’ Bus Tour is detailed in Chapter 5 as an example of urban land-based Indigenous Knowledge.

⁷ See the Glossary (p. 331 of this dissertation) regarding the broad differences between Indigenous and Western notions of prophecy.

different points in the history of their migration from the East Coast to foretell important events that would affect the Anishinaabe people in each of seven future generations, or Fires. There are different versions of this prophecy, but arguably the most popular and most widely cited account of this prophecy is that written by Edward Benton-Banai in *The Mishomis Book* (1979). In Benton-Banai's account of the prophecy, the first three Fires refer to the ancient migration of the Anishinaabe people from Wabenaki (along the East coast of North America) to Madeline Island near the Western terminus of Lake Superior, "the land where food grows on water" (i.e.: where there is wild rice) (Benton-Banai, 1979, p. 89). The Fourth Fire details the arrival of European settlers to North America and foretold that the future of the Anishinaabe people would depend on whether the newcomers wore the face of brotherhood or the face of death; if the Europeans wore the face of brotherhood it would signal the beginning of a mighty new nation, and an era of cross-cultural co-operation and sharing of knowledge (Benton-Banai, 1979, pp. 89–90). But, while some early Europeans may have adopted the face of brotherhood, it eventually became clear that European nations were ultimately not as interested in establishing partnerships based on mutual respect, co-operation, and equality as they were in attaining land, resources, converting souls to Christianity, and empire-building. The resulting adversity, upheaval, cultural genocide, and disease experienced by Indigenous peoples during colonialism are predicted in the Fifth and Sixth Fires of the Anishinaabe prophecy.

The veracity of the previous Six Fires has been established historically. When Benton-Banai wrote *The Mishomis Book*, he suggested that we are living during the

Seventh Fire, a time when, after centuries of colonialism, assimilation and cultural genocide, Indigenous people will begin to relearn their traditional ways and to “retrace their steps to find what was left by the trail” (Benton-Banai, 1979, pp. 91–92). That Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island⁸ are currently in the process of revitalizing their traditions and communities lends credence to the interpretation that we are currently living in the Seventh Fire.

In Benton-Banai’s version of this prophecy, the Seventh Fire is also prophesied to be a time when the ‘light-skinned race’ must make a choice between two paths:

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. If the Light-skinned Race makes the wrong choice of roads, then the destruction which they brought with them in coming to this country will come back to them and cause much suffering and death to all the Earth’s people. (Benton-Banai, 1979, p. 93)⁹

The reference to two roads seems to me to be an instructive analogy for the nature of this choice. Roads, of course, lead to places of significance, but there are different kinds of roads, each of which represents a different sort of engagement with land. The vast transcontinental network of *miikaans* (footpaths), portages and canoe routes created and used by Indigenous peoples, for instance, were very much a product of ongoing embodied negotiation between one’s desired destination, and the geography of the territory one crosses (P.-E. McNab, 2013, pp. 29–31). Thus, while such routes may have been relatively straight in prairies and savannas, they may of necessity also have meandered through valleys and meadows, along rivers, shorelines, and bluffs, and around dense

⁸ Turtle Island is a commonly used Indigenous reference to North America which, according to several Indigenous creation stories, was created atop the back of a giant turtle.

⁹ It may be significant to note that, in keeping with cyclical notions of Indigenous time and prophecy, that nature of the prophecy of the 4th Fire parallels the nature of the 7th prophecy in the sense that the outcome of both was uncertain and depended on the choices of ‘the light-skinned’ people.

vegetation, hills, and wetlands. If the route was a good one, it would be travelled often and would become increasingly clear over time. But if the path wasn't optimal, if better routes were found, or if the places they led to became less desirable or significant, then a path would fall into disuse, become overgrown, and eventually would disappear. In this sense, such paths are both highly dynamic and democratic; in traveling a footpath, people literally vote with their feet, and, in the process, inscribe their knowledge of *the land* onto *the land*.

By contrast, paved highways are less a negotiation with *the land* than an imposition of technology in an attempt to conquer or defy geography. Just like their Roman precedents, modern highways tunnel through hills and mountains, fly over valleys and rivers, and bisect wetlands in an effort to achieve the straightest, most level, and most efficient line between two points. Highways are *a priori* built and maintained more in the service of nations or empires for speedy, efficient travel and communication than the needs of the local populations whose territory they cross. Upon traveling them, they highly restrict where we can and cannot go. In this way, highways are more despotic than democratic. Both paths and highways are products of different sorts of engagement with land, but in traveling them they also produce different sorts of experience of the territories they traverse. A path allows one to feel the terrain at one's feet, and provides opportunities to experience and connect with one's surroundings at a forgiving, walking pace. Traveling a modern highway, on the other hand, one is fundamentally disconnected from one's surroundings, due in part to the fast pace of travel and the paved uniformity of the highway. In walking a path, one engages with and contributes to the collective land-

based wisdom of one's predecessors. In traveling a highway, *the land* is transformed into inconvenient space between places, made more bearable by the highway and the insulating comforts offered by modern vehicular travel.

The value of this analogy is that it highlights how the different roads mentioned in the prophecy may refer to very different knowledge of, approaches to, engagements with, and experiences of environment. Just as the paths of streams, snow drifts, and shadows represent water's, wind's, and sun's knowledge of landscape, so too do paths, roads, and highways represent human's different knowledge and experience of land. Benton-Banai suggests that the two roads mentioned in this prophecy are the fast, destructive highway of technology¹⁰ currently traveled by Western society and the slower, greener trail of spirituality traveled by traditional¹¹ Indigenous peoples, and that continued technological development without sufficient grounding in land-based spiritual values will lead to much suffering, death, and destruction (1979, p. 93).

Interestingly, the Haudenosaunee also have a prophecy called the Seventh Generation prophecy which is consistent in certain respects with the Anishinaabe prophecy of the Seventh Fire. According to this prophecy, seven generations after European contact the *Onkwehonwe* (the real people) would begin to witness environmental degradation, climactic change, and species extinctions, and it is at this time that the *Onkwehonwe* would demand that respect for the Earth be restored. Furthermore, it is predicted that people would begin to seek the wisdom and guidance of the *Onkwehonwe* (Johnson, 1996, pp. 601–602).

¹⁰ See the term 'Technology' in the Glossary of this dissertation (page 332).

¹¹ See the term 'Traditional' in the Glossary of this dissertation (page 333).

Both the Anishinaabe Seventh Fire prophecy and the Haudenosaunee Seventh Generation prophecy emphasize the importance of Indigenous knowledge to the present generation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. The importance of Indigenous knowledge, traditions, and land-based practices for contemporary Indigenous peoples is by now well-established. A fairly large and growing literature affirms the importance and efficacy of Indigenous knowledge and traditions for promoting wellness and healing the colonial, intergenerational traumas experienced by contemporary Indigenous peoples and communities. The ways that traditional Indigenous approaches heal are holistic, multivariate, and complex, but often involve a process of reorienting meanings and values around a spiritually-informed, life-affirming cosmological narrative, and strengthening connections to culture, community, and *land* through land-based practices, storytelling, and ceremony. *The land*, cultural integrity, and wellness are understood to be intertwined, and traditional Indigenous stories give expression to and reinforce the connections among these mutually supportive domains. But Indigenous prophecy also points to the environmental and health implications of an imbalanced relationship to land and technology in the Western world. Every day, we are confronted with evidence of environmental destruction and its attendant health and social effects, yet changes to practices known to be destructive, if indeed they change at all, usually occur at a glacial pace. Perhaps Indigenous knowledge, as expressed through storytelling, ceremony, community, and land-based practices, can inspire more balanced, holistic, and health-sustaining approaches to environment, community, and wellness in the West.

So far, most analyses of Indigenous knowledge, community, storytelling, and land-based practices have been conducted in primarily rural or wilderness settings. However, most people (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) now live in urban locales, and while research on urban Indigenous communities and identity is growing, there has been very little examination of Indigenous knowledge in urban areas. It is often assumed rather than examined that land-based Indigenous knowledge, values, and traditions, originally practiced in less urban contexts, are incompatible with urban environments, which some implicitly assume exist outside of nature¹². These assumptions have stifled analyses of urban Indigenous knowledge and have, in turn, influenced some Indigenous people's notions about the relevance or appropriateness of Indigenous knowledge in cities. Instead, the research on urban Indigenous people, culture, and communities has tended focus on problems such as gang culture, substance abuse, violence, HIV/AIDS, homelessness, and alienation. As a result, less is known about how Indigenous individuals living in cities conceptualize *the land*, healing / wellness, storytelling, and tradition in urban environments.

In light of Indigenous prophecy asserting the importance of Indigenous knowledge in the present, and the fact that most Indigenous people now live in cities, analyses of urban Indigenous knowledge are overdue. Indeed, the realization that Indigenous urbanization coincided with the Indigenous cultural revitalization that characterized the lighting of the Seventh Fire in Anishinaabe prophecy suggests that urban Indigenous experiences may

¹² See the term 'urban' discussed in this dissertation's Glossary, p. 333

be a significant characteristic of this Fire, and that in this experience rests an opportunity for the realization of the Eighth Fire.

Many important questions emerge from such a research agenda. What are the characteristics of Indigenous knowledge as it is practiced by diverse Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island¹³ and what lessons might such knowledge hold for Westerners on the ‘road of technology’ mentioned by Benton-Banai (1979) in his telling of the Anishinaabe prophecy? How do Indigenous urbanites view urban environments and the connections between those environments, wellness, storytelling, and other land-based traditional practices? To what degree can land-based traditions be practiced in urban environments? To what degree and in what ways is urban Indigenous knowledge continuous or discontinuous with Indigenous knowledge from non-urban environments? What unique knowledge or perspectives might urban Indigenous people have by virtue of their urban experiences? Could land-based urban Indigenous Knowledge, shared through initiatives such as the Great ‘Indian’ Bus Tour of Toronto, be understood as an important pathway to the Eighth Fire?

This dissertation engages with these questions via an interdisciplinary analysis of urban Indigenous knowledge and community, particularly regarding the ways that some Indigenous people in Toronto articulate connections among urban places, storytelling, cultural integrity, and healing / wellness. Comparisons with non-urban and pre-colonial Indigenous knowledge and communities demonstrate that the character of contemporary

¹³ This very broad question cannot be fully answered within one dissertation, yet Chapter 2 explains that there are significant commonalities in Indigenous epistemology which cross-cut diverse Indigenous knowledges and this dissertation attends to these broad commonalities.

urban Indigenous communities is in some ways consistent with their pre-colonial predecessors, and that urban Indigenous knowledge, although uniquely adapted to the city, exhibits many epistemological consistencies with Indigenous knowledge practiced outside of the city. In Toronto, there exists an Indigenous oral tradition of the city as a traditional territory that maps stories to places across the urban landscape in similar ways to non-urban land-based storytelling traditions. Consistent with Indigenous prophecy, this dissertation explores the importance of Indigenous knowledge for contemporary Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. This analysis suggests that the destructive ‘road of technology’ mentioned by Benton-Banai (1979) originates from, and also exacerbates, a deep cosmological disconnection from environment that has encouraged the proliferation of environmentally and socially toxic ideologies, narratives, and practices. This dissertation thus argues that Indigenous land-based knowledge, stories, and practices that foster meaningful connections between people and *the land* (urban or otherwise) may constitute an important step down the other greener, more balanced ‘road to spirituality’.

This argument is complemented by an in-depth analysis of interviews conducted among a small group of Anishinaabe people living in Toronto, which is exploratory of how Indigenous land-based traditions remain important for healing and wellness in the city, and how developing meaningful connections to places in urban territories provides important lessons regarding what it means to live well in the city. This analysis defies notions that Indigenous peoples or land-based traditions are incompatible with urban environments, or that ‘urban’ and ‘nature’ are mutually exclusive categories. Instead, it provides a map for future analyses that examine urban Indigenous traditions as extensions

of land-based Indigenous knowledge to urban ecologies. It argues that urban Indigenous land-based traditions are not only important for the ongoing wellness of urban Indigenous peoples, but also for the integrity of urban environments, non-Indigenous urbanites, and ultimately for the realization of the Eighth Fire of Anishinaabe prophecy.

In order to contextualize the analysis of urban Indigenous knowledge, Chapter 2 provides a literature review of the epistemological tenets underlying diverse expressions of Indigenous knowledge in North America. It describes Indigenous knowledge as a method of engagement with an animate, more-than-human world that involves learning from the cyclical interrelationships that compose one's environment, of one's own responsibilities within that system of relations, and how to best express these through storytelling and ceremony. A key point that emerges from this review is that by referencing *land*, ecology, and place as epistemological authorities on how to live well in one's environment, Indigenous knowledge remains most appropriate to the context in which it originated. We should therefore expect that Indigenous knowledge will change over time and space according to changes to the context in which it is practiced. This also suggests that while the character of urban Indigenous knowledge may vary from Indigenous knowledge practiced in other environments, insofar as urban Indigenous peoples look to urban environments for lessons on how to live well in the city, urban Indigenous knowledge can be said be epistemologically consistent with Indigenous knowledge practiced in other contexts.

Consistent with the Anishinaabe Seventh Fire Prophecy, Chapter 3 explores the implications of Indigenous Knowledge for Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. It

begins with a discussion of the many ways that colonialism undermined Indigenous health and healing, particularly by disconnecting Indigenous peoples from their lands and cultures through measures such as land surrender treaties, reserves, the Indian Act, and residential schools. However, Chapter 3 describes how decolonizing efforts that focus on reconnecting Indigenous peoples and communities with *the land* and cultural traditions through storytelling, ceremony, and land-based practices have been profoundly healing. Chapter 3 ends by considering how some of the social, environmental, and health crises currently afflicting the Western world are symptomatic of a crisis of values in some ways rooted in a cosmological disconnection from our environments. The form and function of modern Western cities may largely be understood as expressions of this disconnection. Yet, in the same way that the re-articulation of more land-based cosmologies and practices have helped Indigenous peoples heal from colonial trauma, this chapter explores how they may also heal the trauma of ecological disconnection in the West, providing the shift in values needed to once again learn how to live well in our environments, and among diverse human and more-than-human others. This chapter thus marshals evidence in support of the call for a more spiritually-informed pathway in the Anishinaabe prophecy of the Seventh Fire.

The analytical reviews of Indigenous knowledge and land-based healing presented in Chapter 2 and 3 together provide the necessary background for a critical comparative reading of the available literature on urban Indigenous knowledge and community presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 4 starts with a brief examination of pre-colonial urban Indigenous community forms and then challenges commonly-held assumptions that

urban environments cannot sustain, or are irrelevant to, land-based Indigenous knowledge. Rather, this chapter asserts, based on the currently-available literature, that urban environments are indeed capable of supporting Indigenous land-based traditions, and there is significant indication that urban land-based Indigenous knowledge is already being practiced in at least some cities. This chapter then examines some of the overarching themes in the burgeoning literature on urban Indigenous knowledge, providing comparisons among urban Indigenous communities, traditions, and knowledge, the pre-colonial urban traditions mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, and the themes mentioned in Chapter 2 and 3. These comparisons situate contemporary urban-based Indigenous knowledge and communities within an urban Indigenous tradition that began well before the arrival of Europeans, and before the establishment of many European cities. Chapter 4 suggests that contemporary urban Indigenous traditions, community, and knowledge should be understood as continuous with non-urban and pre-colonial forms, and that the connections among Indigenous cultural integrity, *the land*, storytelling, and health are operative in urban areas as well.

The focus on urban Indigenous knowledge is continued in Chapter 5 with a more specific analysis, based on over 10 years of community participation and research, of the character of Indigenous knowledge and community in Toronto. I begin with an overview of Toronto's Indigenous heritage extending as far back as the end of the last Ice Age (11,000 years ago), as well as an overview of Toronto's contemporary Indigenous community. This broad temporal and spatial overview provides the necessary context for a discussion of the existence and character of Indigenous knowledge in Toronto.

Although contemporary urban form may, in some ways, exemplify Western disconnection from natural relationships, the Great ‘Indian’ Bus Tour is discussed as an urban land-based Indigenous storytelling tradition which traverses colonial roadways to give expression to Toronto’s Indigenous heritage, encouraging people to establish personal connections to places in Toronto’s landscape in ways that parallel Indigenous storytelling traditions practiced in non-urban contexts. In order to examine, in a preliminary fashion, some of the ways that Toronto’s Indigenous oral tradition is expressed among Indigenous Torontonians, I then present a thematic analysis of detailed, semi-structured interviews I conducted among five Anishinaabe Torontonians regarding Indigenous knowledge in Toronto and how they express connections among cultural integrity, storytelling, urban *land*, and healing / wellness. This chapter illustrates that land-based Indigenous knowledge is practiced by at least some in Toronto, in ways that are very much continuous with Indigenous knowledge practiced in other contexts. Analysis of Toronto’s Indigenous storytelling tradition and other land-based practices also suggests that an Indigenous ethics of place is emergent in Toronto. This ethics of place describes Toronto’s fundamental and enduring character as a meeting place for diverse peoples, and identifies a cosmopolitan ethic¹⁴ towards diversity to be an important part of what it means to live well in the city. A cosmopolitan ethic towards diversity is an important step towards developing mutually respectful and advantageous relations among diverse Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and for encouraging discussions regarding the importance of Indigenous knowledge in the present. The land-based

¹⁴ See the term ‘Cosmopolitan’ in the Glossary of this dissertation (page 330) for a discussion of my use of this term.

Indigenous practices that gave rise to the development of such a cosmopolitan ethic in Toronto can thus be considered entirely consistent with the realization of the Eighth Fire of Anishinaabe prophecy, suggesting that Toronto's Indigenous land-based oral tradition may constitute a significant pathway to the 8th Fire mentioned in Anishinaabe prophecy.

Chapter 2: Tracking Indigenous Knowledge - A Short Review of the Science and Art of Relationship

Introduction

There is tremendous diversity in the forms of cultural expression of the many Indigenous nations of Turtle Island. It has been estimated that there were over 2,000 distinct tribes across the Americas at the time of European contact (Obomsawin, 1983, p. 193). Even a cursory review of the available literature on the cultures and traditions of the many different Indigenous groups of Turtle Island, past and present, reveals a dizzying array of languages, beliefs, creation stories, ceremonies, practices, and models. These linguistic and cultural differences are essential to understand the intricacies of the beliefs and ceremonies of specific Indigenous groups. Nevertheless, Indigenous scholars have noted that underlying all this amazing cultural diversity appear to be many commonalities in epistemology (Benton-Banai, 1979, p. 4; Rice, 2005, p. 3; M. E. Smith, 2004, pp. 117–118). According to Cajete,

Nowhere else in the study of American Indian cultures is the principle of unity in diversity more clearly illustrated than in American Indian spiritual traditions. Though American Indian tribes represent diverse expressions of spirituality, there are elemental understandings held in common by all... A shared set of structures and tools for learning about spirit was used in similar ways by different tribes. The roles and structures of shamanism, the making of sacred art, the use of the sweat lodge, the reflection of the cosmos in a tribe's central ceremonial structures, vision questing, ceremonies, rituals, and dances tied to Nature's cycles are a few examples. (1994, p. 42)

This chapter is concerned with elaborating the broad character of Indigenous epistemology, knowledge, and method (IK) in order to provide a basis for a comparative discussion of IK as it is practiced in urban areas such as Toronto. I begin by examining

the fundamentally processual nature of IK to help explain the underlying unity and continuity that cross-cuts diverse and changing expressions of IK across time and space. I then provide an examination of some key characteristics of Indigenous epistemology and protocols which appear to be very common, if not ubiquitous, across Indigenous groups of Turtle Island: emphasis on the contextual and subjective nature of knowledge, notions that the cosmos is entirely animate and interrelated, the importance of maintaining reciprocity as a means to ensure balance and wellness, and the use of circular models and stories to map and engage with ecological and conceptual interrelationships.

Indigenous Knowledge as Process: Understanding Continuity through Change

Many scholars and international development agencies have attempted to provide universally applicable definitions of Indigenous knowledge (IK) and traditions, also often referred to as traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) or Native Science (Cajete, 2004). A quick review of the many definitions of IK contained in the literature reveals that there really is no universal consensus on how to define it; however the available definitions do share some broad commonalities. Most definitions describe IK as a body of instrumental knowledge and skills, accumulated through prolonged observation of local (usually reserve or wilderness) environments, that are adaptive to those environments. This knowledge is also understood to be historically and culturally constructed, changing over time in response to local circumstances (Grenier, 1998, p. 1; Management of Social Transformations Program, 2003; Purcell, 1998, p. 260).

However, some Indigenous writers question the need to provide a definition of Indigenous knowledge, recognizing that any definition of IK would be misleading since it would ultimately fail to encompass not only the different approaches to IK taken by various Indigenous groups, but also the holistic, interconnected, and sacred nature of the ceremonies, practices, ethics, ideas, and relations of any particular group (McGregor, 2004, p. 390). Battiste and Youngblood Henderson recognize that “No worldview has the power to describe the entire universe” (2000, p. 38) and that, “Perhaps the closest one can get to describing unity in Indigenous knowledge is that the knowledge is the expression of the vibrant relationships between the people, their ecosystems, and the other living beings and spirits that share their lands” (2000, p. 42). Thus, they argue the pursuit of universal definitions is a priority emerging from Eurocentric thought that does not fit well with Indigenous understandings (2000, p. 36).

Among the various definitions of IK offered by non-Indigenous writers that I examined, there was a tendency to characterize IK as a noun or a thing; a body of knowledge akin to biology, ecology, or philosophy. These definitions do tend to emphasize the relational and holistic knowledge that Indigenous groups have about their local environments. However, McGregor writes that most if not all Eurocentric attempts to define IK have misunderstood that, “IK is not just about knowledge about relationships with Creation or the natural world; it is the relationship itself. It is about being in the relationships with Creation; it is about realizing one’s vision and purpose and assuming responsibilities accordingly” (2004, p. 391). Likewise, Cajete explains that “Indian languages lack a word for ‘religion’. The words used refer to a ‘way’ of living, a tradition

of the people. This reflects the orientation of American Indian spiritual traditions to a process rather than to an intellectual structure. These are tools for learning and experiencing rather than ends in themselves” (1994, pp. 43–44). From this perspective, IK is not solely a body of knowledge and skills which can be separated from the people and places from which it originates. Rather, IK is more properly understood as a verb, which exists only in *practice*; it is the *process* of learning of, and maintaining cosmogonic relationships with, the rest of Creation. Thus, an understanding of IK can only be obtained through adherence to, and participation in, the teachings, ceremonies, and practices outlined by particular cultural protocols. To know IK is to embody it in the process of doing it (Battiste & Youngblood Henderson, 2000, p. 41). Recognition that IK is a process suggests that when discussing IK, epistemological considerations (i.e.: the how) should be considered at least as important as the information which results from practicing of IK (i.e.: the what).

Failure to consider the epistemological underpinnings of IK has prompted a series of anthropologists and other scholars of history, culture, and folklore to question the authenticity of Indigenous traditions, or at least to problematize Indigenous peoples’ assertions of the primordial nature of their traditions (Clifford, 2001, p. 472). While these scholars accord with Indigenous Elders and scholars that traditional forms of expression are dynamic and have always been adapted to suit the circumstances of the time (Rice, 2005, p. 4), the former group have asserted that all traditions must therefore be strategically invented or reconstructed to suit the present political, economic, social, and cultural circumstances of a given group (Handler & Linnekin, 1984; Hobsbawm &

Ranger, 1983; Shils, 1981). Analyses of changing traditions as strategically invented have promoted scholarly skepticism of Indigenous claims of the primordial nature of their traditions, based on the notion that traditions cannot be both dynamic and unchanging over time. Even the word 'tradition' has become suspect among some scholars, who make great efforts to avoid use of this term altogether, or, when it is invoked, to encapsulate the word within 'scare quotes' as if to apologize for its usage. Concerning the term 'traditional Aboriginal healing', Waldram et. al. have written,

Unfortunately, the adjective 'traditional' implies a static, past-oriented approach to well-being that is of little utility in a contemporary context, a seriously flawed notion....It is our view that the term 'traditional' is no longer useful as an adjective, and therefore we will refrain from its use from this point forward... (2006, pp. 237–238)

The 'invented traditions' literature continues the problematic practice of promoting analyses of non-Indigenous scholars who, using inappropriately dichotomous frames of reference, "...assume authority to authenticate contemporary Indigenous culture and determine which traditions are invented..." (Doxtater, 2004, p. 624) to the exclusion of the perspectives and analyses of Indigenous peoples about their own culture and traditions. Also troubling, is when Indigenous peoples feel they must take on the burden of reconciling the apparent paradox of changing traditions using inappropriate colonial lexical frames of reference. As Lawrence has written in regards to urban Indigenous traditions, "The question troubling Native communities in general, but which is even more relevant in urban contexts, is always, How much change can traditions accommodate and still be maintained as valid cultural practices?" (2004, p. 168)

The ‘invented traditions’ literature does not consider the possibility that changing traditions may still be entirely consistent with the past. What if the reason that Indigenous traditions and knowledge change is precisely because Indigenous groups are maintaining primordial epistemological consistency? Take, for example, scientific knowledge. What makes scientific knowledge scientific is not really its demonstrated continuity with past scientific knowledge, but rather its adherence to scientific protocols and methodologies for attaining that knowledge. That is why scientific knowledge can be constantly changing and yet remains scientific. Likewise, new or changing Indigenous cultural expressions may nevertheless be understood as traditional if they adhere to long-practiced Indigenous protocols and methodologies for collecting, sharing, and passing on knowledge. Like walking a footpath, IK must be understood as much a method of engagement with one’s environment as a product of that engagement. As Battiste and Youngblood Henderson have written, “...what is traditional about traditional ecological knowledge is not its antiquity, but the way it was acquired and used” (2000, p. 46). While Indigenous ceremonies, stories, and knowledge do change according to temporal and spatial context, they remain consistent with ancient Indigenous protocols for engaging with the world. Cajete has argued that

A constant building upon earlier realities is a basic characteristic of Indigenous process. The newest reality may seem different from earlier ones, but its essence and foundation remain tied to the earlier realities it encases.... Building on the realities of past generations and expressing new realities, while remaining true to *basic principles*, reflects the structuring process natural to the evolution of Indigenous education. (emphasis added) (1994, pp. 28–29)

From this perspective, changing forms of IK and other forms of Indigenous cultural expression are no more invented or constructed than changing scientific knowledge.

When Benton-Banai states that in the Seventh Fire the “...Osh-ki-bi-ma-di-zeeg' (New People)... will retrace their steps to find what was left by the trail” (1979, pp. 92–93), it seems to me to refer to the use of Indigenous epistemology and protocols to revitalize Indigenous cultural traditions and knowledge. Newhouse has suggested that this process is not a simplistic resurrection of previous Indigenous life ways, but rather a process of re-traditionalization, whereby Indigenous values and protocols inform the creation of new traditional ways of living in the present (2000, p. 405). In this way, what is traditional can also be contemporary. As long as one remembers and practices primordial epistemology and protocols for learning about the world and one’s place within that world, even knowledge that is temporarily forgotten can be regained and relearned. No wonder, despite the long, concerted, and often brutal colonial campaigns to erase Indigenous cultural traditions and knowledge, IK has survived and, in the Seventh Generation prophesied among Anishinaabe peoples, is currently undergoing a renaissance.

A focus on Indigenous epistemology thus highlights the unity and continuity underlying the great variability and dynamism in Indigenous cultural expressions and knowledge across North America. What then, is the character of this unity amid diversity, this continuity amid change? The following is a broad and necessarily partial review of some of the key tenets of Indigenous epistemology which have emerged from over 40,000 years of engagement with local environments (Cajete, 2004, p. 78), and which have been identified by First Nations authors, Elders, and the traditional teachers with whom I have had the privilege of speaking, as ubiquitous across many Indigenous groups.

The Importance of Contextual, Experiential, Ecological Knowledge

“For American Indians, knowledge is knowledge in experience, or if knowledge does not simply amount to this, it is at least the most important knowledge” (Burkhart, 2004, p. 20). Every environment has its own logic, character, and ecology. Among Indigenous people, learning to live successfully within a particular environment thus involves learning the specific character and ethics of a place. This knowledge, widely understood as lessons or gifts from the more-than-human world, comes from deep and long-term experiential observation and engagement with the natural rhythms and cycles of local ecosystems (Cajete, 1994, p. 56). These lessons then inform the development of land-based practices, ceremonies, and stories which are consistent with that place. Consequently, Indigenous cosmologies, epistemologies, and protocols are deeply grounded in observations of the ecological relationships that compose their traditional homelands (Cajete, 1994, p. 83; Waters, 2004, p. xxiv).

The importance of experiential, ecologically-grounded learning among Indigenous peoples contributes to the impressive diversity among Indigenous cultural forms in North America. LaDuke has written that “[w]herever Indigenous peoples still remain, there is also a corresponding enclave of biodiversity” (1999, p. 1). This close relationship between biodiversity and Indigenous cultural diversity is largely dependent on Indigenous peoples’ reliance on their environments, their subsequent desire to sustain the ecological integrity of their homelands, and the maintenance of practices designed to ensure balanced ecological systems. Biodiversity, in turn, supports (and indeed is a precondition for) cultural integrity and diversity among Indigenous people. Ecology thus

shapes Indigenous people as much as Indigenous people shape ecology; they are mutually constitutive.

Indian people interacted with the places in which they lived for such a long time that their landscape became a reflection of their very soul... Though it is not as apparent now as it was in the past, American Indians of the Northwest, Southwest, plains, Great Lakes, and Southeast reflect unique physical and psychological characteristics that are the result of generations of interaction with the geographies and ecologies of their respective regions. (Cajete, 1994, p. 84).

Many examples of the close relationship between Indigenous homelands and the character of Indigenous knowledge and cultural expression can be found in Indigenous languages. It has been noted that many Indigenous languages are heavily verb-based in comparison to European languages, which tend to be more noun-based. Compared to noun-based languages, verb-based languages more readily describe a world in motion, as a constant process of becoming, and thus are better equipped at representing complex, interrelated, dynamic ecological knowledge (Cordova, 2007, p. 174). Many Indigenous languages also feature elaborated vocabulary for features specific to their traditional homelands. For instance, the ability of Pueblo linguistics to distinguish different types of water parallels the elaborated vocabulary of Inuktitut regarding different types of ice and snow (Jojola, 2004, p. 89). Among Indigenous peoples, ecological order, cosmological order, and linguistic order track each other closely (Bringhurst, 2002, p. 11).

To a significant degree then, the cultural diversity among North American Indigenous groups stems from their common epistemological approach to ecology as teacher. An important implication of the close relationship between Indigenous culture and ecology is that the land-based knowledge and practices of an Indigenous group will be most relevant and appropriate to the particular homeland of that group. Knowledge of

plant medicines, for example, is only relevant where those medicinal plants exist, just as knowledge of tracking polar bear movements is most relevant in Arctic climates. If the ecology of a groups' traditional homeland changes drastically, or if a group is forced to relocate to unfamiliar territory, then it is likely that at least some of the knowledge and traditional practices developed under the previous ecological conditions will no longer be relevant, necessitating a re-learning process and the derivation of a new set of ethics, traditions, and methodologies more appropriate to the new context. But the newer traditions would be no less 'authentic', 'traditional', or 'correct' than the previous traditions. Insofar as they remain appropriate to their respective ecological contexts they are both traditional, since they accord with an orientation towards ecology as epistemological authority which appears to be ubiquitous among Indigenous groups across Turtle Island.

In modern Western thought, knowledge is much less likely to be recognized as rooted in places or contexts. Rather, positivist, rational, Christian and scientific thinking that is predominant in the Western world prioritizes knowledge emerging from the derivation and application of universal truths, perceived to apply to any spatial or temporal context, as that which is most authoritative and trustworthy (Burkhart, 2004, p. 20; Cordova, 2007, pp. 69–70). Among Westerners, there is thus an emphasis on finding the one true answer or explanation. In Christian dogma, for instance, there is only one true God, only one true creation story, and only one true set of morals by which to live. The positivist Western academic tradition, particularly in the natural sciences, exhibits the same universalizing tendencies. Over time, as these scholars discover more and more

idiosyncrasies, exceptions, and complexities concerning the worldly phenomena they study, universal truths become increasingly hard to come by, or at least increasingly complex in their explanation. While there is value in universal explanations, the sheer complexity of worldly phenomena can confound their development, leading, in some cases, to increasingly bulky theories and explanatory models which tend to lose their explanatory power over time.

Rather than channeling experiential observation and knowledge toward the derivation of timeless, universally applicable principles and facts, Indigenous perspectives suggest that truth can only be ascertained from within the spatial and temporal context from which knowledge originates (Burkhart, 2004, p. 20; Cajete, 2004, p. 46). While modern Western definitions of truth tend to revolve more around objectivity, factual correctness and empirical verifiability, Indigenous definitions of truth focus more on how well knowledge promotes wellness, balance, and respectful relations in one's territory according to Indigenous epistemology (i.e.: that which is true to the heart)¹⁵ (Hester & Cheney, 2001). The famous Black Elk succinctly communicated the tension between Western and Indigenous notions of truth when, after relating the story of White Buffalo Calf Woman, he stated, "This they tell...and whether it happened so or not, I do not know; but if you think about it, you can see that it is true" (As cited in Hester & Cheney, 2001, p. 322). Thus, among Indigenous groups, there is an emphasis on the subjective and context-specific nature of all knowledge (Brant Castellano, 2000, pp. 25–26). It is

¹⁵ These two differing notions of truth resonate well with Bruner's (1985) concepts of narrative vs. paradigmatic modes of cognition as well as with the metaphoric vs. rational mind discussed by Cajete (2004, p. 51). See page 47 of this dissertation for further discussion on these two modes of cognition and their implications.

possible for several different explanations of worldly phenomena to all be true in their own context. For instance, while different First Nations viewed the same movements of celestial bodies such as the stars, sun, and moon, they did so from different geographical points and interpreted those celestial movements according to their own cultural traditions and knowledge (Rice, 2005, p. 28). In this sense, it would be considered absurd to quarrel over which traditions were most correct (Deloria Jr., 2006, p. xxiii). Elder Tom Porter discusses this concept in relation to the medicine wheel, or Circle of Life. In the Haudenosaunee creation story, Sky Woman creates the Earth by walking counter-clockwise to spread dirt atop the back of a giant turtle. For this reason, Haudenosaunee ceremonies and teachings related to the Haudenosaunee Circle of Life follow this counter-clockwise motion. By contrast, Anishinaabe peoples such as the Lakota or Ojibwa conduct ceremonies and medicine wheel teachings based on clockwise motion, since that is what the Creator told them to do (Porter, 2006). “Each Aboriginal society has their [sic] own original instructions. To transgress the boundaries of another society might result in being punished by corporeal or non-corporeal beings residing in the area” (Rice, 2005, p. 28). Subsequently, Porter relates,

...when I go to Ojibwa or Lakota country, I follow how they go, with no questions, with complete respect. They dance clockwise, and if they ask me to dance, I go right with them. And when the real Ojibwa or Lakota come here, they're the same. They dance our way with us, no hesitation. This is the way we were told to do it by our Elders – with respect. (2006)

All of Creation is Animate and Related

“There are only two things you have to remember about being Indian. One is that everything is alive, and the second is that we are all related” (Joseph Couture in Brant

Castellano, 2000, p. 29). Ubiquitous among Indigenous groups across North America is the notion that life, consciousness, agency, and spirituality are not restricted to humans, as is predominantly taught in dominant Western thought. Rather, there exists a common understanding that everything that exists in the universe, including animals, plants, natural elements, spirits, planets, and stars, possesses energy, is alive and animate (Cajete, 1994, p. 44). A sacred, mysterious, non-anthropomorphic, animate, creative substance or life force, variously called *usen*, *waken*, *Manitou*, or Great Spirit, is widely understood to compose and animate all things. This substance-force has been called 'the ultimate of abstractions' since it is both matter and energy, form and spirit, stability and motion, reality and potentiality of all things (Cordova, 2007, pp. 107–110). That everything is essentially *usen* leads to the understanding that everything is connected – it is all one thing. In this vein, Cajete has written that “...there is a knowing Center in all human beings that reflects the knowing Center of the Earth and other living things” (1994, p. 211). There is no separation between a creator and the earth, between the earth and living creatures, between animals and humans; all is *usen* and therefore alive and sacred (Cordova, 2007, pp. 113–115).

The concept of *usen* informs Indigenous conceptions of the interrelatedness of all things in the universe; that humans share real relations of kinship with everything else. In Indigenous creation stories, the Earth is often given a female gender, in acknowledgment of its procreative power and its role as mother to all that live within it (Cordova, 2007, p. 105). For instance, the Haudenosaunee creation story, in which the entire world is made atop the back of a giant turtle, “embodies the understanding of the whole Earth as a

living, breathing, and knowing entity who nourishes and provides for every living thing through its own magnificent life process” (Cajete, 1994, p. 36). As in the biblical story of Genesis, Indigenous creation stories often describe how earth, water, wind, plants, and animals were all created first, while human beings were formed last. However, unlike the story of Genesis, in which God instructs humans to subdue and rule over the Earth, the creator spirits of Indigenous creation stories instruct the plants, animals, and elements, who are all animate and sentient, to take pity on their younger human siblings, and to teach them how to live successfully and ethically with the rest of Creation (C. King, 1991, p. 184). These stories often suggest that there are no real differences between humans and animals (Deloria Jr., 1995, p. 233). Rather, flowing from Indigenous creation stories is a widespread acknowledgment that humans share real relations of kinship, not only with other humans, but also with the more-than-human world. As Indigenous author Winona LaDuke has written,

Native American teachings described the relations all around – animals, fish, trees, and rocks – as our brothers, sisters, uncles, and grandpas. Our relations to each other, our prayers whispered across generations to our relatives, are what bind our cultures together. The protection, teachings, and gifts of our relatives have for generations preserved our families. These relations are honored in ceremony, song, story, and life that keeps relations close – to buffalo, sturgeon, salmon, turtles, bears, wolves, and panthers. These are our older relatives – the ones who came before and taught us how to live. (LaDuke, 1999, p. 2)

Emerging from Indigenous creation stories, then, is an orientation of respect, humility, and openness to the more-than-human world and the lessons it offers, an attitude akin to that which one would ideally adopt toward one’s elders.

This notion of relatedness also extends beyond a notion of universal kinship to the associated notion of interconnection. Similar to the ripples caused by a stone thrown into

a pool of water, it is recognized that the actions of one entity within a system will have an effect, however small, on everything else within that system, and that everything in the world is connected in this way (Cajete, 2004, p. 49). As Battiste and Youngblood Henderson state,

Mutual relationships exist among all forces and forms in the natural world: animals, plants, humans, celestial bodies, spirits, and natural forces. Indigenous peoples can manipulate natural phenomena through the application of appropriate practical and ritualistic knowledge. In turn, natural phenomena, forces, and other living things can affect humans. Everything affects everything else. (2000, p. 43)

Within the last century, explorations in the field of quantum physics, into the underlying atomic structure of all matter in the universe, and the realization of DNA as the fundamental building block of all animals and plants, have brought Western science into closer alignment with Indigenous scientific understandings of the fundamental unity and interconnection of all entities in the world. Indigenous scientist Thom Alcoze has pointed out that subatomic thermodynamics are in fact a microcosm of the universe, since subatomic forces and movement closely mirror the movement and organizational structure of planets, stars, and other celestial bodies (1991, pp. 30–31). The micro context mirrors the macro context, or perhaps they are one and the same. Alcoze related a story about an Ojibwa Elder who was taking a course at Laurentian University, Ontario. The Elder asked Alcoze, ‘Do all things in nature have atoms?’ to which Alcoze responded, ‘Yes, all of nature is composed of atoms.’ The Elder was pleased and mused, ‘So that’s what the old people must have meant.’ When Alcoze asked the Elder to explain, the Elder explained that all of creation, though varied in form and function, has spirit, and that the atom and spirit were pretty much the same (1991, pp. 30–31). Jeremy Narby (1998) has

written about similar analogies between the double helical structure of DNA and the snake spirits he observed while under the influence of the powerful hallucinogen, *ayahuasca*. Vine Deloria Jr. wrote that “There now seems to be a reasonable number of Western scientists and thinkers who subscribe to the idea that the ultimate constituent of the universe is mind, or mind-stuff” (2006, p. 195). The notion that mind-stuff is a fundamental constituent of everything in the world, as well as the scientific assertion that matter and energy cannot be created or destroyed, only transformed, are both entirely consistent with First Nations understandings of *usen* which unites all things in the universe (Alcoze, 1991, p. 31; Cordova, 2007, pp. 107–110).

Spiritual forces and entities are understood to permeate all things in the world, and through exploration of inner landscapes via dreams, visions, and ceremonies it is possible to commune with these entities. Through communion with these spirits, humans can gain knowledge (such as prophecy) which might be difficult, or impossible, to know otherwise (Cajete, 1994, p. 144; Deloria Jr., 2006, p. xxv; Rice, 2005, pp. 13–14). According to Deloria Jr.,

Often in dreams, a bird, animal, or stone would speak to them, offer its friendship and advice, or reveal the future, information they could not possibly derive from the most intense observation of the physical world. The people had no good reason to doubt these dreams, because their content was always later empirically verified in their daily lives – things they dreamt about happened. If a plant told them how to harvest it and prepare it for food or use as a medicine, they followed the plant’s directions and, they always found the message to be true. (2006, p. xxv)

It is for this reason that dreams and visions are considered so important among spiritually-grounded communities.

Reciprocity and Balance as a Cosmological Ethic (and Determinant of Health)

The understanding that the whole world is alive and intelligent and that all things in the world are interrelated through ties of kinship and mutuality, leads to the recognition that the world is composed of a complicated web of relationships that are important to honour and maintain. Ecology is rife with examples demonstrating that reciprocity, the never-ending cycle of giving and receiving, is a blueprint for the functioning of the cosmos, from which humans are not exempt.

Indigenous people understand that their traditional lands and cultures are mutually constitutive. While Indigenous people have interacted with and altered *the land* over millennia, *the land* has also worked on Indigenous people, shaping Indigenous culture, knowledge, identity and practice.

Through long-term experience with the ecology of their lands and the practical knowledge that such experience brings, they interceded in the creation of habitat and the perpetuation of plant and animal life toward optimum levels of biodiversity and biological vitality....Ultimately, there is no separation between humans and the environment. Humans affect the environment and the environment affects humans. Indigenous practices were founded on this undeniable reality and sought to perpetuate a sustainable and mutually reciprocal relationship. (Cajete, 1994, p. 84)

Reciprocity is fundamental to Indigenous ethics. Codified in the creation myths of different groups as the original instructions given to humans by the Creator, Indigenous ethics instruct people to live reciprocally and in balance with the rest of Creation. As Rice has written,

Aboriginal peoples refer to the order and harmony existing at the time of creation as the original instructions. To maintain a balanced world each aspect of creation is given instructions to follow – the sun rises in the east and sets in the west; birds migrate and constellations appear and disappear at certain times of the year; and

the moon follows a monthly cycle. When one of these cycles falters the rest of creation is affected. Each segment of the universe depends on another so each element of the cosmos must play its role to avoid cataclysmic consequences. (2005, p. 25)

Thus, every being in the universe has a role in maintaining balance and harmony. The instructions given to Indigenous people by the Creator on how to uphold their responsibilities in the world form the core of Indigenous knowledge (Rice, 2005, p. 25). Reflecting on the purpose of Indigenous science, Cajete explains,

The ultimate aim is not in explaining an objectified universe, but rather learning about and understanding responsibilities and relationships and celebrating those that humans establish with the world. Native science is also about mutuality and reciprocity with the natural world, which presupposes a responsibility to care for, sustain, and respect the rights of other living things, plants, animals, and the place in which you live. This is reflective of one of the oldest ecological principles practiced by Indigenous people all over the world, past and present, principles that have been incorporated as metaphysical, and practical, rules for human conduct. (2004, p. 55)

The exact nature of these instructions necessarily varies from group to group, according to a group's specific relationship to their particular environment. However, this basic principle of reciprocity, balance, and responsibility to one's territory seems to be ubiquitous among the Indigenous people of Turtle Island.

Accordingly, Indigenous peoples have developed a variety of ways to affirm and uphold their reciprocal responsibilities. Ceremonies, for instance, are a means of reciprocity considered necessary in maintaining balance and sacred relationships (Cajete, 1994, p. 80; Rice, 2005, pp. 25–26). “Native American rituals are frequently based on the reaffirmation of the relationship of humans to the Creation...Our gratitude for our part in Creation and for the gifts given to us by the Creator is continuously reinforced in Midewiwin lodges, Sun Dance ceremonies, world renewal ceremonies, and many others.”

(LaDuke, 2005, p. 12). The widespread practice of offering tobacco before and after taking the life of an animal or plant is one of many practices that seek to maintain respectful relations with the more-than-human world (Cajete, 1994, pp. 80, 89; Whitt, 1999, p. 71). On a practical level, maintenance of harmony and balance with the natural world was integral for ongoing survival and well-being of the group (Locust, 1988). Failure to show respect to the body of a hunted animal could anger the animal's spirit, who would then punish the offending hunter by preventing them from finding animals at a later date (Kawagley, 2001, p. 206; LaDuke, 1999, p. 51). Hunter-gatherers cannot take for granted that animals and plants will always remain abundant, and it is understood that over-harvesting could result in ecosystem disruption and, eventually, starvation for those responsible. Accordingly, all hunting groups traditionally had strict rules and measures in place to control the killing of game animals. The widespread practice of only hunting one kind of game in a particular season is but one example of these measures (Cajete, 1994, p. 100).

Reciprocity is movement and movement is life (Cordova, 2007, pp. 113–114). As such, nothing in the world will be able function properly unless relations of reciprocity are upheld (Rice, 2005, p. 29). According to First Nations traditional understandings, illness and disease are often the result of disharmony, or improper relationship between a certain individual, family, or community and the natural or spiritual world (Cajete, 1994, pp. 106–107). Specific causes of illness could involve lack of respect towards particular plants, animals, or natural elements, one's own body, family, or community members, dabbling with malevolent forces, violation of taboos, or ceremonial misconduct (Cajete,

1994, p. 108). For instance, among First Nations people, fire is considered sacred – a means of communicating and giving thanks to the Creator. As such the treatment of fire tends to be highly ritualized, and fire is approached respectfully. However, when fire is used disrespectfully, to incinerate plastics for example, an incredibly persistent and harmful chemical called dioxin is created, and released into the air. Dioxin is among the most deadly of all industrial bi-products and is a known contributor to a variety of cancers (Steingraber, 1997, pp. 222–223). Similarly, water is a life giving force, but if it is dammed or polluted it can destroy and cause illness. The Whapmagoostui Cree of the James Bay region view their personal health to be inextricably linked to the integrity of community relations, the local landscape, and their cultural traditions which guide them to maintain reciprocity with others and *the land* (Adelson, 2000, p. 3). Among the Ojibwa of the Berens River in Manitoba, illness is clearly linked to the maintenance of harmonious relations among the Ojibwa, and between the Ojibwa and the more-than-human world. Spiritual beings called *pawaganak* were willing to share their power with the Ojibwa, as long as the Ojibwa maintained respectful relationships with each other and with the *pawaganak*. Conversely, illness could result from transgressions of this moral order. Health and healing power were predicated on respect and reciprocity with the spirits, and where illness occurred, healing interventions often aimed to restore balance, harmony, and integrity to any damaged relationships perceived to be the cause, whether they be spiritual, personal, or otherwise (Cajete, 1994, p. 106; Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 130–131).

Accordingly, First Nations understandings of health are not reducible solely to biophysical markers. Rather, healing and wellness result from a balance among physical, emotional, spiritual, mental, communal, and ecological realms, which is in turn achieved through a group's ability (collectively and individually) to observe cultural mores of reciprocity, and to mobilize these understandings through ceremony and everyday practice. In this sense, one can see that healing and wellness are inextricably linked with Indigenous culture, which emphasizes balance within an individual and reciprocity among individuals, communities, and more-than-human entities. The ways that Indigenous healing / wellness, cultural integrity, and ecological integrity are linked will be discussed further in the next chapter.

The Prominence of Circular Models

Attendant to the widespread notion among First Nations that everything in the universe is alive and interrelated, and the importance of understanding and maintaining relations of reciprocity with the rest of the world, is the widespread acknowledgment of the utility of circular models to describe the holistic relationships observed over millennia of deep engagement with natural ecologies (Rice, 2005, p. 4). Many processes in the natural world work in cycles. For example, the hydrological cycle describes how global moisture rises as vapor, and falls as liquid through cyclical stages of evaporation and condensation. Likewise, we preserve knowledge of cyclical relationships through commonly used aphorisms such as 'from ashes to ashes' and 'you are what you eat', wherein all life forms are born, must die, and are reborn in other forms. Organic and mineral matter is broken down, becomes soil, fosters new plant growth, and as various

reconfigurations of matter and energy slowly work their way through the food web, they are integrated into the composition of various other life forms and ecosystems. As Oglala Sioux Elder Black Elk has famously said,

Everything the Power of the World does is done in a circle. The Sky is round and I have heard that the earth is round like a ball and so are all the stars. The Wind, in its greatest power, whirls. Birds make their nests in circles, for theirs is the same religion as ours. The sun comes forth and goes down again in a circle. The moon does the same, and both are round.

Even the seasons form a great circle in their changing, and always come back again to where they were. The life of a man is a circle from childhood to childhood and so it is in everything where power moves. (Neihardt, 1961, pp. 155–156)

Alcoze echoes Black Elk when he asserts that “...the circle is a fundamental pattern of the universe, of nature, and of our world” (1991, p. 30).

While Western societies tend to understand time as passing in a linear fashion from past, to present, to future, among Indigenous groups, time is often understood to be cyclical in nature (Axtell, 1997, p. 22). Indigenous scholar Viola Cordova suggests that time is nothing more than a human construct; it is a measure of motion. If that is the case, and motion is observed to be mostly cyclical in nature, then it is easy to see how time must also be cyclical (2007, p. 118). The Mayan long count calendar is a notable example of a cyclical representation of time in which past, present and future are interconnected. Some of the winter long count calendars created by the Lakota and Dakota peoples are also arranged in circles or spirals (Smithsonian National Museum of History, n.d.; Warhus, 1997, p. 18).

Cajete explains that the widespread Indigenous observation of the cyclical movement of matter, energy, and life has given rise to ceremonial forms in which circles, spirals,

and other cyclical models are prominently featured. The use of circular patterns in ceremony and ritual works sympathetic magic with the circular movements of natural and spiritual entities (1994, p. 44). Circular models have, among many First Nations, become a primary cosmological model precisely because they are capable of mapping natural processes relationally and holistically, giving them strong explanatory power. Circular models allow one to visualize the interrelated aspects of complex phenomena and thus to better predict the potential effects of particular actions on a given system (Cajete, 1994, p. 120).

Medicine wheels and the Circle of Life are prominent circular models that remain culturally significant among many different First Nations. Medicine wheels are usually conceptualized as a circle with a centre and four sections representing cardinal directions (north, east, south, and west). These directions are also used to discuss the passing of seasons (Winter, Spring, Summer, and Autumn), the four aspects of self (physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual), the four human races and the four sacred medicines (tobacco, sweet grass, cedar, and sage) (Dapice, 2006, p. 252). The medicine wheel is a great conceptual tool for emphasizing the interconnected, metaphorical nature of the elements it represents, as well as the need for maintaining balance among these elements (Brant Castellano, 2000, p. 30).

Storytelling and Ecology

Thomas King has famously asserted, “[t]he truth about stories is that’s all we are” (2003, p. 2). I believe that King’s assertion refers at least partially to the notion that we always define ourselves, our relationship to others, and the world according to the stories

we tell. In this sense a people's morals, ethics, cosmology, and very identities emerge and are reinforced through the telling and hearing of stories. We come to cognize the world through story, and in the process are storied ourselves (Bringhurst, 2002, p. 17).

Traditional Indigenous stories serve a variety of important functions in Indigenous communities. These stories provide entertainment, maintain cultural traditions and sovereignty, encode multiple levels of practical, historical, and spiritual knowledge about a people's homeland, and provide a foundation for Indigenous identities. Traditional storytellers, who are often also respected Elders of a given community, are thus highly regarded among Indigenous groups.

Traditional Indigenous stories inform Indigenous values, ethics, and identities by answering three fundamental, cosmological questions: 1) What is the nature of the world?, 2) What does it mean to be human?, and 3) What are the roles and responsibilities of humans in the world? (Cordova, 2007). The answers to these central questions inform a group's most important values and codes of behaviour regarding what is entailed in living well in that group's territory (Cajete, 1994, pp. 25, 47). Creation stories, in particular, provide a clear orientation regarding these foundational questions. In answer to the question, 'what is the nature of the world', Native American creation stories, despite their differences, promote a widespread understanding that the Earth is our mother; a living entity, usually identified as female, upon which we are utterly dependent for survival, and from which springs all the gifts of creation (Cordova, 2007, pp. 105–106, 113–116). As Indigenous scholar Jack Forbes has written,

For us, truly, there are no 'surroundings'. I can lose my hands and still live. I can lose my legs and still live. I can lose my eyes and still live...But if I lose the air I

die. If I lose the sun I die. If I lose the earth I die. If I lose the water I die. If I lose the plants and animals I die. All these things are more a part of me, more essential to my every breath, than is my so-called body. What is my real body?

We are not autonomous, self-sufficient beings as European mythology teaches... We are rooted just like the trees. But our roots come out of our nose and mouth, like an umbilical cord, forever connected to the rest of the world... (2001, p. 291)

Regarding the second question, ‘what does it mean to be human’, Native American creation stories further instruct that humans are creatures of the Earth, not fundamentally different from, and certainly not superior to, any other worldly entity, and that humans naturally exist in dynamic relationships of balance and harmony with the rest of the world. Humans are not generally understood as autonomous individuals, but rather belong to a group that was rightfully born of a specific place, and are only really considered fully human when they understand their relationship to the group, the consequences of their actions, and their responsibilities within the group (Cordova, 2007, pp. 151–153). Based on the answers to the first two questions, the answer promoted by Native American creation stories to the final question, ‘what is the role of humans in the world’, is that humans must learn the nature of their particular homeland and follow an ethics of place based on practices and beliefs that maintain a harmonious, balanced, respectful relationship with that homeland (Cajete, 1994, p. 47; Cordova, 2007, pp. 183–207).

Of course, Thomas King could have also meant that we are more literally composed of (or by) stories. For instance, Cajete argues that all humans (Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike) are, in fact, storytelling animals; our brains evolved with and are conditioned by storytelling, to the extent that storytelling forms the basis of all human

teaching and learning (1994, p. 68). According to Cajete, the human predisposition toward storytelling was formed over the last three million years and is related to humans' long-term kinaesthetic engagement with, and dependence on, the natural world. Ecosystems are characterized by specific kinds of relationships and cycles among entities such as soil, rock, water, climate, atmosphere, the seasons, micro-organisms, fungus, plants, and animals. These natural relationships, Cajete explains, provided a schematic for primal human cognition, which needed to be capable of effectively apprehending and mapping the holistic, relational complexity of the environments in which early humans dwelled. This primal mind, which Cajete calls the metaphoric mind due to its inescapably relational nature, perceives nature as animate, sees itself as part of the natural order, and cognizes the world holistically, creatively, and intuitively in terms of symbols, metaphors, and interrelationships (Cajete, 2004, p. 51). In this sense, the metaphoric mind represents the human embodiment of ecological order; it provides a way of cognizing our somatic connection with the natural world. This concept of the metaphoric mind bears similarities with Jung's concept of the collective unconscious; that place in our brains which contains the collective memories of our ancestors and which communicates with us via dreams, imagery, and archetypes, conditioning us to think and act in specific ways (Devereux, 1996, p. 18; Rice, 2005, pp. 62–64). Collective, unconscious, ancestral memories, often referred to as 'blood memories' by First Nations people, may be autochthonous whispers of ancestral Indigenous homelands.

At some point, Cajete argues, the creative metaphoric mind invented the rational mind, which cognizes worldly phenomena linearly and logically (2004, p. 50). Cajete's

distinction between the metaphoric and rational mind to some extent parallels Bruner's (1985) theory that human cognition involves two different modes of thought: the narrative mode and the paradigmatic mode. Similar to the metaphoric mind, the narrative mode of cognition finds meaning and veracity in forms of context-specific, experiential, and metaphorical expression that compose compelling and believable stories. The paradigmatic mode of cognition, which seems to parallel Cajete's notion of the rational mind, finds meaning and veracity in abstract, universalizing, and logic-based expressions that compose sound arguments and empirically verifiable theories. Bruner (1985, p. 97) argued that while both modes develop naturally and remain operative in human cognition, one was not reducible to the other. That is, one mode of cognition (i.e.: logic and empiricism) could not be used to confirm or contradict the veracity of expression and meaning derived from the other (i.e.: metaphor, experience and belief). But, while Cajete agrees that both cognitive modes remain present in humans, he argues that the development of the rational mind has backgrounded the functions of the metaphorical mind, which now is most clearly expressed through visions and dreams (2004, p. 50).

Innis, McLuhan and Ong each identified the inventions of literacy and print as crucial periods in the development of abstract, linear, rational thinking at the expense of contextual, cyclical, metaphoric cognition (Babe, 2000, pp. 72–75; McLuhan, 1994, pp. 81–88; Ong, 2002). But while literate cultures have tended to overemphasize rational thought to the detriment of metaphorical thought, Indigenous groups, in practicing their cultural traditions, have attempted to maintain a balance between these two cognitive modes (Archibald, 1990, p. 71; Cajete, 1994, pp. 50–51).

The cumulative heritage of ancestral knowledge gained through direct observation, practice, and commune (through visions and dreams) with more-than-human entities and processes requires media which can efficiently and effectively communicate this holistic, relational knowledge of one's environment. Media such as maps, craft, birch bark scrolls, medicine wheels, and petroglyphs have been used by Indigenous people to preserve and share IK (Cajete, 1994, p. 158; Warhus, 1997), but ceremony and storytelling continue to be ubiquitous and preferred media among Indigenous groups for keeping and sharing land-based IK (Brant Castellano, 2000, p. 31; Cajete, 1994, pp. 34, 90). Storytelling, ceremony, and ritual, with their emphasis on metaphor, symbolism, imagination, and creative play, draw on archetypes and images from the collective, unconscious, or metaphorical mind and are entirely consistent with this dynamic, relational, and holistic cognitive mode (Cajete, 2004, pp. 50–51). The metaphors and archetypes which compose traditional stories are essentially maps of linguistic, symbolic, and natural relationships, and are thus well-suited for cognizing and communicating ecological processes. Since stories are the product of participation with the metaphoric mind, which in turn, is the product of Indigenous traditions of intellectual, spiritual, physical, and metaphysical engagement with the natural world, stories remain the most effective medium for expressing a group's relationship with its ancestral and contemporary territories.

Indigenous storytelling and ecology appear to track each other closely. The resonance created between *land* and story through metaphor, metonym and synecdoche is such that *land* and story effectively locate one another; they can feel and act as one. Indeed, Cree Elder Raven Mackinaw observed that wilderness and story are the same thing (Sheridan,

2002). Bringhurst has likewise suggested that ecologies are essentially stories told in languages without words (2002). Participation in metaphoric, land-based engagement with a particular place can eventually lead to apprehension of recurring patterns toward the development of a fundamental, coherent character or ethics of place, sometimes referred to as *genius loci*, which persists through time (Molotch, Freudenburg, & Paulsen, 2000). A place's character is a combination of its physical form (landscape), the relationships that exist there (past and present), and the meanings we attribute to these relations (mindscape) (D. T. McNab, 2013a, p. 222; Molotch et al., 2000, p. 793). The concept of *genius loci* bears a certain degree of similarity to Deloria Jr. and Wildcat's concept of how power (the life force which exists in all things in the cosmos) and place (the ecological relations between entities in a place) produce personality (the idea that the universe is personal, demanding each entity on Earth establish personal relationships with the places they inhabit) (2001, p. 23). This close connection between traditional Indigenous stories and ecology means that such stories are much like the Indigenous land and water routes mentioned in the Introduction; they are simultaneously a method of engaging with *the land* and the product of that land-based engagement. Stories are pathways and pathways are stories. As Anne Waters has written, "In storytelling we story (engage with) the world, and in Native science we story (engage with) nature. Storying nature requires participation in the oldest mind, the metaphoric mind, in song, dance, ceremony, and technology" (Waters, 2004, p. xxii). The notion of the metaphorical mind suggests that the propensity for storytelling is 'hard-wired' in our brains; that it is a species trait. Our brains seem primed toward storytelling, and this may explain the

universality and efficacy of story as a method of learning and communicating across cultures, time, and space. It may also be that the very act of storytelling (in addition to the *nature* of the stories we tell) has some very profound psychological, sociocultural, and perhaps even physiological implications for humans and the more-than-human world.

The metaphorical, ecological nature of traditional stories is an important determinant of their suitability for keeping and sharing land-based IK and identities. However, oral land-based storytelling is also a highly durable medium for keeping and passing on Indigenous knowledge. Literate bias might lead one to question any assertion of the durability, authenticity, and accuracy of oral knowledge, since it may be assumed that freezing expression through writing and print is the best way to keep and share knowledge. In comparison to writing, oral expression is commonly understood to be too easily forgotten and open to revision from one performance to the next. Oral expression can be considered more dynamic than written expression because of the dialogical relationship that exists between physically co-present storytellers and audiences, who respond to each other in the process of storytelling. Storytellers can and do tailor their stories according to the perceived needs or abilities of their physically co-present audiences. Each instance of storytelling is thus a unique performance. But from this, it does not necessarily follow that oral storytelling cannot also keep detailed and complex knowledge over long periods of time. Numerous First Nations stories provide accounts of ancient geological, hydrological, and astrological events that record changes in terrestrial and celestial landscapes, whose details and accuracy have been subsequently substantiated by Western scientists. Deloria Jr. has described several such stories, such as

the Klamath story describing in detail the eruption of Mount Mazama (1997, pp. 170–186), which occurred thousands of years ago.

Ong has argued that one of the reasons why oral traditions are so durable through time is that traditional storytellers use a variety of mnemonic aids to assist their memories. The development of tangible memory aids, such as maps, notched sticks, or petroglyphs is one way to facilitate memory of detailed knowledge and events (2002, p. 34). Also, given humans' propensity for understanding the world through stories, the very act of organizing knowledge into stories using plot, setting, and narrative form can be understood as a mnemonic aid to help recall the information, events, and meanings embedded in the stories. The use of epithets and aphorisms, the incorporation of redundancy, and other such narrative devices are other examples of such mnemonic aids commonly used among oral cultures (Ong, 2002, pp. 33–41). Furthermore, Ong suggests that traditional stories tend to eschew abstract arguments or concepts, relying instead on that which is concrete, tangible, and contextually available to facilitate the telling of traditional stories (2002, pp. 49–57). For instance, traditional oral stories would be more likely to describe a particular mountain, tree, or river in the landscape rather than make a statement about mountains, trees, or rivers in general. Indeed, coming across such an entity might occasion the telling of a story about it. The use of these mnemonic aids in storytelling is common among Indigenous storytellers of Turtle Island.

Cajete further suggests that oral tradition requires an economy of words and symbols that are capable of evoking a wealth of meaning. Accordingly, Indigenous models, symbols, mythic characters, and even places are often loaded with sophisticated

metaphorical meanings and associations (1994, p. 158). Since many of the metaphors inherent in stories, ceremonies, and symbols are drawn from ecological observations and attempt to characterize those observations, learning Indigenous science involves developing a capacity for encoding and decoding the complex multi-layered meanings inherent in Indigenous symbols, and apprehending the nature of the relationships they encourage to places in traditional territories (Cajete, 1994, p. 51).

Places within traditional territories commonly have a central role in Indigenous stories. Deloria Jr. and Treat wrote that “Tribal histories, for the most part, are land-centered. That is to say, every feature of a landscape has stories attached to it. If a tribal group is very large or has lived on a particular piece of land for many generations, some natural features will have many stories attached to them” (1999, p. 252). During her fieldwork among elderly Athapaskan speakers in the Canadian sub-arctic, Julie Cruikshank recorded a bewildering array of place names labeling specific areas of the local landscape, all of which had one or more stories associated with them (1990a, 1990b). Cruikshank found that her informants frequently referred to place names while narrating their life histories (1990a, 1990b). She eventually learned that the association of place names and stories was a powerful way of keeping and sharing Indigenous historical, ecological, and cultural knowledge. Place names helped storytellers recall an impressive amount of detail regarding the history, lessons, and knowledge related to those places because place names and stories act as metaphors, metonyms, and synecdoches for each other and for their related cultural knowledge. As the character of places tends to endure over time, place names can serve as durable reminders of the

events, stories, and lessons associated with them. The integrity of a place's character, or *genius loci*, through time also helps to authenticate the events of the story, and to affirm the continued relevance for traditional knowledge in the present (Cruikshank, 1990a, p. 62). Over time, place names, and thus the places themselves, become inscribed with cultural knowledge and oral history. This history is not ordered through chronological time, but across geographical space. It is in this vein, that McNab has written that,

[r]ather than being separate cultural categories, landscape and memory are, in fact, inseparable. Aboriginal tradition sees humankind, as one with, and inseparable from, nature. Without "pen or ink," First Nations remember and understand their internal and external landscapes, using their oral traditions and their stories. (1998, p. 38)

Similarly, Keith Basso found that descriptive place names are considered important among the Western Apache (1996). Through place names, every culturally significant feature of the Apache's territory was mapped with stories.

References to places in traditional stories are not reducible to their use as effective or efficient mnemonic aids, however. Cajete explains that when people talk about places through storytelling, the spirit of *the land* and person become linked through breath, the Holy Wind which is the most tangible expression of spirit in all living things. The act of oral storytelling is understood to manifest the connection between the spirit within the storyteller and that within *the land* itself (1994, pp. 43, 53). Storytelling is an act of communion with the places the stories are about (Waters, 2004, p. xx); they are a way of tying storyteller, audience, and *the land* together. Many Indigenous groups also share the understanding that while humans are not particularly gifted with many natural abilities compared to other beings, we are gifted with exceptional communication skills. With the

honour of this gift comes the responsibility to understand the relations of reciprocity inherent in the cosmos, and to communicate thanksgiving for the gifts that have been given on behalf of all of creation (Deloria Jr., 1995, p. 223). Bringham maintained that traditional stories constitute one of humanity's only useful contributions to global ecology (1995, p. 12). Traditional Indigenous storytelling thus constitutes an important means of communicating and enacting reciprocity and balance in their environments.

Although the content of traditional Indigenous stories varies, they tend to emphasize relationships, balance, and reciprocity among things – between people, animals, plants, *the land*, water, the sky, somatic and spiritual, the past and present (Deloria Jr. & Wildcat, 2001). Many First Nations stories involve trickster characters such as Coyote, Raven, or Nanabush. In these stories, tricksters often get themselves into trouble because they forget how to act *vis a vis* the rest of creation. Through humour, these trickster stories act as important reminders that all things are, in fact, related in First Nations cosmology, and that living properly involves constantly minding and tending to those relations with respect and reciprocity (Burkhart, 2004, p. 16).

A less humorous example of the consequences of failing to maintain proper respect is the tale of the White Buffalo Calf Woman, a sacred medicine story among the Lakota people. In the story, two hunters are approached by a beautiful woman dressed in white buckskin. When one of the hunters reveals disrespectful intentions toward the woman, he is instantly killed. The other hunter, who displayed the proper respect toward the woman, is rewarded with knowledge of sacred items and ceremonies (Hellig Morris, 1996, pp. 101–102).

A good example of how ecological knowledge and the importance of relationship and reciprocity are embedded within First Nations stories is the Seneca story of the Three Sisters. The Three Sisters (corn, beans and squash) approached the Seneca, wishing to establish a relationship with them as long as they could follow certain requirements. One of these requirements was that the Three Sisters wished to be planted together. On a practical level, this requirement makes a lot of sense because when these three crops are planted together, they form a symbiotic relationship. Beans are legumes which fix atmospheric nitrogen into a form that is edible by plants. Corn and squash both require nitrogen, and thus rely on the nitrogen-fixing qualities of beans. In kind, beans require a support structure to gain access to solar energy, and corn stalks conveniently supply this structure. Finally, low-lying, broad-leafed squash plants help to control weed growth. This form of integrated planting also protects against the pest problems that plague large industrial monocrops (Burkhart, 2004, p. 22; Milburn, 2004, p. 423). This story contains important agricultural knowledge that became the foundation of Haudenosaunee subsistence. However, on another level, this story emphasizes the importance of relationship and reciprocity among different entities. There are important relations of reciprocity among the Three Sisters, which explains why they desire to be planted together. There are also relations of reciprocity between these plants and humans, for as long as people respect the wishes of these spirits to be planted together, the Haudenosaunee people would be fed.

Among the Western Dene, stories about specific places in their traditional territory are sometimes told to correct behaviour which is understood to be disrespectful or

contrary to traditional values. There is a story about a police officer from the community who had attempted to arrest a fellow Western Dene man for killing a white-man's cow at a place called *Ndee Dah Naaziné* (Men Stand Above Here and There). In the story, every time the officer attempts to bring the offender to justice, he forgets what he is doing and makes a fool of himself. Eventually the officer releases the man who killed the cow (Basso, 1996, p. 54). This story is told to subtly and non-intrusively inform people when they are acting too much like 'white people', and contrary to cultural values. It was told by a grandmother in the presence of a young woman who insisted on wearing her hair up in curlers (which was fashionable at her boarding school) during a ceremony rather than down, as was traditional. Upon hearing the grandmother tell this story, the young woman understood that the story was directed at her, and she left the ceremony and threw the curlers away (Basso, 1996, pp. 56–57). In this way, "The land makes people live right" (Basso, 1996, p. 38). Indeed, the Western Dene report that upon hearing or recounting place-based stories "A psychological balance has been restored...[and] that a 'sickness' (*nezgai*) has been 'healed' (*nabilziih*)" (Basso, 1996, p. 92).

The importance of traditional storytelling among First Nations people cannot be understated. Stories constitute the most effective and psychologically and spiritually appropriate medium for communicating knowledge of the relationships among all things, for reminding people who they are in relation to others and to their lands, and of their responsibilities in the world. As both a means of land-based engagement and a product of that engagement, storytelling is also an important and appropriate method for understanding land-based practice and knowledge.

Conclusion

There is great diversity among Indigenous traditions across North America, but it has been shown that there are significant similarities in epistemological or methodological approaches by which knowledge is attained among Indigenous groups which cross-cut this diversity in cultural expression and knowledge. Could these epistemological similarities in Indigenous knowledge be a result of ubiquitous Indigenous engagement with the metaphorical mind, which itself arose from millennia of uniquely human engagement with the natural world? This idea is suggested by at least a few authors discussed in this chapter. If so, then Indigenous epistemology may constitute one of the best guides for how to re-engage with the ecological consciousness and cognition that has guided the vast majority of human history.

Emphasizing the methodological approaches and epistemologies shared by diverse Indigenous peoples also makes it possible to move beyond fractious and unproductive analyses that presume to measure the authenticity of tradition by their antiquity or perceived continuity with previous cultural forms. Rather, this analysis of Indigenous epistemology suggests that *the way* Indigenous knowledge is attained, lived, and shared is a more appropriate indicator of traditional authenticity or continuity.

While there are similarities in epistemology across Indigenous groups, the knowledge, ceremonies, and teachings of different groups are highly context-specific, since Indigenous groups share a deep experiential grounding in the ecologies of their traditional homelands. Indigenous knowledge must necessarily vary from one territory to the next, because Indigenous land-based epistemology requires that knowledge remains

appropriate to the ecological context in which it originated. Acknowledging the context-specific nature of all knowledge leads to a general understanding among many Indigenous groups that there is no single, universal explanation for the world, and no single, 'true' way of being-in-the-world; each group's original instructions are valid within their temporal and ecological context.

Deeply experiential and metaphorical observations of diverse, complex ecosystems lead to the widespread recognition among Indigenous people of the animate and interrelated nature of all things in the world. Observations of the innumerable, dynamic, ecological interrelationships that exist in particular traditional homelands prompts an understanding that continuities exist among all things in the world, that everything in the world exhibits motion and life, and that humans ultimately share kinship with everything else in the world. That these continuities and interrelationships exist means that humans are utterly dependent on the world, and the maintenance of balance and harmony among human and more-than-human relations. This gives rise to protocols for recognizing and maintaining respectful, reciprocal relations among humans and the more-than-human world, with the attendant understanding that failure to maintain these relations will likely have negative consequences.

Circular models and the telling of stories are common media among Indigenous groups because they can represent the complex, holistic, metaphorical, cyclical relationships that compose the natural world with minimal distortion, and can be used to effectively illustrate the need for balance and reciprocity. Employing metaphor and places, circular models and traditional stories are able to efficiently and effectively

interrelate, remember, and share complex, interconnected, holistic land-based knowledge, making stories and circular models the most durable and appropriate media for expressing and enacting IK.

This chapter has presented a necessarily brief review of the available literature on Indigenous epistemology and IK. Clearly, there is much more that could be detailed concerning the beliefs and traditions of diverse Indigenous groups across North America. It is also inevitable that some distortion occurs when attempting to characterize holistic, oral, land-based systems of thought and practice using the linear and fragmentary medium of writing. One must thus be wary of the degree to which academic writing on Indigenous knowledge systems are representative of Indigenous realities. For instance, I have noticed that First Nations Elders rarely explain traditional teachings and culture in the manner described in this chapter. Rather, they tend to eschew discussions of epistemology in favour of the use of story, anecdote, and ceremony in ways that are most immediately relevant to the specific audience and context. This is as it should be, since land-based Indigenous knowledge is rooted in the specific communities and ecologies in which it developed. Nevertheless, the teachings, stories, and ceremonies shared by the First Nations Elders and traditional teachers that I have witnessed appear to me to be consistent with the epistemological principles described in this chapter. Furthermore, in recognition of the potential for distortion introduced by a literature review of oral epistemology, I have attempted to prioritize the writings of scholars who are connected to Indigenous communities and their traditions and culture. It is my hope that the review

presented here is at least sufficient to achieve a basic understanding of the epistemological foundations of Indigenous knowledge.

Chapter 3: Indigenous Knowledge as Living Well – Cultural Integrity, Storytelling, *the Land* and Healing

Introduction

For millennia before the arrival of Europeans, the Indigenous people of Turtle Island learned and passed on ancient wisdom concerning the nature and character of their traditional territories, their group's responsibilities as a part of those lands, and protocols for ensuring those responsibilities were upheld. Indigenous land-based traditions, having long sustained relatively healthy and prosperous Indigenous communities across the Americas before the entrenchment of Euro-American colonial rule, are widely regarded by Indigenous groups to be prerequisites for a balanced and respectful existence with the world and its inhabitants (referred to in this chapter as 'living well'). While the previous chapter outlined the epistemological foundations of IK, this chapter explores the two paths mentioned by Benton-Banai (1979) in his recounting of the Anishinaabe prophecy of the Seventh Fire, and the important role of the more spiritual path, informed by IK, for living well in the past, the present, and into the foreseeable future. This more spiritual path has been vital to holistic Indigenous community-based efforts to heal from colonial trauma and marginalization. Similarly, insights from land-based IK might inspire a fundamental shift in values towards the development of a more balanced, holistic, meaningful, and ultimately more effective approach to some of the social, environmental, and health crises afflicting the Western world.

I begin by describing the trauma and marginalization inflicted by the colonial campaign to disconnect Indigenous peoples from their lands and cultures, particularly in

Canada. While colonial trauma and marginalization continue to negatively impact many Indigenous communities in the form of disease, substance abuse, violence, suicide, and other troubling issues, there is now much evidence that strengthening Indigenous spiritual traditions, along with dismantling colonial structures affecting Indigenous communities, has great potential to heal on a grand scale. The evidence presented here strongly suggests that Indigenous traditions, by strengthening relationships to *land* and culture through story, ceremony, and land-based practice, hold significant promise for holistically healing the effects of colonization.

It is also apparent that people across the globe are currently facing a series of emerging social, health, and environmental crises that are becoming increasingly complex and difficult to address through continued reliance on the application of free-market, techno-scientific solutions. Congruent with the Anishinaabe prophecy of the Seventh Fire and the Haudenosaunee Seventh Generation prophecy, this chapter will consider the degree to which underlying these seemingly disparate crises, is a crisis of values, a form of intergenerational trauma stemming from the psycho-spiritual separation between humans and the more-than-human world. This separation is encoded in prominent Western cosmological stories¹⁶ which, rather than encourage us to heal from psycho-spiritual trauma by reconnecting with more-than-human relations, instruct us to instead self-soothe through myriad technological innovations that further perpetuate destruction of the more-than-human world. Perhaps a more appropriate way to begin

¹⁶ I use the term ‘cosmological story’ to refer to those foundational stories that seek to explain the nature and origin of all that is (the world, universe, galaxy and all that is in it). Creation and origin stories are, for instance, quintessential cosmological stories.

healing Western psycho-spiritual traumas rooted in natural disconnection, is to begin to veer from the straightened, manicured highway of technological over-dependence, to explore the older, meandering, overgrown footpaths informed by traditional land-based wisdom of Indigenous peoples. This chapter ends by discussing some ways that land-based IK might inform new approaches to modern health, environmental, and social crises which would be more consistent with the Eighth and final Fire described in Anishinaabe prophecy. This discussion foreshadows the question of how urban Indigenous traditions might contribute to the physical, spiritual, mental, emotional, community, and environmental dimensions of Indigenous and non-Indigenous wellness in urban landscapes considered in Chapter 4.

Colonialism, Health, and the Ongoing Importance of Traditional Indigenous Culture for Contemporary Indigenous Groups

When Europeans first began weighing anchor along the Eastern shores of North America, Indigenous peoples were, for the most part, cautiously co-operative and hospitable. While early Euro-Indigenous relations were not unproblematic, European explorers and Indigenous peoples both recognized certain advantages in establishing mutually amicable relations (J. R. Miller, 1991, pp. 23–40). Europeans depended greatly on Indigenous co-operation as guides and trappers, as well as on Indigenous technology, such as toboggans, canoes, and snowshoes, which were ideally suited to the geography of the Eastern Woodlands (J. R. Miller, 1991, p. 31). In those early years, Indigenous know-how and hospitality saved many early settlers from grisly deaths due to malnutrition and exposure (Milburn, 2004, p. 422; J. R. Miller, 1991, p. 27). Early European explorers and

settlers benefited greatly from Indigenous hospitality, which allowed them to form colonies within established Indigenous territories. Settlers also gained insights from Indigenous peoples in such areas as pharmacology, midwifery, geography, politics, and philosophy (Vogel, 1990; Waldram et al., 2006, p. 134). It has been established, for instance, that American-style democracy was greatly influenced by traditional Haudenosaunee political organization, which involved a confederacy of the Five (later Six) Nations of the Haudenosaunee that agreed to work together while maintaining autonomy and equality within and among the individual nations (Grinde & Johansen, 1991). European colonies in North America and their inhabitants were indelibly shaped by Indigenous knowledge and achievements.

However, as colonies were established, European immigrant populations increased dramatically, while Indigenous populations declined. One well-acknowledged cause of Indigenous depopulation was the successive introduction of numerous pathogens that had not been experienced (at least for a very long time) by Indigenous populations. However, Waldram et. al. have argued that the introduction of new pathogens, in-and-of-themselves, is insufficient to explain the dramatic effects of disease in Indigenous populations, since “[e]pidemics occur when the complex relationship between human populations and their social and physical environment is altered, disrupted, or conducive to the flourishing of micro-organisms” (2006, p. 48). For instance, before contact with Europeans, Indigenous populations already had experience dealing with pathogens such as tuberculosis, yet the accumulated evidence suggests that Indigenous people were nevertheless relatively healthy (Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 24–47). But coincident with the

(re)introduction of numerous pathogens such as “...small-pox, measles, influenza, dysentery, diphtheria, typhus, yellow fever, whooping cough, tuberculosis, syphilis, and various unidentifiable 'fevers'...” (Waldram et al., 2006, p. 49) were significant changes which amplified exposure to pathogens and Indigenous susceptibility to them. The rapid rise in European immigration, settlement, and resource extraction activities such as farming, logging, fishing, hunting, and trapping, altered ecologies across the continent. Ecological disruption was particularly exacerbated by widespread depletion of fur-bearing animals, due to the growing fur trade and the deliberate massacre of buffalo herds at the hands of Europeans in the prairies (LaDuke, 1999, pp. 141–142; Lux, 2001, p. 22; Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 51, 67–68). Ecological disruption, along with increased Indigenous migrations into less familiar territories due to expansion of European colonies, made it more difficult for Indigenous groups to predict the location of game, plant foods, and medicines. At the same time, the increased scale of warfare among European nations and their Indigenous allies, along with increased trade and missionization in the interior of the continent, increased mortality and exposure to pathogens. It is also very likely that European soldiers deliberately exposed Indigenous peoples to pathogens such as smallpox at different times and places, as a form of biological warfare, during military campaigns waged against Indigenous nations (Fenn, 2000, p. 1553). Evidence suggests that drastic declines in Indigenous populations due to disease did not occur until the 17th and 18th centuries, long after Europeans had begun arriving on the continent, and only after the entrenchment of trends and practices that fostered the spread of disease (Waldram et al., 2006, p. 52). So, it is not that Indigenous

people had no immunity or ability to heal these infectious diseases, but that social and ecological balance had been sufficiently disrupted to allow pathogens to become epidemics (Obomsawin, 1983, p. 189).

While earlier relations among European and First Nations were fairly co-operative, the character of these relationships shifted as colonial powers deemed the co-operation of First Nations to be less relevant to European settler priorities. As the economic importance of the fur trade for Europeans declined, and European military and political dominance, and British dominance in particular in Canada, was assured, (J. R. Miller, 1991, pp. 83–84), the true face worn by the Europeans mentioned in the Anishinaabe prophecy of the Fourth Fire by Benton-Benai (1979, pp. 89–90), was revealed. Pre-existing arguments of European moral, evolutionary, and technological superiority over Indigenous peoples were increasingly invoked to justify a litany of colonial policies of displacement and cultural genocide implicitly and explicitly designed to undermine Indigenous knowledge, ceremony, and traditions, and to enforce the assimilation of Indigenous people into the European body politic (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2010).

One of the first changes in the relationship between European and Indigenous nations was the move away from the ‘peace and friendship’ treaties that had formalized earlier European-Indigenous agreements of mutual co-operation, such as the Silver Covenant Chain (D. T. McNab, 1999, p. 8), toward land surrender treaties aimed at severing Indigenous claims to their traditional lands. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 affirmed Aboriginal title to lands west of existing colonies, and instituted a land surrender

mechanism whereby Aboriginal title to land could only be extinguished through formal treaties between the Crown and the Aboriginal peoples in question (Morin, 2005, p. 25). While this had the effect of controlling informal European expansion into Indigenous territory, it also provided a legal process for extinguishing Aboriginal title to lands considered desirable for European settlement. Accordingly, in the late 18th century and throughout the 19th century, a series of land surrender treaties were undertaken between the Crown and Aboriginal groups across Canada. The majority of these treaties involved extinguishing Aboriginal title to vast tracts of land in exchange for lump sum payments or annuities, reserved lands, continued rights to hunt and fish in the unoccupied lands so surrendered, and certain other benefits (Lux, 2001, pp. 24–25; Morin, 2005, pp. 28, 31).

Land surrender treaties were signed in the context of ongoing settler encroachment and ecological upheaval, which greatly reduced the viability of traditional hunting-gathering lifestyles within First Nations traditional territories. The threat of ongoing settlement prompted fears among some First Nation leaders that if they didn't sign a treaty, they would soon be left with nothing anyway (J. R. Miller, 1991, pp. 90, 95, 99). Ecological disruption and the deliberate decimation of buffalo herds contributed to a widespread famine among Indigenous people of the plains, and throughout the 1880s it was common practice for government officials to withhold rations to First Nations until they agreed to sign treaties (Lux, 2001, pp. 20–70). This form of coercion was used against the Cree led by Big Bear, until he agreed to surrender his claim to the land under Treaty 6 (Lux, 2001, pp. 36–40). There were also often unacknowledged and unresolved misunderstandings about the nature of the land surrenders, which arose from difference in

European and Indigenous world views concerning ownership and use of land (Lux, 2001, p. 24). These misunderstandings were exacerbated by differences in the nature of oral discussions of the treaties and the written documents. Oral discussions of the treaties emphasized promises and benefits of the treaties and downplayed the absolute nature of the land-surrenders, but the written treaties tended to omit the promises made orally while highlighting the provisions land-surrender portions of the treaties (Lux, 2001, pp. 24, 31–32). Nevertheless, Aboriginal leaders were often able negotiators, and managed to force concessions from the Crown regarding the extent of benefits to be offered for the lands surrendered (such as size or reserves or land use benefits) (J. R. Miller, 1991, pp. 165–167). Although hunting and fishing rights over the ceded territories were protected in many treaties, ongoing Euro-Canadian settlement and development in the ceded areas led to the eventual displacement of First Nations from much of their traditional territories (Morin, 2005, pp. 30–31).

Land was normally surrendered to the Crown at far below the fair market value of the land at the time. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples states that had First Nations in Upper Canada been fairly compensated for their lands, they would have become the new financial elite in that territory (Canada, 1996a). The unfairness of the treaties was sometimes exacerbated by vaguely defined terms of the treaties (such as the exact boundaries for the land to be surrendered), which could be retrospectively interpreted in favour of the colonial government. For instance, the Crawford Purchase of 1783 referred to lands “extending from the Lake Back as far as a man can Travel in a day” (J. R. Miller, 2009, p. 82) and the Toronto Purchase (also known as the Gunshot

Treaty) referred to lands north of Lake Ontario “...as far as the report of a firearm could be heard on a clear day” (MacIntosh, 2006, pp. 12–13; J. R. Miller, 2009, p. 82).

Occasionally, treaties were overtly illegal, due to the European practice of failing to define the exact lands under negotiation in the written treaties until after First Nations leaders had signed a blank treaty. For example, although the Toronto Purchase was originally concluded in 1787, it had to be re-drawn in 1805 due to the vagueness of the original treaty and the fact that the description of the lands under consideration was not filled-in at the time the Mississauga leaders signed it (J. R. Miller, 2009, pp. 84, 88–89).

Displacement of Indigenous groups caused by unchecked settler encroachment and the signing of land surrender treaties was soon accompanied by a series of overt policies of assimilation, whose cumulative effect was Indigenous cultural genocide. These laws and policies were informed by settler priorities to clear land for Euro-Canadian agricultural settlement and resource extraction, to reduce or eliminate the obligations to Indigenous peoples that had been agreed upon in the aforementioned treaties, and ethnocentric and racist beliefs that problematized Indigenous peoples and their culture as inferior, backward, and / or maladaptive. Indigenous traditional culture came to be understood by Euro-Canadians as an impediment to the ‘advancement’ of Indigenous peoples, but this was in fact nothing more than an argument for the assimilation of Indigenous people into emerging Euro-Canadian society (Lux, 2001, p. 84).

As early as the 17th century this strategy of assimilation involved attempts to encourage Indigenous peoples to settle in permanent, sedentary reserve communities and to undergo a complete shift from communal hunter-gatherer lifestyles, toward agricultural

and Christian life based on a system of private land ownership (Lux, 2001, p. 25; J. R. Miller, 1991, pp. 100, 104–105). In 1638, French colonists and missionaries established what is now commonly regarded as Canada's first reserve community near the burgeoning settlement of Quebec. The explicit goal of this earliest reserve, named St. Joseph de Sillery (i.e.: the Sillery) after its chief benefactor Noel Brûlart de Sillery, was to encourage Montagnais and Algonquin peoples to adopt agricultural and Christian life ways (T. King, 2012, p. 105; Ronda, 1979, pp. 3–4). This early experiment in reserve communities ultimately failed due to insufficient funding, disease, ongoing warfare with the Haudenosaunee nations, and because the Montagnais and Algonquin peoples were unwilling to yield to French demands to wholly adopt French lifeways (Ronda, 1979, pp. 14–15). However the colonial imperatives of land, natural resources, and Indigenous settlement and assimilation ensured that Indigenous people would nevertheless continue to face pressure to settle in reserve communities in the decades to come. During the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries, land surrender treaties led to the creation of numerous reserves across Canada, reducing Indigenous reliance on land-based subsistence activities, and rendering huge tracts of land available instead for European use (J. R. Miller, 1991).

Colonial strategies of assimilation also involved the enactment of many laws and policies designed to reduce or eliminate the colonial obligations to Indigenous peoples enshrined in the treaties. The Gradual Civilization Act of 1857 provided a legal process, called 'enfranchisement', which would make it possible for 'Indian' status and its special benefits to be eliminated. Under this act, if any Native person demonstrated sufficient

education, “...were debt-free and of good moral character, they would be enfranchised and given twenty hectares of [reserve] land” for their private use (J. R. Miller, 1991, pp. 110–111). Between 1876 and 1880 a Native individual would automatically be enfranchised if they received a university degree, became a legal professional, or Christian minister (T. King, 2012, p. 71; J. R. Miller, 1991, p. 168). However, Indigenous resistance to these measures was strong, and only 250 individuals were ever voluntarily enfranchised between 1857 and 1920 (J. R. Miller, 1991, p. 190). Another act, the Gradual Enfranchisement Act of 1869, allowed colonial officials to replace traditional tribal leaders and governance structures with a colonial style system of elected officials, and legislated the removal of Indian status and band membership for Native women and their children if they married men who did not have ‘Indian’ status (Lawrence, 2003, p. 7; J. R. Miller, 1991, p. 114). Patrilineal and patriarchal Euro-Canadian society did not, however, remove the status of men who married non-status women, while non-Native women marrying men with ‘Indian’ status would also gain status through this marriage (Lawrence, 2003, p. 8).

Many of these acts and measures were consolidated under the Indian Act of 1876, which unilaterally subordinated, beyond the nation's legal authority to do so, formerly autonomous Indigenous nations to the Canadian state (Lawrence, 2003, p. 6). The Indian Act re-affirmed the emerging distinction between ‘status’ and ‘non-status’ Indians, and asserted that it was only for those with ‘status’ that the Indian Act applied and to which the federal government had any obligation. While Indigenous individuals without ‘status’ would receive no special consideration under the Indian Act, those with ‘status’

unilaterally became categorized as wards of the government (J. R. Miller, 1996, p. 122), despite earlier recognition of the inherent Aboriginal right to self-governance (D. T. McNab, 1999, p. 10). The Indian Act was used to enforce pervasive government control over First Nations people. For instance, it prohibited the sale of alcohol to ‘status Indians’ once the fur trade (the main reason for the introduction of alcohol) was in decline (Smillie-Adjarkwa, 2009, p. 3; Waldram et al., 2006, p. 110), replaced traditional governments with colonial governance structures (Comeau & Santin, 1995, p. 37; Lee, 1992, pp. 213–214), and from 1927 until 1951, the Indian Act effectively prevented Aboriginal people from obtaining lawyers to pursue land claims through the courts (Cassidy, 2005, p. 39). The Indian Act of 1876 and its subsequent amendments also included measures that were deliberately designed to destroy Indigenous traditions in order to enforce assimilation. Formal and informal policies were enacted to restrict First Nations from leaving reserves, giving away gifts, appearing in traditional regalia, and practicing midwifery, traditional healing, and ceremonies such as Sun / Thirst Dances, potlatches, and sweatlodge ceremonies (Lux, 2001, pp. 88–102; Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 147–152).

The importance of these ceremonies to the Indigenous people who practice them cannot be understated. These ceremonies, each in their own way, are fundamental contributors to, and expressions of, Indigenous knowledge and practice (Rice, 2005, p. 26). For instance, part of the function of traditional practices such as the potlatch and Sun Dances / Thirst Dances, which involved significant personal sacrifices and gift-giving, was to maintain relations of reciprocity and balance among people, different tribes, and

other aspects of creation (Rice, 2005, p. 56). These ceremonies were also closely connected to Indigenous healing traditions, as the ceremonies were simultaneously healing ceremonies, a source of Indigenous healing knowledge, and a means by which to give thanks for a cure received by oneself or a loved one (Lux, 2001, pp. 71–82). Thus, undermining these ceremonies also undermined the health and healing traditions of Indigenous societies. So important were these ceremonies, that Indigenous peoples continued to practice them, either openly or in secret, despite the threat of being fined, starved, or jailed, and colonial officials could not always enforce their bans, for fear of reprisal by Indigenous communities (Lux, 2001, pp. 83–91).

Once displaced from their traditional territories and settled on circumscribed reserve lands, First Nations communities were further politically, economically, socially, and geographically marginalized. The remote location of most reserves would make them difficult to supply or become economically self-sufficient. Funding of reserve communities, determined solely by the federal government, has been universally inadequate for building and maintaining infrastructure such as housing, roads, administrative buildings, schools, fire and police, water treatment and piping, electricity, heating, telephone lines, and other necessities provided to non-reserve communities (even other non-reserve rural communities). Today, many reserve communities still do not have access to key infrastructural developments which are taken for granted in non-reserve communities and many reserve communities experience high incidence of poverty, unemployment, overcrowded and unsafe housing, isolation, unsafe water and lack

adequate health, police, fire, educational and recreational services (Comeau & Santin, 1995, pp. 39–43).

One of the most overt, cruel, and harmful expressions of the Canadian genocidal project was the residential schooling system, which has been described as a First Nations holocaust (Morrisette, 1994). Leading up to the establishment of the residential school system, many First Nations leaders had been calling for increased availability of schooling for their children, which they envisioned would teach their children about Euro-Canadian society, while still allowing them to retain their Indigenous traditions, languages, and identities – to essentially become bicultural (J. R. Miller, 1996, p. 6). However, the federal government which funded the schools and the various Christian churches which operated the schools, had as their primary goal the complete assimilation of Aboriginal children at all costs, and the eventual elimination of First Nations as distinct cultural groups. Based on Adolphus Egerton Ryerson's recommendations on the most effective way to accomplish this task (J. R. Miller, 1996, p. 83), the residential school model focused on separating children from their communities via enforced attendance at off-reserve boarding schools and enforced adoption of Euro-Canadian dress, customs, language and religion. Rooted in widely-held racist assumptions of Native intellectual inferiority, which assumed that Indigenous peoples could derive only limited benefit from Western education (Nock & Haig-Brown, 2006, pp. 9–21), students spent half the day learning a very basic academic curriculum heavily focused on Christian doctrine, while the other half was spent in ‘industrial training’; agricultural labor was taught to boys while domestic labor was taught to girls (J. R. Miller, 1996, pp. 156–160).

Due to increasing difficulty in attracting and keeping enrollments in the residential schools, the Indian Act was amended to legally enforce attendance of First Nations children at residential schools (J. R. Miller, 1996, p. 129). These compulsory measures were strengthened and expanded several times in subsequent revisions of the Indian Act until they were finally removed in 1951 (J. R. Miller, 1996, pp. 169–170). However, when the children remained adamant that they didn't want to go or return to school, these laws could often prove difficult to enforce in practice since many First Nations communities and families would actively resist sending their children to the schools (J. R. Miller, 1996, pp. 170–172).

The problems with the residential schools and their negative consequences for First Nations communities are so numerous and comprehensive, they are difficult to adequately summarize for the purposes of this manuscript. In addition to the assimilative intent of the schools and the racist beliefs of many of the staff, the schools themselves were usually underfunded and under-supplied, and school staff were often inadequately-trained and in insufficient numbers to effectively teach and care for the students (J. R. Miller, 1996, p. 174). School buildings were often over-crowded, run-down, drafty and dangerous (J. R. Miller, 1996, p. 310). Students were sometimes maimed or killed in accidents that could have been prevented with proper supervision (J. R. Miller, 1996, p. 312). Clothes were often substandard and did not always fit properly (J. R. Miller, 1996, p. 299). A student from Shubenacadie school developed crooked and misshapen feet as a result of wearing shoes which were too small for her for ten years (Knockwood, 1992, p. 37). Food was often in short supply and of inferior quality. It is disturbingly common to

read or hear of former students' memories of being constantly hungry, hunting and foraging for food, being forced to eat spoiled or infested food, and risking punishment to sneak extra food from school stores whenever possible (Knockwood, 1992, p. 35; J. R. Miller, 1996, pp. 290–297).

Horrific reports of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse are also disturbingly common among residential school attendees. Punishments were often unfair, degrading, and sadistic. For instance, residential school survivors have described hundreds of incidents of

...kidnapping, sexual abuse, beatings, needles pushed through tongues as punishment for speaking Aboriginal languages, forced wearing of soiled underwear on the head or wet bedsheets on the body, faces rubbed in human excrement, forced eating of rotten and / or maggot infested food, being stripped naked and ridiculed in front of other students, forced to stand upright for several hours – on two feet and sometimes one – until collapsing, immersion in ice water, hair ripped from heads, use of students in eugenics and medical experiments, bondage and confinement in closets without food or water, application of electric shocks, forced to sleep outside – or to walk barefoot - in winter, forced labour, and on and on. (Erasmus, 2003, pp. 193–194)

There are even reports of school children dying from extreme forms of abuse who were subsequently buried in unmarked graves near the schools (Lawless, 2007). However, the most frequent complaint about residential school experiences by survivors was the almost complete absence of love and emotional support from the school staff (J. R. Miller, 1996, p. 290). Some students went years without seeing their parents because the schools refused to send them home, even during summer breaks (J. R. Miller, 1996, pp. 311–312).

Each of these factors contributed to the tragic rates of infectious diseases, particularly tuberculosis, which infected many students at residential schools (T. King, 2012, pp.

114–115; J. R. Miller, 1996, p. 304). School staff did little to discourage the transmission of tuberculosis among students, as infected individuals were improperly treated, and were not isolated from the healthy ones. Indeed, it was reported by Dr. Peter Bryce, Chief Medical Officer of the Department of Interior and Indian Affairs in 1907, that about 24%–50% of all children attending residential schools in western Canada were dying of tuberculosis alone (J. R. Miller, 1996, p. 133; Milloy, 1999, pp. 91–92; Sproule-Jones, 1996, p. 200). Tuberculosis was not solely a residential school phenomenon, since declining socio-economic conditions on reserves also contributed to its spread (Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 68–70), but the conditions within these schools tragically exacerbated the virulence of infectious diseases such as tuberculosis. Despite knowing about the tragic death tolls due to infectious diseases, and having the knowledge and means to prevent its spread in the residential schools, the Department of Interior and Indian Affairs failed to act in the interests of the children in their care. Indeed, the Department of Indian Affairs Superintendent, Duncan Campbell Scott, wrote in 1910,

It is readily acknowledged that Indian children lose their natural resistance to illness by habituating so closely in the residential schools, and that they die at a much higher rate than in their villages. But this does not justify a change in the policy of this Department, which is geared towards a final solution of our Indian Problem. (Erasmus, 2003, p. 192)

The last residential school closed its doors in 1996 (Hayner, 2011, p. 72). However, from roughly the 1950s to the 1980s, even while attendance at residential schools was declining, Child Welfare agencies essentially picked up where residential schools left off. Based on an ethnocentric assumption of the ‘best interests of the child’, a court system that minimized the importance of maintaining First Nations children’s connections to

their communities and cultures (Kline, 1992), and a widespread lack of understanding concerning the structural and psychological legacy of colonialism within First Nations communities, Child Welfare agencies increasingly separated First Nations children from their parents, and placed them in mostly non-Native foster homes. Popularly called the ‘Sixties Scoop’, somewhere between 25% to 40% of Aboriginal children were taken from their families during the 1960s and 1970s (Hart-Wasekeesikaw, 2009, p. 6; Kirmayer, Simpson, & Cargo, 2003, p. S17). Even today, different studies have suggested that Aboriginal children are 2.5 – 9.5 times more likely to be placed in state or foster care compared to non-Aboriginal children, indicating this problematic issue is ongoing (Blackstock, Brown, & Bennett, 2007, p. 62; de Leeuw, Greenwood, & Cameron, 2010, p. 283).

Throughout the history of colonialism, many Indigenous leaders and community members have challenged the colonial attitudes, assumptions, laws, and policies described previously which have undermined the integrity, autonomy, and prosperity of Indigenous peoples. During the post-World War II era, and particularly since the rise of the Native Rights movement in Canada and the United States during the 1960s, these efforts culminated in the removal of many of the most problematic colonial structures and practices affecting Indigenous peoples. For instance, the enfranchisement rules through which Indigenous peoples could lose their legal ‘Indian’ status have largely been eliminated from the Indian Act, as have the bans against ceremonies and against allowing lawyers pursuing land claims on behalf of First Nations communities (J. R. Miller, 1991, pp. 217, 221). Long-standing grievances concerning colonial misappropriation of

Indigenous lands are now increasingly being settled in courts across the country (J. R. Miller, 1991, pp. 249–266) and Indigenous cultural traditions and knowledge are undergoing a resurgence in many urban and reserve communities across the continent.

Nevertheless, there is still more work to be done in dismantling colonial structures in Canada. The Indian Act still presumes to determine who is and is not legally ‘Indian’, and therefore subject to the Indian Act and eligible for treaty or band-based entitlements (Lawrence in Rutherford, 2010, pp. 10–11). Government reassurances concerning the Aboriginal right to self-governance have yet to be put into practice in many communities across the country, and racism and discrimination towards Aboriginal peoples are still very much evident in Canada. Additionally Indigenous communities across North America are under threat from unsustainable resource extraction and industrial development on and around their lands, undermining the health of local environments, ecosystems, and Indigenous peoples (LaDuke, 1999). Various forms of appropriation of Indigenous culture, knowledge, and identities along with biopiracy of Indigenous DNA and ancestors, medicines, and foods by scientists, collectors, and museums are also ongoing issues for Indigenous peoples and communities (Greaves, 2002; LaDuke, 2005; Ronwanien:te Jocks, 1996). It is in this context that contemporary Indigenous peoples are tackling the significant challenge of healing from the collective traumas inflicted throughout the history of colonialism.

Colonial Trauma and Indigenous Health

According to Taiaiake Alfred,

In order to get to the root of the colonial problem in Canada, it is necessary to understand that oppression experienced over such a long period of time effects

[sic] people's minds and souls in seriously negative ways... Understanding this history of colonialism – the political and economic aspects of the changing relationship between Indigenous peoples and European which resulted in the subjugation of First Nations to European powers – is, in a fundamental sense, less important than appreciating the damage to the cultural integrity and mental and physical health of the people and communities who make up those nations. (2009, pp. 42–43)

While the genocidal colonial campaign waged against Indigenous peoples in Canada has ultimately failed in its attempt to erase Indigenous cultures and traditions, hundreds of years of oppression and coercive assimilation have resulted in immense suffering, marginalization, and turmoil and have negatively affected the mental, emotional, physical, spiritual, and environmental health of Indigenous communities. Currently, First Nations, Metis, and Inuit populations experience disproportionate incidence of chronic illnesses such as diabetes, mental health issues such as suicide, and community-based problems such as violence, abuse, substance abuse, accidents, and injuries have also become predominant concerns (Waldram et al., 2006, p. 73). First Nations, Metis, and Inuit people experience roughly three to five times higher incidence of type II diabetes (with higher incidence of serious cases and at a younger age) than the Canadian average (Adelson, 2005, p. S56). Rates of suicide among First Nations are about three times the Canadian rate and this rate appears to be increasing, especially among Indigenous youth for whom suicide is a leading cause of death (Adelson, 2005, pp. S55–S56; Jaccoud & Brassard, 2003, p. 131). Among Inuit, suicide incidence has risen to about 8.5 times the Canadian average (Hart-Wasekeesikaw, 2009, p. 9). Waldram et. al. report that in 2000, injuries sustained from motor vehicle accidents, fires, accidental poisoning, drowning, and violence were also among the most common causes of death (about one quarter of all

deaths) for First Nations people (2006, pp. 103–104). Physical, emotional, and sexual abuse and violence continue to be particularly problematic for women, Elders, adolescents, and children, with eight out of ten Aboriginal women in Ontario reporting personal experiences of violence (Adelson, 2005, p. S55). Also, while infectious diseases are mostly not as problematic or severe in nature among Indigenous populations as they once were, tuberculosis incidence is still about six to ten times higher among Indigenous people than among Canadians as a whole, and HIV/AIDS is on the rise in many communities (Adelson, 2005, pp. S56–S57; Clark, Riben, & Nowgesic, 2002, p. 940; McCaslin & Boyer, 2009, p. 68; Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 86–90).

By drawing attention to the complex physical, mental, emotional, spiritual, and community health issues facing some Indigenous people and communities, there is a danger of inadvertently perpetuating negative stereotypes about Indigenous communities as hopelessly problematic, as passive victims of colonialism, or as necessarily suffering (Browne, Smye, & Varcoe, 2005, pp. 24–25), all of which can be used to justify further external control and intervention. As such, it is important to note that there is considerable variability in Indigenous people's experiences of and responses to colonialism, and that while crises do occur in Indigenous communities, social order and calm are usually the norm, as they are in most other communities. Indeed, regarding alcohol, that there are proportionally more abstainers in the Canadian Aboriginal population than in the Canadian population as a whole (Thatcher, 2004, p. 23) is a case in point. However, I would like to emphasize that colonial structures still work to marginalize people and undermine health in the present, and where a generalized pattern

of suffering in Indigenous communities is evident, it is invariably rooted in forms of political, economic, sociocultural, and geographic marginalization and inequality which are the legacy of centuries of colonialism (Kurtz, Nyberg, Van Den Tillaart, Mills, & The Okanagan Urban Aboriginal Health Research Collective (OUAHRC), 2008, p. 55).

For example, high tuberculosis incidence, as previously discussed, was originally a result of widespread ecological and sociocultural disruption which began during the early colonial period, but was greatly exacerbated by poorly-constructed, unhealthy, over-crowded living conditions in residential schools and reserves. Today, decrepit, over-crowded housing is still an issue for many Indigenous people living on reserves (Adelson, 2005, pp. S50–S51), predominantly because federal funding for on reserve housing has consistently lagged behind actual need in those communities. Accordingly, substandard reserve housing conditions are a major contributor to the spread of this infectious disease in reserve communities (Clark et al., 2002, p. 944).

High rates of diabetes are also highly influenced by various forms of marginalization. Some reserve environments have been so thoroughly compromised by contamination from industry and resource extraction that consumption of leaner, high fibre, nutrient-rich, low-calorie, traditional foods from *the land* has become unsafe. For instance, during the 1960s the Wabigoon River flowing through Grassy Narrows reserve became so contaminated by mercury from an upstream paper mill that the fish became inedible. Many current Grassy Narrows residents continue to suffer the effects of mercury poisoning today (LaDuke, 1999, pp. 101–102). The geographic isolation of some reserves further reduces the availability of fresh, healthy food, since transporting fresh, non-

preserved foods to these communities can be expensive (Comeau & Santin, 1995, pp. 42–43). The cost of feeding a family of four nutritious food for one week can cost between \$200 and \$250 in southern Canada, but in isolated reserve communities this same food commonly costs between \$360 and \$450 (and in some cases over \$500) (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2010). High food prices, coupled with relatively high rates of poverty and unemployment in many reserves (which are also highly related to isolation), make it difficult for many families to afford the healthier foods that are essential for proper regulation of blood sugar (Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 119–120).

Insufficient investment in and development of recreational programs for reserve communities also contributes to increased sedentism, and increased risk of cardiovascular disease and diabetes (Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 119–120). While geographic isolation is not an issue for Indigenous people living in urban areas, discrimination and poverty can nevertheless limit the ability of Indigenous people to afford healthy food and housing in urban communities as well (McCaskill, Fitzmaurice, Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, Ontario Metis Aboriginal Association, & Ontario Native Women's Association, 2007, pp. 139–142). It is thus not difficult to understand why the Mushkegowuk Cree view diabetes as a symptom of colonialism (Waldram et al., 2006, p. 243). Isolation and lack of community infrastructure may also be a contributor to substance abuse among youth, since boredom and peer pressure are commonly cited reasons they consume alcohol and other intoxicants (Comeau & Santin, 1995, p. 44; Waldram et al., 2006, p. 110).

The colonial history of North America is rife with traumatizing experiences such as massacres, rape, exploitation, oppression, and other horrible forms of cruelty (A. Smith, 2003). The cumulative mental, emotional, physical, and spiritual traumas historically inflicted throughout colonialism have created a 'soul wound' in many Indigenous communities which can have enduring, intergenerational health consequences (Mitchell & Maracle, 2005, pp. 15–16). Mitchell and Maracle describe the soul wound (also known as historical or intergenerational trauma) as

...collective emotional and psychological injury over the lifespan and across generations. It is viewed as resulting from a history of genocide with the effects being psychological, behavioural, and medical....Historical trauma for Aboriginal populations is understood to be linked directly to banning of cultural practices, policies and institutions of assimilation, and loss of culture. (2005, p. 15)

Cajete, for instance, describes the historical trauma which was inflicted by loss of Indigenous lands and the resulting large-scale relocation of Indigenous peoples:

The relationship between Indians and their environment was so deep that separation from their home territory by forced relocation in the last century constituted, literally, a loss of part of the soul of that whole generation. Indian people were joined with their land in such intensity that many of those who were forced to live on reservations suffered a form of soul death. The major consequence was the loss of a sense of home and the expression of profound homesickness with all its accompanying psychological and physical maladies. (Cajete, 1994, p. 85)

The residential school system is another major contributor to historical, intergenerational trauma. The continual exposure to traumatic experiences for the majority of their childhood has led to the emergence of residential school syndrome among some survivors, a form of complex trauma and a post-traumatic stress response that commonly involves intense feelings of anger or fear, recurring nightmares or flashbacks, substance abuse behaviours, anxiety or distress stimulated by triggers related

to residential school memories, and avoidance of those triggers (Hawkeye Robertson, 2006, p. 9; Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004, pp. 49–50). Survivors sometimes have difficulty moving beyond the traumatic experiences of residential schools, because current events can trigger traumatic memories of their residential school experiences. Residential schools also undermined family and community ties, devalued the role of women in Aboriginal societies, and seriously undermined Indigenous languages and cultures (Kurtz et al., 2008, p. 55). Much of Indigenous culture and nuanced understanding of the world is embedded in Indigenous languages, so the loss of language also undermines cultural integrity. According to Norris:

A language is not just about speaking as a way of communication – it is much more than that: it represents a way of thinking, of perceiving the world, interwoven with the knowledge, culture, and identity of a people. Language remains a critical component in maintaining and transmitting Aboriginal cultural integrity and identity, from generation to generation, and reflects a unique world view specific to the culture to which it is linked. So losing a language is not just losing a way of communicating: it is like losing a world....Although loss of language doesn't necessarily lead to the death of a culture, it can severely handicap transmission of that culture. (2011, p. 115)

Unable to speak their Native language, or to bridge the cultural divide between their worldviews and those of family members that did not attend the schools, some survivors became completely alienated from their communities. Some still have feelings of shame for speaking Indigenous languages (Knockwood, 1992, p. 34).

The tortured relationship that the Christian teachers at these schools often had with sex, coupled with experiences of sexual abuse while attending residential schools, led to generations of adults with unhealthy, proscribed views about sexuality and sex as a dirty, shameful secret (Driskill, 2004; D. R. Newhouse, 1998, p. 186). Reluctance to partake in

the already awkward talks about sexuality and safe sex in some Aboriginal families or communities, along with intravenous drug use, has facilitated the spread of HIV / AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections (Varcoe & Dick, 2008, p. 47). HIV infection also renders one more susceptible to tuberculosis, and when one has both HIV and tuberculosis, the progression of both is accelerated and more severe (Kwan & Ernst, 2011). Consumption of alcohol and other substances is one way survivors cope with traumatic thoughts and memories, or a means through which they gain the courage necessary to express them, but this can lead to substance abuse, addiction, accidental injury, violence, or death (McCormick, 2000, p. 27; Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 105–106, 109–110; Warry, 1998, p. 140). Incidences of violence directed towards oneself or others in Indigenous communities may represent the internalization of racist, sexist, ethnocentric, colonial attitudes which have been well-documented in residential schools, and in Canadian society as a whole (Adelson, 2005, p. S56).

Residential schools have likely also exacerbated diabetes rates among First Nations peoples. Traditional food-ways were undermined and were replaced by unhealthy food behaviours via reliance on carbohydrate-heavy foods at the schools, malnutrition, and the common use of food as reward and punishment (Bodirsky & Johnson, 2008, para. 17–19). Stress, which was another artifact of the residential schools, has recently become known as a major contributor to insulin resistance and eventually diabetes (Spero, 2006, pp. 27–38).

Residential school and other colonial traumas become intergenerational when survivors pass on their traumas to their children or fellow community members. Some

residential school survivors have shared that since they had been removed from their own families at a young age, and largely grew up without healthy experiences of love and affection while at the schools, they were uncertain about how to effectively parent, and felt uncomfortable expressing love and affection with their own children. In still other cases, abuses experienced at residential schools might also be re-enacted by survivors in their own families and communities (Varcoe & Dick, 2008, p. 45; Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004, p. 52). Furthermore, past experiences of substance abuse increase the likelihood of substance abuse as well as physical, emotional, and sexual abuse and these behaviours can be passed on to subsequent generations when children model adults (Adelson, 2005, p. S55; Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 107, 110). It is in this way that even generations that did not directly experience residential schools can continue to be affected by those traumas; trauma can become perpetual when it is allowed socially reproduce itself from one generation to the next.

Suicide rates in Indigenous communities are certainly related to intergenerational / historical trauma. Specifically, feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness created by poverty, unemployment, poor reserve conditions, personal or parental substance abuse, past experiences of physical, emotional, or sexual abuse, problematic family relations, and feelings of cultural disconnection are all known to increase suicide rates (Adelson, 2005, p. S56; Waldram et al., 2006, p. 106; Warry, 1998, pp. 146–147). Suicides can be particularly devastating in Aboriginal communities which tend to be small and closely knit. In some reserve communities, one suicide may be followed shortly by others in the same community. For instance, in Davis Inlet, an Innu community of about 500 people

that has been particularly troubled by suicides, 46 people had attempted suicide within one year (Warry, 1998, p. 145).

When it comes to healing Indigenous health issues, federal and provincial governments continue to favour biomedical¹⁷ approaches, but while biomedicine has an important role to play in Indigenous health and healing, and these services in Indigenous communities have largely improved over time, there are several key reasons why over-reliance on biomedical approaches to the exclusion of other approaches has not been very effective in reducing the rates of health issues affecting Indigenous individuals and communities (Adelson, 2005, pp. S45–47, S58). Biomedicine is a system of healing which does not always accord with Indigenous value systems (McCormick, 2000, p. 26; Waldram, 1997, pp. 208–209). Rooted as it is in a positivist Western scientific paradigm that prioritizes empirical phenomena that can be physically measured or quantified, biomedicine attends mainly to the physical dimensions of health (Kawagley, 2001, p. 204; Waldram, 1997, pp. 71, 214). This approach to health and healing can appear fragmentary and unsatisfying to Indigenous peoples who embrace traditional views of health as a product of interaction and balance among physical, emotional, mental, spiritual, community, and environmental dimensions (Adelson, 2005, p. S46). Yet, the rigidly scientific empiricist views of some biomedical practitioners¹⁸ make them

¹⁷ Here I use biomedicine to refer to approaches that rely primarily on physical empirical conceptions of health and disease and whose preferred therapies are aimed to act primarily on that level. I mean it to refer primarily to physicians (MDs) and, to a lesser extent, psychiatrists. It excludes health practitioners, such as psychologists, social workers, or even nurses that are trained to conceptualize health and disease as an outcome of mental, emotional, social, or even spiritual factors, in addition to physical ones.

¹⁸ It is important to emphasize that there is considerable variability in individual biomedical practitioners regarding their willingness to explore or use therapeutic practices that are not based in a Western scientific empirical paradigm, or that are understood to operate in a more than physical capacity.

uncomfortable with, or skeptical of, traditional Indigenous healing methods that work beyond the purely physical realm (Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 249–259). Western healing institutions also tend to be characterized by unequal relations of power between biomedical practitioners (who are understood to have medical authority and expertise), patients (who have often been expected to remain passive in the healing process), and non-biomedical healers (who are seen as having less authority, less legitimacy, or weaker credentials) (Adelson, 2005, p. S46). Thus, when the value systems of Western healers conflict with those of Aboriginal patients or healers, clinical encounters can become sites where Western value systems and assumptions are not only prioritized, but imposed onto Indigenous people, essentially continuing colonialism (Eunjung & Bhuyan, 2013, p. 122; O’Neil, 1989, p. 327).

Historically, Indigenous people were often transported from their communities by government-paid medical personnel to better-equipped southern medical institutions due to health issues such as tuberculosis, sometimes never to be seen or heard from again (Adelson, 2005, p. S57; Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 196, 202–203). Today, Indigenous peoples still relate stories of racist, ethnocentric, or stereotypical evaluations of Indigenous people by Western biomedical practitioners that lacked a sufficient understanding of Indigenous cultures and the realities of community life (Browne, 2007; Browne & Fiske, 2001; O’Neil, 1989). For example, Browne related how nurses sometimes mistook Indigenous women’s silence during clinical encounters, which was meant as a sign of respect, as evidence of non-comprehension or dissatisfaction (2007, pp. 2169–2170). Browne further related how some nurses carried stereotypical notions of

Indigenous people as substance abusers which made them skeptical of Indigenous patients' requests for narcotic pain medication (2007, p. 2174). Too often, Indigenous parents have reported having their children apprehended by hospital staff or social service sectors when they are brought in with scrapes and bruises, due to the suspicion that they have been abused or neglected (Browne & Fiske, 2001, p. 136).

Finally, the biomedical approach to health has been complicit with colonialism by depoliticizing complex health issues as solely individual biophysical matters. By framing illness as primarily an individual, biophysical phenomenon, the complex structural and environmental causes of illness such as poverty and contamination tend to be reified as individual pathologies, weakness, or poor lifestyle choices, while the larger (often colonial) root causes of disease remain unexamined and untreated in much of biomedical practice (Waitzkin, 1989; Waldram et al., 2006, p. 109). For instance, biomedical practitioners often advise patients with diabetes to change their eating and exercise habits, yet, for many First Nations, Metis, and Inuit people, significant structural barriers such as isolation, inaccessibility of healthier foods, and poverty make it difficult to implement such changes (Spero, 2006, pp. 21–22). Over-reliance on biomedicine will thus do little to reduce the overall rates of illness in Indigenous communities, since a focus on individual treatment alone does nothing to ameliorate the structural conditions which cause illness. Indeed, the hegemony of biomedicine as our primary approach to healing has stifled the widespread adoption of other healing approaches which aim to prevent illness by attending to the political, economic, and historical causes of illness.

Cultural Integrity, Ecological Integrity and Healing

While Western biomedical approaches to Indigenous health issues are, on their own, inadequate for healing Indigenous health issues stemming from colonialism (Obomsawin, 1983, p. 197), there is now a very large body of scholarly research that supports what Indigenous leaders, traditional teachers, healers, and Elders have been saying all along; Indigenous cultural revitalization and self-determination are essential to healing the historical trauma inflicted through colonialism, toward the maintenance of healthy and balanced Indigenous individuals and communities across Turtle Island (Goudreau, Weber-Pillwax, Cote-Meek, Madill, & Wilson, 2008, p. 73; McCormick, 2000, p. 27; Warry, 1998, p. 133). The history of colonialism in North America has poignantly illustrated the outcomes for Indigenous communities when Indigenous cultural traditions and self-determination are severely undermined; to attack Indigenous culture and self-determination is to also attack the health and wellness of Indigenous people. Yet when Indigenous cultural traditions are renewed or revitalized, community health invariably begins to improve also. As LaDuke has written,

How does a community heal itself from the ravages of the past? ... I found an answer in the multifaceted process of recovering that which is 'sacred'. This complex and intergenerational process is essential to our vitality as Indigenous peoples and ultimately as individuals. (2005, p. 11)

Likewise, Cajete suggests that the solution to the problems North American Indigenous groups face is not so much material empowerment in the form of government money, but rather in the spiritual empowerment resulting from cultural revitalization through traditional Indigenous education (1994, p. 190).

Warry has written that the road to recovery from many mental health issues often begins with cultural and / or spiritual awareness (1998, p. 139). A particularly poignant example of the efficacy of reinvigorating cultural traditions for healing substance abuse is the Secwepemc community of Alkali Lake. During the early 1970s, nearly every adult and many adolescents in the community were struggling with alcohol abuse and related community trauma, violence, and injuries. However, during that time a small group of concerned community members organized a long term intervention based on strong leadership and the re-introduction of Secwepemc language, traditional teachings, and ceremonies. This cultural intervention was so successful that by the end of the 1980s more than 90 percent of the band members abstained from alcohol (McCormick, 2000, pp. 28–29; York, 1999, pp. 179–186). Many other communities have since followed this model (McCormick, 2000, pp. 28–29; McIvor, Napoleon, & Dickie, 2009, p. 9).

Numerous studies now exist that demonstrate the efficacy of traditional Indigenous healing techniques and ceremonies. Sweatlodges have demonstrated efficacy in helping Indigenous prison inmates in Canada to deal with anger and stress, to reduce negative thinking, and to increase resiliency to troubling experiences (Waldram, 1997, pp. 137–140; Waldram et al., 2006, p. 244). Spirit Dancing among the Coast Salish, as well as sweatlodges and healing circles among other groups, have each demonstrated efficacy in helping Indigenous people struggling with substance abuse, residential school trauma, and suicide (Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 240–241). Traditional hand drumming has also been successfully incorporated into substance abuse treatment programs (Goudreau et al., 2008, p. 77).

Substance abuse treatment centres such as Round Lake Treatment Centre in British Columbia and Poundmaker's Lodge in Alberta have put traditional teachings and ceremonies at the core of their healing efforts and programming, with the guiding principle that 'culture is treatment' ("Poundmaker's Lodge," 2010, "Round Lake Treatment Centre," 2011). Youth with solvent abuse problems, as a part of culturally-sensitive treatment programs, have been given the opportunity to interact with and learn about horses, an animal with particular historical and cultural significance to First Nations. Program providers observed that these youth demonstrated increased self-awareness, self-confidence, and self-care after interacting with horses as part of their treatment programs. Although the mechanism for understanding how horses can heal is complex, it is at least partly due to the re-engagement with the more-than-human-world, as well as with traditional culture surrounding horses (Dell, Chalmers, Dell, Sauve, & MacKinnon, 2008). Community-based programs in New Zealand and Canada take youth at risk of suicide out on *the land*, teach them traditional skills, and involve them in community drum, dance activities, and ceremonies to increase their self-efficacy and involvement in their communities, as a part of efforts to prevent suicide (Warry, 1998, pp. 156–157). Similarly, a Yup'ik community in Alaska organized traditional dancing activities which was found to promote social cohesion, combat boredom, and connect youth to their culture to effectively help youth at risk of suicide (Spero, 2006, p. 85).

Indigenous traditions and spirituality have also been found to effectively help people to control their diabetes. A 12-month randomized experiment was conducted among the Pima of Arizona, in which one group (Pima Action) followed a structured exercise and

diabetes self-management program that included healthy diet and exercise classes and behavioural techniques, while another group (Pima Pride) received only printed literature on healthy diet and exercise but learned more about Pima culture and traditions from local speakers and Elders. The researchers were surprised to learn that the Pima Pride group showed healthier results than the Pima Action group in virtually every outcome they measured, including weight control, glucose intolerance, and achieving nutrition goals. While the exercise regime did help the Pima Action group, it did not achieve the same results as the Pima Pride group which had engaged in cultural learning (Narayan et al., 1998). Interestingly, the researchers did not directly suggest that engagement in traditional Indigenous cultural teachings could be implicated in the surprising results of the Pima Pride group. Instead they surmised that the Pima Pride group likely felt more empowered to engage in healthier diet and exercise on their own, rather than being directed to do so as in the Pima Action group (Narayan et al., 1998, p. 71). Nevertheless, the study suggests that the role of traditional cultural learning in health promotion should not be underestimated, and should be explored further. Approaches which emphasize traditional Indigenous cultural teachings in addition to emphasis on healthy diet and exercise could prove to be very promising in terms of improving diabetes outcomes.

There is a general consensus among many Indigenous healers and Elders that physical, mental, emotional, spiritual, community, and environmental health are all interrelated. As such, healing in one of these areas can often promote positive outcomes in the others. This was certainly the case with the previously mentioned Pima diabetes study (Narayan et al., 1998), whereby focusing on spiritual dimensions of health also had

a positive effect on physical health. Indigenous traditions promote healing by recognizing and attending to the physical, mental, emotional, spiritual, community, and environmental dimensions of health. For instance, participants in a woman's hand drumming circle from an urban community in Northern Ontario described how hand drumming simultaneously improved their physical, mental, emotional, spiritual, and community health (Goudreau et al., 2008). The physicality of singing and using one's body to drum, the stress-relieving, synergistic energy that flows from the drum's vibrations, the non-confrontational form of emotional release it provides, the increased self-confidence and cultural pride, and the spiritual and community connections one creates as a hand drummer were just some of the health benefits of hand drumming listed by the participants (Goudreau et al., 2008, pp. 76–79).

Traditional diets, fasting, dancing, engagement with *the land* through hunting and gathering, and other traditional Indigenous practices have also been shown to simultaneously promote physical, mental, emotional, spiritual, community, and environmental health (Obomsawin, 1983, pp. 187–194). Researchers have also shown that participation in traditional culture can also increase personal resilience by contributing to self-awareness, self-determination, empowerment, cultural pride, and the development of skills and knowledge which are essential to the process of healing from historical trauma (Fleming & Ledogar, 2008; Hunter, Logan, Goulet, & Barton, 2006, p. 19; Penn, Doll, & Grandgenett, 2008, pp. 44–45). A documentary film entitled 'The Gift of Diabetes' (Whitford & National Film Board of Canada, 2005), about a First Nations man with type-2 diabetes named Brion Whitford, nicely illustrates the healing potential of

Indigenous traditions. At the beginning of the film, Brion has difficulty managing his diabetes and is experiencing increasingly severe complications of diabetes such as tissue damage and heart disease. It is only when Brion seeks the help of traditional Indigenous teachers and healers, who conduct ceremonies and relate teachings that help Brion to put his traumatic experiences and memories of the loss of his grandfather within a larger, more meaningful traditional context, that he is able to come to terms with that loss and gain the resilience and desire to live necessary to control his blood-sugar.

The connection between Indigenous language and cultural integrity was noted earlier in the discussion on the effects of residential schools. The loss of language due to the schools was thus also connected to loss of cultural integrity in many communities, and it contributed to the negative community and individual health effects that resulted from the loss of culture integrity. Yet, language revitalization has also been shown to be healing for the same reasons that cultural revitalization, more generally, is healing for Indigenous individuals and communities. As Norris explains:

Strong cultural attachment and a strong sense of identity are important components of well-being. There is growing evidence of links connecting language maintenance and revitalization with health, well-being, positive educational outcomes, and improved life chances. It is thought that the process of learning an Aboriginal language may also contribute to increased self-esteem among youth, community healing and well-being, and cultural continuity. (2011, p. 116)

Storytelling, in its various forms, also seems to have a significant impact on holistic health. Among practitioners of the branch of psychotherapy called Narrative Therapy (White, 2004), it is understood that human meanings, identities and worldviews are largely constructed and maintained in story or narrative form. The ability to tell stories

about oneself and the world is essential for the creation of meaningful life experiences and the maintenance of healthy, coherent human identities and worldviews (L. E. Angus & McLeod, 2004, p. 368; Pennebaker & Seagal, 1999, pp. 1243–1244). People who experience trauma often have trouble dealing with the troubling emotions and memories associated with the trauma, and thus tend to suppress or avoid them to the extent that traumatic memories are dissociated; they are not well-integrated with a person's worldview, sense of self, or their life story (White, 2004, pp. 59, 69–71). Thus, those whose identities or worldviews have been undermined or displaced, as was the explicit aim of the British-Canadian colonial war against Indigenous culture and self-determination, may have more difficulty finding meaning in traumatic life experiences and memories and placing them within a coherent cognitive framework or story. This results in unresolved existential anxiety and disregulated emotions which can often manifest as depression, substance abuse, or suicide (McCormick, 2000, p. 27). In narrative therapy, the therapist collaborates with a client who has experienced trauma to articulate a narrative of traumatic events, memories, and emotions in an effort to transform the traumatic narrative into a healthier, more organized, more meaningful one (L. Angus, Levitt, & Hardtke, 1999, pp. 1256–1258; White, 2004, pp. 71–72). Narrating traumatic memories and emotions through language and locating them within the meaningful trajectory of one's life and worldview helps to externalize the trauma, and transforms and organizes these experiences so that they are less threatening and more manageable (Pennebaker & Seagal, 1999, pp. 1243, 1248). It has been found that telling a story about traumatic or emotional topics, either in writing or orally, can produce

measurable improvements in mental, emotional, and even physical health (L. Angus et al., 1999, p. 1257; Pennebaker & Seagal, 1999; White, 2004, p. 65); simply more evidence that we truly are built by and for storytelling.

Traditional First Nations teachings and healing approaches are similar in some respects to narrative therapeutic approaches, and seem to be particularly well-suited to helping First Nations people heal from traumatic experiences. Like Narrative Therapy, Indigenous spirituality, knowledge, and traditions can help people obtain meaning from stressful or traumatic life experiences by positioning them within a comprehensive and internally-consistent cosmology, worldview, or story. Waldram described how Indigenous Elders and healers have healed Indigenous prison inmates in Canada through the use of ceremonies, stories, and teachings which helped them to locate the cause of their negative experiences within the story of colonialism, and to fashion new life-narratives and behaviours oriented around traditional cultural symbols, meanings, and metaphors (1997, pp. 77, 204–206, 215). Rhetoric, metaphor, and stories were “...used to connect the individual to the cultural myth so that his or her problem [could] be defined within the context of this reality” (Waldram, 1997, p. 74). Healing is explicitly associated with the existential nature of Indigenous traditions and spirituality (Fleming & Ledogar, 2008, p. 59), which helps one to answer those three fundamental existential questions identified by Cordova (2007): 1) What is the world?, 2) What are humans?, and 3) What are the roles and responsibilities of humans in the world? Indigenous spirituality is rooted in everyday practice, and provides an abundance of stories and ceremonies which, in

addition to providing a strong sense of identity, help one to see oneself as a part of a larger story or context by answering these three cosmological questions.

While there are similarities in the approaches of Indigenous traditional healing and Narrative Therapy, it is notable that Indigenous traditional healing focuses more on the individual as a part of a larger community and environment. While Western psychotherapeutic approaches tend to focus on individual problems and emphasize the need for individuation, resilience, and healing, Indigenous conceptions of health tend to be relational, rooted in family and community integrity, and emphasize the need for collective healing, whereby individuals must heal not only for themselves but also for their communities (Waldram, 1997, p. 207; Warry, 1998, p. 133). Healing may start with the individual, but sooner or later moves beyond the individual when they are prompted through traditional cultural values to consider family, community, and others in their decisions. Strengthened involvement within, and connection to, one's community can also contribute to the creation and integration of personal meaning, identity, and coherence in one's life, thereby further promoting resilience and healing (McCormick, 2000, pp. 27–28). As more people in a community reconnect with traditional ethics, family, and community, a sense of shared identity is inculcated, community bonds are strengthened, and healing can occur on a broader scale (Penn et al., 2008, pp. 44–45, 48).

Indigenous healing and traditions may also go further than most individual psychotherapeutic approaches by explicitly recognizing the integral role of environment in maintaining good health. Environmental integrity is, of course, an important contributor to human health generally, since despoiled or toxic environments can cause a

litaney of health problems. But for diverse Indigenous peoples that have long looked to *the land* for lessons on survival, ethics, and meaning, *the land* can continue to serve as a strong source of coherence and resilience for contemporary Indigenous peoples. Among land-based Indigenous peoples environmental integrity is a precondition for cultural integrity, since traditional Indigenous culture is based fundamentally on forging and maintaining relations of reciprocity with the more-than-human world (Cajete, 1994, p. 85). That is why Cajete writes, “Revitalizing ancestral connections with Nature and its inherent meaning is an essential healing and transformational process for Indian people” (1994, p. 85). Indigenous ethics of respectful engagement with *the land* also means that Indigenous cultural integrity sustains environmental integrity (LaDuke, 1999, p. 1).

Complementary observations of the connection between natural environments and mental and emotional health from within Western psychological contexts have been formalized in the relatively recent establishment of the discipline of ecopsychology. Ecopsychology starts with the recognition that “personal and planetary vitality are mutually constitutive” (Wolsko & Hoyt, 2012, p. 11), and that experiencing, developing, and maintaining meaningful relationships with the natural world holds significant therapeutic potential (Devereux, 1996, pp. 17–21; Kahn Jr., 2012, p. 239; Wolsko & Hoyt, 2012, pp. 11–12). Ecopsychologists are currently documenting the many ways that increased contact and connection with more-than-human relations in the natural world can promote the mental, emotional, physical, and spiritual health of individuals (Wolsko & Hoyt, 2012, pp. 11–12). By documenting these connections, ecopsychologists assist in the revitalization of reciprocal relations between human and ecological health led by

land-based Indigenous peoples, and may encourage the adoption of more sustainable¹⁹, balanced worldviews and lifestyles among diverse peoples (Rogers & Bragg, 2012).

While it is often the case that “the ‘culture’ of the mental health clinic is not the ‘culture’ of the Native American community” (Gone, 2008, p. 370), collaborative initiatives that respectfully combine traditional Indigenous healing and Western psychotherapeutic approaches in ways that meaningfully attend to the strengths and differences in these broad approaches can productively contribute toward the healing of Indigenous peoples (Gone, 2010). A recent Canadian initiative called ‘Culture Heals’ attends to the psychological traumas emerging from colonialism by providing Indigenous patients with access to a variety of Western psychotherapeutic and Indigenous healers and healing methods (McKay-McNabb & Hunter, 2014, pp. 15, 18). It has been found that patients involved with the program preferred therapies grounded in Indigenous worldviews, and that increased access to culturally relevant services also increased patients’ level of engagement with psychotherapy, and facilitated identity development (McKay-McNabb & Hunter, 2014, p. 18).

However, traditional culture should not be considered a panacea for all Indigenous people in all circumstances since, as McIvor et. al. (2009, p. 19) point out, there are cases of people who know their languages and follow their cultural traditions but still suffer from physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual health issues resulting from historical trauma or other reasons. It is unreasonable to expect that, in a context of ongoing colonial relations between Indigenous and settler nations, revitalized Indigenous traditions alone

¹⁹ See the Glossary term, ‘Sustainability’ on page 331 of this dissertation.

will enable all Indigenous people who are suffering to achieve wellness. Cultural revitalization will not be easy if structural barriers imposed through colonialism such as poverty, geographic isolation, environmental degradation, and discrimination are not also addressed (Penn et al., 2008, p. 55). Indigenous self-governance initiatives are a necessary part of any community healing strategy, since self-government is a step toward decolonization and the rebuilding of autonomous nations. It is perhaps beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss self-government in depth, but I feel it is important to note that at least one well-known study conducted in British Columbia by Chandler and Lalonde (1998) found that Indigenous communities that had achieved even minor steps toward self-government had noticeable reductions in their suicide rates. Although this correlational study cannot make inferences regarding causality, it confirms other observations that Indigenous cultural awareness and steps toward self-governance seem to be linked to reductions in suicide rates (Warry, 1998, pp. 147–148). This relationship makes sense given that “...a person’s feeling of having control over his or her life cannot be separated from the larger issue of community political controls.” (Warry, 1998, p. 161). It is also the case that communities that have greater economic and political control are often in a better position to identify and remove barriers to cultural integrity and community health.

Indigenous cultural integrity may not be a panacea, but there is now overwhelming evidence that it should be recognized as an important determinant of health among Indigenous people. A quick scan of the ‘determinants of health’ literature, which currently dominates social scientific approaches to health, shows that there has been little

recognition of the connection between traditional Indigenous cultural integrity and good health. When culture is mentioned at all in this literature, it is more often than not discussed in the context of the health effects of discrimination and inequality based on ethnic or cultural difference, or as a potential obstacle which health practitioners must try to mediate in the delivery of health care. There is no widespread acknowledgement within the determinants of health literature that Indigenous cultural revitalization is, in fact, medicine. This chapter presents evidence which suggests that this omission should be redressed and that traditional Indigenous culture is indeed an important contributor to the ongoing health and well-being of Indigenous people in the present and into the future.

The Importance of Indigenous Cultural Traditions for Western Society

So far I have discussed the important role that traditional Indigenous culture plays in the health and healing of Indigenous people historically, currently, and into the foreseeable future. But the Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee prophecies mentioned in the Introduction of this dissertation foretell emerging crises, that Indigenous knowledge would figure prominently in their amelioration, and that the wrong choices could spell disaster. During the Fourth Fire of the Anishinaabe Seven Fires prophecy, Indigenous know-how and guidance were essential to the survival of early European explorers and settlers landing at Turtle Island. As it was in the past, so it may once again be in the present, and it is prudent to seriously consider the potential application of Indigenous knowledge to contemporary circumstances (Cajete, 1994, p. 82; Deloria Jr. & Wildcat, 2001, p. 10; Rice, 2005, p. 83). Accordingly, this chapter ends with an exploration of the insights and contributions that Indigenous knowledge can make toward current social,

health, and environmental crises. This section anticipates the ensuing discussion of the character and enduring presence of Indigenous traditions within urban contexts and the insights that urban Indigenous traditionalists might have regarding how to live well in urban environments.

In relating the Seven Fires Prophecy, Benton-Benai suggests that the Western world is on the ‘road to technology’, and that continuing down this path will cause much destruction and suffering (Benton-Banai, 1979, p. 93). I interpret the ‘road to technology’ to refer not so much to the use of technology *per se*, but rather to a particular cosmological or societal orientation to technology which prioritizes technological progress to the extent that it precludes sufficient consideration of the social, environmental, or health-related implications of the proliferation of particular technological innovations. Many authors, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, agree that the Western world has an unhealthy relationship with technology. Cordova points to the numerous environmental and health crises such as acid rain, global warming, increasing miscarriages, and cancer as the fallout from the actions of ‘technological man’ (2007, p. 208) and Kawegley suggests that our addiction to technology has led to many of the environmental, social, and political problems we experience today (2001, p. 202). Rice has suggested that Western overemphasis on technology has led to an unhealthy disconnection from natural realities (2005, p. 83), while Obomsawin has written that the unprecedented reliance on technology in the Western world is a contributor to a whole generation of “psycho-physically soft, media-controlled, degenerative disease-prone, dependency-oriented, and materialistic people” (1983, p. 197).

Harold Adams Innis wrote at length on how societies across time and space were highly influenced by the particular bias introduced by their prevailing technologies and communication media (Heyer & Crowley, 1991, p. xvi). By the 1950s Innis had also concluded that the Western world exhibited an imbalanced relationship with technology. He classified technologies along a continuum between time-biased media and space-biased media. Time-biased media were those that were relatively bulky and difficult to transport over large distances, yet tended to be durable over time (e.g.: hieroglyphics, clay tablets). As such, time-biased media tie knowledge closely to context and foster continuity, tradition, spirituality, connection to delimited places, community, and an over-arching concern with time (Carey, 1989, p. 160; Heyer & Crowley, 1991, p. xviii). Innis classified orality as the ultimate time-biased medium because he understood how oral communication is highly context-specific and that oral societies tend to be relatively more focused on the maintenance of traditional practices, spirituality, values, and community over time. By contrast, space-biased media are composed of materials that tended to be relatively light, easily transported over large distances, and plentiful, but which were not very durable (e.g.: paper, radio). Space-biased media are instrumental to the territorial expansion and administrative control of large empires, but tend to foster impersonality, individualism, secularism, present-mindedness, detachment from specific places, and an over-arching concern with binding space (Babe, 2000, pp. 73–76, 79–80; Carey, 1989, p. 160; Heyer & Crowley, 1991, pp. xviii–xix).

Innis argued that a balance between time-biased and space-biased technologies is necessary to sustain a society through time. However, Innis read the vast history of the

West as a story of successive cultural and economic monopolies and ever-increasing space bias, checked only by periodic resurgences of more time-biased media (Carey, 1989, p. 155; Heyer & Crowley, 1991, pp. xix–xxi). He felt that the modern Western world was too heavily space-biased in both its predominant technologies and its general socio-cultural orientation. Without the counterbalancing effect of a sufficiently strong oral tradition promoting dialogue, critical exchange of ideas, and an emphasis on questions of ‘time’ and history, a vibrant public sphere capable of resisting monopolies of knowledge and obsession with empire would be impossible to sustain in the West (Carey, 1989, pp. 165–166, 172; Heyer & Crowley, 1991, pp. xvii–xviii; Innis, 1950, p. 21)²⁰.

Innis’ concepts of space-bias and time-bias resonate well with the road of technology and the path of spirituality referenced by Benton-Banai (1979) in the prophecy of the Seventh Fire. The Western road of technology of Anishinaabe prophecy can also be understood as the road toward continued space-bias and empire-building (manifested in the present through processes such as nationalism, international governance structures and securitization efforts, and economic and cultural globalization) at the expense of traditional land-based practices, ethics, and values. On this road, technologies are pressed to the task of continually increasing the speed and efficiency of travel and communication to overcome the ‘problem of space’ introduced by ever expanding empires that are increasingly global in scope.

²⁰ It is notable that Innis formulated his arguments concerning the need of a more vibrant oral tradition in the West near the beginning of the Seventh Fire, a time when Indigenous people in North America began revitalizing oral, land-based traditions and the choice of the two roads would need to be made.

As we come to see ourselves imbricated with ever-enlarging space (a community, a region, a province, a nation, a globe), the proportion of this space that we can come to know, and the intimacy with which we can know it, decreases. The places within this space to which we understand ourselves to belong thus become increasingly homogenized, stripped of their unique qualities (their place-ness), and reduced to essential qualities according to the prerogatives of empire. In this way, for example, a place known by a local community as sacred grove or cherished hunting ground might be conceptualized and labelled by less local and less familiar others as ‘forest’ or ‘timber resources’. In addition to extending control over ever-enlarging spaces with which we are decreasingly able to become intimate, technological distraction can also render us less familiar with the places in which we dwell and travel through regularly, insofar as that technology is able to demand a proportionally larger share of our attention than our immediate physical, environmental, and social surroundings. Modern technological subjectivity thus generates “a groundlessness and a homelessness in which it becomes difficult for humans to make any meaningful connections to any location” (V. Miller, 2012, p. 277). In these ways, technologies increasingly distance us conceptually from places in our environments.

Innis was mostly concerned with the role of orality in supporting a vibrant public sphere, but other scholars have focused more explicitly on how the transition from orality to literacy and other media technologies influenced Western perceptions of natural environments and our relationships to place. The previous chapter discussed how orality, as practiced by traditional Indigenous groups through story, ceremony, and ritual, is

convivial to perceptions of human continuity with natural interrelationships and processes. But the broad shift from orality to the development and proliferation of media technologies based on the written word, exacerbated the disjuncture between humans and their environments (Abram, 2013). McLuhan wrote that all media of communication work by extending one or more of the body's senses across time and space (1994). He suggested that orality, as the predominant mode of communication in a society, invites the use of all senses simultaneously, leading to balanced sense ratios and a deeply experiential understanding of the world (McLuhan, 1989, p. 108, 1994, pp. 45, 64). As Sheridan has noted, "Oral people must be good listeners, seers, smellers, feelers, and tasters. Their experience of reality is acute because their senses work together harmoniously and equitably. They are not lost in mediation²¹" (1991, p. 26). But whereas orality invites the use of all senses simultaneously, McLuhan argued that writing relies primarily on the use of vision. As a predominantly visual medium, writing disturbed the delicate balance of the human sensorium by extending the visual sense at the expense of the others.

This division of sight and sound and meaning causes deep psychological effects, and he suffers a corresponding separation and impoverishment of his imaginative, emotional and sensory life. He begins reasoning in a sequential linear fashion; he begins categorizing and classifying data. As knowledge is extended in alphabetic form, it is localized and fragmented into specialties, creating divisions of function, of social classes, of nations and of knowledge – and, in the process, the rich interplay of all the senses that characterized the tribal society is sacrificed. (McLuhan, 1989, p. 110)

²¹ Here Sheridan refers to the way media act as perceptual and conceptual intermediaries between ourselves and our environments and thus alter the way we perceive ourselves and our environments.

Thus, while writing facilitated the accumulation of abstract knowledge and encouraged the development of logical, linear thought, the extension of vision to the exclusion of the other senses provides only a partial experience of the world that lacks the richness of perception gained from the balanced use of the entire human sensorium. Experience of nature then becomes two-dimensional, more akin to examining a landscape painting or photograph than a truly immersive experience. The conceptual worth of natural entities is likewise reduced to their visual aesthetic or market commodity value. The linear, sequential thought prompted by writing is not well suited to representing complex, natural interrelationships or the more holistic, metaphorical thought that is predominant among oral peoples. Furthermore, by externalizing knowledge from human minds onto transportable media, writing divorced knowledge from the context in which it arose. In the case of published or pre-recorded works, authors and their audiences do not always share a geographical, temporal, or socio-cultural context, and the ability of individual readers to directly engage in dialogue with the author of a particular work is usually limited. Thus while audiences will always interpret mediated messages according to their own experiences and contexts, in some cases (i.e.: when knowledge is complex, or rooted in very specific cultural, historical, or environmental contexts), the lack of co-present audiences and authors may significantly limit the ability of audiences to fully apprehend what an author had intended to communicate. Yet, when writing becomes a society's predominant form of communication, the authority of experiential, contextual, oral communication is devalued in favour of abstract, specialized, universal, written communication.

McLuhan highlighted how writing and literacy, along with the road, the wheel, and eventually the automobile cumulatively encouraged the development and expansion of Western cities. The linear, rational, abstract thinking promoted by these innovations were then made manifest through urban form and function (1994, pp. 99–100, 180, 184–186) and exacerbated alienation from our environments. McLuhan described both cities and cars as extensions of our skin. He characterized cities as elaborations on the castle, a military technology whose function is to insulate and protect, like a suit of armor (1994, p. 343), while automobiles were likened to the shiny black carapaces of insects which have become “the protective and aggressive shell, of urban and suburban man” (McLuhan, 1994, pp. 224–225). But in extending our skin, cities separate us further from that which lies beyond their borders, while cars insulate us from both the velocity of travel and the territories they traverse. With the proliferation of automobiles, “[t]he road became a substitute for the country” and with the proliferation of superhighways “...the road became a wall between man and the country.” (McLuhan, 1994, p. 94). The automobile has had equally dramatic effects on urban life and form. It

...exploded each city into a dozen suburbs, and then extended many of the forms of urban life along the highways until the open road seemed to become non-stop cities. It created the asphalt jungles, and caused 40,000 square miles of green and pleasant land to be cemented over. (McLuhan, 1994, p. 224)

Vehicular travel, roads, and Western cities have encouraged each other’s growth and in the process have not only separated us further from the natural world, but also insulated us from the psychological effects of ecocide and natural alienation.

McLuhan suggested that new forms of electronic media would ‘retribalize’ the world because they extended multiple senses towards a more balanced sensorium, similar to that

achieved through orality (1989, p. 117). But while electronic media may extend multiple senses through space, they have done little to counter the separation between knowledge and context imposed by writing and furthered via myriad subsequent technologies. If electronic media do re-organize societies into a retribalized global village, this village is still decontextualized and alienated from the natural world, since electronic media cannot by design truly re-apply the human sensorium to deep engagement with our immediate environments (Abram, 2013).

The transition from orality toward media technologies based on literacy was an important conceptual separation imposed between ourselves and our environments, but it was perhaps not the first. Paul Shepard (Shepard, 1998a, 1998b) traces the root of the Western world's disconnection from nature and unhealthy dependence on technology to the widespread shift from a primarily hunter-gatherer existence, towards a primarily agrarian lifestyle during Neolithic times. Shepard's basic argument is that the Western shift from hunting-gathering to agricultural subsistence was also a shift from a lifestyle and cosmology whereby humans understood that they were continuous with natural entities and cycles of reciprocity, to lifestyles and cosmologies based on subduing nature in order to impose predictability and uniformity in defiance of natural cycles (Shepard, 1998a, 1998b). The shift to agrarian life, which required development of tools and technology for controlling and processing nature, likely constituted the first major separation imposed between humans and the environments in which they had evolved for hundreds of thousands of years. The conceptual and physical separation from our

ancestral landscapes has been continued, or exacerbated, throughout the development of modern Western thought and technology ever since (Cordova, 2007, pp. 209–210).

A group's creation stories represent keys to that group's cosmology and the Western cosmological shift that occurred in the transition from hunting-gathering to farming has been encoded in the Biblical story of Genesis. In this story, the first humans are cast from the idyllic Garden of Eden as punishment for eating from the forbidden tree of knowledge, and cursed to work the earth for their subsistence²². This story instructs that the world is a place of punishment for the transgressions of Adam and Eve, that humans are closest to God, and are therefore superior to the rest of creation and that, congruent with the cosmology of control over nature, the purpose of humans is to subdue the rest of creation to our own ends²³. In this story, there is no indication of being within nature characterized by hunter-gatherer cosmologies, except perhaps as a sense of loss represented by the exile from Eden. We are taught that sacredness cannot be found in the world around us, only in the afterlife.

The transition to agriculture, in and of itself, is insufficient to explain Western disconnection from *the land*, since there are also many Indigenous nations that practiced agriculture, yet continued to express deeply spiritual connections to *the land* and the more-than-human world. More important than the practice of agriculture itself, then, is

²² According to the New King James Version of the Holy Bible, upon learning that Adam and Eve ate from the forbidden tree of knowledge, God tells Adam: "Cursed is the ground for your sake; In toil you shall eat of it All the days of your life" (Genesis 3:17). Subsequently, "the Lord God sent him out of the garden of Eden to till the ground from which he was taken." (Genesis 3:22)

²³ According to the New King James Version of the Holy Bible (Genesis 1:26): "Then God said, 'Let Us make man in Our image, according to Our likeness; let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, over all the earth and over every creeping thing that creeps on the earth'". Then God instructs humans to "Be fruitful and multiply; fill the earth and subdue it; have dominion over the fish of the sea, over the birds of the air, and over every living thing that moves on the earth" (Genesis 1:28)

how a group conceptualizes or understands the significance of agriculture in relation to *the land*. Whereas the Western biblical story of Genesis conceptualizes the shift to agriculture as a shift away from conceptions of *the land* and more-than-human world as sacred, Indigenous stories conceptualize agriculture as a practice involving deep spiritual connections with more-than-human others and *the land* (Bodirsky & Johnson, 2008).

The Biblical creation story may encode more than just the cosmological shift to an agrarian lifestyle. Abadian (2006) has argued that Christianity and other Western religions contain aspects of post-traumatic narratives which originated from the traumatic experiences of persecution and suffering of their early adherents, and that these narratives subsequently became encoded and preserved within holy texts such as the Bible. She provides some guidelines for identifying what she considers to be unhealthy, disempowering post-traumatic narratives in these texts:

Disempowering post-traumatic narratives in religious teaching include the portrayal of humans as pitiful and degraded beings, an obsessive preoccupation with apocalyptic world endings (with the message that the world is totally unsafe), and a powerful belief in the saviour or Messiah to come who will fix it all because, after all, we are helpless, broken, and incapable of solving our own problems. Other post-traumatic strains in religious narrative include: the glorification of suffering; the instilling of fear, shame, and unworthiness; and an insistence on the value of self-denial, total sacrifice, and punishment. In effect, says the religious post-traumatic narrative, 'we are unworthy and life on earth is about suffering.' (Abadian, 2006, p. 23)

Alternatively, falsely empowering post-traumatic narratives include discourses such as triumphalism, the idea that there is only one right set of instructions from the Creator and that only those who follow the true instructions will be rewarded in the afterlife, while the rest will be punished (Abadian, 2006, pp. 23–24). Just like historical trauma, these cosmological post-traumatic narratives can re-traumatize and victimize generations of

those who did not experience the original trauma from which these narratives emerged. But writing these narratives down and sanctifying them as the word of God has made it very difficult to question or modify them. This is one of the reasons why some Indigenous peoples are hesitant to record traditional knowledge via non-oral media. Recording Indigenous Knowledge via any medium can lead to the loss of control over that knowledge, divorces the speaker from the audience and context, and may misrepresent that knowledge (Brant Castellano, 2000, pp. 26–27). Of course, not everything in Western religious texts constitutes a post-traumatic narrative. There are also many good messages encoded in the holy texts and teachings of Western religions, so it is important to separate health-promoting messages from the narratives which perpetuate trauma (Abadian, 2006, p. 26).

Although religion and science are often characterized as antithetical, Western science extends and exacerbates the alienation from nature encoded by Western religious cosmology. Science continues the Western religious emphasis on control and universal explanation, except that these explanations no longer derive their authority from God, but from the principle of objectivity rooted in physical empiricism. The association of truth with objectivity accomplishes an extraordinary reversal of natural wisdom by asserting that knowledge is a product of the mind rather than a product of embodied interaction with the world, and that authoritative knowledge is ideally derived from the controlled separation, manipulation, and quantification of empirically measurable natural and

worldly phenomena²⁴ (Devereux, 1996, pp. 26–27; Suzuki, 1997, pp. 195–196). Whereas an effect of Western religious doctrine and agriculture was to separate spirituality and civilization from nature and to denigrate nature as ‘wild’, in a scientific regime, spiritual forces, which are not amenable to physical measurement, are separated from knowledge and denigrated to the status of faith or superstition (Sheridan & Longboat, 2006; Suzuki, 1997, p. 188). Meanwhile, the scientific search for universal principles and laws, and the increasingly specialized and complex nature of scientific information, tends to further divorce knowledge from its original context, fragments knowledge of the world, and compromises humans’ ability to ascertain holism and interconnection (Kawagley, 2001, p. 204; Suzuki, 1997, p. 191). While scientific approaches and knowledge can tell us much about the world, their dominance in the Western world has served to marginalize more holistic and spiritual approaches towards a more balanced and comprehensive understanding of the world. The more we focus on the cellular and atomic level, the less we are able to see the whole.

Deloria Jr. has written that the scientific story of evolution is the only entirely mechanistic creation story in which spiritual forces or entities are accorded no role (1997, p. 24). When science becomes hegemonic and cosmological, as it has in the modern West (Cajete, 1994, p. 188), it promotes a mechanistic worldview which cannot in-and-of-itself provide very meaningful answers to basic moral and cosmological questions (i.e.: what is the nature of the world and what is the role of humans in the

²⁴ Many scientists have increasingly been incorporating embodied, experiential and contextual knowledge (sometimes called ‘local knowledge’, ‘lay knowledge’, or ‘anecdotal evidence’) into their research and practice as valuable knowledge in its own right. Yet the discursive construction of objective knowledge as authoritative knowledge nevertheless remains strong in scientific practice as a whole (Moore & Stilgoe, 2009).

world?), since the quest for objectivity tends to distance the scientist from moral considerations (Postman, 1993, pp. 160–162). If we were to attempt to articulate the scientific answers to basic cosmological questions, scientific cosmology might suggest that the world is a giant sphere of cosmic matter, moving rapidly through space according to physical laws amid infinite other cosmic objects, that humans and all other life on the planet are the result of a chance meeting of amino acids that have evolved over millions of years in a struggle for survival, and that the role of humans is to survive and reproduce, at the expense of other life forms if necessary. In such a formulation, technology is an adaptation which gives humans an edge over other life-forms in the struggle to survive (Cordova, 2007).

However technology is not always clearly adaptive beyond the immediate context of its application. The Western world's approach to cancer illustrates the problematic nature of our separation from nature and our problematic relationship with technology. Statistics suggest that North America has been experiencing a fairly steady and dramatic rise in cancer rates as a whole since at least World War II, and this rise cannot be explained solely as a product of longer lifespans, an aging population, better detection methods, genetics, or cigarette smoking (Davis & Webster, 2002, pp. 15–16; Steingraber, 1997). From 1950 to 1991, cancer incidence in the United States rose by 49.3% so that today over a third of all women and almost half of all men in North America will be diagnosed with cancer at some point in their lives. Now, amidst the material wealth of developed Western nations are the highest levels of cancer in the world. Cancer is the second highest cause of death in North America behind heart disease, and incidence is expected

to increase in the foreseeable future (Epstein et al., 2002, p. 670; Steingraber, 1997, p. 40). Some scientists that are not employed or subsidized by chemical and manufacturing industries (Davis & Webster, 2002; Steingraber, 1997) estimate that as much as 90% of all cancer incidence is caused by environmental exposures pesticides, herbicides, asbestos, radiation, dioxin, air pollution, heavy metals, xenoestrogens, PCBs, solvents, and other persistent organic pollutants which are the very technologies (or their by-products) that we have created to make life 'better' for ourselves. But instead of focusing on trying to prevent exposure to these environmental toxins by refusing to manufacture them, we overwhelmingly focus on further technological solutions such as cancer treatment, cure, and detection to the detriment of prevention initiatives (Epstein et al., 2002). The lack of focus on cancer prevention is at least partially due to the vested political and economic interests of industrial polluters, among whom prevention is perceived as a threat to profits. A focus on cancer prevention is avoided by certain influential actors such as government officials, cancer charities, lobby organizations, scientists, and media who receive significant funding from industrial polluters (Epstein et al., 2002, p. 677; Jacobson, 2005). There is also a large and very profitable industry surrounding the research and development of technological and pharmaceutical treatments and cures for cancer (Davis & Webster, 2002, p. 23).

However, the lack of focus on cancer prevention is also partially due to the way biomedicine, the predominant healing modality in the Western world, approaches health and illness. Rooted as it is in a Western scientific paradigm, biomedicine is based on a mechanistic model of the body which views health and disease in primarily physical

terms, and approaches healing through the increasingly technological manipulation of the body with pharmaceuticals and surgery. Due to the biomedical overemphasis on individual physical bodies, the biomedical approach to cancer redefines the social and environmental causes of cancer as an interplay of individual lifestyles, genetics, and chance (Clarke & Everest, 2006, pp. 2592, 2597–2598; Waitzkin, 1989). As such the patient may be implicitly blamed for their own cancer which in turn allows the extrasomatic causes of illness to remain unexamined. So, through a confluence of materialism, greed, and misplaced faith in technological fixes, billions of dollars are poured into researching and applying treatments and cures to various forms of cancer every year, while cancer incidence continues to rise. It is in this vein that Obomsawin has argued that while “[g]overnments are capable of building hospitals, sanatoria, [and] massive disease-care bureaucracies, ... they are incapable of coming to grips with the very human problem of remaining healthy” (1983, p. 188). We have become accustomed to thinking that no matter what ills we currently face, the proper application of scientific principles and technological ingenuity will eventually result in an effective solution which does not force us to fundamentally change the way we live.

Neil Postman has argued that the West has become increasingly driven and determined by its technology to the point that we are now becoming a technopoly.

According to Postman,

Technopoly is a state of culture. It is also a state of mind. It consists of the deification of technology, which means that the culture seeks its authorization in technology, finds its satisfactions in technology, and takes its orders from technology....Those who feel most comfortable in Technopoly are those who are convinced that technical progress is humanity's supreme achievement and the instrument by which our most profound dilemmas may be solved. They also

believe that information is an unmixed blessing, which through its continued and uncontrolled production and dissemination offers increased freedom, creativity, and peace of mind. (1993, p. 71)

While technology is commonly regarded as a means to an end, in a technopoly technology is the means *and* the end. When we use technology to extend our bodily and sensory capabilities, McLuhan argues, the parts so extended become irritated and numbed. The body adapts to extension by seeking counter-irritants in the form of new technologies, but such behaviour results in an endless cycle of technologically-mediated irritation and counter-irritation (1994, pp. 42–46). In this way, we come to “relate ourselves to [our technologies] as servomechanisms” (McLuhan, 1994, p. 46), enslaved to the maintenance and modification of our technologies. Ever-seeking new counter-irritants, we become “...the sex organs of the machine world, as the bee of the plant world, enabling it to fecundate and to evolve ever new forms” (McLuhan, 1994, p. 46). We are thus encouraged to encounter the world increasingly instrumentally, as a field for the use of our tools and technology (Evernden, 1993, pp. 67–68; V. Miller, 2012, pp. 273–274). Technology then becomes cosmology, informing us that knowledge is power, that progress is desirable and, in any case, inevitable and that what is new is necessarily improved from what came before. The question, *can* something be done becomes more important than *should* it be done (Postman, 1993, pp. 38, 41–42).

The cosmological amputation resulting from our self-imposed exile from nature may have left some psychic scars. When people who are increasingly disconnected from the natural world fail to recognize the teachings and models for living that are exemplified in natural relationships, they can become more prone to ideas and behaviours which are

lethal to natural environments and to each other. When people become convinced that the accumulation of knowledge, land, and technology is inherently desirable they can become materialistic. People then become increasingly beholden to an economic system based on unsustainable growth through the consumption of more and more ‘natural resources’ (the ideologically-safe term for the Earth’s gifts), so that their homes and lives can be filled with more things that they are assured will make their lives better than before (Kawagley, 2001). “Our thinking feeds more and more on itself, becomes more and more abstracted from the world of nature, so we can end up with such notorious situations as global financial institutions that find it logical to support activities such as removing rain-forest areas to make way for cattle ranches” (Devereux, 1996, p. 74). As local environments become increasingly despoiled in the aftermath of unsustainable consumption, people are less and less apt to rediscover coherence there and instead may turn further toward technological mediation, thereby furthering their separation from the well-spring of natural wisdom (Rice, 2005, p. 85). But materialism has been associated “...with dissatisfaction, depression, anxiety, anger, isolation, and alienation [while] ...security and safety, competence and self-worth, connectedness to others, and autonomy and authenticity are relatively unsatisfied” (Eckersley, 2006, p. 253).

Technological obsession also fosters individualism and the erosion of social cohesion, in favour of the creation of new kinds of technologically-mediated communities governed by different norms of ethical behaviour. Pointing to the rise of anti-social behaviours that take place via so-called social media, Miller (2012) argues that the increased frequency of online communication has created a ‘crisis of presence’

whereby the decline of physically co-present social interaction has fostered increasingly instrumental, egocentric, and objectifying ethics and subjectivities that are also capable of influencing offline social interaction. He makes a compelling phenomenological argument that, “ethics has a location...[it is] embodied, located and grounded in place” (V. Miller, 2012, p. 276). Individualism can allow for greater personal freedom, but hyper-individualism and egocentrism can lead to an emphasis on rights over responsibilities to others, and a sense of greater isolation, loneliness, and insecurity (Eckersley, 2006, p. 254). There is a desperation that arises from alienation from *the land* and the disintegration of community bonds with other humans and the more-than-human world (Shepard, 1998a, p. 14) and so it is perhaps not surprising that there is evidence linking Western-style individualism to greater anxiety, depression, suicide, and substance abuse (Eckersley, 2006, p. 255). It may be as Suquamish leader Seattle observed, that many in the modern Western world have forgotten what ‘living’ means and how to do it well (Deloria Jr. & Wildcat, 2001, p. 68).

Since the advent of farming, the West has followed a trajectory of invention that has distanced us, cosmologically and literally, ever further from our environments to the point that we have become illiterate in the languages of nature (Devereux, 1996, p. 86). In spite of humans’ uncanny ability to invent ever more sophisticated and technologically-intensive solutions to the problems that plague us, we never seem to run out of problems that need addressing. That the road to technology has failed us is evident in the emerging social, environmental, and health issues that we now face, many of which are increasingly seen to be at least partially the result of industrial and technological over-

production (S. J. Williams & Calnan, 1996, pp. 1613–1614). While scientists, policy analysts, and biomedical researchers are continually making efforts to ameliorate these emerging crises from within the current scientific-technical-capitalist *status quo*, continued reliance on solely technological solutions to emergent problems will not address the underlying ethical and moral root causes of many of the health, social, and environmental troubles we currently face. Indeed, “ [i]t would be an ancient coyote story writ large if the technology human beings used to ensure our physical and material comfort and convenience resulted in no place to live on this planet - an ultimate form of homelessness that resulted in our extinction” (Deloria Jr. & Wildcat, 2001, p. 77).

If we are to avoid a fate of global village idiocy and its attendant fallout, we need a radical shift in Western cosmological values as they relate to the more-than-human world (Brascoupé, 2011, p. 384; Cordova, 2007, p. 210). Devereux argues that we must heal our worldview by grounding it in a more Earth-centred ethic (1996, pp. 42–45) and Suzuki has written that an Earth-centred ethic is necessary to restore meaning and purpose to human existence, and to balance the West’s technological obsession (1997, pp. 25, 207–208). Cajete suggests that there is evidence that such a paradigm of interconnection with the natural world is already re-emerging in the Western world (1994, p. 136), but that

Indian people must take a leading role in environmental education as Western society begins to realize that it needs to forge an ecologically based cosmology, complete with new myths and new applications of science and technology. Western society must become Nature-centered if it is to make the life-serving, ecologically sustainable transformations required in the next decades. (1994, p. 86)

Language is heavily implicated in this process. McLuhan suggested that even language is a technology which transforms our experience of the world, since language

extends human thought and at the same time separates us from holistic awareness of the wider reality around us (1994, pp. 57, 79). But while it can be argued that language extends thought and that language can, in the process, structure consciousness, it evolved over a long period of time while humans were deeply embedded in their natural environments. McLuhan wrote that, “Man is a form of expression who is traditionally expected to repeat himself and to echo the praise of his Creator. ‘Prayer,’ said George Herbert, ‘is reversed thunder.’ Man has the power to reverberate the Divine thunder, by verbal translation” (1994, p. 57). Adopting a non-anthropocentric interpretation of McLuhan on this point might suggest that humans are a medium for the natural world and that human languages, stories, ceremonies, and rituals originally extended and amplified natural cycles and relationships. Traditional Indigenous groups, following the original instructions given to them by their Creators, are still carrying out this responsibility, and Indigenous languages demonstrate a remarkable capacity for thinking and speaking with nature. For instance, it has been said that the Mi’Kmaq language evolved from the sounds of water and wind, and still echoes these natural entities in its oral expression (Knockwood, 1992, p. 15). Furthermore, Indigenous land-based stories commonly reference *land* as an epistemological authority. If, as McLuhan suggests, the content of one medium is always a previous medium, then the content of Indigenous languages is undoubtedly nature. Indigenous languages keep nature in mind and “...ecologically replenished mythologies may be the only language capable of getting us beyond the lethal reality environmental degradation inflicts” (Sheridan & Longboat, 2006, p. 375).

While colonialism and capitalism work to create a global human monoculture (Abram, 2013; Cordova, 2007, p. 204), LaDuke has suggested that Indigenous cultural integrity and diversity are essential to preserving biodiversity (1999, p. 1). Respectful, reciprocal engagement with Indigenous groups that are still practicing ethics informed by Earth-centred cosmological stories may constitute the best pathway for re-discovering more Earth-centred Western cosmologies (Alfred, 2010). This is not an argument for appropriating Indigenous Knowledge or life-ways, nor is it a plea for a return to a Pleistocene lifestyle. Rather, it suggests that mutually productive engagement with Indigenous groups may lead to crucial insights into ways that old-growth protocols and epistemologies can contribute to healthier, more sustainable contemporary realities (Brascoupé, 2011, pp. 384–385). While the exact insights resulting from such collaborations are largely still to be determined, there are some possibilities which have emerged from the preceding discussion.

Indigenous cultural authorities appear to agree that sacred knowledge is that which is dynamic and living, which is why oral forms of keeping and sharing knowledge remain so important among Indigenous peoples. Innis argued that all media of communication, with the exception of orality, are susceptible to monopolization and control by elites. He shared with Indigenous peoples a recognition of the need to keep knowledge dynamic and alive, and pleaded for the development of a healthier oral tradition in the West involving a vibrant discussion of ideas and values which could counteract the unbalanced focus on empire-building and monopolization of knowledge by religious, economic, and political elites (Carey, 1989, pp. 166–169). Recognizing the contextual nature of knowledge

would help us to move away from monopolization and the universalizing tendencies which have led to so many destructive conflicts over ideas, ideology, and cosmology.

Creation stories are heavily implicated in the transition to a Western cosmology which prompts a healthier, more respectful ethic of living well. With a healthy public sphere rooted in a stronger oral tradition in the West, we might be able to start examining how the Western creation stories written in holy texts answer the cosmological questions posed by Cordova (2007): 1) What is the world?, 2) What are humans? and, 3) What is the role of humans in the world? If the answers to these questions do not prompt a respectful relationship among humans and between humans and the more-than-human world, then we will need to be courageous enough to work to change them. With this in mind, Abadian's (2006) insights into the persistence of post-traumatic narratives in certain Western creation stories could be a useful place to begin questioning the healthfulness of the narratives that have been frozen in religious texts. Narrative therapists and eco psychologists, in the process of dealing with trauma and other mental health issues, are also well-positioned to re-orient patients' narratives toward healing narratives which promote a more sustainable way of being-in-the-world. Furthermore, the realization that ecology and storytelling are mutually constitutive in Indigenous thought could inspire cross-fertilization of these two fields of psychology, or the emergence of a new area in psychology which examines the psychodynamics of storytelling and experiential ecology in tandem.

We also need to remind ourselves that while individual rights are important, so are individual responsibilities to others within and beyond our immediate communities,

because “[w]hat makes humans *human* is the recognition that the individual is a part of a greater whole” (Cordova, 2007, p. 168). Ecologically-informed thought might help us to consider how the decisions we make carry implications far beyond ourselves, because we would better understand how many things are connected as they are in the natural world.

We also need to engender relationships with, and a sense of responsibility to, the places in which we live (Cordova, 2007, p. 192). Most Indigenous languages do not have a word which is equivalent to ‘natural resource’, connoting the idea that nature’s gifts are merely untapped resources waiting to be harvested exclusively for human benefit (McIvor et al., 2009, p. 14). The materialist fragmentation and reification of natural entities and interrelationships into discrete commodities denies their subjectivity and the realization that they constitute our home (Evernden, 1993, pp. 66–67). But understanding the natural world as entirely alive, and that which we take from nature as a gift, promotes a sense of gratitude and responsibility for those gifts and the need for reciprocity (Brascoupé, 2011, p. 386). It has been said that the only true owners of *the land* are the generations to come. Such an understanding could prompt the development of a more conservative, careful approach toward decision-making, as if we were walking on the faces of the children seven generations into the future (Brascoupé, 2011, p. 385). Such an ethic could go a long way toward achieving a balanced and sustainable approach to environment and technology.

Rather than highly fragmented, specialized scientific fields devoted to the derivation of universal principles and knowledge, we also need an approach to science that is firmly rooted in an ethics of place, which investigates the world more holistically and does not

attempt to divorce knowledge from its context (Abram, 2013). This doesn't mean we must abandon Western science in any absolute way; there are, after all, many points of commonality in Western and Indigenous scientific knowledge. But insights from Indigenous Knowledge and science could inform the development of a more respectful, ethical science based on principles of sustainability, relationship, and reciprocity, rather than the principles of control, isolation, fragmentation, and technopoly. Pairing science with outdoor education at all levels of education might be a useful starting point. Such a science could highlight the connections between humans and the more-than-human world, and the foster the desire to maintain them. It might also help us to understand that health is not solely a physiological phenomenon, but rather an outcome of the interaction of physical, mental, emotional, spiritual, community, and environmental factors. Attending to all of these areas is essential to living well and should be further integrated into contemporary health care practice.

Finally, such a science may help us to maintain a more critical and discerning attitude towards technology. Some technologies may appear to be more immediately useful or beneficial than others, but as Postman has written, "...every technology – from an IQ test to an automobile to a television to a computer – is a product of a particular economic and political context and carries with it a program, an agenda, and a philosophy that may or may not be life-enhancing and that therefore require scrutiny, criticism and control." (1993, p. 184). McLuhan suggested that, although there has been a tendency for humans to attempt to respond to technologically-imposed numbness and irritation by seeking further technological mediation, we can make a choice to avoid certain technological

irritants, if necessary (1994, p. 43). Sheridan and Longboat state that among the Haudenosaunee, "...ensuring that the future will remain convivial to the past is a duty" (2006, p. 377) and thinking carefully about how any new technology will affect the coming generations is an important part of this responsibility.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the ongoing relevance of Indigenous Knowledge and traditions for contemporary Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Indigenous Knowledge, traditions, and identity were deliberately targeted for erasure by Euro-Canadian settler society over several generations, with extremely negative consequences for the health of Indigenous communities. At the same time, Indigenous nations across Turtle Island are in the process of revitalizing their cultural traditions, and there is now much evidence that Indigenous traditions hold significant and widespread healing potential for Indigenous people.

This chapter has also suggested that Indigenous Knowledge and practices might inspire a new definition of what it means to live well in the modern Western world. Ironically, despite certain historical and ongoing Euro-Canadian claims that Indigenous cultural traditions are irrelevant in the modern world, Indigenous teachers, healers, traditionalists, and Elders may constitute the best compass available for navigating out of the 'desert of the real' created by modern Western cosmology and its products.

Indigenous cultural traditions are durable, dynamic, and highly adaptable to emerging realities. They are also context-specific, rooted in the ecologies from which they originated, and it remains to be discussed how Indigenous traditions relate and apply to

highly urbanized territories such as Toronto. How relevant and adaptable are Indigenous traditions to urban ecologies and dilemmas? Although modern Western cities might to some extent be understood as outgrowths of environmentally toxic cosmology, are urban ecologies damaged to the extent that they are unable to sustain land-based Indigenous traditions and knowledge? If the prophecy of the Seventh Fire is also operative in urban ecologies, what insights might Indigenous traditionalists living in cities offer regarding how to live well in urban ecologies? Is there a fundamental ethics of place that is unique to Toronto? Does this ethic act as a schematic for urban Indigenous thought, and do urban Indigenous traditions and stories give voice to that ethic? The remaining chapters will discuss the possible answers to these questions.

Chapter 4: Urban Histories are also Indigenous Histories - A Review of Urban Indigenous Knowledge, Culture and Community

Introduction

The Indigenous people of Turtle Island have an urban tradition that predates the arrival of Europeans to the continent. While European colonialism and settlement pushed the majority of Indigenous people from burgeoning Euro-Canadian cities via land surrender treaties and the creation of reserves, small numbers of Indigenous people nevertheless continuously inhabited Canadian cities since their inception. With the eventual removal of colonial restrictions on Indigenous movements in the 20th century, Indigenous people began re-urbanizing to the degree that the majority of Indigenous people now live in urban areas rather than reserves (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2013). Yet, as this chapter will detail, scholarly analyses of Indigenous urbanization during the mid-20th century were fraught with assumptions about the incompatibility of Indigenous traditions in urban areas and heavily problematized Indigenous re-urbanization, usually suggesting the only way Indigenous people could successfully adapt to urban environments was to assimilate. While urban Indigenous populations do experience problems within urban environments, these problems by no means represent the totality of urban Indigenous experiences. More recent research, presented throughout this chapter, has highlighted the adaptability of Indigenous knowledge (IK) and traditions to urban environments, and has begun to map the features of emergent land-based urban IK that is in many ways continuous with the

epistemological bases of IK reviewed in Chapter 2, but which is also uniquely suited to urban ecologies and realities.

This chapter reviews the literature on Indigenous knowledge, culture, and community in urban locales to identify the gaps and salient features of research done on the topic to date. The literature in these areas is vast and growing, so it is not possible to provide a comprehensive review in the space of one chapter. Rather, this review will contextualize my research on urban land-based IK in Toronto by focusing on how urban Indigenous Knowledge, culture, and community can be conceptualized as continuous with those practiced in pre-colonial and reserve-based settings. This chapter starts with an examination of pre-colonial urban Indigenous traditions, and then moves to a discussion of the ways earlier literature on urban Indigenous populations conceptually separated Indigenous culture from urban environments and equated Indigenous urban migration either with assimilation or maladaptation. A brief examination of these assumptions reveals their dichotomous and essentialist nature, and allows for analyses of urban Indigenous knowledge, culture, and community on their own terms, rather than as deficient cousins of their ‘more authentic’ non-urban equivalents. I will then examine the growing literature on the nature of urban Indigenous Knowledge, culture, and community to highlight not only how urban ecologies can present new opportunities for Indigenous peoples, but how they are also capable of supporting land-based IK that exhibits significant epistemological continuities with other forms of land-based IK.

The Pre-Colonial Urban Indigenous Tradition

In his article, ‘The Urban Tradition Among Native Americans’, Forbes (1998) marshals an impressive amount of evidence to demonstrate that pre-colonial Indigenous groups across Turtle Island²⁵ lived in cities for millennia, with some Indigenous cities predating urbanization in Europe. Forbes points out that by the 1400s the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan had become “the greatest city in the world, perhaps the greatest planned city ever created by human beings anywhere” (1998, p. 37). His historical analysis soundly refutes notions that Indigenous people had no urban experience before the creation of settler cities in North America.

Just like modern cities, these Indigenous cities were often multi-lingual, multi-cultural, and cosmopolitan, but Indigenous cities differed in some notable respects from their non-Indigenous counterparts. For instance, extended family was an organizing principle for many Indigenous cities, which were spatially arranged into semi-autonomous kin-based groups (Forbes, 1998, p. 17). Many were also organized around a ceremonial centre, often involving large mounds or pyramidal structures at their centres. Although the cores of these cities were highly heterogeneous and cosmopolitan, they were not exactly equivalent to the ‘downtown’ areas of modern cities. According to Forbes,

[T]hese ceremonial structures are not always surrounded by dense civilian settlement (a city), but are often surrounded by unpopulated areas and farmland in which small to medium towns or hamlets are located. It would appear that the ceremonial center and the dispersed settlements together form a unity; that is they

²⁵ While the majority of the cities Forbes refers to in his article are located in the southern parts of the Americas, several of the cities mentioned were located in the northern regions.

are part of a single social unit which can be seen as being urban without being concentrated. (1998, p. 18)

Forbes labels these interconnected settlements arranged around ceremonial centers “heart circles”. While heart circle cities may not be structurally dense, Forbes argues that, contrary to prevailing notions, population density should not be a defining characteristic of urbanity. Rather he suggests what makes an area urban is a high density of communication and networking among a large number of people within a given area (1998, pp. 21–22). If we accept Forbes’ definition of urban, then Indigenous people have always been urban, because not only were Indigenous groups constantly in contact with other peoples, Indigenous understandings of what constitutes a ‘subject’ also extend to the more-than-human world; interactions between Indigenous people and a world filled with heterogeneous more-than-human subjects have always been dense and complex (C. Miller, 2001, p. 34).

The discontinuous nature of human settlement within Indigenous heart circle communities provided a more ecologically sustainable model of urban development which maintained Indigenous relationships with the more-than-human world. Small, relatively dense settlements were separated by large, unsettled areas of the local ecosystem which would allow plants, trees, medicines, and animals to thrive within the borders of the heart circle while at the same time allowing for sustainable hunting, gathering, and agriculture (Forbes, 1998, p. 18). These cities also enabled communication and cooperation among a large number of people without obliterating a group’s sense of place with built uniformity. In fact, the ceremonial structures related to these urban settlements were often designed to enhance one’s sense of belonging within the natural

world. For instance, some of these structures were shaped like animals prominent in the local ecologies and stories of their builders. The Serpent Mounds in Ohio are a good example of this phenomenon, as is the city of Cuzco, whose urban plan was itself shaped like a puma (Forbes, 1998, p. 36). Forbes also suggests that mounds, pyramids, and other such ceremonial structures at the centre of heart circles could be symbolic breasts of Mother Earth, creating a link to the sustenance of the Earth Mother (1998, pp. 17–18). Another interpretation suggests these structures represent symbolic World Navels, which protrude outward like the navels of pregnant women and newborns (Devereux, 1996, p. 50). Such World Navels are found in Indigenous cultures across the world and may represent a connection to an Earth Mother, since navels are connected to life and birth. Since Indigenous people commonly share an understanding that their territory was the centre of their world, these World Navels could also mark a world centre and a sky centre; as the navel represents the centre of the body, so too may it be used to represent the centre of one's world (Devereux, 1996, pp. 51–58). Indeed the Quechuan meaning of Cuzco is 'navel' (Devereux, 1996, p. 57). Indigenous cities clearly differed from non-Indigenous cities in that they were built with nature in mind. Interestingly, in Peru and Bolivia the heart circle model eventually replaced earlier models of larger, more dense urban settlement (Forbes, 1998, p. 31), perhaps reflecting a deliberate strategy to avoid overly-dense urban concentration.

Problematic Representations of Indigenous Re-Urbanization

Indigenous people had widespread pre-colonial experience with urbanity, but perhaps because Indigenous cities did not look or function exactly like European cities, and / or

because in the Western imagination the city is bound up with connotations of civilization that were considered antithetical to Indigenous peoples, pre-colonial urban Indigenous experiences were often disregarded in 20th century scholarship on Indigenous urbanization (which should be more properly understood as a re-urbanization). Indigenous people have continuously inhabited North American cities since their inception, but government relocation policies saw a decline in the number of First Nations people living in cities. By 1901, only 5.1 percent of Indigenous people in Canada were living in cities and this percentage had only grown to 6.7 percent by 1951 (Peters, 2005, p. 2). As early as the late 1930s, numerous push and pull factors such as residential schooling, poor socio-economic conditions and lack of services on reserves, termination of 'Indian' status through enfranchisement, better education and employment opportunities in the city, the eventual removal of restrictions on Indigenous movements, and government programs designed to draw Aboriginal people living on reserves back to the city, all contributed to Indigenous re-urbanization across North America²⁶ (Howard, 2005, pp. 31–34; Lobo, 2001a, p. xiii; Mary Jane Norris & Clatworthy, 2003, p. 66). The 2011 Canadian census indicates that 56 percent of all Aboriginal people in Canada now live within urban centres, up from 50 percent in 1996²⁷ (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2013; Hanselmann, 2001, p. 1), but some Indigenous community leaders estimate this proportion to be as high as 70% (McCaskill et al., 2007, pp. 62–63).

²⁶ The statistical growth of Indigenous urban populations has also been bolstered by re-instatements of 'Indian' status among Indigenous city-dwellers under Bill C-31 since 1985 and the reclamation of formerly unacknowledged Aboriginal ancestry (FitzMaurice & McCaskill, 2011, p. 332; Guimond, 2003).

²⁷ Statistics Canada defines an 'urban area' as having a population of at least 1,000 and a population density of 400 or more persons per square kilometre (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2013).

Given current trends, urban Indigenous populations are expected to continue growing into the foreseeable future (Newhouse, 2000, p. 403).

The increasing numbers of Indigenous people living within urban areas is not a recent trend; evidence of the steadily growing urban Aboriginal population has been available for approximately 50 years. Yet, until recently, relatively little scholarly attention has focused on Indigenous re-urbanization. Lobo has pointed out that “[t]he small number of publications on urban themes and topics is particularly striking when compared to the vast and active interest and literature on other American Indian topics and contexts” (2001a, p. xi). In particular, very little research has examined urban Indigenous experiences, identity, and community, or the connections among Indigenous cultural / linguistic integrity and health in urban areas (McIvor et al., 2009, p. 18; E. J. Peters, 2011, pp. 80, 86; Tomiak & Patrick, 2010, p. 130), even though much literature has been written on these topics in non-urban contexts. There has also been much written on Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and traditions as they are practiced by Indigenous peoples living in rural or wilderness areas (Adelson, 2000; Basso, 1996; Brody, 1988; Chatwin, 1987; Cruikshank, 1990a, 1990b), which discusses the importance and the suitability of these traditions for living sustainably in natural environments, and which demonstrates the tenacity of Indigenous traditions despite myriad colonial interventions. But almost nothing has been written on the existence and character of IK and traditions in urban locales.

While Indigenous cultural traditions practiced in more natural ecologies have been largely valorized, much of the literature addressing urban First Nations communities and

cultures has emphasized what Ponting and Voyageur call the ‘deficit paradigm’ (2005, p. 425). Issues such as assimilation, urban maladaptation in the form of gangs, substance abuse, violence, homelessness, alienation, unemployment, poverty, suicide, diabetes, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and barriers such as discrimination, insufficient housing, and lack of culturally-appropriate social services have dominated the literature on urban Indigenous peoples (Newhouse, 2003, p. 247). These issues highlight the serious social justice issues Indigenous people continue to experience, and thus are important to examine. But while such issues are not exclusive to urban areas, they have been disproportionately emphasized in the literature on urban Indigenous peoples, and perpetuate notions that the *only* issues of importance relating to urban Indigenous people are the problems they continue to face, that contemporary Indigenous peoples are passive victims of colonization, and that urban environments are antithetical to Indigenous culture (D. Newhouse, Voyageur, & Beavon, 2005, p. 5; E. Peters, 1996b).

In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s a large body of literature on urban Indigenous peoples was produced in response to the increasing migration of Indigenous peoples to urban centers (Howard, 2005, p. 28; Lobo, 2001a, pp. xiii–xiv; E. Peters, 1996b, p. 50). This earlier literature examined the formation of Indigenous communities within cities, but it also highly problematized urban Indigenous communities and culture. Indigenous culture was commonly characterized as either irrelevant or as a barrier to successful adaptation to city life, which could only be overcome by abandoning traditional cultural values²⁸.

Nagler’s book, *Indians in the City: A Study of the Urbanization of Indians in Toronto*

²⁸ More thorough reviews of the earlier literature on Indigenous urbanization have been conducted by Howard (2005) and Peters (1996a, 1996b).

(1970), provides a clear example of the assimilationist and essentialist nature of some of the literature dating from this period:

While urban living is not foreign to most European immigrants, it is a completely new way of life for the Indian. The highly generalized characteristics described as 'being Indian' affect the Indian's ability to urbanize. Their 'degree of Indianess' affects the various patterns of adjustment the Indians make to the urban scene ... [They] experience difficulty in adjusting to a new environment because their conceptions of living do not involve punctuality, responsibility, hurry, impersonality, frugality, and the other social practices which are part of the urban environment. (Nagler in E. Peters, 1996b, p. 52)

Arguments such as these were based on dichotomous thinking which assumed rather than examined the extent to which autochthonous Indigenous Knowledge and traditions actually are incompatible within modern North American cities (Howard, 2005, p. 35; E. Peters, 1996a, pp. 315–319; E. J. Peters, 2002, pp. 80–81).

There is little recognition in the early literature on Indigenous re-urbanization that the dichotomy between 'urban' and 'Indigenous' is a deliberate creation of colonialism which facilitates the conceptual and physical removal of Indigenous people from urban areas in order to make way for Euro-Canadian settlement and empire-building (Peters, 2002, p. 75, 2011, p. 83). The presence of Indigenous Others is likely a discomfiting reminder for settler societies unwilling to come to terms with the history of Indigenous colonial dispossession. The conceptual dichotomy between Indigeneity and cities maintains cities safe spaces for colonial settler consciousness via

...a discursive split whereby authentic Aboriginality was conceded a vague locale whose principal characteristic was its remoteness from White settlement, while those scheduled for assimilation, Indigenous people who existed within the areas of White settlement, especially urban ones, forfeited their authenticity. (Wolfe, 2013, p. 8)

The opposition between urban and Aboriginal is thus completely consistent with the dual colonial strategies of Indigenous assimilation and displacement; in fact it justifies their continued use. The reserves, although important in the maintenance of Indigenous language, identity, and IK, were originally created as the termini for Indigenous people displaced from their ancestral territories, and were used to restrict Indigenous movements over lands they were once free to roam (Peters, 2002, p. 75; Straus & Valentino, 2001, p. 86; Wilson & Peters, 2005, p. 398). The low number of Indigenous people in urban centres from the 18th century until the mid-20th century is largely an artifact of this colonial removal and restriction of the movements of Indigenous people, rather than a deliberate avoidance of cities by Indigenous people (FitzMaurice & McCaskill, 2011, p. 341). But the conceptual opposition between Indigeneity and cities continues to be politically and economically convenient for federal governments, since it legitimizes their decisions to limit the administration of treaty rights to reserves on the one hand, and to externalize Indigenous community members from reserve territories as a method of diminishing their obligations to First Nations people on the other (FitzMaurice & McCaskill, 2011, p. 343). Unfortunately, these arguments have also influenced some Indigenous people's thoughts about the relevance of Indigenous culture in urban areas. For instance, one participant of the *Urban Aboriginal Task Force* survey stated, "I have disconnected from the Aboriginal community to be successful in mainstream" while another said, "It is a challenge reconciling my urban and Native identities" (McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 74).

After 1980, literature on urban Indigenous people largely ceases to scapegoat traditional culture as a barrier to Indigenous adjustment to city life and instead focuses on lack of education and unemployment as the causes of urban Indigenous maladjustment (Peters, 2000, p. 252). But analyses of how colonialism, the Indian Act, residential school experiences, and discrimination have contributed to Indigenous disadvantage in cities are still largely missing from these works (Howard, 2005, p. 35). It was in the 1990s that the literature began to correct these omissions and began to document evidence of Indigenous accomplishment, adaptation, perseverance, and community-building in cities (Applegate Krouse & Howard, 2009, p. ix; Peters, 2011, p. 83). For instance, in its section on urban Indigenous people, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Canada, 1996b) highlights the role of colonialism in its examination of both the barriers and opportunities urban areas present for many Indigenous people. Nevertheless, more examination is needed of the urban land-based IK and cultural forms Indigenous people may practice by virtue of their urban location, and the degree to which these are continuous or discontinuous with those practiced in other environments (Newhouse, 2003, p. 247; Peters, 2011, p. 80).

Review of Recent Literature on Urban Indigenous Knowledge and Community

In 2003, Newhouse wrote “One of the central notions of Indigenous thought is community” (2003, p. 252), but at that time not much research had focused on urban Indigenous communities (2003, p. 247). There are certainly many demographic similarities between urban and reserve-based Indigenous populations; for example both

urban and reserve Indigenous populations are on average younger and poorer and experience greater socio-economic barriers than the larger non-Indigenous population (Graham & Peters, 2002, pp. 14–16; Hanselmann, 2001, pp. 1, 6; Peters, 2000, p. 240; Siggner & Costa, 2005, p. 6). However, urban environments present some unique challenges and opportunities for Indigenous people which are also important to understand. The remainder of this chapter reviews the burgeoning literature on urban Indigenous Knowledge, traditions, and communities to map some of their broad characteristics and patterns, as well as the apparent continuities and discontinuities between these and other practices of Indigeneity outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. While this literature review highlights commonalities and patterns evident across the literature on urban Indigenous communities and traditions (Lobo, 2001b, p. 73), there is also significant diversity among urban Indigenous communities due to a variety of contextual factors, such as the relative proportion of Indigenous people in particular communities or their proximity to reserves. Where significant differences are found to exist across urban Indigenous communities, efforts will be made to note them. Toronto-specific research will also be highlighted wherever possible to help contextualize my research on Indigenous storytelling and IK in Toronto, presented in the next chapter. It should also be noted that my analysis and interpretations of the literature on urban Indigenous community and culture are undoubtedly influenced by my experiences within Toronto's Indigenous community, particularly the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto and the Toronto Native Community History Program, and should be read with this in mind.

Connected to Culture and Heritage

The conceit that authentic, traditional Indigenous culture is restricted to reserves has led to assumptions that cities are places of alienation or exile from Indigenous culture, and that Indigenous migration to cities indicates a desire to assimilate (D. R. Newhouse, 2003, p. 247; D. R. Newhouse & Peters, 2003a, p. 7; K. Wilson & Peters, 2005, p. 399). But it is now evident that urban Indigenous people, as a whole, remain strongly connected to their culture. Both the *Urban Aboriginal People's Survey (UAPS)*²⁹ (Environics Institute, 2010a, pp. 59–60) and in the *Urban Aboriginal Task Force* survey (*UATS*)³⁰ (McCaskill et al., 2007, pp. 76–77, 81–85) clearly indicate that the majority of Indigenous people in cities participate in their cultural traditions, attend Indigenous community events, feel Indigenous traditions, Elders, and language are important to them, and emphasize the importance of traditional values of caring, family, community, food, and sharing. Howard came to much the same conclusion regarding the Indigenous community of Toronto (2005, p. 276). For instance, 74% of *Urban Aboriginal People's Survey* participants felt Indigenous spirituality was important or somewhat important in their lives and 72% felt access to traditional healing was at least as important as access to mainstream medical services (Environics Institute, 2010a, pp. 63, 116). Overall, 82% of urban Indigenous residents surveyed (93% in Toronto) reported pride in their First Nations, Métis, or Inuk identity, with only a small proportion reporting that they downplayed their identity (Environics Institute, 2010a, pp. 48–49, 2010b, p. 23). *Urban*

²⁹ The cities included in the UAPS were Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Thunder Bay, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Halifax

³⁰ The cities included in the UATS were Thunder Bay, Ottawa, Sudbury, Barrie-Midland and Kenora.

Aboriginal People's Survey participants also felt at least some cultural activities were available in their city, with this feeling being especially pronounced in Toronto, Vancouver, Thunder Bay, and Halifax (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 59). All the available evidence suggests Indigenous culture has gotten stronger in cities (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 61; Lévesque, 2003, p. 32), this feeling being most strongly expressed in Toronto and Vancouver (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 57).

Further evidence against the thesis that the city represents assimilation is the growing historical awareness that Indigenous cultural revitalization has, in many cases, been led by Indigenous peoples living in cities (Peters, 2011, p. 95). McCaskill et. al. argue that the Indigenous healing movement began through the work of Indigenous organizations in the cities and subsequently spread to other Aboriginal communities in Canada (2007, p. 79). Likewise, the American Indian Movement (AIM) and similar social justice movements were initiated by urban Indigenous communities and later taken up by reserve communities (Straus & Valentino, 2001, pp. 88–89). Many urban Indigenous people indicate it was in the city, through their interaction with Indigenous organizations and communities, that they first connected with their Indigenous heritage and culture. As one participant of the *UATS* related, “I took the Native Center job and this was when thing [sic] really started to change for me. I was living the Native culture for the first time in my life.” (McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 78).

However, even in highlighting the strength of Indigenous culture in cities, one cannot ignore the challenges to Indigenous culture, identity, and language presented by the dominance of Euro-Canadian culture and languages in most cities. Urban Indigenous

communities are surrounded by significantly larger numbers of non-Indigenous people of diverse backgrounds, particularly in Toronto, and in a context where a significant number of non-Indigenous people still retain colonial attitudes and stereotypes about Indigenous people, this can lead to experiences of discrimination and racism which threaten the maintenance of healthy, positive Indigenous identities. The *UAPS* found that a large majority of urban Indigenous people feel non-Indigenous people have negative impressions of Indigenous people and have experienced discrimination from non-Indigenous people. In fact, Indigenous Torontonians were the most likely of all surveyed to strongly agree they had been unfairly treated because of their Indigenous background (Environics Institute, 2010a, pp. 73, 78). But while most participants of the *UAPS* had experienced discrimination, they were still more likely than not to feel accepted by non-Indigenous people (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 79), suggesting non-discrimination was the norm, punctuated by occasional experiences of discrimination. At least some Indigenous people in Toronto feel Torontonians are less discriminatory than residents of other Canadian cities. As one of Lawrence's participants stated,

The reason that we grew up in Toronto was because my mom wanted to keep us from being exposed to the kind of racism that was so predominant in Saskatchewan when she was growing up...The instances of racism that we've experienced in this city have been very, very few. (2004, pp. 126–127)

Despite the challenges presented by cultural diversity, Restoule (2008) found that many of the underlying values were passed on from one generation to the next implicitly in urban Indigenous families, even without explicit teaching and learning. But the majority of respondents to the *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Survey* (especially in Halifax and Toronto) reported that they totally agree it is necessary to take steps to protect

Indigenous culture from outside influences (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 65).

Additionally, while most respondents reported being unconcerned about losing their cultural identity, 38% felt at least some concern about loss of identity and this concern was especially pronounced (49%) among Indigenous Torontonians (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 32). It is likely due to experiences of discrimination, in addition to the large variety of Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures in most cities, that Indigenous people report at least some concern about losing their culture.

Land-Based Traditions

In the writing about urban Indigenous culture there is much ambivalence regarding whether cities can properly sustain land-based Indigenous cultural traditions and identities. This ambivalence seems to stem largely from the notion that cities are outside of nature. In the 1970s Cherokee scholar Bob Thomas once remarked, “I’m not so sure in my mind if Indians can exist as city people. The city really cuts one off from the ‘natural’ world. Can the Indian’s sacred world continue in a world of concrete and automobiles?” (in Straus & Valentino, 2001, p. 85). Likewise, in a 2006 article from the *Saskatoon StarPhoenix*, Kevin Haywahe, a traditional dancer from the Carry the Kettle First Nation stated, “You can’t find power in the city... There’s no spirituality in squared buildings. Everything in First Nations revolves around the sun, around the Earth. Everything is round to us”. He further argued that Indigenous peoples in urban areas have a hard time adapting to the urban environment and practicing their cultures “because they have no connection to nature” (Pruden, 2006).

The understanding that cities are outside of nature informs arguments against the performance of certain traditions or ceremonies within cities. For instance, some Indigenous people maintain sweat lodge ceremonies should not be conducted within the borders of cities (Pruden, 2006). Even when cities are not overtly characterized as outside of nature, many sources emphasize how cities are nevertheless *deficient* in nature. The *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* emphasized how lack of access to land (among other issues) challenged the maintenance of Indigenous identity and culture in cities (Canada, 1996b). Although Lawrence acknowledged the need to challenge the notion that Indigenous culture and urban areas are mutually exclusive (2004, p. 10), she highlighted how the lack of connection to nature in urban environments presents formidable challenges to Indigenous ‘mixed-bloods’ trying to assert or maintain Indigenous culture and identity in cities. She observed that participants in her study “that grew up on the land see traditionalism as a land-based process, which can only be adopted into urban settings with extreme difficulty” (2004, p. 166). She wrote that while her reserve-based participants emphasized the role that “land-based collective living – hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering berries and medicines – played in the maintenance of their traditions...for urban Native people, access to the land is usually restricted to walking in the park, observing the flourishing of weeds in an alley, or cultivating a small garden” (2004, p. 166). Wilson and Peters agreed that the limited natural space in most urban environments prevents some Indigenous people living in cities from forming local attachments to urban environments, who must instead make do with a more general, abstract connection to ‘Mother Earth’ (2005, p. 408).

The characterization of cities as outside of nature, or at the very least possessing only limited natural space that is heavily compromised by urban development and human activity, leads some to suggest land-based connections can only be created outside of the city:

The fact that most urban Native people have no land-based practices to inform their spirituality...will continue to inform struggles around the practice of urban spirituality. In this respect, we can expect that urban traditionalism *will* vary significantly from the face of traditionalism in land-based Native communities and that this should not be seen as a sign that urban traditionalism is not ‘real’ traditionalism...But this also suggests that urban communities need to develop connections to on-reserve communities. [emphasis in original] (Lawrence, 2004, p. 170)

Here Lawrence argues urban Indigenous communities are currently not land-based, and her suggestion that urban communities should build bridges with reserve communities implies that urban Indigenous cultures cannot be. But Lawrence is not alone here. Proulx has also suggested that periodically returning to reserves can help urban Indigenous residents stay ‘grounded’ in *the land* and their traditional culture (2010, p. 47), again implying one cannot ‘ground’ oneself in urban environments. In her historical analysis of the establishment of the Elder’s Council at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto (NCCT), Steigelbauer noted that an important criterion for the selection of Elders at the NCCT was residence on a reserve, once again illustrating the notion that land-based traditional expertise can only be found on reserves (1990, p. 276).

Such arguments carry profound implications because, as discussed in Chapter 2, one of the epistemological tenets of IK is that knowledge emerges from direct experience of one’s local environment. According to Simpson,

Our children must have a strong connection to land in order to be able to maintain the necessary connections with the plant and animal nations and the spirit world to nurture balance, and our children must have the skills embodied in Bzindamowinan, listening so that they can fully appreciate and synthesis [sic] knowledge from the Oral Traditions of their peoples (L. Simpson, 2008b, pp. 74–75).

This means IK is always most relevant to the context in which it was learned. But Newhouse has questioned whether Indigenous urban identities will ultimately be tied to *the land* in the same way as they have been in non-urban environments (2000, p. 404). Modern cities can certainly present challenges to the practice of Indigenous land-based traditions; they have largely been designed by minds exiled from sacred geography and have not surprisingly often grown at the expense of natural ecological relationships, rather than in balance with them. The often circumscribed and heavily-managed natural areas found in cities are by no means the same as the significant and contiguous swaths of ‘old growth’ ecologies found outside of urban areas. Indeed, one of the common things identified by respondents to the *Urban Aboriginal Task Force* survey was the need for more sacred space; areas of land within the city to practice traditional ceremonies (McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 77). Accordingly one may not be able to carry out the same *kinds* of land-based activities in cities that one can in rural areas. But if it is determined that urban environments cannot support land-based connections, then this would mark a large discontinuity between IK as it is practiced in urban and non-urban environments. If not through experiential engagement with *the land*, from what other source would the teachings on how to live well in urban environments come? It may mean that in cities, “Aboriginal descent may become, for some people, a heritage rather than a way of life” (Newhouse, 2000, p. 404).

But urban environments are still part of *the land* and are continuous with the larger natural world. Neolithic³¹ thought separated the categories ‘human’ and ‘nature’ to the point that the natural is now understood as that which has been untouched by humans. But before colonialism very little of Turtle Island was untouched by human hands. Entire ecosystems such as prairies and savannahs were managed by Indigenous peoples to encourage beneficial species. In some cases, Indigenous management practices complemented ecological cycles and relationships so well that early European settlers often mistook managed areas as untouched wilderness, even while they marvelled at their park-like beauty (Bakowsky & Riley, 1994, pp. 7, 11; Bobiwash, 1997, p. 5; Dey & Guyette, 2000). Indigenous peoples understood that healthy ecosystems included human activity, and required representation in traditional stories; human and natural worlds are a unified whole in Indigenous thought (Forbes, 1998; D. T. McNab, 2013a, p. 222; C. Miller, 2001, p. 34). This suggests that attempts to create an absolute separation between urban and natural are false, just like the separation between urban and Indigenous is false. Even after hundreds of years of conceptually and physically separating humans and natural areas, one would be hard-pressed to find significant natural area devoid of signs of human intervention (Indigenous or otherwise). Likewise, even the most heavily developed cities have natural spaces, more-than-human relations, and exhibit ecology. The urban and the non-urban differ only in their relative degree of natural and developed

³¹ Paul Shepard (Shepard, 1998a, 1998b) traces the root of the Western world’s disconnection from nature and unhealthy dependence on technology to the widespread shift from a primarily hunter-gatherer existence towards a primarily agrarian lifestyle during Neolithic times. See also page 112 of this dissertation.

space, so urban areas must be included among the many distinct ecologies composing

Turtle Island. Referring to Toronto, Howard has written that although

the landscape is changed, it is no less connected to Native identity. As I have heard Elder Lilian McGregor remark on many occasions, “the sidewalks are cement, but that cement is made of the earth and water.” The city is reducible to its basic elements, and that connection between Aboriginal people...and the land, is not broken in the contemporary discourses of urban Native people...” (2005, p. 65)

Similarly, Garrett Tailfeathers, Siksikaitsitapi, wrote of the city,

The earth is never far. In fact, it is at our feet as I speak to you ... We do lose some connection to our mother [earth] because every place we go in the city appears to be covered with concrete, covering our mother’s power. But look over there [pointing to the sidewalk]. See those weeds? They are able to break the sidewalk and live. So, if a weed can grow, so can I. My father says that I will lose my Nativeness; others tell me that I am becoming white. To me, I am like that weed: I still belong to the earth, even if I am an annoyance to those that only see me as altered. (Whittles & Patterson, 2009, p. 111)

Regarding whether sweatlodge ceremonies should be held in the city, Northern Arapaho spiritual leader, Sergio Maldonado, suggests, “It is a connection to this earth, even though there’s asphalt and concrete all around us. Even though it’s here in this city, it’s still on this earth...Those grandpa stones, the willows that hold up the lodge, have been a constant in our lives for thousands of years” (Winton, 1997). In this sense, we are always as close to nature as we can be (D. R. Newhouse, 2011, p. 33). It seems whether one accepts the continuity or discontinuity of urban environments with the larger natural world heavily influences whether one believes it is appropriate or inappropriate to hold sweatlodges or other land-based ceremonies in the city. But if one does regard urban areas to be continuous with the larger natural world, and as distinct ecologies in their own

right, with their own interrelationships, ethics, challenges, and opportunities, then perhaps the claim that land-based traditions cannot take root in cities should be re-examined.

Newhouse et al. write that “themes of persistence of identity and the adaptability of Aboriginal peoples are the keys to understanding Aboriginal history” (2005, p. 8), while Deloria Jr. and Wildcat remind us that “places and environments have always shaped and limited the kinds of cultures humans created” (2001, p. 75). Despite the unique challenges and opportunities presented by the myriad ecologies of Turtle Island, Indigenous people have successfully developed land-based connections and IK in every one of them, from the Canadian Arctic to the Mojave Desert. When those environments changed, Indigenous people were able to adapt:

In earlier times, when the climate was warmer, the Inuit hunted whales in large skin boats called umiaks. When the climate cooled, inlets became ice-bound and the whales disappeared. The Inuit developed kayaks, one-man boats that were much more efficient for hunting in the changed environment, and the technology of building umiaks fell into disuse. That is how the people survived. (Brant Castellano, 2000, p. 33)

Furthermore, Smith has described how the Ghost Dance Movement and the Native American Church were Nativistic responses that accommodated dramatic changes introduced by colonialism from within traditional Indigenous worldviews (2004, p. 121). Indigenous people have demonstrated a remarkable capacity to adapt IK to changing environments and circumstances, while remaining true to Indigenous epistemology.

While urban environments may present challenges to urban Indigenous culture, there do not seem to be any inherent barriers absolutely preventing the development and maintenance of land-based IK within cities, so it seems odd to deny this possibility. Such denials may be the product of measuring urban ecologies against a non-urban standard.

But can one ecosystem ever be fairly compared against the standard of another? How can the taiga live up to the standards of the prairie, or vice versa? According to Abram,

...each land, each watershed, each community of plants and animals and soils, has its particular *style* of intelligence, its unique mind or imagination evident in the particular patterns that play out there, in the living stories that unfold in that valley, and that are told and retold by the people of that place. Each ecology has its own psyche, and the local people bind their imaginations to the psyche of the place by letting the land dream its tales through them. (Abram, 2013)

Urban environments will continue to be characterized as deficient as long as they are compared to that which they are not. If cities are ecologies in their own right, and IK is always most suited to the ecologies in which they develop, then traditions and cultural forms developed outside of non-urban contexts may not even always be the most appropriate to urban ecologies. The existence or practice of urban IK does not threaten to replace other cultural affiliations or IK, it rather extends them to urban contexts. If the potential for land-based IK in urban areas exists, given significant numbers of Indigenous people have been living in urban environments for several generations now (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 30; Lobo, 2001b, pp. 78–80), it is likely it is already being practiced by many Indigenous people in urban areas. This then shifts the field of inquiry to a whole new set of interesting and important questions: what is the nature of urban-based IK? How do differences or changes in urban ecologies affect the development, maintenance, or nature of urban-based IK? What sorts or insights might practitioners of urban-based IK be able to offer regarding urban form and ecology, and what is entailed in living healthy, balanced lives in these ecologies? So far there has been very little documentation of the existence or nature of land-based IK in urban environments. Could it be, after 60-70 years of Indigenous re-urbanization, land-based IK is just beginning to take root in urban

environments? Or may it be that, due to the predominant assumptions mentioned in this section, few have yet bothered to look?

Health, Healing and Land

There has been much research done on Indigenous health and healing, but less has been done on urban Indigenous health and healing, particularly among those without ‘Indian status’ (Browne, McDonald, & Elliot, 2009, p. 8; Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 75, 247). Furthermore, much of the major statistical research differentiating urban between non-urban Indigenous populations is somewhat unreliable because these studies often use off-reserve residence as a proxy for urban residence, and do not adequately address how the high degree of Indigenous urban – rural – reserve mobility undermines hard distinctions between these populations (Browne et al., 2009, pp. 8, 15). The research that does exist on urban Indigenous health broadly and tentatively suggests that while urban and non-urban Indigenous populations experience a similar range of social and health issues, urban Indigenous people, as a whole, experience somewhat lower rates of health issues and higher rates of self-reported health than Indigenous people on reserves³². But both urban and non-urban Indigenous populations still tend to experience greater incidence of health troubles than the Canadian average (Browne et al., 2009; McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 115). The existing research also shows traditional healing remains just as important and effective for Indigenous peoples in urban areas as elsewhere. A large body of research conclusively demonstrates traditional cultural integrity is often a precondition

³² Again, significant exceptions and variations can be found. For instance, Vancouver’s Downtown East Side experiences significantly higher rates of HIV than other Indigenous communities (reserve or urban) (Browne, McDonald, & Elliot, 2009, p. 24)

for successful Indigenous adjustment to city life (Peters, 2000, pp. 254–255) and, as discussed in Chapter 3, the health and healing of many Indigenous people. A large number of Indigenous people living in cities, especially those that are connected to their traditional culture, continue to desire access to traditional Indigenous healing, regardless of socio-economic position or access to biomedical services (McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 121; Waldram et al., 2006, pp. 247–248). A significant proportion of traditional healing services are now accessed through urban Indigenous institutions, yet demand for these services seems to be higher than their availability (Browne et al., 2009, p. 31; McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 120; Waldram et al., 2006, p. 248). Furthermore, depending on the cultural diversity of Indigenous healers in the city, even when healers are highly available, some experience difficulty accessing traditional healers from their specific cultural background (Waldram et al., 2006, p. 248).

The research on urban Indigenous health and healing is limited, but analyses of the role of urban landscape in Indigenous health and healing are almost non-existent. I could find only two articles addressing this theme, both from the field of health geography. The first article by Williams and Guilmotte (2001) examines the potential for Native Friendship Centres to act as ‘therapeutic landscapes’ among urban-based Indigenous peoples. Simply stated, therapeutic landscapes are those places which are considered to have a health-inducing effect on people due to their form, their function, and / or the meanings people attribute to them (A. Williams & Guilmotte, 2001, p. 2). Over time, people’s lived experiences of certain places imbue these places with meanings, giving them a unique and persistent character. The personally meaningful relationships one

builds with such places provide one with a sense of place which has a therapeutic effect (A. Williams & Guilmette, 2001, pp. 7–9). Native Friendship Centres act as therapeutic landscapes for Indigenous people because they are among the few places in cities that overtly encourage the expression of Indigenous identities, cultural traditions, and community. Given that Indigenous cultural integrity and health are linked and Native Friendship Centres encourage Indigenous cultural expression, they can promote a strong sense of place and health among Indigenous peoples in the city (A. Williams & Guilmette, 2001). The therapeutic landscape concept relates well with Deloria Jr. and Wildcat's discussion of how the combination of power (the life force which exists in all things in the cosmos) and place (the ecological relations between entities in a place) produce personality (the idea that the universe is personal, demanding each entity on Earth establish personal relationships with the places they inhabit) (2001, p. 23). It also resonates with McNab's assertion that among Indigenous peoples, nature is understood to be the product of landscapes conjoined with mindscapes (which I understand refers to the accumulated cognitive and symbolic relationships, metaphors, and patterns that structure individual and collective geographies of thought) (D. T. McNab, 2013b, p. 1). But the therapeutic landscape concept also highlights how the relationships people develop with places, urban or otherwise, can heal. The article by Williams and Guilmette, along with the majority of the literature on therapeutic landscapes, focuses only on the therapeutic potential of anthropogenic institutions, such as hospitals, friendship centres, and spas. This concept has rarely been used to examine the healing potential of non-institutional

settings, nor the healing potential of the relationships Indigenous people maintain with the more-than-human world (Wilson, 2003), particularly in cities.

The second article by Wilson and Peters (2005), compares how Anishinaabeg living on reserves and Anishinaabeg living in Hamilton, Sudbury, and Toronto expressed their relationships with their respective environments. The authors noted their initial expectation was that urban-based Anishinaabeg would express different relationships to *the land* than those on the reserves, but they instead found both groups built relationships to their respective landscapes in similar ways (Wilson & Peters, 2005, p. 402). Both groups felt that maintaining a relationship to their local landscape was integral to their identities and for maintaining *mno bmaadis* (the good life) (Wilson & Peters, 2005, p. 403). They also found urban Anishinaabeg participants were able to create relationships with smaller-scale spaces, such as parks and backyards, to express reciprocity and connection with *the land*. However, the authors also found urban-based Anishinaabeg expressed a more abstracted attachment to ‘Mother Earth’ than to local places in city, and commonly traveled to reserve communities, when possible, as a part of maintaining their connection to *the land* (Wilson & Peters, 2005, pp. 405–408). These two articles do provide evidence that Indigenous people do make land-based connections in urban environments and that such connections can be healing, but the research on this topic is still very limited.

Land-Based Storytelling and Traditions

It has frequently been noted that modern North American cities are located within the traditional territories of Indigenous people (Lobo, 2001b, p. 76; Newhouse & Peters,

2003a, p. 6; Peters, 2005, p. 3; Todd, 2003, p. 256). In fact, many Euro-Canadian and Euro-American cities were founded in the places they were because those areas had already been significant sites for Indigenous people (Belanger, Barron, McKay-Turnbull, & Mills, 2003, p. 10). The contemporary settler city period in North America is but a thin veneer overlaying the vast temporal scale Indigenous occupation and heritage of urban areas, and the stories and places that exemplify this ancient heritage still persist in urban landscapes, if one seeks to learn of and understand them. Urban histories are also Indigenous histories. Belanger et. al. have stated that, “We must begin to embrace the notion that the urban land base is simply a traditional territory covered in concrete and that it is a place of power that identity emerges [sic], aesthetic modifications notwithstanding” (2003, pp. 10–11). The characterization of a territory as traditional has little to do with the presence or absence of urban form. Rather, what makes a territory traditional is the existence of an oral tradition that represents the history of Indigenous occupation and accomplishment within that territory (Doug Williams, personal communication, 2004). Deloria Jr. and Treat (1999) echo this notion in their writings about Crazy Horse, a renowned Lakota leader and warrior who lived in the 19th century. When Crazy Horse was asked to identify where his lands were, he replied they were located where his people were buried. Deloria Jr. and Treat suggest when Crazy Horse said this, he was thinking of “the immediate past deeds of his generation. These had imprinted on the land new stories and experiences that gave the Sioux a moral title to the lands” (1999, p. 253). Interestingly, Deloria Jr. and Treat’s understanding of what constitutes a traditional territory is similar to Forbes’ (1998) definition of urbanity; they

both suggest communication and storytelling are more important than the presence or absence of modern urban development. The characterization of territory as traditional, from the view of some Indigenous authorities, transcends any rural / urban dichotomy since traditional territories are more properly defined by the existence of stories tied to places within those territories which document the occupation and use of those lands by Indigenous people. Land-based stories are an important catalyst for Indigenous attachment to those places. As such, these stories may not only demonstrate Indigenous attachments to urban places, they may even undergird or anticipate the development of urban Indigenous land-based traditions. Yet once again, there has been very little work done on Indigenous land-based storytelling traditions in North American cities.

The Meeting Place: Aboriginal Life in Toronto (Obonsawin & Howard-Bobiwash, 1997), a book published by the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, provides collection of articles written by various authors, some of which contain stories of places in Toronto's landscape. A. Rodney Bobiwash's contribution entitled "The History of Native People in the Toronto Area, An Overview" (1997), broadly maps the Indigenous history of Toronto from the last Ice Age to the present. Bobiwash presents information on a number of different places in Toronto, such as the Toronto Islands and the Toronto Carrying Place portage route along the Humber River, but does not provide much detail, since his intent was to relate an historical overview of the city as a whole. Another article in the same volume provides a detailed institutional history of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto (NCCT), the first Indigenous organization in Toronto, from its beginnings in the 1950s up to the present (Obonsawin & Howard-Bobiwash, 1997). The article focuses more on

the NCCT as an institution than as a specific place rooted in Toronto's landscape, since the NCCT has relocated several times to different buildings in Toronto's downtown, but it nevertheless includes some important stories from community members who recalled their participation in the earliest days of the NCCT's existence, eye-witness accounts of the rebirth of Toronto's Indigenous community. Howard's doctoral dissertation on the history of Indigenous community-building in Toronto (2005) details many more such accounts pertaining to the history of the NCCT. All of the above-mentioned works highlight Indigenous agency, empowerment, and accomplishment in Toronto, but do not directly concentrate on Indigenous stories of places in Toronto.

Another more recent contribution to the literature on Indigenous place-based storytelling in urban environments is an edited volume focused on stories about Indigenous spiritual presence (Boyd & Thrush, 2011), some of which focus on urban areas. The chapter by Thrush (2011) focuses on place-based settler stories of Indigenous hauntings in Seattle. These stories are not really the stories told by local Indigenous groups, but he argues that these stories, which are set in the same locations as local Duwamish sacred and historical sites, have increased awareness of those sites and encouraged the re-assertion of Indigenous residents' ties to *the land* through ceremonies devoted to the ancestors. Although he focuses on settler stories, Thrush attempts to show how such place-based stories demonstrate that places have identities which endure despite urban transformation of *the land*, and that through the medium of stories these places have agency and can influence the actions of their inhabitants (Thrush, 2011, pp. 54–58). The spirits of Indigenous ancestors are a part of *the land* in which they rest and

represent “a place’s past speaking to its – and our – present” (Thrush, 2011, p. 58). I find Thrush’s approach to place-based storytelling resonates with the therapeutic landscape concept described earlier in this chapter; it shows how stories are important for creating meaningful attachments to places that can heal.

Freeman’s (2011) chapter in the same volume examines Indigenous and non-Indigenous accounts of Indigenous ancestral spirits in Toronto. She found that stories of Indigenous ancestral presence were common among Indigenous residents who often insisted Toronto was a place infused by the spirits of millennia of Indigenous ancestors. Similar to Thrush (2011), she found that these stories were particularly common in places where Indigenous ancestral remains were known to exist, suggesting this may reflect both Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee beliefs that a certain amount of spiritual energy persists with human remains after death (Freeman, 2011, pp. 224–225). Freeman also observed that the character of places involving ancestral spiritual presence often depended on how *the land* and the ancestors buried there had been treated; dangerous or malevolent energy was associated with places that have been disrespected or desecrated, but elsewhere ancestral spiritual presence was considered to be more benevolent, helpful or healing. Understanding the importance of respecting ancestors and the places in which they reside, Freeman’s Indigenous interviewees commonly expressed a sense of responsibility for, and reciprocity with, Indigenous ancestral remains (Freeman, 2011, pp. 229, 233). In these stories, Indigenous ancestors were understood as possessing agency in the present; their ongoing presence in *the land* reminds residents of Toronto of the Indigenous history of the city and inscribes Toronto as Indigenous territory, encouraging recognition of

Indigenous historical accomplishment in the area. This presence also encourages recognition of the current generation's lack of reciprocity with the past generations, and the need for reconciliation; ancestors were seen to be looking out for current Indigenous residents of the city, reminding them of their responsibilities (Freeman, 2011, p. 216). For instance, she explains how discoveries of Huron-Wendat remains in Toronto eventually 're-activated' this historically-dispersed Indigenous group to re-assert their connection to the Toronto landscape, suggesting that "bones come up for a reason" (Freeman, 2011, pp. 225–227). Freeman's chapter highlights how Indigenous place-based stories of ancestral presence helped Indigenous Torontonians to develop a sense of place by connecting the city's Indigenous past to its present (2011, p. 222).

A common thread in research on Indigenous storytelling in urban areas is that these stories are a form of Indigenous resistance against colonialism, since they challenge colonial attempts to erase or supplant Indigenous history with hegemonic, settler-friendly narratives (Boyd, 2011; Freeman, 2011; Howard, 2005, p. 250; Thrush, 2011). This they do, but they also overcome the false binary between urban and natural through the recognition that the spirits that rest in places, though they may be obscured by contemporary urban form, are still fulfilling their responsibilities. *The land* is still operative in urban Indigenous storytelling traditions, and land-based stories of Indigenous ancestral spiritual presence in urban areas, as told by Indigenous storytellers, are a form of Indigenous communion with *the land*. These stories also demonstrate an apprehension of *genius loci*, the underlying, enduring spirit or character of places in *the land*. Such stories are a manifestation of land-based IK, and do not persist simply because of

political, economic or ideological motivations of the storytellers, but rather because storied landscapes are alive; they have agency, and whisper important lessons to those still able to recognize them. The stories we tell inform the paths we take, and well-storied landscapes become therapeutic landscapes which promote feelings of being ‘at home’ and a reciprocal ethic whereby humans, ancestors, and *the land* take care of each other.

Geographically Dispersed

Reserve-based communities share a contiguous land-base and a very high proportion of culturally similar Indigenous peoples. However, with the possible exception of urban reserves, urban Indigenous communities, for the most part, possess neither of these characteristics and this difference carries important implications for urban Indigenous communities. Rather than congregating within geographically contiguous areas like other identity-based communities such as ‘China Town’ or ‘Little Italy’, urban Indigenous communities, including that of Toronto, tend to be dispersed across the urban landscape³³ (Darden & Kamel, 2002; Maxim, Keane, & White, 2003; Newhouse, 2003, p. 247).

According to the *Urban Aboriginal People’s Study (UAPS)* (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 39), urban Indigenous people’s decisions about where to live within cities are influenced by factors which seem similar to those of non-Indigenous people: affordability, safety, proximity to family, friends, work and school, amenities, and public transportation. However, Indigenous residents of Toronto and Vancouver were most likely out of all those surveyed in the study to cite proximity to an organization providing cultural and spiritual services as a primary determinant of neighborhood of residence

³³ There are exceptions to this pattern, such as the highly visible Indigenous concentration in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside

(Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 39). Lobo (2001b, pp. 76–77) and Darnell (2011) suggest this resource-dependent pattern of settlement is actually closer to, and continuous with, pre-colonial settlement patterns than the reserve pattern, and that periodic dispersal and regrouping was once a widespread strategy among Indigenous communities in the face of seasonal changes or threats such as warfare.

The fact that vibrant Indigenous communities exist in many North American cities despite the lack of a contiguous concentration of Indigenous people within a delimited neighborhood suggests these are not essential features of Indigenous communities. Geographically dispersed urban Indigenous communities instead exist as, and are actualized through, a fluid yet persistent network of relationships, interactions, practices, and events (both formal and informal) among Indigenous individuals, families, and community-based organizations within the urban environment, based on a set of shared meanings, symbols, and history (Howard, 2005, pp. 44–45, 72; Lobo, 2001b, pp. 75, 83). This definition of urban Indigenous community also works well with Forbes' previously discussed definition of urbanity as communication and networking among a large number of people within a particular area (Forbes, 1998, pp. 21–22). However, unlike Forbes' description of Indigenous urbanity, it is decidedly anthropocentric, especially given Indigenous understandings of interrelationship with the more-than-human world. This oversight may again be a result of an implicit acceptance of the dichotomy between urban and nature, despite acknowledgements of the need to overcome this division. For instance, in an article about the Indigenous community of San Francisco, Lobo argued that

although most Indian people living in the San Francisco Bay Area take advantage of the recreational opportunities parks offer, live in a wide range of apartments and houses, and are, by and large, adept users of the roads and freeways, this physical environment, while the backdrop and the physical grounding for much of the community activity, is not ‘the community’. The community instead finds its focus in relationship dynamics and the more abstract realm of shared knowledge that informs and shapes actions. (Lobo, 2001b, p. 83)

While the significance of the physical environment is often highlighted in examinations of non-urban Indigenous communities, Lobo, in her attempt to highlight the relational character of urban Indigenous communities, reduces urban ecology to a ‘backdrop’ for the community, and in so doing precludes examination of the possibility that relations could extend to the more-than-human world in urban environments as well. I would argue that any spiritually-informed definition of Indigenous land-based community, whether reserve, urban, or otherwise, should certainly include consideration of natural and spiritual entities as well as *the land* itself (Cordova, 2007, p. 81).

While the role of interrelationships with the larger natural world has been somewhat overlooked in examinations of urban Indigenous community, much attention has focused on the role of urban Indigenous institutions and organizations as loci for the engagement and actualization of urban Indigenous communities. For example, Newhouse has written that

The experience of urban aboriginal life is mediated through community institutions. Participation in them gives a sense of community, a sense of history and a sense of shared values. They connect people to each other, both in the cities and in the rural/reserve communities. They also give people a sense of influence and control as well as providing opportunities for employment, volunteer work, and leadership. (2003, p. 252)

Initially emerging to address the social, economic and cultural needs of urban Indigenous migrants, Indigenous cultural and service organizations also facilitated new connections,

interactions, intercultural exchange, and mobilization among Indigenous people and groups formerly isolated from each other (Lévesque, 2003, pp. 28–30; Tomiak & Patrick, 2010, pp. 138–139). Many of these organizations were started and are governed by Indigenous community members, according to Indigenous values and priorities, and are a source of community empowerment (Newhouse, 2003, p. 249). These organizations have been key to the development of urban Indigenous identities and cultural forms, have served as powerful markers of Indigenous space within the city, and now are a central part of many contemporary Indigenous communities, including Toronto (Belanger et al., 2003, pp. 14–15; FitzMaurice & McCaskill, 2011, p. 347; Howard, 2005, p. 6; Lobo, 2001b, p. 76). As of 2003 in Toronto, there are over 30 organizations which cater specifically to the Aboriginal population of Toronto, most of which are governed by Indigenous people (Richardson, Dimaline, & Blondin, 2002). Indeed, because Indigenous organizations serve as gathering places through which the community is actualized, they are comparable in terms of function to the ceremonial centres that tied geographically dispersed communities together in the pre-colonial heart circle model described by Forbes (1998).

Lawrence has suggested that Indigenous organizations replace the lack of a land-base in urban Indigenous communities, in the sense that they provide safe places for the expression of Indigenous culture in the city (2004, p. 169). But once again Lawrence's argument simultaneously undervalues the importance of land-based practices and denies the possibility of developing meaningful relationships to other (non-organizational) places in the urban landscape. Furthermore, the *UAPS* found that 54% of urban

Indigenous peoples either frequently or occasionally utilized services from urban Indigenous organizations, suggesting a large minority use them only a little or not at all (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 68). While urban Indigenous organizations are a very important part of these communities, the latter are by no means reducible to the former.

Mobile and Connected to Reserve Communities

Previously, it was assumed that Indigenous urbanization was a unidirectional process, from reserves to cities, and that Indigenous urban migration indicated a more or less permanent break with reserve communities (Lévesque, 2003, p. 24). However, the nature of Indigenous urbanization is much more complex than this. For instance, most Indigenous migrations from 1991-1996 were actually relocations between different urban communities. Furthermore, in this same time period, almost two thirds of Indigenous migrants moving between reserve and non-reserve communities moved from cities to reserves, while only 20% moved from reserves to cities (Norris & Clatworthy, 2003, pp. 58–60). In fact, both reserves and large cities have experienced net increases in Indigenous migrants from rural and smaller urban areas (Norris & Clatworthy, 2003, p. 63).

Urban Indigenous populations are more mobile than non-Indigenous urban populations and maintain considerable political, economic, cultural, and social interconnections with, and mobility among, their communities of origin (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 33; McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 65; D. R. Newhouse & Peters, 2003a, p. 9; Norris & Clatworthy, 2003, pp. 55–56). The Ontario-based *Urban Aboriginal Task Force (UATS)* found that 63% of urban Indigenous residents surveyed lived within their

current city of residence for 5 years or more, but about one third of those surveyed had only recently moved to the city (McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 63). The *UAPS* cites the most common reasons participants moved to Toronto were for employment, education, to be closer to family, and access to better amenities, in that order (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 19). A clear majority (89%) of urban Indigenous people like living in the city in which they currently reside (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 37), but while most urban Indigenous residents consider the city to be home, there is nevertheless a large minority that either have moved back to their community of origin since living in the city, or are planning to do so in the future (Environics Institute, 2010a, pp. 29, 34; McCaskill et al., 2007, pp. 68–69).

Many urban Indigenous people regularly visit their community of origin or move back and forth between the city and their community of origin relatively frequently (FitzMaurice & McCaskill, 2011, p. 337; McCaskill et al., 2007, pp. 65–66). For example, the *UATS* reported that those urban Indigenous residents that visited their community of origin reported doing so roughly 4 – 11 times a year to see family and friends (45%), for a holiday (22%), for cultural reasons (17%), or for weddings and funerals (11%) (McCaskill et al., 2007, pp. 66–67). Of course, there are also many Indigenous people who do not have a connection to a community of origin outside the city; for some the city *is* their community of origin. Even so, I have noticed in Toronto, that even those without a non-reserve community of origin will still occasionally travel to reserves and other Indigenous communities to attend ceremonies, events, to do research, visit with friends, and a variety of other reasons.

It has been hypothesized that this high degree of mobility, or ‘churn’, indicates low community cohesion (Mary Jane Norris & Clatworthy, 2003, p. 72; M. J. Norris & Jantzen, 2003, p. 111), but given the above data, such an assertion would only make sense if one considers the community to be bounded by the city limits. It has already been shown that some Indigenous people see urban Indigenous communities as extensions of reserve communities which have access to resources, services, institutions, and networks which reserve communities do not, at least not at the level available in cities (Lévesque, 2003, p. 26; Lobo, 2001b, p. 76; Proulx, 2010, p. 43). The significant movement and connection between reserve and urban locales has led some to question the utility of the term ‘urban Aboriginal’, suggesting ‘the urban’ is more of an experience than an identity *per se* (Peters, 2011, p. 92; Proulx, 2006, p. 406). Thus, while some have compared Indigenous re-urbanization to transnationalism (Todd, 2001, pp. 54–55; Tomiak & Patrick, 2010), this comparison may in some cases inappropriately separate urban and reserve communities, especially where Indigenous people see both reserve and urban communities as within their traditional territory (Newhouse & Peters, 2003a, p. 6). Rather than viewing churn as an indicator of low cohesion in the urban Indigenous community, it might be more productive to compare this pattern of movement to the seasonal, cyclical movements practiced before land-surrender treaties and reserve living restricted Indigenous mobility. The driving forces behind contemporary Indigenous movements may no longer be solely based on seasonal and natural cycles, but in many cases they still are, especially when traveling for seasonal ceremonies, work, or holidays and these movements still often take place entirely within one’s traditional territory (Lobo, 2009, p.

7; Newhouse & Peters, 2003a, p. 6). Since 1901 Mohawk high steel workers have traveled back and forth between Canadian reserves and American cities such as Buffalo, Detroit, and New York for work, and over the generations their labour has contributed significantly to those cities' skylines (Rasenberger, 2004, pp. 158–164). Indigenous women in Montréal not only considered their high degree of mobility to be both personally and professionally advantageous, it was also considered to be part of their way of life and identities (Lévesque, 2003, pp. 25–26). Letkemann observed a similar sense of pride regarding mobility among Indigenous street people (whom he calls urban nomads), who maintained social connections to both reserves and other cities and prided themselves on their ability to travel across extensive areas without any money at all (2004).

While some take pride in their mobility, the Indian Act has restricted the ability of non-status Indigenous people to engage in this pattern of movement by severing them from reserve communities (Lawrence, 2004, p. xvi; Lawrence in Rutherford, 2010, p. 12). 'Non-status' Indigenous people tend to report lower levels of satisfaction with city life than those with 'status', and the restriction of the former's movement may be part of the reason why (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 37). Indigenous people's mobility can also be heavily constrained by poverty and other forms of disadvantage, especially if one's community of origin is far from the current community of residence, as is often the case among Ottawa's Inuit community (Tomiak & Patrick, 2010, p. 132). There is also a sizable core of Indigenous people who choose to remain within their cities of residence, whose families have lived in a particular city for multiple generations (Environics

Institute, 2010a, p. 30; Lobo, 2001b, pp. 77–78). But the lack of choice regarding mobility is a condition of colonialism, whereas unrestricted movement better reflects the traditional pattern. Paired with the notion that urban areas are within Indigenous traditional territories, modern Indigenous urban-rural migrations could be reconceptualised as the re-emergence of the old pattern of unfettered movement across wider territories; this mobility may be considered part of a broader trend toward Indigenous reclamation or re-establishment of traditional Indigenous territories of Turtle Island (Wilson & Peters, 2005, p. 409).

Intra-Community Cultural and Economic Diversity

Urban Indigenous populations exhibit a high degree of cultural and linguistic diversity, varying incomes and class, and education, particularly in relation to reserve communities. Newhouse and Peters have written that

Urban Aboriginal populations comprise a mix of legal identities: Status Indians, Métis, Bill C-31 reinstates and differing cultural identities, Cree, Ojibway, Iroquoian, Blackfoot, Nisgaa, Dene, to name a few. Some have strong ties to reserve and rural communities and maintain these ties through movement back and forth; others have lived in cities for several generations and consider themselves ‘urban’. (2003b, p. 281)

The degree of Indigenous cultural heterogeneity in a city is at least partly dependent on proximity to reserves, with cities closer to reserves tending to be more homogeneous than those located further away (Lobo, 2009, p. 5). In Toronto, the majority of Indigenous people identify as Anishinaabe, Cree, Haudenosaunee, or Métis, but there are also smaller numbers of Inuit and other Indigenous groups from across North America and the world, making Toronto one the most culturally diverse Indigenous communities in Canada (Environics Institute, 2010b, pp. 10, 15; Howard, 2005, p. 206). Of those identifying as

First Nations in Toronto, approximately half have ‘Indian status’ and half do not (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 17). In addition to cultural differences, there are also Indigenous people in the city that follow Christian spirituality either in combination with, or to the exclusion of, traditional Indigenous spiritual beliefs.

Such diversity can create tensions and divisions in the community. For instance, while relations among members of different Indigenous groups are generally harmonious, I have witnessed sentiments of antipathy and tense interactions among Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe peoples in Toronto due to historical warfare, competition for resources, and political disagreements that have occurred between these two groups. Tomiak and Patrick have also discussed the tensions existing among northern-born and southern-born Inuit in Ottawa (2010). Lawrence detailed instances where ‘mixed blood’ or ‘non-status’ individuals in Toronto were treated with suspicion or were excluded by other members of the Indigenous community (2004, pp. 153, 183–185). During traditional events or gatherings involving people from diverse backgrounds, disagreements over the correct or most appropriate traditions, or interpretations of traditions, to follow may also occur (McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 72).

But perhaps the biggest challenge posed by cultural heterogeneity in cities is the ongoing integrity of Indigenous languages. Both the *UAPS* and the *UATS* resoundingly highlight the importance of Indigenous languages among urban Indigenous residents, yet while 92.5% of respondents to the *UATS* identified it was important to speak an Aboriginal language, only 50.5% indicated they could do so and less than half of those who could speak an Aboriginal language considered themselves to be fluent (Environics

Institute, 2010a, p. 62; McCaskill et al., 2007, pp. 83–84). Norris and Jantzen report even lower rates of Indigenous language use in cities:

While city residents represent 15 and 19 percent of the populations with either an Aboriginal mother tongue or knowledge of an Aboriginal language, they represent only seven percent of the population who speak an Aboriginal language at home. The latter statistic suggests serious problems for the intergenerational transmission of Aboriginal languages within an urban environment. (Norris & Jantzen, 2003, p. 100)

They agree that cultural and linguistic diversity makes language transmission more difficult in the cities (2003, pp. 112–113). In Toronto, only 19% of Indigenous adults speak an Indigenous language, and while some urban Indigenous people are learning an Indigenous language as a second language, they must often do so through extra-familial sources such as language classes (FitzMaurice & McCaskill, 2011, p. 336; Lawrence, 2004, p. 167; Norris, 2011, p. 133). Despite these efforts, Fitzmaurice and McCaskill report Indigenous language use in urban areas is declining (2011, p. 226). Pitawanakwat suggests that such language loss should be countered by fostering the development of Indigenous language immersion in educational institutions and homes (2008, p. 167).

In addition to cultural heterogeneity, urban Indigenous people also exhibit an increasing amount of economic and class variability. Compared to the non-Indigenous population, urban Indigenous people on average still have relatively lower levels of education, earn less, and tend to experience trouble securing suitable housing. But, this gap has been slowly closing (especially in Toronto), and since the 1980s we are seeing the emergence of a more educated, affluent Indigenous middle class in some urban

communities³⁴ (FitzMaurice & McCaskill, 2011, pp. 333–335; Hanselmann, 2001, p. 6; Norris & Clatworthy, 2003, p. 70; Siggner, 2003, pp. 127–128; Wotherspoon, 2003).

As a part of her research for her doctoral dissertation, Howard (2005) focused on class dynamics in the formation and evolution of Toronto's Indigenous community, and traced the development of an Indigenous middle-class in the city. Her historical analysis highlights the involvement of the relatively affluent Indigenous middle class in community building and leadership within urban Indigenous organizations, but also shows how the legitimacy of this leadership was largely dependent on the validation of less wealthy clients of these organizations. These class divisions within the Indigenous community can also create some tensions within the community (Wotherspoon, 2003, p. 163). For instance, while some middle-class Indigenous individuals are critical of Indigenous people in the city exhibiting 'bad habits or loose living' that do not ascribe to middle class values of success, less affluent Indigenous people sometimes critique more middle class community leaders as being elitist or out of touch with the community (Howard, 2005, pp. 50–53).

The Indigenous middle class contributes significantly to the development of urban Indigenous communities, and yet these individuals sometimes feel alienated by, and distance themselves from, the urban Indigenous community. The aforementioned class-based tensions may partially contribute to this phenomenon, as do negative stereotypes of

³⁴ This trend is not equally apparent in all urban Indigenous communities. The Ontario-based *Urban Indigenous Task Force* found that in northwestern cities of Thunder Bay and Kenora the majority of Indigenous people earned \$20,000 or less per year, however in the more southeasterly communities such as Sudbury, Ottawa, Barrie and Orillia a relatively robust middle class is more apparent (McCaskill, Fitzmaurice, Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, Ontario Metis Aboriginal Association, & Ontario Native Women's Association, 2007, pp. 171–172).

Indigenous people, but another contributing factor could be the dearth of community organizations and programming relevant to this sub-group of the community (FitzMaurice & McCaskill, 2011, p. 342; McCaskill et al., 2007, pp. 173–176). Many of the service organizations and agencies catering to Indigenous peoples in cities tend to be focused on issues of health, justice, social services, training, and counselling. Although these institutions often have a large cultural component to them, they tend to exclude the emerging middle class who maintain an interest in cultural programming, but do not wish to use the social services that offer cultural programming (FitzMaurice & McCaskill, 2011, p. 342; McCaskill et al., 2007, pp. 173–175; Peters, 2011, p. 90).

In pointing to the diversity and divisions that can exist within urban Indigenous communities it is also important to emphasize that this diversity is nevertheless undergirded by a common heritage as Indigenous people of Turtle Island and a shared history of colonial struggle (Environics Institute, 2010a, pp. 51–54). It is this unity that allows urban Indigenous communities to persist as communities. Indeed, Howard (2009) has demonstrated how middle-class Indigenous women in Toronto, far from leaving the community, used their resources to successfully foster Indigenous culture, service organizations, and community in the city.

Cosmopolitanism and Pan-Indigeneity

Heterogeneity is not just a challenge for urban Indigenous communities; it also allows for intercultural co-operation, sharing, and cross-fertilization to a degree that is more difficult to achieve in isolated reserve communities. As one participant of the *UATS* related,

I feel a sense of belonging with other native people in the city, more so then [sic] on the reserve. Things like averting eye contact are weird for me, and on Manitoulin, I felt isolated because I am more outgoing and it throws people off. With urban people on the other hand, I feel more of a sense of belonging. There are no preconceived notions about how to act native, and there is more of a general acceptance. (McCaskill et al., 2007, pp. 77–78)

Evidence strongly suggests urban Indigenous communities are, at the very least, highly tolerant of diversity, if not eager to embrace opportunities for cross-cultural engagement. For example, the *UAPS* found “Urban Aboriginal peoples (77%) are much more likely than non-Aboriginal people (54%) to totally agree there is room for a variety of languages and cultures in Canada” (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 66) and, despite experiences of discrimination, a large majority of urban Indigenous people feel their experiences with non-Indigenous people positively shaped their lives (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 79).

Toronto’s Indigenous community appears to be particularly accepting and open to diversity. The *UAPS* found “Aboriginal peoples in Toronto display a pro-active stance towards protecting their cultural traditions while at the same time showing a high tolerance for other languages and cultures” (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 32). For instance, while First Nations people in Toronto were the most likely group of all surveyed by the *UAPS* to feel closely connected to other members of their First Nation, they were even more likely to feel close connections with members of other First Nation groups in the city (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 33), and Toronto’s Indigenous community was the most likely of those surveyed by the *UAPS* to identify Indigenous people across Canada and across the world as part of their community (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 50).

A recent anthropological collection, *Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century* (Forte, 2010a), highlights how Indigenous people have always been cosmopolitan, not in the sense of embracing a rootless ‘citizen of the world’ discourse, but in their willingness to participate in transcultural exchanges and solidarity with diverse peoples; to take pleasure in the presence of ‘Others’ while maintaining one’s own cultural roots. The value of this collection is that, while the authors examine contemporary case studies exemplifying cosmopolitan attitudes and exchanges, they also emphasize that these examples are continuous with a much longer history of Indigenous cosmopolitanism. Before the imposition of land-surrender treaties, reserves, and restrictions on Indigenous movement, Indigenous groups recognized the importance of developing intercultural relations, and were generally well-disposed towards mutually advantageous cross-cultural exchanges with other Indigenous and European nations. Before European contact, trade, alliances, confederacies, intermarriage, adoption, and cross-cultural sharing were the norm among Indigenous peoples (Forbes, 1998, p. 24; Proulx, 2010, p. 43) and this pattern of engagement extended toward early relations with European settlers. Indigenous peoples’ recognition of the contextual and subjective nature of truth demanded an ethics of engagement based on mutual tolerance and respect for difference (Cordova, 2007, p. 106), and contemporary expressions of Indigenous cosmopolitanism are continuous with this understanding (DeLugan, 2010, p. 156).

Cities present political and cultural opportunities non-urban communities do not (Howard, 2005, p. 3; D. R. Newhouse, 2003, p. 251), but taking advantage of these

opportunities often requires an ability to emphasize commonalities that cut across the diversity within urban Indigenous communities. If one of the goals of cosmopolitanism is to bridge cultural diversity, then pan-Indigeneity, the expression of cultural forms and identities emphasizing commonalities among Indigenous cultures, worldviews, and experiences (Stiegelbauer, 1990, p. 294), could very well be the keystone of that bridge. Pan-Indigenous cultural forms have often been derided in the literature on urban Indigenous culture as generic, de-territorialized traditions that, in emphasizing only commonalities, threaten to erode the distinctions among the localized tribal cultures and identities of different groups (Peters, 2011, p. 89; Proulx, 2006, p. 420; Scarangella, 2010, p. 177; Straus & Valentino, 2001, p. 85). Accordingly, some argue pan-Indigeneity is a tool that should only be used as a gateway or springboard towards recovering a more legitimate and authentic ancestral culture (Straus & Valentino, 2001). One of Lawrence's participants suggests as much:

I see [pan-Indigeneity] as being of benefit to some people, in the sense that maybe somebody is Indian but doesn't have those connections. Maybe that's what's going to give them the strength and the sense of who they are. But I think urban traditionalism should be used as a stepping stone. It will give you the strength to realize who you are. But use that to find out where you're from. Use that, you know, to find out who you *really* are. [emphasis in original] (2004, p. 164).

But pan-Indigenous cultural forms do not necessarily replace tribal identities since they collectively act more as a sort of cultural pidgin which is mostly employed in delimited situations of transcultural exchange, including but not exclusive to urban contexts (LaGrand, 2003, p. 268; Scarangella, 2010, pp. 177–178; Straus & Valentino, 2001, p. 87; Wilson & Peters, 2005, pp. 406–407). There are numerous examples of the use of pan-Indigeneity to this end. For example, Scarangella shows how Indigenous performers

from different cultural backgrounds relied on pan-Indigenous cultural expressions when displaying Indigenous culture for non-Indigenous tourists (2010). Steigelbauer noted how Elders, in their efforts to reinvigorate Indigenous Knowledge at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto during the late 1980s, went beyond teaching the ceremonies and traditions of specific groups to encourage recognition of ‘core’ values held in common by different traditions in the city (Stiegelbauer, 1990, p. 271). Likewise, Wilson and Peters found pan-Indigenous cultural forms were more prevalent among Anishinaabeg in Hamilton, a city whose Indigenous population is largely Haudenosaunee (2005, pp. 406–407).

On the other hand, Lagrand explains how Chippewas and Navajos in Chicago were reluctant to embrace pan-Indian identities due to their large numbers in the city; in this instance large numbers of culturally similar people rendered pan-Indigenism less necessary for these groups (2003, p. 269). Thus, pan-Indigeneity can be regarded as a largely (but not solely) urban response to a culturally heterogeneous social landscape which creates a common cultural foundation enabling cross-cultural collaboration on a variety of mutually advantageous projects. Pan-Indigenous cultural forms exist alongside tribal cultural forms, and the former do not necessarily replace the latter. Nor does pan-Indigeneity necessarily preclude the existence or development of land-based IK within urban ecologies (Wilson & Peters, 2005). Indeed, insofar as pan-Indigeneity promotes cross-cultural interaction and discussions about the nature of Indigeneity in the city, it may actually foster the development of land-based IK in cities, and represents an ability to come to terms with and adapt to urban realities.

Fluid Membership

Before the colonial implementation of ‘Indian status’, reserves and, bands, race was not a salient category among Indigenous peoples. Indigenous communities determined their own membership according to community consensus. Community membership was determined not only by birth or intermarriage, but also through adoption, and one’s continued membership within a community was premised on one’s ability to act as a member of that community (Cordova, 2007, p. 81; Forte, 2010b, p. 2).

Membership within urban Indigenous communities works in a similar fashion. Unlike many reserve communities, where membership is constrained by colonial identity legislation such as the Indian Act, urban Indigenous community membership tends to be much more fluid and is instead informally negotiated by members of the community on an ongoing basis (Lobo, 2001b, pp. 78, 80–81, 2009, p. 7). ‘Indian status’, racial ideas, blood quantum, and other such colonial badges of membership do influence some people’s ideas of membership within urban Indigenous communities (Lawrence, 2004, pp. 153–156, 183–185), but they play a more marginal role in urban Indigenous communities than they do in reserve communities. For instance, the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto extends Indigenous identity to anyone who claims such ancestry, although the strength of one’s Indigenous kin relations can bolster such identity claims (Howard, 2005, p. 207). At the same time, membership in Toronto’s Indigenous community is volitional and highly determined by one’s participation and actions within the community over time, even in defiance of racial categories. Howard recalls at least one instance where some Indigenous community members suggested that a particular

non-Indigenous person, who was very diligent and active in the community, ‘might as well’ be considered Native. Such an acknowledgement does not mean a non-Indigenous person can suddenly claim an Indigenous identity, just that they are considered part of the community. At the same time, those with Indigenous ancestry can be marginalized within the Indigenous community when they act in ways contrary to community values (Howard, 2005, p. 208). Urban Indigenous community membership is complex but is highly determined by participation, responsibility, and accountability. There are certainly parallels between the ways urban Indigenous communities and pre-colonial Indigenous communities understand concepts of identity and community membership, although colonial definitions of identity and membership do continue to play a role in the urban context.

Anonymity

In very small communities it is possible to know some basic information about most or every person in the community, and if one does not know, they can easily ask another who does. In such communities, one is at the very least able to differentiate between who ‘belongs’ to the community and who is an outsider. The relative lack of anonymity in smaller communities can be problematic for individual privacy in some cases, but it also encourages individual community members to remain accountable to their communities and continue to uphold community values (Cordova, 2007, p. 157). In such contexts gossip, teasing, and the telling of moral tales would often be sufficient correctives or deterrents to behaviours deemed inappropriate by other community members (Basso, 1996, pp. 40–41; Howard, 2005, p. 219).

The fluid, unbounded, and vast nature of most urban Indigenous communities however, allows for a much greater degree of anonymity. For those who are trying to escape abuse or persecution, anonymity can afford some measure of protection (Jaccoud & Brassard, 2003, p. 140), however, it can also create challenges for urban Indigenous communities. Over a century ago, Le Bon observed how anonymity within ‘the crowd’ can lead to an increased sense of immunity from social constraints and a lessening sense of personal responsibility (1897, p. 9). In urban Indigenous communities this decrease in accountability can manifest in different ways. For instance, rather than deal with community censure, community members that have been found negligent or irresponsible to the community can simply ‘opt out’ of the community, find another sub-community within the larger urban Indigenous community to participate in, or move to a different urban area altogether. Anonymity in urban communities has also caused concerns over the potential for non-Indigenous people to appropriate an Indigenous identity for themselves, and then enter the community under false pretenses (Freeman, 2011, p. 238; Lawrence, 2004, p. 154). Similarly, anonymity in the community can make it difficult to verify people’s claims about their status as Elders or spiritual healers (Lobo, 2001b, p. 78), leading to concerns about self-proclaimed Elders lacking a firm grounding in, or validation from, any Indigenous community:

Sadly I have heard of self-appointed Elders. The old people had rules to conduct your life and it was based upon logic and it made good sense. The identification of Elders is a real challenge in this community and there is a problem with those teaching things that they haven’t learned. (McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 85)

Another participant of the *UATS* remarked, “I have a hard time finding Elders. When you are in the community you know who your Elders are and there are Elders who have

specialties like drums, or songs, but in the city it is not easy. There are Elders in this community I would never use” (McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 85). Anonymity thus causes some degree of doubt or skepticism in urban Indigenous communities.

Women

In every Indigenous society of Turtle Island I have encountered or read about, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, women have traditionally been highly-regarded and hold important knowledge, teachings, and responsibilities in the governance and nurturance of their families and communities; their work is considered integral to the welfare of their communities (Brant Castellano, 2009; L. Simpson, 2008a). For instance, Anishinaabe peoples understand women to be the centre of family, clans, and communities since community begins with mothering (L. Simpson, 2008a, p. 208), and this is true for other groups as well.

However, a variety of patriarchal and misogynist colonial policies worked to marginalize women from their important roles and responsibilities in their communities, upsetting the balance and reciprocity among men and women, and undermining familial and community relations. Imposed patriarchy and misogyny, along with experiences of residential school abuse and reserve poverty have disempowered Indigenous women, leaving them vulnerable to abuse, and creating conditions that push women out of reserve communities (Brant Castellano, 2009, pp. 210–211, 224–225; L. Simpson, 2008a, p. 209).

Many of the women that have been pushed from their communities as a result of colonialism moved to urban areas and as a result Indigenous women outnumber

Indigenous men in cities (Siggnner, 2003, p. 124). But Indigenous women still experience challenges in cities. While many Indigenous women have left reserve communities to escape violence, they still experience more family violence in urban areas than non-Indigenous women (Hanselmann, 2001, p. 4). Urban Indigenous women on average have attained more education than urban Indigenous men, but they still are less often employed, and earn less (FitzMaurice & McCaskill, 2011, p. 335). Urban Indigenous women are also much more likely to head lone-parent families than urban Indigenous men and non-Indigenous urban populations, making them more vulnerable to poverty and its associated risks (Mary Jane Norris & Clatworthy, 2003, p. 69; Siggnner, 2003, p. 124; Siggnner & Costa, 2005, p. 17) .

Urban Indigenous women are among the most oppressed and vulnerable members of Indigenous communities and yet they are often the most active in these communities (McCaskill et al., 2007, p. 179). Historically and in the present,

Women's activism has been crucial to building Native communities in cities, not only through their direct participation in political and social movements, but also through their roles behind the scenes, as keepers of tradition, educators of children, and pioneers in city life. (Applegate Krouse & Howard, 2009, p. x)

For instance, recent analyses have shown how Indigenous women's efforts have been key to the development of Indigenous communities in both Toronto (Howard, 2005) and the San Francisco Bay area (Lobo, 2009). Brant Castellano has written that Indigenous women are often concerned with the quality of family and community life (2009, p. 203) and that

Women often describe their work as healing, in the Aboriginal sense of restoring physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual balance to the lives of individuals, families, and communities. As their work reverberates beyond their communities,

they can be seen also as healing their nations, bringing a distinct approach to renewal that asserts the authority of experience and the wisdom of the heart. (2009, p. 204)

Thus, it is important for urban Indigenous communities to recognize and address the struggles and barriers Indigenous women continue to face in both urban and non-urban environments, because promoting the health and healing of Indigenous women is vital to the promotion of strong, healthy Indigenous communities. Despite colonial policies that undermined the strength of Indigenous women and marginalized them from their communities, Indigenous women remain connected to and highly invested in their communities. Urbanity has not changed this fact.

Conclusion

Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island have an urban tradition that predates European urbanization. Pre-colonial Indigenous urban traditions were completely consistent with IK and led to cities that worked in tandem with, or even enhanced, natural relationships, rather than undermining them. Despite colonial attempts to isolate Indigenous peoples and restrict their movements, Indigenous peoples have also continuously lived in and visited settler cities since their inception. Thus the increasing numbers of Indigenous people living in modern cities since the mid-20th century is actually an Indigenous re-urbanization. But a great deal of the early literature on Indigenous re-urbanization mistakenly assumed Indigenous cultures, traditions, and knowledge were incompatible with modern city life and that successful adaptation to urban environments would necessarily involve assimilation. Even today, the literature on urban Indigenous people is dominated by a focus on the barriers and problems Indigenous people encounter in cities.

More recent research has begun to focus on the opportunities presented by urban life and on the adaptability, perseverance, and character of urban-based Indigenous communities and culture, increasing our understanding in these areas. This research has demonstrated that while urban environments can present some unique challenges for Indigenous people, Indigenous communities and culture are vibrant and strong in many cities. There is also much evidence to suggest that although urban Indigenous community and cultural forms are uniquely suited to urban environments, they also remain continuous with the Indigenous epistemological tenets described in Chapter 2. It is nevertheless still common to encounter assertions in the literature on urban Indigenous cultures and communities that urban traditions are not land-based and that land-based traditions cannot take root in urban landscapes. But while modern urban environments are ecosystems like none other, and while they present unique challenges for urban Indigenous communities and culture, they nevertheless are ecologies that can provide the basis for experiential, land-based IK. Assertions that urban environments are fundamentally different from more natural environments do not appear to hold up to scrutiny, based as they are on dichotomous, categorical thinking which obscures the complex continuities and connections between urban and other ecologies. Then perhaps the biggest barrier to the development of land-based traditions in urban environments is the persistence of this dichotomous thinking, rather than the inherent challenges presented by urban ecologies, since it delegitimizes Indigenous efforts to establish land-based connections in cities. Urban Indigenous communities already demonstrate attempts to come to terms with the challenges, demands, and opportunities presented by urban ecosystems and there is already some

evidence to suggest urban Indigenous people seek and maintain storied, therapeutic, land-based relationships in cities. The limited extent of the current research, however, does not indicate whether such land-based Indigenous cultural forms are ubiquitous in cities, nor does it sufficiently examine the nature of urban land-based IK. Since most Indigenous people now live in cities, and urban land-based IK may hold unique and important insights regarding how to live well in these environments, these gaps in understanding of urban Indigenous land-based IK are important to explore further. The next chapter, which examines my research on Indigenous land-based storytelling and connection to places in Toronto, explores these gaps in more detail.

Chapter 5: “It’s the Spirit of the Place” - Indigenous Knowledge and Therapeutic Landscapes in Toronto

Introduction

The previous chapter showed that while the existing literature on urban Indigenous knowledge, culture, and community is growing, significant gaps remain. In particular, there has been very little examination of the presence and nature of Indigenous knowledge (IK) in different urban environments. Given that IK involves learning how to live well in one’s environment, whatever that environment may be, further examination of urban IK could reveal important insights that could meaningfully and measurably contribute not only to ongoing efforts to revitalize urban Indigenous cultures and communities, but also to the health and healing of urban Indigenous people. Existing research on urban IK, however limited, indicates that at least some Indigenous people create and maintain storied, land-based relationships with places in urban environments, and that such relationships may contribute to Indigenous health and wellness. Western academics are also beginning to realize that IK holds important lessons and insights, the implications of which may extend far beyond Indigenous groups. Peters rightly observed that urban IK may only be properly understood through dialogue and engagement with urban Indigenous people (E. Peters, 1996b, p. 60). Accordingly, this chapter contributes to the existing research on urban IK through a presentation and analysis of my work, based on over 10 years of participation within Toronto’s Indigenous community, on the connections that Indigenous Torontonians express among places in the city, storytelling, and holistic Indigenous understandings of health / wellness.

I begin this chapter by providing an overview of Toronto's contemporary Indigenous community and some of the many places in Toronto's landscape that exemplify the millennia of Indigenous heritage and engagement within this landscape. By demonstrating the vibrancy of Toronto's Indigenous community, and the city's rich Indigenous heritage, this overview helps to contextualize the presentation of my research on the presence and character of urban IK in Toronto. Like most other cities in North America, Toronto is traditional Indigenous territory and is inscribed with many stories that contemporary Indigenous people continue to connect to, learn from, and share. The persistence of Toronto's Indigenous oral tradition highlights the many possibilities for the development of deep, land-based connections available to Indigenous and non-Indigenous Torontonians. With this temporal-spatial context in place, I proceed to a discussion of the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour as a particularly notable example of urban IK which exhibits significant continuity with IK practiced in non-urban locales, and which encourages the development of storied, therapeutic connections to places in the city. This chapter then ends with an analysis of themes emerging from five in-depth, open-ended, semi-structured interviews conducted with Anishinaabe Torontonians about their views on the potential for IK to thrive in urban environments like Toronto, and the therapeutic connections they make with places of Indigenous significance in Toronto. While not generalizable to Indigenous Torontonians as a whole, these interviews provide a rich illustration of how at least some members of Toronto's Indigenous community articulate land-based understandings and attachments to places in the city. The overarching trajectory of these accumulated observations is that while Toronto may present unique

obstacles to IK as it is practiced in non-urban locales, a uniquely urban land-based IK is already practiced by many in Toronto's Indigenous community which will, in all likelihood, continue to develop and flourish, and that its practice is associated with holistic health and wellness. By prompting the development of meaningful connections to places in the city, the practice of land-based IK in Toronto may also encourage an approach to urban development that keeps *land* in mind, and foster more respectful and meaningful dialogues with Indigenous peoples regarding how best to reach the Eighth Fire of Anishinaabe prophecy.

A Temporal-Spatial Overview of Toronto's Indigenous Heritage³⁵

The Indigenous heritage of the area now known as the Greater Toronto area spans at least 11,000³⁶ years (Bobiwash, 1997, p. 7), back to when the last remnants of Ice Age glaciation in the area were receding northward. Toronto's landscape, as with much of the rest of North America, became a 'natural artifact' shaped by thousands of years of Indigenous interaction with their environments (Bobiwash, 1997, p. 5; Dey & Guyette, 2000, p. 339). Today, despite the presence of extensive modern urban development, and the concerted colonial attempts to erase Indigenous history and connection to *the land*, evidence of Toronto's long Indigenous land-based heritage still permeates its landscape.

A brief scan of a recent map of Toronto will show a sprawling expanse of modern development connected by a vast web of streets, highways, and railways, while the largest remnants of Toronto's pre-European ecology are mostly restricted to the alluvial

³⁵ Much of this section was inspired by or initiated through my work with the Toronto Native Community History Program and the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour of Toronto.

³⁶ This is a conservative estimate. It is possible that Indigenous people inhabited the area before or during the last glaciation, but the drastic changes to the landscape due to glacial advance and recession makes this difficult to verify archaeologically.

plains and valleys along the city's major rivers: the Credit, Humber, Don, and Rouge. Yet, closer examination will also reveal that some of the names of streets, cities, rivers, and neighborhoods that currently grace maps of Toronto derive their origins from the Wendat, Haudenosaunee (both Iroquoian peoples), and Anishinaabe / Mississauga peoples who each lived and interacted with each other in the Toronto area since the time of European contact. The word Mississauga³⁷ comes from an Anishinaabe term, *Masesaugée*, meaning 'eagle clan', while Etobicoke comes from an Anishinaabe term meaning 'place of the black alder' (D. B. Smith, 1987, pp. 20–21). Spadina, a prominent street that runs through the centre of downtown Toronto, comes from the Anishinaabe term *Ishpaadina*, meaning 'the rise in the land' (Howard-Bobiwash & Bobiwash, 2008). The 'rise in the land' refers to a natural bluff which runs roughly east to west at the northern terminus of Spadina Rd., marking a section the shoreline of Lake Ontario's larger post-glacial predecessor, Lake Iroquois (Archaeological Services Inc., 2004, p. 14). Davenport Rd., which largely follows the base of this bluff, is itself an ancient footpath used by Indigenous peoples for millennia, making Davenport Rd. a likely candidate for the oldest road in Toronto (torontoplaques.com, 2011). Mississauga runners were known to travel 80 km per day along routes such as this carrying messages from village to village (D. B. Smith, 1987, p. 23). The name Ontario is derived from a Huron-Wendat or Haudenosaunee word translating to 'handsome lake' or 'great lake' (D. B. Smith, 1987, p. 20; Vogel, 1991, p. 212).

³⁷ See Appendix A: Map of Ontario Municipalities, Appendix B: Regional Map of Significant Locations and Appendix C: Map of Significant Toronto Locations for maps of locations mentioned throughout this chapter.

The name 'Toronto' itself derives from an Indigenous word. Although the exact translation and meaning of the word 'Toronto' is debatable, the most widely accepted etiology of this term among historians is that it derives from a Wendat or Haudenosaunee term which roughly translates to 'where the trees are standing in the water'. The term refers to a fishing weir, essentially a blockade constructed of stakes or posts placed across a narrow body of water to trap fish. The first known reference to 'Toronto' on a map was that drawn by René de Bréhaut de Galinée in 1670. The map labels what is now Lake Simcoe as *Lac de Tarynteau* (Jarvis Collegiate Institute, n.d.). Another French map drawn by Vincenzo Corinelli in 1688 labels Lake Simcoe as '*Lac Taronto*', but there is also a notation along with *Lac Taronto* that reads *Les Piquets* (Hayes, 2009, p. 13). *Les Piquets* refers to the presence of fishing weirs around Lake Simcoe and interestingly, the 4000 year old posts of a fishing weir can still be found at the north end of the lake (Rayburn, 1994, p. 68). Simpson describes how Anishinaabe peoples of the Fish Clans have gathered twice a year for thousands of years at the fishing weir at the Narrows between Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching, which they call *Mnjikaning*, to discuss important matters, tend to treaty issues and to fish (L. Simpson, 2008a, p. 208). This same area was also a meeting place for the Wendat who also met and traded with Anishinaabe peoples at the Narrows (Williamson, 2010), so the fishing weir was an important meeting place for Indigenous peoples.

Perhaps not coincidentally, another prominent interpretation of 'Toronto' is that it means 'meeting place', and this interpretation is particularly resonant among Toronto's Indigenous community. Although debate continues over the exact meaning of 'Toronto',

each of these interpretations are meaningful to Indigenous Torontonians and, from this perspective, each can be considered correct and, indeed, interrelated variations.

But how did the name Toronto, originally associated with Lake Simcoe by early French explorers and presumably their Indigenous guides, come to be applied to the area immediately north of Lake Ontario? The same early maps that label Lake Simcoe as Toronto also commonly depict an important portage route called the Toronto Passage, the Toronto Carrying Place, or some variation thereof, whose two main branches ran from Nottawasaga Bay on Lake Huron and Lake Simcoe to Lake Ontario via trails along river valleys that eventually connect with the Rouge, Don, and Humber Rivers closer to Toronto. The Toronto Carrying Place was the fastest inland route through southern Ontario, making it incredibly important for travel, trade, and exchanging information through this area (Arthur, 1986, p. 5; Bobiwash, 1997, pp. 8–9, 21). Indeed, the Mississaugas called the Humber River *Cobechenonk*, which means ‘leave the canoes and go back’, or ‘portage’ (D. B. Smith, 1987, p. 18). Likewise, one Mississauga name for the Don River was *Nichiinggaakokanik*, which translates to ‘it is only good so far’, in all likelihood also referring to a portage route³⁸. The Humber, Rouge, and the other major rivers that flow through Toronto and drain into Lake Ontario were initially formed over 10,000 years ago during the northward retreat of the glaciers that once covered the area (Chant, Heidenreich, & Roots, 1999, pp. 278, 280). The Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence River, and their respective watersheds constituted a huge network of waterways that collectively facilitated a great deal of Indigenous travel and intercultural exchange over a

³⁸ This translation and interpretation was graciously provided by Kory Snache of Rama reserve and Sandra King of Moose Deer Point.

vast area spanning the interior of North America to the Atlantic Ocean and from Northern Canada to the central United States. Indigenous footprints and paddle strokes followed the paths of these innumerable waterways for millennia before the arrival of Europeans to the continent (Bobiwash, 1997, pp. 7–9). Henry Scadding, in his publication *Toronto of Old* (1878, p. 75), suggests that because The Carrying Place Trail led from Lake Ontario to *Lac Taronto*, that “gradually the starting-place [i.e.: the lakeshore] took the name of the goal [i.e.: *Lac Taronto*]”. So it may be that the Toronto Carrying Place Trail, in addition to transporting people, trade goods, and information, also transported the name ‘Toronto’ from its northern to its southern terminus. Another more recent interpretation is offered by Williamson based on an analysis of early maps and documents that suggest ‘Toronto’ may have once referred to the Wendat’s entire traditional territory, which consisted of most of south-central Ontario, including the Toronto Carrying Place, and what is now the city of Toronto (2010).

Either way, the significance of the Toronto Carrying Place portage to the Toronto area and its peoples is difficult to overstate. A map of Indigenous archaeological sites graciously provided by Dr. Ron Williamson shows well over 100 such sites that have been found so far in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), the vast majority of which are located along the Humber River, Don River, and Rouge River valleys, and their tributaries. At one such site located along Deerlick Creek, a tributary of the Don River, archaeologists found a pebble with a human face carved into it estimated to be 6,700 years old, along with a 2,500 year old ‘exquisitely flaked’ biface. This site was likely recurrently used over millennia (Archaeological Services Inc., 2004, p. 15). Almost half

of the sites recorded on this map are located within the Rouge River Valley alone, while dozens more are located along the Humber, the two main arms of the Toronto Carrying Place portage. The sites along the Humber and Rouge rivers collectively represent several thousand years of Indigenous occupation, testifying to the long-lived importance of this portage route. The Toronto Carrying Place portage constituted an important component of a larger, transcontinental Indigenous trade network. Although the bulk of the immediate trade through the Toronto area was likely north-south, involving exchanges with people of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys and Mexico, and peoples to the north of the Great Lakes as far as James Bay, trade goods from the Atlantic and Pacific coasts have also been found in Toronto (Archaeological Services Inc., 2004, pp. 15–16; Bobiwash, 1997, pp. 8–9; Williamson, 2010).

Although it is difficult to make strong inferences based only on archaeological sites given that so many extrinsic factors, such as the degree and timing of urban development, can influence the probability of their discovery, the relatively high concentration of Indigenous archaeological sites (particularly villages) along the upper Humber and Rouge rivers, compared to the area between these rivers and closer to the lakeshore, appears to me to be highly reminiscent of Forbes' heart circle model of Indigenous urban development (see Chapter 4), involving a network of interconnected village sites organized around a relatively sparsely populated ceremonial centre or hunting grounds (1998, pp. 17–18). The interpretation of Toronto as a 'heart circle' is made even stronger if we accept Williamson's (2010) suggestion that Toronto referred to a large portion of south-central Ontario and we consider the complex pre-colonial system of river routes,

portages, villages, hunting grounds, and sacred sites that existed across this territory, as well as the area's long-established character as a trading and meeting place among diverse peoples. According to Forbes' definition of urbanity, the Toronto area (and south-central Ontario more broadly) had been urban long before European settlement. By the time European missionaries and traders started visiting the lands north of Lake Ontario in the 17th century, it has been estimated that there were about 65,000 Indigenous people living in the area (Bobiwash, 1997, p. 11). Recently a very large early to mid-16th century Wendat village thought to have been about the size of Manhattan was discovered just North East of Toronto. The village, called Mantle site by archaeologists, has been described as one of the largest and most cosmopolitan villages found in the area, in terms of diversity, complexity, and urban character; it was an 'ancient New York of Canada' (Birch, 2012; Jarus, 2012). Among the diverse archaeological assemblage from the site was a wrought iron axe that was determined to have originated from Basque fishermen in Newfoundland. The axe is thought to have found its way to the Mantle site via trade with St. Lawrence Iroquoian groups (Jarus, 2012).

With the arrival of Europeans, The Toronto Carrying Place portage continued to play an integral role in the booming fur trade. The prominence of this route for trade meant that any group which controlled the Toronto Carrying Place could exert significant control over fur trading in the area. So it was that Wendat, Haudenosaunee, and Ojibwa peoples, along with their respective European allies, each vied for control over this area at different times. When the first Europeans started visiting Toronto, the Wendat had established control over the area. It is widely believed that the first European to see the

Toronto area, Étienne Brulé, was brought to Toronto by his Wendat guides via the Humber arm of the Toronto Carrying Place in 1615 (Kapches, 1987, p. 18).

By the 1660s, the Seneca had displaced the Wendat and established two large villages in the Toronto area: *Teiaiagon* ('the knife that cuts through the river') and *Ganatsekwyagon* ('among the birches'), along the Humber and Rouge rivers respectively. *Teiaiagon* is located atop a tall bluff overlooking the Humber River Valley, in what is now the wealthy neighborhood of Baby Point, North West of modern day Jane St. and Bloor St. One can clearly see 'knife that cuts through the river' when examining any map of the bluff, which juts so far into the Humber River Valley that the river must take a wide berth around it, in some places cutting quite close to the base of the bluff. The location of *Ganatsekwyagon* is less certain, but it is known to have been located close to the shore of Lake Ontario. Both of these villages were visited by early European missionaries and explorers in the 1670s and 1680s (Kapches, 1987, pp. 21–22), and both were likely abandoned or destroyed by the French around 1687 or 1688, during a French expedition against the Seneca led by the Marquise de Denonville (Arthur, 1986, p. 5; Freeman, 2011, p. 229; Tooker, 1994, p. 86). William Woodworth, a Mohawk architect from Six Nations reserve residing in Toronto, has remarked that there is an "oral tradition that *Teiaiagon* had been destroyed by fire, the people massacred by the French, and the whole area around Toronto deforested" while another Seneca man told Victoria Freeman that "he knew his ancestors had been murdered by the French at *Teiaiagon*...because of the terrible pain in his shoulder that assailed him one day while he was walking along the Humber River not far from the village site" (Freeman, 2011, p. 229).

After the Seneca, the Mississauga controlled the Toronto area and the Carrying Place Trail, establishing a village at *Teiaiagon* (Arthur, 1986, p. 5) and another further south near the Humber Bay. A series of French forts were subsequently built along or near Humber River to accommodate a highly profitable trade in furs with Indigenous people travelling through the area: the first at *Teiaiagon* in the 1720s, then another further south in the 1730s, and finally culminating in the establishment of Fort Rouillé around 1749 at the western end of the current Canadian National Exhibition grounds. All of these forts were eventually destroyed by the French when it became clear that the English would ultimately seize control of Upper Canada and the Toronto Carrying Place Trail in 1759 (Toronto Historical Association, 2001, p. MPLS 47–49). Even after the British had formally ousted the French from the area, French fur traders continued to operate in the area, but were unfortunately known to trade significant quantities of alcohol to the Mississaugas for their furs (Arthur, 1986, p. 8).

In 1787 the Mississauga signed the highly problematic ‘Toronto Purchase’, in which they ostensibly agreed to give up their inherent rights to much of what is now Toronto. However, the document which formalized the purchase did not describe the exact lands under consideration before it was signed, making it null and void. A second attempt to finalize the earlier surrender of Toronto was made in 1805, but this second treaty involved considerably more lands than the original treaty, for which the Mississaugas were not properly compensated (Freeman, 2010, pp. 72–73; Howard-Bobiwash & Bobiwash, 2008). It was only in 2010 that the Mississaugas were awarded \$145 million to settle this claim. Another land claim involving the Toronto Islands, which were used

by the Mississaugas as a place of healing and ceremony, has yet to be settled since they were never formally surrendered by the Mississaugas (Freeman, 2010, p. 244).

Nevertheless, the Mississaugas were increasingly pushed out of the Toronto area and further to the west at the end of the 18th century, due to increasing European settlement and harassment. This mistreatment, paired with the 1796 murder of *Wabakanine*, a prominent Mississauga chief near the Toronto Islands (which was a peninsula still attached to the mainland at that time), almost prompted the Mississaugas to declare war against the newly founded city of York. Ultimately though, the Mississauga uprising did not happen due in part to Joseph Brant, chief of the Haudenosaunee at Six Nations, who was unwilling to join the Mississauga cause at that time (Freeman, 2010, p. 65). In the 1850s the Mississaugas moved to the New Credit reserve, but continued to lobby Euro-Canadian leaders to address injustices perpetuated against them (Bobiwash, 1997, p. 22). A map from 1796 shows that Indigenous corn fields were still growing at that time on the floodplains surrounding the Humber River, immediately south of *Teiaiagon* (Hayes, 2009, p. 24). The corn, beans, and squash that once grew here now composes the soil that feeds the grassy parkland surrounding the Humber River and the salmon that continue to swim and spawn in its waters. At the bay of the Humber River stands a metallic suspension bridge and a series of interpretive plaques which commemorate the Indigenous significance of this route. Stylized thunderbird motifs, turtles, and canoes are incorporated into the bridge's structure and design.

Toronto's character as a place of meeting and trade was long recognized by Indigenous peoples. Early Europeans, via their interactions with the Indigenous peoples

of this area, were likewise prompted to recognize the area's potential in this regard. Early European activities in the area were "largely defined by the area's strategic importance for accessing and controlling long-established economic networks.... Thus, the first European settlement of Toronto was very much a continuation of patterns that had been in place for thousands of years" (Archaeological Services Inc., 2004, p. 19). Indeed, "York did not grow dramatically at first because the area's first settlers only passed through on their way to assume land in the surrounding townships. They used the town solely as a place for purchasing goods and services or for providing services" (Archaeological Services Inc., 2004, pp. 20–21).

Toronto's character as a trading centre and meeting place still persists today; it is well known as one of Canada's major economic centres, and as one of the most multicultural cities in the world. Some of the city's current Indigenous residents continue to apprehend the city's character, or *genius loci*, as a cosmopolitan place. For instance, according to William Woodworth the CN Tower symbolizes the Great Tree of Peace of Haudenosaunee prophecy, suggesting that in Toronto,

the Hotinonshon:ni prophecy of gathering the peoples from the four directions under the Great White Pine Tree Of Peace is now coming to fruition. In a place still named in the language of the Ancestors, peoples from virtually every part of the world find refuge in Toront:o. The original Hotinonshon:ni teachings instruct us to share with all peoples who visit our lands. In an understanding held in the Two Row Wampum, our many Ancestors agreed to share this place in our separate yet collateral streams. The time has come to recover and refresh these old responsibilities in this special place which is nurturing a powerful form of global community. (As cited in Freeman, 2010, p. 309)

Contemporary Indigenous people continue to recognize the Toronto Carrying Place as an important part of the Indigenous land-based heritage of the Greater Toronto Area.

In May of 2010, two young Anishinaabeg embarked upon a canoe trip along the Humber arm of the Toronto Carrying Place portage, from Rama First Nation (north of Lake Simcoe) to Toronto, one of them “to trade in the spirit of his forefathers...his once sought after Hudson’s Bay Point Blanket in exchange for the beaver pelts traded to the Company by his great-great-grandfather” (Douglas, 2010). Their four day journey is a modern day coyote story, involving harassment by police, struggles to portage their exceptionally heavy fiberglass canoe past sections of the Humber River which, due to diversion dams, are now too shallow to canoe, and a rock which ripped open the side of their canoe near Dundas St., forcing them to abandon it. They finally reached the Hudson Bay Company’s downtown flagship store on Queen St. via streetcar, and proceeded to negotiate trade with the store’s reluctant manager. Although they were ultimately unsuccessful in their attempt to trade their point blanket for beaver pelts, they were allowed to perform an honour song at the store, and left with a copy of the book, “The Blanket: An Illustrated History of the Hudson’s Bay Point Blanket” (Tichenor, 2002), a gift from the store’s manager which valorizes the role of the Hudson’s Bay Company in Aboriginal history (Douglas, 2010).

High Park, a large park in the city’s west end, contains the last remnants of a once extensive, but now nationally rare, Black Oak savanna which covered much of Toronto’s west end, approximately from Roncesvalles Ave. to Royal York Rd. and from the lakeshore as far north as Lawrence Ave. (Kidd, Christensen, & McEwen, 2008, p. 5). Savanna is characterized by relatively sparse, discontinuous (predominantly Black Oak) tree cover and tall grasslands, and in Ontario is home to dozens of rare flora (Bakowsky

& Riley, 1994, p. 12; Foster & Sandberg, 2004, p. 187; High Park Nature, 2012; Kidd et al., 2008, p. 7). High Park's Black Oak savanna is estimated to be about 4000 years old (Kidd et al., 2008, p. 5), and its presence and integrity is due to the efforts of Indigenous people, who maintained the delicate balance of this ecosystem through judicious use of controlled burns (Bakowsky & Riley, 1994, pp. 10–12; Dey & Guyette, 2000, p. 340; Hessburg & Agee, 2003, pp. 26, 28). Another Mississauga name for the Don River, *Wonscotonach*, refers to a place burnt by fire (D. B. Smith, 1987, p. 256). This name may refer to controlled burns along the Don to maintain savanna lands, as there was another savanna recorded in the vicinity of the modern day neighborhoods of Rosedale and Deer Park, just north of Toronto's downtown core between Mount Pleasant Rd. and the Don River (Kidd et al., 2008, p. 5). This area was called *Mashquoteh* by the Mississaugas, which refers to a prairie or savanna environment (Johnston, 1978, p. 7; Scadding, 1878, p. 426). In return for Indigenous maintenance through a regime of controlled burns, the savanna offered significant gifts. Periodic controlled burning encouraged the growth of berries, nuts, fruit, tall grasses, and other plants which were undoubtedly recognized by Indigenous people as important sources of food, medicine, and other such gifts not otherwise widely available in southern Ontario. Savannas also offered large, open areas which discouraged the proliferation of biting insects and vermin, facilitated movement through the area, and encouraged the presence of large game and fowl (Bakowsky & Riley, 1994, p. 11; Dey & Guyette, 2000, p. 340; Hessburg & Agee, 2003, pp. 26–27), making them attractive hunting grounds. Indigenous people and savanna environments like those in High Park and *Mashquoteh*, engaged in a mutually beneficial and reciprocal

relationship, each helping to maintain the health and integrity of the other. A preliminary analysis of the locations of savannas and Indigenous trails and portage routes between Lake Simcoe and Lake Ontario shows a remarkable congruence between the locations of Indigenous routes and savannas. This congruence further strengthens the notion that Toronto was a 'heart circle', and that savannas could be understood as a form of development that existed between more settled areas which did not exist antagonistically with natural relationships.

Some Indigenous Torontonians also believe that High Park is home to sacred Indigenous mounds although few, if any, of these sacred mounds are formally recognized as such by archaeologists, park staff, or city officials (Spurr, 2011). One of these mounds in High Park recently became the site of considerable controversy when some Indigenous community members clashed with BMX bikers, who had for years been illegally digging into the mound to construct ramps and jumps for their bikes. In the end, the intense media attention regarding the mound prompted city and park officials to erect a fence and 'no cycling' signs at the site, and High Park staff have since begun restoring and replanting the site. One First Nations commentator suggested that Indigenous ancestors, such as those that may lie within the High Park mounds, work to remind the current generation of their responsibilities:

What we realize every summer, every time there's construction, the remains of aboriginal people come to the surface and you might want to say, metaphorically, maybe they are trying to tell us something. Maybe it's a reminder of who was here first, who lived well on this land for 30,000 years and who now is looking to say 'If we continue the way we're going, nobody's going to be able to live well on this land.' Where there used to be cornfields, there are subdivisions with no gardens. To me, it's kind of prophetic. (Rick Hill in Ormsby, 2011)

In this way, the renewal of the mutual relationships of reciprocity between Indigenous ancestors and current generations also prompted park and city officials to uphold their responsibilities for the protection of the park.

Indigenous people have always lived in and visited Toronto, both before and throughout Euro Canadian settlement. Mississauga peoples were prominent in the defense of Fort York against invading Americans during the War of 1812 (Freeman, 2010, pp. 116, 205). Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was held in Toronto in 1885 at what is now Woodbine Park, to the east of downtown. The show featured a large contingent of First Nations performers, including Sitting Bull (Freeman, 2010, p. 188). Dr. Oronhyatekha, a man from Six Nations that became one of the first Indigenous physicians in 1866 (Nicks, 2003, p. 466), lived in a house on Carlton St. in downtown Toronto. He also became renowned as the head of the International Order of Foresters, which he transformed into a highly successful fraternal insurance agency (Foresters) that still exists today. He used his substantial influence in Canadian Victorian society to petition the government to amend the Indian Act to allow 'Indians' to own land, and for Indigenous women to keep their 'Indian' status when marrying non-status 'Indians' (Nicks, 2003, pp. 466–467), although he was ultimately unsuccessful during his own lifetime. Local Indigenous artists Tannis Nielsen and Philip Cote recently erected an expansive mural around Allan Gardens Park, just east of Dr. Oronhyatekha's house, which commemorates the many missing Indigenous women in Canada. The high number of missing Indigenous women across Canada is itself a product of the enforcement of the patriarchal Indian Act.

The Toronto area is deeply inscribed by Indigenous people. There are many places in Toronto which exemplify the city's Indigenous heritage which is still unfolding in the present. The widespread removal of Indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands via land surrender treaties and reserves undermined the mutual relationships of reciprocity and responsibility that Indigenous groups had fostered among themselves and their traditional territories. However, many Indigenous Torontonians have renewed, or are in the process of renewing, their connection to their ancestors and their ancestral *lands*. This growing trend ensures that stories of Indigenous environmental accomplishments and contributions in Toronto and elsewhere will continue to germinate and be told in the generations to come.

Overview of Toronto's Indigenous Community

The beginning of Toronto's contemporary Indigenous community has been traced back to the early 1920s, when First Nations people began migrating to the city from Ontario reserves for work and education. It was at this time that Indigenous Torontonians began gathering informally at a house on Bleecker St. in downtown Toronto owned by Minnie and George Jamieson, who had moved to the city from Six Nations reserve in 1921 (Howard, 2005, p. 105). From these early meetings among Indigenous residents of Toronto, emerged the collective will and capacity to form the North American Indian Club out of the YMCA in 1950, which eventually became the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto (NCCT) (Howard, 2005, p. 105)³⁹. Although the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto (NCCT) is only one of many Indigenous service and cultural agencies in the city,

³⁹ The history of the NCCT has been researched in detail by Howard (2005).

and by no means represents the totality of Toronto's Indigenous community, it is prominent as the first Indigenous organization to be established, and it incubated many of the other now mature and independent Indigenous organizations in the city. The NCCT thus constitutes "a sacred place among Native people in Toronto. The Centre is important symbolically as the 'heart' or 'mother' of organizations that form the infrastructure of what is considered 'the Toronto Native community'" (Howard, 2005, p. 102).

Currently, Toronto is home to a large and growing Indigenous population. Although the 2006 census enumerated 26,575 individuals of Aboriginal descent living within the city, Toronto-based Aboriginal service providers estimate that the actual population is closer to about 70,000 residents⁴⁰ (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 17; Howard, 2005, p. 54; Lawrence, 2004, p. 19). The discrepancy is partly due to "a large transient and homeless population who are not enumerated as well as a large, stable group. The large, stable group is also reluctant to be enumerated" (Richardson et al., 2002, p. 17). Of those officially represented by the census, approximately two thirds identified themselves as First Nations, about one third identified as Métis, and about 1% identified as Inuit (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 17). The majority of First Nations residents trace either Anishinaabe (mostly Ojibwa or Cree) or Haudenosaunee cultural backgrounds, but small numbers of many other Indigenous nations across North America are represented as well. Almost half (45%) of the officially enumerated Indigenous population of Toronto has 'status' under the Indian Act (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 17). Although Toronto's Indigenous population is the largest Indigenous community in Ontario, it represents only

⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that, for the first time since European contact, the contemporary Indigenous population of Toronto parallels the pre-contact Indigenous population of the area.

a tiny percentage (less than 1%) of Toronto's very large and culturally diverse population.

Toronto's Indigenous community exhibits many of the features common to other urban Indigenous communities outlined in the previous chapter, however in some ways Toronto's community differs from other urban Indigenous communities to a degree which may be important to note. For instance, while the Urban Aboriginal Peoples Survey (UAPS) identified that a clear majority of Indigenous residents in all the cities surveyed expressed pride in their ancestry and culture, and a sense of cultural and community vitality (Environics Institute, 2010a, p. 57), Indigenous residents of Toronto were among the most likely of all those surveyed to express these sentiments (Environics Institute, 2010b, pp. 10, 22–24). Indigenous Torontonians were also most likely of all surveyed to express a sense that community-based cultural activities were widely available to them, a strong willingness to participate in such events, and that access to traditional healing was important to them (Environics Institute, 2010b, pp. 11, 22, 29–30). Many Indigenous artists, activists, traditional teachers, and Elders actively promote awareness of Indigenous culture, community, and history in Toronto, and many express a strong interest in the city's Indigenous history and heritage. Many of the people Freeman interviewed for her doctoral dissertation expressed an understanding that Toronto was a traditional territory with a rich history to which they felt connected (2010, p. 307), and historically-oriented projects tend to receive strong support from the community.

The UAPS also found that while a large majority of urban Indigenous respondents expressed a high degree of tolerance and willingness to engage with other cultures

(Indigenous and otherwise), Indigenous Torontonians expressed this tendency to an even greater degree than other urban Indigenous communities surveyed (Environics Institute, 2010b, pp. 9–10, 33). For their part, non-Indigenous Torontonians that were surveyed appear to particularly aware of the historical and ongoing discrimination experienced by Indigenous peoples of Canada generally and its attendant implications for Indigenous peoples (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 12). This may contribute to the exceptionally high degree of social acceptance that Indigenous Torontonians feel from the larger non-Indigenous population (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 10).

However, among non-Indigenous Torontonians there is not much awareness of the existence Toronto's Indigenous community (Environics Institute, 2010b, p. 12), and even less awareness of Toronto's Indigenous history. Freeman has suggested that, on the whole, the city seems to define itself more by its contemporary ethnic diversity than its history (2010, p. 7). Dominant and official histories of Toronto have, until fairly recently, only briefly mentioned the Indigenous history of the area, describing it as a static, timeless period of 'prehistory'. In these narratives, 'real' history begins with the triumphal arrival of Europeans to the area, who, through toil and sweat, slowly carved a metropolis out of the dense wilderness (Freeman, 2010, p. 4). The contributions of Indigenous peoples to Toronto since the arrival of Europeans have also been minimized or suppressed as a part of the colonial project of erasure of Indigenous claims to land (Freeman, 2010).

Placing the Past/Present: Mapping Toronto's Indigenous Oral Traditions on the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour

Torontonians may be largely unaware of the city's Indigenous history, but this history is nevertheless still discernible in the city's landscape, and there exists an intact Indigenous oral tradition which represents Toronto as a traditional Indigenous territory, demonstrates apprehension of *genius loci* and, in its telling, encourages the formation of storied, land-based connections within the city. Based on her fieldwork among the Toronto First Nations community, Howard noted, "Native people in Toronto have actively formed a discourse around this city as a Native territory. The pre-contract history and sacred nature of area, particularly in Anishinaabe lore, is a significant part of contemporary discourse in the Toronto Native community" (Howard, 2005, p. 65).

The Great 'Indian' Bus Tour, a 3-5 hour tour of places of Indigenous significance across the city run by the Toronto Native Community History Program (TNCHP) at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto (NCCT), is but one particularly rich and accessible expression of this oral tradition. The bus tour was originally developed and led in 1995 by A. Rodney Bobiwash, a university educator, community activist, and former executive director of the NCCT. After Rodney Bobiwash's passing in 2002, Indigenous playwright and director Alanis King led the bus tours until she moved from the city in 2008. I began assisting with the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour while Alanis King led them, but after Alanis King left the city, the bus tours were led exclusively by me for about a year or two, and thereafter in conjunction with other Anishinaabe community members. The following

analysis of the bus tour is based on my experiences assisting and guiding the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour with Alanis King and other Anishinaabe tour guides⁴¹.

Information sources for the tour include a mix of archaeological evidence, historical and archival research, and the oral histories told by Toronto's Indigenous Elders and long-time residents about the city. Regardless of the origin of the information, the stories told on the tour are Indigenous compositions which reflect Indigenous worldviews, priorities, and values. The tour was created for the explicit purpose of promoting awareness of the Indigenous heritage and its enduring presence in Toronto, connection to Toronto's landscape, and a sense of cultural pride among the city's Indigenous community (Bodirsky, personal communication, 2006). In a posthumous TVOntario interview, Bobiwash stated, "Most cities in North America, of course, are built on Native land. Most don't acknowledge that. Most have very little knowledge, of the presence of Native people, either historic or contemporary, within the urban-scape" (Howard, 2005, p. 236).

The oral and mobile format of the bus tour format maintains the dynamism of the relationships among the storyteller, the story, the audience, and the places the stories are about. As much as possible, information and stories about places along the tour are related when in proximity to the places themselves, maintaining the connection between stories and places. Tour participants are therefore able to experience and build personal connections with the places mentioned during the tour while listening to the stories about

⁴¹ The Great 'Indian' Bus Tour (now called First Story Toronto Tours) remains the intellectual property of First Story Toronto (formerly the Toronto Native Community History Program). Permission to share selected aspects of the tour was granted in 2006 by NCCT Executive Director Larry Frost, Toronto Native Community History Program Co-ordinator Monica Bodirsky and Great 'Indian' Bus Tour Guide leader Alanis King.

those places. While most of the tour takes place en route in the bus, there are several particularly significant places such as the bluff north of Davenport Rd., Tabor Hill burial mound, the Don Valley Brickworks, High Park, and the Humber River valley where the bus may stop so that passengers can exit the bus and directly experience the personality of those places. The storyteller is able to respond to events that occur in the places along the tour. While standing atop the bluff to the north of Davenport Rd. during one bus tour, the sudden appearance of a red-tailed hawk provided tour guide Alanis King the opportunity to share teachings she'd learned about hawks and eagles, and the potential meanings associated with the appearance of that particular hawk at that particular time and place. The storyteller has the ability to tailor how and which stories are told according to the audience and the context. Likewise, tour participants are often invited to share stories, jokes, play games, and to ask and answer questions along the tour, creating a very dynamic and uniquely tailored experience.

Since efforts are made to tie stories to places throughout the tour, the bus tour can be said to relate the Indigenous history of Toronto topographically, rather than temporally. This methodology is entirely consistent with the land-based storytelling traditions of many other Indigenous traditions, such as the Northern and Southern Dene examined by Cruickshank (1990a, 1990b) and Basso (1996) respectively. Just like Dene land-based storytelling traditions, the methodology of linking stories and places on the bus tour enables the storyteller to remember and recall five or more hours of stories and knowledge. As a bus tour guide who has committed the stories on the tour to memory, I

can attest to how effective this method is for keeping knowledge; just thinking about the places or the route of the bus tour can recall the stories associated with them.

The stories and information presented throughout the bus tour cumulatively portray Toronto as a traditional Indigenous territory. Numerous prehistoric and historic Indigenous sites located throughout Toronto are described on the tour, particularly those in the Humber and Rouge River valleys, and stand as a testament to the long occupation of Toronto by Indigenous people (Bobiwash, 1997, p. 7). For instance,

the Rouge Valley in Scarborough is rich for archaeological resources, there's a number of sites there. In fact there's over 100 identified in the Rouge Valley alone; sites that contain things like single arrowheads, fire pits, entire village sites. So the Rouge Valley was incredibly rich for Indian people. (Alanis King, 2005)

The Seneca village of *Teiaiagon* located atop Baby Point is highlighted not only as a place which was occupied by the Seneca in the 17th century, but also likely by the Wendat beforehand and afterward by the Mississauga. This particular place, located along the Toronto Carrying Place portage trail, exemplifies Toronto's persistent character as a cosmopolitan meeting and trading place. It is also pointed out on the tour that the Toronto Islands constituted one of the stopping points in at least one version of the great Anishinaabe migration from the East Coast into the interior of North America:

...on the East Coast it was a time of turmoil and they looked to the Creator for an answer. And the answer was a migration through the guidance of a megis shell that they saw in the sky. There would be many stopping places along this migration...Kingston, Walpole Island, Toronto Islands...this is all part of traditional tribal lands... (Alanis King, 2005)

In the oral account of this great journey, some Anishinaabe people settled at each of the stopping points along the way. Connecting Toronto to the traditional story of the great Anishinaabe migration situates Toronto within the traditional lands of the Anishinaabe

peoples. Furthermore, the bus tour guide often emphasizes that, despite the land surrender treaty which was meant to extinguish Mississauga title to the Toronto area, the Mississaugas retained their rights to hunt and fish in Toronto, bolstering the notion that Toronto remains traditional Indigenous territory up to the present.

Stories on the bus tour do not only address the ancient historical Indigenous presence in the area, they also document how Toronto's Indigenous heritage continued with the establishment and growth of the modern city up to the present. For instance, when near Allan Gardens in downtown Toronto, stories are told of the many accomplishments of Haudenosaunee physician Dr. Oronhyatekha, whose Toronto home was located nearby. A previous participant on the bus tour from Walpole Island First Nation once related to Rodney Bobiwash that Dr. Oronhyatekha convinced his grandmother to procure life insurance and when she died, her children were able to avoid residential school because they were able to afford private schooling (Bobiwash, 1997, p. 20). This story has now become part of the oral tradition about Dr. Oronhyatekha, as related on the bus tour.

Stories are also told of the early beginnings of Toronto's Native community, whose members first began gathering at places like Fran's Restaurant and a bar called the Silver Dollar, before the establishment of the Toronto Indian club which eventually became the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto. Stories involving the accomplishments of more recent and current community members are also shared. These stories underscore the notion that Indigenous people have always lived in, visited, and contributed to the city of Toronto, and suggests that the contemporary Indigenous community continues this legacy.

The route of the bus tour varies according to who is leading the bus tour, the interests of the participants, events significant to the Indigenous community, the size of the bus, the time and day, and the urban rhythms of traffic and road closures. But regardless of the exact route, the bus tour always follows a broadly cyclical path through the city and is roughly structured according to the four directions of the Medicine Wheel (or Circle of Life) (Monica Bodirsky, personal communication, 2006). The tour usually starts at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto (NCCT), which can be conceived as the centre of the medicine wheel. The Native Canadian Centre of Toronto is an appropriate ‘centre’ of a medicine wheel, since the tour guide mentions its importance as a meeting place for many in the Indigenous community and how the NCCT has been central to the beginning of many of the other Indigenous organizations that facilitate Toronto’s Indigenous community. From the NCCT, the tour bus often travels northward on Spadina Rd. to Davenport Rd. and the bluff marking the ancient shoreline of glacial Lake Iroquois. This is usually the first stop on the original five hour tour, where participants learn about the significance of the bluff, Davenport Rd., and other stories connected to the area. From here the original tour proceeded eastward into Scarborough to the site of the next stop, Tabor Hill Ossuary. Here the tour guide discusses the significance of the mound, often sharing teachings on how ancestors continue to watch out for the current generations and why it is important to respect ancestral remains. After an honour song is performed by Indigenous hand-drummers, and tobacco is offered out of respect for the ancestors buried there, the bus then travels in a southwesterly direction to the shore of Lake Ontario. As the bus navigates along the lakeshore, the Indigenous heritage of various sites such as the

CN Tower, the CNE grounds, and Old Fort York is noted. Along the lakeshore, the bus proceeds westward to the bay of the Humber River and along the Humber River valley, where there is yet another stop. At this stop, the tour group stands either at the shore of the bay or along the bank of the Humber River while the guide explains the importance of the Toronto Carrying Place for Indigenous people and the fur trade, and notes several significant sites and features along this route. Tobacco and an honour song may also be offered out of respect for the historical importance of the site and the water. From here the tour heads back to the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto. In this way, the route of the bus maps the medicine wheel onto the city and provides a way of understanding the Indigenous heritage of Toronto using this traditional framework⁴².

The abundance of practical and ecological knowledge about the local landscape often encoded in traditional Indigenous stories such as migration routes, hunting routes, the locations of campgrounds, and medicinal ingredients has already been noted. Some stories act as maps of large territories, and contain lengthy and detailed histories about how Indigenous peoples lived in those territories (Basso, 1996; Brody, 1988; Cruikshank, 1990a, 1990b). In a similar fashion, the bus tour imparts practical information about how to live and thrive in Toronto as an Indigenous person. Especially while traveling through the downtown core of the city, the bus tour devotes a significant amount of time to listing the names and locations of popular hangouts, craft shops, and many of the Indigenous cultural and service agencies that are so important to the integrity of Toronto's

⁴² This clockwise route reflects Anishnabe teachings about the directionality of the Medicine Wheel, but it should be noted that variations of this route may also run counter-clockwise, thus more closely reflecting Haudenosaunee directionality around the Circle of Life.

Indigenous community. Often, this information is shared through stories about the history of the places in question. For instance, as the tour guide relates, “Spadina factors hugely in the native community; you’ll find a lot of native agencies on Spadina” (Alanis King, 2005). Another notable First Nations hangout is Fran’s restaurant which is “...a very famous Indian site. It was a very famous and important site because people would gather there for social times, have their pork chops and mashed potatoes and discuss what they needed. And it was there that they came up with the idea for the Indian Social Club” (Alanis King, 2005). Speaking about the Indigenous community in Toronto during the tour, Alanis King suggested that, “how we gather is through our agencies. We have the Council Fire which is also a hostel, the Native Women’s Resource Center, Anishnawbe Health, which practices both Western and traditional medicine and Miziwe Biik [an employment agency]” (2005). James Mason, a well-known and respected First Nations oral historian of Toronto’s Indigenous community, suggested that stories of Toronto, told from an Indigenous perspective, “are adapted to the specific context of Native life in the city...” and contribute to what he referred to as the “...urban Native ‘survival camp’” (Howard, 2005, p. 249). The content of urban stories differs from stories told in and about non-urban settings, but following Indigenous epistemology, urban stories differ precisely because they must be relevant to *the land* in which the story is told. In this sense, the bus tour contains numerous examples of what might be considered urban ecological knowledge – knowledge of places or services in the city which urban Indigenous individuals might find useful for living well in the city, and which help connect them to Toronto’s Indigenous community.

Indigenous knowledge involves looking to *the land* for lessons on how to live well and appropriately in particular places. The accumulated observations and experiences of ecological relations embedded in a place can, when viewed as a whole, coalesce into cyclical, metaphorical patterns that suggest a sense of *genius loci*. Apprehension of *genius loci* influences a people's sense of which actions and behaviours are appropriate or inappropriate to that place; it informs an ethics of place which is often related through traditional stories. Several stories on the bus tour demonstrate a similar apprehension of *genius loci*, and there is perhaps no better example of this than the explanation of the meaning of the word 'Toronto'. The various interpretations of the meaning of Toronto, as a fishing weir, meeting or gathering place, a 'place of abundance', a place 'where the waters converge' (a reference to the Great Lakes and their respective watersheds), or as a Mohawk word for 'log', all seem quite different. But on the bus tour it is emphasized that these different meanings should not be considered mutually exclusive; that they are all, in fact, variations on a theme. A fishing weir, for instance, is also a place of abundance, and a gathering or meeting place for fish and people. 'Log' would likely have been a reference to a large fallen tree which could have served as a prominent meeting spot. Toronto's old growth ecology certainly consisted of many impressively large trees, which also connects to the understanding of Toronto as a place of abundance. A convergence of waters is another type of meeting, and given that waterways were important for travel and trade, the convergence of waters at Toronto certainly facilitated the convergence of people and trade, as well as an abundance of flora and fauna, once again referencing Toronto as a place of abundance. In all of these definitions, there are common

associations with ‘meeting place’ and ‘abundance’. The aforementioned evidence that Toronto was both a place of meeting and trade among diverse peoples, and a place of abundance facilitated by the Toronto Carrying Place and the Great Lakes, is discussed on the bus tour. The tour guide also notes these qualities persisted with the arrival and settlement of Europeans on the continent via the fur trade, which relied on these same important routes, and persist in the present character of the city as a multicultural and economic capital. This explanation of the meaning of ‘Toronto’ reveals a very cosmopolitan approach to the variety of perspectives on this issue, which is entirely consistent with the ethics of Toronto as a meeting place of diverse cultures. This cosmopolitan approach is carried throughout the tour. Although all of the Indigenous tour guides have thus far have been Anishinaabe, there is a clear attempt on the bus tour to represent Wendat, Haudenosaunee, and Mississauga histories and places.

The Toronto Islands are another place which demonstrates a persistence of character. The bus tour guides note that these islands, formerly a peninsula, have long been regarded as a place of healing and rejuvenation. It may be for these qualities that the Toronto Islands may have been a stopping place during the great Anishinaabe Migration mentioned earlier. The tour guides then explain how these qualities are still associated with the islands today – it remains a place that is relatively undeveloped, where there is no traffic, and where people come to relax and enjoy a natural setting:

People gathered at the islands traditionally. They did a lot of spiritual activity there. It was like a spa. It was a place where people would go for healing, they would do moon ceremonies, they would do sweats, they would practice traditional ways in a way of rejuvenation. And if you go to Toronto Islands today, there is still some of that left. It’s a place where you don’t see very many wheels and

motors and it is kind of a little stronghold of Toronto that's a little bit special and it has that feeling with it. (Alanis King, 2005)

Accordingly, Indigenous Torontonians still hold ceremonies on the islands today (Freeman, 2010, p. 290). The stories of the meaning of Toronto and the Toronto Islands are but two examples that display recognition of the persistent character of places through time. There is an emphasis on the bus tour on how places maintain their integrity, despite, and sometimes even through, the presence of built form.

Moral tales that impart lessons about one's responsibilities are also a part of the tour. Most of these stories are about places where Indigenous ancestral remains were disrespected. For instance, tales are told of hauntings occurring at the residences surrounding Tabor Hill burial mound in Scarborough while the residents were not treating this site with the appropriate respect. Likewise, it has been suggested on the tour that the desecration of Indigenous remains at the Sandhill burial ground, located near what is now the intersection of Yonge St. and Bloor St., is responsible for an accidental fire at the Uptown Theatre in 1960, and the death of a student and injury of 14 others caused by the sudden collapse of a wall during the demolition of the derelict theatre in 2003. These tales affirm the ongoing presence of Indigenous ancestral spirits in *the land* and the need for current residents to re-establish relations of respect and reciprocity with them.

The Great 'Indian' Bus Tour should be considered an example of urban land-based IK, which stories Toronto's landscape in ways that parallel the traditional storytelling protocols of other Indigenous groups. It exemplifies but one way that Indigenous oral traditions have been adapted to the requirements of urban rhythms and urban form. The

tour encourages participants to recognize Toronto as a traditional Indigenous territory, and stories of the accomplishments of more recent Indigenous residents of the city demonstrate Toronto's Indigenous heritage continues to the present. Rodney Bobiwash wrote that "[f]or Aboriginal people living in the Toronto area, there is a long history of Native occupation which Toronto's modern towers of concrete and steel may obscure but cannot eradicate" (Bobiwash, 1997, p. 5). The Great 'Indian' Bus Tour illustrates the veracity of this statement, and exemplifies Rodney Bobiwash's holistic understanding of the enduring character of places in the city. But the city's Indigenous heritage is not only accessible by looking past the city's contemporary urban form; the Indigenous legacy of Toronto did not end with Euro-Canadian settlement. The stories told on the bus tour encompass a history that starts as late as 11,000 years ago, continuing throughout the period of Euro-Canadian occupation, up to the present. Land-based stories on the bus tour tie the accomplishments of Indigenous people to the city's contemporary urban form, illustrating how the modern city also exemplifies the city's Indigenous heritage, not simply despite the presence of modern urban development, but also by virtue of it.

The land-based stories shared on the bus tour play an important part in the maintenance of urban Indigenous community, culture, and wellness. The tour promotes greater understanding of Indigenous knowledge, culture, and history in Toronto. This oral tradition defies notions that urban environments are incompatible with Indigenous cultures and traditions. It not only provides a wealth of information orienting people to the hangouts, organizations, and agencies through which Toronto's Indigenous community gathers, it also promotes recognition the persistence of *genius loci*,

connecting past and present, and beckoning participants to develop meaningful, respectful, and reciprocal land-based relationships in Toronto. The establishment of these connections via the bus tour appears to be connected to wellness. Imbuing *the land* with meaning makes it familiar on a deep experiential level, promoting a sense that one is a part of something larger than oneself and that Toronto is ‘home’. As a frequent participant on the bus tour and as a bus tour guide, I have heard many people on the bus tours (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) proclaim how good it was to hear the Indigenous history of Toronto, and how the bus tour often prompts a re-evaluation or an affirmation of one’s relationship to this *land*. The way the bus tour encourages deeper, experiential engagement with Toronto’s landscape seems entirely consistent with Indigenous land-based storytelling traditions practiced in other environments.

Interviews

As a part of my fieldwork among Toronto’s Indigenous community, I conducted in-depth interviews with five Anishinaabe Torontonians between October 2005 and July 2012 on their understanding of urban Indigenous traditions and of the city itself. The overview of Toronto’s Indigenous heritage presented at the beginning of this chapter demonstrates the many possibilities for developing connections to places in the city. The analysis of the Great ‘Indian’ Bus Tour, as an urban land-based storytelling tradition, shows how this heritage is kept and shared in ways that encourage participants to develop meaningful connections to places in the city. The interviews presented in this section complement these previous sections through an analysis of the degree to which *some* Indigenous people feel it is possible to form land-based connections in the city, and the

ways they express these connections. The perspectives offered by these interviewees are not meant to be generalizable to the Indigenous population of Toronto, or urban Indigenous people as a whole. Rather, the interviews were a means to explore, in a preliminary fashion, the perspectives of a small number of Anishinaabe community members conversant in their cultural traditions on the potential existence of urban land-based IK, the possibilities for establishing land-based connections to urban places, the nature of such connections, and the barriers or opportunities that might exist regarding their development.

My initial intention was to conduct interviews among a greater number of community members. However, I resisted the option of snowball sampling my way into interviews with people I did not know and who did not know me, because I felt the integrity of the research required that a relationship of mutual trust and understanding first be established between myself and participants. I felt that the interviews would be more comfortable, open, and ultimately would yield richer results if interviewees knew me well enough to understand my intentions within the community. As I worked in Toronto's Indigenous community, I came to realize that relationship must precede research, and thus people who participated in interviews were all those that I have come to know as friends and colleagues. My process of selecting potential interviewees was thus organic and non-random. I approached people I knew who had self-identified as Indigenous individuals that were familiar with and practiced Indigenous cultural traditions, broadly defined. One interview was initially facilitated directly by my supervisor, Joseph Sheridan. The other four interviews were facilitated through my work with the Toronto Native Community

History Program at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto. One interviewee approached me independently and requested to be interviewed for my dissertation. All interviewees provided the appropriate oral or written consents.

The methodological approach I used in conducting the interviews is very similar to the conversation method in Indigenous research described by Kovach (2010). The interviews were based on a series of open-ended questions (see Appendix D: Interview Questions) that served as the basis for semi-structured, and at times informal, conversations about urban Indigenous traditions and knowledge. This allowed interviewees the room “to tell their story on their own terms” (Kovach, 2010, p. 45). Thus, while the questions were broadly similar for each interview, some variation did exist in the questions asked. This conversational method proved to be exceptionally productive. The interviews lasted from 47 minutes to 2 hours and were rich in stories. Each interview was fully transcribed and edited by me for grammar and clarity. The transcripts were subsequently sent to the interviewees who were given the opportunity to further edit and approve the interview transcript, although none of the interviewees opted to make any significant edits to their interview transcripts. While the number of interviewees is small, the richness of the interviews and qualitative descriptions provided clearly illustrate some of the ways that those who are connected to the Indigenous heritage of Toronto feel and express those connections.

Characteristics of the Interviewees

The five individuals that offered interviews for this dissertation were all adults; although I did not ask their specific ages, the youngest interviewee was at least in their

mid-to-late twenties and three were 50 years of age or older. Two interviewees were women and three were men. Each of the interviewees self-identified as Anishinaabe⁴³ and affirmed that they were familiar with and practiced Indigenous cultural traditions. One interviewee is considered a respected Elder in the community. All interviewees resided in Toronto at the time of their interviews and four of the five interviewees considered themselves long-term residents of the city, having lived in the city for 10 or more years. The interviewee with the least experience with the city had been living in the city for three years at the time of the interview⁴⁴. Three of the interviewees had grown up in reserve communities in Ontario⁴⁵, but had later chosen to live in Toronto. The other two interviewees had lived mostly or entirely in non-reserve communities before moving to Toronto, although each had visited reserves on occasion. The interviewees had all attained at least an undergraduate university degree, and could be characterized as middle class; they either were currently employed, or had before retirement been previously employed, in a professional occupation. Furthermore, all of the interviewees were actively involved in Toronto's Indigenous community, and at least three of the five were actively involved with the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto on an ongoing basis.

Key Themes

The following is a presentation of the key themes from my analysis of the interviews which are relevant to the discussion of urban IK presented in this chapter. The themes were derived through a careful reading and re-reading of the interview transcripts for

⁴³ Three interviewees identified specifically as Ojibwa, one as Anishnabe, and one as Omushkegowak Cree.

⁴⁴ The interviewees stated that they had lived in the city for 3, 10, 14, 25, and 46 years at the time of the interview, from shortest to longest residency.

⁴⁵ Two interviewees came from Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island, and a third came from Wasauksing on Parry Island.

notable commonalities and divergences. I searched for themes that would be applicable to at least two of the transcripts. After several readings, I applied an initial thematic coding scheme to each of the transcripts. For themes with a large amount of data, I explored whether they could be subdivided into smaller sub-themes, while for those with very little data, I explored whether they were thematically similar enough to other themes to justify lumping them into larger thematic categories. The final coding scheme organizes the perspectives shared by the interviewees into themes that were salient across the interviews and allows the significant thematic commonalities and divergences expressed across the interviews to become more evident. Throughout the presentation of these themes, I've made an effort to preserve the original context and meaning of the perspectives shared, and to prioritize the words of the interviewees, which I regard to be both rich and highly valuable.

Overall impressions of Toronto

All the interviewees expressed an overall highly positive feeling or impression of Toronto based on either the amenities and services that are available to them, the diverse nature of the city's population, or a general sense that they felt 'at home' in the city. For instance, DW, the oldest male interviewee and a long-time resident of Toronto, commented, "I love Toronto. You know, I consider it my home... I love Toronto because it's got just about everything that I wanted." In response to a question about her overall impression of Toronto, RB, the youngest female interviewee, responded, "Oh, totally positive. Completely. People are just so friendly. I don't know if it's because you're new and you're open to new things, but I met so many people so fast. Just people on the street

even”. EJ, a respected female Elder in the community, stated, “It’s a very strange feeling because I felt when I came to Toronto, I was home.”

Challenges and Opportunities Presented by Toronto versus Reserve Communities

While participants felt mostly or highly positive about living in Toronto, they also articulated that Toronto (and cities in general) presented both challenges and opportunities compared to reserve communities. One of the key challenges interviewees expressed involved the big adjustment needed for Indigenous people from small towns or reserve communities when they come to live in a large city like Toronto. Two interviewees in particular focused quite bit on this issue: PT, a man who had most recently moved to Toronto three years prior from a reserve community in Northern Ontario and EJ, who had done a lot of healing work with Indigenous people living on the street. PT articulated his own initial trepidation about moving to Toronto:

I never thought I would actually live in Toronto, you know that? To me Toronto was a place – I’m familiar with Toronto, I’ve been here so many times - it was too big for me, I thought it was too big. I always thought, ‘Okay, Toronto is a nice place to visit, but I wouldn’t want to live here’. That’s what I used to say.

He later said,

... in the big city it’s much more fast-paced, there’s just more people, there’s just more of everything, and probably someone coming from a small town, especially a small First Nations community, coming here it would be a real challenge for them. In the big city here there’s so much of everything, there’s so many obstacles, barriers... a lot of First Nations people that come from small communities, historically - and it’s probably happening today - they come over here from up north and they may not have the life skills to survive in this different environment. They may not have the education, they may not have the employment skills. So when they come here they’re at a disadvantage and then they fall in between the cracks...[L]iving back home, say up north in a small

community, it's much slower paced and you don't get as much conflict as you would get down here. It's much slower paced. It's much more calm.

Along the same lines, EJ remarked,

I find that there's a lot of displacement. I find that Native people in Toronto have a very difficult time. Living in the city is far different from reservation life or even small community life. A lot of people that I have worked with have talked about embarrassment of our people on the street, of not wanting to be identified as First Nations because they don't want to be seen as a drunken Indian... They come here and wind up getting very lonely very quickly. They don't have their community, they don't have the familiar sounds, smells, all that kind of stuff. You know, acclimatizing is so difficult for them and nobody teaches them about that.

According to EJ, "It takes someone when they move from one geographical location to another seven or eight years for the body to fully adjust to the temperature changes, to the sounds, to the smells, all those other senses that we just kind of take for granted. And it really throws their system off". For instance, EJ suggested that Indigenous people "can't be spiritual all the time and live in the city; we get bombarded by too much of other people's energy ... [People] don't understand how to open up and shut off their spirituality and how to protect themselves from that kind of negative energy."

Both EJ and PT also highlighted some of the consequences for Indigenous people that unsuccessfully negotiate the adjustment to city life. PT highlighted how increased crime in the city could be a negative influence for some:

...you may get trapped, you may get pulled into the wrong environment or crowd. You know, whether it's down a path of, not really destruction, but you know, maybe even destruction of your own self because, you know, you've gone to the wrong crowd, you know what I mean?

Similarly, EJ articulated that if they resort to substance abuse as a coping mechanism that, "Very quickly they slide downhill. And then they start to find that subculture, the street culture, the 'nish of the street' culture". On the other hand, DW, who had grown up

on a reserve but who had lived in Toronto for decades, argued, “You know, a lot of people say, ‘Oh geez, I feel so alone here in the city.’ I never feel alone. It’s up to you, the individual, to make this.’

Interestingly, the lack of access to natural spaces in the city, on the whole, was not greatly problematized among the Indigenous interviewees. Only RB, who had lived both in Toronto and on a reserve, suggested that the lack of natural space in Toronto was a challenge for maintaining health, holistically defined. Regarding the city, she said,

You can’t see the stars at night. That’s really major, so it’s really hard to be on the land in the city. I think that’s a huge loss to anybody who lives here. I think people should get out of the city. You can’t just be in the city, to me. You have to experience nature. I know in my experience, us building our cabin, I’ve met so many non-Indigenous people in Toronto that have lived here their whole lives and we’ve invited them to the cabin. And so they’ve come up over the years and some people have never even been north of Barrie. They’ve never seen the Milky Way. I’m there with some people showing her the Milky Way, her first shooting star, and they freak out with any little bugs...Experiencing nature, wildlife, swimming in a lake, so many of my friends in Toronto, they don’t even swim, so they have to wear life jackets...Those are such important experiences, I think, to your health, in a holistic way, because I think of the four parts of the self and I think of that understanding of the universe and ourselves as connected to that. And so I think those things would be hard to find in the city.

EJ mentioned that insufficient exposure to people fluent in Indigenous languages can make learning and maintaining an Indigenous language a big challenge in the city. While language classes are offered through many different urban cultural organizations, EJ maintained that,

...it is very difficult to try and get people to sit in a language class. And it is very difficult as an adult to learn a second language unless you are practicing it...I remember I tried to take Ojibwa before I knew I was Cree and I was like [makes exasperated expression]. Man! I went for six or eight of the classes and it just wasn’t registering. Now I know why, because it wasn’t my language to carry partly and secondly because it was just so difficult to learn that and not have any practice from one week to the next.

The majority of Toronto's Indigenous community are either Anishinaabe or Haudenosaunee, so it can be especially difficult for Indigenous people who belong to a different language group to find speakers of these languages in the city. For instance, EJ related a story of an Inuit woman who began learning Ojibwa language and culture because she could not find anyone in the city able to teach Inuit language and culture.

The importance of Indigenous community-based service organizations to urban Indigenous communities has been noted. But two interviewees highlighted that the diverse and geographically dispersed nature of Toronto's Indigenous community imposes some limitations on the ability of service organizations, in-and-of-themselves, to foster community and cater to its cultural and economic needs. RB remarked that,

...because Toronto is so big and we don't have our own defined community geographically and we are so diverse, it really is dependent on these organizations. They really have a lot of power to instigate cultural activities. So it's kind of like it all depends where you live, in what neighborhood you live, what you're going to experience, you know? Whereas perhaps if we had a defined community people would actually interact on a different level where they could organize amongst themselves, you know? ... [T]he Native Center seems to be the only place people can, or used to be, that people could just kind of go and do that organizing on a whim, you know what I mean? You didn't need a grant or this or permission to use a room, you know, to burn medicines. Because wherever you go, I imagine most cities are the same, but you have to get permission to do everything, you know? Whereas a friendship center, there should be a place ... where you can just have teachings and just hang out, you know? In Toronto, there's not a lot of places like that. Very, very few.

DW also described how service agencies that cater primarily to the Indigenous community such as *Miziwe Biik* (an employment agency), *NaMeRes* (an Indigenous men's residence), Anishnawbe Health Toronto (a clinic that offers traditional Indigenous healing), Wigwamen Terrace and the Aboriginal Housing Support Centre (which both offer housing to Aboriginal peoples) are now being pressured to serve non-Indigenous

people as well, essentially leaving less services available to Indigenous community members that need them.

While interviewees were able to point to challenges posed by urban environments such as Toronto, they also noted some significant advantages and opportunities that such environments offer compared to rural and reserve areas. For instance, Indigenous people who have experienced stigma or discrimination while living in more predominantly white, mono-cultural rural communities may find refuge in the relatively more diverse and anonymous cities. According to EJ, Native peoples that are new to the city are

kind of surprised that, other than the ones who tend to be drinking and causing trouble, they're really kind of ignored. They're kind of ignored. They can actually go into a store without somebody following them around because it's an Indian person, of course they're going to steal... And a lot of Native people are misidentified by looking at them, so I mean people who don't want to admit that they're Native can do well in Toronto.

However, the most commonly cited advantage of cities mentioned by the interviewees was the relatively greater access to economic opportunities, amenities, and services. According to JH, a man who had grown up in northern Ontario but had more recently lived in Toronto for about 25 years,

...I've heard it 1000 times from people who live up north who say, 'I would never live in the city'. That's because they've never lived in a city. Once you've lived in the city, you realize you have all of the amenities, you know, you have access to so many different cultures and so many great people. I think that in itself is health producing, produces better health.

Even though DW related many fond memories of growing up on Manitoulin Island, he acknowledged that reserves do not offer the same economic opportunities and amenities as non-reserve communities:

...[T]his was back in the 60s on the reserve. When you were 15, 16 years old I'm telling you, you were in a hurry to get out of there. I was one of those...I went off and became a Junior Ranger when I was 16 years old...And I would be down at the bus terminal and I'd run into all my schoolmates and friends that were heading home for the powwow weekend and it was so much fun to see everybody in high school. They were all out working; they were all out getting summer jobs. There was only one person that never left the reserve...And you know what, he wanted to go out but his mom wouldn't let him because she would miss him too much. And you know what, he was the only teenager in town in all summer long [laughing]...Even the girls, they would be babysitting for families. It was a big thing to get away for the summer and come back...I used to climb up that big hill there overlooking Wiki and I used to think, 'Oh my God, I'll be so glad when I'm old enough to get away from this godforsaken place.' [Jon laughs] You know, a lot of people won't admit that but I felt like that. But you know what, a lot of people I grew up with thought the same thing because there's nothing there; it was boring. In the 1960s, a lot of them, when they were old enough to leave, they went to Lansing, Michigan, Chicago, Toronto. Everybody went different places and they lived their lives.

JH explained how important the incredible access to healthy, fresh, and diverse foods in Toronto was to him:

I can eat any kind of food from any country in the world, pretty much. Our stores, you can get access to durian or any kind of food you want. And so as a person who cooks, if I want to make something that's Caribbean, if I want to make something that's Asian, or it doesn't matter where in the world, I can get the ingredients.

For RB, a high level of access to art (particularly Indigenous art) was an important advantage that cities like Toronto offer to their residents:

I think one thing that the city has to offer that other places don't, that Toronto has to offer a lot, is art; a different level of art celebration and arts expression. There's lots happening in all different disciplines and it's multidisciplinary, you know? For example, the Film Festival, ImagiNative. Those are things that most places don't have, so I think that's really special.

RB also felt that it was easier to access community housing, health specialists, and health services that are culturally appropriate in Toronto than in rural Ontario:

[T]here's Anishnawbe Health in the city which is like the best place for Aboriginal people to go to. You know, I think of my dad who lives in Parry Sound and his back has been bad for like the past seven years. There's just so many more services here for housing. He has no housing, you know, addictions. He has really complicated health issues, along with addictions, along with housing and basically in Parry Sound there's nothing... And also with the whole back thing there's nothing holistic, you know? So it's kind of really bad if you have health issues that way.

JH also nicely explained how the ability to access a certain level of these opportunities, amenities, and services is important for health, holistically defined, and that good health was indeed a precondition for practicing traditional culture:

In some ways I think that I am lucky to live in the city because it's easier for me to practice tradition because I have a job, you know, I have access to sustainable and secure food. And our brothers and sisters in the far northern ... fly-in communities, you know, they don't have access to quality food like we do. And my belief is that if you're not strong through your health, all those other pieces fragment. So your spirituality and your mental well-being all fragment and so that's why I think that being in the city you have more access to everything that is going to sustain you as human being. I've dealt with people from fly-in communities and there's a sickness and I think it begins right at the very base level of human existence, you know, access to good water, good food and housing. We're lacking all those things in our communities in the North. Because tradition relies so much on that interconnectedness between spirituality, physical and mental well-being, how can you be truly traditional when you're lacking the basic elements? ... If you're struggling everyday with poor housing, people crammed into a house that's made for four people and 14 people live in there, or you're struggling to make ends meet to put food on your table, if you can't drink the water, you have to boil water, you know, all those different things that are adding that stress to you every day, how can you be traditional? How can you have a clear mind to focus on the Creator and the things that are important, right? So I think that's one of the big things that makes it easier in the city is that you also have access to employment, access to food, access to clean water, access to housing and healthcare.

The overall impression given by the interviewees was that neither life in Toronto nor life on a reserve was inherently superior or inferior in any absolute sense, just different.

Thus while Toronto offered many advantages to Indigenous residents, it also offered

some notable challenges. In the same vein, life on reserves was not idealized, but rather portrayed as offering its own set of opportunities and challenges. For instance, after living in Toronto for a long time DW decided to move back to his reserve community and quickly realized such a life was no longer suitable for him:

I think that there's a lot of people living over here that, like myself, they don't survive on the reserves...When I went back over there. After a while when I bought the house, I'm going, 'Why did I do this?' For six months I felt, 'Why did I come back here for?' I felt bad.

Nevertheless, he also stated that when he died he would prefer to be buried in his reserve community because that was where his parents and grandparents were buried. Similarly, RB identified that she was lucky to be able to move between both her reserve community and the city.

...I feel like I have the best of both worlds. We have our getaway and we have our peace and we're still close to the city so we're not northern where there's nothing. I like my city things too; I like gourmet, high-quality food and entertainment and I can't imagine life without that [laughing].

Furthermore, even though there is relatively less natural space in Toronto, PT noted that city planners and interest groups made efforts to preserve and maintain the remaining natural spaces and that that represented a relatively balanced approach to urban development, between urban and more natural space.

Affirming Toronto as a Traditional Indigenous Territory

All interviewees were broadly aware of the Indigenous history of Toronto and each affirmed that they felt that Toronto is traditional Indigenous territory. In fact, PT, RB, and JH each argued that pretty much all of North America was traditional Indigenous territory. For instance, JH said,

I consider all Turtle Island traditional territory, you know, the ground we're sitting on, the land we're standing on right now is traditional territory. I consider it such because we never relinquished this land, you know. It wasn't taken by war. I feel that our treaties have never been honored. You know, we honor treaties with other countries over things as mundane as softwood lumber but we don't honor treaties with people, you know, the original inhabitants. You know, this is all traditional land. It's what I believe.

PT highlighted how the presence of significant water ways played an important role in the historic use of the entire Great Lakes basin by Indigenous peoples:

...right along the Great Lakes Basin a lot of areas were traditional territories of a lot of different nations and the reason why is of course because of the water, right? The lakes served many purposes. And also settlement did focus on areas near the rivers that feed into the lakes. Those were probably the areas that were traditional territories of different First Nations groups in this Great Lakes Basin area. So, oh yeah, definitely, yeah. Even this area, because there are some rivers from the Toronto area that flow into Lake Ontario...So those were vital, those were important to the First Nations that lived in this area before Toronto was even here. So yeah definitely, it is [a traditional territory].

When asked whether she considered Toronto to be traditional Indigenous territory, RB responded, "Yeah, obviously yeah, because Indigenous people have been coming here and living here for thousands of years. You can talk to all of our leaders." Later in the interview she added,

We know any major population is usually on an Indigenous settlement beforehand. And that's the way I look at the whole world. I don't just see that in Toronto. Anywhere I go Indigenous people were always here first and there's a reason they settled here. There's always a reason why everyone settles where they do, because it's so lush and has everything you need. It's a good place. Except for maybe Phoenix [Jon and RB laugh], because all of the Native people live in the mountains and they're wondering, 'What the hell are they doing living in the desert?'

While DW acknowledged that he believes Toronto is a traditional Indigenous territory, he qualified his response by saying that, "We are not alone anymore. There is every nationality in the world here. So we can't be trying to be self-centered. You have to have

a more open concept of things and just hope that these who are coming in too are going to [respect the city].”

Connecting Traditional Cultural Integrity, Stories, Health, and the Land

JH, EJ, and RB each mentioned that they viewed Toronto to be a place of Indigenous cultural revitalization, and that this represented a highly positive development. JH said “I think that there’s a resurgence of pride in being First Nations again. Like, I feel that throughout the city”, while EJ found that most of the First Nations people she worked with “get their teachings in Toronto, because most of them weren’t raised traditionally and they start getting exposure to it here.” RB saw traditional Indigenous cultural revitalization in both Toronto and reserve communities she visited. She said, “I think in the city there’s way more cultural revitalization going on and so you can really engage healing and ceremony and health on so many different levels. You just gotta get tapped into it.”

All five interviewees acknowledged the importance of traditions to health, holistically defined. JH related how involvement in traditional cultural teachings has been helping his brother to deal with problems in his life while DW and RB talked about going to Anishnawbe Health Toronto to receive culturally-appropriate health care. However, both EJ and PT spoke at length of the connections they see between Indigenous cultural integrity and health. EJ discussed her culturally-based healing work among people with substance abuse issues living on the street in Toronto, and she described what she sees when those clients reconnect with traditional Indigenous culture:

I've watched smiles come on men's faces and women's faces, just of delight. They talk about a sense of home, a sense of belonging. They talk about feeling at peace. They talk about a sense of pride that comes from it. They talk about fear of responsibility that comes with it. They talk about 'Well, what am I supposed to do now?', and they see it as a kind of a beginning. And it is, you know, if you look at it traditionally, it was usually grandmother or grandfather, depending on whether matriarchal or patriarchal, that gave the name for the child. So it does come with a beginning and that's one of the things I teach; when you receive your spirit name it is a beginning of another cycle for you and things will change. So it's just so rewarding. And the teaching I was given and pass on is, when you get your name to keep it to yourself except for very few people because those spirits are working with you to help you with that name. Then you have a feast in a month and you share in that feast what it was like to receive your name. When that happens you'll see people cry, you'll see people talk about how it's just filled the hole that they didn't even know was there, that they somehow feel more complete, that they feel connected to their ancestors.

PT explained the role of traditional stories in the maintenance of cultural traditions, values and identities that are essential for holistic health:

So storytelling is, to me anyway, traditional storytelling, that provides that link to traditional knowledge, to your own nation if you will, and the passing down of stories from generation to generation keeps the culture strong, keeps it going and keeps the identity in the person strong as well. It's all part of the identity. And identity is really important in a person, because if you lose your identity that's when your life could be very miserable... Because, like I said, identity is the emotional part, the spiritual part and if that is weak that is also going to affect the other aspects which is the physical because everything's all tied in, everything affects everything, you know that? So that's why that's strong, those teachings. That's how I see those stories will play an important role in health. Someone who's been told the stories, knows the stories and is proud of those stories, and says, 'Hey, these stories these are from my people, these are my stories, these are my traditions, these are the stories of my people that have been passed down from generation to generation. That's what keeps me strong.' So that's how I can see it tied in because if you have that, you feel really good, you know that? And that strengthens you emotionally and spiritually and that also in turn, strengthens your physical aspect. Because a lot of times too, when the emotional and spiritual part of the medicine wheel is affected, it even affects the physical health. It does, it has an impact on the physical.

PT suggested that traditional Indigenous cultural teachings would be particularly important for First Nations people making the transition from reserve to city life.

If there's an Anishinaabe person who follows those teachings, they'll hold those teachings close to them. Then if they have that when they come to a place like Toronto that will help keep them more grounded and able to cope, I guess. Because it gives me good understanding of a lot of things. It helps me see the bigger picture, the broader picture. It always does you know that? It really does.

He further explained how his traditional cultural teachings helped him to make this transition:

With the Seven Grandfather teachings, you know, I try and apply those as much as possible in my everyday life. And true sometimes it may be, I wouldn't really say a struggle, but a challenge I guess, because in today's world, especially when you're in Toronto, there can be lots of conflict. There's conflict, there's all that other negative stuff and having this knowledge of those really helps me a lot. It reminds me, the Seven Grandfather teachings - one of the teachings in there is respect and I place high value on that teaching right there. I want to be respectful to other people and at the same time hopefully they will be respectful to me.

Four of the five interviewees also overtly articulated that an important part of practicing traditions and being healthy involved making reciprocal relationships with one's environment. According to EJ,

All First Nations peoples all around the world lived with natural law, which is the rhythm and the movements of the earth. And so we were less affected. Yes there was always sadness, but we understood that there was death. We understood that, you take the life of something and you pay attention to the spirit of that. You don't rip the bark right off the plant without offering it something first saying thank you for giving me your bounty. So the more that people move away from that the less we are spiritually connected to our environment. If you believe that the trees are going to talk to you and tell you how to get out of the forest, then you listened for that. Some people may say, 'Well you can tell by the way the wind sounds that there's an opening over there.' Okay so the forest is talking to you...

PT explained how traditional Indigenous stories fostered reciprocal and respectful relationships to the more-than-human world:

Well, some of the traditional stories, all traditional stories, when they're told, they're stories about everything, all living things on the planet - whether the story's about the man, the woman, the animals, the plants, the water, the stars, the cosmos, anything right? There's stories about all those. So I think a lot of the

Indigenous people from way back, way back, that was their source of knowledge or education, that's how they learned to respect another person, how they learned to respect other living things like animals, that's how they learned to respect the environment and everything else. So that's how I see that tied in there, the importance of those stories. Because there's all kinds, there's lots of stories and it touches on all those things, on everything. By keeping those stories strong and passing them down, that's one way of getting the knowledge, the education that's important, that we have to respect everything else, every living thing.

PT and EJ also both explained some of the consequences to our health and the environment of failing to keep meaningful, respectful, and reciprocal relationships with the places in which we live. EJ stated,

So because we've moved away from that and go shopping with a cart instead of hunting and gathering, we are really spiritually removed, really spiritually removed. I really think that a lot of people are just spiritually floundering; they're like fish out of water. They don't have a connection to something that they believe is benevolent and protective, you know?

Likewise, PT stated,

Today's society believes that the human being is the superior being on this planet, that we conquer everything, even other peoples. But everything is connected according to my beliefs. Everything on this planet is equal. Everything is a living being - the human beings, the animals, plants and trees. They are all living organisms. They're all living things and we're all connected; we're all tied together. We're really all tied together. And whatever happens to one affects the other... So our minds are set that we have to exploit all the resources here on this planet. Exploiting the resources damages the environment. I mean look what we're doing - we're mining the land, we're taking the oil out, we're taking all the non-renewable resources from this Earth and I wonder what that does to the Earth. It's going to affect something, we don't know. And then we're clear-cutting, we're fishing fish to extinction, you know, all that stuff. What man is doing to the environment is ultimately affecting themselves... Yeah, so since - making a general statement - we don't have or we've lost for the large part, the spiritual and emotional component of how we treat everything else, since we don't have that, I guess it makes it easier for mankind to do this destruction that we're doing right now to this land, to this environment. So at the same time, because of that, in a sense mankind could be sick right now, in that sense. And then, because we're sick, then we're making the Earth sick, making the land sick.

The interviewees that spoke about the importance of these relationships were in agreement that such relationships needed to be maintained regardless of whether one was in an urban environment like Toronto, or whether one was Indigenous or not. The consequences of failing to maintain these relationships would, after all, be experienced by everyone to some degree. The next section examines the ways the interviewees expressed urban, land-based IK in Toronto, and the nature of the relationships they developed with places in the city.

Expressions of Urban IK in Toronto

The Continuity and Adaptability of Indigenous Traditions in Cities

A large portion of the interviews was dedicated to discussing interviewee's perceptions of the degree to which Indigenous knowledge and traditions are transferrable or adaptable to urban areas, the degree to which urban IK may be different or similar to that practiced in non-urban contexts, and the ways that IK is expressed and practiced in Toronto in particular. All interviewees agreed that Indigenous traditions, with a few caveats, were transferrable or adaptable to urban environments like Toronto. They expressed continuities between urban and non-urban environments, and between past and contemporary practice. For instance, RB spoke about the incredible diversity of wildlife she has seen while walking along the Don River valley. She also related a story of seeing a muskrat on the breakwaters along the shore of Lake Ontario near Ontario Place, and seeing deer along the Don Valley Parkway. While she expressed concern that such animals may have a difficult time surviving in the city, she also considered, "But maybe the muskrat will, because the muskrat can, you know, it's like a raccoon in a way." It is

perhaps notable that the muskrat plays an important role in the Anishinaabe creation story as the courageous and humble figure that ultimately succeeds against all odds in retrieving earth from the bottom of the deep flood waters that preceded the creation of Turtle Island.

EJ also maintained that it is possible to connect to natural areas in Toronto. In the face of complaints from Indigenous people newly arrived from less urban environments that there's too much concrete and not enough natural space in the city, EJ responds,

Don't give me that. You know there's pieces of grass all over the place, just get your ass on it! You know, set your ass down onto the ground because the anus is a place where we gather energy and get rid of energy, literally and figuratively. [laughing] And if you look at all Indigenous peoples of the world, they either squat or sit cross-legged; they are very close to the earth connection. If you just do that, just sit down for a bit on grass and you'll start to get grounded again. There's cedar everywhere. They say, 'Well, it's all contaminated,' so I say, 'Well that bush is still living. You ask it and it will give you the proper medicine.'

Later in the same interview, EJ provided additional ways that people could connect to *the land* in Toronto and find meaning in urban experiences:

...I talk to a lot of people who are Mi'kmaq who come up from Nova Scotia and stuff and they talk about what they miss. I say, 'Get to the Island! Get on Toronto Island; go to Ward Island if you don't want to be around a lot of people. Go to Ward Island. Get out there and feel that being surrounded by water.' You know, if you're missing the mountains because you're from BC, well there's lots of parks in town that are full of pine trees. Go to High Park where you can get lost in the density of the trees and really feel that grounding. And I say, 'For whatever reason the Creator has brought you here, and you have to look outside your box. You're not here by mistake, something pulled you here.' So, your traditional way of being is not something that Christians believe, you go to church once a week. It's a way of walking.

JH also saw the continuity of nature within Toronto. According to JH, the continuities that exist between urban and non-urban, and between the past and the present suggests that one can successfully practice a traditional life in urban areas:

You're on the traditional territory of the Mississaugas of the New Credit, you know? Their ancestors, their spirits are still here. They didn't move because they put up a TD tower, you know? And I think it's kind of blasphemous to say that we can only have our traditions where nature is unblemished. Like where do you find that? Where do you find that modernity hasn't touched? You go up to the very farthest reaches of the North and you find mercury in the water. That didn't occur there naturally. I do not differentiate.

JH also maintained that he personally practices traditional thinking wherever he goes.

When asked whether he thought any modifications needed to be made to Indigenous traditions when practicing in the city he responded, "No, I don't think you do. I don't know why you'd have to." RB mentioned that while she would often participate in ceremonies and events at the various Indigenous organizations in Toronto that, "...you can even do that by yourself; you don't have to have it so formalized, you know? You realize it doesn't matter where you are, you can do those things." Smudging, the practice of spiritually cleansing oneself via smoke from a combination of sacred medicines, is but one example of a traditional spiritual practice that both JH and DW overtly mentioned that they will do anywhere, as needed. As JH related, "I smudge in the mornings which is very traditional for me, it starts up my day. And I do that on my balcony. I honor the four directions".

EJ and JH both used the metaphor of hunting and gathering to express the adaptability and continuity of traditional Indigenous land-based practices to the city. For instance, EJ encourages Indigenous street people to see how living on the street in some ways parallels traditional land-based practices in non-urban areas:

So really teaching them to look beyond what they see to be the city and find the nature in the city. Like we have pigeons here which are strictly a city bird, right? So I get them to give me, 'What do you know about pigeons?' And they say 'Well they're garbage eaters.' So I say, 'Yeah, and if it wasn't for pigeons we'd have

cockroach problems like there is no tomorrow. And those pigeons bring the falcons. You know the falcons love to roost in the high buildings in Toronto because that's the best food source for them is to eat the pigeons. So Mother Nature is extremely adaptable and you as a Native person are trying to do that same adaptation. So you have to get comfortable with knowing the lay of *your* land.' And I say, 'Look, street people know where to go for a meal at what time of the day, where they can go to get socks, where they can go to get shoes. You're understanding the lay of your land. What you have to do is find that way.'

Later in the interview she continued,

We had to lots of times move from our traditional lands well before the Europeans came because of the food source. If there was a bad year with whatever was naturally grown because there was a fire or something, the food source moved, we moved. So we've kind of gotten soft and I consider street people to be much stronger in a traditional sense of place than myself...So I always remind them of that. You're doing the hunting and gathering, you're just doing it in your environment and don't lose sight of that.

Likewise, JH explained how he participates in land-based practices within the urban context:

...I consider myself like an urban warrior. Because I'm still like a hunter gatherer, you know? When I need food I don't go to the supermarket and have a regimented list. I decide on a daily basis what is seasonal and I try to buy seasonal. And I have access to that, especially during the summer months with all the farmers' markets. So I feel a real powerful connection to farmers' markets because the stories coming from the people that you're talking to. It's not like going to the supermarket. You talk to a farmer and we were farmers too; First Nations people were farmers too and you get their connection to the land which is similar but different to our connection to the land. And so I love hearing about when they're having a good year, when they're having a bad year, you know, and you can tell when you're tasting the produce that they're supplying, giving me the opportunity to buy, whether it's a good year or a bad year. I can taste it.

JH further explained how land-based practice involves being attentive and connecting to the relationships that exist in your environment, whether natural or urban.

I walk around the city and I see things that a lot of people don't see. Like I see the red tailed hawk all over the city. I believe that that's my totem and the red tailed hawk is everywhere. And people don't look up. I see the Peregrine falcon that lives here on [University of Toronto] campus. I hear it. I can tell when the birds

disappear that one's in the neighborhood... And those types of things I think of as part of my tradition, you know, being aware and being in sync with my environment. I don't walk around with things in my ears and I don't walk around with a cell phone staring at it, you know, and poking at it while I walk. I walk with purpose and I walk very much with a sense of connectedness to where I am in the city at that time. I see things, you know? And I cycle everywhere. I don't take [transit] much and I don't drive.

In four of the interviews, the question of whether it is appropriate to hold a sweat lodge within city limits was discussed. The question of urban sweat lodges is an interesting issue because whether one feels it is appropriate to hold urban sweat lodges is in some ways a rough proxy of the degree to which one feels that land-based traditions can be practiced in cities. All four interviewees that discussed this issue felt that there were no inherent barriers to holding sweat lodges in the city. Although JH hadn't personally participated in any sweats in the city he said, "I don't see why you couldn't". Likewise, EJ said,

You know, some Elders will teach, 'Oh, you should never build a sweat lodge in the city.' Okay, so you mean to tell me that the people in the city who might not have cars can never have a sweat lodge again because they can't get to one? You can't tell me that that's so.

In response to the assertion by some that you can't do a sweat lodge in the city DW retorted, "See that's the problem, they're making up all these funny rules and I was taught... no matter what the time, no matter where, you can pray. There are no rules. When you pray to the Creator those are the things that you understand." Finally, while RB agreed that one should be able to hold a sweat lodge in the city, she did feel that such ceremonies should be held on uncontaminated land:

... I do think it's important that you know the history of the land because there's so much land that's contaminated. So as long as it's not contaminated land. And I

think the sweat lodge, it's not about where you're at geographically, it's about you, your time to pray and cleanse. That doesn't stop in the city.

RB further related a story about a Mushkegowuk Cree man from James Bay area in Northern Ontario who asserted that the Shaking Tent ceremonies were “a big sham in the city – [that] it's all fake...” and that the Shaking Tent ceremony couldn't be held in cities “because it's lost its power.” Embedded in this assertion is the assumption that urban environments lack sufficient natural integrity to support spiritual ceremonies which are understood to draw from the power of *the land*.

While they felt it should be possible to hold sweat lodges in the city, JH and RB both acknowledged that it may not be possible to conduct certain other traditional practices or ceremonies in cities, at least not without considerable difficulty or modification.

According to RB,

Yeah, I mean, just because the landscape is so developed, anything involving medicines you can't really do that [in Toronto], you know like medicine walks, or medicine picking. Everything you have to kind of buy and trade. But that's starting to change a little now that people are gardening more; people are starting to do that more. And certainly things like *Midewin* ceremonies, that's not something that ever happens in the city, those kind of big religious gatherings, you know? But you never know over time that could change.

JH also acknowledged that while it is possible to grow sacred medicines in one's garden, pollution was nevertheless hard to escape in the city. Another potential challenge to land-based practices in the city relates to the reliance on service organizations to host ceremonies which may restrict when and how those ceremonies are held. As RB explains, “I guess the difference is, yeah, you see in the city maybe things that are organized by organizations, by funded organizations that are then limited to office hours”. RB also

related a story about traditional fasting practice that suggests it would be difficult to adapt to an urban setting without losing some of the essence of that practice:

I was thinking about, like on my reserve we'll often do fasting. I haven't done it yet but I remember a couple of times I almost have, and basically thinking about spending four days in the bush and just being very fearful of that and being in the elements. And then I went and I visited Jan Longboat...Her place is so awesome. She's like the archetypal Native Elder grandmother. Her place is pristine with all this Native craftwork everywhere. Everything is just perfectly placed. But anyway she has all of these sheds all over her land and mini lodges and those are her fasting lodges. And she jokes she's known as the Hilton of fasting. You know, you go to fast at the Hilton? And it's true, you go in there and they're beautifully decorated, every single little cabin. Heat, washrooms, and she serves you juice on a tray. It's just like deluxe, right? And so would you like to fast there, or in the bush by yourself [laughing], you know? She thinks healing shouldn't be painful, that's not what it's about. I see her point, but I imagine there's also something you do lose. Like there is something, maybe, about the concrete here, about being in the elements and not sheltered like a baby. You know what I mean? You're not a baby.

The possibility that fasting may not be a practice that could easily be adapted to urban environments was also highlighted by JH:

I think outside the city you have much more access to wide-open spaces. So like if you're going to do, for example, a fast, I guess I could sit on Toronto Island or Leslie Street Spit for four days but, you know, I think the temptations around you would be to go back and eat.

The interviewees collectively expressed that there are no insurmountable barriers to practicing traditional and even land-based practices in urban contexts, but that because cities are clearly different environments than more natural areas, some practices may no longer be as effective in cities without considerable thought about how similar ends could be achieved through different means within an urban context.

However, DW, while affirming that Indigenous traditional practices can be practiced anywhere, questioned the appropriateness and authenticity of the ways that those

traditions were practiced by some Indigenous urban dwellers. DW suggested that the way traditions and ceremonies were carried out in his reserve community represented a more authentic and correct version of traditional practice, as exemplified by the following story:

One time my Elder came down here...I took him over [to the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto] for lunch and we were coming up the stairs and they were having a sacred fire. They had logs this big [gestures widely] on there. Great big huge fire...And he says, 'What's the fire for?' and I says, 'Somebody died.' and he goes, 'So the fire is for the person?' and I said, 'Yep.' He says, 'What are they doing, cremating him?' [Jon and DW laugh]...If you go back home and they have the sacred fire, the fire keeper sits in the teepee and that's all his job is. And all the wood is cut about 6 inches long and he sits there and does his pieces of wood. The fire is only about this big [gestures a small fire]. All of these community members are coming in and making their offerings and they offer their prayers. It's done in the privacy of the teepee. Nobody sees it. The fire keeper never looks up at the person that comes in. He just never looks up. That's his teaching.

When asked if he knew of any cultural traditions which were unique to urban environments like Toronto he responded, "They're only done in the city because they wouldn't be tolerated on the reserves" and that people from the reserves sometimes express a mixture of contempt and pity for urban Indigenous people because they do not know the correct way to practice traditions. DW was the only interviewee to express the sentiment that reserve-based traditions were the standard against which the authenticity of urban-based traditions should be measured, but as DW suggests in the above account, this view is shared by at least some other people from his reserve community.

By contrast, JH took issue with how Indigenous attempts to borrow from other cultures and modify traditional practices according to new temporal and spatial contexts have been labeled as inauthentic or illegitimate. Referring to the example of how urban Indigenous youth have melded traditional practices with hip-hop sub-culture he said,

Those types of stories show me that, you know, tradition can be melded with urban traditions, not of our making, but because so often it's only been taken from the First Nations people, appropriate our knowledge, and it's never been free-flow in the other direction because the moment we do that they say, 'Well that's not traditional'. So they freeze us in time.

Connections to / stories about places in Toronto

A central aspect of IK involves establishing meaningful, experiential, storied connections to places in one's environment. Accordingly, the degree to which interviewees established such relationships to places in Toronto, and the nature of such relationships, was a major focus of the interviews. Each of the interviewees expressed storied, emotional, and / or spiritual connections to places in Toronto and elsewhere, although sometimes in different ways. This section describes the significant themes and divergences in the ways the interviewees expressed their land-based relationships.

While each interviewee expressed a sense of connection to at least some places in Toronto, not everyone expressed an equally strong connection to places in the city. EJ, RB, and JH each expressed a strong sense of connection or attachment to both Toronto generally and to specific places within the city. However, PT, who had at the time only been living in the city for about 3 years, was not as aware of the Indigenous heritage of the city as the other interviewees. He was aware that Toronto was the 'Meeting Place', that Toronto was the traditional territory of Mississauga and Haudenosaunee peoples, and that there was a Mississauga land claim regarding much of the Toronto area, but admitted knowing few specific details about Toronto's Indigenous heritage during the interview. He did, however, feel drawn to the lakeshore because of the presence of water. As he explained,

Certain areas that I like to be around would be around towards the lake area. I like that part where the water area is. Like you know the harbor front area where the water is? You know it's hard to say, I guess you just feel drawn to certain areas...and probably the water has something to do with it.

Although DW was a long-time resident of Toronto, and discussed many of the Indigenous agencies and service organizations that characterize Toronto's contemporary Indigenous community, he did not express much connection to the city's pre-20th century Indigenous past. When asked about whether there were places or stories in Toronto to which he had a particular physical, emotional, mental, or spiritual attachment he responded, "Not really." When asked whether he could recall any stories or places that promoted a sense of holistic health or wellness he responded, "I've never heard anything in particular about Toronto. I've never really heard about it. Like I don't go to other doctors and stuff, I still utilize Anishnawbe Health. I encourage other Natives to go there too." In retrospect, DW may have interpreted my question about places associated with health narrowly, in the sense of health care agencies. Nevertheless, when asked later in the interview about whether he knew any stories of Toronto that he would connect with his own cultural traditions or understandings he again responded, "Not really. I'm going to be quite blunt with you. There's really nothing I've heard. Just more of the common things like in the 40s and 50s Native people hung out in the East End." Again, it is possible that DW interpreted the question to refer more narrowly to stories or places regarding Toronto's pre-20th century Indigenous heritage. However, the rest of DW's interview suggests that he connected more to contemporary Indigenous organizations rather than places or stories about Toronto's Indigenous past.

Even though the interview questions did not specifically ask them to do so, some interviewees also related stories of meaningful experiences or attachments to places outside of the city. DW in particular related several stories about living and growing up on Wikwemikong reserve on Manitoulin Island. For instance, DW related a meaningful story about his experiences as a young boy while fasting for days on Dreamer's Rock on Manitoulin Island. What follows is another story of an experience DW had while bringing his eagle feathers to the water in Wikwemikong:

I had an experience one time up in Wiki. It was morning and I thought, 'I should take my feather to the water and let it sing to the water.' And I went down to King's Bay and I took two stones and I put my eagle feather between them and I set it down and I started meditating. I was surprised – this eagle, came and landed close by the eagle feather. It was kind of nice, you know. And he chirped, more like a hawk, and then he flew away. And then about five minutes later, two of them came and they were strutting around. And I thought to myself, 'I wonder if those birds sense the eagle feather.' And they stopped and flew away. One even nestled in the sand but the other one just sat there chirping away. Then they both flew away. So I've always wondered about that. There's a lot of unexplained things...I was very honored then. I just took it as maybe these animals are recognizing me because of the way my heart is. I do still have that humility and respect.

EJ spoke of connections she felt to the township of Mattice in Northern Ontario because her grandparents had travelled from Attiwapiskat, down the historic fur trade route along the Missinaibi River, to help set up a Hudson's Bay Company Store there. As she described, "...seeing pictures of that from a book where there's nothing but teepees around when they came there, stepping on that land, I had tingles that went through my body." RB also described the strong connection she felt to her reserve community of Wasauksing, in Northern Ontario. It is thus important to highlight that interviewees

expressed attachments to places outside as well as within Toronto, regardless of the presence or absence of significant urban development.

Each of the interviewees mentioned specific places in Toronto to which they felt some sense of connection, but some interviewees also expressed a generalized connection to the city of Toronto as a whole. When asked whether there were places in Toronto to which she might have a physical, emotional, mental, or spiritual connection RB responded,

Yeah, I feel all of the city. I do. I just feel, like I said, it's home and I feel like in any place that you go, I have a curiosity to understand the landscape, what it was like before it was developed. Those are the things that I picture in my mind and I feel the power of that landscape. Just because a building has been built on top of it, doesn't take away its power.

A little later in this same exchange RB elaborated further on how knowing and connecting to the vast Indigenous heritage of Toronto's landscape fosters a sense of empowerment:

Like in Toronto, [the history is] so alive for me here. And that's the thing is, yeah, I find that empowering, you know? In the mainstream, people could perceive Indigenous people in the city as very displaced, dispossessed, and they are to a large degree. But at the same time they're not, when it comes down. They actually own this place on a very different level, you know, and connect to it.

RB also expressed a feeling of Toronto as home and how this realization was connected to a sense of better health. She explained that while living on the West Coast she began feeling panicked and suffocated. But when she moved to Toronto,

Everything lifted, you know? I mean, I shouldn't say it happened that fast because I do still remember also having some anxiety. But I thought, 'Okay, no, I'm supposed to be here and these are my territories. This is home.' ...it felt really good to be in Ojibwa territory where people recognize my name.

Although PT hadn't yet learned very much about the Indigenous heritage of the city, he did express a sense of connection to Toronto as a whole because his parents first met in the city in the 1950s:

They both moved to Toronto at different times. They're both from the same community of Wikwemikong. Yeah, so they came here, like I said, in the 1950s, they met here, they got married here, they had their first three kids here and then moved back up north and then they had me shortly afterward. So that's why I feel connected, I know that they met here. And even back in those days, it's just like today too, a lot of people from First Nations communities do come here to Toronto, for a lot of reasons, you know – looking for work, job opportunities, there's relatives they have here. They come here for a lot of reasons, which is the reason why my mother came here, because she had an aunt living here. She came here to babysit for her aunt. That was her employment. She was young, like 14. So in order for her aunt to go out and work and survive she came down here. And my father came down here too for work. So that's how I feel connected there. And then I thought it was quite ironic when I moved here, I was living in the same neighborhood where they had lived and I didn't even know that. And I was living in that neighborhood for several months. And I told my mother exactly where I lived right? And she said, 'Oh yeah, geez, you know we lived on Brunswick Avenue, just south of Bloor'. ...So that's how there's a connection, that's my connection to Toronto because I know that this is where my parents met; this is where my older brother and two older sisters were born, here in Toronto. And other relatives lived here as well. My uncles grew up here too because after my mother moved down here the rest of the family moved here afterwards. She was the youngest from her family so, everyone eventually moved down here in the 50s, which is her mother and father and her three brothers. So yeah, there's that connection there.

DW, as a long-time resident of the city, also expressed a generalized connection to Toronto as a whole. However, he sometimes expressed his sense of attachment to the city via a sense of dismay over how the city and its Indigenous community have changed:

It's kind of sad when you see, but you know I came in the 60s, but the scene has changed in Toronto. Because in the old days people looked after their properties and I look around the city now. I was out in the East end the other day and it was sad...It doesn't look good at all...You see the people have changed, they move on. It's kind of sad when you see. The city is deteriorating.

A little later in the interview DW also expressed disappointment regarding how the bar culture in the Indigenous community has become more dispersed and less tightly knit, in part because of the anti-smoking laws implemented in public places across the city.

Interviewees also discussed many specific places within Toronto with which they felt an emotional or spiritual connection. Many of these places were sites associated with known Indigenous heritage, and the interviewees usually expressed an attachment to those places because they knew of their Indigenous heritage. Some of these sites were known archaeological sites, but most also had stories associated with them; they were part of the Indigenous oral tradition of Toronto shared among the Indigenous community through fora such as the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour.

Some interviewees expressed a sense of connection to a site based on how that place made them feel when they were at, or thinking about, the place in question. As EJ explained,

Feeling, to me, is a component of spirituality; if we are not emotionally connected with self, that hampers our ability to feel spirituality because you can't go calling the Creator and sit down and say, 'So, how's it going?' I can't physically often see the spirit of my wolf, but I can feel him. So for me spirituality is about feelings, sensations...And so I really think that those really spiritual places are about how we feel when we're there.

JH, EJ, and RB each identified attachments to specific Indigenous heritage sites within Toronto. The Toronto Islands were prominently featured among the interviewees' accounts of the places that were meaningful to them. According to EJ, "Toronto Island to me is an extremely spiritual place because it's surrounded by water." RB and JH each acknowledged the Islands as traditional Mississauga territory which they knew were used for healing and ceremonies. RB mentioned how knowing the Indigenous heritage of the

Toronto Islands fostered a sense attachment to this place. She said, "...[W]e had invited Chief Brian Laforme [of the Mississaugas] to come out and he talked about Toronto Island as being a medicine island. Those things, I love hearing about that. So you do feel ownership."

The Don River Valley was another place to which both EJ and RB expressed deep spiritual attachments and each discussed the significance of this river valley at length. RB related the following story featuring the Don River Valley (close to the lakeshore):

[RB]: I lived right by the Don River, right by the jail. And so I would go down and it was depressing because it's so polluted. If you walk down to the lakeshore and the Don, it's sick!...it's just the water and all the garbage in the water. There's so much disgusting garbage and it's really dangerous. At the time there was Tent City, you know, they really cleared that area out. I remember walking there and hearing a song come to me and I just started to sing...To me it was a totally spiritual experience.

[Jon]: No kidding. There's a whole bunch of sites all along the Don.

[RB]: Oh I'm just sure there is. For sure. And so that's what I could tap into and I do. That stuff is everywhere. It's no matter where you go, really.

Accordingly, RB identified the Don River Valley as the place in Toronto to which she felt most connected:

[RB]: But I think the strongest, for me, is probably the Don. Those were our major waterways, our major paths as well. So for me, I don't really know a traditional story straight from it but I just feel like...

[Jon]: Connection.

[RB]: Yeah.

When asked why she felt so strongly about the Don River Valley in particular, RB responded,

I don't know. I think maybe because I had that experience there with the song. Yeah, I think because I lived so close to it for so long. And it is one of those few places in the city – I'm sure maybe the Humber's like that too, but I am more central – where it feels like you're not so much in the city. You can go for walks in the bush. We often do that. We'll go to all those little trails... We'll go by the Brickworks, behind there. We'll go out to the old railway tracks. There's these little places you can go in the city where you actually feel connection.

RB later related another story about how a skeleton of a prehistoric giant beaver was found at the Brickworks. Hearing these stories, according to RB, promotes a sense of continuity that promotes wellbeing:

[RB]: I think all the traditional stories promote health in different ways. Even the giant beaver that's supposedly by the Brickworks, all of those stories are inspiring because they show us that there is a *long* history. I was just at the Brickworks and there's a beaver swimming in that water... They must've brought it in, eh? I don't know, but it's there swimming around and building its dam. I was just there a couple weeks ago.

[Jon]: In the Evergreen area? Oh that's cool. That's continuity there.

[RB]: I know! [Jon and RB laugh]

The natural diversity and abundance of the Don River Valley around the Brickworks was another reason RB liked this area. She commented, "We were just [at the Don River Valley] a few weeks ago and I thought, 'If I were ever homeless, I would live here. I'd set up a wicked camp.'" EJ also lived near the Don River Valley and commented on the natural advantages this area must have offered Indigenous people living there:

I know there must have been a settlement here because I mean you look at this [looking out the window of her high-rise apartment]; even if you are on the land on the ground you've got a great vantage point looking out. And the valley is there and there would've been a ton of wildlife in that valley by the Don River. There would have been deer, there would've been moose, there would have been all kinds of things. So anywhere along the Don Valley River, there would have been lots and lots of settlements of people, so this [referring to the location of her apartment] feels really, really cool...

EJ continued with a story of spiritual experiences she had in her apartment that she connected to the Don River Valley:

I'll tell you the story about how we knew that this [referring to the area around her apartment building] was particularly special. My daughter and I were leaving on the 24th of July to drive out west and come back. We were driving out to Vancouver through the States and coming back and we came home about two days before that to a hole in her closet, which is where the main pipes are. They'd had a leak so they had to break a hole in there to go in and fix the leak. The people that were to fix the hole weren't coming until the date that we had left. We came back in two weeks and, surprise, surprise, the hole was still there [laughing]. Anyways they came in and cleaned up the hole and fixed it and did all that. Then about two weeks after we were back from vacation, both of us were starting to feel really off. My dog was really jumping, 'Rrrrf!', because he could see spirit really clear. I said, 'There's something going on here,' and she said, 'You feel it too?' and I said, 'Yeah,' so we decided we were going to have a big smudge. And as soon as we went into the closet, both of our hair stood up on end when we opened our closet door. What we realized was that that area goes right straight down into the ground. That became a portal...and we had spirits in here. When we went out to smudge the balcony, before we opened the balcony door the dog went, 'Rrrrrr!', like this, eh? And I opened the balcony door and it was just packed full of spirits. They were kind of all about there. So we were talking and the place just cleared right out. And it was all these spirits coming up and coming out because they had an opportunity to come out there...and they were attracted to people who would speak to them. We have an old man that lives in this apartment. We've both seen him, the dog sees him all the time. We first heard about him on the second day. We were sitting in the front room and I said, 'Listen.' You could hear papers and boxes being moved around in this office. They were going through my items. When we're cooking we will sit in the front room and we can hear someone open the cupboards and hear a spoon or two moving; this person spent a lot of time in the kitchen. It feels like an old man that's been here but he didn't live here, you know, like he's been in this apartment for a very long, long time in spirit and I just believe that that is just everywhere around the Don Valley; there's a ton of settlements that would have been here. Because our people would have lived by the water supply and the food supply.

EJ was also the only interviewee to discuss places technically outside of the actual city of Toronto but still within the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). In fact, the first place to which she mentioned having an attachment to was the Tabor Hill Ossuary in Scarborough, just to the east of Toronto. The very next place she mentioned was the

Scarborough Bluffs that overlook Lake Ontario. As she described them, "...they're these big bluffs and you know that people used to stand up there and look out onto the waters and watch people coming. So that to me is a very spiritual place."

The Indigenous heritage sites mentioned thus far in this section are characterized by relatively low levels of urban development; they are parks or more natural areas that might seem more continuous with pre-colonial landscape than the contemporary city, and in that sense may more readily invite Indigenous attachments to them. Even Tabor Hill Ossuary, although surrounded by residential development, is itself a grassy park whose main feature is a massive hill, signifying a burial mound that has remained intact as the city grew around it⁴⁶. However, the interviewees also mentioned several sites that were significant to them which had been heavily altered by urban development. The stories about these places have persisted, and in some cases the contemporary urban landscape had become part of these stories. For instance, JH mentioned an attachment to St. Lawrence market: "...you know, as a First Nations person, we have connections to trading there. I like St. Lawrence market." RB also mentioned Spadina Rd. and the bluff where Casa Loma rests as a place to which she connects because "that for sure was a place where people settled and camped." EJ discussed how Front St. helps her to think about the pre-colonial landscape of the city:

One of the most spiritual places for me is just walking on Front Street because that's where the water line used to come to. I can feel that when I walk there, I feel like 'Oh, okay...'. Anything south of that has been added... So that would have been our traditional waterway.

⁴⁶ However, Tabor Hill was in fact excavated in the 1950s and the bones reburied there after archaeological investigation.

RB and EJ both mentioned the Sandhill burial ground, once located near what is now the intersection of Yonge St. and Bloor St., which was destroyed by urban development. RB connected to this place at least in part because of personal ties to the site:

I was very, just drawn to wanting to know and understand the landscape. And then I met my partner who has strong familial ties to the city of Toronto. He's from Rama First Nation and his great-grandfather was Chief Yellow Head. He fought in the war of 1812 and was even buried at Sandhill. So I got to learn a lot from him.

EJ, however, connected more with the spiritual energy she felt at the site:

...[S]tanding at Yonge and Bloor I can feel the power of the ancestors there because there was a burial ground that was discovered at Yonge and Bloor and it's one of the windiest parts in the city. I always stand there and I feel those spirits just whirling around there and when I go down into the subway in that area I feel like I'm going down in amongst those ancestors...And when I'm needing grounding I just see my energy going through that concrete because I know below that it's like Mother Earth has just got several blankets on her and I just have to think of my energy going down there.

A common theme among the interviewees when discussing Indigenous heritage sites in Toronto, whether they were natural or altered by urban development, was the continuity of the Indigenous heritage, character, or spirit of those places into the present. The ability of interviewees to trace the continuity of the Indigenous heritage of these sites seemed related to their propensity to connect to them, and formation of such connections was widely regarded as empowering.

At the same time, two interviewees expressed dismay that there was almost no acknowledgement of this heritage among the vast majority of the city's non-Indigenous residents. RB explained that while it is empowering to know the Indigenous history of Toronto that "...there's the flip side, you feel sad, I guess, too because it's so far removed and there's so little respect or acknowledgment of Indigenous presence now in Toronto.

Next to nothing.” JH also expressed mixed emotions while discussing the stories of places with Indigenous heritage in Toronto because of the widespread lack of awareness of, or respect for, their Indigenous heritage. He said,

I know the significance of the Toronto Islands, you know the First Nations people, as a place that was used for traditional ceremony. High Park they talk about burial mounds there. You know, there’s some people who dispute that, but that always happens. There is that place at Yonge and Bloor, there was a traditional burial ground there. And you know we have the idea of St. Lawrence market where produce was brought in by First Nations people. And throughout all these things we see that, you know, that creeps into the stories, is oppression that occurred against the First Nations people. Like, you know, you look at the Yonge and Bloor burial site, apparently they relocated the non-Native bones to a cemetery but left the First Nations buried under asphalt now. And you know, the Toronto Islands is now occupied by people who pay hardly any rent or any heed to the traditions of the First Nations people that once lived there. And that’s true of all of Toronto, is that the people who now call this city home, they really have no knowledge of who traditionally are the keepers of these lands.

Indigenous heritage sites were prominently featured by the interviewees, but interviewees also mentioned some of the Indigenous service organizations and hangouts that compose the infrastructure of Toronto’s contemporary Indigenous community as significant places that were meaningful to them. Such places are significant in that they provide spaces and opportunities for Indigenous residents of the city to engage in Indigenous traditions and language that might not otherwise be available in the city. Furthermore, interactions and involvement with these more contemporary organizations can also provide opportunities for Indigenous residents to reflect on and connect with the Indigenous heritage of the city. JH explained how an opportunity to engage in traditionally-informed gardening, through First Nations House at the University of Toronto, encouraged him to reflect on that heritage and his connection to *the land*:

[JH]: One place for me probably is the *Kahontake Kitikan*, which is our garden...and that means 'garden garden' in Oneida and Anishinaabe. And so yeah, I feel a personal connection there because I actually am gardening so I feel that connection to the earth and to the Mississauga of the New Credit, knowing that we're on their territory. I think of that often when I'm gardening, you know?...I'm thinking about, you know, our connection to these lands which are so much different. I've heard it spoken by farmers from European stock who say that, 'I have a connection to the land,' and I say, 'But your stories aren't here.' 'Oh yeah my stories go back.' 'Yeah but they don't go back like our stories go back.' You know? And I honestly do feel that connection every time I'm in the garden and it's very meaningful for me.

[Jon]: So *the land* helps you to sort of remember those stories and that connection, ancestors, all of that stuff?

[JH]: Yeah and it's funny, like I think about it all the time when the cars are whizzing by me and there is all this cacophony of noises, right? I always am able to focus on what my task at hand is, gardening, and I feel actually that the spirits of my ancestors are with me. Some people might say it sounds hokey but I think it's very meaningful for me.

EJ also related how Indigenous cultural agencies can become associated with spiritual meaning and wellness. For instance she mentions how going to,

...the Native Canadian Center [is] kind of like seeing my favorite log to sit on. Or Anishnawbe Health, I know when I go in there I'm going to see traditional people and get my doctoring done. When I go into Council Fire, because I do work out of there, I know that I'm going to go in and I'm going to be surrounded by Native people and I'm going to talk about Native stuff. So buildings, I think, in Toronto wind up having more of the spiritual impact than actually finding new pieces of land to have that spiritual contact.

EJ also related how the feelings and symbolism associated with certain buildings like the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto promote holistic health:

So it really for me is about feeling. Even if I know that I'm going to a really spiritual place, I start to get excited because I'm connecting with that and I'm *feeling* that something's going to happen. Seeing the totem pole at the Native Center; it reminds me of the West Coast and those people and it's like 'Oh yeah' and what that means. So, symbolism, I think, is extremely important in Native culture. Most of this stuff is symbolic of the spirit that it represents. You know?

Likewise, DW mentioned feeling very positively about the many Indigenous service agencies across the city:

But you know I like the way the Native community has decentralized. Now all of these organizations have mandates. See, the Friendship Center here is a cultural center where everything started. But it's nice to see Anishnawbe Health with their health mandate, Native Child with their child issues, Aboriginal Legal Services, *NaMeRes*. There's all these things and they're all specialized in their own field. It's good to see that.

DW also commented how the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto and the location of Wigwamen Terrace, the Native senior's residence, immediately next to it was really helpful to seniors in the community: "But the Center is health wise, with the personal support workers there and the senior's building here, it's just good. Just the proximity of the Center being close to Wigwamen housing, it's well-designed, it was well thought out, which is good." But DW seemed to be particularly positive about Anishnawbe Health Toronto (AHT), a clinic where Indigenous Torontonians can access traditional healing and other integrated health services. Not only did DW mention that he went to AHT for his health care needs, he also related a story about his involvement, along with another member of the community, in the early beginnings of AHT:

...[W]e recognized there was a need for a Native component for health in a traditional way. I always recall, Gord, one time he called me up, we were at the Ramada Inn. We were going to have a workshop and he turns around and he says, ...'I'm running late,' he says, 'Can you start the workshop for me?' ...And I'm going, 'Well how long you gonna be late?' and he says, 'Oh about 20 minutes.' And I says, "Well yeah, okay." So I went in there and he never showed up at all. I ended up facilitating the workshop, a three day workshop, and then he came in the last day about an hour before it was over and he's standing there laughing at me. And you know, I'm looking at him and I'm going, 'I'm gonna kill you.' [laughing] And then he turns around and he says, 'Well, that's whatcha call being thrown into the pool.' [Jon and DW laugh] So I ended up doing it, but you see it taught me something. A lot of people would take that as negative. I was upset with him the first day, the second day, and everyone was coming to me...But you

see, he was older than me. He must have been in his forties, so there was wisdom there. And he threw me into the damn water without telling me.

DW also had fond memories of going to the Silver Dollar, a bar that was a popular hangout among Indigenous Torontonians in the earlier days of Toronto's contemporary Indigenous community:

...[I]n the 40s and 50s Native people hung out in the East End. And then in the 60s and 70s at the Silver Dollar. I don't know how that happened because all the Native towns and reserves and that, 'I'm going to go to Toronto.' 'Oh you're going to the Silver Dollar.' Everybody knew it...Go and have a few drinks, that's where you went...I'm telling you, everybody went there. It was fun, though.

Toronto as the Meeting Place and the Ethic of Cosmopolitanism

One of the most prominent themes across the interviews revolved around the meaning of Toronto as the Meeting Place or Gathering Place, the realization that this meaning was in some ways inherent to, or embedded in, *the land* itself, and the implications of that realization for the ethics of this territory. Four interviewees clearly acknowledged that the story of Toronto as a Meeting Place implied the need for a more cosmopolitan ethic of the sort mentioned in Chapter 4 – an ethic of embracing diversity, learning from others, and working across boundaries. These interviewees felt that such an ethic was unequivocally positive. DW, however, displayed a more mixed attitude towards the subject.

JH, EJ, and RB each connected the designation of Toronto as a meeting place to the history of trade, sharing, and innovation among Indigenous peoples in the area. For instance, JH said,

I think about my ancestors that, you know, probably made it down because we know this is likely the Gathering Spot, right? And so we were trading. You know, the Wendat were trading with the Algonquin and the Six Nations and Ojibwa. So

we were all throughout these territories and interacting through trade and commerce and sometimes through probably hostilities.

Although at the time of the interview PT acknowledged that he didn't know too many stories about Toronto's Indigenous heritage, he did know that the word 'Toronto' meant 'Meeting Place'. He explained how the many water ways throughout the Great Lakes Basin would have attracted people from many nations, suggesting that Toronto's character as a meeting place was invested in the physical geography of *the land* itself.

All the interviewees commented on the relatively high degree of diversity, or the tolerance of diversity, they felt in Toronto. As JH said, "Just the cultural mix alone gives us access to so many different cultures, different languages." RB described how she felt that the Indigenous community in Toronto was so much more diverse and accepting than that of Vancouver:

On the West Coast I think people are a lot more insular. The Native community is harder to break into because you're really an outsider when you go there and those family connections there are much stronger, you know?... Toronto is way more accepting of the diversity of nations that are here. And then I just find things like Toronto, for the most part, people are just more friendly.

Most of the interviewees expressed that Toronto's current diversity was a continuation of the area's past as an Indigenous meeting place. PT stated, "So [Toronto] is like a meeting place, but now it's a meeting place with not just the First Nations, it's a meeting place for everybody." EJ also expressed that the character of Toronto as a meeting place remains intact today:

This is where many nations of people came to meet each other, to seek out prospective mates, to share goods and to share teachings. And it was a peaceful gathering place. So it was a place that people could come to get to know each other and pass on teachings of just the differences in a safe kind of environment. And isn't that kind of what it still is? You can come to Toronto and be as weird as

you like to be and nobody really notices you [laughing]. Like, 'Oh well, there's another one that's different'. I think that legacy, those traditional teachings about what The Meeting Place, what Toronto really means, it's still alive and well and I think that is because the spirit of the place. It's the spirit of the place where people come to get to know each other and share goods and share commerce and meet each other. What it used to be though is where people would go away and then come there to meet, and then people started to settle. People started to settle around there. It was mainly Europeans, though, that settled. Native people would have settled a little further outside and this would have been just the Meeting Place.

Interestingly, EJ's description of what Toronto used to be in the last part of this quote is entirely consistent with Forbes' (1998) description of a heart circle model of Indigenous settlement. If EJ's characterization is accurate, then Toronto may have served, for a time, as a central and possibly ceremonial meeting place for several communities on the outskirts of the Toronto area, even if the Toronto area was not itself densely inhabited. This is a question that certainly merits further investigation.

The acknowledgement of Toronto as a meeting place underscored, for most interviewees, the need for a cosmopolitan ethic commensurate with diversity. JH, RB, and EJ related that acceptance of diversity is a necessary part of successfully living in the city. JH said,

And I think, you know, coming from the north and seeing both sides of it, I really notice the difference in the ability of people living in the city to get along. Like you know, out of necessity. In proximity to each other, we are forced to accept each other's differences and at the same time we notice each other's similarities too. So that's kind of the beauty of Toronto.

When asked if she saw any differences between the way Indigenous cultural traditions are practiced in Toronto compared to elsewhere, RB noted,

Well you see things like whenever there's a talking circle, you know they'll always say, 'Do you want to go the Mohawk way or the Anishinaabe way?' You

know? So you go right or left and people always kind of make that distinction before the circle starts. I think that's pretty unique to Toronto.

EJ shared the story of how confused she felt before she learned to accept and learn from the diversity of teachings shared among Indigenous people in Toronto:

The face of Toronto has radically changed and we really need to be diverse in our thinking. And actually, with the Native population was the first time that I really got a true understanding of diversity and that was coming to Toronto. And I think I've mentioned this before but I'll say it again, at one time, because I used to attend when I first came to Toronto I used to go to the teaching circles on Monday night at Anishnawbe Health. And of course the whole idea behind that is that the visiting Elder does that circle, right? And after a few months, I was so confused because basic teachings are so different from one nation to the next. And I found it not helping me. And so I went to one of the first Elders that I contacted in Toronto, which was Sugar Bear and he said to me, 'Just take what speaks to your heart and that's yours and the rest is just not.' And so that really kind of helped me.

EJ also related stories about finding commonalities among Indigenous, Muslim, Jewish, and Christian traditions. For example, she explained the resonance she sees between Islamic halal foods and Indigenous approaches to food:

And halal meats, well now that I know what halal meats are, what that's about, I try to buy halal meats whenever I can because it's prepared in a good way. It's prepared in a good spiritual way. Unfortunately we don't have a traditional Native butcher. We can't go in and say 'Oh well can I have a couple of pounds of moose and a bit of buffalo,' and know that it's been done in the right way. But we know that halal meats are done in the right way and so when I saw that it just instantaneously changed my perspective.

EJ now teaches others to embrace and learn from Toronto's diversity.

Well, you know, one of the things that I hear a lot of people saying is they don't know how to connect. And I say, 'Well you have to look beyond the box, the concrete box. You gotta remember that this is called the Meeting Place. There's lots of people meeting here and they're living here now. There's a reason that you're here and, you know, you may be part of the Native people that are learning to deal with diverse cultures.'

PT expressed much the same sentiment, regarding the need to embrace and learn from diversity in Toronto:

But living here, I found it to be a positive experience because, you know, Toronto is a really diverse place. The diversity is huge and you can learn from that diversity. And it's interesting. Like I go to a lot of the festivals that are going around town, whether it's that festival in Chinatown or the Greek Festival downtown, or the Jamaican one. But going to those festivals, you learn from those, you know that? And that's where I'm at in my life right now. I don't think I take things for granted like I used to. So when I make a decision of what I want to do, there's reasons for that. The underlying reason is to learn. And going to these things, hey, you're learning something about another group, another culture. So that's one thing that I liked here about Toronto, there, was that diversity.

Later in the interview PT said, "I'm not sure exactly how long I'll be living here in Toronto, but I came here for a reason." Implicit in these statements by PT and EJ is the suggestion that there may be spiritual forces at work in certain people's lives, guiding them towards an experience in Toronto that is connected to a larger plan, goal, or event. Certainly the Anishinaabe prophecies of the 7th and 8th Fires are connected to experiences of cross-cultural respect and sharing.

Most interviewees felt that the story of Toronto as the Meeting Place made them feel positively about the city and its diversity, and encouraged them to locate this diversity within Indigenous oral traditions about the city. Furthermore, the ability to follow a cosmopolitan ethic consistent with the character of Toronto described in this oral tradition was, for RB, JH, and EJ overtly linked to positive health outcomes. EJ expressed the notion that understanding Toronto as the Meeting Place helps Indigenous people new to the city to find meaning in living in Toronto. When asked whether she knew of stories or places about Toronto that promote holistic health RB responded, "Well I think there's always the one about the fish weirs and the Gathering Place...I think that promotes a

healthy coexistence of, you know, sharing, diversity, openness, trading, innovation.” JH also explained the connection he saw between a cosmopolitan attitude and holistic health:

And I think health producing too is the fact that we live in proximity amongst all these different cultures. We learn to get along with each other, right? We’re not taxing our brains and our emotions by building up all this animosity towards the other, so to speak... You know, like, we have to think of mental health too and the connection between physical health and mental health and I think that’s another First Nations way of looking at life, eh? That web of connections, right? That symbiotic relationship we have with everything. And that’s another thing I believe in that keeps me healthy is that I recognize, you know, that what I put in my body, how I interact with individuals on a human, one-to-one basis, is all part and parcel of producing in me a well-rounded, healthy and happy individual.

However, DW did not display the same unequivocally positive attitude towards cosmopolitan practices as the other interviewees. DW related a story about a Cree man living in Toronto who kept disruptively criticizing Indigenous community members for not conducting traditions and ceremonies according to the way the Cree do them. As a result, he was kicked out of or banned from powwows and Indigenous organizations. He concluded his story with an admonishment regarding the need to respect the traditions of the people whose territory one is in:

Yeah, well when you’re in Rome, you do what the Romans do. Like this is Ojibwa territory. You don’t try and impose Cree teachings, Western teachings. Like, it would be like an Ojibwa going over there and saying, ‘You people are doing this wrong.’

DW also felt that Indigenous people living in Toronto shouldn’t be participating in and incorporating traditional practices of other Indigenous groups that are not their own. He described attempts to do so as a ‘mishmash’, a ‘hodgepodge of everything’ and commented, “No wonder our youth are going to be really confused. My generation is the last generation that had the real teachings.”

However, DW also seriously considered the suggestion that Toronto, being the Meeting Place, meant that it is a place where people come to share and exchange ideas. He pondered that perhaps cosmopolitanism, although problematic in terms of maintaining the integrity of different Indigenous traditions, was better than division amongst the Indigenous community in Toronto. He said, “So maybe it’s better than having them contradicting one another all the time. But that doesn’t make them strong,” and that, “Maybe that’s really what’s happening. Maybe the whole thing with Toronto, like we call it the Meeting Place, maybe the city is being blessed. Maybe what they’re doing is right too. It’s hard to say, eh?”

Conclusion

While Chapter 4 demonstrated that land-based IK is possible in cities and that it *likely* already exists, this chapter provides additional evidence and analysis of the existence and character of land-based IK, and explores some of the ways it is practiced via interviews with five Indigenous Torontonians. Toronto’s rich Indigenous heritage spans at least 11,000 years up to the present, and offers ample possibilities for developing deeply meaningful land-based connections. There currently exists a growing Indigenous oral tradition of Toronto which represents the city as traditional Indigenous territory, encouraging people to trace continuities between Toronto and other Indigenous territories, and between the city’s ancient Indigenous heritage and its contemporary urban form. The resulting perforation of Eurocentric conceptual barriers that separate urban from natural, and past from present, creates opportunities for Indigenous land-based epistemologies to once again germinate and take root in cities. The city’s contemporary

Indigenous community is vibrant and displays a high degree of cultural vitality and pride in their diverse cultural traditions. Many within this community are now in the process of renewing relations of reciprocity with the urban landscape towards the development of uniquely urban IK adapted to the requirements, cycles, and patterns of urban ecology. The Great 'Indian' Bus Tour of Toronto constitutes but one expression of urban, land-based IK that parallels IK practiced in non-urban environments. The small group of Indigenous people I interviewed for this dissertation, although not representative of Indigenous Torontonians generally, further confirm that urban land-based IK is currently being practiced by at least some in Toronto. As a whole, the interviewees demonstrated a highly positive, yet thoughtfully nuanced, understanding of the city as neither inherently superior nor inferior to non-urbanized environments. Rather, they agreed that every environment comes with its own set of unique challenges and opportunities, and were able to identify what those were in relation to urban, reserve, and rural territories. They all confirmed that they considered Toronto to be a traditional Indigenous territory, and that while practices that are appropriate for non-urban ecologies may not be so for urban ones (and vice versa), they did not feel that there were any inherent barriers to the practice of land-based Indigenous cultural traditions in cities. The triangulation of Toronto's Indigenous heritage, the expression of this heritage on the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour, and the perspectives offered by the interviewees described in this chapter, along with the literature review on urban Indigenous communities and cultures in Chapter 4, is sufficient to make the argument that urban IK does indeed exist in Toronto, and that it is epistemologically consistent with IK practiced in non-urban environments.

Chapter 3 examined the ongoing importance of Indigenous knowledge, traditions, and stories for promoting holistic health and wellness among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in a variety of contexts. This chapter provides evidence that the maintenance of cultural integrity and land-based connections contributes to wellness in cities as well. All the interviewees related meaningful, storied attachments to places within Toronto's landscape. Many of these stories whisper lessons on how to live well in the city. Many of the stories about places with Indigenous heritage in Toronto told on the bus tour and by the interviewees express recognition of the enduring character of these places through time, despite even drastic changes to *the land*. The spirit of places, sometimes referred to as *genius loci*, often persists through time and urban development. Perhaps the clearest articulation of this phenomenon is the story of Toronto as the Meeting Place – a story which characterizes Toronto's current abundance and cultural diversity as a continuation of the city's Indigenous heritage, and which suggests a cosmopolitan ethic is a precondition for living well in this environment. Also, by prompting Indigenous residents to see resonance, continuity, and meaning in the urban landscape, these stories encourage the development of therapeutic landscapes that replace diasporic feelings with a sense of being at home in the city. For these reasons, land-based stories can be said to promote wellness and holistic health – to essentially look after – those who tell and hear them.

Furthermore, by prompting people to connect to and seek meaning in their environments, these stories work to heal people's relationships to *the land*, and may foster an ethic of increased environmental sustainability towards the reconstitution of

balanced old-growth ecologies, perhaps even in highly developed cities such as Toronto. The development of meaningful, storied attachments to places and the ability to recognize their lessons are important steps toward the more spiritual pathway mentioned by Benton-Banai (1979) in the 7th Fire prophecy. Rodney Bobiwash could very well have been referring to this prophecy when he said of the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour, "...we essentially want people getting off the bus at the end of the day with a different set of eyes...if we can get people to govern their relationships with that different set of eyeballs, then we've really come to some useful purpose in history" (Howard, 2005, p. 236).

Chapter 6: Retrospect

Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee prophecies have highlighted the ongoing importance of Indigenous knowledge for contemporary Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. The consequences for future generations of disregarding the relevance of Indigenous knowledge to emerging crises are predicted to be dire. Indigenous knowledge, as it is practiced in rural areas, has been well-studied and these studies illustrate the importance of Indigenous knowledge for the health and healing of contemporary Indigenous peoples, as well as innumerable other applications of Indigenous wisdom gleaned from generations of collective experiential observations of particular environments. But so far, very little attention has focused on the presence or character of Indigenous knowledge in cities. This oversight is largely attributable to the still fairly widespread notion that the integrity of Indigenous knowledge and traditions is predicated on access to significant swaths of natural space found in rural and reserve environments, suggesting that such knowledge and traditions are only adaptable to urban contexts with great difficulty or cost. The veracity of this notion has not often been critically examined, and given that most Indigenous peoples in North America now live in urban areas, urban Indigenous knowledge constitutes an important area of investigation that remains under-researched. This dissertation redresses this gap in the research on urban Indigenous knowledge via an analysis of urban Indigenous knowledge and traditions, particularly as they are practiced and understood by some within Toronto's Indigenous community. Specifically this dissertation examined the degree to which land-based Indigenous knowledge can be, and is, practiced in urban environments like Toronto, some of the

ways this knowledge is expressed among Indigenous urbanites, particularly through storytelling, and the degree to which urban Indigenous knowledge is continuous or discontinuous with that practiced in non-urban environments. Finally, given that land-based Indigenous knowledge involves learning how to live well in one's environment, this dissertation also considered the prophetic implications of insights emerging from uniquely urban land-based Indigenous knowledge and traditions regarding how to live well in urban environments (for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people). The analysis of these research questions was accomplished through a critical interdisciplinary reading of the existing literature on Indigenous knowledge in urban and non-urban contexts, over 10 years of participation within Toronto's Indigenous community, particularly the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, the Toronto Native History Program, and the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour of Toronto, along with in-depth, semi-structured interviews among Anishinaabe Torontonians.

Chapter 2 provided an analytical review of the literature on Indigenous epistemology to outline what are commonly described as the essential features of Indigenous knowledge. This analytical review highlighted IK as a ubiquitous process or methodology for being-in-the-world that undergirds and informs the diverse cultural forms and practices evident among Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island. This ancient and enduring experiential land-based methodology stems from an understanding that everything in the world is animate, has agency, and is interrelated with everything else via innumerable delicately balanced cycles of reciprocity, and that failure to maintain balanced, reciprocal relations with the more-than human world could lead to negative

consequences to oneself, one's community, and myriad other entities within that system. Therefore, IK requires recognition and maintenance of the complex reciprocal relationships that compose particular territories, of which one is also a part. Storytelling, circular models, and ceremony are often considered to be the most appropriate media for keeping and sharing land-based knowledge because they can most effectively represent the complex, holistic, and metaphorical nature of land-based knowledge.

But insofar as land-based knowledge and practice are tied to context, the character of the relationships that compose each ecology or territory will necessarily differ, and land-based knowledge and ethics will likely remain most appropriate to the context in which they originated; land-based Indigenous knowledge must adapt to changes in the environmental context insofar as *the land* continues to serve as an epistemological authority. In the same way that consistent application of scientific method and practice leads to diverse and ever-changing scientific knowledge, consistent application of Indigenous land-based epistemology across time and space undergirds diverse and changing Indigenous cultural traditions. A focus on the epistemological consistency underlying diverse cultural traditions allows for an analysis of urban Indigenous knowledge and traditions, insofar as they remain land-based, as necessarily different from those practiced in non-urban environments, yet still epistemologically consistent with them. Acknowledging the epistemological continuities underlying diverse and changing Indigenous knowledge and traditions thus has the advantage of avoiding the debates over authenticity that have historically marred so many other comparative analyses of traditional Indigenous knowledge. If urban Indigenous knowledge and traditions remain

land-based, then they can be considered continuous with those practiced in other contexts.

Inspired by the Anishinaabe prophecy of the Seventh Fire, Chapter 3 demonstrated the importance of Indigenous knowledge for living well for contemporary Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. The dramatic scale and pace of changes wrought by European settlement and colonialism combined to seriously undermine both Indigenous health and healing practices. Nevertheless, traditional Indigenous culture and knowledge are currently undergoing resurgence in many Indigenous communities, and have demonstrated remarkable potential to heal many of the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual illnesses related to colonialism on both individual and community-wide scales. A review of some of the many successful culturally-based Indigenous healing efforts being undertaken in Indigenous communities revealed that where colonialism has undermined the cultural pride, integrity, hope, cosmological coherence, and capacity of Indigenous individuals and communities, traditional cultural revitalization can reconnect them to a coherent, meaningful cosmology, restore cultural pride, self-determination, resilience, and community bonds.

Stories, including creation myths, life-narratives, and land-based stories, are highly implicated in healing, since the process of telling stories can create and re-orient the symbols, meanings, and values by which one lives one's life. Reciprocity and respectful engagement among humans, *the land*, and the more-than-human world are fundamental aspects of Indigenous epistemology, cultural integrity, and wellness. Indigenous land-based stories, like footpaths, are expressions of Indigenous engagement with their

territories, and in their telling affirm the significant life and land-affirming wisdom of Indigenous ancestors. Indigenous land-based stories promote wellness by engaging metaphoric consciousness, which encourages feelings of connectedness and continuity towards the development of meaningful and respectful connections and relationships among humans and the more-than-human world. The review presented in Chapter 3 illustrated that the healing potential of Indigenous knowledge, stories, and other traditions does not end where the city begins. That traditional Indigenous healing initiatives have been shown to be effective in a variety of contexts – on *the land*, reserves, at urban Indigenous organizations, in prisons, and in detox centres – attests to their adaptability and ongoing relevance to contemporary Indigenous peoples.

But Indigenous prophecy has also highlighted the importance of Indigenous knowledge for contemporary non-Indigenous peoples and Chapter 3 combined the insights of critical Indigenous, communication, environmental, and health scholars to examine the applicability of land-based Indigenous knowledge to emerging Western health, environmental, and social crises. We currently live in a warming world where the North Pole now becomes a lake every summer, where global biodiversity is steadily diminishing in the face of industrial expansion, and where depression, anxiety, and environmental diseases such as cancer appear rampant. Believing these problems to be technical and beyond the scope of individual action, many in the West feel disempowered or appear content to wait for scientists and the industries that employ them to provide the appropriate pharmacological and technological fixes. Yet the analysis presented in Chapter 3 suggests that underlying these seemingly unconnected crises is a crisis of

values rooted in a cosmological disconnection from the natural world, the roots of which may extend as far back as the Western transition to agriculture and literacy. The trajectory of this cosmological shift has made possible the proliferation of environmentally toxic capitalist and technopolistic growth imperatives that encourage people to self-soothe from the psycho-spiritual trauma of ecocide by downloading new nature scenes for their smartphone wallpapers. From this perspective, continued focus on technological fixes is not a solution, but a symptom of the underlying problem. Evidence of this fact lies in the staggering amount of technological ingenuity and investment devoted towards expensive consumable products, while ‘green’ technologies or efforts to reduce consumption enjoy only limited support or halting adoption.

If the roots of Western anomie ultimately do lie in our disconnection from *the land* and the more-than-human world, then re-kindling land-based connections and metaphoric consciousness towards the development of an ethics of place may provide the shift in cosmology necessary to get past technological addiction and other ecocidal practices. This analysis strongly suggests that we may need to begin by attending to the cosmological stories we tell ourselves about ourselves and the world in order to promote a more life and land-affirming ethic in the West. Indigenous knowledge may constitute the best available map towards developing such an ethic. This ethic has already been proven by Indigenous peoples to promote sustainability and health over a vast temporal and spatial scale, and Chapter 3 argues that wider adoption of such an ethic in the West would be similarly profoundly healing on multiple levels.

Chapter 4 extends themes discussed in Chapter 2 and 3 to urban contexts via a literature review on urban Indigenous community and culture that highlights how these communities and cultural expressions, although adapted to the urban context, can also be considered in many ways continuous with pre-colonial and non-urban Indigenous practices. The existence of a pre-colonial urban tradition in North America suggests that contemporary urban Indigenous communities, although different from their precolonial precedents, should not be considered entirely novel departures from past practice. Instead, this review found that, just like pre-colonial Indigenous communities, contemporary urban Indigenous communities remain connected to their cultural traditions as well as other communities, and exhibit a high degree of seasonal or resource-based mobility and a fluid membership that is not primarily regulated by colonial identity legislation. Similar to the pre-colonial heart circle model of Indigenous urbanity, contemporary urban Indigenous communities are not necessarily geographically contiguous, but are nevertheless characterized by a high degree of intercultural communication, networking, and relationships among diverse others, with periodic gatherings at central meeting places. Contemporary urban Indigenous communities, like their pre-colonial forebears, appear to be defined not by a high degree of development, but rather a high degree of communication, interrelationship, and a relatively cosmopolitan attitude towards cultural diversity. The cosmopolitan ethic evident among urban Indigenous populations as a whole, may be understood as a means of working across diversity toward mutually advantageous initiatives. In this context, pan-Indigenous cultural expressions, although often derided in the literature, may be more productively

understood as part of a cultural pidgin that fosters these mutually productive cross-cultural engagements. Given the significant continuities between contemporary and pre-colonial urban communities, this chapter suggested that the Indigenous urbanization that began in the mid-20th century could instead be understood as a re-urbanization.

Despite evidence of continuity with pre-colonial and non-urban Indigenous communities and IK, it is nevertheless still common to encounter assertions that urban Indigenous communities and cultures are not or cannot be land-based, due to the lack of natural ecology within cities. While still contentious, these assertions appear to be informed by dichotomous thinking that imposes a strict separation between ‘Indigenous’ and ‘nature’ on the one hand and ‘urban’ on the other. A review of the currently limited research on urban IK does, however, show that some urban Indigenous peoples do engage in land-based practices that appear to be continuous with the epistemological tenets outlined in Chapter 2, and that Indigenous urbanites establish meaningful, storied, and health-promoting connections to places in urban landscapes consistent with the traditional healing approaches outlined in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, the burgeoning literature on urban land-based IK seems to suggest that in the city these practices are mostly limited to smaller-scale natural places, Indigenous organizations, or the development of abstract connections to ‘Mother Earth’. It is to this literature, in particular, that Chapter 5 of this dissertation makes a significant contribution.

Chapter 5 adds to the literature on urban IK and storytelling via an original analysis of Indigenous land-based IK in Toronto, and the perceptions of a small group of Anishinaabe Torontonians regarding the challenges, opportunities, and health promoting

potential for the practice of IK in cities like Toronto. The Great ‘Indian’ Bus Tour was discussed as an exemplar of urban land-based Indigenous storytelling traditions that gives expression to Toronto’s vast and rich Indigenous heritage in ways that parallel Indigenous land-based storytelling traditions in non-urban environments. This bus tour represents Toronto as a traditional territory for Wendat, Haudenosaunee, and Anishinaabe peoples and counters assumptions that Indigeneity is incompatible with city life, or that urban and natural are mutually exclusive. Like other land-based storytelling traditions, the Great ‘Indian’ Bus Tour ties stories to places in the urban landscape, encourages people to develop personal, meaningful connections to places of Indigenous significance in the urbanscape, prompts recognition of *genius loci*, and an ethics of place that imparts lessons on how to live well in Toronto. In the process, the Great ‘Indian’ Bus Tour contributes to the proliferation of Indigenous therapeutic landscapes whereby Indigenous Torontonians and places in the city look after one another. Particularly evident in the story about the origin of the word Toronto, the city’s past and present character is represented as an important meeting place for diverse Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, suggesting that a cosmopolitan ethic towards cultural diversity is an essential feature for living well in the city. Indeed, Toronto’s Indigenous community, situated within what is popularly understood as one of the most culturally diverse cities in the world, seems particularly cosmopolitan in terms of acceptance of diversity and willingness to work across cultural boundaries. While many factors contribute to this phenomenon, the characterization of Toronto as the Meeting Place in Indigenous oral tradition may at least partially explain why Toronto’s Indigenous community was

identified by the Urban Aboriginal Peoples Survey as the most cosmopolitan of those surveyed.

The interviews conducted among Anishinaabe Torontonians complemented the discussion of the Great ‘Indian’ Bus Tour of Toronto through an analysis of their perspectives regarding Toronto, urban cultural traditions, and the storied attachments they developed with specific places in the city. The analysis of perspectives offered by the interviewees was consistent with the analysis of urban Indigenous community and culture presented in Chapter 4. They shared relatively positive views of Toronto and a nuanced recognition of urban and reserve territories as neither superior nor inferior in any absolute sense; rather each was understood to possess its own distinctive advantages and disadvantages. They traced continuities between more urban and more natural places, as well as between the past and present of places in Toronto, insisting that land-based Indigenous culture is not inherently incompatible with city life. The interviewees confirmed that the connections among *the land*, storytelling, and health characteristic of land-based IK remain unbroken in urban environments. The interviewees described some urban land-based cultural practices, and identified meaningful, storied connections to Indigenous community organizations, specific places associated with the city’s Indigenous heritage, and to the city as a whole. They frequently reported that developing connections to places of Indigenous significance in Toronto promoted positive feelings of wellness and of being ‘at home’. The interviewees often expressed a sense of *genius loci*, especially at places with known Indigenous heritage or stories associated with them. Although the places that the interviewees identified as significant or meaningful were

fairly idiosyncratic, most of the interviewees mentioned how the story of Toronto as the Meeting Place for diverse cultures over a vast time scale strongly suggests that a cosmopolitan ethics of place is operative in Toronto, whereby an openness toward diversity is understood to be an important part of living well in the city.

This dissertation offers a compelling argument that urban Indigenous knowledge and traditions can be, and often are, land-based, thereby laying the groundwork for new analyses of urban Indigenous IK as continuous with other forms of land-based IK. The re-emergence of land-based IK adapted to contemporary urban contexts, yet epistemologically continuous with other forms of IK establishes that IK truly is adaptable and relevant to learning how to live well in every ecology on Turtle Island, even highly urbanized cities like Toronto, for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. This dissertation has demonstrated the potential for urban land-based IK to promote wellness among Indigenous urbanites. Urban land-based storytelling traditions, in particular, were found to encourage meaningful connections to places across the city, apprehension of *genius loci*, and the proliferation of therapeutic landscapes. But Indigenous prophecy has indicated that the life and land-affirming potential of IK is not only limited to Indigenous peoples. This dissertation argued that at the root of many social, health, and environmental crises afflicting the Western world lies in a fundamental cosmological disconnection from *the land* and that learning to reconstitute meaningful, storied connections to places constitutes a necessary step down that other pathway towards the Eighth Fire of Anishinaabe prophecy.

The precise pathways by which to accomplish this goal are likely to vary according to each individual, as well as each cultural and environmental context. My pathway involved a process of respectful, ongoing participation and collaboration within Toronto's Indigenous community. I learned to accept and do my best to fulfill the responsibilities that were offered to me. For me, this involved a significant investment of time and commitment to learn and memorize stories of the ancient Indigenous heritage of places in Toronto and, by visiting and telling the stories of these places often, learning to reconcile my inner (emotional / cognitive) and outer (geographic) landscapes. The process of Indigenous knowledge is cyclical, involving endless cycles of learning, evaluating, and re-learning, and like this dissertation it has no definitive conclusion. This dissertation tells the story only of what I have learned so far on this journey without end. But it seems that *genius loci* emerges from trusting one's imaginative capacity to apprehend the metaphorical language that places speak, and developing personal relationships with those places. These relationships become reciprocal; storied places become therapeutic and, in turn, one becomes more invested in protecting the integrity of those places. Establishing such personally meaningful relationships with places, insofar as they prompt people to care enough about these places to protect them, may thus be an appropriate and productive first step toward the Eighth Fire. This is not a call for non-Indigenous peoples to simply appropriate Indigenous identities or traditions. Rather it is a call for increased recognition of the relevance and validity of IK for the development of a healthier, more balanced land-based ethic. Developing more respectful, trusting relations among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples across North America will be a necessary part of

this process, but it is perhaps unrealistic to expect this can be achieved to the degree necessary under current conditions of colonial marginalization and inequity. Continued efforts to dismantling colonial structures of dominance, challenging stereotypes and discriminatory discourses of Indigenous peoples, and protecting Indigenous rights to cultural, political, and economic self-determination will thus require more widespread support.

Whatever the precise pathway to the Eighth Fire, it is likely that urban Indigenous communities and urban land-based IK will figure prominently in its realization. Perhaps the most obvious reason for this is because most Indigenous and non-Indigenous people currently live in urban centres in North America, and so efforts to realize the Eighth Fire will necessarily involve urban residents and their experiences. It is also the case that since the re-establishment of Indigenous communities in North American cities beginning in the mid-20th century, cities have been places of Indigenous cultural resurgence and activism. That Indigenous re-urbanization immediately preceded the Indigenous cultural revitalization that characterized the lighting of the Seventh Fire of Anishinaabe prophecy could suggest that the urban Indigenous experience may be a significant characteristic of this Fire, and that in this experience rests an opportunity for the realization of Eighth Fire. Contemporary cities, which tend to obscure their ecology with built uniformity and which function by externalizing the environmental consequences of their unsustainability to non-urban areas, have long served as bastions of Western settler consciousness, and are thus places where the assumptions and values of this cosmology are often made most visibly manifest. Insofar as cities continue to be conceptualized as outside of nature, they

may continue to be implicitly viewed as exempt from discussions of sustainability. As such, cities may be fruitful sites where the values and discourses that support natural disconnection, ecocide, technopoly, and colonialism may be examined and questioned. The existence of vibrant urban Indigenous communities and urban land-based IK, for example, challenges the false binaries that conceptualize ‘nature’ and ‘Indigenous’ in opposition to ‘urban’. The ability of Westerners to recognize the continuities among these dichotomous assumptions is key to accepting the validity of Indigenous prophecies, and the importance of attending to them sooner rather than later. Another opportunity for the realization of the Eighth Fire rests in the cosmopolitan nature of large urban centres generally, and of Indigenous communities more specifically. Although the degree may vary from one city to the next, this dissertation has highlighted that opportunities for intercultural contact, understanding of, and co-operation among, diverse Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are common within most large Canadian cities. Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee prophecies imply that the establishment of respectful and sustained engagement and co-operation among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples will be a pre-condition for the widespread adoption of a more meaningful, balanced, reciprocal, and ultimately healthy approach to our environments. It may be that cities are the places where the cross-cultural conversations necessary to realize this goal will initially be most effective. Toronto, as a highly cosmopolitan meeting place with an equally cosmopolitan Indigenous community, may be a particularly well-suited to this end. Thus, this dissertation argues that urban Indigenous experiences, land-based IK, and stories will

very likely constitute important (although certainly not the only) pathways for the realization of the Eighth Fire.

The implications of this analysis are far-reaching, and there are thus many potential areas for future research that emerge from this work. This study provided a necessarily broad overview of Indigenous urban communities and IK, while the more specific and detailed analysis was largely Toronto-specific. Urban IK may not be as visible or be expressed in the same way in other urban contexts. Given the relative paucity of research on urban Indigenous IK and the context-specific nature of IK, analyses of land-based IK as it is expressed in other cities would also constitute important contributions to the literature on this subject.

Research might also further explore the degree to which the connections among *the land*, story, and wellness are operative among diverse non-Indigenous populations. For instance, it would be interesting to explore to what degree and in which contexts initiatives that promote land-based storytelling and *genius loci* among recent immigrants might reduce diasporic feelings, and enhance wellness among these groups. Brief conversations that I've had with recent immigrants that experienced the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour revealed that they are often particularly keen to know the Indigenous history of this land. As such, this research could be especially relevant in Canadian cities with large immigrant populations like Toronto, and land-based storytelling initiatives like the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour would be particularly relevant to, and could benefit from, such research.

The interviews conducted for this dissertation were also limited to a small group of well-educated, middle-class Anishinaabe urbanites. The perspectives of urban and non-urban Indigenous people from a wider variety of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds regarding urban land-based IK would be valuable and important contributions to this area. For instance, to what degree might Indigenous street people's or high steel workers' perceptions of the city and expressions of urban land-based IK be similar or different to those presented in this study? Also, while open-ended semi-structured interviews paired with long-term community participation were the primary research methods for this dissertation, other methods such as Indigenous sharing circles and community-based mapping would likely provide additional insights not presented here.

My work in the area of urban Indigenous heritage, land-based IK, storytelling, and wellness will continue beyond this dissertation. In late 2009, due to concern within Toronto's Indigenous community regarding the ongoing absence of a co-ordinator for the Toronto Native Community History Program (TNCHP), an advisory committee composed of Indigenous community members, Elders, and non-Indigenous scholars connected to Toronto's Indigenous community was struck to steward the TNCHP and the Great 'Indian' Bus Tour. With the support of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, this committee (of which I have been an active member since the beginning) has continued to offer the bus and walking tours, liaise with the larger community, and has raised funds through tours and project grants to initiate a series of projects to expand the work of the TNCHP (recently renamed 'First Story Toronto'). Work has begun to expand the Great

‘Indian’ Bus Tour (recently renamed ‘First Story Toronto Tours’) into a series of bus, walking, and bike tours that focus on particular themes and places that feature urban Indigenous heritage and IK, not only within Toronto, but in other Canadian cities as well. Other Indigenous tour guides have since become involved in conducting these tours and more are currently in the process of learning to become guides. Further research regarding the land-based Indigenous heritage of places in Toronto and elsewhere will thus be needed. I have committed to assisting these efforts by working with new tour guides and with other First Story Toronto committee members to research and share the land-based stories that rest in places, and the ways these stories promote meaningful land-based connections and wellness.

Although this dissertation affirms that oral storytelling will likely always remain the most appropriate method of keeping and sharing IK, given ongoing concerns regarding the loss of stories and IK, I have also become interested in exploring the potential of digital media to supplement or enhance efforts to collaborate and share land-based IK with broad and diverse audiences. Recently, First Story Toronto has undertaken, in partnership with the Centre for Community Mapping (COMAP) the launch and ongoing development of a smartphone app (for Android and iOS) called ‘First Story’, which offers an ever-growing multi-media map of place-based stories of Toronto’s contemporary and historical Indigenous communities. It is hoped that this app will supplement First Story Toronto Tours, and enhance community involvement and collaboration in defining and sharing Toronto’s Indigenous heritage with wider audiences than have been reached with other media. Such research projects are among the myriad

efforts that could foster mutually respectful and productive conversations toward the realization of the Eighth Fire.

Bibliography

- Abadian, S. (2006). Cultural Healing: When Cultural Renewal is Reparative and When it is Toxic. *Pimatisiwin*, 4(2), 5–28.
- Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. (2010). Revised Northern Food Basket - Highlights of Price Survey Results for 2006, 2007 and 2008. Retrieved March 4, 2013, from <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100035983/1100100035984>
- Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. (2013). Fact Sheet - 2011 National Household Survey Aboriginal Demographics, Educational Attainment and Labour Market Outcomes. Retrieved June 13, 2015, from <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1376329205785/1376329233875>
- Abram, D. (2013). Storytelling and Wonder: On the Rejuvenation of Oral Culture. Retrieved May 9, 2013, from http://www.wildethics.org/essays/storytelling_and_wonder.html
- Adelson, N. (2000). *“Being Alive Well”: Health and the Politics of Cree Well-Being*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Adelson, N. (2005). The Embodiment of Inequity: Health Disparities in Aboriginal Canada. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 96(Mar./Apr.), S45–S61.
- Alcoze, T. (1991). Earth Alive, Circle Whole. *Earth Work*, (September), 29–32.
- Alfred, G. T. (2009). Colonialism and State Dependency. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 5(2), 42–60.

- Alfred, T. (2010, March). *From Noble Savage to Righteous Warrior: Regenerating and Reinscribing Indigenous Presences*. Conference presentation presented at the Itineraries of Exchange: Cultural Contact in a Global Frame, University of British Columbia. Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ZfGAqdIJmE>
- Angus, L. E., & McLeod, J. (2004). Toward and Integrative Framework for Understanding the Role of Narrative in the Psychotherapy Process. In L. E. Angus & J. McLeod (Eds.), *The Handbook of Narrative and Psychotherapy: Practice, Theory, and Research* (pp. 367–374). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Angus, L., Levitt, H., & Hardtke, K. (1999). The Narrative Processes Coding System: Research Applications and Implications for Psychotherapy Practice. *Journal of Canadian Clinical Psychology*, 55(10), 1255–1270.
- Applegate Krouse, S., & Howard, H. (2009). Introduction. In S. Applegate Krouse & H. A. Howard (Eds.), *Keeping the Campfires Going: Native Women's Activism in Urban Communities* (pp. ix–xxv). Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Archaeological Services Inc. (2004). *A Master Plan of Archaeological Resources for the City of Toronto* (Interim Report). Toronto: Heritage Preservation Services, Culture Division, City of Toronto.
- Archibald, J. (1990). Coyote's Story about Orality and Literacy. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 17(2), 66–79.

- Arthur, E. (1986). *Toronto: No Mean City* (3rd Edition). Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.
- Axtell, J. (1997). The Ethnohistory of Native America. In D. L. Fixico (Ed.), *Rethinking American Indian History* (pp. 11–28). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Babe, R. E. (2000). *Canadian Communication Thought: Ten Foundational Writers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bakowsky, W., & Riley, J. L. (1994). A Survey of the Prairies and Savannas of Southern Ontario. In R. G. Wickett, P. D. Lewis, A. Woodliffe, & P. Pratt (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Thirteenth North American Prairie Conference* (pp. 7–16). Windsor: Windsor Department of Parks and Recreation.
- Basso, K. (1996). *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Battiste, M., & Youngblood Henderson, J. (2000). *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: A Global Challenge*. Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing.
- Belanger, Y. D., Barron, L., McKay-Turnbull, C., & Mills, M. (2003). *Urban Aboriginal Youth in Winnipeg: Culture and Identity Formation in Cities*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Canadian Heritage.
- Benton-Banai, E. (1979). *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway*. U.S.A.: Indian Country Press, Inc.
- Birch, J. (2012). Coalescent Communities: Settlement Aggregation and Social Integration in Iroquoian Ontario. *American Antiquity*, 77(4), 646–670.

- Blackstock, C., Brown, I., & Bennett, M. (2007). Reconciliation: Rebuilding the Canadian Child Welfare System to Better Serve Aboriginal Children and Youth. In I. Brown (Ed.), *Putting a Human Face on Child Welfare: Voices from the Prairies*. Ottawa and Regina: Centres of Excellence for Children's Well-being, Child Welfare; Prairie Child Welfare Consortium.
- Bobiwash, A. R. (1997). The History of Native People in the Toronto Area, An Overview. In F. Sanderson & H. Howard-Bobiwash (Eds.), *The Meeting Place: Aboriginal Life in Toronto* (pp. 5–24). Toronto: The Native Canadian Centre of Toronto.
- Bodirsky, M., & Johnson, J. (2008). Decolonizing Diet: Healing by Reclaiming Traditional Indigenous Foodways. *Cuizine: The Journal of Canadian Food Cultures*, 1(1). Retrieved from <http://www.erudit.org/revue/cuizine/2008/v1/n1/019373ar.html>
- Boyd, C. E. (2011). "We Are Standing in My Ancestor's Longhouse": Learning the Language of Spirits and Ghosts. In C. E. Boyd & C. Thrush (Eds.), *Phantom Past, Indigenous Presence: Native Ghosts in North American Culture & History* (pp. 181–208). Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Boyd, C. E., & Thrush, C. (Eds.). (2011). *Phantom Past, Indigenous Presence: Native Ghosts in North American Culture & History*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Brant Castellano, M. (2000). Updating Aboriginal Traditions of Knowledge. In G. Dei, B. Hall, & D. Goldin Rosenberg (Eds.), *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts:*

- Multiple Readings of Our World* (pp. 21–36). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Brant Castellano, M. (2009). Heart of the Nations: Women's Contribution to Community Healing. In G. Guthrie Valaskakis, M. Dion Stout, & E. Guimond (Eds.), *Restoring the Balance: First Nations Women, Community, and Culture* (pp. 203–236). Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press.
- Brascoupe, S. (2011). Rekindling the Fire: Indigenous Knowledge and New Technologies. In *Visions of the Heart: Canadian Aboriginal Issues* (3rd edition, pp. 381–402). Don Mills, Ont: Oxford University Press.
- Bringhurst, R. (1995). Introduction. In A. Kane & Kane, Sean (Eds.), *The Dreamer Awakes*. Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press.
- Bringhurst, R. (2002). The Tree of Meaning and the Work of Ecological Linguistics. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, 7(2), 9–22.
- Brody, H. (1988). *Maps and Dreams*. Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Browne, A. J. (2007). Clinical encounters between nurses and First Nations women in a Western Canadian hospital. *Social Science and Medicine*, 64, 2165–2176.
- Browne, A. J., & Fiske, J.-A. (2001). First Nations Women's Encounters With Mainstream Health Care Services. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 23(2), 126–147.
- Browne, A. J., McDonald, H., & Elliot, D. (2009). *Urban First Nations Health Research Discussion Paper. A Report for the First Nations Centre, National Aboriginal Health Organization*. Ottawa: National Aboriginal Health Organization.

- Browne, A. J., Smye, V. L., & Varcoe, C. (2005). The Relevance of Postcolonial Theoretical Perspectives to Research in Aboriginal Health. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*, 37(4), 16–37.
- Bruner, J. (1985). Narrative and Paradigmatic Modes of Thought. In E. W. Eisner (Ed.), *Learning and Teaching: The Ways of Knowing* (pp. 97–115). Chicago, Ill: National Society for the Study of Education.
- Burkhart, B. Y. (2004). What Coyote and Thales can Teach Us: An Outline of American Indian Epistemology. In A. Waters (Ed.), *American Indian Thought: Philosophical Essays* (pp. 15–26). Mald: Blackwell Publishing.
- Cajete, G. (1994). *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*. Skyland, NC: Kivaki Press.
- Cajete, G. (2004). Philosophy of Native Science. In A. Waters (Ed.), *American Indian Thought: Philosophical Essays* (pp. 45–57). Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Canada. (1996a). *Volume 1: Looking Forward, Looking Back*. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.
- Canada. (1996b). Volume 4: Perspectives and Realities. In *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. Ottawa, Canada: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.
- Carey, J. W. (1989). Space, Time, and Communications: A Tribute to Harold Innis. In *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (pp. 142–172). Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Cassidy, M. (2005). Treaties and Aboriginal-Government Relations, 1945-2000. In Daniel J. K. Beavon, C. J. Voyageur, & D. Newhouse (Eds.), *Hidden in Plain*

- Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture* (pp. 38–60). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Chandler, M. J., & Lalonde, C. (1998). Cultural Continuity as a Hedge Against Suicide in Canada's First Nations. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 35(2), 191–219.
- Chant, D. A., Heidenreich, C. E., & Roots, B. I. (1999). *Special Places: The Changing Ecosystems of the Toronto Region*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Chatwin, B. (1987). *The Songlines*. London: Jonathan Cape Ltd.
- Clarke, J. N., & Everest, M. M. (2006). Cancer in the Mass Print Media: Fear, Uncertainty and the Medical Model. *Social Science & Medicine*, 62(10), 2591–2600.
- Clark, M., Riben, P., & Nowgesic, E. (2002). The association of housing density, isolation and tuberculosis in Canadian First Nations communities. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 31(5), 940–945.
- Clifford, J. (2001). Indigenous Articulations. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13(2), 472.
- Comeau, P., & Santin, A. (1995). *The First Canadians: A Profile of Canada's Native People Today* (2d ed). Toronto: J. Lorimer.
- Cordova, V. F. (2007). *How It Is: The Native American Philosophy of V. F. Cordova*. (K. Dean Moore, K. Peters, T. Jojola, & A. Lacy, Eds.). Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Cruikshank, J. (1990a). Getting the Word Right: Perspectives on Nameing and Places in Athapaskan Oral History. *Arctic Anthropology*, 27(1), 53–65.

- Cruikshank, J. (1990b). *Life Lived Like a Story: The Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Dapice, A. N. (2006). The Medicine Wheel. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 17(3), 251–260.
- Darden, J. T., & Kamel, S. M. (2002). The Spatial and Socioeconomic Analysis of First Nations People in Toronto CMA. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 22(2), 239–267.
- Darnell, R. (2011). Nomadic Legacies and Contemporary Decision-Making Strategies between Reserve and City. In H. A. Howard & C. Proulx (Eds.), *Aboriginal Peoples in Canadian Cities: Transformations and Continuities* (pp. 39–51). Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier Press.
- Davis, D. L., & Webster, P. S. (2002). The Social Context of Science: Cancer and the Environment. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 584, 13–34.
- de Leeuw, S., Greenwood, M., & Cameron, E. (2010). Deviant Constructions: How Governments Preserve Colonial Narratives of Addictions and Poor Mental Health to Intervene into the Lives of Indigenous Children and Families in Canada. *International Journal of Mental Health Addiction*, 8, 282–295.
- Dell, C. A., Chalmers, D., Dell, D., Sauve, E., & MacKinnon, T. (2008). Horse as Healer: An Examination of Equine Assisted Learning in the Healing of First Nations Youth from Solvent Abuse. *Pimatisiwin*, 6(1), 81–106.

- Deloria Jr., V. (1995). *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact*. New York: Scribner.
- Deloria Jr., V. (1997). *Red Earth White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact*. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing.
- Deloria Jr., V. (2006). *The World We Used to Live In: Remembering the Powers of the Medicine Men*. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing.
- Deloria Jr., V., & Treat, J. (1999). *For This Land: Writings on Religion in America*. New York; London: Routledge.
- Deloria Jr., V., & Wildcat, D. R. (2001). *Power and Place: Indian Education in America*. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Resources.
- DeLugan, R. M. (2010). "Same Cat, Different Stripes": Hemispheric Migrations, New Urban Indian Identities, and the Consolidation of a Cosmopolitan Cosmovision. In *Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 145–161). New York: Peter Lang.
- Devereux, P. (1996). *Revisioning the Earth: A Guide to Opening the Healing Channels Between Mind and Nature*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Dey, D. C., & Guyette, R. P. (2000). Anthropogenic fire history and red oak forests in south-central Ontario. *The Forestry Chronicle*, 76(2), 339–347.
- Douglas, K. (2010). Ancient Trade Route to Queen Street. Retrieved May 20, 2012, from <http://www.muskratmagazine.com/issue1/muskrat-features/ancient-trade-route-to-queen-street/>

- Doxtater, M. (2004). Indigenous Knowledge in the Decolonial Era. *American Indian Quarterly*, 28(3 and 4), 618–633.
- Driskill, Q.-L. (2004). Stolen From Our Bodies: First Nations Two-Spirits/Queers and the Journey to a Sovereign Erotic. *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, 16(2), 50–64.
- Eckersley, R. (2006). Is modern Western culture a health hazard? *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 35, 252–258.
- Environics Institute. (2010a). *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study: Main Report*. Toronto: Environics Institute.
- Environics Institute. (2010b). *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study: Toronto Report*. Toronto: Environics Institute.
- Epstein, S. S., Ashford, N. A., Blackwelder, B., Castleman, B., Cohen, G., Goldsmith, E., ... Young, Q. D. (2002). The Crisis in U.S. and International Cancer Policy. *International Journal of Health Services*, 32(4), 669–707.
- Erasmus, G. (2003). Reparations: Theory, Practice and Education. *Windsor Yearbook of Access to Justice*, 22, 189–200.
- Eunjung, L., & Bhuyan, R. (2013). Negotiating within Whiteness in Cross-Cultural Clinical Encounters. *Social Service Review*, 87(1), 98–130.
- Evernden, N. (1993). *The Natural Alien: Humankind and Environment* (2nd edition). Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.
- Fenn, E. A. (2000). Biological Warfare in Eighteenth-Century America: Beyond Jeffrey Amherst. *The Journal of American History*, 86(4), 1552–1580.

- FitzMaurice, K., & McCaskill, D. (2011). Urban Aboriginal People in Canada: Community Trends and Issues of Governance. In *Visions of the Heart: Canadian Aboriginal Issues* (3rd edition, pp. 328–351). Don: Oxford University Press.
- Fleming, J., & Ledogar, R. J. (2008). Resilience and Indigenous Spirituality: A Literature Review. *Pimatisiwin*, 6(2), 47–64.
- Forbes, J. (1998). The Urban Tradition Among Native Americans. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 22(4), 15–27.
- Forte, M. C. (Ed.). (2010a). *Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Forte, M. C. (2010b). Introduction: Indigeneities and Cosmopolitanisms. In M. C. Forte (Ed.), *Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 1–16). New York: Peter Lang.
- Foster, J., & Sandberg, L. A. (2004). Friends or Foe? Invasive Species and Public Green Space in Toronto. *The Geographical Review*, 94(2), 178–198.
- Freeman, V. (2010). “*Toronto Has No History!*”: *Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism and Historical Memory in Canada’s Largest City* (Doctoral Dissertation). University of Toronto, Toronto.
- Freeman, V. (2011). Indigenous Hauntings in Settler-Colonial Spaces: The Activism of Indigenous Ancestors in the City of Toronto. In *Phantom Past, Indigenous Presence: Native Ghosts in North American Culture & History* (pp. 209–254). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

- Gone, J. P. (2008). "So I Can Be Like a Whiteman": The Cultural Psychology of Space and Place in American Indian Mental Health. *Culture & Psychology, 14*(3), 369–399.
- Gone, J. P. (2010). Psychotherapy and Traditional Healing for American Indians: Exploring the Prospects for Therapeutic Integration. *The Counseling Psychologist, 39*(2), 166–235.
- Goudreau, G., Weber-Pillwax, C., Cote-Meek, S., Madill, H., & Wilson, S. (2008). Hand Drumming: Health-Promoting Experiences of Aboriginal Women from a Northern Ontario Urban Community. *Journal of Aboriginal Health, 4*(1), 72–83.
- Graham, K. A. H., & Peters, E. (2002). *Aboriginal Communities and Urban Sustainability* (Discussion Paper No. F|27). Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc.
- Greaves, T. (2002). Examining Indigenous Rights to Culture in North America. *Cultural Dynamics, 14*(2), 121–142.
- Grenier, L. (1998). *Working with Indigenous Knowledge: A Guide for Researchers* (Online Publication). Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.
Retrieved from <http://www.idrc.ca/openbooks/847-3/>
- Grinde, D. A., & Johansen, B. E. (1991). *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy*. Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, University of California.

- Guimond, E. (2003). Fuzzy Definitions and Population Explosion: Changing Identities of Aboriginal Groups in Canada. In *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 35–49). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- Haefeli, E., & Sweeney, K. (2003). *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield*. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Handler, R., & Linnekin, J. (1984). Tradition, Genuine or Spurious. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 97(385), 273–290.
- Hanselmann, C. (2001). *Urban Aboriginal People in Western Canada: Realities and Policies*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.
- Hart-Wasekeesikaw, F. (2009). *Cultural Competence and Cultural Safety in First Nations, Inuit and Métis Nursing Education: An Integrated Review of the Literature* (p. 31). Ottawa, Canada: Aboriginal Nurses Association of Canada.
- Hawkeye Robertson, L. (2006). The Residential School Experience: Syndrome or Historic Trauma. *Pimatisiwin*, 4(2), 1–28.
- Hayes, D. (2009). *Historical Atlas of Toronto*. Vancouver, Toronto and Berkeley: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Hayner, P. B. (2011). *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Hellig Morris, R. (1996). The Whole Story: Nature, Healing and Narrative in the Native American Wisdom Tradition. *Literature and Medicine*, 15(1), 94–111.
- Hessburg, P. F., & Agee, J. K. (2003). An environmental narrative of Inland Northwest United States forests, 1800-2000. *Forest Ecology and Management*, 178, 23–59.

- Hester, L., & Cheney, J. (2001). Truth and Native American Epistemology. *Social Epistemology*, 14(4), 319–334.
- Heyer, P., & Crowley, D. (1991). Introduction. In H. A. Innis, *The Bias of Communication* (pp. ix–xxvi). Toronto: University of T.
- High Park Nature. (2012). Black Oak Savannah & Woodlands. Retrieved May 7, 2012, from <http://www.highparknature.org/wiki/wiki.php?n=Habitats.Savannahs>
- Hobsbawm, E. J., & Ranger, T. O. (Eds.). (1983). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Howard-Bobiwash, H., & Bobiwash, A. R. (2008, 2009). Toronto's Native History. *First Nations House Magazine*, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.fnhmagazine.com/issue1/nativehistory.html>
- Howard, H. (2005). *Dreamcatchers in the City: An Ethnohistory of Social Action, Gender and Class in Native Community Production in Toronto* (Doctoral Dissertation). University of Toronto, Toronto.
- Howard, H. (2009). Women's Class Strategies as Activism in Native Community Building in Toronto, 1950 - 1975. In S. Applegate Krouse & H. A. Howard (Eds.), *Keeping the Campfires Going: Native Women's Activism in Urban Communities* (pp. 105–124). Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Hunter, L. M., Logan, J., Goulet, J.-G., & Barton, S. (2006). Aboriginal Healing: Regaining Balance and Culture. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 17(1), 13–22.

- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. (2010). Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Retrieved March 5, 2011, from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/pubs/rpt/rpt-eng.asp>
- Innis, H. A. (1950). A Plea for Time. Presented at the Sesquicentennial Lectures, University of New Brunswick.
- International Institute for Sustainable Development. (2013). What is Sustainable Development? Retrieved June 24, 2014, from <http://www.iisd.org/sd/>
- Jaccoud, M., & Brassard, R. (2003). The Marginalization of Aboriginal Women in Montréal. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 131–145). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- Jacobson, M. F. (2005). Lifting the Veil of Secrecy from Industry Funding of Non-Profit Health Organizations. *International Journal of Occupational and Environmental Health*, 11(4), 349–355.
- Jarus, O. (2012, July 10). “Mantle” Site, Ancient “New York City” Of Canada, Found On Lake Ontario Shore. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/07/10/mantle-site-ancient-new-york-canada-lake-ontario_n_1661911.html
- Jarvis Collegiate Institute. (n.d.). Origin of the name Toronto. Retrieved July 17, 2012, from http://schools.tdsb.on.ca/jarvisci/toronto/tor_word.htm
- Johnson, W. (1996). Contemporary Native American Prophecy in Historical Perspective. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 64(3), 575–612.

- Johnston, B. (1978). *Ojibway Language Lexicon: For Beginners*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- Jojola, T. (2004). Notes on Identity, Time, Space and Place. In A. Waters (Ed.), *American Indian Thought: Philosophical Essays* (pp. 87–96). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kahn Jr., P. H. (2012). Wild-Technology. *Ecopsychology*, 4(3), 237–243.
- Kapches, M. (1987). Life in the Past Lanes: An Archaeological View of Toronto. *Rotunda*, 19(4), 18–24.
- Kawagley, A. O. (2001). Spirit, Knowledge, and Vision From our First Nations' Sages. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 25(2), 199–206.
- Kidd, J., Christensen, T., & McEwen, B. (2008). *High Park: Restoring a Jewel of Toronto's Park System*. Toronto, ON: Toronto Parks, Forestry and Recreation Division.
- King, C. (1991). Indian Worldview and Time. In E. J. McCullough & R. L. Calder (Eds.), *Time as a Human Resource* (pp. 183–187). Calgary: The University of Calgary Press.
- King, T. (2003). *The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative*. Toronto: House of Anansi Press.
- King, T. (2012). *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America*. Canada: Anchor Canada.

- Kirmayer, L., Simpson, C., & Cargo, M. (2003). Healing traditions: culture, community, and mental health promotion with Canadian Aboriginal peoples. *Australian Psychiatry, 11*, S15–S23.
- Kline, M. (1992). Child Welfare Law, “Best Interests of the Child” Ideology, and First Nations. *Osgoode Hall Law Journal, 20*(2), 375–425.
- Knockwood, I. (1992). *Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi’kmaw Children at the Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia* (2nd edition). Lockeport, N.S: Roseway.
- Kovach, M. (2010). Conversational Method in Indigenous Research. *First Peoples Child and Family Review, 5*(1), 40–48.
- Kurtz, D. L., Nyberg, J. C., Van Den Tillaart, S., Mills, B., & The Okanagan Urban Aboriginal Health Research Collective (OUAHRC). (2008). Silencing of Voice: Urban Aboriginal Women Speak Out About Their Experiences with Health Care. *Journal of Aboriginal Health, 4*(1), 53–63.
- Kwan, C. K., & Ernst, J. D. (2011). HIV and Tuberculosis: a Deadly Human Syndemic. *Clinical Microbiology Reviews, 24*(2), 351–376.
- LaDuke, W. (1999). *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- LaDuke, W. (2005). *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Naming and Claiming*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- LaGrand, J. B. (2003). Urban American Indian Identity in a US City: The Case of Chicago from the 1950s Through the 1970s. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.),

- Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 267–279). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- Lawless, L. (2007). *Unrepentant: Kevin Annett and Canada's Genocide* [DVD]. Documentary, Annett-Lawless.
- Lawrence, B. (2003). Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview. *Hypatia*, 18(2), 3–31.
- Lawrence, B. (2004). *"Real" Indians and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood*. Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press.
- Le Bon, G. (1897). *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (2nd edition). London: T.F. Unwin Ltd.
- Lee, B. (1992). Colonization and Community: Implications for First Nations Development. *Community Development Journal*, 27(3), 211–219.
- Lefebvre, J.-J. (1966). Grandmaison, Éléonore de (Boudier de Beauregard; Chavigny de Berchereau; Gourdeau de Beaulieu; Cailhault de La Tesserie). In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Vol. 1). University of Toronto / Université Laval. Retrieved from http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/grandmaison_eleonore_de_1E.html
- Letskemann, P. G. (2004). First Nations Urban Migration and the Importance of "Urban Nomads" in Canadian Plains Cities: A Perspective from the Streets. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 13(2), 241–256.
- Lévesque, C. (2003). The Presence of Aboriginal Peoples in Quebec's Cities: Multiple Movements, Diverse Issues. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not Strangers in*

- These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 23–34). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- Lobo, S. (2001a). Introduction. In S. Lobo & K. Peters (Eds.), *American Indians and the Urban Experience* (pp. xi–xvi). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Lobo, S. (2001b). Is Urban a Person or a Place? Characteristics of Urban Indian Country. In S. Lobo & K. Peters (Eds.), *American Indians and the Urban Experience* (pp. 73–84). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Lobo, S. (2009). Urban Clan Mothers: Key Households in Cities. In S. Applegate Krouse & H. A. Howard (Eds.), *Keeping the Campfires Going: Native Women's Activism in Urban Communities* (pp. 1–21). Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Locust, C. (1988). Wounding the Spirit: Discrimination and Traditional American Indian Belief Systems. *Harvard Educational Review*, 58(3), 315–330.
- Lux, M. K. (2001). *Medicine That Walks: Disease, Medicine and Canadian Plains Native , 1880-1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- MacIntosh, R. M. (2006). *Earliest Toronto*. Renfrew, ON: General Store Publishing House.
- Management of Social Transformations Program. (2003). Best Practices on Indigenous Knowledge. Retrieved May 30, 2008, from <http://www.unesco.org/most/bpindi.htm>
- Maxim, P. S., Keane, C., & White, J. (2003). Urban Residential Patterns of Aboriginal People in Canada. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not Strangers in These*

- Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 79–91). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- McCaskill, D. N., Fitzmaurice, K., Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, Ontario Metis Aboriginal Association, & Ontario Native Women's Association. (2007). *Urban Aboriginal Task Force: Final Report*.
- McCaslin, W. D., & Boyer, Y. (2009). First Nations Communities at Risk and in Crisis: Justice and Security. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 5(2), 61–87.
- McCormick, R. M. (2000). Aboriginal Traditions in the Treatment of Substance Abuse. *Canadian Journal of Counselling*, 34(1), 25–32.
- McGregor, D. (2004). Coming Full Circle: Indigenous Knowledge, Environment, and Our Future. *American Indian Quarterly*, 28(3), 385–410.
- McIvor, O., Napoleon, A., & Dickie, K. M. (2009). Language and Culture as Protective Factors for At-Risk Communities. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 5(1), 6–25.
- McKay-McNabb, K., & Hunter, P. (2014). Cultural Considerations for the Psychological Wellbeing of Canadian Aboriginal Communities. *Psynopsis*, 36(3), 15, 18.
- McLuhan, M. (1989). Playboy Interview with Marshall McLuhan: A Candid Conversation with the High Priest of Popcult and Metaphysician of the Media. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 14(4/5), 101–137.
- McLuhan, M. (1994). *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Cambridge and London: MIT Press.

- McNab, D. T. (1998). "Water is Her Lifeblood": The Waters of Bkejwanong and the Treaty-Making Process,". In D. T. McNab (Ed.), *Earth, Water, Air and Fire: Studies in Canadian Ethnohistory* (pp. 35–64). Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press.
- McNab, D. T. (1999). *Circles of Time: Aboriginal Land Rights and Resistance in Ontario*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- McNab, D. T. (2013a). Landscape and Mindscape Conjoined: The Empire of Nature and the Nature of Empire in the Journals of Ezhaaswe (William A. Elias) (c. 1848-1929). In *The Nature of Empires and the Empires of Nature: Indigenous Peoples and the Great Lakes Environment* (pp. 221–238). Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- McNab, D. T. (2013b). Voices and Spirit Memory in the Journals of Ezhaaswe (c. 1848-1929), Indian Missionary. In D. T. McNab, U. Lischke, P. McArthur, P.-E. A. McNab, M. Riche, & S. McLachlan, *Indigenous Voices and Spirit Memory* (pp. 1–10). Winnipeg, Manitoba: Aboriginal Issues Press.
- McNab, P.-E. (2013). The Memory of Miikaans: Little Roads, Paths within Bkejwanong First Nations Territory. In D. T. McNab (Ed.), *Indigenous Voices and Spirit Memory* (pp. 29–38). Winnipeg: Aboriginal Issues Press.
- Milburn, M. (2004). Indigenous Nutrition: Using Traditional Food Knowledge to Solve Contemporary Health Problems. *American Indian Quarterly*, 28(3 & 4), 411–434.
- Miller, C. (2001). Telling the Indian Urban: Representations in American Indian Fiction. In S. Lobo & K. Peters (Eds.), *American Indians and the Urban Experience* (pp. 29–48). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

- Miller, J. R. (1991). *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-white Relations*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.
- Miller, J. R. (1996). *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Miller, J. R. (2009). *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Miller, V. (2012). A Crisis of Presence: On-line Culture and Being in the World. *Space and Polity*, 16(3), 265–285.
- Milloy, J. S. (1999). *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press.
- Mitchell, T. L., & Maracle, D. T. (2005). Healing the Generations: Post-Traumatic Stress and the Health Status of Aboriginal Populations in Canada. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 2(1), 14–23.
- Molotch, H., Freudenburg, W., & Paulsen, K. E. (2000). History Repeats Itself, But How? City Character, Urban Tradition, and the Accomplishment of Place. *American Sociological Review*, 65(December), 791–823.
- Moore, A., & Stilgoe, J. (2009). Experts and Anecdotes: The Role of “Anecdotal Evidence” in Public Scientific Controversies. *Science, Technology & Human Values*, 34(5), 654–677.
- Morin, J.-P. (2005). Treaties and the Evolution of Canada. In Daniel J. K. Beavon, C. J. Voyageur, & D. Newhouse (Eds.), *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of*

- Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture* (pp. 19–34). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Morrisette, P. J. (1994). The holocaust of First Nation people: Residual effects on parenting and treatment implications. *Contemporary Family Therapy: An International Journal*, 16(5), 381–392.
- Nagler, M. (1970). *Indians in the City: A Study of the Urbanization of Indians in Toronto*. Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology.
- Narayan, K. M., Hoskin, M., Kozak, D., Kriska, A. M., Hanson, R. L., Pettitt, D. J., ... Knowler, W. C. (1998). Randomized Clinical Trial of Lifestyle Interventions in Pima Indians: A Pilot Study. *Diabetic Medicine*, 15(1), 66–72.
- Narby, J. (1998). *The Cosmic Serpent: DNA and the Origins of Knowledge*. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher / Putnam.
- Neihardt, J. (1961). *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Newhouse, D. R. (1998). Magic and Joy: Traditional Aboriginal Views of Human Sexuality. *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality*, 7(2), 183–187.
- Newhouse, D. R. (2000). From the Tribal to the Modern: The Development of Modern Aboriginal Societies. In *Expressions in Canadian Native Studies* (pp. 395–409). Saskatoon, SK: University Extension Press.
- Newhouse, D. R. (2003). The Invisible Infrastructure: Urban Aboriginal Institutions and Organizations. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not Strangers in These Parts:*

- Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 243–253). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- Newhouse, D. R. (2011). Urban Life: Reflections of a Middle-Class Indian. In H. A. Howard & C. Proulx (Eds.), *Aboriginal Peoples in Canadian Cities: Transformations and Continuities* (pp. 23–38). Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier Press.
- Newhouse, D. R., & Peters, E. J. (2003a). Introduction. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 5–13). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- Newhouse, D. R., & Peters, E. J. (2003b). The Way Forward. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 281–284). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- Newhouse, D., Voyageur, C. J., & Beavon, D. (2005). Introduction. In D. R. Newhouse, C. J. Voyageur, & D. Beavon (Eds.), *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Nicks, T. (2003). Dr. Oronhyatekha's History Lessons: Reading Museum Collections as Texts. In J. S. H. Brown & E. Vibert (Eds.), *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History* (pp. 459–489). Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press.
- Nock, D. A., & Haig-Brown, C. (2006). Introduction. In *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian & Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada* (pp. 1–31). Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press.

- Norris, M. J. (2011). Aboriginal Languages in Canada: Generational Perspectives on Language Maintenance, Loss and Revitalization. In D. Long & O. P. Dickason (Eds.), *Visions of the Heart: Canadian Aboriginal Issues* (3rd edition, pp. 113–148). Don Mills, Ont: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, M. J., & Clatworthy, S. (2003). Aboriginal Mobility and Migration Within Urban Canada: Outcomes, Factors and Implications. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 51–78). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- Norris, M. J., & Jantzen, L. (2003). Aboriginal Languages in Canada's Urban Areas: Characteristics, Considerations and Implications. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 93–118). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- Obomsawin, R. (1983). Traditional Life Styles and Freedom from the Dark Seas of Disease. *Community Development Journal*, 18(2), 187–197.
- Obonsawin, R., & Howard-Bobiwash, H. (1997). The Native Canadian Centre of Toronto: The Meeting Place for the Aboriginal Community for 35 Years. In F. Sanderson & H. Howard-Bobiwash (Eds.), *The Meeting Place: Aboriginal Life in Toronto* (pp. 25–59). Toronto: The Native Canadian Centre of Toronto.
- O'Neil, J. D. (1989). The Cultural and Political Context of Patient Dissatisfaction in Cross-Cultural Clinical Encounters: A Canadian Inuit Study. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 3(4), 325–344.

- Ong, W. J. (2002). *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Ormsby, M. (2011, May 21). Toronto News: Sacred and Secret: The GTA's hidden burial sites. Retrieved May 25, 2012, from <http://www.thestar.com/news/article/995296--sacred-and-secret-the-gta-s-hidden-burial-sites>
- Oxford Dictionaries. (2014a). City. *Oxford UK English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/city?q=city>
- Oxford Dictionaries. (2014b). Town. *Oxford UK English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/town?q=town>
- Oxford Dictionaries. (2014c). Urban. *Oxford UK English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/urban?q=urban>
- Pennebaker, J. W., & Seagal, J. D. (1999). Forming a Story: The Health Benefits of Narrative. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 55(10), 1243–1253.
- Penn, J., Doll, J., & Grandgenett, N. (2008). Culture as Prevention: Assisting High-Risk Youth in the Omaha Nation. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 23(2), 43–61.
- Peters, E. (1996a). Aboriginal People in Urban Areas. In D. A. Long & O. P. Dickason (Eds.), *Visions of the Heart: Canadian Aboriginal Issues* (pp. 305–333). Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company, Canada.

- Peters, E. (1996b). "Urban" and "Aboriginal": An Impossible Contradiction? In *City Lives and City Forms: Critical Research and Canadian Urbanism* (pp. 47–62). Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.
- Peters, E. (2000). Aboriginal People in Urban Areas. In D. A. Long & O. P. Dickason (Eds.), *Visions of the Heart: Canadian Aboriginal Issues* (2nd ed., pp. 237–270). Toronto: Harcourt Canada.
- Peters, E. (2005). *Three Myths about Aboriginals in Cities*. Presentation presented at the Breakfast on the Hill Seminar Series, Ottawa. Retrieved from old.fedcan.ca/english/pdf/fromold/breakfast-peters0304.pdf
- Peters, E. J. (2002). "Our City Indians": Negotiating the Meaning of First Nations Urbanization in Canada, 1945-1975. *Historical Geography*, 30, 75–92.
- Peters, E. J. (2011). Emerging Themes in Academic Research in Urban Aboriginal Identities in Canada, 1996-2010. *Aboriginal Policy Studies*, 1(2), 78–105.
- Pitawanakwat, B. (2008). Bimaadziwin Oodenaang: A Pathway to Urban Nishnaabe Resurgence. In L. Simpson (Ed.), *Lighting the Eighth Fire: The Liberation, Resurgence, and Protection of Indigenous Nations* (pp. 161–173). Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.
- Ponting, J. R., & Voyageur Cora J. (2005). Multiple Points of Light: Grounds for Optimism among First Nations in Canada. In D. Newhouse, C. J. Voyageur, & D. Beavon (Eds.), *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture* (pp. 425–454). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Porter, T. (2006). Mohawk (Haudenosaunee) Teaching. Retrieved February 20, 2009, from <http://www.fourdirectionsteachings.com/transcripts/mohawk.html>
- Postman, N. (1993). *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Poundmaker's Lodge. (2010). Retrieved July 19, 2011, from <http://poundmakerlodge.com/>
- Proulx, C. (2006). Aboriginal Identification in North American Cities. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 26(2), 405–438.
- Proulx, C. (2010). Aboriginal Hip Hoppers: Representin' Aboriginality in Cosmopolitan Worlds. In *Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 39–61). New York: Peter Lang.
- Pruden, J. (2006, February 21). Natives Struggle to Keep Culture Alive. *The StarPhoenix*. Saskatoon, SK. Retrieved from http://archives.algomau.ca/shingwauk-legacy/ShingwaukNews/S-NEWS_Index_p178.html
- Purcell, T. (1998). Indigenous Knowledge and Applied Anthropology: Questions of Definition and Direction. *Human Organization*, 57(3), 258–272.
- Rasenberger, J. (2004). *High Steel: The Daring Men Who Built the World's Greatest Skyline*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Rayburn, A. (1994). The real story of how Toronto got its name. *Canadian Geographic*, 114(5), 68.
- Restoule, J.-P. (2008). The Values Carry On: Aboriginal Identity Formation of the Urban-Raised Generation. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 31(2), 15–33.

- Rice, B. (2005). *Seeing the World with Aboriginal Eyes*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Aboriginal Issues Press.
- Richardson, D., Dimaline, C., & Blondin, F. (2002). *In the Spirit of Unity: A Synopsis of Programs and Services Available to the Urban Aboriginal Population in the Greater Toronto Area*. Toronto, ON: Division of the Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians.
- Rogers, Z., & Bragg, E. (Eshana). (2012). The Power of Connection: Sustainable Lifestyles and Sense of Place. *Ecopsychology*, 4(4), 307–318.
- Ronda, J. P. (1979). The Sillery Experiment: A Jesuit-Indian Village in New France, 1637-1663. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 3(1), 1–18.
- Ronwanien:te Jocks, C. (1996). Spirituality for Sale: Sacred Knowledge in the Consumer Age. *American Indian Quarterly*, 20(3/4), 415–531.
- Round Lake Treatment Centre. (2011). Retrieved July 20, 2011, from <http://www.roundlake.bc.ca>
- Rutherford, S. (2010). Colonialism and the Indigenous present: an Interview with Bonita Lawrence. *Race and Class*, 52(1), 9–18.
- Scadding, H. (1878). *Toronto of Old: Collections and Recollections Illustrative of the Early Settlement and Social Life of the Capital of Ontario*. Toronto: Wiling & Williamson.
- Scarangella, L. (2010). Indigeneity in Tourism: Transnational Spaces, Pan-Indian Identity, and Cosmopolitanism. In *Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and*

- Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 162–188). New York: Peter Lang.
- Shepard, P. (1998a). *Coming Home to the Pleistocene*. Washington, D.C.; Covelo, California: Island Press.
- Shepard, P. (1998b). *Nature and Madness*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press.
- Sheridan, J. (1991). The Silence Before Drowning in Alphabet Soup. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 18(1), 23–31.
- Sheridan, J. (2002). Wilderness and Storytelling: Same Thing. *Ayaangwaamizin: The International Journal of Indigenous Philosophy*, (In Press).
- Sheridan, J., & Longboat, R. D. (2006). The Haudenosaunee Imagination and the Ecology of the Sacred. *Space and Culture*, 9(4), 365–381.
- Shils, E. (1981). *Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Siggner, A. J. (2003). The Challenge of Measuring the Demographic and Social-Economic Conditions of the Urban Aboriginal Population. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 119–130). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- Siggner, A. J., & Costa, R. (2005). *Aboriginal Conditions in Census Metropolitan Areas, 1981-2001*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Simpson, L. (2008a). Nogojiwanong: The Place at the Foot of the Rapids. In L. Simpson (Ed.), *Lighting the Eighth Fire: The Liberation, Resurgence, and Protection of Indigenous Nations* (pp. 205–212). Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.

- Simpson, L. (2008b). Our Elder Brothers: The Lifeblood of Resurgence. In L. Simpson (Ed.), *Lighting the Eighth Fire: The Liberation, Resurgence, and Protection of Indigenous Nations* (pp. 73–87). Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.
- Simpson, L. B. (2014). Land as pedagogy: Nishaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 3(3), 1–25.
- Smillie-Adjarkwa, C. (2009). Aboriginal Alcohol Addiction in Ontario Canada: A Look at the History and Current Healing Methods That Are Working in Breaking the Cycle of Abuse. *Indigenous Policy Journal*, XX(3), 1–16.
- Smith, A. (2003). Not an Indian Tradition: The Sexual Colonization of Native Peoples. *Hypatia*, 18(2), 70–85.
- Smith, D. B. (1987). *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians*. Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press.
- Smith, M. E. (2004). Crippling the Spirit, Wounding the Soul: Native American Spiritual and Religious Suppression. In A. Waters (Ed.), *American Indian Thought: Philosophical Essays*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Smithsonian National Museum of History. (n.d.). Lakota Winter Counts Online Exhibit. Retrieved December 20, 2010, from <http://wintercounts.si.edu/index.html>
- Spero, D. (2006). *Diabetes: Sugar-Coated Crisis*. Gabriola Island, Canada: New Society Publishers.
- Sproule-Jones, M. (1996). Crusading for the Forgotten: Dr. Peter Bryce, Public Health, and Prairie Native Residential Schools. *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, 13(2), 199–224.

- Spurr, B. (2011, May 18). Disputed Grounds: High Park “Burial Mound” One of Many First Nations Sites Hidden Around Toronto. *Now Magazine*. Toronto. Retrieved from <http://www.nowtoronto.com/daily/news/story.cfm?content=180776>
- Steingraber, S. (1997). *Living Downstream: A Scientist’s Personal Investigation of Cancer and the Environment* (First Vintage Books Edition). New York: Vintage Books.
- Stiegelbauer, S. (1990). *The Road Back to the Future: Tradition and the Involvement of Elders at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto* (Doctoral Dissertation). University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas.
- Straus, T., & Valentino, D. (2001). Retribalization in Urban Indian Communities. In S. Lobo & K. Peters (Eds.), *American Indians and the Urban Experience* (pp. 85–94). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Suzuki, D. (1997). *The Sacred Balance: Rediscovering Our Place in Nature*. Vancouver: Greystone Books.
- Thatcher, R. (2004). *Fighting Firewater Fictions: Moving Beyond the Disease Model of Alcoholism in First Nations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Thrush, C. (2011). Hauntings as Histories: Indigenous Ghosts and the Urban Past in Seattle. In C. E. Boyd & C. Thrush (Eds.), *Phantom Past, Indigenous Presence: Native Ghosts in North American Culture & History* (pp. 54–81). Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Tichenor, H. (2002). *The Blanket: an Illustrated History of the Hudson’s Bay Point Blanket*. Toronto: Hudson’s Bay Company / Quantum Press.

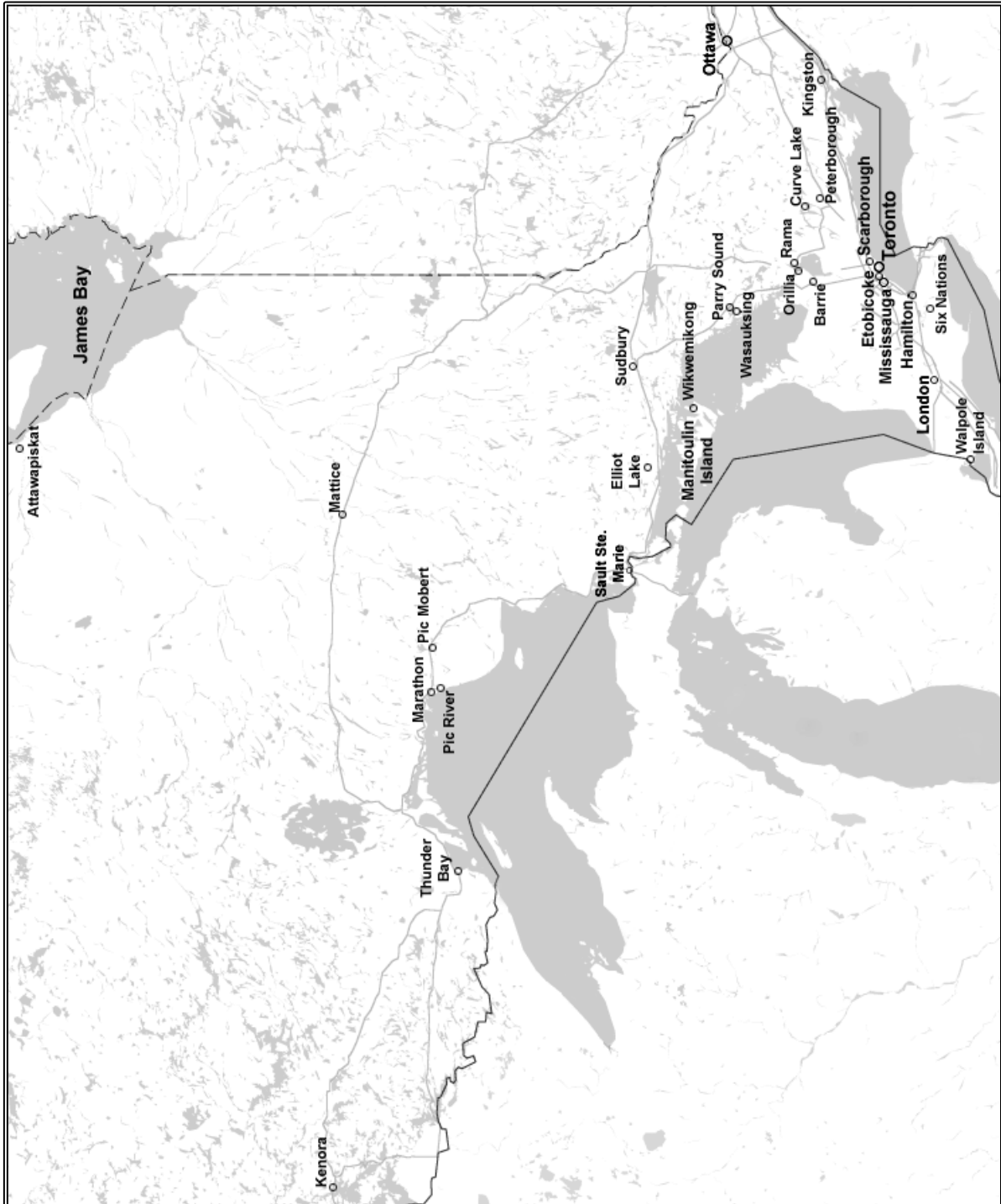
- Todd, R. (2001). Between the Land and the City: Aboriginal Agency, Culture and Governance in Urban Areas. *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, 16(3), 49–67.
- Todd, R. (2003). Urban Aboriginal Governance: Developments and Issues. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 255– 265). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- Tomiak, J.-A., & Patrick, D. (2010). Transnational Migration and Indigeneity in Canada: A Case Study of Urban Inuit. In M. C. Forte (Ed.), *Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 127–144). New York: Peter Lang.
- Tooker, E. (1994). The Five (Later Six) Nations Confederacy, 1550-1784. In E. S. Rogers & D. B. Smith (Eds.), *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations* (pp. 79–91). Toronto: Dundurn Press.
- Toronto Historical Association. (2001). *A Glimpse of Toronto's History: Opportunities for the Commemoration of Lost Historic Sites*. Toronto.
- torontoplaques.com. (2011). Davenport Road Historical Plaque. Retrieved August 14, 2012, from http://torontoplaques.com/Pages_DEF/Davenport_Road.html
- Vachon, A. (1966). Marsolet de Saint-Aignan, Nicolas. In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Vol. 1). University of Toronto / Université Laval. Retrieved from http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/marsolet_de_saint_aignan_nicolas_1E.html
- Varcoe, C., & Dick, S. (2008). The Intersecting Risks of Violence and HIV for Rural Aboriginal Women in a Neo-Colonial Canadian Context. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 4(1), 42–52.

- Veilleux, A. (2011). Toronto Landscapes: The Carrying Places. *Profile: Newsletter of the Toronto Chapter of the Ontario Archaeological Society*, 28(2), 2–3.
- Vogel, V. J. (1990). *American Indian Medicine*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Vogel, V. J. (1991). *Indian Names on Wisconsin's Map*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Waitzkin, H. (1989). A Critical Theory of Medical Discourse: Ideology, Social Control, and the Processing of Social Context in Medical Encounters. *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour*, 30(2), 220–239.
- Waldram, J. B. (1997). *The Way of the Pipe: Aboriginal Spirituality and Symbolic Healing in Canadian Prisons*. Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Press.
- Waldram, J. B., Herring, A., & Young, T. K. (2006). *Aboriginal Health in Canada: Historical, Cultural and Epidemiological Perspectives* (2nd ed). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Warhus, M. (1997). *Another America: Native American Maps and the History of Our Land*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Warry, W. (1998). *Unfinished Dreams: Community Healing and the Reality of Aboriginal Self-Government*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Waters, A. (2004). Introduction. In A. Waters (Ed.), *American Indian Thought: Philosophical Essays* (pp. xv–xxxviii). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Wesley-Esquimaux, C. C., & Smolewski, M. (2004). *Historic Trauma and Aboriginal Healing*. Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.

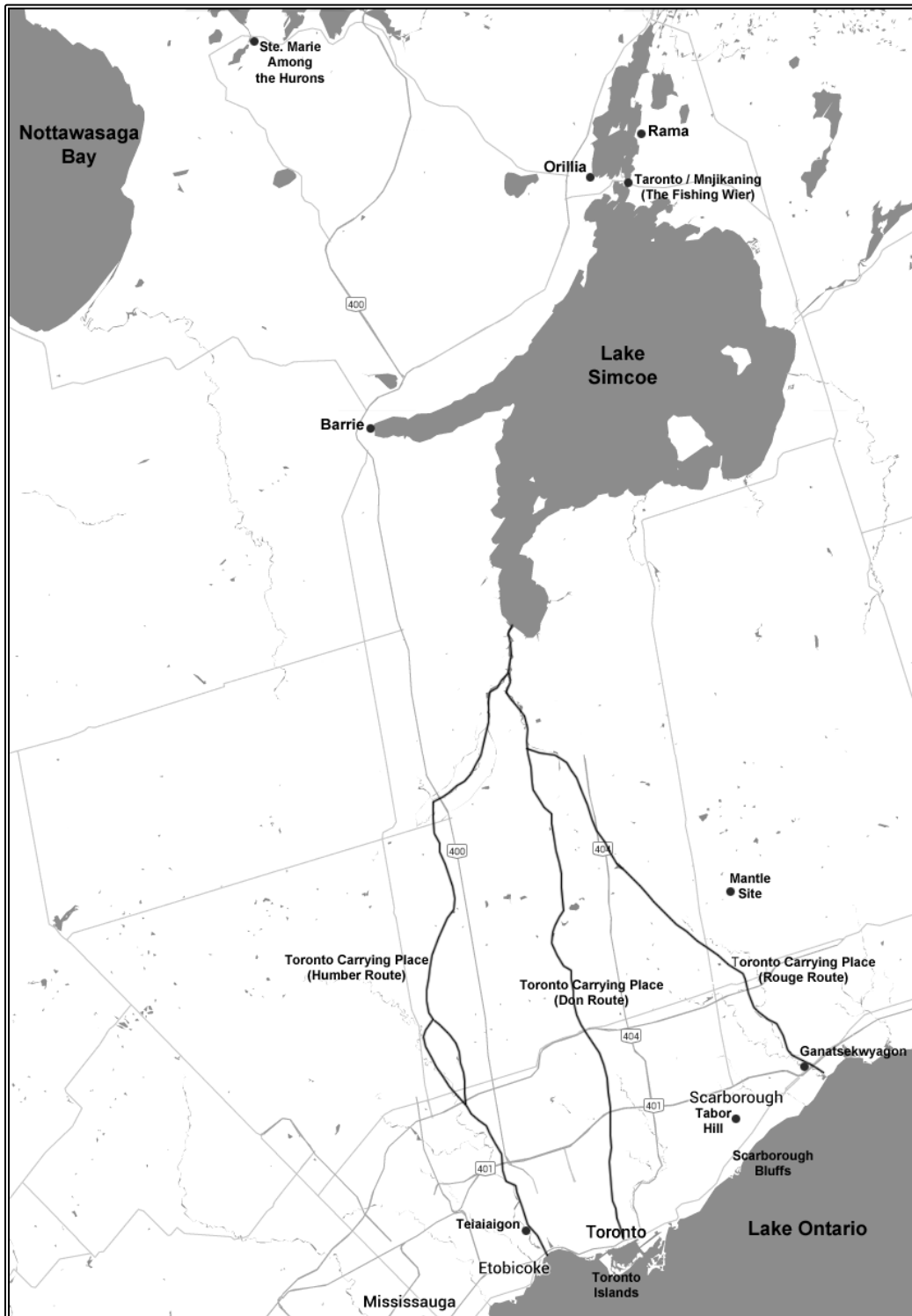
- White, M. (2004). Working with People Who Are Suffering the Consequences of Multiple Trauma: A Narrative Perspective. *International Journal of Narrative Therapy and Community Work*, 2004(1), 44–75.
- Whitford, B., & National Film Board of Canada. (2005). *The Gift of Diabetes* [DVD]. National Film Board of Canada.
- Whitt, L. A. (1999). Metaphor and power in Indigenous and Western knowledge systems. In D. A. Posey (Ed.), *Cultural and Spiritual Biodiversity: A Complementary Approach to the Global Biodiversity Assessment* (pp. 69–72). London: United Nations Environment Programme.
- Whittles, M., & Patterson, T. (2009). Nápi and the City: Siksikaitsitapi Narratives Revisited. In A. M. Timpson (Ed.), *First Nations, First Thoughts: The Impact of Indigenous Thought in Canada* (pp. 97–119). Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press.
- Williams, A., & Guilmette, A. M. (2001). A Place for Healing: Achieving Health for Aboriginal Women in an Urban Context. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 21(1), 1–25.
- Williamson, R. (2010). It's Not the Trail: It's the Land it Crosses. Retrieved from <http://www.heritagetoronto.org/news/blog/ron-williamson/its-not-trail-it-s-land-it-crosses>
- Williams, S. J., & Calnan, M. (1996). The “Limits” of Medicalization: Modern Medicine and the Lay Populace in “Late” Modernity. *Social Science & Medicine*, 42(12), 1609–1620.

- Wilson, K. (2003). Therapeutic Landscapes and First Nations Peoples: An Exploration of Culture, Health and Place. *Health and Place*, 9(2), 83–93.
- Wilson, K., & Peters, E. J. (2005). “You can make a place for it.” Remapping Urban First Nations Spaces of Identity. *Society and Space*, 23, 395–413.
- Winton, B. (1997). City Sweats: Urban Indians Stay Connected to Traditions. *Aboriginal Voices*, 4(2), 46.
- Wolfe, P. (2013). The Settler Complex: An Introduction. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 37(2), 1–22.
- Wolsko, C., & Hoyt, K. (2012). Employing the Restorative Capacity of Nature: Pathways to Practicing Ecotherapy Among Mental Health Professionals. *Ecopsychology*, 4(1), 10–24.
- Wotherspoon, T. (2003). Prospects for a New Middle Class Among Urban Aboriginal People. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. 147–165). Ottawa, Canada: Policy Research Initiative.
- York, G. (1999). *The Dispossessed: Life and Death in Native Canada*. Toronto: McArthur.

Appendix A: Map of Ontario Municipalities



Appendix B: Regional Map of Significant Locations⁴⁷



⁴⁷ The approximate routes of the Toronto Carrying Place are from Veilleux (2011, p. 3). Please also note that the location of Ganatsekwyagon is only approximate.

Appendix C: Map of Significant Toronto Locations



Appendix D: Interview Questions

Basic Questions

- Which cultural tradition do you follow (if any)?
- How long have you lived in Toronto? How familiar are you with the city?

Toronto and Health

- Describe your experience with or feelings about Toronto (i.e.: positive, negative, mixed)?
- Are there places in Toronto that you feel you have a physical, emotional, mental or even spiritual connection with? Explain.
- Are there places in or stories about Toronto that you feel promote physical, mental, emotional or spiritual health/wellness? Explain.
- Do you feel it is harder or easier to be healthy in the city? Are there any obstacles to maintaining physical, emotional, mental, spiritual or community health in the city?

Toronto and Indigenous Traditions

- Would you consider Toronto to be a traditional Indigenous territory? Why?
- Do you have any familiarity with the Indigenous history of Toronto or the Indigenous history of specific places in Toronto? Explain.
- Do you know of any traditional stories associated with Toronto or places in Toronto? Or do you know any stories about Toronto that you would connect with your cultural traditions and understandings? Explain.

- Do you practice traditional culture in the city / Toronto? Do you practice them anywhere or in particular places? Are these natural / unbuilt places only?
- Would you say it is easy or difficult to practice cultural traditions in a city like Toronto? Explain.
- Do you know of any differences in the ways traditions are practiced in the city / Toronto vs. outside the city? Do any modifications or accommodations need to be made in order to practice them in the city?
- Do you know of any cultural traditions or ways of practicing traditions which are unique to urban environments / Toronto?

Final

Is there anything else you'd like to add?

Glossary

Cosmopolitan: throughout the dissertation I use the term ‘cosmopolitan’ in a fashion similar to that outlined in Forte (Forte, 2010a) to refer narrowly to a relative willingness to accept, embrace, and / or work with people of diverse backgrounds while still valuing one’s own cultural perspectives and background. I do not specifically mean to invoke other meanings of the term such as ‘worldly’, ‘fashionable’, ‘sophisticated’, or ‘well-travelled’, although those who adopt cosmopolitan attitudes in the way I am using the term may nevertheless (albeit only incidentally) be described by the latter terms. See also ‘Cosmopolitanism and Pan-Indigeneity’ (page 175 of this dissertation) for a discussion of my use of this term.

Land / Place / Landscape: Throughout this dissertation, I often make use of terms such as ‘*the land*’, ‘land-based’, ‘place’, and ‘place-based’, so it is useful to clarify my usage of these terms here. I use ‘*the land*’ (note the italics) to refer to a sacred or spiritual concept of the world, similar to the meaning of the Anishinaabe word for Earth, *aki*. According to Simpson, “Aki includes all aspects of creation: land forms, elements, plants, animals, spirits, sounds, thoughts, feelings, energies and all of the emergent systems, ecologies and networks that connect these elements” (2014, p. 15). It is a conception of land which differs profoundly from dominant Western conceptions of land which are more secular in orientation and not usually used to connote more than property, territory, or the physical or ecological environment. When I invoke this latter usage of ‘the land’ it will not be italicized. In a similar vein, ‘land-based’ practices or knowledges are those which look to *the land* as an

epistemological authority, or teacher, or which otherwise acknowledge relationships with *the land*. My use of the terms ‘place’ and ‘landscape’ refers mostly to more delimited or specific areas of land or *the land* that are recognized as having a specific, coherent character. Specific buildings, neighborhoods, cities, and ecologies are all places, for example. I only use the term ‘place-based’ in relation to stories. I define place-based stories to be stories that prominently feature, or are about, specific places in a local landscape. Place-based stories may also be land-based stories.

Prophecy: Indigenous prophecy comes not from an engagement with an external, universal temporal scale, but rather from embodied and spiritual engagement with *the land*. This means that Indigenous prophecy may be context-specific. In the *Mishomis Book*, Benton-Banai (1979, p. 45) discusses how time is beyond the reach of humans, and in *The World We Used to Live In*, Deloria Jr. (2006, p. 206) highlights how time is a fairly flexible experience, both suggesting that Indigenous prophecy is not predetermined, but rather is more properly understood as a sketch or pattern of probability, the actual timing and outcome of which is influenced by human action. Indigenous knowledge tends to represent time as cyclical in nature, whereas Western conceptions of time are more linear. Thus, while Western prophecy may be exclusively future-oriented, Indigenous prophecy may involve simultaneous engagement with past and future.

Sustainability: the concept of environmental sustainability, from the context of development, usually refers to a state whereby current populations are able to meet

their needs at or below the threshold of a particular environment's ability to renew itself for future generations (International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2013). Implicit in this definition of sustainability is the suggestion that the ability of humans to meet their needs is (at least in the context of Western modernity) detrimental or antagonistic to the health of environments. However, particularly within the context of Indigenous knowledge and practice, humans are a part of healthy ecosystems, and human efforts to meet daily needs are not necessarily only exploitative of environments, but may also promote or sustain those environments (see the discussion of Indigenous people's role in maintaining savannas on p. 201 of this dissertation, for instance). Therefore, I use 'sustainable' and 'sustainability' to refer to practices and principles that allow humans to live well in their environments while simultaneously maintaining balanced, reciprocal relations between humans and the more-than-human world.

Technology: the discussion of technology in this dissertation is informed by Edward Benton-Banai's interpretation of the Anishinaabe prophecy of the 7th Fire, as presented in his *Mishomis Book* (1979). That prophecy foretells that Westerners would have to make a choice between the road to technology and the road to spirituality; while the road to spirituality is understood to be informed by Indigenous knowledge, the path to technology is interpreted to represent "a continuation of the head-long rush to technological development...that has led modern society to a damaged and seared Earth" (Benton-Banai, 1979, p. 93). My interpretation of the 'road to technology' is that it is not an indictment of

technology as a whole, nor does it seek to problematize certain kinds of technology. Rather, I interpret it to refer to a predominant cosmological approach or orientation to technology in the Western world which originates from and exacerbates a deep cosmological disconnection from environment, and which tends to prioritize technological innovation without sufficient consideration of the potential social, environmental, or health-related implications that might result from particular applications of those innovations. A more thorough discussion of the nature of this ‘road to technology’ and its implications is provided in Chapter 3, beginning on p. 104.

Traditional: the term ‘traditional’ has often been understood to connote an orientation to past practice, which has led to analyses of cultural change that question the authenticity of changing traditions. I use the term to refer to those practices, knowledges, and cosmologies which accord with the tenets of Indigenous epistemology such as those laid out in Chapter 2.

Urban: As discussed in Chapter 4 (see The Pre-Colonial Urban Indigenous Tradition, p. 133), despite notions that Indigenous peoples were not urbanized before European contact, many Indigenous groups had an urban tradition that predated the development of many European cities. Yet Western and First Nations concepts of ‘urban’ differed in some important ways. According to the online Oxford English Dictionary definitions of the terms ‘urban’ (Oxford Dictionaries, 2014c), ‘city’ (Oxford Dictionaries, 2014a), and ‘town’ (Oxford Dictionaries, 2014b) involve continuous and bounded areas characterized by a relatively high degree of built

form and population density. Pre-colonial Indigenous notions of urban, according to Forbes (1998), seemed to be defined more as areas characterized by a high degree of interpersonal interactions and communication rather than contiguous, bounded built form and high population density. While pre-colonial Indigenous cities also involved some areas of high density and built form, such areas were often built to enhance natural relationships rather than diminish them, and were situated within larger unsettled areas that also seemed to be considered part of the urban environment.